

**Different Rules, Different Legislators?:  
Direct and Indirect Elections to the U.S. Congress**

**Online Appendix**

**Appendix A: Legislators Included in Dataset**

**Table A-1: Indirectly Elected Senators and Directly Elected Representatives by Congress**

<i>63rd Congress</i>				
<b>State</b>	<b>Senator</b>	<b>Party</b>	<b>Representative</b>	<b>Party</b>
AL	Bankhead	D	Abercrombie	D
DE	Saulsbury	D	Brockson	D
ID	Borah	R	French	R
			Smith	R
IL	Lewis	D	Stringer	D
			Williams	D
MI	Smith	R	Kelley	R
TX	Sheppard	D	Garrett	D
			Sumners	D
WV	Goff	R	Sutherland	R
WY	Warren	R	Mondell	R

  

<i>62nd Congress</i>				
<b>State</b>	<b>Senator</b>	<b>Party</b>	<b>Representative</b>	<b>Party</b>
CT	McLean	R	Tilson	R
DE	Dupont	R	Head	R
MT	Myers	D	Pray	R
ND	McCumber	R	Hanna	R
			Helfesen	
UT	Sutherland	R	Howell	R
WY	Clark	R	Modell	R

  

<i>61st Congress</i>				
<b>State</b>	<b>Senator</b>	<b>Party</b>	<b>Representative</b>	<b>Party</b>
CO	Hughes <sup>#</sup>	D	Taylor	D
CT	Brandegge	R	Tilson	R
ID	Heyburn	R	Hamer	R
ND	Johnson <sup>*</sup>	R	Gronna	R
			Hanna	R
SD	Crawford	R	Burke	R
			Martin	R
UT	Smooth	R	Howell	R

\* Died during First Session

# Died during Third Session

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<i>60th Congress</i>				
<b>State</b>	<b>Senator</b>	<b>Party</b>	<b>Representative</b>	<b>Party</b>
CO	Guggenheim	R	Cook	R
DE	Richardson	R	Burton	R
ID	Borah	R	French	R
MT	Dixon	R	Pray	R
SD	Gamble	R	Hall	R
			Parker <sup>%</sup>	R
WY	Warren	R	Mondell	R

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% Died during Second Session

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<i>59th Congress</i>				
<b>State</b>	<b>Senator</b>	<b>Party</b>	<b>Representative</b>	<b>Party</b>
CT	Bulkeley	R	Lilley	R
MT	Carter	R	Dixon	R
NV	Nixon	R	Vanduzer	D
ND	McCumber	R	Gronna	R
			Marshall	R
UT	Sutherland	R	Howell	R
WA	Piles	R	Cushman	R
			Humphrey	R
			Jones	R
WY	Clark	R	Modell	R

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<i>58th Congress</i>				
<b>State</b>	<b>Senator</b>	<b>Party</b>	<b>Representative</b>	<b>Party</b>
CO	Teller	R	Brooks	R
CT	Platt <sup>#</sup>	R	Lilley	R
ID	Heyburn	R	French	R
KS	Long	R	Scott	R
NV	Newlands	D	Vanduzer	D
ND	Hansbrough	R	Marshall	R
			Spalding	R
SD	Kittredge	R	Burke	R
			Martin	R
UT	Smoot	R	Howell	R
WA	Ankeny	R	Cushman	R
			Humphrey	R
			Jones	R

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# Died during Third Session

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*57th Congress*

<b>State</b>	<b>Senator</b>	<b>Party</b>	<b>Representative</b>	<b>Party</b>
ID	Dubois	R	Glenn	Populist
KS	Burton	R	Scott	R
MT	Clark	D	Edwards	D
SD	Gamble	R	Burke	R
			Martin	R
WY	Warren	R	Mondell	R

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*56th Congress*

<b>State</b>	<b>Senator</b>	<b>Party</b>	<b>Representative</b>	<b>Party</b>
NV	Stewart	D	Newlands	D
ND	McCumber	R	Spalding	R
WA	Foaster	R	Cushman	R
			Clark	R
WY	Clark	R	Modell	R

