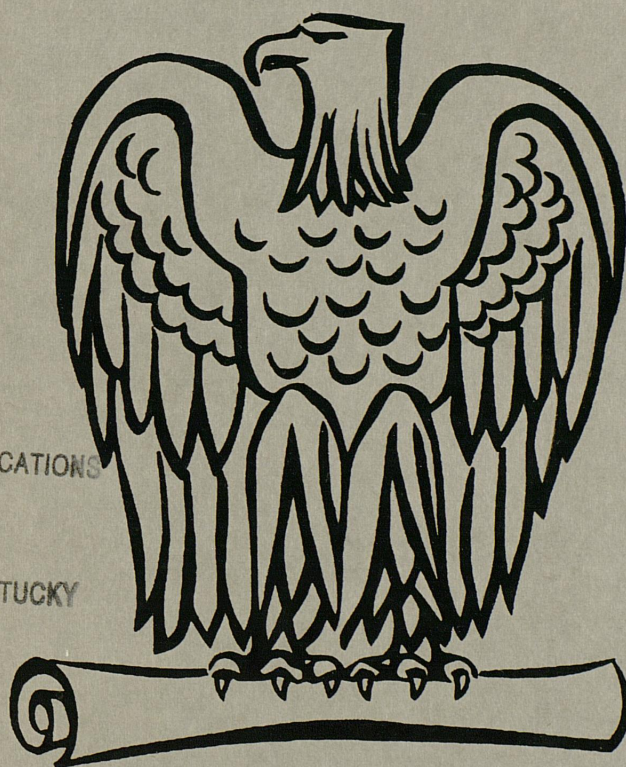


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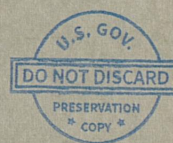
ATLAS OF CONGRESSIONAL ROLL CALLS

AN ANALYSIS OF
YEA-NAY VOTES



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THE HISTORICAL RECORDS SURVEY
WORK PROJECTS ADMINISTRATION
NEWARK NEW JERSEY 1941

A DESCRIPTION
OF THE
ATLAS OF CONGRESSIONAL ROLL CALLS: AN ANALYSIS OF YEA--NAY VOTES

Description of the Project, Its Work Procedures,
and Allied Phases

Compiled by

The New Jersey Historical Records Survey Program
Division of Community Service Programs
Research and Records Section
Work Projects Administration

Sponsored by

New Jersey State Planning Board
and
Columbia University

Newark, New Jersey
The Historical Records Survey
1941

The Historical Records Survey

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"To bring together the records of the past and to house them in buildings where they will be preserved for the use of men living in the future, a nation must believe in three things. It must believe in the past. It must believe in the future. It must, above all, believe in the capacity of its people so to learn from the past that they can gain in judgement for the creation of the future."

Franklin Delano Roosevelt

FOREWORD

This publication, A Description of the Atlas of Congressional Roll-Calls: An Analysis of Yea-Nay Votes, is one of a large number of bibliographies of historical source materials and descriptions of research methods prepared throughout the United States by workers on the Historical Records Survey of the Work Projects Administration. It is designed to serve as a handbook in the conduct of work from which the Atlas will result. To date approximately 1400 Survey publications have been issued throughout the United States, of which 98 have been published in New Jersey.

The Survey was originally undertaken in the winter of 1935-36 for the purposes of providing useful employment to needy unemployed historians, lawyers, teachers, and research and clerical workers. In carrying out this objective, the program was organized to compile inventories of historical materials, particularly the unpublished documents and records which are basic in the administration of government, and which provide invaluable data for students of political, economic, and social history.

This volume is intended to show what is required of any person assigned to work on the compilation of the Atlas of Congressional Roll-Calls, and to indicate to the student and historian the procedure pursued in the preparation of the final product. In either case, the volume is designed to be frankly utilitarian.

The successful conclusion of any phase of work of the Historical Records Survey, particularly one so involved and complex in its processes, would not be possible without the support of public officials, historical and legal specialists, educators and librarians, and many other groups in the community. Their cooperation is gratefully acknowledged.

The Survey program was organized by Luther H. Evans, who served as Director until March 1, 1940, when he was succeeded by Sargent B. Child. The Survey operates as a nation-wide series of locally sponsored projects under the Division of Community Service Programs, of which Mrs. Florence Kerr, Assistant Commissioner, is in charge. The work of the Congressional Vote Analysis was originally initiated in New York City, under the editorship of Mr. Clifford L. Lord, and was later transferred to the Historical Records Survey in New Jersey, where the work is now in the process of completion under Mr. Lord's editorial direction.

HOWARD O. HUNTER
Commissioner

PREFACE

The New Jersey Historical Records Survey Program was organized in February 1936, as a unit of the Works Progress Administration. It operates as a State-wide program under the local sponsorship of the New Jersey State Planning Board. The technical supervision of the Survey is exercised nationally by Mr. Sargent B. Child, National Director. State administrative supervision is provided by Mrs. Eva H. Reda-Reina, State Director of the Community Service Programs. The Survey in New Jersey is under the additional supervision of Mr. R. C. Branion, Regional Director of WPA.

The Survey has as its objective the preparation of complete inventories of the municipal, county, State, and Federal archives in New Jersey, and the publication of these inventories as guides to the material of greatest historical interest. In addition to these inventories, work is proceeding in the cataloging and calendaring of manuscript collections, the inventory of church archives, and the transcription of some of the earliest public and church records. An additional feature of this comprehensive approach to authentic historical source materials is found in the inventories of American imprints and portraits in New Jersey.

The Survey is also engaged in compiling the monumental Atlas of Congressional Roll-Call: An Analysis of Yea-Nay Votes, mapping, with analyses, roll calls, and index, of all the yea-nay votes in the Congress of the United States from 1775 to 1932. It is continuing the collection of the Messages and Papers of the Presidents, i. e. the messages, communications, proclamations, executive and administrative orders of the President since January 21, 1937, bringing up to date the original compilation initiated by the Survey in New York City. It maintains a cumulative list and index of all Presidential Executive Orders of the Unnumbered Series, now containing entries for more than 1400 such orders. It is preparing a handbook of the Federal district and circuit courts, consisting of maps showing the evolution of their jurisdiction, tables of all times and places of meeting, and complete rosters of their judges. The legislative ordinances of the Continental Congresses and of the Congresses of the Confederation are being compiled for the first time, in a format based on that used in the United States Statutes at Large. Revised and up-to-date rosters of all members of the Congress of the United States from 1789 to date are also in preparation, and compilations of Presidential Executive Orders and Proclamations for twelve special topics, including Passport Regulations, Consular Regulations, Wildlife Conservation, Alien Entry Regulations, and National Forests are being assembled so that this valuable and useful material may be made available to the public in its most usable form. All these work phases are being handled by the Congressional Vote Analysis Unit.

This volume is the first publication of that unit of the Historical Records Survey in New Jersey. This unit, originally organized in New York City, was transferred to the New Jersey program in November 1939, with

Clifford L. Lord as editor, and Miss Helen Calhoun as technical director, both under the supervision of John A. Millington, State Director. In establishing this phase of work in New Jersey, the Survey profited tremendously from the personal interest and cooperation of Robert W. Allan, State Administrator, Mrs. Elizabeth C. Denny Vann, then State Director of the Community Service Programs, and Carl J. Bostelmann, State Director of the Historical Records Survey from February 1940 to November 1941.

Many American historians have dreamed of the possibilities of compiling the materials for interpreting American history which the Atlas of Congressional Roll-Calls is making available for the first time. Professor Orin Libby, of the University of South Dakota, urged such a study in a paper which attracted much attention in the American Historical Association Reports in 1896. Professor A. Lawrence Lowell, of Harvard University, made a partial analysis of such votes over a brief period of time and in several particular States about ten years later. Professor Frederick Turner compiled five vote maps in his History of the United States, 1830 - 1850. Professors Charles A. Beard, Charles Taussig, Solon J. Buck and others have since experimented with the method for particular subjects within limited time coverage.

The undertaking of such a vast project was possible only after the inception of the WPA program. The project itself grew out of a casual suggestion by Louis A. Hacker, of Columbia University. Preliminary outlines for the program were worked out by Clifford L. Lord, instructor in American history at Columbia University and at that time consultant to the Historical Records Survey in New York City, and were approved by Dr. Luther H. Evans, then the National Director of the Survey. Work was begun with a small staff under the direction of Clifford L. Lord, assisted by Charles E. Baker.

Upon its establishment in New Jersey, as a unit of the New Jersey Historical Records Survey Program, its personnel was increased until a peak employment of three hundred and fifty workers was achieved. To insure the most accurate production in so vast and involved a technical undertaking, careful precautions were taken to train adequately all workers immediately upon their placement in work departments of the Congressional Vote Analysis unit.

The project has benefited greatly from the helpful assistance of a group of eight technical advisers, all members of the Columbia University faculty; and from the libraries of Columbia, Princeton, Rutgers, and College of the City of New York; the New York Bar Association Library; the Free Public Libraries of Paterson and Newark, New Jersey; and the Johnson Public Library of Hackensack, New Jersey.

Administrative direction of the project at Hackensack is supervised by Louis A. Lupton, Assistant State Supervisor. All technical and editorial procedures and supervision are coordinated under Clifford L. Lord, Editor, and James Mocerri, Project Editor and

Supervising Technician. Many Survey supervisors and technicians have contributed to the progress of the work accomplished to date. Special acknowledgment is due to Frank Schuh, Technical Supervisor in charge of the map construction and bill analysis departments; Frank Roth, Technical Supervisor in charge of all indexing, and George Rohrbach, Work Coordinator and Technician in charge of all preliminary phases. Due acknowledgment is made to Dominick Vivo, Unit Supervisor, and the following foremen in charge of the various work phases, Robert Adams, Marion Barcellona, William Bostelmann, John Cartnick, Charles Culver, Helen Day, Leon de Coninck, John Frank, Anne Kopp, Thomas Miller, Rocco Marrone, Casper Meyer, Anne Plescia, Irene Valle, and James Zurcher. Acknowledgment is also made to the following persons, formerly connected with the technical and supervisory staff: Helen Calhoun, George D. Myers, Milton Ripp, Frank Irwin, Herbert Irwin, David Keoffe, John V. De Lacy, Henry Kruger, Henry Van Haste, Robert Biondi, William Lavelle, Melvin Simon, Frank D'Agnes, Jasper Allard, Jr., Logan Twaddell, Frank Califano, William Miller, John Roe, Robert Schneider, Harvey Rees, James Motte, Kenneth Brill, and Anna Winkler.

In the successful operation of the Congressional Vote Analysis and its other related phases of Survey work, there has been developed a technical competence which, in itself, represents a tremendous service to the important work of essential historical research, and a means of interpreting the progress of our government and perhaps in moulding the future development of the nation. For the opportunity to render their modest contribution toward effecting this progress, all the workers of the Survey are grateful to the Work Projects Administration and likewise especially appreciative of the personal help and assistance of Robert W. Allan, State Administrator; Edward J. Boyle, State Chief in charge of the Research and Records sections; and his assistant, J. Allan Ramsey.

A list of all publications of the Historical Records Survey in New Jersey is given at the end of this volume. Requests for information concerning any unit of the Survey should be addressed to the undersigned at 1060 Broad Street, Newark, New Jersey.

GUSTAVE KOEPPE
Acting State Supervisor

December 4, 1941

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INTRODUCTION

I. DESCRIPTION OF THE CONGRESSIONAL VOTE ANALYSIS

This unit of the Historical Records Survey, which functions under the co-sponsorship of the Department of History of Columbia University, is engaged in the production of a complete series of maps portraying every one of approximately 54,000 Yea-and-Nay roll call votes taken in the Congress of the United States from 1789 to 1932. Yea-and-Nay votes must be taken, under the Constitution, on demand of one-fifth of the members present in either House. They are therefore taken on a large proportion of the controversial measures coming before the Congress.

These maps will show the Congressional Districts in each State as these have been changed from time to time by State action following Federal reapportionment or local considerations, as well as State and Territorial development. For Senate votes each State is divided by a diagonal line, the top space being assigned to the Senator next facing election. The Congressional District maps will provide enlarged regional inset maps or boxes for the votes of Representatives from metropolitan districts too small to register on the scale of our regular maps, and marginal boxes for the votes of Representatives at Large. Each District, or space representing a District, will be marked with the District number. On these maps every roll call vote of the House of Representatives or the Senate of the United States will be recorded, showing how every Senator or Representative voted or failed to vote. There will be one map for each of the approximately 54,000 recorded votes from the First through the Seventy-second Congress.

Under each map will appear an explanation of the vote, including a Summary (or Analysis) of the action taken in the vote, its date, citation of the sources, the vote totals broken down by Yea-and-Nay totals and political party, and the Roll Call, arranged by State and District number for Representatives, by State and expiration of term for Senators, showing the party and vote of each, or the existence of a vacancy. Where the vote as listed in the Record and Journal differs, the Journal listing will be given in the Roll Call, with the Record listing footnoted below the roll.

The maps for each Congress will be published in chronological order, House by House. Each Congress will also have maps showing the party representation in each of the two Houses, population distribution, industrial development at the time of that Congress.

An introduction will elucidate the purposes and problems of the Atlas. A comprehensive subject-index will make these maps conveniently available to all students interested in tracing the vote-history of any type of legislation or in studying particular recorded votes, and a name-index, with inclusive dates of service, will make available the record vote-history of any particular member of Congress.

II. VALUE AND USES OF THE PROJECT

This project was undertaken to meet a series of definite needs. It is a matter of record that in recent years there has been a tendency in some quarters to belittle and criticise the role of Congress in the direction of national affairs. The maps produced by this project will, in the opinion of the editors, prove anew the truly representative character of the Congress, and by making available materials which no private persons could afford to dig out for themselves, enable historians, sociologists, students, officials, and others to investigate the history and the importance of the Congress from new angles. Such a work will obviously stimulate new interest and appreciation in additional sections of the general public for the work and the role of the Congress as the legislative agent of American democracy. Frederick Jackson Turner in his pioneering work, "The Frontier in American History," published almost forty years ago, time and again adduces in support of his basic thesis the recorded votes of Congress. "If we analyze the congressional vote" is repeated in many a chapter. "American industrial life," he holds, "is the outcome of the combinations and contests of groups of States in sections." ¹ "Between these sections commercial relations have sprung up, and economic combinations and contests may be traced by the student who looks beneath the surface of our national life to the actual grouping of States in congressional votes on tariff, internal improvement, currency and banking, and all the varied legislation in the field of commerce." ² Libby, Beard and others have employed the same technique.

But these votes, buried among the millions of pages of House and Senate Journals, Senate Executive Journals, Annals of Congress, Registers of Debates, the Congressional Globe, the Congressional Record, lie in unusable form except to the researcher willing to spend years of scholarly excavation.

Even were these votes readily accessible, with a workable subject-index and convenient analyses, it would still be impossible to deploy them geographically so as to draw accurate conclusions of their historical import for with rare exceptions no maps of the Congressional Districts exist for the period before 1892. In order to make them, the historian would have to cull the Sessions Laws, State by State, as we have done for the districting laws, because the early Congressional Directories do not give the district descriptions and the later ones are not always accurate; he would have to find the laws creating and altering the boundaries of the counties, parishes, wards, assembly districts, etc., in terms of which the districts are defined; he would have to determine the Congressional election dates, State by State, in order to know for what Congresses the county changes affected district boundaries; he would then have to map the counties as of his districting-law dates--all before he could start his district maps--a job no individual, no private institution, has ventured to essay.

Charles O. Paullin of the Carnegie Institution of Washington, in one section of the work ³ published jointly by that Institution and the

1. Frontier in American History, p. 159

2. Ibid., p. 158 (Italics added)

3. Atlas of the Historical Geography of the United States.

American Geographical Society of New York in 1932, attempted, not to satisfy these wants, but to illustrate the manner in which they could be satisfied. He published a series of thirty-six maps, with analyses and summaries, much like those we are doing, showing the geographical distribution of votes on thirty-six measures acted on by the House of Representatives. These measures were chosen for convenience of date-coverage (1790-1930) and adaptability to mapping, as much as for their importance or representativeness. His maps do not show boundaries between similarly colored contiguous districts, nor do they show district numbers. While regretting "the relatively small number of maps.....that could be included in the Atlas" he points hopefully toward the "wealth of material out of which numerous political maps might be constructed." ¹ This wealth of material will for the first time be made conveniently available to historians, political scientists, and sociologists in the analyses and maps undertaken by this project. This work will, subject to the obvious limitations of the method, provide material for many important studies, some suggestion of which appears in the pages immediately following.

Because this work is designed as a source book for historical-political study, not as corroboration of a particular historical theory, it has been thought wise to include every recorded vote, however unimportant its subject may superficially appear. The comprehensive subject-index used in conjunction with the brief analyses will facilitate selection of those measures which may be pertinent from individual viewpoints and for particular purposes. We do not presume to pre-determine for anyone which votes he shall find important. And for that reason, scholars will find many uses for these maps undreamt of by those of us now constructing them.

The value of any work such as this depends directly on the thoroughness and accuracy with which it is carried through. The procedure followed is designed by means of check and counter-check, and the meticulous comparison of all data with original and authoritative sources, to eliminate as much of error and omission as is humanly possible.

In the expectation that this project will provide the tools for making many significant and important studies in American history and prove of inestimable value as a reference work to historians and scholars throughout the nation, rests the justification of this phase of the Historical Records Survey work in New Jersey.

1. Atlas of the Historical Geography of the United States, p. 104.

CLIFFORD L. LORD
Editor

Hackensack, New Jersey
December 1941

SECTION I

Description of the Project

The following pages describe the project and give some indication of its uses, its history and the publication plans.

WHY THE PROJECT WAS UNDERTAKEN

This project is preparing a map showing the geographical distribution of every one of the 54,000 roll calls taken in either House of Congress between 1789 and 1932, each vote being represented by a uniform legend on a map showing contemporary State, Territorial and Congressional district boundaries. Each map is accompanied by a Summary which identifies the vote, and by a copy of the roll call arranged by State, with citations to the accompanying debates for the use of the reader. The maps and roll calls for each Congress are supplemented by maps showing population distribution, party strength in each House and, where the information is available, the manufacturing areas of the nation. These are included for correlation by the interpreter of the vote-maps.

The technique of graphically representing the geographical distribution of votes has been used on a limited scale before, sufficiently to establish clearly its usefulness and significance. The late Frederick Jackson Turner in his History of the United States, 1830-1850, published in 1935, used seven such maps on important votes to illustrate significant points. Turner often used such maps in his classrooms, and many of America's leading scholars took from those classrooms a lasting appreciation of and interest in the values of this technique. Charles O. Paullin in his Atlas of the Historical Geography of the United States, published in 1932, reproduced thirty-two such maps, and regretted the "relatively small number of maps" which could be incorporated in that important work, pointing to the "wealth of material" that "the many hundred of votes taken and recorded by the United States House of Representatives since it first convened in 1789 constitute." Orin G. Libby made sensational use of this technique in his famous analysis of the ratification of the Constitution. A. Lawrence Lowell, in a paper before the American Historical Association in 1901, analyzed the votes of the Representatives from several Eastern and Mid-western States over a few years' time. Charles A. Beard, Charles Taussig, A. R. Newsome, Solon J. Buck and others have used such maps for special subjects and limited time periods. It is this impressive background of scholarly effort and significant use of this device which directly inspired this project. It is designed to furnish the basic material for innumerable similar studies in the future. It is the comprehensive answer to the eloquent plea of Orin G. Libby in the American Historical Association Reports for 1896 for just this sort of study.

It is impossible to probe at all deeply into this material without glimpsing the enormous fields of research it opens up. Men like Turner, Mahan, Beard and others have introduced new hypotheses into the interpretation of American history, and some of the greatest advances we have made in knowing and understanding our country have resulted from the rewriting of our history in terms of such hypotheses. It certainly is not too much to expect that from the study of the materials in this Atlas may come studies establishing new hypotheses, to the enrichment of American history and political science. New inquiries into the validity of existing theories such as the role of the frontier in American history, or on the supposed control of federal policy exercised before the War Between the States by the planter-doughface alliance, may yield important refinements or additional substantiations of these hypotheses. In such fields the

Atlas will enable us to move from the realm of sheer speculation to the realm where speculation may be checked by the actual recorded votes.

Obviously new studies may be made of regionalism and sectionalism as reflected in Congress, of the stresses and policy conflicts between urban and rural area, between shipping community and manufacturing community, between planter and poor-white, between seaboard and back-country, between the coasts and the Mid-west. It will cast new light on the earliness of sectional cleavage between North and South, which is clearly discernible, for instance, in the question of establishing the United States Bank as early as the year of charter, 1791, or in the debate on the admission of Vermont that same year. It will open up a field of study on the effect of regional, sectional or local ties on party regularity. It should lead to most interesting conclusions about the conservatism and traditionalism of rural districts. The whole work should certainly throw new light on the problem of economic and political inter-relationships. It will provide important material for inquiries on such subjects as the power of rural areas, particularly through the distribution of representation in the Senate, to block legislation sought by the more populous areas, or on the relative independence of the Senate, as compared with the House, for local pressure, or on the fundamental triumphs of national interest over regionalism and sectionalism, especially in times of crisis.

Certainly important studies of public opinion, political behavior, and social psychology will be made possible. Maps of votes on questions like federal income taxation, federal regulation of railroads, subsidization of the merchant marine, or farm crop control, will show the spread and growth of such ideas as they took root in our national life.

Statesmen will surely find here food for a sober study of the past attitudes and ideas of their districts, States or region. Any man who wishes to keep his finger on the pulse of public opinion needs to study more than the latest poll of public opinion. Here is new background material.

New light will be shed on the rise, evolution and fall of political parties, and new analyses of the workings of the party system will be made possible through these maps. One can actually watch the Whig party break up, or chart the spread of Populism and Populist ideas in West and South, or see Insurgency grow within the ranks of the Republicans, or watch the Farm Bloc operate. The reaction of political parties to new and spreading ideas and evolving public opinion will be a vital field of study for some, as the parties gradually shift into position on a new issue, or alter their lines, or fall because they fail to edge themselves sufficiently into the stream of the new movement. Statistical studies may be made on party regularity, the issues and the periods when it is subjected to the greatest strains. The reactions of regions, or of individual Congressmen, to new ideas will interest others. The Atlas will be a necessary reference for those who study the workings of democracy not only in this country but in studies of comparative government. The maps will also make possible new studies of such parliamentary and political phenomena as filibusters, gerrymandering, and recurrent fights over redistricting.

Other studies may be launched on American nationalism, insofar as certain sections of the country show themselves more enthusiastic than

others in support of what might be called "nationalistic" measures. The student of American expansion and imperialism will find rich material in the geographical distribution of the areas of support for the various and recurring projects of annexation, conquest, or intervention beyond our borders. The Constitutionalist will find interesting data here not only in the votes by which some of the Constitutional Amendments were referred to the States for ratification, but in Congressional action on measures providing for the extension of the powers of the federal government, in votes on the ratification of interstate compacts, and similar measures.

Further studies may be made of the effect that the overturn of a State or local political machine, whether it be upset from within its own party, or by the other major party, may have on the Congressional votes from that State or local area. Investigations of instances where a reformer or a third-party man is replaced at a subsequent election by a relative conservative, should yield valuable case histories of the effects upon the subsequent attitude of that district as represented in Congress.

In building plans for interstate and regional cooperation, such as have been extensively launched within the last eight years, careful studies will have to be made not only of the economic, sociological and geological characteristics of an area, but, if such programs are in the long run to be soundly conceived, also of the attitudes and thinking habits of a region. Community of attitude may ultimately prove equally important in such planning with community of interest. One good key for such studies will obviously come from the Atlas, which will help define and mark the areas of this basis for regional cooperation and planning.

