

THE CHRONICLES OF OKLAHOMA



For these cotton farmers near Cordell in 1924, intensive labor practices, overproduction, declining prices, and boll weevils threatened their very survival. The state's congressional delegation responded with pleas for federal assistance (Courtesy OHS).

“Save the Farmer”

Oklahoma Congressmen and Farm Relief Legislation, 1924–1928

*By Phillip A. Grant, Jr.**

During the years between 1924 and 1928 farm relief was widely acknowledged as the most exasperating issue facing Congress. The precipitous decline in American farm income and the failure of agriculture to share in the general prosperity of the 1920s profoundly disturbed many congressmen from rural districts and agrarian states. Forming a bipartisan farm bloc, rural congressmen offered a number of legislative initiatives to alleviate the plight of American agriculture.¹

Among the individuals vested with the responsibility of evaluating the various bills and resolutions were the two United States senators and eight members of the House of Representatives from Oklahoma. Between 1924 and 1928 the ten members of the Oklahoma congressional delegation devoted a substantial amount of time and attention to the task of seeking a solution to the farm crisis. As the spokesmen of a major farm state close to the geographic heart of the nation, these congressmen were quite familiar with the serious problems plaguing agriculture in the Great Plains and the nearby states of the South and West.²

The most widely publicized agricultural measure pending before Congress between 1924 and 1928 was the Farm Relief (McNary-Haugen) Bill. Co-authored by Senator Charles L. McNary of Oregon and Representative Gilbert N. Haugen of Iowa, the Farm Relief Bill was first proposed in February of 1924. The bill generated a spirited nationwide debate over the extent to which the federal government should intervene in the agricultural economy. Although the details of the bill varied with each succeeding session of Congress, the McNary-Haugen proposal featured the equalization principle. The bill autho-

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rized the establishment of a federal farm board to purchase specified commodities during years of large output. The board would keep farm surpluses off the market until prices increased or sell them abroad at the prevailing world figure. An equalization fee was to be paid by producers to compensate the government partially for any financial losses incurred by selling at lower world prices.³

In 1924 the McNary-Haugen Bill was formally considered only by the House of Representatives. A slightly modified version of the original bill was introduced by Representative Haugen on May 2, 1924, and favorably reported by the House Committee on Agriculture on the same day. On May 20 the bill was brought before the House chamber for general debate. Although there was a consensus that the bill would not pass the House at this time, the members had ample opportunity to voice their sentiments on the issue of farm relief during the seven days of floor discussion.⁴

Four members of the House of Representatives from Oklahoma delivered speeches on the McNary-Haugen Bill. They were Democrats Charles D. Carter of Ardmore, Thomas D. McKeown of Ada, and Fletcher B. Swank of Norman, and Republican Milton C. Garber of Enid. Carter, McKeown, Swank, and Garber were experienced public servants and were destined to spend an aggregate total of fifty-eight years on Capitol Hill.⁵

Carter, elected to Congress immediately after Oklahoma attained statehood in 1907, lamented the "extremely deplorable" conditions to which the farmers of Oklahoma and the surrounding states had been subjected since the beginning of the 1920s. Charging that the Republican administration of President Calvin Coolidge apparently did not "even remotely realize" the desperation afflicting many of the farmers in the western half of the nation, Carter described the magnitude of the farm crisis: "Crop failure has followed crop failure, and the price of farm products has been reduced and deflated with no corresponding reduction in the price of things they have to buy until our farmers have about lost heart and courage."⁶

Serving his fourth of eight terms in the House, McKeown complained that the farmers were "being ground between the upper stone of high prices for his necessities and the lower stone of low prices for his products." McKeown maintained that the products of the farmer in 1924 would hardly buy one-half as much as in 1919. Warning his colleagues that the farmers of Oklahoma were "not struggling for comfort but for their very existence," he declared that he was "unwilling to confess that the House of Representatives is impotent in this emergency."⁷

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Milton C. Garber (left), congressman from the 8th District, and Charles D. Carter (right), from the 3rd District, were two of the more vocal proponents for farm relief in Congress (Courtesy Western History Collections).