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*55th Congress*

<b>State</b>	<b>Senator</b>	<b>Party</b>	<b>Representative</b>	<b>Party</b>
ID	Heitfeld	Populist	Gunn	Populist
KS	Harris	Populist	Botkin	Populist
NV	Jones	R	Newlands	D
ND	Hansbrough	R	Johnson	R
PA	Penrose	R	Davenport	R
			Grow	R
SD	Kyle	Populist	Kelley	Populist
			Knowles	Populist
UT	Rawlins	D	King	D
WA	Turner	R	Jones	R
			Lewis	D

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*54th Congress*

<b>State</b>	<b>Senator</b>	<b>Party</b>	<b>Representative</b>	<b>Party</b>
ID	Shoup	R	Wilson	R
KS	Baker	R	Blue	R
MT	Carter	R	Hartman	R
SD	Pettigrew	R	Gamble	R
			Pickler	R
WY	Warren	R	Mondell	R

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*53rd Congress*

<b>State</b>	<b>Senator</b>	<b>Party</b>	<b>Representative</b>	<b>Party</b>
DE	Gray	D	Causey	D
NV	Stewart	R	Newlands	R
ND	Roach	D	Johnson	R
PA	Quay	R	Grow	R
			McDowell	R

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*52nd Congress*

<b>State</b>	<b>Senator</b>	<b>Party</b>	<b>Representative</b>	<b>Party</b>
CO	Teller	R	Townsend	R
NV	Jones	R	Bartine	R
OR	Mitchell	R	Hermann	R

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*51st Congress*

<b>State</b>	<b>Senator</b>	<b>Party</b>	<b>Representative</b>	<b>Party</b>
CO	Wolcott	R	Townsend	R
DE	Higgins	R	Penington	D
OR	Dolph	R	Hermann	R

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*50th Congress*

<b>State</b>	<b>Senator</b>	<b>Party</b>	<b>Representative</b>	<b>Party</b>
DE	Grey	D	Penington	D
NV	Stewart	R	Woodburn	R
PA	Quay	R	Osborne	R

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*49th Congress*

<b>State</b>	<b>Senator</b>	<b>Party</b>	<b>Representative</b>	<b>Party</b>
CO	Teller	R	Symes	R
NV	Jones	R	Woodburn	R
PA	Cameron	R	Osborne	R

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*48th Congress*

<b>State</b>	<b>Senator</b>	<b>Party</b>	<b>Representative</b>	<b>Party</b>
AR	Garland	D	Breckinridge	D
CO	Bowen	R	Belford	R
DE	Saulsbury	D	Lore	D
GA	Colquitt	D	Hardeman	D
KS	Plumb	R	Hanback	R
			Morrill	R
			Perkins	R
			Peters	R
NC	Ransom	D	Bennett	D
OR	Dolph	R	George	R
VA	Riddleberge	D	Wise	D

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<i>47th Congress</i>				
<b>State</b>	<b>Senator</b>	<b>Party</b>	<b>Representative</b>	<b>Party</b>
DE	Bayard	D	Martin	D
NE	Van Wyck	R	Valentine	R
NV	Fair	D	Cassidy	D

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<i>46th Congress</i>				
<b>State</b>	<b>Senator</b>	<b>Party</b>	<b>Representative</b>	<b>Party</b>
NV	Jones	R	Daggett	R
OR	Slater	D	Whiteaker	D

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<i>45th Congress</i>				
<b>State</b>	<b>Senator</b>	<b>Party</b>	<b>Representative</b>	<b>Party</b>
DE	Saulsbury	D	Williams	D
NE	Saunders	R	Welch	R
OR	Grover	D	Williams	R

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<i>44th Congress</i>				
<b>State</b>	<b>Senator</b>	<b>Party</b>	<b>Representative</b>	<b>Party</b>
NE	Paddock	R	Crouse	R
NV	Sharon	R	Woodburn	R

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<i>43rd Congress</i>				
<b>State</b>	<b>Senator</b>	<b>Party</b>	<b>Representative</b>	<b>Party</b>
AL	Spencer	R	Sheats	R
			White	R
AR	Dorsey	R	Hynes	R
FL	Conover	R	Purman	R
			Walls	R
IN	Morton	R	Orth	R
			Williams	R
KS	Ingalls	R	Cobb	R
			Lowe	R
			Phillips	R
NV	Jones	R	Kendall	D
NY	Conkling	R	Tremain	R
OR	Mitchell	R	Nesmith	D
PA	Cameron	R	Albright	R
			Scofield	R
			Todd	R
SC	Patterson	R	Cain	R