The sociologist may find much material of additional interest, not only in studies of regional and local characteristics, attitudes and social psychology, but also in the attitudes and positions taken by representatives of areas of, say, predominately Irish, or Italian, or Swedish constituencies. Again studies of public opinion, so obviously opened up through this Atlas, will be of primary interest to this branch of the social sciences.

The biographer of any member of Congress will find in these maps an easy and immediate key to the legislative record of his subject, his attitude and approach on important issues, his party regularity, his attendance. Of course the author will want to refer to the record of the debates, but in a majority of cases, a member of Congress does not have the opportunity to participate or register his opinion in actual debate. In such cases the roll call is the only clue to his position. The maps will be an immediate and convenient key to the positions of Congressmen.

The classroom teacher will find, as Turner found, such maps useful for illustration of discussions or for class projects along these many lines. Such maps are highly effective in the study and presentation of some aspects of American history. They are certainly helpful to an understanding of the impact of geographical and economic forces upon political history.

As Arthur Schlesinger of Harvard has said, "The results will be of great value to historians, whether they call themselves political, economic or social," but the Atlas will also be useful to the student of government, political science, political behavior, social psychology, regionalism, and

to the classroom teacher; to the statesman and the man who would study, guide or be guided by public opinion; to the person engaged in magazine or radio research, or working on problems of public relations and public attitudes toward business; to the newspaper or magazine editor wanting the shortest means of determining an individual, local or regional vote or attitude. They will find in these volumes a wealth of useful material. These are the reasons that lead Luther H. Evans of the Library of Congress to call the Atlas "a new and fundamental tool of research," a "very important research enterprise."

OUTLINE OF PROCEDURES

Procedures have been designed to insure the accuracy of the final copy. Work rules have been established for the project from its inception in the form of a mimeographed manual, to which both workers and supervisors have been rigidly held. As special cases arose in tabulating votes, or in making the maps, summaries or index, written memoranda were issued by the Editor to cover them, and such memoranda were immediately incorporated in the manual. No departure from these rules was permitted. Thus despite the turnover of personnel, and the shift of the project from one State to another, the product, based on these inflexible rules, has always been uniform.

All roll calls have been mapped, even those which at first glance may seem relatively unimportant, for there is a reason behind every roll call. They are taken only when some controversial point makes one-fifth of the members of that house want, for one reason or another, to put themselves or their opponents on the record. Ordinary adjournments never require roll calls but some controversial motions to adjourn, because they are controversial, have been made the subject of roll calls. When Congress stops to take a roll call on a procedural question, there is a motive for it, as there is for every roll call, and that motive will make that vote important to some user of the Atlas. Executive session votes (on which complete information is available up to 1901, with scattered information since that date appearing in the Senate Journal appendices) have been included. Impeachment votes and votes for the election of House officers have been mapped. In short, the Editor has scrupulously avoided giving this material any subjective selection whatever, and has exercised no presumption to predetermine for anyone else what votes are and what votes are not important. For different purposes each vote will be important.

The votes were tabulated from the Annals, Register, Globe and Record and were checked for accuracy against the appropriate House, Senate or Executive Journal. The Journal is accepted throughout as the official record of the vote, except in cases of obvious typographical error. These errors, relatively common in the early Journals, have been checked against the original vote tallies, or, where the tallies have been destroyed against the original manuscript Journals in Washington. Though the maps and roll calls have been made on the basis of the Journal version of the vote, all discrepancies between Journal and Record roll calls or vote totals are footnoted on each roll call. Where members arriving after a roll call has been taken have tried to register their vote, but have not been allowed to do so by the Speaker, or where another member states very definitely and unequivocally how his absent colleague would have voted, we indicate this information on the appropriate map and roll call not as a yea or a nay, but in the

same category as a man paired for or against the question. The thorny problem of early party affiliations has been resolved where possible from authoritative works such as the Dictionary of American Biography and, with reservations, the Biographical Directory of the American Congress. Where such sources yielded inadequate information, the Editor has consulted with living biographers of the particular Congressmen. Early district designations, both in single and plural districts, have been made on the basis of the residence of the Representative.

The tabulated vote, as checked against the Journal, is used as the basis for symbolizing the vote map. This symbolizing is checked for accuracy before the map is colored. The tabulation and the colored map pass the minute inspection of an editing staff, which checks both against each other and against the Journal before they are typed. Typed copy, of course, is carefully proofread.

The summaries identify the vote to which the map and roll call pertain. They are written from abstracts, prepared largely by lawyers, from the account of the debates in the Record. The original abstract is gone over in detail by a second worker as a check on accuracy and correctness in interpretation. It is then checked against the Journal, largely for the statement of the question, which sometimes (incredibly) differs from that in the Record. Bills and resolutions that become law are given a citation to the Statutes-at-Large. Bills and resolutions that do not become law are marked "n.p." (not passed) for the convenience of the user. The final summary presents the maker of the motion involved, his State and party, the date of the vote, the title and bill or resolution number of the bill involved, the Statute citation or "n.p.," the effect of the motion, the result of the vote and the vote totals broken down by party. Each summary ends with citations to all printed versions of the roll call. In the case of the first two volumes of the Annals, citations are given to both the Old Series and the New Series. For the reprinted Journals of the first fifteen Congresses, citations are given only to the reprinted edition, because the originals are not generally available. For the years in which both the Register and the Globe were printed, citations are given to them both.

The base maps, showing Congressional districts, were worked out from the State districting acts as copied from the Statutes of the various States. Plotting the districting acts also involved working out the early county boundaries for most States, which also was done from State Laws, court decisions and reports of boundary commissions, and with material help from the State Departments of several of the States. In working with the State laws, no reliance was placed in the indexes for the early volumes, but a thorough page by page search was used as a tedious but necessary precaution. For State and Territorial borders, the Statutes-at-Large, Federal Cases, the Federal Reporter and the reports of several boundary commissions were consulted. International boundary disputes are represented by a large cross-hatch over the area involved. Interstate disputes are represented by dotting the line finally determined upon. Indefinite borders such as that of the Louisiana Purchase from 1803-1819 are shown by broken lines.

In the metropolitan area, the small size of districts presented a unique problem. This was solved by using a very fine cross-hatch on the area involved, and by using an inset map on a larger scale for that particular

area. Even on these enlarged inset maps, some districts, such as those on Manhattan Island, were too small to be shown adequately, and such districts are represented in boxes bearing the proper district number, placed directly under the inset map. Occasionally isolated districts were too small for a legible representation of their vote, like Louisville or Denver in the later Congresses. In these cases, the area within the borders of the district was cross-hatched on the base map, while a single box, large enough to show the vote, was inset under the name of the city involved. Metropolitan district lines have been plotted on the basis of then existing ward or election district lines on city maps of the period.

Votes of Representatives-at-Large, unless the entire State delegation be elected at large, are shown in boxes in the lower right hand corner of the map against the name of their State.

Senate maps show all State and Territorial borders, with internal disputed borders dotted, international disputed areas cross-hatched, and all Territories clearly labelled. Where the Vice-President votes to break a tie, his vote is shown in a special insert box in the lower left hand corner of the map of the vote involved.

Every vote, House or Senate, shows the United States as it actually was organized at the moment of that particular vote. Each map bears a vote number in the lower left hand corner. This vote number is based on the number of the Congress, the number of the session and the number of the vote within that session. Index references are by vote number, rather than by page number.

The roll calls are broken down by State for the Senate, and by State and district for the House, for the convenience of the reader. Every man's vote is recorded after his name and his party designation. Senators whose terms first expire, and who, if they seek reelection, will therefore face the electorate before their colleague from the same State, are listed above their colleague in the roll call, and their votes are mapped in the top diagonal block within their State. This arbitrary device guarantees that the votes of one Senator will appear in the same place throughout a given Congress, regardless of whether his colleague dies or resigns in the interim, and may give rise to studies on the responsiveness of some members to the approach of election campaigns.

The index consists of two parts, one arranged topically and alphabetically, by subject and name, the other by bill and resolution number, Congress by Congress, and House by House. The subject and name index, which is closely patterned after that of the recent volumes of the Record, but with the addition of more "see references" for the convenience of the reader, will refer the reader to the topics in which he is interested, or to the legislative record of a particular man, insofar as that is reflected in yea-nay votes. The bill and resolution index will make it possible to trace the complete roll call history of any particular bill, while the citations in the summaries on such roll calls will indicate whether or not the bill or resolution ultimately passed.

The project has involved working almost literally page by page through 620 volumes of the Congressional Record and its predecessors,

through 394 volumes of House, Senate and Executive Journals, through all the Congressional Directories, through the United States Statutes-at-Large, and through uncounted hundreds of State session laws, court decisions, municipal codes and ordinances, and a great number of reference works. The compilation of this material by the Work Projects Administration has been a job of what one well-known authority called "staggering magnitude," a job which will make available materials which no private persons could afford to dig out for themselves, for these votes, buried among the millions of pages of House and Senate Journals, Senate Executive Journals, Annals of Congress, Registers of Debates, the Congressional Globe, the Congressional Record, today lie in unusable form except to the researcher willing to spend years at scholarly excavation.

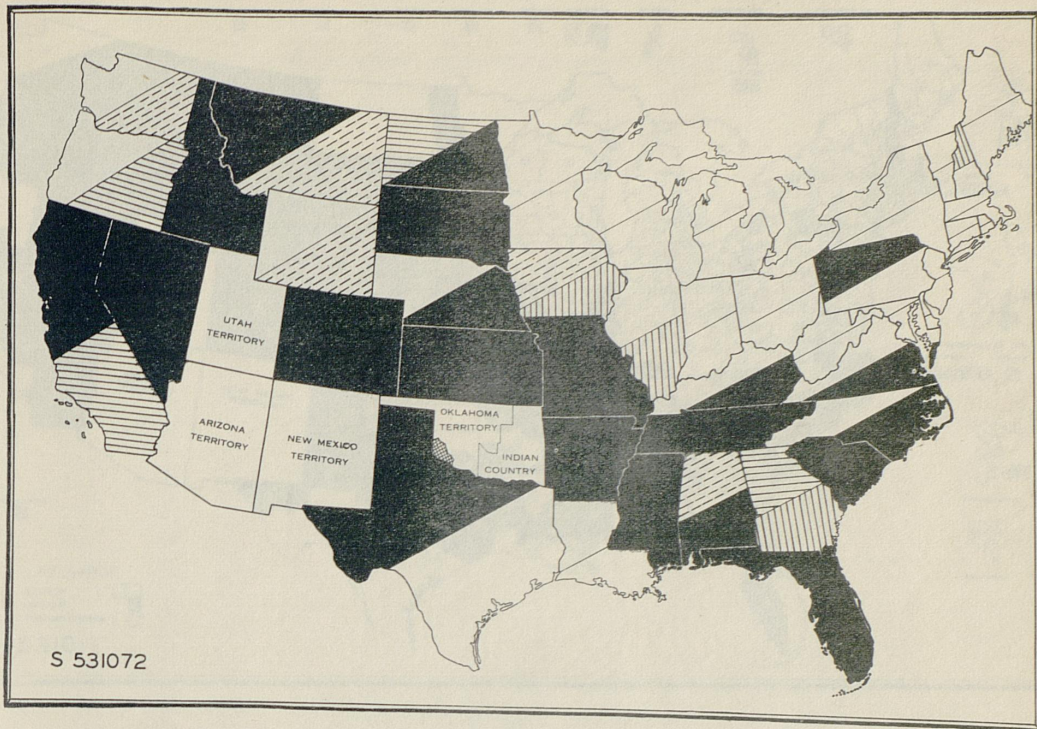
Even were the votes themselves readily accessible, with the roll calls conveniently arranged State by State instead of alphabetically, and with a workable subject-index and convenient analyses, it would still be impossible to deploy them geographically so as to draw accurate conclusions of their historical import without culling, as this project has culled, the Session Laws, State by State, for the districting laws, for with rare exceptions no maps of the Congressional Districts exist for the period before 1892, and the early Congressional Directories do not give the district descriptions and the later ones are not always accurate; without finding all the laws creating and altering the boundaries of the counties, parishes, wards, assembly districts, etc., in terms of which the districts are defined without determining the Congressional election dates, State by State, in order to know for what Congresses the county changes affected district boundaries; without mapping the counties of these districting-law dates--all before the district maps could be started--a job no individual, no private institution, has ventured to essay.

The manifold uses of the product more than warrant an undertaking.

PUBLICATION PLANS

The Columbia University Press, by arrangement with the Work Projects Administration and the sponsors, has already released a prepublication campaign to test the market for this Atlas. The Press plans publication by offset printing in forty-one volumes, totalling thirty-three thousand pages, 10-1/8" x 13-1/8", cloth bound, gold stamped. Its prospectus called the Atlas "undoubtedly one of the most significant and fundamental projects in American history ever undertaken."

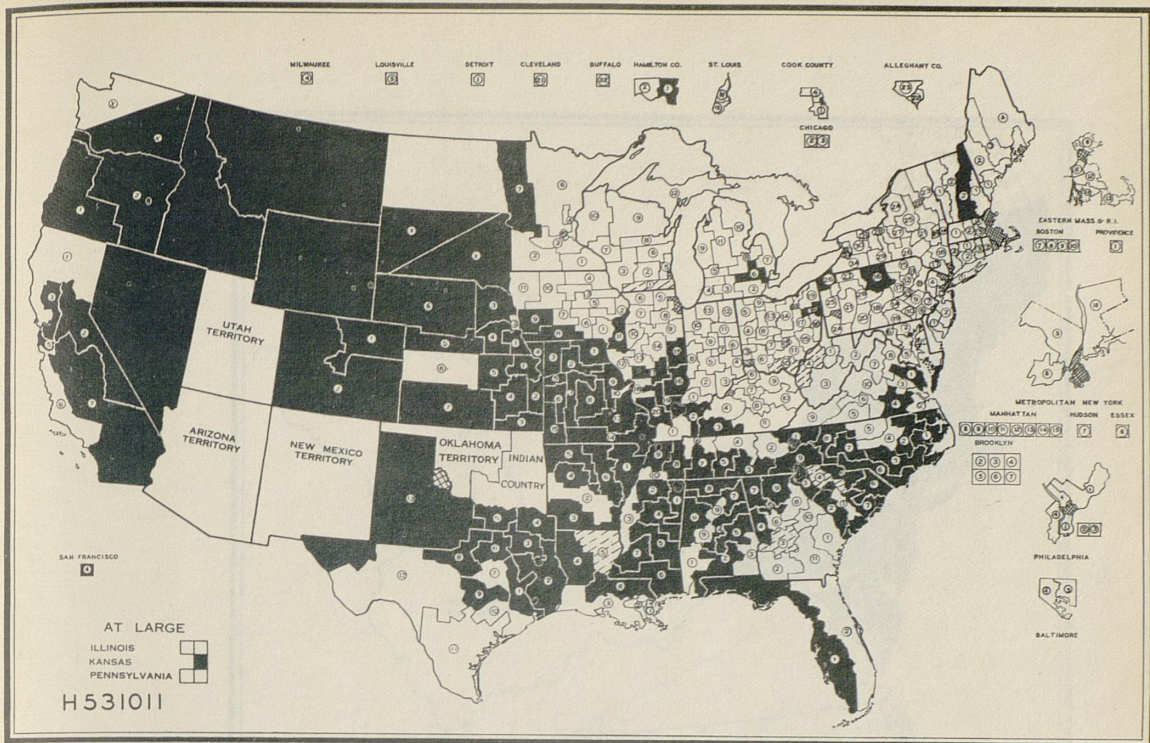
The sample maps on the following pages illustrate both the arrangement and the obvious uses of the Atlas.



SUMMARY: On passage, Oct. 30, 1893, of the bill, (HR 1), 28 Stat. L. 4, App. 11/1/937, as amended, which repeals so much of an Act, 26 Stat. L. 289, App. 7/14/907, entitled "an Act directing the purchase of silver bullion and the issuance of Treasury notes thereon", as directs the Secretary of the Treasury to purchase, from time to time, 4,500,000 ounces of silver bullion, or so much thereof as may be offered each month at a market price not exceeding one dollar for 371.25 grains of pure silver, and providing also, that the Government shall use both silver and gold as standard money, and shall coin both into money of equal intrinsic and exchangeable value, such equality to be secured through international agreement or by proper legislation, and that the efforts of the Government shall be directed to the establishment of such a safe system of bimetalism as will maintain the equal power of every dollar coined, which bill was introduced by Daniel W. Voorhees (D-Ind), from the Committee on Finance, bill passed. Yea 43 (D 20, R 22, UR 1); Nay 32 (D 19, R 10, Pop 2, I 1); N.V. 5 (D 1, R 4); P.F. 4 (D 2, R 2); P.A. 4 (D 2, R 2); Total 88. 25 Record 2958, 53-1 S Journal 89.

ROLL CALL

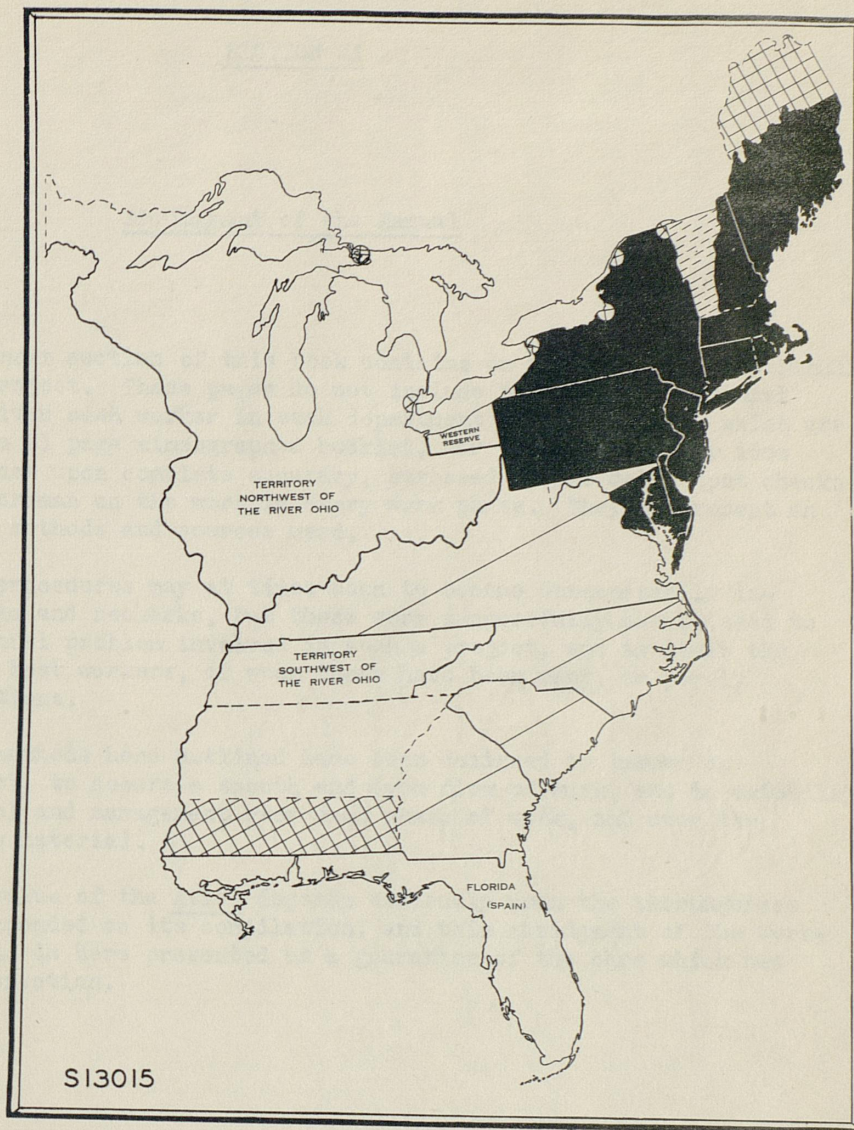
ALA. Morgan (D) NV Pugh (D) N	IOWA Wilson (R) NV Allison (R) PF	MONT. Power (R) N Vacancy	R.I. Dixon (R) Y Aldrich (R) Y
ARK. Berry (D) N Jones (D) N	KANS. Martin (D) N Peffer (POP) N	NEB. Manderson (R) Y Allen (POP) N	S.C. Butler (D) N Irby (D) N
CALIF. Perkins (R) N White (D) PA	KY. Lindsay (D) Y Blackburn (D) N	NEV. Jones (R) N Stewart (R) N	S.DAK. Pettigrew (R) N Kyle (I) N
COLO. Wolcott (R) N Teller (R) N	LA. Caffery (D) Y White (D) Y	N.H. Chandler (R) PF Gallinger (R) Y	TENN. Harris (D) N Bate (D) N
CONN. Platt (R) Y Hawley (R) Y	MAINE Frye (R) Y Hale (R) Y	N.J. McPherson (D) Y Smith (D) Y	TEX. Coke (D) N Mills (D) Y
DEL. Higgins (R) Y Gray (D) Y	MD. Gibson (D) Y Gorman (D) Y	N.Y. Hill (D) Y Murphy (D) Y	VT. Morrill (UR) Y Proctor (R) Y
FLA. Call (D) N Pasco (D) N	MASS. Hoar (R) Y Lodge (R) Y	N.C. Ransom (D) Y Vance (D) N	VA. Hunton (D) Y Daniel (D) N
GA. Colquitt (D) PA Gordan (D) PF	MICH. McMillan (R) Y Stockbridge (R) Y	N.DAK. Hansbrough (R) PA Roach (D) N	WASH. Squire (R) Y Vacancy
IDAHO Shoup (R) N Dubois (R) N	MINN. Washburn (R) Y Davis (R) Y	OHIO Brice (D) Y Sherman (R) Y	W.VA. Camden (D) Y Faulkner (D) Y
ILL. Cullom (R) Y Palmer (D) PF	MISS. Walthall (D) N George (D) N	OREG. Dolph (R) Y Mitchell (R) PA	WIS. Vilas (D) Y Mitchell (D) Y
IND. Voorhees (D) Y Turpie (D) Y	MO. Vest (D) N Cockrell (D) N	PA. Cameron (R) N Quay (R) Y	WYO. Carey (R) Y Vacancy



SUMMARY: On passage, Aug. 28, 1893, of the bill, (HR 1), [26 Stat.L.4, App. 11/1/93], introduced by William L. Wilson, (D-W Va 2), repealing that part of an Act [26 Stat.L.289, App. 7/14/90] directing the purchase of silver bullion and the issue of Treasury notes thereon, and for other purposes, which directs the Secretary of the Treasury to purchase, from time to time, silver bullion to the aggregate amount of 4,500,000 ounces, or so much thereof as may be offered in each month, at the marked price, not exceeding \$1.00 for 37.5 grains of pure silver, and to issue in payment for such purchases Treasury notes of the United States, with the provision, however, that this repeal shall not imperil, or in any manner affect the legal tender of the standard silver dollars heretofore coined, and that the faith and credit of the United States are hereby pledged to maintain the parity of the standard gold and silver coins of the United States at the present legal ratio, or such other ratio as may be established by law, bill passed. Yes 239 (D 175, R 100, Peop 1, D&A 1, Peop & D 1, D3 1); Nay 109 (D 75, R 25, P 4, Peop 2, P&SD 1, I 1, D & Peop Proh 1); N.Y. 6 (D 5, R 1); Yea. 2 (D 1, R 1) Total 356. 25 Record 1008, 57-1 H Journal 22.