Swank, a member of the House Committee on Agriculture, represented seven counties in the central part of Oklahoma. Arguing that the McNary-Haugen Bill was designed "to meet a great emergency," he stressed that farmers were leaving rural communities and migrating to the cities because they could "not long continue to produce the necessities of life at a loss." Swank, urging the House to take compassion on the farmer by approving the McNary-Haugen measure, concluded: "This bill will greatly assist him in recovering from the depression of his prices during the past four years, and will show him that we are interested in him and the welfare of his family."⁸

Garber, whose spacious district encompassed the Panhandle and most of northwestern Oklahoma, was one of the few Republicans elected to the House from the Sooner State since statehood. Although generally sympathetic to the Coolidge Administration, Garber agreed with his Democratic colleagues that the "ills of the farmer are fundamental, demanding immediate relief." Endorsing the concept of direct federal involvement, Garber, noting that the national government had intervened in behalf of industry and transportation, asked "why should it not do as much for agriculture until it extricates itself from its present condition."⁹

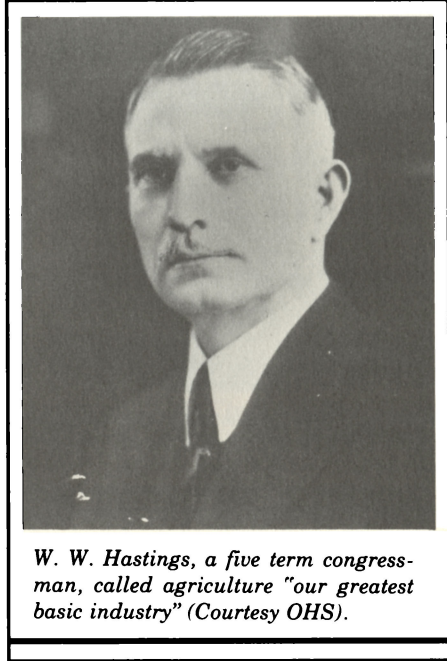
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Since a majority of the key congressmen of both political parties had indicated opposition to the McNary-Haugen Bill, it seemed virtually certain that the bill would be defeated in the House. After the Speaker's gavel fell, the McNary-Haugen Bill was rejected on a 155-22 roll call. In sharp contrast to the prevailing majority the members of the Oklahoma delegation voted 7-0 in favor of the bill's passage.¹⁰

The Farm Relief Bill was reintroduced by Representative Haugen on April 26, 1926. On the following day the Committee on Agriculture recommended that the bill be submitted to the House for approval. Beginning on May 4, the House set aside ten days for debate on the bill. While many of the speeches were similar to those of 1924, the House members generally acknowledged that the farm crisis had become more severe during the intervening two years.¹¹

Six Oklahoma congressmen urged the House either to pass the McNary-Haugen Bill or approve some other comprehensive remedy for the misfortunes of American farmers. Voicing their opinions on the need for action were Representatives Carter, McKeown, Swank, Garber, William W. Hastings of Tahlequah, and Elmer Thomas of Medicine Park.

Carter, alarmed that the nation's agricultural problem had reached its "most acute stage," reported that many of Oklahoma's farmers had either been forced into bankruptcy or foreclosed and driven from their homes. Insisting that the American farmer was in "dire distress," McKeown implored the House to approve a bill by which the farmer "can better his condition and lift it up." According to Swank, the farmers of the United States realized that "they have been the target for unjust and unfair discrimination, while at the same time they have been engaged in our most important business."