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<i>42nd Congress</i>				
<b>State</b>	<b>Senator</b>	<b>Party</b>	<b>Representative</b>	<b>Party</b>
DE	Saulsbury	D	Biggs	D
IL	Logan	R	Beveridge	R
KS	Caldwell	R	Lowe	R
NE	Hitchcock	R	Tagge	R
OR	Kelly	D	Slater	D

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<i>41st Congress</i>				
<b>State</b>	<b>Senator</b>	<b>Party</b>	<b>Representative</b>	<b>Party</b>
DE	Bayard	D	Biggs	D
NE	Tipton	R	Taffe	R
NV	Stewart	R	Fitch	R

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<i>40th Congress</i>				
<b>State</b>	<b>Senator</b>	<b>Party</b>	<b>Representative</b>	<b>Party</b>
IL	Trumbull	R	Logan	R
KS	Pomeroy	R	Clarke	R
NV	Nye	R	Ashley	R
OR	Corbett	R	Mallory	R

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<i>39th Congress</i>				
<b>State</b>	<b>Senator</b>	<b>Party</b>	<b>Representative</b>	<b>Party</b>
DE	Saulsbury	D	Nicholson	D
IL	Yates	R	Moulton	R
KS	Lane*	R	Clarke	R
OR	Williams	R	Henderson	R

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\* Died during First Session

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<i>38th Congress</i>				
<b>State</b>	<b>Senator</b>	<b>Party</b>	<b>Representative</b>	<b>Party</b>
CA	Conness	R	Cole	R
			Higby	R
			Shannon	R

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\* Died during First Session

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<i>37th Congress</i>				
<b>State</b>	<b>Senator</b>	<b>Party</b>	<b>Representative</b>	<b>Party</b>
CA	McDougal	D	Low	R
			Phelps	R
			Sargent	R
OR	Nesmith	D	Shiel	D

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<i>36th Congress</i>				
<b>State</b>	<b>Senator</b>	<b>Party</b>	<b>Representative</b>	<b>Party</b>
DE	Saulsbury	D	Whiteley	D

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<i>35th Congress</i>				
<b>State</b>	<b>Senator</b>	<b>Party</b>	<b>Representative</b>	<b>Party</b>
CA	Broderick	D	McKibbin	D
			Scott	D
DE	Bayard	D	Whiteley	D
FL	Mallory	D	Hawkins	D

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**Appendix B:**  
**Comparison of Statewide and Non-Statewide Members of the U.S. House**

**Table B-1: Future Senate Service by District Type**

	Est. (S.E.)	Est. (S.E.)
Statewide	0.52 (0.58)	0.61 (0.50)
Political Dynasty		0.88 (0.99)
<i>Level of Gov't Service</i>		
Local		0.31 (0.99)
State		-0.33 (0.68)
Federal		0.14 (0.61)
N	980	980
PRE	0.03	0.03
State FE	Yes	Yes

**Note:** Cell entries are coefficients from a logistic regression model with standard errors clustered by state reported in parentheses. The population for this regression analysis is all members of the House from a state with at least one MC chosen via a statewide district while the others came from non-statewide districts.

\*  $p < 0.05$

**Table B-2: Roll Call Voting Measures by District Type**

	<i>Common Space</i>		<i>Party Unity</i>		<i>Standardized Party Unity</i>	
	<b>Dem.</b>	<b>Rep.</b>	<b>Dem.</b>	<b>Rep.</b>	<b>Dem.</b>	<b>Rep.</b>
Statewide	0.01 (0.02)	-0.05 (0.02)	1.86 (1.41)	0.95 (1.43)	0.04 (0.06)	0.04 (0.05)
N	324	600	326	600	326	600
R <sup>2</sup>	0.47	0.27	0.46	0.46	0.18	0.18
State FE	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Congress FE	No	No	Yes	Yes	No	No

**Note:** Cell entries are OLS coefficients with standard errors clustered by state reported in parentheses.

The population for this regression analysis is all members of the House from a state with at least one MC chosen via a statewide district while the others came from non-statewide districts.

\*  $p < 0.05$