

Appendix

Figure 1 Votes are from ICPSR Study #4, www.senate.gov and www.house.gov

1. H.R. 113 16th Cong. House V75 4/28/1820, Senate V81 5/4/1820 (Tariff of 1820) (NO is the pro-trade vote.)
2. H.R. 47 18th Cong. H. V84 5/18/24, S. v140 5/17/1824 (Tariff of 1824) (NO is the pro-trade vote.)
3. H.R. 362 19th Cong. House V103 2/10/1827, Senate V224 2/28/1827 (Woolens Tariff) (NO is the pro-trade vote.)
4. H.R. 641/S115 22nd Cong. House V448 2/26/1833, Senate V421 3/1/1833 (Clay Compromise Tariff) (NO is the pro-trade vote.)
5. H.R. 547 27th Cong. House V791 8/29/1842, Senate V715 8/27/1842 (Tariff of 1842) (NO is the pro-trade vote.)
6. H.R. 384 29th Cong. House V417 7/29/1846, Senate V241 7/28/1846 (Walker Tariff) (YES is the pro-trade vote.)
7. H.R. 566 34th Cong. House V719 3/2/1857, Senate V435 3/2/1857 (Tariff of 1857) A (YES is the pro-trade vote.)
8. H.R. 718 39th Cong. House V318 7/10/1866 Senate. V397 1/31/1867 (Tariff of 1867) (NO is the pro-trade vote.)
9. H.R. 1460 40th Cong. House V65 2/8/1869, Senate V599 1/19/1869 (Copper Tariff) A (NO is the pro-trade vote.)
10. H.R. 1460 40th Cong. House V662 2/23/1869, Senate V693 2/24/1869 (Copper Veto Override) (NO is the pro-trade vote.)
11. H.R. 174 42nd Cong. V31 House 3/13/1871, Senate V365 4/30/1872 (Coffee/Tea Tariff Repeal) (YES is the pro-trade vote.)

12. H.R. 4680 43rd Cong. House V415 2/23/1875, Senate V405 3/2/1875 (Tariff of 1875)
(NO is the pro-trade vote.)

13. H.R. 5538 47th Cong. House V347 3/3/1883, Senate V992 3/2/1883 (Mongrel Tariff)
(NO is the pro-trade vote.)

14. H.R. 9416 51st Cong. V424 House 9/27/1890, Senate V394 9/30/1890 (McKinley
Tariff.) (NO is the pro-trade vote.)

15. H.R. 4864 53rd Cong. House V331 8/13/1894, Senate V433 7/3/1894 (Gorman Tariff)
(YES is the pro-trade vote.)

16. H.R. 379 55th Cong. House V44 7/19/1897, Senate V222 7/24/1897 (Dingley Tariff)
(NO is the pro-trade vote.)

17. H.R. 1438 61st Cong. House V44 7/31/1909, Senate V137 8/5/1909 (Payne-Aldrich
Tariff) (NO is the pro-trade vote.)

18. H.R. 4412 62nd Cong. House V21 4/21/1911, Senate V91 7/22/1911 (Reciprocal
Trade with Canada) (YES is the pro-trade vote.)

19. H.R. 11019 62nd Cong. House V49 8/14/11 Senate V121 8/15/1911 (Wool Tariff
Reduction) (YES is the pro-trade vote.)

20. H.R. 12812 62nd Cong. House V58 8/21/1911, Senate V128 8/17/1911 (Cotton
Manufactures Tariff Reduction) (YES is the pro-trade vote.)

21. H.R. 22195 62nd Cong. House V180 8/3/1912, Senate V267 8/5/1912 (Wool Tariff
Reduction) (YES is the pro-trade vote.)

22. H.R. 18642 62nd Cong. House V190 8/14/1912, Senate V302 8/16/1912 (Iron and
Steel Tariff Reduction) (YES is the pro-trade vote.)

