**Code for columns in the file "Congressional Actions." This is the database used in *America’s Congress: Actions in the Public Sphere, James Madison through Newt Gingrich*(New Haven: Yale University Press, 2000)**.

CONGRESS. The action took place during the specified Congress, numbered 001 through 103.

2nd, 3rd, 4th, 5th, 6th CONGRESS. The action continued beyond its initial Congress through 2 or more consecutive follow-up Congresses. The max is an action that sprawled across 6 consecutive Congresses.

MEMBER NAME. The member of Congress who performed the action.

CHAMBER. The actor was a member or House (H) or Senate (S). (In the case of one multi-Congress "action," the member, R. Johnson, began it as a senator in the Congress of 1827-29, but continued it as a House member in the Congress of 1829-31. This is nowhere indicated in the dataset, where the action is coded as just "S.")

PARTY. Party membership of the member who performed the action (henceforth the "actor").

R - Republican

D - Democrat

U - Unionist (1860s)

G – Greenbacker

J - Readjuster (1880s)

P - People’s (1890s)

I – Independent

S – Socialist

W - Wisconsin Progressive (1930s)

F - Farmer Labor (MN)

C - Conservative (NY)

A - American Labor (1930s-1940s)

Party membership is coded only starting in 1861. Before that, there is too much confusion about who was what; all entries are left blank.

MINORITY PARTY. The actor was not a member of the majority party in his/her chamber at the time the action was performed. ("Unionist" in the early 1860s, and "Readjuster" in the early 1880s, are coded as majority party, not minority party.) (No values coded for Congresses before 1861.) 1 = not a member of majority party; 0 = was a member of majority party.

(In actions sprawling across more than one Congress, the value entered here is for the first Congress in the sequence. Note that in some actual sequences, where party control of a chamber changes during a sequence, trouble can result: The coding value for this variable should, in actuality, change in one or more of the out-Congresses, but that refinement isn’t entered here anywhere in the dataset. Eleven multi-Congress actions raise this problem—those connected with Conkling in 1877-80, Conkling in 1877-81, Cameron in 1877-80, Blaine in 1877-80, Lodge in 1893-98, Erdman in 1895-97, Black in 1932-33, H.G. Douglas in 1947-50, Knowland in 1948-49, L.B. Johnson in 1953-55, and Rayburn in 1953-55.)

REGION. South vs. nonsouth. 1 = member was representing any of the 11 states that seceded in 1861, or KY or OK. 0 = member was representing any other state.

STATE. The state the member was representing. AL through WY.

YEAR. The year during which the action was performed. Can be a span of (always consecutive) years rather than just one year, if the action is reported as spreading across years; in that case, this variable specifies the first year. Note that, before the Lameduck Amendment came into effect in the mid-1930s, any one Congress spread across three years, not the now familiar two.

FINAL YEAR. For an action spreading across more than one year, this gives the final year. It reads the same as the previous variable for one-year actions.

AGE. Age of the actor at the time of the (first year of the) action. More specifically, the calendar year during which the action occurred minus the calendar year during which the actor was born.

FINAL AGE. For actions spreading across more than one Congresses, this gives the actor’s age for the final year. It reads the same as the previous variable for one-year actions.

CONSECUTIVE CONGRESSES. This tells how many Congresses the actor has been serving consecutively in the same house, at the time the relevant action occurs (or at least begins). Thus, LBJ’s action of running for the presidency in 1960 is coded as 6, since the Congress of 1959-60 was the sixth one in a row he had been serving as a member of the Senate. It is irrelevant that he had served earlier in the House, and it would have been irrelevant if he had served earlier, but discontinuously, in the Senate (he hadn’t).

END CONSECUTIVE CONGRESS. For actions sprawling across more than one Congress, this gives the "Consecutive Congresses" value for the final Congress. It reads the same as the previous variable for one-Congress actions.

ALL CONGRESSES. This tells how many Congresses the actor has served in, regardless of which chamber, and regardless of whether the congressional service has been consecutive in one house or in Congress taken as a whole, at the time the relevant action occurs (or at least begins). In a few relevant 19th-Century cases, earlier service in the House as a territorial delegate is counted toward the total.

END ALL CONGRESSES. For actions sprawling across more than one Congress, this gives the "All Congresses" value for the final Congress. It reads the same as the previous variable for one-Congress actions.

N SOURCES. The level of source backup for the action.