ROLL CALL

ALA	Clarke (D) Y	18	Forman (D) Y	3	Rusk (D) Y	2	Mercer (R) Y	OHIO	Storer (R) Y	6	McLaurin (D) N
2	Stallings (D) N	19	Williams (D) N	4	Rayner (D) Y	3	Meiklejohn (R) N	2	Caldwell (R) Y	7	Murray (R) N
3	Oates (D) Y	20	Smith (R) N	5	Compton (D) Y	4	Heiner (R) N	3	Houk (D) Y	8	Lg. Pickler (R) N
4	Robbins (D) N	Lg.	Black (D) Y	6	McKisig (D) Y	5	McKeighan (I) N	4	Leyton (D) Y	9	Lucas (R) N
5	Cobb (D) N	Lg.	Hunter (D) Y	MASS	Wright (R) Y	6	Kem (Pop) N	5	Donovan (D) Y	10	Taylor (R) N
6	Bankhead (D) N	2	Taylor (D) Y	2	Gillett (R) Y	NEW	Lg. Newlands (D) N	6	Hulick (R) Y	11	Houk (R) Y
7	Denson (D) N	3	Bretz (D) Y	3	Walker (R) Y	NH	Blair (R) Y	7	Wilson (R) Y	12	Snodgrass (D) N
8	Wheeler (D) N	4	Brown (D) Y	4	Apsey (R) Y	2	Baker (R) N	8	Strong (R) Y	13	McMillin (D) Y
9	Turpin (D) Y	5	Holman (D) Y	5	Stevens (D) Y	NJ	Loudenlager (R) Y	9	Ritchie (D) Y	14	Richards (D) N
10	McCulloch (D) N	6	Cooper (D) Y	6	Cogswell (R) Y	2	Gardner (R) Y	10	Vacancy	15	Washington (D) Y
11	Breckenridge (D) Y	7	Johnson (R) Y	7	Everett (D) Y	3	Geissenheimer (D) Y	11	Grosvenor (R) Y	16	Cox (D) N
12	McRae (D) N	8	Bynum (D) Y	8	McCall (R) Y	4	Cornish (D) Y	12	Cutwite (D) Y	17	Enice (D) N
13	Terry (D) N	9	Brookshire (D) Y	9	O'Neill (D) Y	5	Cedmus (D) Y	13	Here (D) Y	18	McDeernon (D) N
14	Dismore (D) N	10	Waugh (R) Y	10	McEttrick (D) Y	6	Enclah (D) Y	14	Harter (D) Y	19	Patterson (D) Y
15	Neill (D) N	11	Hammond (D) Y	11	Draper (R) Y	7	Fielder (D) Y	15	VanVoorhis (R) Y	20	Hutcheson (D) N
16	Geary (D&A) Y	12	Martin (D) Y	12	Morse (R) Y	8	Dunn (D) Y	16	Peerson (D) Y	21	Cooper (D) N
17	Caminetti (D) N	13	McNagay (D) Y	13	Randall (R) Y	N	Convent (D) Y	17	Richards (D) Y	22	Aligore (D) N
18	Hilborn (R) N	14	Conn (D) Y	MICH	Vacancy	2	Clancy (D) Y	18	Ikirt (D) N	23	Culberson (D) N
19	Maguire (D) N	15	Greer (R) Y	2	Gorman (D) Y	3	Hendrix (D) Y	19	Northway (R) Y	24	Bailey (D) N
20	Loud (R) N	16	Henderson (R) Y	3	Hayes (D) Y	4	Coombs (D) Y	20	White (R) Y	25	Abbott (D) N
21	Cannon (Peo&D) Y	17	Updegraff (R) Y	4	Thomas (R) Y	5	Orham (D) NV	21	Johnson (D) Y	26	Penitton (D) Y
22	Bowers (R) N	18	Cousins (R) Y	5	Richardson (D) Y	6	Magner (D) Y	22	Hermann (R) N	27	Bell (D) N
23	Fence (Pop&SD) N	19	Lacey (R) Y	6	Aitken (R) N	7	Bartlett (D) Y	23	Ellis (R) N	28	Sayers (D) N
24	Bell (D) N	20	Hull (R) Y	7	Whiting (D) Y	8	Dunphy (D) Y	24	Bingham (R) Y	29	Graham (D) Y
25	Sperry (D) Y	21	Hepburn (R) N	8	Linton (R) Y	9	Sickles (D) Y	25	O'Neill (R) Y	30	Crain (D) Y
26	Pigott (D) Y	22	Hager (R) N	9	Moore (R) Y	10	Cookman (D) Y	26	McAleer (D) Y	31	Feschal (D) Y
27	Russell (R) Y	23	Dolliver (R) Y	10	Weadock (D) Y	11	Cummings (D) Y	27	Reyburn (R) Y	32	Cockrell (D) N
28	DeForest (D) Y	24	Perkins (R) Y	11	Avery (R) Y	12	Warner (D) Y	28	Harmer (R) Y	33	Powers (R) Y
29	Lg. Causey (D) Y	25	Broderick (R) N	12	Stephenson (R) Y	13	Fellows (D) Y	29	Robinson (R) Y	34	Grout (R) Y
30	Mallory (D) N	26	Hudson (Pop) N	13	Tennoy (R) Y	14	Fitch (D) Y	30	Wanger (R) Y	35	Jones (D) N
31	Copper (D) Y	27	Curtis (R) N	14	McCleary (R) Y	15	Ryan (D) Y	31	Mitchler (D) Y	36	Tyler (D) Y
32	Lester (D) Y	28	Davis (Peo) N	15	Hall (D) Y	16	Marvin (R) Y	32	Erdman (D) Y	37	Wise (D) Y
33	Russell (D) Y	29	Baker (Peo) Y	16	Kiefer (R) Y	17	LeFever (R) Y	33	Brocius (R) Y	38	Epes (D) N
34	Crisp (D) NV	30	Simpson (Pop) N	17	Fletcher (R) Y	18	Haines (D) Y	34	Scranton (R) Y	39	Swanson (D) Y
35	Moses (D) N	31	Harris (Pop) N	18	Baldwin (D) Y	19	Boen (Peo) N	35	Hines (D) Y	40	Edmunds (D) Y
36	Cabanies (D) Y	32	Stone (D) Y	19	Allen (D) N	20	Schermerhorn (D) Y	36	Reilly (D) Y	41	O'Ferrall (D) Y
37	Madrox (D) N	33	Ellis (D) N	20	Kyle (D) N	21	Ourtis (R) Y	37	Woomer (R) Y	42	Meredith (D) Y
38	Lawson (D) Y	34	Goodnight (D) N	21	Catchings (D) Y	22	Wright (R) Y	38	Hopkins (R) N	43	Marshall (D) Y
39	Tate (D) N	35	Montgomery (D) Y	22	Money (D) N	23	Wolverton (D) Y	39	Mahon (R) Y	44	Tucker (D) Y
40	Black (D) Y	36	Ceruth (D) Y	23	Williams (D) N	24	Beltschover (D) Y	40	Beltschover (D) Y	45	Lg. Wilson (R) N
41	Turner (D) Y	37	Brackinridge (D) Y	24	Stookdale (D) N	25	Hayden (R) Y	41	Beltschover (D) Y	46	Doollittle (R) Y
42	Lg. Sweet (R) N	38	Hooker (D) N	25	Hooker (D) N	26	Beltschover (D) Y	42	Beltschover (D) Y	47	Wilson (D) Y
43	Aldrich (R) Y	39	Hatch (D) N	26	Hatch (D) N	27	Beltschover (D) Y	43	Beltschover (D) Y	48	Allderson (D) Y
44	McGinn (D) Y	40	McCreary (D) Y	27	Hall (D) N	28	Gillet (R) Y	44	Beltschover (D) Y	49	Capheart (D) NV
45	Durborow (D) Y	41	Paynter (D) Y	28	Dockery (D) N	29	VanVoorhis (R) Y	45	Beltschover (D) Y	50	Cooper (R) NV
46	Goldtler (D) Y	42	Liale (D) Y	29	Burnes (D) N	30	Stipe (D) Y	46	Beltschover (D) Y	51	Barwig (D) Y
47	Hopkins (R) Y	43	Adams (R) Y	30	Tarney (D) N	31	Phillips (R) Y	47	Beltschover (D) Y	52	Babcock (R) Y
48	Hitt (R) Y	44	Meyer (D) Y	31	Deardmond (D) N	32	Sibley (D, Peo&Proh) N	48	Beltschover (D) Y	53	Somers (D) Y
49	Henderson (R) Y	45	Davey (D) Y	32	Heard (D) N	33	Hooker (R) Y	49	Beltschover (D) Y	54	Brickner (D) Y
50	Childs (R) Y	46	Ellis (D) N	33	Bland (D) N	34	Branch (D) N	50	Beltschover (D) Y	55	Wells (D) Y
51	Wheeler (R) Y	47	Blanchard (D) N	34	Clark (D) N	35	Woodard (D) N	51	Beltschover (D) Y	56	Shaw (R) Y
52	Marah (R) N	48	Boatner (D) NV	35	Bertholdt (R) Y	36	Lilly (R) Y	52	Beltschover (D) Y	57	Barnes (D) Y
53	McDonald (D) Y	49	Reed (R) Y	36	Joy (R) Y	37	Bunn (D) Y	53	Beltschover (D) Y	58	Lynch (D) Y
54	Springer (D) Y	50	Dingley (R) Y	37	Cobb (D) Y	38	Settle (R) Y	54	Beltschover (D) Y	59	Heugen (R) Y
55	Funk (R) Y	51	Milliken (R) Y	38	Fyan (D) N	39	Alexander (D) N	55	Beltschover (D) Y	60	Lg. Coffeen (D) N
56	Cannon (R) N	52	Boutelle (R) Y	39	Arnold (D) N	40	Henderson (D) N	56	Beltschover (D) Y		
57	Philhan (D) N	53	Bratton (D) Y	40	Morgan (D) N	41	Bower (D) N	57	Beltschover (D) Y		
58	Lene (D) N	54	Talbot (D) Y	41	Lg. Hartman (R) N	42	Crawford (D) N	58	Beltschover (D) Y		
				42	Bryan (D) N	43	Lg. Johnson (R) Y	59	Beltschover (D) Y		
				43		44		60	Beltschover (D) Y		



SUMMARY: On motion, Feb. 25, 1791, to amend the bill /I Stat.L.196, App. 3/2/917, supplementary to the Act /I Stat.L.191, App. 2/25/917, incorporating subscribers to the Bank of the United States, by providing that nothing in the bill shall restrain Congress from abolishing the corporation at any time after Mar. 4, 1802, amendment rejected. Yea 9 (Fed 3, D 2, Blk 4); Nay 17 (Fed 7, D 4, L&O 1, Blk 5); Vac. 2. Total 28. 2 Record 1769B, 1-3 S. Journal 288B.

ROLL CALL

CONN.	Ellsworth (Fed) N	MASS.	Dalton N	N.C.	Johnston (Fed) Y	S.C.	Butler (D) Y
	Johnson N		Strong (Fed) N		Hawkins (Fed) Y		Izard Y
DEL.	Read N	N.H.	Wingate (Fed) N	PA.	Macclay (D) N	VA.	Monroe Y
	Bassett N		Langdon (D) N		Morris N		Lee Y
GA.	Few (D) Y	N.J.	Elmer (Fed) N	R.I.	Foster (L&O) N	VT.	Vacancy
	Gunn Y		Dickinson N		Stanton (D) N		Vacancy
MD.	Carroll (Fed) Y	N.Y.	Schuyler (Fed) N				
	Henry (D) N		King (Fed) N				

SECTION II

Abridgment of the Manual

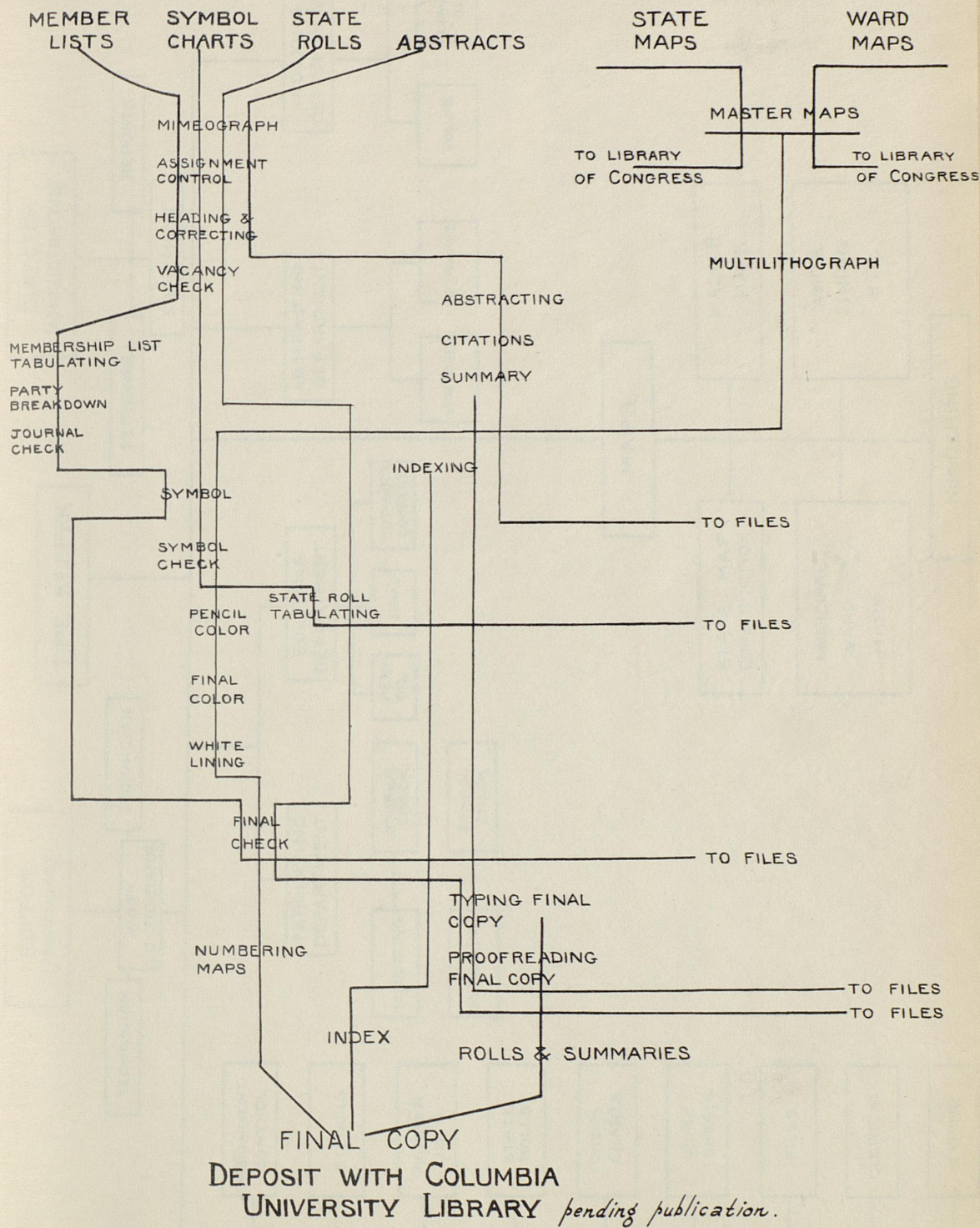
The next section of this book contains an abridgment of the Manual used on this project. These pages do not include the minute procedural instructions given each worker in each department of the project, which are contained in an 81 page mimeographed booklet, nor do they give any idea of the insistence upon complete accuracy, stressed by the daily spot checks taken by the foreman on the work in every work phase. They do present an outline of the methods and sources used.

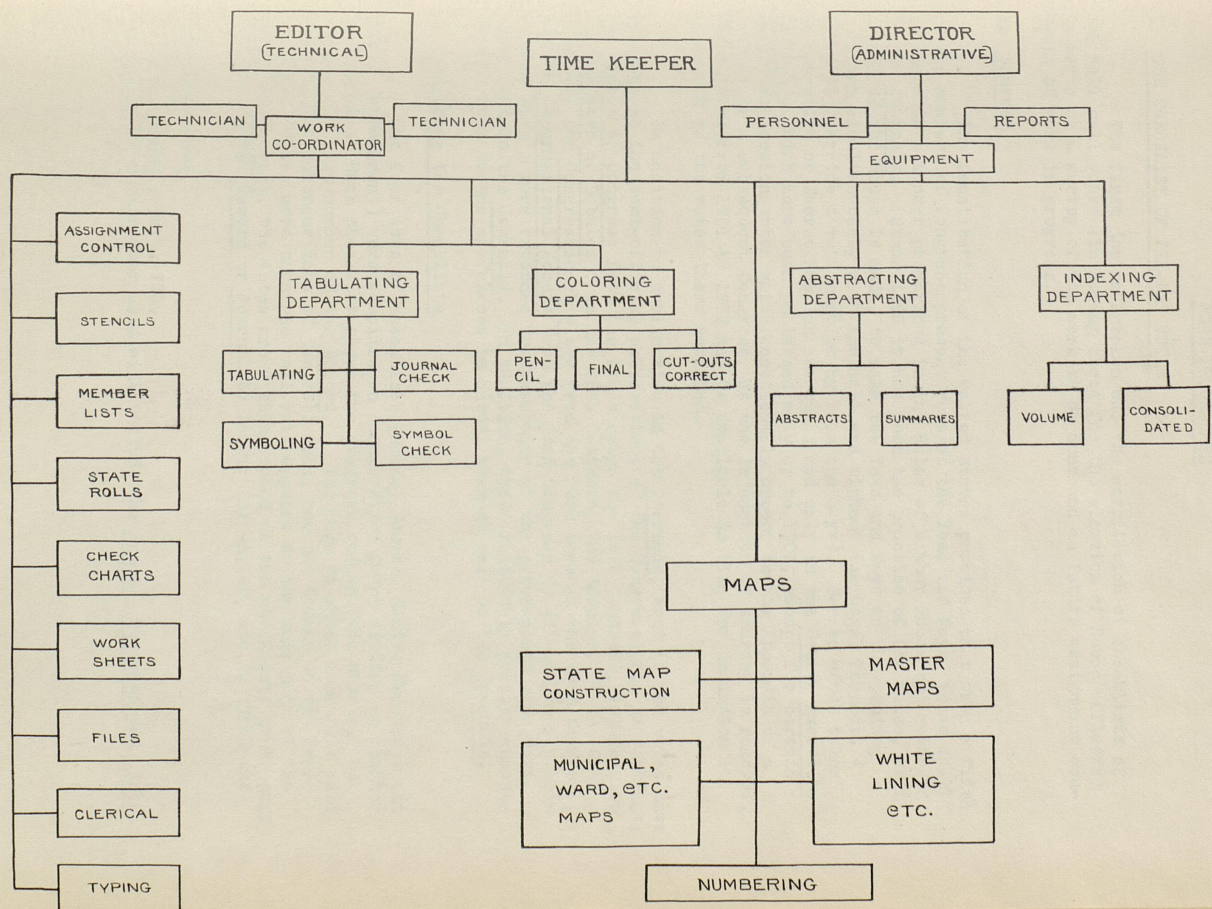
The procedures may at times seem to become unnecessarily involved in checks and rechecks, but these were purposefully established to meet the personnel problem involved in such a project, and to limit the efforts of the best workers, of whom there have been many, to purely editorial functions.

The methods here outlined have been designed to insure an accurate product, to secure a smooth and even flow of work, and to establish detailed control and management over each phase of work, and over the handling of the material.

The value of the Atlas depends obviously upon the thoroughness and accuracy expended on its compilation, and this abridgment of the working instructions is here presented as a guarantee of the care which has gone into its creation.

FLOW OF WORK





WORK PROCEDURES

I. THE CHECKLIST OF YEA-NAY VOTES

The first job undertaken was the compilation of checklists of all roll call votes (including those for the election of House officers) to serve as a survey of the work to be done and as future assignment controls of work in progress.

A. Sources

The Constitution of the United States provides that when a fifth of the members of Congress present request the Yeas and Nays, these shall be taken in a manner prescribed in the Rules of either House and recorded in the Journals. (Since 1896 it has been the practice of the House, when a Call of the House is made, to take the Yeas and Nays on the pending question simultaneously with the call and without the usual request.¹ Votes to override a veto must be by Yeas and Nays). Senate votes taken in Executive or Secret Session are published only in the Senate Executive Journals, which have been published only up to 1901, except for certain Executive Session votes which occasionally appear in the Appendix of a Journal of a subsequent Congress, as the injunction of secrecy is removed. The volumes from 1901 to 1932 may be available in time for inclusion in this work of the votes there recorded.

In addition to publication in the Journals, most of the votes have appeared in the semi-official publications of the Congressional proceedings; the Annals of Congress from the 1st through the 18th Congress, 1st session, the Register of Debates from the 18th Congress, 2nd session, to the 25th Congress, the Congressional Globe from the 23rd through the 42nd Congress, and the Congressional Record from the 43rd Congress to date. These publications give a more extended transcription of the proceedings preceding votes than do the Journals. In addition, their relatively greater accessibility adds to the usefulness in citing them as well as the Journals.

B. Compiling the Checklists

The four sets of checklists (House, Senate, Senate Executive and Senate Impeachment) were compiled on standardized forms divided by chamber and session. Each checklist shows the Congress and session number, the Volume, and part number of the Record,² the page on which each roll call started, the calendar date of the roll call, and the totals of the Yeas and Nays. Where more than one roll call appears on the same page of the Record or Journal, the votes are distinguished on the checklists as to page position in the Record or Journal by letter (as -A, -B, etc.). Thus the

1. House Manual, para. 773.

2. Record as hereinafter used will include the Annals, Register and Globe.

second roll call, page 534 of the Annals of the 10th Congress, would be entered in the citation column of the checklist as "534-B", the third roll call on the same page would be entered as "534-C", etc.

These checklists were compiled by a page-by-page search of the Record and were checked against the Yea-Nay index for each volume. Only the bound consolidated volumes of the Record were used for this purpose, there being very few bound sets of the daily Congressional Record in existence. These lists were then checked against the Journals. The Journal page numbers were entered in red above the corresponding Record page number. Wherever the vote totals in the Journals differed from those in the Record, the Journal totals were entered in red above the Record totals. The same marking applied to dates, the worker being admonished to distinguish carefully between legislative and calendar dates, the latter being uniformly used throughout the Atlas. This Journal check was likewise made page by page. A number of roll calls appear in the Journal but not in the Record. Such roll calls were added in red at the end of the list, and a marginal notation of their existence was made in the proper chronological place on the checklist. Any vote showing on the checklist but not found in the Journal, had a red line placed above the Record page to indicate its omission from the Journal. The page-by-page Journal check was supplemented by a check of the index for each Journal.

All entries where discrepancies appeared between Record and Journal dates or totals were next checked. The texts were compared to make sure the roll calls involved were identical, and the dates and totals were re-checked. Missing Record or Journal page citations were searched for, and every checklist entry on which there had been any question was certified as correct by the cross-checker's initials in the margin opposite the entry.

Volumes 1 and 2 of the Annals were published in two editions. Since both editions are in common circulation, it was essential to put both sets of cites on the checklists, later to be copied on the headings of abstract blanks to be incorporated in the final copy. (See Heading and Correcting below). Annals citations are entered first, the Debates citations directly under the Annals citation.

The House and Senate Journals for the first fifteen Congresses also were later reprinted. The original Journals are extremely scarce, and only the reprints are in general circulation. Therefore the Atlas gives only the reprint page citations. The introductions to the published volumes for these Congresses will inform the reader of this fact.

From the 1st session of the 23rd Congress to the 1st session of the 25th Congress, both the Register and the Globe were published. Both sets of citations appear on the checklists, and both must be copied on the abstract blanks for incorporation in the final typed copy (see Heading and Correcting below).

An additional check of the Yea-Nay checklists was made against a list of sessions, regular and special, showing the inclusive dates of those sessions to be sure that none were omitted. This precaution was particularly necessary in the earlier publications of Congressional

proceedings; guaranteed the inclusion of the votes of every session, and a listing of the votes under the proper Congress.

1. Executive Checklists. These are made up in similar fashion for roll calls taken by the Senate in Executive session for the ratification of treaties, the consideration of nominations submitted by the President, etc. Such votes usually appear only in the Senate Executive Journals, and the lists were compiled by Congress, session, Executive Journal page number, and yea-nay vote totals from that source.