23. H.R. 22195 62nd Cong. House V188 8/13/1912, Senate V303 8/16/1912 (Wool Tariff Reduction/Veto Override) (YES is the pro-trade vote.)
24. H.R. 3321 63rd Cong. House V46 9/30/1913, Senate V155 10/2/1913 (Underwood Tariff) (YES is the pro-trade vote.)
25. H.R. 15275 66th Cong. House V327 2/26/1921, Senate V408 2/28/1921 (Emergency Tariff) (NO is the pro-trade vote.)
26. H.R. 2435 67th Cong. House V32 5/23/1921, Senate V120 5/20/1921 (Emergency Tariff) (NO is the pro-trade vote.)
27. H.R. 7456 67th Cong. House V302 9/15/1922, Senate V675 9/19/1922 (Fordney-McCumber Tariff) (NO is the pro-trade vote.)
28. H.R. 2667 71st Cong. House V69 6/14/1930, Senate V364 6/13/1930 (Smoot-Hawley) (NO is the pro-trade vote.)
29. H.R. 6662 72nd Cong. House V46 4/28/1932, Senate V93 4/1/1932 (Collier Bill) (YES is the pro-trade vote.)
30. H.R. 8687 73rd Cong. V101 House 3/29/1934, Senate V220 6/4/1934 (Reciprocal Trade Agreements Act) (YES is the pro-trade vote.)
31. H.J. Res. 96 75th Cong. House V20 2/9/1937, Senate V24 2/25/1937 (RTAA Extension) (YES is the pro-trade vote.)
32. H.J. Res. 407 76th Cong. House V/120 2/23/1940, Senate V180 4/5/1940 (RTAA Extension) (YES is the pro-trade vote.)
33. H.J. Res. 11 78th Cong. House V44 5/13/1943, Senate V54 6/2/1943 (RTAA Extension) (YES is the pro-trade vote.)

34. H.R. 3240 79th Cong. House V53 5/26/1945, Senate V67 6/20/1945 (RTAA Extension) (YES is the pro-trade vote.)
35. H.R. 1211 81st Cong. House V17 2/9/1949, Senate V215 9/15/1949 (RTAA Extension.) (YES is the pro-trade vote.)
36. H.R. 11970 87th Cong. House V235 10/4/1962, Senate V402 9/19/1962 (Trade Expansion Act) (YES is the pro-trade vote.)
37. H.R. 10710 93rd Cong. House V1083 12/20/1974, Senate V1148 12/20/1974 (Trade Reform Act) (YES is the pro-trade vote.)
38. H.R. 1562 99th Cong. House V396 12/3/1985, Senate V315 11/13/1985 (Textile and Apparel Quotas) (NO is the pro-trade vote.)
39. H.R. 4848 100th Cong. House V722 7/13/1988, Senate V718 8/3/1988 (Omnibus Trade Bill) (NO is the pro-trade vote.)
40. H.R. 5090 100th Cong. House V757 8/9/1988, Senate V762 9/19/1988 (U.S.-Canada FTA) (YES is the pro-trade vote.)
41. H.R.4328 101st Cong. House V694 9/18/1990, Senate V470 7/17/1990 (Textile Quota) (NO is the pro-trade vote.)
42. H.R. 101 102nd Cong. House V125 5/23/1991, Senate V96 5/24/1991 (Fast Track for NAFTA.) (YES is the pro-trade vote.)
43. H.R. 2212 Conf. Report 102nd Congress House V446 11/26/1991, Senate V321 2/25/1992 (Condition MFN for China) (NO is the pro-trade vote.)
44. H.R. 2212 (Veto Override) 102nd Cong. House V497 3/11/1992, Senate V342 3/18/1992 (NO is the pro-trade vote.)

45. H.R. 5318 102nd Cong. House V895 9/30/1992, Senate V545 10/1/1992 (Condition MFN for China.) (NO is the pro-trade vote.)
46. H.R. 1876 103rd Cong. House V257 6/22/1993, Senate V202 6/30/1993 (Fast Track for WTO.) (YES is the pro-trade vote.)
47. H.R. 3450 103rd Cong. House V585 11/17/1993, Senate V405 11/20/1993 (NAFTA.) (YES is the pro-trade vote.)
48. H.R. 5110 103rd Cong. House V1132 11/29/1994, Senate V734 12/1/1994 (WTO) (YES is the pro-trade vote.)
49. H.R. 975 106th Cong. House Vote 56 3/17/1999, Senate Vote 178 6/22/1999 (Steel Quotas) (NO is the pro-trade vote.)
50. H.R. 434 106th Cong. House Vote 145 5/4/2000, Senate Vote 98 5/11/2000 (African Trade) (YES is the pro-trade vote.)
51. H.R. 4444 106th Cong. House Vote 228 5/24/2000, Senate Vote 251 9/19/2000 (Permanent Normal Trade with China) (YES is the pro-trade vote.)
52. H.R. 3009 107th Cong. House Vote 370 7/27/2002, Senate Vote 207 8/1/2002 (Trade Promotion Authority) (YES is the pro-trade vote.)
53. H.R. 2739 108th Cong. House Vote 432 7/24/2003, Senate Vote 318 7/31/2003 (U.S.- Singapore Free Trade Agreement) (YES is the pro-trade vote.)
54. H.R. 2740 108th Cong. House Vote 436 7/24/2003, Senate Vote 319 7/31/2003 (U.S.- Chile Free Trade Agreement) (YES is the pro-trade vote.)
55. H.R. 4759 108th Congress House Vote 375 7/14/2004, Senate Vote 156 7/15/2004 (U.S.-Australia Free Trade Agreement) (YES is the pro-trade vote.)