C = The action was reported in just one source (whether a "general" or an "era-specific" history).

B = The action was reported in two or more sources, whether "general" or "era-specific," but no more than one was "general."

A = The action was reported in two or more sources, of which at least two were "general." ("General" = a one- or two-volume college American history textbook covering all of U.S. national history. "Era-specific" = a more detailed work of narrative history covering a historical era--e.g,, the Jacksonian era, the 1890s, or the New Deal era.)

FOREIGN POLICY. The action pertained to the conduct of U.S. foreign or defense policy. This includes appointment of personnel to the State, War, Navy, and Defense departments. It includes moves to provision the home economy for defense or war against foreign countries. It includes moves related to the Louisiana Purchase, the annexation of (independent) Texas, the war with Mexico in the 1840s, and independence for the Philippines. It excludes moves related to the U.S. Civil War, immigration (unless explicit other-country connotations arise as with refugees from Germany in the 1930s), foreign trade (unless explicit other-country relations are at stake as with France and England in the 1790s), and regulation or admission-to-statehood of U.S.-owned territories. 1 = a foreign policy action. 0 = not one.

OPPOSITION. The action was aimed at thwarting the aims, or impairing the standing, of a presidential administration. Included are efforts to block presidential legislation, pass legislation a president opposed, investigate an administration, impeach a president, block presidential appointments, or criticize a presidency or its actions. In the cases of House or Senate members aiming to win the White House themselves by defeating an incumbent president, a coding of "opposition" is entered here only if the challenger explicitly made a point of attacking the incumbent—as with Eugene McCarthy vs. LBJ on Vietnam policy in 1968. 1 = opposition action. 0 = not.

LEADER. In discussion of the action, the actor is explicitly mentioned as a leader of a party or bloc of the House or Senate. Not necessarily a formal leader such as Speaker. Might be, e.g., an informal leader of the Senate Progressive bloc during the early 20th Century. Coding as "leader" ordinarily occurs in conjunction with other codings, such as for "Legislate." But occasionally "Leader" stands on its own, as when the sources just remark on somebody being a powerful House or Senate leader, as with LBJ in the 1950s. 1 = leader. 0 = not.

LEGISLATE. The actor is discussed as trying to pass or block a bill, resolution, treaty, or constitutional amendment, or an amendment to the above. Whether the effort succeeded is irrelevant. The action can occur in committee or on the floor. 1 = legislate. 0 = not.

LEGISLATIVE EPONYM. The actor’s name is popularly affixed to a bill, amendment, resolution, or law—as in the Powell Amendment, the Taft-Hartley Act, or the Pendleton Act. If, beyond this, the actor’s role in the relevant legislative process is discussed in a source, the action codes 1 for the "Legislate" variable above as well as 1 for the "Legislative eponym" variable here. But if, as in the case of the Erdman Act of 1898, the measure is mentioned without any discussion of the actor’s (supposed) role, the action is coded 1 for "Legislative eponym" but 0 for "Legislate." 1 = legislative eponym. 0 = not.

LEGISLATE or LEGISLATIVE EPONYM. 1 = coded 1 on either or both of previous two variables. 0 = all else.

LEGISLATIVE EPONYM but not LEGISLATE. 1 = coded 1 on LegEp but 0 on Leg. 0 = all else.

OTHER EPONYM. The actor’s name is popularly affixed to something other than a legislative instrument—for instance, to a committee—as with "the Nye Committee" of the 1930s. Also included are instances where a member generates an "ism" such as McCarthyism. 1 = other eponym. 0 = not.

STAND. The actor takes a stand on something. This might occur in connection with legislating; in this regard, "stand" is coded 1 only if the source goes beyond reporting that the actor undertook some legislative action to say that the actor took a stand on the matter. (Granted, this is not always an easy coding distinction to make.) But a stand might have little or nothing to do with legislating. One might be taken, for example, in a Capitol Hill policy speech on a matter not being legislated, in a speech attacking the president or the Kremlin, or in a speech at a presidential nominating convention. 1 = stand. 0 = not.

BIG SPEECH. An actor’s speech is reported to have been influential or to be otherwise remarkable. 1 = big speech. 0 = not.

FILIBUSTER. The actor participated in a filibuster. 1 = filibuster. 0 = not.

SINGULAR STAND. The actor notably stood alone (or almost so) on some matter—as with J. Rankin being the only House member to oppose a declaration of war in December 1941, or W. Morse and E. Gruening being the only senators to vote against the Tonkin Gulf Resolution in 1964. 1 = singular stand. 0 = not.