However, at times in the Record and frequently in the Senate Journal appendix, executive votes are printed when the injunction of secrecy from those particular executive session actions is removed by vote of the Senate. This action occurs almost always some time after the original vote was taken. Two things were particularly watched in this connection:

a. The proceedings from which the injunction of secrecy is removed are usually printed under the date of the vote to remove said injunction, and not under the date of the original action. Great care was taken to be sure that the actual date of original action was obtained, and the roll call entered on the checklist under its correct date. This is sometimes hard to ascertain in the period since 1901, for which the Executive Journal has not yet been published. Frequently mention is made in the Record or the Senate Journal appendix of the Executive Document in which this roll call was originally printed. Reference may be had to that Executive Document, if it is available. More frequently no clue exists for accurately fixing the actual date of the roll call. In such cases, memoranda are submitted to the Editor, giving the yea-nay totals, the subject matter of the vote, and the citation, and the date of the lifting of the injunction of secrecy. The Editor in turn is able to get the correct information on any vote from which the injunction of secrecy has been lifted from the Executive Clerk of the Senate of the United States.

b. An executive vote may very easily have been incorporated in the Senate regular Checklist, as they are not always easy to distinguish at a glance. To determine when the Senate goes into executive session requires careful attention to the text of the proceedings, especially in the earlier Congresses. Therefore when the Executive Checklist was compiled for any one Congress, it was checked against the Senate checklist for the same Congress, and any votes which seemed to overlap as to date and vote-total were re-checked, Executive Journal against Senate Journal, to see whether or not they are actually the same vote. If they proved to be identical, the vote was removed from the Senate Checklist, and entered only on the Executive checklist. The Senate Journal citation, and Record citation if any, naturally were transferred to the Executive checklist. On the Executive checklist, entries from the Executive Journal were made in black pencil as the main source, and from the Senate Journal in red pencil with a marginal note that it is from the Senate Journal Appendix.

2. Impeachment Checklists. The Senate occasionally meets as a court for the trial or impeachment of officials of the federal government charged with high crime or misdemeanors. There are few such votes, but because of the special nature of the Senate sessions which they involve and because the reader would be most inconvenienced by their segregation, they are set apart in a separate category. Checklists of these votes were made up in the way the other checklists were compiled. The first entries were made from the Record by a page-by-page search in the course of compiling the Senate Checklists. They were checked against the index. They were checked against the Journal. Discrepancies were checked. Entries from the Record were made in black pencil, from both Senate and Executive Journal, in red pencil, the former (Senate Journal) being distinguished by a marginal entry identifying the source of that citation or vote total.

C. Vote Numbers

On the now completed checklists of yea-nay votes, each roll call cited on those lists was numbered in the right hand column in chronological order. Each vote number contains six digits, the first two indicating the number of the Congress, the third digit the session, and the last three digits the number of the roll call within the session. Those special sessions which have not been given a regular number when held (lately Special Sessions have received numbers, but in earlier Congresses this was not so), are indicated by zero on the third digit. There are four sets of vote numbers, each beginning the roll call digits of the number at 1; one for the House votes, one for the Senate votes, one for the Executive votes, and one for the Impeachment votes. They are distinguished respectively by the initial H, S, E or I immediately preceding the number. Thus the earliest vote of the 65th Congress, 1st session, is numbered H651001; the earliest Senate vote of that Congress being in the special session, is numbered S650001.

On Congresses having more than one Special session, the vote numbers for the second special session must begin where the vote numbers of the first special session ended in order to avoid duplication of numbers.

In some few cases votes will be discovered which, despite all precautions, were omitted from the original Checklists. Tabulators, journal checkers, abstractors, even indexers, may perchance come across a vote which has otherwise escaped notice. Several such cases have occurred since the inception of the project. Such votes were reported to the Assignment Control Division, which entered the vote on the proper checklist, giving it a vote-number arrived at as follows: If the vote chronologically belongs between vote S661032 and S661033, it is numbered S661032-B, and the vote formerly numbered S661032 becomes S661032-A.

The Yea-Nay checklists were filed with the Assignment Control Division in separate House and Senate series.

II. CONTROL SHEETS

Control Sheets of all votes by identifying number were drawn up for each session of each house, Congress by Congress, with columns for assigning and checking as completed each vote for the following processes:

Membership List, Heading and Correcting, Vacancy Check, Tabulation, Journal check, Symbol, Symbol Check, Pencil Color, Final Color, Color Correction, White-lining, Numbering, Final Copy Check, (Map) Cut-Outs, State Roll Call, Bill Analysis, Analysis Check, Analysis Journal Check, Summary, Typing, Proofreading, Index.

These control sheets were the chief control instrument of the project in the Assignment Control Division; with the checklists, they constituted the nerve center of the project. As each roll call was let out on assignment for each of these work stages, the initials of the worker to whom the assignment was made were placed in the appropriate column by the Assignment Control Division, and that worker was held responsible until the work was returned completed and so checked by the Assignment Control Division on the numerical checklist.

III. MEMBERSHIP LISTS

Alphabetical lists of all Senators and Representatives for each Congress were drawn up, showing initials, State, district number (for Representatives), expiration date of term (for Senators), political party, and notes indicating dates of death, resignation, contests causing seating or ousting, name of successor or predecessor, and the date from which we assign a member's responsibility for his seat. There is generally an interim between death, resignation, or unseating of the member and the choosing (not the seating) of his successor. But since we must have a definite means of accounting for the "Not Voting" during the vacancy, the date on which a successor assumes responsibility is, for our purpose, the same as that on which his predecessor leaves office. [The seat, however, is shown as "Vacant" on the final copy, see "Tabulating of State Rolls" below.]

The chief sources from which these lists were drawn up are: The Official Directory of the Congresses, the Biographical Directory of the American Congress, White's Conspectus of American Biography, and the Indexes to the Congressional Record.

The earliest known Directory was published in 1809 for the 1st session of the 11th Congress. The next two Directories were for the 2nd sessions of the 14th and 15th Congresses respectively. Beginning with the 1st session of the 16th Congress, at least one Directory has been published for each session---sometimes in several editions. Until 1848 (30th Congress, 1st session), the Directories were privately published and compiled, and give relatively little reliable information.

Paullin states ¹ that in identifying Representatives with their districts he relied chiefly on the Congressional Directories beginning with the 14th Congress, 2nd session, 1816-1817, but our own Directory survey found district numbers only beginning with the 24th Congress, 1833, though the 23rd Congress Directory indicates several districts by number for Pennsylvania, Kentucky

1. Atlas of the Historical Geography of the United States, p. 107.

and Indiana. The description of districts in terms of counties begins with the 22nd Congress Directory. No published compilation assigning Representatives to their proper Districts earlier than 1831 exists.

With the 49th Congress Directory, the party of a Representative or Senator is indicated by letter or type-symbol in the alphabetical or state-district lists of members.

The usual practice of including a prefatory note showing cumulative changes of membership within the Congress was inaugurated with the 54th Congress, 2nd session, 2nd edition, though the 2nd edition of the 2nd session 51st Congress Directory contained such a note because of the unusually large number of contested seats in that Congress.

A. Steps in Drawing up the Membership Lists

1. Lists

A basic list of Senators or Representatives was first drawn up from the lists in the Biographical Directory of the American Congress, which were checked against the final editions of the later Congressional Directories of each session.

Actual tabulation of votes from Record and Journal, however, has revealed a number of errors in the Biographical Directory of the American Congress. These errors were corrected as soon as uncovered by the tabulators or journal checkers, and will be incorporated in the Rosters of Congress soon to be published by the New Jersey Historical Records Survey.

2. Party

For Congresses following the 48th, party is indicated by reference to the party symbols listed in the Directories; for the earlier Congresses, by reference to the biographical sections of these Directories (beginning with the 40th Congress, 2nd session) and the Biographical Directory. Our lists represent party by initials only:

A	American
A & R	American & Republican
A-B D	Anti-Broderick Democrat
Ad A-D	Adams Anti-Democrat
Ad D	Adams Democrat
Ad R	Adams Republican
Ad Sup	Adams Supporter
A-D & S R	Anti-Democrat and State Rights
A-F	Anti-Federalist
A-J D	Anti-Jackson Democrat
Al D	Alliance Democrat
A-L D	Anti Decompton Democrat
A-Ma	Anti-Masonic
A-Ma W	Anti-Masonic Whig
A-Mon	Anti-Monopolist
A-Mon D	Anti-Monopoly Democrat

A-N D	Anti-Nebraska Democrat
A-S	Anti-Slavery
A-S W	Anti-Slavery Whig
A-T D	Anti-Tammany Democrat
C	Conservative
Cal D	Calhoun Democrat
C D	Conservative Democrat
Cla D	Clay Democrat
Cli D	Clinton Democrat
C N	Calhoun Nullifier
C U	Constitutional Union
D	Democrat
D & A	Democrat and American
D & A-M	Democrat and Anti-Mason
D & G	Democrat and Greenback
D & G L	Democrat and Greenback Labor
D & L	Democrat and Liberal
D & Pop	Democrat and Populist
D & Proh	Democrat and Prohibition
D D	Douglas Democrat
D Peo and Proh	Democrats, People's and Prohibitionists
D-R	Democrat-Republican
F A	Farmers' Alliance
F A & Proh	Farmers' Alliance and Prohibitionists
Fed	Federalist
F D	Fusion Democrat
F R	Feliciano Republican
F S R	Free Silver Republican
F S	Free Soil
F S A & D	Free Soil American and Democrat
F S D	Free Soil Democrat
F S T & K N	Free Soil Temperance and Know Nothing
F S W	Free Soil Whig
Fus	Fusionist
G	Greenback
G D	Greenback Democrat
G & D	Greenback and Democrat
G L R	Greenback Labor Reformer
H C W	Henry Clay Whig
H T W	High Tariff Whigs
H W	Harrison Whig
I	Independent
I & D	Independent and Democrat
I D	Independent Democrat
I R	Independent Republican
I Rad	Independent Radical
I R & D	Independent Republican and Democrat
I S R	Independent Silver Republican
Jax-D	Jackson Democrat
Jax F S	Jackson Free Statesman
J-D	Jefferson-Democrat
J Q A D	John Quincy Adams Democrat
L	Liberal
L D	Liberal Democrat
L & O	Law and Order
L & O W	Law and Order Whig
L R	Liberal Republican
L R & D	Liberal Republican and Democrat
L W	Liberation Whig

M C D	Missouri Compromise Democrat
N	Nullifier
N A	National American
N A D	Native American Democrat
N & D	National & Democrat
N A-M	National Anti-Monopolist
N D	Nullifier Democrat
N G	National Greenbacker
N G & D	National Greenbacker and Democrat
N P L	Nonpartisan League
N R	National Republican
O L W	Old Line Whig
Peo	People's
Peo & D	People's and Democrat
P S D	Popular Sovereignty Democrat
Pop	Populist
Pop & D	Populist and Democrat
Pop D & Peo	Populist, Democrat and People's
Pop & S D	Populist and Silver Democrat
P R	Progressive Republican
Prog	Progressive
Proh D-R & Prog	Prohibition, Democrat-Republican and Progressive
Proh & D	Prohibition and Democrat
P T D	Protection Tariff Democrat
Prot	Protectionist
R	Republican
Rad	Radical
Rad R	Radical Republican
R & N P	Republican and Nonpartisan
R & U L	Republican and Union Labor
RE-ADJ	Readjuster
R G	Republican Greenbacker
Soc	Socialist
S R	Silver Republican
S R D	State Rights Democrat
S R F T	State Rights Free Trader
S R W	State Rights Whig
S R W D	State Rights War Democrat
Ta D	Tammany Democrat
T R D	Tariff-for Revenue Democrat
Ty D	Tyler Democrat
U	Unionist
U A	Ultra Abolitionist
U C	Union Conservative
U D	United Democrat
U L	Union Laborite
U L & D	Union Labor and Democrat
U R	United Republican
U U	Unconditional Union
U W	Union Whig
U W C	Union War Candidate
V B D	Van Buren Democrat
W	Whig
W & A	Whig and American
W & A-M	Whig and Anti-Mason

W & D	Whig and Democrat
W & F S	Whig and Free Soiler
W D	War Democrat

If a man has been the candidate of several parties at different times, only the party under which he ran at the last preceding election is given.

The generous cooperation of the contributors to the Dictionary of American Biography has been solicited in an attempt, not yet wholly successful, to fill every gap in the party columns for all our early statesmen.

3. Expiration Dates of Senators

Expiration dates of Senators were found in convenient tables in the later Directories, otherwise in the same sources as provide the party information.

4. District Numbers

General Ticket or at Large designations are found in the Directories beginning with the 24th Congress and by order of listing in the Biographical Directory beginning with the 40th Congress.

A major difficulty has been to get correct district numbers for early Congressmen. Many of the States in the earlier years elected their Representatives by a General ticket on a state-wide basis. In such cases, there is obviously no problem of securing a district designation.

In the case of the many members of Congress about whom information on district and party was not immediately available, we have had to make an exhaustive search of all available published material, and in many cases, to rely again on the generous cooperation of their biographers, especially those who wrote for the Dictionary of American Biography. On the basis of accurate information, as to their exact place of residence at the time of their election, we have assigned them to the districts in which they resided. This, however, is not an infallible rule. Paullin states that some South Carolina Representatives did not reside in the districts they represented. The Pennsylvania districting law of 1791 provides that "representatives may be taken from the state at large." However, except where this procedure for allocating Representatives results in duplicate assignments for the same districts, it will be relied upon. Where duplicate assignments result, further research will be necessary. Although some of the early districting laws did not number the Districts, we have arbitrarily assigned numbers to them according to the order in which they appear in the districting in the laws. These arbitrary numbers will be designated by asterisks in the Roll Calls.

5. Part-Congress Terms of Service

The alphabetical lists of Senators and Representatives at the front of the Congressional Record Indexes show changes in membership by

footnotes beginning with the 43rd Congress. The Biographical Directory of the American Congress shows all such changes for each Congress through 1927. From these sources notes of membership changes for all members who did not serve throughout the Congress were made to cover all cases of death, resignation, contest, unseating, filling of vacancy, etc., both for the original incumbent and his successor. Any man who is allowed to vote one or more times in any Congress finds his place on these lists with these notes.

In rare instances a seat will be found vacant through a Congress. In these cases the word Vacant will stand for non-existent member's name.

6. State abbreviations are standardized as follows:

Ala.	Ga.	Maine	Nebr.	Ohio	Tex.
Ariz.	Idaho	Md.	Nev.	Okla.	Utah
Ark.	Ill.	Mass.	N. H.	Oreg.	Vt.
Calif.	Ind.	Mich.	N. J.	Pa.	Va.
Colo.	Iowa	Minn.	N. Mex.	R. I.	Wash.
Conn.	Kans.	Miss.	N. Y.	S. C.	W. Va.
Del.	Ky.	Mo.	N. C.	S. Dak.	Wis.
Fla.	La.	Mont.	N. Dak.	Tenn.	Wyo.

(These abbreviations are taken from the Style Manual of the Government Printing Office.)

7. In certain States, Representatives were elected, prior to 1842, by General Ticket, i.e. elected from the entire State rather than from an individual district. At later times, after a new Reapportionment Act has given additional representation to a State, the State may (1) elect all its Representatives at Large in the next election, or (2) continue to use its old districts and elect the additional Representatives at Large, or (3) redistrict the State.

In the case of the use of the General Ticket, the election of all Representatives at Large, or the election of more than one additional Representative at Large, the Representatives of these groups are arbitrarily numbered in the District column, according to their alphabetical order. That is, if Allen, Benson and Cummings are elected either on a General Ticket or at Large from Georgia, they would be listed in the District Column as GT-1, GT-2, GT-3 respectively, or, if at Large, At Lg-1, At Lg-2, At Lg-3. This device is necessary to make sure that Allen's vote is always represented in the same box or the same diagonal strip on the maps. (For explanation of these items see "Master Mapping - House Map" below.)

In the plural districts used in some States in the earliest Congresses, the membership lists must similarly label each Representative from the plural district in their alphabetical order upon the list, as "Mass. 5-a, 5-b, 5-c," again in order that the symbolers may know in what segment of the Massachusetts 5th district to record the votes on the three Representatives concerned.

8. Recheck

The completed membership lists are rechecked and edited as copy for the mimeographer. Occasionally discrepancies in the information from the various sources listed were found. In all such cases a thorough recheck of all sources was made, the Biographical Directory being accepted as the final authority in matters concerning changes of membership, unless actual tabulation uncovered cases of men who voted three months before they were, according to the Directory, seated, or men who voted five weeks after they supposedly died, etc. Such discrepancies, when discovered, are promptly reported in a memorandum to the Editor, who thereupon instructed the Clerical Department to make the necessary changes in Vacancy dates (see below) and documented the change of data for the Rosters of Congress.

9. "Top and Bottom"

The Senate lists contained one further feature. In the column headed "YRS" (years), a T (Top) or B (Bottom) was placed to indicate to the mapper whether to symbolize that vote in the upper or lower half of a State. The T indicates Senators whose terms expire first, the B, Senators whose terms expire second, so that the vote of the Senator next facing election will always appear in the top section of a State map. In the column headed "ExDte" (expiration date) only three dates should be found. T's were placed next to the earliest, B's next to the latest. For the middle group of dates, a check of each Senator against his colleague from the same State determined which one's term expired first, i.e. which one got the T, and which the B. The term-date rather than seniority of service was chosen as the determinant for placing the votes, because by this system a given Senator's votes will always appear in the same space throughout a Congress, and because the correlation between vote and nearness to election seems more significant than the correlation between vote and seniority.

10. Seceded States

The makers of the Membership Lists also furnished information to the draftsman of the master maps (see below) as to what Confederate States sent members to Congress from what areas and for what dates during the period of the Civil War and the days of Reconstruction prior to that State's readmission to the Union.

B. Mimeographing Membership Lists

The lists described above were stencilled, the stencils were proof-read, and then were mimeographed. Each mimeographed list is headed by the Number of the Congress and the name of the Chamber. Spaces are provided for Record and Journal citations, date of the vote, and vote totals. Vertical columns divide the mimeographed forms for tabulating the Yeas, Nays, Presents, Pairs, and Not Votings.

C. Assembling Membership Lists

The mimeographed lists were collected and stapled.

D. Correcting Membership Lists

One list for each Congress was then proofread against the original copy to catch any possible typographical errors not caught in proofreading the stencil. If any errors were found, all copies for a Congress were corrected before they were given to the tabulators.

E. Heading Membership Lists

Full citations to the Record and Journal page numbers, the vote totals and the vote numbers were then transcribed from the Checklists for each vote to the head of the mimeographed membership list for the tabulation of that vote.

Both Record and Journal page citations must appear for every vote. If a vote appears according to the Checklist, only in the Record, the tabulation blank was headed: "Not in Journal" where the Journal cite would otherwise appear. If a vote appears in the Journal, but not in the Record, the tabulation blank was headed "Not in Record" where the Record cite would otherwise appear.

If an Executive vote appears also in the regular Senate Journal, and/or in the Record, citations to those additional sources were transcribed from the Checklist.

The worker doing the heading conformed to the uniform color scheme: Black entries on the Checklists always refer to Record; red entries to Journal; green entries to the Register of Debates, and for Executive votes only, black to Executive Journal.

F. Vacancy Check

When the membership list contained more than one name for a Congressional District, or more than two Senators for a State, a blue line was drawn, prior to tabulation, across the page through the names and accompanying data of those not serving as of the date of the vote; which member was serving as of the date of the vote was clear from the notes beneath his name. Also, members from new States admitted after the Congress convenes were struck out for roll calls dated before the admission date of the State, or the readmission date of the Confederate States.

For the Southern States during the period of Secession, Congressmen are shown as withdrawn from the date of the formal secession of the State (entered under the name of each Senator or Representative of that State), until its formal readmission to the Union (shown in the same manner), except for those States from which Representatives and/or Senators continued to serve in Congress after Secession, being elected and sent to Washington by Unionist groups within those States.

G. Symbol-check Charts

These list the members of either House, State by State, rather than alphabetically as the Membership Lists do. The Senate Symbol Check Charts list the States alphabetically, and under each State give the names of the Senators by T (Top) and B (Bottom), showing also all Vacancies, etc., with

the inclusive dates of such vacancies. The House Symbol Check Charts list all States alphabetically, and under each State give the names of the Representatives in that Congress, district by district, with vacancies with their inclusive dates also shown. At Large Representatives are listed with the same designations (At Lg-1, At Lg-2, etc.); General Ticket Representatives are listed with the same designations (GT-1, GT-3, etc.), and Representatives from plural districts are given the same designations (Mass. 5-a, 5-b, 5-c, etc.) as they are given on the Membership Lists (see above). These check charts must be carefully prepared from the data on the Membership Lists.

These charts were headed and vacancy checked in the manner outlined above for the Membership Lists.

H. State Roll Calls

These forms are designed to transpose the roll call as it originally appears in the Record, Journal, etc., in alphabetical order by Yea or Nay, into a breakdown by State and T (Top) and B (Bottom) for the Senate, and by State and District for the House of Representatives. They are prepared in a form very similar to that of the tabulation sheets, i.e. with columns for name and votes, for Yea, Nay, Present, Paired and Not Voting votes.

It will be most useful to the reader to have the roll call organized to tally with, or correlated with, the map, rather than having it in the alphabetical form found in the present printed sources. These forms were prepared to accomplish this necessary additional step.

All these forms were headed in exactly the same way as the tabulation sheets, i.e. with Record citations, Journal citations, date of vote, vote totals and vote number, taken from the Checklist for that particular Congress. State roll calls were also vacancy checked in precisely the same way as the tabulation sheets; see F above.

J. Bill Analysis Forms

These are uniform for all Congresses. They provide space for full citations, date of vote, and vote totals for identification purposes, and in addition provide space for the maker of the motion, the Statute citation, the bill or resolution number, the vote number, the effect of the motion, and the result of the vote taken. The headings were entered for every vote by transcription of citations, vote number, date of vote, and vote totals, from the Checklists.

IV. TABULATION OF VOTES

Tabulating of the votes on the Membership Lists was done from the roll call in the Record, by making the appropriate entries on the membership list. This work was performed by a team of two workers to keep errors in tabulation down to an absolute minimum. The tabulations were not proof-read against the Record, but were subsequently (see below) checked against the tabulation in the Journal.

The votes were identified from the headings (see above), and the tabulation was entered on the Membership List in black pencil.

In the case of Senate votes, the Record text immediately preceding, and in the case of House votes, the Record text immediately following the roll call generally indicates members paired for or against the measure voted on, or general pairs, or statements by colleagues of how absent members would have voted had they been present. Pairs are not indicated in the Senate Journal, though occasionally they are given in the Executive Journal. General pairs were ignored but whenever the text clearly indicates how an absent member, or one listed as Present, would have voted had he been present or felt at liberty to vote, his vote was tabulated accordingly.

In cases where one member of House or Senate takes it upon himself to indicate how an absent member would vote on a given question if present, if the member present uses such phrases as: "I am assured," "I understand," "I am informed," "I am told," "I am advised," "from my knowledge," the absent member was credited with a plus or minus, depending upon the other member's indication of his sentiment. These phrases indicate that the member present has actual information as to how his colleague would have voted.

The following phrases cannot be considered as giving a definite indication of the actual knowledge of the absent member's position, and therefore the absent member was recorded merely as "not voting": "I presume," "probably," "I believe," "I suppose," "I think."

If a member tries, after a roll call has been taken to record his vote, but is not allowed to by the presiding officer, he was given a plus sign if he says he would like to vote for the measure, and a minus sign if he would have opposed it.

A member having voted Yea or Nay, may discover his partner in a general pair to be absent, and so withdraw his vote and ask to be recorded as Present. In such a case, he was given a plus or minus sign according to the vote he withdrew.