56. H.R. 4842/S. 2627 108th Congress Senate Vote 159 7/21/2004 House Vote 413 7/22/2004 (U.S.-Morocco Free Trade Agreement.) (YES is the pro-trade vote.)

57. S1307 109th Cong. House Vote 170 6/30/2005, Senate Vote 443 7/28/2005. Dominican Republic-Central American Free Trade Agreement. (YES is the pro-trade vote.)

58. H.R. 5684 109th Cong. House Vote 392 7/20/2006 Senate Vote 250 9/19/2006 U.S.-Oman Free Trade Agreement (YES is the pro-trade vote.)

Table One *State population* is the natural log of state population from each census as reported in the Statistical Abstract of the United States for various years. Votes Used:

1. H.R. 3240 79th Cong. 6/19/1945 Reciprocal Trade (NO is the pro-trade vote.)
2. H.R. 1211 81st Cong. V213 9/15/1949 Reciprocal Trade. (NO is the pro-trade vote.)
3. H.R. 1 84th Cong. 5/4/1955 Reciprocal Trade (YES is the pro-trade vote.)
4. H.R. 12591 85th Cong. V252 7/22/1958 Reciprocal Trade. (YES is the pro-trade vote.)
5. H.R. 11970 87th Cong. V392 9/18/1962 Trade Expansion Act (NO is the pro-trade vote.)
6. H.R.10710 93rd Cong. V1114 12/13/1974 Trade Reform Act (YES is the pro-trade vote.)
7. H.R. 1562 99th Cong. V315 11/13/1985 Textile-Copper-Footwear Quota (NO is the pro-trade vote.)
8. H.R. 3 100th Cong. V218 7/21/1987 Omnibus Trade Bill (NO is the pro-trade vote.)
9. H.R. 3 100th Cong. V599 6/8/1988 Omnibus Trade Bill/Veto Override (NO is the pro-trade vote.)

10. H.R. 2212 102nd Cong. V152 7/23/91 MFN for China (NO is the pro-trade vote.)
11. H.R. 3450 103rd Cong. V405 11/20/1993 NAFTA (YES is the pro-trade vote.)
12. H.R. 5110 103rd Cong. V734 12/4/1994 WTO Accession (YES is the pro-trade vote.)
13. S.1269 105th Cong. Vote 292 11/4/1997 Fast Track (YES is the pro-trade vote.)
14. H.R.4444 106th Cong. Vote 242 9/13/2000 China Trade (YES is the pro-trade vote.)
15. H.R. 3009 107th Cong. Vote 130 5/24/2002 Trade Promotion Authority (YES is the pro-trade vote.)
16. H.R. 3045 109th Cong. Vote 443 7/28/2005 Central American Free Trade Agreement (YES is the pro-trade vote.)

Table Two: Votes as in Table 1. *State population* is the log of state population from the most recent census, reported in the Statistical Abstract of the U.S. *GOP* is a variable that takes the value ‘1’ if the Senator is a Republican and an ‘0’ in all other cases. *Textiles* and *Metals* are the log of the percentage of state employment in SIC codes 22 and 33 respectively, taken from County Business Patterns from 1948,1960,1970,1980,1990 and 1997. *Unions* is the log of the share of states’ workforce in unions, from the Statistical Abstract of the United States from various years. *Exports* is the log of the percentage of Gross State Product (and in earlier years State personal income) accounted for by merchandise and agricultural exports, reported in the Statistical Abstract, and in Foreign Agricultural Trade of the U.S. *South* is a dichotomous variable that is coded as ‘1’ if the Senator represents one of the former Confederate States or Kentucky or Oklahoma and as ‘0’ otherwise. All variables are logged and set from zero to one.

Table Three Votes from Figure 1 cases: 43,44,49,51,52. Population is from the Almanac of American Politics for various years.

Table Four **Votes 34-58** from Table 1.