TIPPING VOTE. The actor’s vote is reputed to have made the difference. 1 = tipping vote. 0 = no.

DISCLOSE. The actor disclosed something of importance. 1 = disclose. 0 = not.

MAKE APPOINTMENT. The actor takes part in the consideration of a presidential appointment(s). The actor may be for, against, or neutral. 1 = make appointment. 0 = not.

IMPEACH/CENSURE. The actor takes part in a process to impeach, convict, or censure a member of the executive branch or the judiciary. The actor may be for, against, or neutral. May include calls for or against impeachment or censure action, as well as actual participation in a process. 1 = impeach/censure. 0 = not.

CENSURE/EXPEL. The actor takes part (for, against, or neutral) in a process to censure, expel, or not seat some other member of Congress, or advocates or opposes such a move. 1 = censure/expel. 0 = not.

RULES. The actor takes part in, or advocates or opposes, some action regarding House or Senate rules. 1 = rules. 0 = not.

EXECUTIVE-LEGISLATIVE PROCEDURE. The actor takes part in, or advocates or opposes, some action regarding procedural relations between the executive and legislative branches. Involved might be statutes, customs, or constitutional provisions. 1 = executive/legislative procedure. 0 = not.

INVESTIGATE. The actor calls for, takes part in, or otherwise is associated with, a congressional hearing or investigation. 1 = investigate. 0 = not.

COMMISSION. The actor serves as a member of a "commission"—that is, a part-executive and part-legislative entity at least some of whose members are appointed by the president. 1 = commission. 0 = not.

NON-CONGRESSIONAL ROLE. The member performs in a judicial, administrative, diplomatic, or executive role not envisioned by the Constitution as a congressional role. 1 = non-congressional role. 0 = not.

MALFEASANCE. The member is alleged to have done something illegal or unethical. 1 = malfeasance. 0 = not.

IS CENSURED/EXPELLED. The member is censured, expelled, or not seated by the House or Senate, or at least such a move is proposed. 1 = is censured/expelled. 0 = not.

RESIGNED. The member resigns from the House or Senate. 1 = resigned. 0 = not.

RARE PARTY/IDEOLOGY. The member represents a tiny party or unusual ideology. 1 = rare. 0 = not.

RACE/ETHNIC/GENDER. The member has a notable race, ethnic, or gender background. 1 = thus notable. 0 = not.

DISTRIBUTIVE POLITICS. The member engages in distributive politics—that is, the supply of government benefits to relevant geographic constituencies or to small claimant groups (as with tax breaks). 1 = distributive politics. 0 = not.

COMMITTEE CHAIR. Somewhere in a paragraph or set of paragraphs that discusses an action, an actor is identified as the chair of a congressional committee. In a few cases a member is just tagged as a "powerful committee chairman," or some such locution, without discussion of any specific attendant action. 1 = committee chair. 0 = not.

COMMITTEE OTHER. Same as the preceding variable, except that the member is identified as just a member of a committee, not its chair. 1 = committee other. 0 = not.

SPECIAL COMMITTEE. For either of the two preceding variables, the relevant committee is not a House or Senate standing committee. Here, "standing committee" means a one-house unit whose writ runs across Congresses without reauthorization. So, "special committee" is a residual category here. Ordinarily it picks up special or select committees. But in a few cases it picks up conference or joint committees (regardless of whether the latter need continual re-authorization), and in one 1790s instance it accommodates the House’s Committee of the Whole. 1 = special committee. 0 = not.

COUNSEL ADMINISTRATION. The member meets with, advises, or counsels the president or some other high executive official. 1 = counsel administration. 0 = not.

SPEAK FOR ADMINISTRATION. The member speaks for a presidential administration. 1 = speak. 0 = not.

TAKE APPOINTMENT. The member is appointed (or considered for appointment) by the president to a judgeship, a cabinet post, or some other high diplomatic or administrative position that requires resignation from Congress to be accepted. Included are appointments to high posts in the Confederate States of America in 1861. 1 = take appointment. 0 = not.

This item raises questions about which Congress the act of appointing takes place in, since cabinet appointments often occur at the seam between Congresses--just when presidents are taking office.