Sometimes there appear in the text of other debates statements of position on measures other than that being voted on, generally measures closely preceding or following the immediate measures. These were properly recorded as plus or minus on the proper vote. No guesswork was admissible. The statement of position had to be clear and unequivocal if it was to be used.

The Record occasionally shows a man on one roll-call voting both Yea and Nay, or voting Yea or Nay, and also Not Voting. Or he may have withdrawn his vote because he found himself paired and his pair absent, yet still be listed as Yea or Nay. In such cases, the inconsistency was duly entered on the tabulation. The check of the tabulation against the Journal usually revealed which was right. In any case the information was wanted for footnoting in the final typed copy (see below).

If vote totals in the Record differed from those in the heading of the tabulation or membership list, the correct figure was inserted in blue

pencil. If, after tabulating the vote, a further discrepancy appeared, the new figure was inserted in blue pencil and bracketed. This same procedure on vote totals was followed when roll calls were found only in the Journal, except that corrections from the Journal were made in red.

When roll calls were found in Journal only, tabulations were done in red pencil.

In each Congress votes are taken for the election of various officers of each House, as President pro-tem., Speaker, Clerk, Chaplain, Sergeant-at-Arms, Doorkeeper, etc. These votes were tabulated by using the regular blanks, but the columns were numbered to represent the names of the various candidates. These numbers and the key to the names which they represent were inscribed at the head of the tabulation sheet in every case.

Executive votes followed regular procedure in tabulating. If tabulated from the Executive Journal, red pencil was used. If the votes appeared also in the Senate Journal, any discrepancies between the two versions were noted in the margin.

From the 1st session of the 23rd Congress to the 1st session of the 25th Congress, both the Register of Debates and the Congressional Globe were published. The Globe was used for the original tabulations, which then were checked against the Register, before proceeding with the Journal check. Where discrepancies were found between the Globe and the Register entries, the Register entries were entered on the tabulation sheet in green pencil, to differentiate them from the Register tabulations and the Journal corrections.

In tabulating the votes of the Southern States during the period of secession, the votes of those members of the Southern States who withdrew from Congress before their States formally left the Union, were checked as vacant, not seceded, until the actual date of State action in seceding. In some States, Unionist groups continued to send members to Congress even though their State legislature had formally withdrawn that State from the Union. Such groups as the Unionists of Eastern Tennessee, the Restored Government of Virginia, etc., followed this practice. The names of the representatives of such groups, provided they actually voted in Congress in a Yea-Nay roll call, appear on the tabulation sheets, and votes were recorded for them in the usual fashion.

In the case of a tie vote in the Senate, a very rare occurrence, the Vice-President is entitled to cast a vote to break the tie. The tabulating of such a vote was clearly marked at the bottom of the first sheet: "Vice-President votes Yea or Nay" as the case may be.

Actual tabulation of votes occasionally revealed discrepancies in the Membership Lists, viz., a man continued to appear for roll calls four months after he, according to our information, resigned; or a man started voting six weeks before he took his seat. In such cases, a memorandum was prepared at once in the Tabulating Department. One copy went to the Technical Director for research; one copy to the Editor; one copy to the Membership List Department for correction of its records; and one copy to the Clerical Department to enter the correction on all tabulation and State roll call sheets for the period covered by the correction.

The Paterson, N. J., library made available at the project location its complete set of the Annals, Registers, Globes and Records for over a year and a half, greatly facilitating the job of tabulating, and placing the project greatly in its debt.

V. JOURNAL CHECKING

The Journals are the final official record of the votes. Therefore our tabulations were proofread against the Journal as a check on their accuracy. This work was also performed by a team of two workers, one reading from the Journal, the other checking the accuracy of the tabulation sheet. Whenever the Journal listed a vote differently from the Record tabulation, the Journal vote was indicated by a red mark in the proper column.

Where vote totals in Journal differed from those in Record, the names in the Record were again counted to see if the addition was correct. If it was not, the correct number was shown in bracketed blue figures. If this figure agreed with the Journal listing, no further steps were taken, but if the correction still did not agree with the Journal, the names listed in the Journal were counted to see if the addition there was correct. If it was, the Journal figure was simply shown in red. If the addition was incorrect and a count of names agreed with the Record total, the Journal figure was shown in red, but with a red check over the Record figure. If the addition in the Journal was incorrect and the count of names appearing in the Journal did not agree with the totals from the Record, the Journal figures were shown in red and the count in bracketed red figures with a red check above. All such corrections were, of course, promptly entered on the check list.

As the Journal lists only the Yeas, Nays and Presents, it was assumed (but see checking final copy below) that the Not Voting, Paired For, Paired Against, and Vacancy listings of the Record tabulation were correct, unless a man was listed from the Record tabulation in one of the latter categories on the tabulation form while he was listed in the Journal as Yea, Nay, or Present. In case of such discrepancy the Journal listing was, of course, entered with a red cross. These symbols and the use of various colored crayons were essential to correct map symboling (see below) and to the preparation of footnotes for the final copy (also see below).

In earlier years the Journal, even though it is the official corrected version of Congressional proceedings, occasionally listed a man voting two ways on one roll call, as Yea and Nay, Yea and Not Voting, etc. If the Record listed him as voting either way, but only one way -- i.e. if Record and Journal agree on his voting one way, we disregarded the obvious error in the Journal, except for footnotes (see below).

If Record and Journal agreed that a man voted two ways on the same roll call, a memorandum was sent at once to the Editor giving the date of the roll call, the vote totals, a brief description of what the vote was about, the vote number, and the page citation for Record and Journal. This problem was then checked through the cooperation of the National Archives, the Clerk of the House of Representatives and the Library of Congress, against the original vote tallies, if still extant, in Washington, or against the original manuscript of that particular Journal.

Original tabulations of Executive votes from the Executive Journal were done in blue pencil. If these votes appeared in any other published source, such as the Record or the regular Senate Journal, the tabulation from the Executive Journal was checked with the roll calls in the Record or the regular Journal. That is, the tabulation from the Executive Journal was "journal checked" against the Record and/or the regular Journal.

Similarly Impeachment votes tabulated from the Senate Journal Appendix could in many instances be "journal checked" against the roll call appearing in the Record.

Votes appearing only in the Journal or only in the Record obviously could not be journal checked, but they were proofread or rechecked against the original source.

The casting vote of the Vice-President, in case of a tie vote in the Senate, could, of course, be journal checked exactly like any other vote.

The Princeton University library has furnished the great bulk of the House and Senate Journals for use on project location. Gaps in the Princeton collection have been filled by loans from Rutgers and Columbia. The Executive Journals were lent entirely by Columbia. The cooperation of these libraries overcame a very serious obstacle to the efficient prosecution of this job to its final end.

VI. MASTER MAP CONSTRUCTION

A. House: 52nd through 72nd Congress

Congressional District maps appear for the first time in the Congressional Directory for the 52nd Congress. Radical district changes occur in the 53rd Congress under the Reapportionment Act for the 1890 Census. There are maps showing these changes, and maps for the 54th and 58th Congresses. Beginning with the 61st Congress, all Directories except those for the 65th Congress and a few exceptional editions, carry Congressional District maps.

A Congressional District Map Check-Chart was constructed, showing for each Congress which states had changed their Congressional districts since the last Congress. This check-chart was constructed not only by a comparison of the Directory maps (and all editions containing maps were consulted, because frequent errors have occurred, corrected from edition to edition), but chiefly by a comparison of the district descriptions given in the biographical sections of the Directories, every Congress against its predecessor. This comparison was made between the last editions of the last sessions, since errors are frequently found in the earlier editions. Where there was any doubt as to the accuracy of a map, it was checked against the description of its districts. Changes within metropolitan districts, too small to show even on our enlarged inset maps of the metropolitan areas (see below), were not indicated; nor were changes of county make-up which did not affect the district boundaries. But all such changes were noted and their importance or non-importance for our purposes determined. This chart showed at a glance the extent of district changes in each Congress.

As a companion to the check-chart, a compendium describing all changes district by district (mainly in terms of counties), was drawn up for each State. For each change, that is for each new districting law, a list of districts by number, with descriptions of each, was made; and the Congresses to which this list applied indicated. Those districts which remained unchanged under the new districting law were not described again, but were listed by number as unchanged?.

This check-chart and compendium presented the map draftsman with all the information necessary to construct the Congressional District master maps for all Congresses from the 52nd on.

When districts were described in terms other than by counties, e.g., by townships, wards, election districts, assembly districts, or parishes, contemporary maps of these divisions were obtained, on the basis of which accurate constructions were made.

Upon completion of each new master map, a thorough check was made, district by district, one worker calling out the names of counties within each district as these appeared on the district map super-imposed upon a contemporary United States county map. Another worker checked off the counties called, on alphabetical lists of counties for each district in the Congressional Directories. A careful check was made to be sure all boundaries registered perfectly. The county outline map used as a base was itself checked with more authoritative and detailed atlases, and corrections made where necessary. Every district bears its proper number of uniform size, enclosed in a circle for the convenience of the map-colorers and to insure the best possible appearance of the final copy.

Most districts in metropolitan areas are too small to show on our maps, especially in view of the reduction contemplated in the final publication. For the metropolitan areas, therefore, special steps were taken. If a single district was too small for representation of the necessary symbol to represent a Present, Paired, or Not Voting vote, as is the case with Louisville or Denver in the later Congresses, a box was put in the margin of the map labelled with the name of the city and showing the district number circled in the center. If several districts in one locality were too small for representation of the necessary symbol-coloring, as in Allegheny County around Pittsburgh, even if any or all of them were sufficiently large to be adequately represented on a map of greater scale, an enlarged inset map was made of, in that instance, Allegheny County, and the district lines were drawn in after being worked out in the way any other district line was worked out (see above). If, even on the blown-up inset maps of the multi-district metropolitan area, there were still areas too small to show adequately the votes for that area, then, as in Manhattan Island, New York, boxes for those districts were placed under the inset map of the metropolitan area.

Any area on the base map or an inset map, for which an inset map or a box is used, is cross-hatched to indicate to the reader that he must look in the margins for the votes of that area.

Generally it was necessary to work out the district lines in metropolitan areas in terms of wards, election districts, assembly districts,

etc. City codes, ordinances, and charters were consulted to secure the full picture of the development of necessary ward lines. Where assembly districts were needed the State statutes were consulted. Then working from contemporary maps of the cities concerned, accurate maps of the metropolitan areas were plotted. The aid of a number of city governments, especially Newark, Philadelphia, Pittsburgh, and Baltimore, have been particularly valuable in this connection.

States entitled to additional Representatives under a new Federal Reapportionment Act may not redistrict the State in time for the next election, or sometimes for several elections thereafter. During that period the additional Representatives are customarily chosen "At Large" from the entire State. Such "At Large" votes, (only where the State also continues to use its old districts) are shown in boxes bearing the name of the State in the lower right corner of the master map. Alternatively, States entitled by reapportionment to additional Representatives, may, pending redistricting, elect all its Representatives from the whole State "At Large." In such cases, the State is arbitrarily divided into the same number of diagonal segments as there are Representatives from that State. Each segment receives the vote of the same Representative throughout a Congress, due to the system of numbering "At Large" Representatives adopted in drawing up the membership lists (see above).

These master maps were then reproduced by multi-lithograph as base maps for symboling and coloring (see below).

All original master maps, House and Senate, are scheduled for deposit with the Library of Congress.

B. Senatorial Master Maps

From the 62nd Congress, 3rd session, to date, the Senatorial maps are identical consisting simply of the present State outlines, each divided by a diagonal line to provide spaces for symbolizing the votes of each State's two Senators. But for the period prior to the 62nd Congress, 3rd session, it is the object of these maps, not merely to provide spaces for symbolizing the votes of the Senators of contemporaneously extant States and to show the consecutive creation and admission of new States, but also to trace the complete history of State and Territorial boundary changes, to show all boundaries in dispute at any given time and the progressive solution of those disputes.

To this end, the United States Statutes at Large were consulted for all laws showing these changes and this development. Where necessary, State laws were also consulted, as well as judicial decisions and boundary commission reports. Atlases showing the status of states and territories at various periods were cautiously consulted as an additional, if usually inadequate, check.

On the basis of this information, a complete series of State and Territorial maps were constructed. Names of Territories are printed within their respective boundaries. Areas covered by international boundary disputes are cross-hatched, and disputed internal boundaries are shown with broken lines.

Southern States joining the Confederacy are cross-hatched during the period from the date of State action withdrawing from the Union to the date of their readmission by act of Congress after the Civil War. However, cross-hatching is used even during the period of secession for those States or parts of States continuing to send members to Congress, such as the Representatives from Eastern Tennessee, and the Representatives and Senators from the Restored Government of Virginia. The Membership Lists (see above) furnished the data as to what areas at what times had such representatives in Congress.

North Carolina and Rhode Island are cross-hatched for the 1st Congress, 1st session, to indicate their failure to ratify the Constitution in time to participate in that first session. The same is done for Vermont up to its admission in 1791, that area being claimed by both New York and New Hampshire, as well as having its own independent "government."

On rare occasions, the Vice-President may cast his vote to break a tie. Therefore the vote of this officer appears on some, but only a very few, maps. Because of the rareness of this occurrence, a box for the Vice-Presidential vote is not plotted on the master maps, but is specially stamped on any map having such a Vice-Presidential vote. The lower right hand corner is used on Senate maps for this purpose.

C. House Master Maps - 1st through 51st Congress

1. State Session Law Research

Beside the statutes establishing State and Territorial boundaries, it was necessary to find and transcribe all pertinent sections of the laws of 40 of the 48 States before the House district maps previous to 1902 could be constructed. It has already been indicated how these laws were used in constructing the maps beginning with the 52nd Congress in 1891. A new procedure was necessary for constructing the earlier maps. First the following types of laws had to be found:

- a. All general State districting laws, based upon the Federal Reapportionment Acts following each decennial census, or based purely on local conditions, and laws repealing or amending the same.
- b. All incidental districting laws, allocating new counties to old districts, or shifting the boundaries between two old districts, and laws repealing the same.
- c. All laws creating, merging, dividing, re-naming, or changing the boundaries of any county or counties.
- d. All general laws allocating new counties to districts, or specifying when county boundary changes shall affect district boundaries, or fixing other methods for including counties within districts, such as laws declaring that when one county is attached to another for judicial purposes, it shall be considered so attached for all purposes whatsoever.
- e. When districts are described in units other than counties, the laws determining the county make-up of such units as the judicial districts of North and South Carolina and the parishes of Louisiana.

f. The laws determining the election dates of Representatives. Prior to 1875, the States were allowed to determine these dates for themselves. The dates varied widely among States and frequently changed within the State itself. Virginia in its early period set up different election days in different districts, sometimes even within the same district. In 1872 Congress established the present uniform election day effective in 1875, except for those States whose Constitutions provided otherwise. Maine to this day elects in September.

g. Until the 1842 Apportionment Act, which prescribed the election of Representatives by district, States were allowed to choose their own method of election. Many elected by general ticket, though not always consistently. New Hampshire, Missouri, and Mississippi did so until 1846, and since that date frequent exceptions have been made, particularly when the interim between Reapportionment Acts and election was too short to permit State re-districting. These periods of election on general ticket (at large) had to be from the laws, as had the instances of plural districts (see below).

Four parallel surveys of these laws were made:

a. The Session Laws of each State were searched, page by page, law by law. Grace E. McDonald's Check-List of Session Laws (H. W. Wilson Co., New York, 1936) was used to insure complete coverage of all volumes. Workers were instructed not to use the session law indexes for this phase of the work. They were instructed to keep a list of all sessions, and all volumes, covered by them. Omissions were later covered at the New York Public Library or the Library of the New York Bar Association.

b. Other workers rechecked the Session Laws, following the same procedure as outlined above. For each law a citation card was filled out by both sets of workers, giving the citations of the act by date, volume, and page, together with a brief identifying description of what the law did.

c. A search was made of all sources such as Revised Codes, Digests, Compilations, or cumulative Indexes to the Session Laws. Citation cards were made out as above.

d. The compilations of county boundary laws prepared by the Historical Records Survey for many States were consulted and checked on the request of the National Director of the Historical Records Survey, (see acknowledgment in foreword of County Boundary Changes in West Virginia, etc.).

These four sources of the session law material were then collated into chronological lists, State by State. These lists showed the date of the law, its subject, cited its source, indicated the pertinent sections and provided four columns, one for each of the four parallel surveys listed above, for checking the law coverage by each.

These Session Law collation lists were then given to typists with instructions to copy every listed law of which copies were not furnished by the Historical Records Survey in the other States. Copies of the laws omitted from these Survey compilations were then mailed to the respective State projects, and the duplicates were added to our copies of these compilations to form a complete series of transcripts of the pertinent laws for our use in constructing the State district maps (see below).

2. State Map Construction: House, 1st through 51st Congress

District boundary lines were of necessity worked out, State by State, for this period. Procedure outlined called for a working back from 1902 on State maps showing county outlines, plotting county boundary changes as they occurred in the State laws, court decisions, etc. Two types of maps had to be made: (1) Maps occasioned by a State redistricting law changing the borders of the Congressional districts, and (2) maps occasioned by changes of county boundaries along which Congressional district borders ran. The State election laws had to be constantly consulted to determine what boundary changes were effective for each Congress, and for what Congress redistricting laws were first applicable. This was not always as simple as it sounds. In some States, such as Georgia, where boundaries were often defined in terms of someone's farm, liberal use was made of the cooperation of the State Departments of State, Tax Commissions, and State Archives, etc. In others, like the apparently insoluble problem-State of Tennessee, recourse was had to the admittedly imperfect maps drawn up by the State Planning Board. The aid of the Historical Records Survey of many States and of official State bodies has been very freely offered and very gratefully accepted in this work.

In the Public Land States, Land Office maps were, of course, essential, and the kindness of the Land Office in furnishing a set of such maps for all the Public Land States was of great help in this respect. Contemporary Atlases, furnished freely by Rutgers University, were used for checking purposes only, their unreliability being too obvious to allow of any detailed use.

This work was performed by trained draftsmen or men with engineering training and experience whose craftsmanship was constantly subject to spot checks and review to make sure of its continued accuracy. Every State map was rechecked in full by the supervisor of that department before being sent on to the master mapper.

Seceded areas, areas in dispute with other nations, disputed State borders, etc., were treated identically with similar areas on the Senate maps (see above).

3. Drafting the House Master Maps, 1st through 51st Congress

The draftsman was given a series of folders prepared, Congress by Congress, from a check chart of county and district border changes similar to that used in the later House maps (see above). Each folder contained the State maps for all changes for the Congress on which he was ready to start work. These State maps, done on translucent tracing paper, were inserted in a light box specially built for this phase of the work with a reduction lens, which, by adjustment, reflected onto the master map outline the exact outline of the Districts of the given State for that particular Congress. His job then primarily was one of accurately tracing the outlines shown on the State map as reduced through this lens and thrown upon the master map outline of the United States.

For all States for which he had no outline in the folder given him, he traced the District outlines of the last preceding Congress. There having been no change, the last districting law continued in effect.

The draftsman also reproduced the State and Territorial outlines as developed for the Senate maps (see above), Congress by Congress, and, where State and/or Territorial boundary changes occurred in the middle of a session of Congress, part-Congress by part-Congress. Territorial boundaries not only may be changed in the middle of a Congress, they usually are. States may be admitted to the Union in the middle of a Congress or session. In such cases, our maps do not show the new State as a State, but rather still as a Territory, and do not show the new Territorial border, but the old, for the beginning of that Congress. But when such Territorial or State changes became effective, a second master map has been drawn, not altering any of the district lines as they existed at the beginning of the Congress, but merely showing the State and Territorial changes as they become effective.

In other words, there is a House master map for every Congress showing the States redistricted for that Congress. There are also a number of additional House master maps paralleling the set of part-Congress Senate master maps necessary to show contemporary State and Territorial border shifts taking place during the sessions of certain Congresses.

States electing Representatives by general ticket are divided by diagonal lines, as described for States electing At Large, above. The Confederate States during the exact period from the date of secession to the date of readmission are cross-hatched, except for those areas continuing to send members to Congress. Data on this point was again furnished from the Membership Lists.

State boundaries in dispute continue to be shown by a dotted line. Inset maps for metropolitan areas are used as in the later House maps (see above). Boxes are used for those areas too small to be shown even on the enlarged inset maps. Boxes for the votes of Representatives-at-Large of certain States which simultaneously elect the bulk of their Representatives on a district basis, are shown exactly as on the House maps of the later period.

Every district bears its number in a circle. States electing all their Representatives At Large or by General ticket must be labelled also as provided on the membership lists (see above).

Districts unnumbered in the early laws are arbitrarily assigned numbers according to the order of their appearance in the laws. Plural districts, that is, districts from which two or more Representatives are elected, are divided pie-fashion into as many parts (there are never more than three) as there are Representatives. Each part carries the number of the district plus letters, -A, -B, or -C, assigned to the Representatives according to the alphabetical order of their surnames. Pennsylvania from 1793-1843, New York from 1809 to 1843, New Jersey from 1789 to 1799 and from 1813 to 1843, Maryland from 1803 to 1833 and from 1835 to 1843 and others, all have had plural districts during the period before the practice was stopped by a federal law of 1842.

VII. MAP SYMBOLLING

The Journal-checked tabulations made on the mimeographed membership lists described above, were next transferred to the multi-lithographed maps based on the master maps for each Congress or part-Congress (see above).

This transfer was made by a set of uniform symbols, so chosen that no one symbol could possibly be confused with any other.

The Record and Journal citations, the date of the vote, and the vote number were entered on the back of every map for filing and later identification purposes.

Symbolling was done on the House maps by teams of two workers, one reading from the tabulations to the other, who placed the symbols on the maps. The Yea-districts were left blank. Therefore the Yea column was not read. The Nay column was read, one worker calling for each vote the State and district number of the Representative who voted, as: Georgia 4; Missouri 3; Alabama 8, etc. The calling of the Present, Plus, and Minus, and Not Voting votes was similarly done.

In case of At Large or General Ticket votes, each member from such a State was given on the tabulation sheet a numerical designation based upon his alphabetical position on the list of his fellow members At Large or on General Ticket from that particular State (see above). If Pennsylvania had four boxes for At Large members in a given Congress, the vote of the man whose district column bore the symbol "At Lg 1" was placed in the left-most box, the man with "At Lg 2" in the second box in from the left, the man marked "At Lg 3" in the third box in from the left, etc. When a whole State was elected At Large or on the General Ticket, that State was divided on the map into a series of diagonal stripes. The vote of the man marked "At Lg 1" or GT-1" was put in the left-most stripe, while his colleagues' votes were symbolled towards the right, number by number, stripe by stripe.

In the plural districts existing in some of the earliest Congresses, where more than one man was elected simultaneously to serve one district, the Representatives were marked "Mass. 5-a, 5-b, 5-c" in alphabetical order, and their symbols were recorded in the pie-shaped district slices in the plural districts in clockwise order, starting from "twelve-o'clock" for "a", etc.

The Speaker's vote, which is rarely recorded, is, of course, symbolled in the district of which he is the Representative.

In symbolling votes for the election of Speaker, Clerk, Doorkeeper, Chaplain, Sergeant-at-Arms, etc., votes, the initial of the surname of the candidates was used as a symbol instead of the regular symbols for Yea, Nay, etc. In case two candidates had the same initial, the first two letters of the surname or the first-name initial was used to distinguish between them. Keys to the symbols in each such vote were attached to the map for the use of the colorers.

On the simpler Senate maps the space in which the symbols are to be placed was determined, not by district number, but by the T or B (top or bottom) indications found in the column corresponding to the District number column on the House lists. Each State is divided into two parts by a diagonal line, and if the vote read Mont.T., the symbol was placed in the upper half of Montana.

In the case of a Vice-Presidential casting vote a box was stamped for the vote in the bottom right hand corner, and was then properly symbolled.

VIII. S.CHECK House symbol check charts list all members by district number and/or At Large (indicated by Lg) or General Ticket (indicated by GT) or by plural district (indicated by a letter after the district number), under their respective States. The States are arranged alphabetically. For the Senate the charts show the Senators arranged by Top and Bottom within the State, arranged alphabetically.

Each vote on each map was read, State by State, and in the House, district by district, and recorded on the symbol check chart.

The votes on the Journal check list were then read off, this time the Yeas, which were not read in symboling, being read and the Nays not being read. The second worker of the team drew a line through all District numbers on the check sheet when the symbols tallied with the tabulation votes. Discrepancies were checked and entered on the check chart, the district or Top-Bottom being circled to emphasize the correction.

When the reading of the tabulation was completed, every number was either crossed out as correct, or circled as corrected, except the Nay votes. By the process of elimination these should have been correct. The check sheet was then inspected for numbers which were neither crossed out, checked as Nay, nor corrected--numbers with a blank space next to them. These should have represented Nays omitted from their proper Districts on the map by improper symboling. This was checked by reference to the membership list, and any proper corrections made on the check sheet. This process, though somewhat complicated in form, actually saved time and furnished a double check on the accuracy of the symboling. Also the symbol check charts, as well as the maps, now showed an accurate account of each vote as it appears in the Journal. The check charts then could be used safely in the tabulating of State roll calls (see below).

All corrections were then entered on the map, incorrect symbols were erased and correct ones entered. The symbol check was now complete.

IX. MAP COLORING

Yeas, being more numerous than any other kind of votes, were left blank (white); Nay votes were colored black, leaving the circled District Numbers showing; Present was indicated by a dot-stipple; Plus by vertical lines (if two or more adjacent areas were both marked Plus, straight lines were run through the two or more areas without a break); Minus by horizontal lines; Not Voting by broken diagonal lines from lower left to upper right.

Colorers worked on the basis of the symbols lettered in each district or half-State by the symbolers (see above), as corrected in the check of those symbols.

All solid or broken diagonal lines were drawn at a 45° angle from the nearest north-south or east-west border line, and not from the frame of the map itself. All horizontal or vertical lines also paralleled the lines of latitude, not the frame of the map. This eliminated possible confusion in reading the maps, particularly in the New England area, where because of the slope of the projection used on the base map, lines drawn perpendicular to the frame had the appearance of being drawn diagonally to the State borders.

Special transparent colluloid rulers, marked to indicate the proper spacing between lines were used to insure a uniform coloring of all votes represented by horizontal, vertical, or diagonal lines.

In coloring Speaker, Clerk, Doorkeeper, Chaplain, Sergeant-at-Arms, etc., votes, white was used for the successful candidate, black for the candidate polling the second largest number of votes, and then the usual diagonal lines, vertical lines, horizontal lines, dots, etc., for other candidates. In elections where an unusually large number of candidates entered the contest, special symbols were necessary.

X. WHITE-LINING

To restore those State and district boundaries which are obliterated by the solid black of Nay votes in adjacent districts or States, a piece of white carbon paper was placed over the colored map, and a blank map of the same outline was placed on top of the carbon. The two maps were perfectly registered atop a light box, which, when lighted clearly showed precisely which borders should be whitened. With a stylus the worker then whitened the obliterated lines by tracing from the top blank map through the white carbon onto the colored map. Where necessary, the lines were strengthened by white crayon. The maps were then ready for the check of final copy.

XI. TABULATING STATE ROLL CALLS

A copy of each roll call appears opposite the corresponding map in the finished product. These roll calls consist of a complete list of Representatives or Senators for a given Congress, with their party designation, arranged by States listed alphabetically, by district under the States for the House, and by expiration date of term for Senate. The purpose is to save the reader the obvious difficulty of trying to correlate maps arranged by State and district and roll calls arranged as they are in the Record, alphabetically. This process puts the roll calls in shape for typing as final copy. The symbol-check charts, whose accuracy has already been checked (see above), were called off, district by district, State by State, and the votes tabulated on the mimeographed State roll call forms of that Congress.

Tabulating the State rolls from the symbol check charts for both Houses has been proven to be by far the most efficient way of compiling this information. The accuracy of the tabulation was further checked later (see "Checking Final Copy" below).

XII. PARTY BREAKDOWN

The breakdown of vote totals by political party was made from and attached to the tabulated State Roll. A mimeographed form for each Congress listed the parties represented in the order of their numerical importance. The Yea votes on the tabulated Roll were counted separately for each party and entered in the spaces designated on the form. These figures were then totaled and checked with the total number of Yeas recorded on the heading of the State Roll. If these figures did not check, the roll call was turned back for re-checking to see if an error was made on the State Roll tabulation.

The same procedure was repeated for the Nay, Not-Voting, Present, Paired-for and Paired-against votes and any vacancies existing on the date of a particular vote. A vacancy was entered under the party of the man last occupying the seat, giving information of interest in at least those sessions or votes where the balance between the parties was very close and where a vacancy or two might alter the vote result. If a vacancy existed from the convening date of a Congress, it was entered under a separate listing in this party breakdown. Since the Paired votes and Vacancies are totaled in with the Not-Voting on the State Roll heading, (as in Record and Journal), the sum of these groups of votes on the party breakdown form had to check with the Not-Voting total in the State Roll heading. If a discrepancy showed, it was checked and eliminated. The final step was to add up the totals on a given vote, and to check the totals with the total number of seats as recorded in the lower right hand corner of the party breakdown form. This work was checked by repeating the above procedure in the check of Final Copy (see below). This breakdown of the vote totals is included in the Summary (see below) heading the Roll Call in the final copy.

XIII. CHECKING FINAL COPY (OF MAPS AND ROLL CALLS)

Prior to typing of final copy, the State Rolls and final-colored and white-lined maps were checked against each other, against the Journal, the Membership List and the Record.

The procedure in this phase of work had a two-fold objective:
(1) To make sure that no errors have been made either in tabulation, map symboling or coloring, i.e., to be sure that the data on the final-colored map and on the State roll call corresponded to each other and that both were correct; (2) to put the State roll call in shape for the typists.

The first step involved reading the roll call out of the Journal name by name, adding to each name as called out, the State and district for Representatives and the State and T (top) or B (bottom) for Senators, and checking that vote on both the State roll call, and the map. Any error in the map was noted on a slip of paper, attached to the map when the operation was completed for immediate correction. Any error in the Journal tabulation of the State rolls was corrected directly on the State roll call form.

Since statements of pairs are not printed regularly in the Journal, no check or pairs had been performed prior to this check of Final Copy. Now, however, every Record pair (or statement) for or against the question under consideration, was checked against the Record, as an essential step in insuring the accuracy of the Final Copy.

In some roll calls, the Journal shows two votes for one man, but the name next to his on the list is not given a vote. If one of the votes given the problem-Congressman in the Journal corresponds to his vote as recorded in the Record, and the other one corresponds to the vote of his neighbor in the Record (who is listed without a vote in the Journal), we have assumed that the public printer erred at that point on the roll call, and have accepted the Record version as correct. This has been done only where this particular situation exists. It is the only case in which the Journal version of a vote is discarded in favor of the Record. In any other case where the Journal shows two votes for the same man, the problem

is referred to the National Archives, the Library of Congress, or the Clerk of the House of Representatives, for a check against the original vote tallies, or, where they have been lost or destroyed, against the original manuscript Journal.

The party breakdown totals, clipped to the State roll call forms, were also checked by this editorial department. The State roll call forms were tabulated from the symbol check charts, which were made up from the Journal votes as tabulated on the Journal-checked tabulation forms. In other words, the State roll call represents the Journal, or official record vote. The Yeas, Nays, etc., (including vacancies as a separate category) were added up, party by party, as indicated in the procedure outlined for party breakdown (see above), and approved as Final Copy.

Footnotes on the Final Copy show every discrepancy between the version of the votes given in the Record and in the Journal. In this final check, therefore, an important step was to prepare these footnotes by reference to the original Journal-checked tabulations, the Record, and the Journal. All apparent discrepancies between Journal and Record were checked before the footnote was entered for the typist on the State roll call. Each footnote was worded according to a uniform formula. Differences between Journal and Record in Yea-Nay totals and in party breakdown, as well as in individual votes, are similarly given in footnotes. Discrepancies between Register and Globe, in the short period when both were published, are also noted.

Citations were also checked and particular care taken to make sure that in the cases of the two editions of the first two volumes of the Annals, the two editions of the House and Senate Journals for the first 15 Congresses, the overlap between the 1st session of the 23rd Congress to the 1st session of the 25th Congress of the Register and Globe, all citations were given on the State roll for typing.

XIV. BILL ANALYSIS

The mimeographed analysis forms, headed from the Checklists with Record and Journal citations, vote numbers, dates of votes and Yea-Nay totals, as given in Record and Journal, were given to the project lawyers to supply the necessary information on:

(1) The name of the maker of the motion being voted upon. Usually this name appears in an entry directly following the text of the roll call in Record or Journal, such as "And so Mr. Clark's motion was defeated." This entry gives the name of the maker of the motion and the result of the vote at one glance. In some early Congresses, the name of the man introducing a given bill is most readily obtainable from the table of bills in the back of the Journals. In many cases in the earliest Congresses particularly, only a careful inspection of the debates will give the maker of the motion, and in some cases it will be impossible to determine.

When a House bill comes to the floor of the Senate, or vice versa, via a Committee and not by direct introduction by an individual Congressman, the maker of the motion, i.e. the man who brings the bill from the Committee to the floor, is usually the Chairman or a member of the Committee.

In such a case we use the name of the Chairman or member as the maker of the motion, but carefully mark his name with the parenthetical "(Chairman of _____ Committee)."

A Presidential veto becomes, by House and Senate rules, the immediate order of business when the veto measure is read. No motion to override a veto is necessary though such motions are sometimes made. If no such motion is made, there is no maker of the motion.

In some cases, such as conference reports and reports from the Committee of the Whole, the motion to agree is considered as pending without being offered from the floor. (1) In the Senate, when a bill comes from the Committee of the Whole, every amendment is put again without an intervening motion. (2) In the House, when the Committee rises, the Speaker remains in the chair, and when the bill has been gone through, he makes no report but puts the question on the engrossment and third reading and on the passage. (3) In these cases, in lieu of "Maker of the Motion," we use the name of the Chairman of the Committee or if the motion is to pass, the author of the bill or resolution, if known. A vote is sometimes initiated by a resolution. In such cases, the resolution is the Maker of Motion, but reference is also made to the maker of the original resolution.

When the question on passage is not moved from the floor, the author of the bill or resolution, when known, always is referred to.

(2) The State and party of the maker of the motion is taken from the tabulation sheets. State name abbreviations follow those set forth in the Style Manual of the Government Printing Office, whose rules are generally observed.

(3) Bill or resolution number, popular name of the bill, subject of the bill: This information may usually be found for all but the early Congresses at the breakhead in the text of the debates in the Record immediately preceding the roll call. Directly under that next preceding breakhead will usually appear the bill number and the subject of the bill.

When the information is not available there, the index of that volume of the Record (the index to the Record, not the Index of Bills and Resolutions, was used). There under the name of the maker of the motion, as "Clark, B.C.," the bill or resolution number, frequently the popular name of the bill, and usually the subject of the bill, may be found.

In the earliest Congresses, the bills were almost never numbered in the debates. For most Congresses, however, numbers may be found in the table of bills and resolutions in the back of the Journals where the subject of the bill is also set forth.

If from these sources, the subject of the bill was still inadequately described, reference was had to the Index of Bills and Resolutions

1. House Manual, sec. 338, 550, 749.
2. Ibid., sec. 424
3. Ibid.

in the back of each index volume of the Record, where, listed by House or Senate resolution number, the full title of each bill is given.

If details were still not clear and the bill became law, the analyst consulted its full text in the United States Statutes at Large, or if at any time the bill was discussed in Committee of the Whole, its text as usually printed at that stage of discussion. The Index of Bills and Resolutions referred the analyst to the pages of the Record where the bill was considered in Committee of the Whole. These references are particularly helpful in uncovering the real effect of amendments (see below).

(4) Public number, or approval date. The abstracts of any Yea-Nay vote on any bill or resolution, which passed both Houses and was approved by the President, was marked for all Yea-Nay votes upon it with either the public number, or the approval date. The public number is of no permanent use or validity. It merely serves to identify or cite an act which has become law during the period between its approval and the publication of the next volume of the United States Statutes at Large. Therefore for all bills and resolutions becoming law, we give, for the convenience of the reader, the Statute citation obtained by reference to the Statutes at Large, or to Sheppard's Table of Federal Laws by Popular Names, through their Public number, or by their approval date. Either piece of information may be secured from the Index of Bills and Resolutions under the House or Senate Bill or Resolution number of the bill or resolution being considered.

When a Bill or resolution was not passed by both Houses, and did not become law, a fact again apparent from the Index of Bills and Resolutions, the symbol "N.P." entered in parentheses (Not Passed) after the Bill or resolution number on the abstract form, indicates this fact.

(5) Division or teller votes are frequently taken on the same motion immediately prior to the demand for the yeas and nays. These votes are interesting because of the occasional wide variations between the vote totals in the division or teller vote, and in the final roll call. The division or teller votes, if any, appear directly before the motion for a roll call. If they appear, they were recorded in the appropriate spot on the abstract form.

(6) Action voted on. The actual question on which the House is voting is usually explicitly stated by the chair before the roll call is taken. If it was not clearly apparent what the action contemplated was, the analyst referred back in the debates in the Record until he found the actual motion.

(7) Effect of the Motion. The information offered here is the effect of the motion, and when available the effect of the result of the vote. These may be differentiated by answering two important questions: (1) What did the motion do or accomplish? (or in the case of an amendment, exactly what change in the original motion did the amendment make?), and (2) in all cases other than the introduction of a new bill, why does the maker make the motion?

The first question usually deals with the motion itself. If an amendment is moved, the text of the amendment is required. To get the effect

of a motion to amend, it is very helpful to have the text of the bill under consideration. This may be found through the Index of Bills and Resolutions if the bill was ever considered in Committee of the Whole, at which time the bill is read to the Committee by the Clerk of the House. If the text of the bill is not available, if the amendment is defeated, and if the bill is passed and becomes law without further amendments to that section, the text of the act in the United States Statutes at Large is usable. If other amendments intervened, or if the bill did not become a law, this suggestion is useless. A third recourse may be had to the debates where in the statements of proponents and opponents of the amendment, the effect of the amendment may be found. Caution in use of this source, a judicious search for statements of fact rather than of mere opinion on the part of the Congressmen was enjoined upon the workers. Page citations of all such factual information given in the effect of the motion are noted as authority for statements made.

In some instances all sources combined proved too meager to enable the worker to make a complete analysis of the effect of the motion. In such cases the analysis, though incomplete, contains all the information contained in the reference works, and this fact is duly noted.

For Tariff abstracts, every item on which a change of schedules was proposed by the bill or amendment involved, was listed on the abstract form. This step was essential to insure a complete index (see below).

The second question is one of the motivation of the motion. Why was the motion made? Very frequently motions will be introduced to table in order to kill a bill, or to strike out the enabling clause to emasculate a bill, or to adjourn to prevent a motion from coming to a vote on that particular day when important votes may be absent from the House, etc. Particularly important in this respect are:

a. Motions to adjourn. If a roll call is taken on such a question, it means that a lot of people have a very good reason for not wanting to adjourn at that particular time. This may be merely a dilatory motion, of the type so common before the revision of the House Rules in 1890, or it may be a motion of very material political significance. The motion, in such circumstances, may well be discussed on the floor. Such discussion was inspected. The time of day, i.e. at what point in the day's legislative proceedings, the motion was made was considered. The debate preceding the motion to adjourn was often illuminating on this point.

b. Motions to recommit. The reason for this motion, as it appears in the debates on the motion was recorded and the effect of this recommitment established. In this connection the Index of Bills and Resolutions showed, if the bill was recommitted, whether it came up again for consideration before that Congress, or whether it was killed for that session.

c. Motion to table. Generally this is used in the House for a final adverse, painless disposition of a bill, though in the earlier years it was sometimes used merely to postpone

consideration. A thorough knowledge of parliamentary rolls was essential for this work in which a former Member of the House of Representatives and a former Speaker of the State Assembly working on the project, in addition to the House and Senate Manuals, have been of great assistance.

(8) Result of the Vote. This information is obtained directly under the roll call where usually appears the statement "And so Mr. Clark's amendment was defeated," or from the totals of the Yeas and Nays. The result of the vote is stated simply: Amendment passed, motion defeated, bill recommitted, veto sustained, etc.

Completed Record analyses were checked by other workers against the Journal partly to check the accuracy and understanding of the original abstract, and partly to make sure that the statements of the question did not differ in the two sources.

If differences were noted, and some few were, then the Journal version, the accepted official record of proceedings, was entered on the analysis form in red pencil.

XV. SUMMARIES

These are the descriptions of the motions upon which the yeay-nay roll calls are taken. They will be printed in the published volumes of the Atlas directly under the maps and directly above the roll calls. They will identify and describe for the reader the action being taken. These were prepared from the bill analysis forms described in the preceding section, involving simply a rewriting of the information there presented, in good English, and according to fixed style rules.

The prime requisite of a good summary is that it be well written, that it stick to the facts, and that it state the effect of the motion as clearly as possible. The summarizer was instructed to be very critical of the abstracts, and to send them back to the Bill Analysis department for further information or clarification of ambiguous phrases if necessary. If he as much as suspected that the Analysis form, which intervened between him and the debates, was not entirely adequate, accurate or informative, he was ordered to send it back to be cleared up.

All summaries passed through the hands of one editor, who checked them for excellence of expression, clarity, and style. Thus edited, the summaries were ready for the typing department.

Typical samples of Summaries follow:

On passage, Feb. 8, 1854 of the bill (S 84) N. P. granting a right of way and land to the State of Michigan to aid in the construction of the Oakland and Ottawa Railroad from Pontiac to Lake Michigan with branches from Corunna and Grand Rapids to the Straits of Mackinac, and a further continuous branch thence to the Montreal River, reported from the Committee on Public Lands, Charles E. Stuart, (D-Mich.), chairman, bill passed.

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On motion of William McK. Givin, (D-Cal.), April 24, 1854, to amend (SJR 9) N. P. indemnifying persons engaged in the rescue of those on board the steamship San Francisco at the time she was wrecked, by reducing the appropriation from \$100,000 to \$50,000 as being adequate to defray cost of medals and awards to the officers and men who aided in the rescue of the survivors, amendment agreed to.

- - - - -

On the motion of William McK. Givin, (D-Cal.), May 8, 1854, to postpone all prior orders and take up for consideration the Pacific Railroad Bill (S 273) N. P. providing for the construction of a railroad from the valley of the Mississippi to the Pacific Ocean, motion rejected, thereby preventing the postponement of consideration of the Homestead Bill.

- - - - -

On motion of George E. Badger, (W-N. C.), Feb. 3, 1854, that when the Senate adjourn it do so until Monday, made during debate on the bill (S 22) organizing the Territory of Nebraska, motion rejected.

- - - - -

On ordering to engrossment and third reading, Jan 27, 1854, in order to test the sense of the Senate, the bill (S 51) N. P. reported from the Committee on Claims, Richard Brodhead, (D-Pa.), chairman, directing the Secretary of the Treasury to pay to Cornelius Macaulay of Philadelphia the sum of \$751.13 in full payment of goods furnished by him in 1834 to the then Secretary of the Senate for use in the Senate Chamber, motion rejected.

- - - - -

On passage, July 6, 1854, over the veto of the President, of the bill (S 44) N. P. granting public lands to the several States for the benefit of the indigent insane, which was reported from the Committee on Public Lands, Solomon Foot (W Vt.), chairman, veto sustained.

- - - - -

On motion of Charles E. Stuart, (D-Mich.), Mar. 13, 1854, to table the petitions asking for an appropriation for the construction of a canal around Niagara Falls, in order to test the sense of the Senate, motion rejected.

- - - - -

On agreeing, Mar. 16, 1854, to the resolution of the Committee on Judiciary, John Pettit, (D-Ind.), chairman giving the Hon. Samuel S. Phelps the right to retain his seat in the United States Senate, resolution rejected.

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XVI. TYPING FINAL COPY

This consists of typing the summaries, vote totals and the roll calls, with footnotes, on 11" x 17" paper from the edited summaries, the State roll calls, and the corrected party breakdown sheets. Typing was done with special ribbons designed to give the best reproduction by the offset process envisaged for the Atlas. Great care was taken to observe the established style rules and to avoid all errors, all erasures or anything else that might impair the final publication.

An example of the proper typing of a roll call follows:

ALA Boykin (D) NV
2 Vacant
3 Steagall (D) NV
4 Hobbs (D) PA
5 Stearnes (D) N
6 Jarman (D) NV
7 Bankhead (D) NV
8 Sparkman (D) N
9 Patrick (D) N
ARIZ Murdock (D) N
ARK Driver (D) Y
2 Vacant
3 Fuller (D) N
4 Cravens (D) Y
5 Terry (D) N
6 McClellan (D) Y
7 Kitchens (D) N
Lg Jones (D) NV

Wherever differences between the Record and Journal entries were entered on the State roll call, a footnote entry was made as follows:

1. Record gives vote as paired for.

In case of a vote being given in one source, but not in another:

1. Vote not given in Record (or Globe, Journal, Register, Annals, etc.)

The footnotes appear at the bottom of the roll call, three spaces below the bottom row of names.

Vote numbers were pencilled in lightly in the lower right hand corner of the typed sheet to identify it with the map of the same vote.

XVII. PROOFREADING FINAL TYPED COPY

The typed copy was proofread for absolute accuracy against the edited summaries, the corrected party breakdown sheets and the edited State roll calls, and the typed copy was inspected for erasures, or any other blemish which would mar the final reproduction.

Proofreading was done by teams of two workers, one reading to the other. Every capital, every punctuation mark, every abbreviation, every paragraph, every footnote mark, etc., was read and nothing was taken for granted.

All errors or blemishes were noted on a sheet clipped to the typed copy, which was returned to the typing department for retyping. Retyped copy was similarly proofread.

A single letter badly out of line, any letter badly filled in or blurred, any double impressions were all cause for rejection of typed copy. The published copy will reproduce this material in greatly reduced size, and absolute perfection of typed copy is required.

XVIII. INDEXING

An index will appear at the end of each volume of the Atlas of Congressional Roll Calls when published. Each of these indexes will be hereinafter referred to as a "Volume Index." There will also be an index for the entire set of volumes, known hereinafter as the "Consolidated Index."

The obvious purpose of any index is to make the material of the book or series of books easily available for reference by the reader. Due to the particular type of material presented by the Atlas, and for simplification of the necessarily complex instructions for indexing, it has proven advisable to breakdown each volume index into four distinct types of cards. These categories of cards are entirely arbitrary and were used only to make instructions more simple. The different types of cards were not kept separately, or treated (with one minor exception, see later) differently. They were kept together, and together compose the volume indexes.

The first type of card is called a Name or Membership Card. The purpose of the Name Cards is to give the reader a set of ready references to each member of the given Congress. How this is to be done is explained below. The second type of card is the Maker-of-Motion Card. These cards will furnish any reader interested in checking the legislative history of any given Congressman a direct key to the motions for which he was responsible. The third type is the Bill Card. These cards are simply the key to the legislative history of any particular bill. Bills and Resolutions are generally cited by their official number. We offer an index by these numbers to meet the needs of those who will seek information on bills not by subject matter or maker of motion, but by that official number. Finally there are the Subject Cards. They are the backbone of the index. Most readers will probably look for the material they are after under the appropriate subject head. This is the part of the index which was at once the most familiar and the hardest part of the job. An appendix was compiled by consulting the index to The United States Code and the Record, which was

attached to the Manual of Work Procedure to give a reasonably complete list of Key-heads for the Subject Cards as a framework about which the indexers might train themselves to think in uniform terms as to just which key-head is to be used for a certain type of subject matter. Additional editorial safeguards and checks to insure this essential uniformity are outlined below.