The solution here is to credit appointments to folding Congresses, rather than to incoming ones. The logic is that a new presidential administration in fact tends to make its cabinet decisions between a November election and a following January inauguration (or, before the mid-1930s, between a November election and a following March inauguration). Thus, here, cabinet appointments officially listed for post-presidential-election Januaries (or analogous pre-mid-1930s Marches) are credited to the folding Congresses rather than to the incoming ones. January (or March) appointees who held seats in the folding Congresses need not have been elected to the incoming Congresses to earn listing here. (In two pre-mid-1930s cases where they were not, appointees are included here even though they weren’t nominated by presidents until May—that is, until two months after the old Congresses ran out in March. In neither case had a president named anyone else to the relevant post during March or April. The two appointees in question are Albert Gallatin to the Treasury in 1801 and Levi Woodbury to the Navy in 1831.)

Another category of individuals is included here in principle as well—people who didn’t serve in a folding Congress but have been elected to an incoming Congress yet are instead appointed to the cabinet, deflecting them from serving in a new Congress. They are appointed while they are in the status of "Senator-elect" or "House member-elect." Notable in this lightly populated latter category is Salmon P. Chase, a Senator-elect when Lincoln appointed him Secretary of the Treasury in early 1861.

1 = take appointment. 0 = not.

BIG 4 CABINET. The appointment referred to in the previous variable is to Secretary of State, Secretary of the Treasury, Secretary of War (or Defense after 1947), or Attorney General. 1 = appointment to one of these Big 4 cabinet positions. 0 = all else.

RUN FOR LEADER. A member runs for a leadership position in the House or Senate, whether or not successfully. This includes runs for the House Speakership and party leadership slots. 1 = run for leader. 0 = not.

P OR VP. A member runs for, or is seriously considered for, the presidency or vice presidency or a party nomination for one of those offices. This includes members selected by Congress—as with R. Johnson and G. Ford to the vice presidency in 1837 and 1974. It also includes items for the Confederate States of America in 1861. 1 = P or VP. 0 = not.

PRES/SELECTION. A member tries to help decide who becomes a president or vice president. Does not include running for those offices oneself. Does include taking part in selecting candidates in elections or nominating processes (often at party conventions); and taking part in selection of P or VP by Congress or congressionally arrived at processes as in 1825 and 1877. Included are a few instances where members took part in processes to structure the processes of presidential selection—as in generating the 12th Amendment or the rules for presidential succession. 1 = pre/selection. 0 = not.

PARTY CONVENTION. A member takes part in a party convention, whether or not that action codes as "pres/selection" above. A member might just make a rousing keynote address, for example. Included are a few instances of midterm or state party conferences or conventions. 1 = party convention. 0 = not.

STATE/LOCAL ORGANIZATION. A member is reported to be an influential figure in a state or local party organization. 1 = state/local organization. 0 = not.

OTHER PARTY. An actor takes part in some party activity not addressed by any of the five preceding variables. Examples are activity as a national party chairman, a founder of a new party, or an initiator of new campaign-finance techniques. 1 = other party. 0 = not.

ANY OF LAST 4. 1 = coded 1 on any of the previous four variables. 0 = all else.

4 SAUF RUNSELF. 1 = coded 1 on the immediately preceding variable, but excluding instances where an action had been earlier coded a) as 1 for just "Run for P or VP," or b) as 1 for "Run for P or VP" and also for just "Party convention" but where the party convention experience was just as a candidate. The effect is to exclude here an action of running for P or VP oneself (whether or not with a convention presence), but to include a few instances where somebody ran for P or VP and also did something else noteworthy at a convention, such as to broker a nomination for somebody else. 1 = meets the condition explained above. 0 = all else.

MOBILIZATION. An actor takes part in an effort (outside general elections) to mobilize the public for some cause. 1 = mobilization. 0 = not.

CONGRESSIONAL ELECTION. An actor does something connected with congressional elections. For example, he/she may run in one (as with Nixon in 1950), engage in campaign debates (as with S. Douglas in 1858), raise campaign money (as with T. Coelho and J. Helms around 1980), have an election outcome contested in Congress, or take stands that bring on an attempted presidential purge (as with the conservative Democrats FDR tried to purge in the 1938 primaries). 1 = congressional election. 0 = not.

ODDBALL. A very unusual action, such as P. Brooks caning C. Sumner on the Senate floor in 1856. 1 = oddball. 0 = not.

WRITE. An actor writes a politically relevant book, newspaper article, or magazine article. 1 = write. 0 = not.