The technical terms "key-head" and "subheads" are self-explanatory.

A. Description of Cards and Procedural Suggestions

1. Name of Membership Cards. The first step in the compilation of the Volume Indexes was to make a series of Name Cards, one card for each member of each House of each Congress. The information for these cards was taken from the final checked membership lists (see above).

Key-head entries on these cards are by name, last name first, house, State (by standard abbreviations) and District number (if a member of the House). Each name card bears the initial of the House in which the person then is seated (H or S) and the number of the Congress and Session for which the card is made out, as 75-2 or Sp (Special Session), etc., in the lower right hand corner for later use in filing in the Consolidated Index. If the person served the entire Congress, no further entry was necessary, but if he served only part of a Congress, the actual inclusive dates of his service from date of seating to date of resignation or death, and the inclusive vote numbers of those dates were entered. The vote numbers for those dates were obtained from the checklists (see above).

Typical Name Cards read:

: Jones, A.B., S., Mo.	: (For a man serving
:	: the entire session)
: S-41-1	:

: Jones, A.B. H., 10 Mo.	:
: 5/3/1871-7/5/1871	: (For a man serving
: H-431001-432031	: part of two sessions)
: E-43-1-2	:

A very unusual kind of short-term appointment may be made retroactive, that is Senator Jones of Missouri may be actually appointed and seated December 21, 1881, but the appointment may be made retroactive by the Governor of Missouri to May 3, 1881, presumably the date of his predecessor's death or resignation. The form for handling these very rare exceptions to the rule is this:

: Jones, A.B., S., Mo.	:
: Aptmt. effective 5/3/81,	:
: Seated 12/21/81, S482067	:
: S-48-2	:

The remainder of the indexing will be done from the Summaries (see above).

2. Maker-of-Motion Cards. The key-head of these cards is the name of the maker of the motion, again with last name first. The standard subhead is "Motions by." All sub-subheads except for adjournments, motions to go into Committee of the Whole, Executive Session, or similar procedural motions contain the major, and only the major, identifying subject matter of the entry, as "Forests, National," "Wage and Hour Standards," etc. The content of amendments should not be even mentioned on these cards. Amendment subheads should be only "Amended," "Amend, defeated," etc. Typical maker-of-motion cards would read as follows:

```

-----
: Jones, A.B. :
: Motions by :
: Forests, National, to create :
: 5/3/1893-H-661046 :
: ----- :
: Adjourn 5/13/1871 - H-481357 :
: ----- :
: Wage and Hour Standards, to amend:
: 7/7/1936 - H-751097 :
: ----- :
: Wobl, to increase duty on raw :
: 1/12/1852 - H331012 :
: -----

```

If the Maker-of-Motion is the official sponsor of the bill, the introducing motion is designated by an asterisk (*) preceding the entry.

Bills taken up in calendar order, etc., without a formal motion, are indexed according to the maker-of-the-motion information appearing on the abstract (under the procedure indicated above). It will be readily seen that the name or membership cards and the maker-of-motion cards may be readily consolidated into one group of cards giving the inclusive dates of a man's service, and the motions made by that man.

3. Bill Cards. These cards give the legislative history of each bill insofar as that is revealed in Yea-Nay votes. The key-head is uniform throughout, "Bills and Resolutions," the Congress and Session, with the House or Senate Resolution Number, entered as H.R. 301, or S.R. 301, directly below them, in the upper left hand corner. The sub-heads are limited to one type:

Introduced	4/4/1874	H-621007
Amended	4/4/1874	H-621008
Ref. to Comm. of Whole	4/4/1874	H-621009
Tabled	4/4/1874	H-621010
Passed (or Defeated)	4/10/1874	H-621056

A typical Bill Card would read:

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-----
: Bills and Resolutions :
: 65 Cong., 1 sess. :
: :
: H.R. 302 Amended 5/3/1881 H-651017 :
: -----

```


The term "Amended" is used only when an amendment is carried.
"Amend. defeated" is used if the amendment was not carried.

4. Subject Cards. As has been pointed out above, these cards are the most numerous and the most difficult of all to write correctly. Here the subject or topic of the motion is the key-head, as "Adjournments," "Speaker, Election of"; "Railroads," "Taxation." Great care has been taken to have all entries conform to the standardization of listings and See references given in Appendix A for the many topics which will appear in the abstracts of each and every Congress without doing the slightest violence to the meaning. The indexing has been done with the user of the index always in mind. The indexer has tried to approach each entry as if he himself were the ultimate reader. That meant that if, for instance, he had before him the abstract of a bill to appropriate a certain amount of money for construction of Gunter-ville Dam under the TVA, he had to think of where a reader might look in the index for the information. Obviously the reader might look first under "Tennessee Valley Authority," or "Guntersville Dam." But equally obviously the reader might look under "Appropriations," or "Budget," or "Power," or "Dams" or even "Public Domain," for many dams are built on the lands of the public domain. Every attempt has been made to obviate the annoyance so common in using an index, that of finding no entry under the key-head first consulted. This difficulty has been partially obviated by the use of See references. For instance in the above example, a See reference under "Dams" would refer the reader to the "Guntersville Dam," by the entry:

```
+-----+
: Dams
:   Guntersville, see Guntersville Dam
+-----+
```

Similarly under "Power" it would be perfectly permissible to eliminate all TVA references with a See subhead:

```
+-----+
: Power
:   Tennessee Valley Authority, see Tennessee Valley
:   Authority
+-----+
```

And the "TVA" entries could be referred to the same location, "See Tennessee Valley Authority."

But an injudicious use of See heads leads to another difficulty, for again nothing is more annoying than to look under a key-head and get a "See" reference to another topic, and then upon looking there to get another "See" reference to still another topic, and so to be bounced from entry to entry until the subject is finally located. This difficulty may be (1) partially obviated by careful use of the See heads, fully checked to eliminate any references to other See references, and (2) partially by entering the same material under several different key-heads. This index has been constructed on the principle that it is no crime to have too many entries, even re-duplicating entries, in an index. This index exists to help a reader find the material he wants as quickly as possible. A proper

set of cards for our hypothetical case then would contain the following:

See references from: Dams - Guntersville, See Guntersville Dam
Budget - for specific appropriations, See
under Appropriations
TVA - See Tennessee Valley Authority
Full entries under: Appropriations - Tennessee Valley Authority--
Guntersville Dam
Tennessee Valley Authority - Guntersville Dam
Guntersville Dam - Appropriations for
(Dashes indicate the break between key-head and subhead and subheads).

Every indexer must fully appreciate the necessity of such multiple entries for practically every vote except adjournments, etc., and must by reference to the Supervisor, and to Appendix A, be sure that he conforms to standard key-heads and See references. The situation simply has not been allowed to arise where one indexer is referring all TVA entries to "Power" and another is referring Power - TVA entries to TVA. The individual worker as well as the Supervisor was responsible for seeing that this does not happen. Appendix A was put in the Manual Procedure solely to help avoid this difficulty. Though not exhaustive, it was accepted as an elastic standard for general key-heads and See references.

No addition was made to the entries in Appendix A without the approval of the Supervisor. In case a new head occurred, or a new See reference seemed advisable, the worker consulted his Supervisor immediately. The Supervisor either approved or disapproved the suggestion. If it was approved, the Supervisor saw to it that the change was entered properly in every indexer's copy of Appendix A. In case of any change of index style other than the addition of a new See reference or a new head, the Supervisor secured the approval of the Editor before approving the change.

Every copy of Appendix A in use was kept completely up to date. No unnecessary changes, no change which outmoded any substantial part of the index already done, no change which increased the complexity of using the final index, no changes which made one Volume Index different in style or content from one already done were approved.

The subheads or sub-subheads clarify for each individual vote the gist or effect of the given motion. All entries were standardized by putting the most important word first, but entries were kept readable and were not distorted to the point of senselessness by this rule. In all subheads the most important word is followed by the whole subhead entry with comma, date, comma and vote number.

- - - - -
Typical Subject Cards would read:
- - - - -
: Railroads :
: Regulation of interstate :
: roads by I C C moved, :
: 5/3/1887, S-691006 :
- - - - -

: Interstate Commerce Commission :
: Formation for regulation of :
: interstate railroads moved, :
: 5/3/1887, S-691006 :

Under certain subjects there are two sets of subheads, each alphabetized within itself: The first applying only to general references to the whole of the key-head, like the act of 1891 giving the President the power to create national forests, the act of 1905 exempting agricultural homestead lands from inclusion in national forests, the act of 1907 forbidding the President to create further forests in the six northwestern States without the specific approval of Congress, i.e. applying to the whole subject of "Forests, National;" the second applying only to a specific forest, as Siskeyou Forest, Coeur d'Alene Forest, etc., which would be entered under the subhead "Siskeyou Forest," or "Coeur d'Alene Forest," etc. Further examples will make the difference clearer. Under "Agricultural Adjustment Administration" there are obviously certain entries pertaining to the whole of the AAA. On the other hand, there will be certain entries pertaining only to specific commodities, as corn, cotton, peanuts, potatoes, rice, sugar, wheat, etc. The general entries applicable to the whole of the AAA are alphabetized first; then will come the specific crop names in alphabetical order. Under "Indian Reservations" similarly there are entries applicable to Indian reservations as a whole, others that apply only to one specific reservation by name.

Other key-heads subject to similar treatment include "Parks, National," "Public Domain -- Withdrawals" (with specific subheads by name, coal, potassium, oil, etc.), "U.S. Army -- Military Reservations," "War Debts" (specific subheads by name of country), "Expositions" (specific subhead by name of exposition -- city, popular name of exposition and date), "Immigration" (specific subhead by name of people or by type, as "Alcoholics," "Canadian Indians," "Chinses," etc.), "Cemeteries, National," etc.

Special rules governing the indexing of Tariff, Budget, Alien Property Custodian, Alaska, Hawaii, and other entries for the maximum convenience of the reader have been adopted, and uniform style rules govern the writing and editing of all cards.

Member and Maker of Motion Cards are collated alphabetically by last name, then by subject head within the name, by subhead within the subject head, by sub-subhead within the subhead.

Subject Cards are collated by key-head, subhead under each key-head, sub-subhead under each subhead, etc. All cards shown under each of these subdivisions for any given subject are grouped in alphabetical order of first word of descriptive text matter.

Bill and Resolution Cards, when all cards for a given Congress, Senate or House, covering this phase have been finished, are arranged by classifications, i.e. Senate bills, Senate resolutions, Senate concurrent resolutions, Senate joint resolutions, House bills, House concurrent resolutions, House joint resolutions, Resolutions without number, and finally all actions not bearing any official designation.

Within each classification, all cards upon any particular bill or resolution are then sorted in numerical sequence of Bill or Resolution number, so that the consultant can most readily locate the particular bill in which he is interested. The cards are then sorted in numerical sequence of vote number within each Bill or Resolution, so that the consultant may trace the chronological progress of a certain piece of legislation from lowest to highest vote number.

From the alphabetized card entries, the first draft of the volume index was typed, and the typing proofread for absolute accuracy. Vote numbers and dates were watched with special care.

This draft was then edited, this further editorial step being necessary to care for the new problems, facets, and angles that alphabetization in the first draft will reveal. Every entry was checked item by item, detail by detail.

Particular care in this phase is used to establish full uniformity of heading, subheading, etc., in entries covering the same material; to establish full uniformity of style, and to see that See references exist from all possible reference heads to the places the material actually appears in our index. Any last minute information, correction of errors of detail of any sort reported by any other department, are attended to at this time.

XVIII. (A) THE CONSOLIDATED INDEX

This is the combined index of all the 144 volume indexes of the entire work (2 indexes of 3 parts each, of every one of the 72 Congresses that make up the work). That plain statement, however, is by no means a complete picture of the contemplated consolidation: The reality is considerably more complicated. In order to prepare this consolidated index without waiting for the entire 144 individual units to be finished, the following procedure has been adopted.

All cards of the first House or Senate index, as soon as the given Volume Index is completed, i.e. as soon as final copy is typed and corrected, are filed in the Consolidated Index filing boxes in which tabs for main key-heads, sub and sub-subheads are put in position prior to the filing of the first cards. Any cards needing retyping after being edited, are retyped prior to filing in the Consolidated Index.

Upon completion of each subsequent volume index, the cards of that volume index are filed in with the first one as described above.

The method thus described would seem on paper to be a more or less automatic process, so that when the last individual session is finally filed, the consolidated index would likewise seem to be finished. The facts however are somewhat different. The filing of each unit into the "consolidated" index file becomes increasingly difficult and requires an expert manipulator, who must at all times apply a keen sense of detail, a vision of the purpose and framework of the index, and feeling for true perspective qualities which will grow as the work progresses. This is due to the fact that as this Consolidated Index grows in bulk, new subdivisions, not visualized in the single Congress sessions will become apparent, and in increasing variety.

The reason for this is found in the diversity of this work. Some Congresses have 1300 roll call votes, others only a little over 100. The difference in the framework between the volume indexes of these two classes is very great. In the case of the small Congresses, a mere handful, so to speak, of key-heads suffices, which ordinarily do not call for further sub-heads, but quite frequently allow the appearance of the descriptive subject matter directly under them. The larger Congresses however need a much more elaborate framework to accommodate the necessary information. Subheads become imperative and sub-subheads are not mere luxuries but necessities in order to simplify the use of the index for the consultant. This situation naturally becomes increasingly complex with the filing of each additional finished unit into the previously accumulated material.

Special procedures are at times necessary, for while the Consolidated Index follows the style of the individual volume indexes, it presents certain phases not contemplated in the smaller indexes. In the consolidation, we naturally have many members who served in more than one Congress or parts thereof. In all such instances, we show under the name of Senator or Representative, the Congresses he served in by inclusive Congress number. In the case of part-Congress terms we show the inclusive dates of incumbency in the part-Congress as well as the vote numbers of the first and last roll calls in which he could have participated.

These cards are then edited to eliminate discrepancies in sub-key-head formation, punctuation, etc. The editors observe the difference established between general and specific subheads, as described above, and as shown in Appendix A. The consolidated index thus edited is typed as final copy, and the typed copy is then proofread against the cards and checked.

XIX. ASSIGNMENT CONTROL DIVISION

This was the nerve center of the project. The workers of this unit were charged with the following duties:

1. Keeping of the checklists. These were let out of the files only for the heading of the tabulation, symbol check sheet and abstract forms, and for the use of the indexers in establishing the inclusive vote numbers for the Name Cards.
2. Keeping the control sheets. On these sheets were entered the initials of each worker opposite the votes and under the functions for which the work was specifically assigned. When the work was returned, the initials were checked out.
3. Filing all material not actually assigned to the workers. Material must be kept together in its proper place; it must be kept spotless.
4. Giving out supplies from the stock on hand to workers as they ask for them. Keep a record of all supplies given out with the names of the persons receiving them. Enter all outgoing supplies on the inventory chart, keeping the latter on an ever-accurate picture of stocks-on-hand.
5. When maps or typed roll calls are completed as final copy (see above), they are checked against the checklist to make sure all maps or roll calls

are accounted for, and are then carefully wrapped, labelled and sent to John Moriarty, Columbia University Library, for fireproof air-conditioned storage, pending publication.

SECTION III

The following pages show what authorities in the field of history, government and sociology think of the Atlas.

I have nothing but praise for the tremendous and valuable project of mapping the Congressional Yea-Nay Vote upon which you are engaged. I have always been impressed by the effectiveness of maps in the study and presentation of American history and have made extensive use of them in my classes as well as in my research. They are indispensable to an understanding of the impact of geographical and economic forces upon political history. Your project when completed and published will certainly find wide use.

A. R. Newsome, University of North Carolina

I have been greatly interested, as you rightly suspected, in the material which you kindly sent to me describing the project which you have been directing at Columbia University as part of the program of the Historical Records Survey I, personally, shall be particularly interested in the Analysis of the metropolitan districts I hope you will keep me informed of the progress of this exceedingly interesting project. I am confident that it will be of very great value both to contemporary and to future students of political statistics.

Arthur N. Holcombe, Harvard University

In my opinion, this will be an extremely valuable publication once the labors are completed. I have often tried to make such tabulations for particular votes in line with the methods of the late Prof. F. J. Turner, and students of mine have been concerned with the same problems; but we found the labor of analyzing these votes to be so prodigious as to dismay the average student of American history.

Samuel F. Bemis, Yale University

I wish this sort of project had been carried through before I was working in some of this research ten or fifteen years ago. It is an enormous labor, but no historical scholar will ever question its practical worth. I certainly congratulate all of those who have been involved in it and join in the gratitude of the future for this analyzed record of the past.

Dixon Ryan Fox, Union College

It is the sort of thing which never would be done unless the government provided the money for it and I hope that arrangements will be made to continue the plans which you have formulated.

Homer C. Hockett, Ohio State University

I think your project is unusually important and I hope it can be carried through to a successful completion. The work of Libby and Paullin indicated the importance of geographic sectionalism in voting on national questions, but a large-scale project such as you have outlined is really necessary to provide the historian with essential data on this problem.

Richard B. Morris, College of the City of New York

It seems to me that such a work has been needed for a long time by American historians. I am sure that it could be of immense value to students of political science and sociology and geography as well. I like your method of approach.

R. K. Wyllys, Arizona State Teachers College

The finished product will be a necessary reference for those who study the workings of democracy, not only in this country as relating to our own history, but in its larger aspect. This, I think, quite justifies the tremendous amount of work involved by your undertaking.

Dora Neill Raymond, Sweet Briar College

No historian can fail to be pleased at the performance of this task. The results will be eminently useful.

Robert E. Riegel, Dartmouth College

I am staggered by the magnitude of the project and sincerely hope that you and your group may be able to carry it through. The results will be of great value to historians whether they call themselves political, economic or social.

A. M. Schlesinger, Harvard University

Entirely aside from the use to which the analysis of votes can be put, your maps will be of much interest to regional historians and to those interested in a state or particular locality thereof. The changing boundaries of congressional districts as reflecting the flow of population is a matter of considerable moment to the local historians. So while your vote maps will be of primary importance, your supplementary maps will furnish information which is greatly needed in several other fields.

Jean Stephenson, National Society, Daughters of the
American Revolution

This is a valuable undertaking from the point of view of the historical student and writer, and to the journalist, political leader and sociologist. It will have certainly great value also in that it will help us to plan better for the future, that is if we do not destroy representative government in this country, as at times it seems as if we were bent on doing!

Oswald Garrison Villard, New York

It is a tremendous project, and it should be invaluable to all research workers in American history.

Merrill Jensen, University of Washington

I am much impressed with the Revised Prospectus and the Abridged Manual of the Congressional Vote Analysis which you sent me. It is a stupendous task but is certainly needed. As a student of Frederick Jackson Turner at Harvard, I was impressed with the necessity of the correlation of economic and political data I am sure that my work on Albert Gallatin would have been vastly enriched if the Congressional Vote Analysis had been completed for the 1840s and 1850s.

James Byrne Ranck, Hood College

I think that the project you have outlined while an extremely tedious one to accomplish, will result in a very important tool for the political historian. The whole thing seems to me to have been worked out in an intelligent and detailed manner, and I certainly hope that you will be able to bring it to a successful completion.

Edward P. Alexander, New York State
Historical Association

I would like to express my hearty approval of what you are undertaking. In my own research it is exceedingly valuable to know the reactions of the sugar-growing sections of the United States to various measures before the Congress. I know that I shall find your work a tool of great importance to me.

Richard D. Weigle, Carleton College

Such a project ... should be of very great value to students of history, political science and economics, and I am sure that the completed work would be very cordially welcomed by the men in those disciplines. Your plan seems

to me to be thorough and exhaustive, and I earnestly hope it may be brought to completion.

James B. Hedges, Brown University

Your project of Congressional Yea-Nay Vote Analysis is well-conceived, promises to be well-executed, and when finished will be of great utility to research historians and classroom teachers. I have nothing to say in criticism of the method you have formulated except to congratulate you on its competence and thoroughness. I am in complete agreement with what you write in regard to the utility of the project.

Paul H. Buck, Harvard University

Many times I would have welcomed this material had it been available and I trust you will carry the work to completion.

Thomas J. Wertenbaker, Princeton University

A very interesting attempt to analyze the relationship between votes and geographic and economic districts. It should lead to most interesting conclusions about the conservatism and traditionalism of rural districts. The whole study will certainly throw new light on the problem of economic and political interrelationships.

Hans Staudinger, Graduate Faculty of
Political & Social Science

Clearly such a compilation, when completed, will be of assistance to the historian, to the history teacher, to the political scientist, the economist, the statistician and the cartographer.

Milledge L. Bonham, Jr., Hamilton College

The work will be of great value to every educator interested in the functioning of a representative democracy. To the student of public opinion or of regionalism it will be invaluable.

E. L. Harshbarger, Bethel College

There can be no question that this is a sound and worthy undertaking. The texts, maps and tabulations are highly informational and illuminating. I am sure this can be extended with great profit to students and scholars of both history and political science. Personally I shall find your material as it appears very helpful, both in study and classroom.

H. J. Thornton, State University of Iowa

This all looks to me like a very useful aid to research workers.

J. D. Hicks, University of Wisconsin

It would be a great aid to us historians of American life to have such an analysis. I could use it often yearly.

William E. Smith, Miami University

It will offer a mine of useful information to students of the political history of the United States, and give them means they have never before possessed for correlating votes in Congress with sectional and State feeling. Undoubtedly a great deal of illumination will be thrown upon public opinion in the United States, its development and its changes.

Allan Nevins, Columbia University

The Congressional Vote Record Project of which you have written appears to me to be a thoroughly worthwhile one. I approve thoroughly. The material would be invaluable in the study of American Economic History - a field in which I am especially interested.

Coleman B. Cheney, Skidmore College

I have read the description of your project for analyzing Congressional yeayay votes and I should certainly give it my enthusiastic support. Anyone who has worked in the field of American Politics needs no elaborate proof as to the value of such an analysis as you propose to make.

Peter H. Odegard, Amherst College

I am very much interested in the project and feel sure that it will have a great deal of value both for political scientists and historians.

Carl B. Swisher, The John Hopkins University

It strikes me that this is a most worthwhile enterprise and one which would be of great value not only to students of history but to all others who work in the field of the social sciences. I can see too how the members of Congress and others connected with our government, both state and federal, would be assisted by having at their command a compendium containing these votes.

Harry J. Carman, Columbia University

As one who has worked to some extent in the field of politics, I cannot imagine anything more useful to students of government and of history than a careful set of map studies which would show yea and nay votes in both houses of Congress on important matters from 1789 to the present. Such map studies would illuminate vast ranges of material in the field of contemporary politics as well as in the field of historical interpretation.

Arthur W. Macmahon, Columbia University

This is an important piece of work well outlined.

Roy F. Nichols, University of Pennsylvania

When supplemented by studies of the economic and social characteristics and interests of the districts, such a study will give us data upon which to chart long-range planning for the United States. It is a fine contribution to accurate scholarship. It will take out of much of our history the guesswork of some of our historians. It is an interesting venture into scientific method with regard to political action I shall await with interest its completion. When that happens, the graduate schools will be flooded with Ph.D. theses starting from it as a basis.

Harry Rieff, St. Lawrence University

May I say how happy I am that this project is being undertaken. It should be of immense utility to every one working in American history, and should enable us to move from the realm of sheer speculation to the realm where speculation may be checked by the actual recorded votes.

Max Lerner, Williams College

It will be a great addition to the materials on the history of this country, especially for us who are endeavoring in our teaching to bring out the fact that it is made of economic sections.

Arthur B. Darling, Andover, Mass.

Such a work would have been of very great assistance to me when I was making a study of the career of John Tyler. Every one who has done much research in American history in the period since 1789 has noted the great value of the proceedings of Congress as a mine of historical information. He is also surprised to find that more use has not been made of this collection of sources. One reason for this is that the work of indexing and organizing this material has not gone far enough to make it available to students. Your project will evidently meet this need. I should, therefore, like to give it my strong endorsement.

O. P. Chitwood, West Virginia University

If the stated ends of the project are attained and the record of all votes taken in Congress is thus made easily and clearly available to all students of American history, yours will be a magnificent achievement. This project should have the support of every teacher and student of American history.

Vernon Carstenson, Central Washington College
of Education

I am enthusiastic about it. I have reason to be, for I have compiled the yea and nay votes for a few cases myself. In writing an article on the antislavery "gag-rule" of 1836-1844, I wanted to know all about the yea and nay votes on the rule. I had to labor through copying the lists of names, verifying the totals, discovering the states from which the members came and the parties to which the members belonged, and then to compile my own summaries of what I found. It was a well-nigh interminable job, and I was able to do it for the final votes only - an unsatisfactory method, but one forced upon me by the physical size of the task.

Robert P. Ludlum, Hofstra College

Such a mapping of votes would be of very great value to me in my own work and to my graduate students. I am delighted that such a project has been undertaken.

Thomas P. Abernethy, University of Virginia

I showed some of them to members of classes and found they excited quite an interest.

W. K. Woolery, Bethany College

Your study of the Congressional Vote is useful as well as interesting. It starts one thinking about the distribution of opinion in the country and about the causes of the differences, and in the end you and your associates may well arrive at some very important results. Anything that helps us to understand ourselves nowadays is precious.

John Erskine, New York City

I have learned through a little experience something of the time it takes to make a careful analysis of any Congressional vote. If your series of volumes could make maps of the votes available to students of history and government, it would be a great boon to many of these students, enabling many of them to study trends indicated by votes more thoroughly than the time of an ordinary individual student permits in most investigations.

Donald L. McMurtry, Russell Sage College

In my own work on the Virginia frontier in the Revolutionary period I have found such data very helpful in trying to approach conclusions.

Freeman H. Hart, Hampden-Sidney

I wish to express my appreciation of the value of the material this project is bringing forth. It seems to me to be a project of the utmost importance to students and investigators, and I am glad to endorse it heartily. There is a real need for a survey of this kind.

W. F. Dunaway, Pennsylvania State College

There is no piece of research in American history that needs more to be done than the one you are attempting and I surely hope that it may be carried through. I only wish that the results were now available.

George R. Taylor, Amherst College

I have spent a good many hours in working up the data and maps which you are engaged upon and not infrequently have found the work very fruitful. I shall certainly welcome the published results of your project and predict that it will be of material assistance to researchers desperately seeking short cuts to complete their studies.

Paul W. Gates, Cornell University

I think your project represents a worthwhile endeavor to make clear and concise analyses available for scholars and students of politics.

Willis F. Dunbar, Kalamazoo College

This is indeed an ambitious undertaking. When completed, it will be a valuable ready reference.

John W. Oliver, University of Pittsburgh

This is a stupendous task upon which you have embarked, and one that should bring you the gratitude of every serious worker in the field of American political history.

Charles H. Coleman, Eastern Illinois State
Teachers College

When completed it will be immensely valuable to all students of American history. The data are purely factual and the procedure is scientific; hence there is no room for opinion and propaganda.

Curtis P. Nettels, University of Wisconsin

Such a survey will furnish primary materials for thinking about our political and social life. Doubtless when ... completed unexpected results will come from studies of the social and economic correlations established.

The project executed as you have planned would make a genuine contribution to the understanding of government.

Charles A. Beard, New Milford, Conn.

SECTION IV

The New Jersey Historical Records Survey, in the unit co-sponsored by Columbia University, is also at work on the projects described in the following pages, all dealing with material of national importance in the field of the Federal Government.

1 - Atlas of Congressional Roll Calls of the Continental Congresses and the Congresses of the Confederation:

This project is preparing in graphic form the roll calls of the Continental Congresses and the Congresses of the Confederation, the maps being accompanied by identifying summaries of the votes, and copies of the roll calls broken down by State in much the manner described above for the Congresses from 1789 to 1932.

The recent and increasing interest in the operation of the Federal Government of the thirteen States from just before the outbreak of the Revolution to the adoption of the Constitution in 1789, has been reflected in the publication of a number of significant works such as the Library of Congress's edition of the Journals of the Continental Congress, Burnett's Letters of Members of the Continental Congress, Sanders' Evolution of the Executive Departments of the Continental Congress, and Jensen's Articles of Confederation. Such sources and studies deal with a field of major significance in tracing the development of the American form of representative government. The problems of the Confederation and of the Continental Congress are in outline well known, but detailed studies of the effects of the unit rule used in these Congresses, of early sectionalism and regionalism, of the rise of what amounted to party divisions, of public opinion as reflected in the Congress, etc., are yet to be made. The vital shift from unit to individual voting and the other changes made by the Constitution of 1787 won important consideration in the debates of the Congress from 1775 to 1789, and those changes are surely of major importance in the evolution of the American democracy.

The maps will show the actual vote of each State with special symbols to indicate minority delegate votes or equal divisions of delegate votes within a State. Summaries will identify the maker of the motion and his State, the date of the motion, and will tell the nature of the motion. Vote totals will be given by State and by individual member, with citations to the accompanying debates in the Library of Congress edition of the Journals. The roll calls will be presented State by State, with the States arranged in alphabetical order. The volume will be featured by a comprehensive index arranged by names of the members who made motions on the floor of the Congress and by subject of the resolutions voted upon.

2 - List and Index of Presidential Executive Orders: Unnumbered Series:

The importance of the Executive Order as an instrument of government is today universally recognized. Yet Orders, numbered or unnumbered, issued prior to the publication of the Federal Register beginning March 14, 1936, are practically unavailable to the public, despite their accepted importance. Such orders as are of contemporary legal effect are noted in the Code of Federal Regulations, published by the National Archives in 1938. However, for the student of history or for the Government official interested in orders no longer in effect, there exists no key whatever. This volume is designed to fill that gap.

The first half of the book will represent a preliminary chronological listing of approximately twelve hundred such orders, ranging from creations of Military and Indian Reservations and other dispositions of the

public domain, to orders establishing special holidays, arranging for the protection of the frontier from the Indian, distributing the Virginus indemnity fund, creating naval oil reserves, coal or water reserves, etc., releasing vessels built in this country for foreign nations during the Civil War; regulating the collection of customs at occupied ports during the Mexican War, and creating such agencies as the Office of Production Management and the Office of Price Administration and Civilian Supply.

The second half will consist of a subject index, alphabetically arranged, to the material of these listed orders. On the whole the book represents the first attempt on a comprehensive scale to make available to the general public the vast bulk of important material handled by the President in orders which never found their way into the regular numbered series. A similar List and Index for the orders of the numbered series is in preparation by the New York City Historical Records Survey.

3 - Rosters of Congress:

This volume will present a complete list of men who have served at any time in either House of the Congress of the United States from 1789 to 1941. It is one of the most valuable byproducts of the Atlas of Congressional Roll Calls. As will be seen from the work procedures described above in Section II, the membership lists for the Atlas were primarily compiled from the Biographical Directory of the American Congress, which is generally accepted as the standard work of its kind. However, in tabulating the votes for the Atlas, a number of discrepancies were noted between the dates of seating or the dates of death or resignation of a number of Congressmen as given in the Directory, and the dates on which they began or stopped voting. In several cases men, according to the Directory, voted before they were seated; others continued to vote several months after their death or resignation. There are also a number of men who have actually voted in Congress, though for one reason or another, they were soon thereafter deprived of their seats and consequently were omitted from the Directory. Any man who has actually voted in Congress on a yea-nay roll call certainly qualifies for inclusion in the roster of that Congress regardless of what disposition was later made of his right to his seat.

It has seemed worthwhile to put out new Rosters embodying these additions and corrections in order that the definitive Roster which could be produced only by the actual inspection of Roll calls and Congressional proceedings which we have had to make on this project, might be made available to the general public.

Some idea of the value which may be attached to such a Roster may be had from the fact that the British Parliament, about ten years ago, appropriated thirty thousand pounds for the compilation under a distinguished committee, including Sir Josiah Wedgwood, Lord Astor, Lord Tweedsmuir, and Lord Stamp, of a Roster of the House of Commons from 1264 to 1832, publication of which is now in process, despite the war.

The Rosters of Congress is arranged in three sections. The first section is organized by name, every member of either House being listed alphabetically with his House and inclusive dates of service. The second section is arranged by State for the Senate (in which case the names are

listed according to seat, so that each man's name is preceded by that of his predecessor and followed by that of his successor - an arrangement similar to that used in the Senate Manual), and for the House by State and District with all members from the first District for a given State being listed in chronological order before those from the second district. The third section is arranged by Congress, similar in arrangement to the Biographical Directory of the American Congress, but with the additions and corrections described above. The three sections will enable the user to find at once any Congressman by name, district or Congress, his dates of service, his predecessors or successors, or to find who represented a particular district at a given time. It will be a useful reference work for Government officials, libraries (particularly the reference divisions), newspaper writers and editors, political commentators and students of American history and government.

4 - Handbook of the Federal Circuit and District Courts:

Relatively little attention has been paid by American historians and political scientists to the evolution, growth and jurisdictional changes of these two important branches of the Federal judiciary. The Handbook shows on maps of the contemporary State and Territorial borders, again a byproduct of the Atlas of Congressional Roll Calls, the growth of the Circuits, Districts and Divisions as they were created or modified. Facing each map, tables give the time and place of meeting and changes of jurisdiction of each court as altered in the interim between that map and the map representing the next alteration of court boundaries. All district and division lines are run according to contemporary county boundaries. The Handbook also contains two rosters of the judges of both the Circuit and District Courts, one set arranged alphabetically by name of the judge, giving his inclusive dates of service, and the other set by court, giving a complete list of men who served upon the bench of each court, circuit by circuit and district by district.

The volume is designed primarily to be a reference manual for the judge, lawyer or student interested in the area, type of jurisdiction, or the presiding judge of a given court at a given time. It will be a useful key to a largely untapped field of study.

5 - Messages and Papers of the Presidents, 1937 to 1941

This represents a continuation of the project of the same name undertaken by the New York City Historical Records survey for the period of 1897 to 1937, designed to bring up to date the valuable compilation edited by James D. Richardson and published by Congress from 1899 to 1905, and to supplant the very unsatisfactory and incomplete compilations published privately from time to time since that date. The compilation includes every message to Congress, every communication to the presiding officer of either House, all treaty transmittals, all regular and treaty proclamations, and all executive orders of the President in the period mentioned. Routine documents are presented in briefed form with citations to the full text. The material is assembled from the Congressional Record, the House and Senate Journals, the United States Statutes at Large, the Federal Register and the Executive Documents, the House and Senate Documents of the Congressional series and a variety of published sources of executive orders in specialized

fields, such as the Panama Canal Record, P. W. A., U. S. Code, Handbook of N. R. A., and the Annual Report of the Civil Service Commission. Unbriefed material is proofread against the original documents in Washington. These volumes will obviously be a convenient and authoritative compilation of the great amount of material of general interest handled by the last Administration from the second inaugural, through the outbreak of the second World War, down to January 21, 1941. This material will be made more accessible by a comprehensive subject index.

6 - Presidential Papers

- a - Alien Entry Regulations: This will include all Presidential orders or proclamations governing or restricting the entry of visiting aliens into this country. It will not include similar material concerning immigrants coming to this country for permanent residence, a field largely covered by Congressional legislation and regulations of the Immigration Service. It will, however, include a great deal of valuable and important material, particularly from the time of the first World War, governing the entry and movements of visiting aliens within the country.
- b - Civil Service Rules: This volume will represent a compilation in full text of all the changes in the Civil Service Rules from 1883 to the present time. Though the bulk of this material appears in the Annual Report of the Civil Service Commission, it is extremely difficult to get at in such form as to enable the user to assess accurately the changes actually effected by the many amending Presidential orders. For the use of Government officials and individuals interested in the Civil Service, it has seemed worthwhile to put these changing regulations in the most serviceable possible form. The indexed mimeographed product will run approximately four volumes.
- c - Consular Regulations: This will be a similarly convenient and useful compilation of Presidential orders affecting the Consular Service. It will not include the Departmental orders issued by the Secretary of State governing the detail of travel allowances and similar administrative regulations, but will include the much more important Presidential material, outlining the rules for the Consular Service, the fees to be charged for certain services, etc.
- d - Customs Collection Districts: This volume will be a collection of all Presidential proclamations and orders affecting the collection of customs and altering the districts and ports of entry from time to time.
- e - Government Employees: In addition to the Civil Service Rules, applicable only to persons within the classified service, there are a great number of Presidential orders governing federal employees outside of the classified service. These orders, which technically are not Civil Service

regulations, are here gathered together for the first time in useful form.

- f - Instructions to Diplomatic Officers: This volume might well be considered a companion volume to the Consular Regulations. It will be a similar compilation in convenient form of Presidential Orders, embodying instructions to the Diplomatic Service, as revised from time to time by the Chief Executive.
- g - Internal Revenue Districts: This will be similar in scope and purpose to the Customs Collection Districts volume described above, but will be limited to Presidential regulations concerning internal revenue collection, districts and offices.
- h - National Forests and Administrative Sites: In Conservation, which is certainly one of the outstanding fields of achievement of the present Administration, national forests, since their creation in 1891, have ranked high in importance. The huge bulk of proclamations and executive orders creating and modifying these reservations is here assembled in seven volumes, including an index for the convenience of the official or student interested in this field. The indiscriminate use of either proclamations or orders for such reservations, together with the relative unavailability of Presidential executive orders prior to 1936, has made this a rather difficult field for reference or study. This compilation is designed to present these documents in the most usable form possible.
- i - National Monuments: The preservation of sites of historical interest and small area was begun in 1906 by Theodore Roosevelt, acting under authority of Congress. To date there have been established over seventy such reservations, beginning with the Petrified Forest in Arizona, for whose preservation the act of 1906 was originally passed. These national monuments are of genuine historical importance as any antiquarian, historian, geologist, or patriot will admit. This compilation of the executive actions creating and modifying these reservations will be of appreciable service in days when most Americans are becoming more and more aware of their past, and more and more inclined to visit such historic spots, either on vacation or by week-end inspection.
- j - Passport Regulations: These regulations are established by the President, and naturally are of the major importance again to lawyers, officials, and students of history and government. A complete collection of these regulations arranged in chronological order, and carefully indexed, will again make a valuable volume in usable form of material now relatively inaccessible and hard to find.
- k - Veterans' Regulations: Here again the major outline of the rules governing veterans' hospitalization, etc., are laid down by executive order of the President. This volume compiles in serviceable form these documents of obvious general interest.

- 1 - Wild Life Conservation: Among our important and highly usable natural resources, wild life, of course, takes high place, particularly fish and fur-bearing animals. The conservation of these resources has developed rapidly in the last forty-five years. The extent and significance of this growth become readily apparent from the acts, treaties, proclamations and orders setting aside big game, bird and wild life refuges, fish hatcheries and culture stations, protecting migratory birds, governing the Pacific halibut fisheries, the Pribilof Island fur seals, and the North Pacific whale industry. That history is well outlined in the documents offered in this volume.
- 7 - Legislative Resolves of the Continental Congresses and the Congresses of the Confederation:

The actual legislative resolves or ordinances of the federal legislature from 1775 to 1789, comparable in importance to the United States Statutes at Large, have never before been brought together in the covers of a single volume. Such a compilation was authorized by Congress by act of March 3, 1877 (19 Stat. L. 406), which provided for the editing and printing of these ordinances and resolves by the Librarian of Congress. In the debate preceding the passage of this act, James A. Garfield, then a member of the House, praised the project "as a document precious to every man who wishes to know the early history of the country" (5 Congressional Record 2139). The project was not consummated in the late 1870's because of the difficulty in assembling all the fragmentary records of the early Congresses, and the Librarian in his annual report of 1877 proposed suspending the project pending the complete compilation and publication of the Journals of Congress for the period 1775 to 1789. The complete revised Journals were published by the Library of Congress in thirty-four volumes, 1904 to 1937, removing the objection which blocked the project sixty-four years ago.

The bulk of the material of the Ordinances is being extracted from these Journals by a meticulous editing of the text of the Resolutions as introduced against the amendments as they were passed by Congress. In addition, certain volumes of the Papers of the Continental Congress filed in the National Archives or the Library of Congress (particularly in numbers 122, 123, 175 and 178) are being consulted.

The format and organization of the volume will conform as closely as possible to that of the Statutes at Large. Approval (passage) dates and topical headings will be placed in the margins with cross references indicated by citation. The laws, confined solely to actual legislative enactments, will be arranged chronologically according to the date of passage, and will be given arbitrary chapter numbers corresponding to the practice established for the Statutes at Large, so that the volume may be used for citation purposes.

The Historical Records Survey Project
wishes to express sincere thanks for
the splendid advice and cooperation
given by the W.P.A. Arts and Crafts
Project in designing and printing the
cover for this publication, and to the
W.P.A. Library Project for assistance
in binding some of these volumes.

PROPOSED PUBLICATIONS:

List and Index of Presidential Executive Orders: Unnumbered Series

Alien Entry Regulations

National Forests and Administrative Sites (7 vols.)

Wild Life Conservation

Handbook of the Federal, Circuit and District Courts

Veterans Regulations

Consular Regulations

Instructions to Diplomatic Officers

Rosters of Congress

Passport Regulations

National Monuments

Atlas of Congressional Roll Calls of the Continental Congresses and the Congresses of the Confederation

Internal Revenue Districts

Messages and Papers of the Presidents
1937 - 1941

Customs Collection Districts

Government Employees

Legislative Resolves of the Continental Congresses and the Congresses of the Confederation - May 1, 1942

Civil Service Rules (4 vols.)

Survey of Public Works Appropriations
(10 vols.)

Atlas of Congressional Roll Calls:
An Analysis of Yea - Nay Votes,
1789-1932 (41 vols.)

PUBLICATIONS OF THE NEW JERSEY HISTORICAL RECORDS SURVEY PROGRAM

The following list includes all New Jersey publications completed and approved for publication, publications in the process of distribution, and copies issued and distributed to date. ★ denotes the edition has been distributed, is exhausted and is now out of print.

INVENTORY OF FEDERAL ARCHIVES IN NEW JERSEY:

Series 2	The Federal Courts
★ Series 3	The Department of the Treasury
Series 4	The Department of War
Series 5	The Department of Justice
★ Series 7	The Department of the Navy
Series 8	The Department of the Interior
★ Series 9	The Department of Agriculture
Series 10	The Department of Commerce
Series 11	The Department of Labor
Series 12	The Veterans Administration
Series 16	The Farm Credit Administration
Series 17	Miscellaneous Agencies

(Series 6 The Post Office Department is not to be published: the completed inventory is deposited in The National Archives, Washington, D.C. Series 13, 14 and 15, covering CWA, ERA and WPA records are being copied by micro-film and will not be issued as Survey publications.)

SPECIAL PUBLICATIONS RELATED TO FEDERAL ARCHIVES

★ Description of Post Office Forms	
Reference Handbook of the Federal Circuit and District Courts	
Presidential Papers: Executive Orders and Proclamations Relating to Game, Bird and Fish Preserves	
Executive Orders and Proclamations Relating to National Forests	
Series 16	The Farm Credit Administration (Delaware)

INVENTORY OF THE COUNTY ARCHIVES OF NEW JERSEY:

★ Number 2	Bergen County	Number 15	Ocean County
★ Number 14	Morris County	Number 16	Passaic County
	Number 19		Sussex County

DIGEST OF LAWS FOR PUBLIC RECORDS REQUIREMENTS IN NEW JERSEY:

Manual of Mandatory Recording Acts: County Requirements
Manual of New Jersey Recording Acts: Municipal Requirements

SPECIAL SCHOOL EDITION OF COUNTY HISTORY AND GOVERNMENTAL ORGANIZATION:

Number 2	Bergen County	Number 15	Ocean County
Number 16	Passaic County	Number 19	Sussex County

INVENTORY OF THE MUNICIPAL ARCHIVES OF NEW JERSEY:

Number 7	Essex County	Volume XVII	Orange
Number 9	Hudson County	Volume II	East Newark
Number 12	Monmouth County	Volume VII	Belmar
Number 14	Morris County	Volume VIII	Denville
Number 14	Morris County	Volume XXXVIII	Wharton

SPECIAL SCHOOL EDITION OF MUNICIPAL HISTORY AND GOVERNMENTAL ORGANIZATION:

Number 7	Essex County,	Volume XVII	Orange
Number 9	Hudson County,	Volume II	East Newark
Number 12	Monmouth County,	Volume VII	Belmar
Number 14	Morris County,	Volume VIII	Denville
Number 14	Morris County,	Volume XXXVIII	Wharton

INVENTORY OF THE CHURCH ARCHIVES OF NEW JERSEY:

* Baptist Churches:	Seventh Day Baptist Supplement
* Baptist Churches	* Protestant Episcopal
* Salvation Army in Jersey City	Unitarian Church
Baha'i Assemblies	* Presbyterians
Congregational Christian Churches	Lutheran (United)
Christian Reformed Church	Evangelical Church
Society of Friends	

INVENTORY OF MANUSCRIPT COLLECTIONS IN NEW JERSEY:

Calendar of the New Jersey State Library Manuscript Collection
Calendar of the Stevens Family Papers: Preliminary Volume
Volume I
Volume II
Guide to Depositories of Manuscript Collections in New Jersey

INVENTORY OF AMERICAN PORTRAITS IN NEW JERSEY:

1440 Early American Portrait Artists (1663-1860): Preliminary Volume

COUNTY DIRECTORIES OF NEW JERSEY CHURCHES:

Volume I	Atlantic County	Volume XII	Middlesex County
Volume II	Bergen County	Volume XIII	Monmouth County
Volume III	Burlington County	Volume XIV	Morris County
Volume IV	Camden County	Volume XV	Ocean County
Volume V	Cape May County	Volume XVI	Passaic County
Volume VI	Cumberland County	Volume XVII	Salem County
Volume VII	Essex County	Volume XVIII	Somerset County
Volume VIII	Gloucester County	Volume XIX	Sussex County
Volume IX	Hudson County	Volume XX	Union County
Volume X	Hunterdon County	Volume XXI	Warren County
± Volume XI	Mercer County		
Volume XXII State Directory of Religious Organizations and Institutions			

TRANSCRIPTION OF EARLY COUNTY RECORDS IN NEW JERSEY:

Gloucester County Series:	
Minutes of the Court of Sessions and Common Pleas Court (1686-1739):	Volumes 1-3
First Quarter Century Documents	Revolutionary War Documents
Freeholders Minutes (1701-1812)	Slave Documents

TRANSCRIPTION OF EARLY CHURCH RECORDS IN NEW JERSEY:

Church Records of Raccoon and Penns Neck
Colporteur Reports to the American Tract Society (1841-1846)
Translation and Transcription of the Friesburg Emanuel Lutheran
Church Book
John Brainerd's Journal (1761-1762)

SPECIAL PUBLICATIONS

The Historical Records Survey in New Jersey

(Commemorating Five Years of Continuous Operation)

Index of the Official Register of the Officers and Men in the
Revolutionary War

The Historical Records Survey and the Librarian

Description of the Atlas of Congressional Roll Calls: Analysis of
Yea-Nay Votes

Guide to Vital Statistics Records in New Jersey:

Volume I, Public Archives

Volume II, Church Archives

Journal of Major Matthias Ogden

Transcription of Hoff Correspondence

For a complete listing of Historical Records Survey publications throughout the United States, see Bibliography of Research Programs Reports: Check List of Historical Records Survey Publications (Washington: Work Projects Administration, September 12, 1940). A revised check list, including all publications to May 15, 1941, will be issued shortly. Inquiries concerning publications should be addressed to the Director of Research and Records Programs, Division of Community Service Programs, 1734 New York Avenue, N.W. Washington, D. C.