THE ACTION. The relevant action that the member engages in. Ordinarily here, the term "action" easily fits the evidence, as when the member does something like win passage of an amendment, take a stand, investigate a miscreant, or run for president. But in some instances "action" is implied. States of being or standing, as in identification as a "powerful committee leader," "powerful Speaker," or "head of state party organization" are taken to imply actions. "Malfeasance" implies an alleged member act. "Is censured/expelled" implies an action that brought on that fate. "Take appointment" implies a standing that earned the appointment, and in most cases can probably be read as the more active locution "wins appointment." "Legislative eponym" no doubt includes dubious cases, in the sense that probably some bills or acts are named after passive committee chairs who did nothing but exist to get their names attached. Finally, a coding of 1 for "rare party/ideology" of for "race/ethnic/gender" picks up qualities of representation rather than instances of direct member action. The only Socialist in the House adds a distinctive ideological brand of stands. A race, ethnic, or gender outlier arguably offers "descriptive representation," wherein the member’s identity causes distinctive policy or representation effects not easily codable as discrete, remarkable actions.

OPPO CLUSTERS. The action is included in one of the eighteen clusters of opposition action listed in Table 3.4:

01 1790-93 vs. Hamilton’s Treasury program

02 1793-96 vs. Washington admin’s pro-British foreign policy

03 1803-08 "Quid" opposition to Jefferson’s policies

04 1832-36 Whig opposition to Jackson administration

05 1857-60 vs. Buchanan admin’s pro-South slavery policies

06 1864-68 cong vs. pres Reconstruction policies; impeachment of Andrew Johnson

07 1869-72 Liberal Republican opposition to Grant administration

08 1877-81 patronage showdowns with Hayes and Garfield administrations

09 1906-12 Progressive insurgency

10 1917-20 antiwar opposition in 1917 blends into anti-League opposition in 1919

11 1922-24 Progressive oppo to Harding and Coolidge admins; Teapot Dome probe

12 1934-35 populist "Share Our Wealth" challenge to FDR

13 1937-38 break with FDR over court-packing, exec reorgzn, unions, min wage

14 1939-41 isolationist opposition to involvement in Europe

15 1938-44 conservative assault on New Deal and war agencies; many probes

16 1947-54 anti-Communist loyalty probes blended with Asia First policy critique

17 1964-72 vs. Vietnam war and national security establishment

18 1972-74 Watergate

IMPULSE CLUSTERS. The action is included in one of the fifteen clusters of "ideological impulses" listed in Table 5.4:

01 1901-10 Old Guard GOP domestic conservatism under TR and Taft

02 1905-12 Progressive insurgency under late TR, Taft

03 1912-17 New Freedom domestic reform

04 1917-20 Antiwar and anti-League opposition to Wilson’s foreign policy

05 1921-31 Promotion of Progressive causes under Harding, Coolidge, early Hoover

06 1931-37 New Deal domestic reform under FDR (and warmup under late Hoover)

07 1933-38 Left-populist challenge to New Deal

08 1934-39 Right-wing opposition to New Deal

09 1933-41 Isolationist opposition to U.S. involvement in int’l orgs and European affairs

10 1945-54 Foreign-policy internationalism under late FDR, Truman, Eisenhower

11 1947-54 Isolationism, Asia-Firstism, and disloyalty hunting under HST and early Ike

12 1961-68 Domestic reform under Kennedy and Johnson

13 1961-68 Conservative opposition to domestic reforms of 1960s

14 1964-75 Opposition to Vietnam war and national security establishment running it

15 1981-88 Pursuit of Democratic foreign and domestic policies under Reagan

\*ERRATUM: During the publication process in 2000, I discovered one mistake that I couldn’t fully correct. William Seward is credited with one action ("repudiates John Brown for raid") during the 35thCongress of 1857-59, and the same action ("repudiates John Brown") during the 36th Congress of 1859-61. This is double-counting. The item for the 35th Congress is wrong, not to mention bad history, and should be eliminated. But I haven’t eliminated it from the dataset that appears online as a companion to this coding guide, from the count of the data items used in the book (that is, 2304, although the total should appropriately be reduced to 2303), or from the various calculations in the book involving the full dataset or its subcategories. There are two exceptional cases where I did make corrections. In Tables 5.1 and 5.6 in the book, Seward is credited with his correct total of 13 actions (rather than an erroneous 14).