W. W. Hastings, a five term congressman, called agriculture "our greatest basic industry" (Courtesy OHS).

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Garber, resentful that the farmers of the country had not received their proportionate share of the national income, reasoned that the national government "should be as greatly concerned in agriculture as it has been and now is in other lines of industry."¹²

Hastings, who in 1926 was completing his fifth of nine terms in the House, surmised that the reality of a serious farm problem was conceded by everyone. Acclaiming agriculture as "our greatest basic industry," Hastings warned that to "further impoverish and destroy" the farm economy guaranteed that every type of business would be harmed. Hastings climaxed his remarks: "Legislation favorable to the farmer, therefore, benefits every citizen of the Nation and surely Congress can be depended upon to enact some sound legislation that will tend to alleviate his condition."¹³

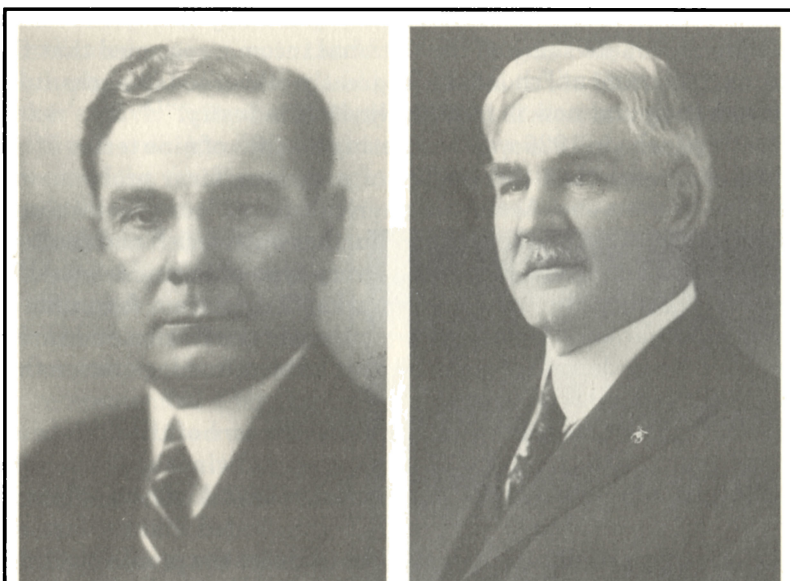
Elmer Thomas, a former President *pro tempore* of the Oklahoma Senate, was waging a vigorous campaign to win election to the United States Senate in 1926. Emphasizing that American agriculture "is in distress and needs relief," Thomas stated that the farmers of the nation were petitioning Congress to "solve the problem of their approaching bankruptcy." Advocating that the resources of the federal government be mobilized, Thomas expressed the view that "agriculture as an honorable, respectable, and prosperous occupation, can and will be saved."¹⁴

On May 21, 1926, the House defeated the McNary-Haugen Bill on a 167-212 roll call. Freshman Republican Representative Samuel J. Montgomery of Bartlesville was the sole Oklahoman to cast a negative vote on the bill. Although somewhat disappointed at the bill's fate, its supporters were consoled that the measure in 1926 lost by only forty-five votes. In 1924 the losing margin had been sixty-seven votes.¹⁵

Unlike 1924 and 1926, the Senate in 1927 took the initiative in expediting the McNary-Haugen Bill. On December 14, 1926, the bill was reintroduced by McNary and on January 24, 1927, it was endorsed by the Senate Committee on Agriculture and Forestry. Since both Majority Leader Charles Curtis of Kansas and Minority Leader Joseph T. Robinson of Arkansas strongly favored farm relief legislation, it was generally assumed that the Senate would pass the McNary-Haugen Bill.¹⁶

The Senate deliberations on the McNary-Haugen measure began on February 2, 1927. In rather leisurely fashion the Senate debated the question of farm relief for eight days. After disposing of several substantive amendments and rejecting a motion to recommit, the

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Senators William B. Pine (left) of Okmulgee and John W. Harreld of Oklahoma City voted time and again for farm relief (Courtesy OHS).

Senate on February 11 passed the McNary-Haugen Bill on a 47–39 tabulation. Voting affirmatively on the bill were the two United States senators from Oklahoma, Republicans John W. Harreld of Oklahoma City and William B. Pine of Okmulgee.¹⁷

On February 14 a privileged resolution was offered to bring the Senate bill to the House floor for immediate consideration. On the same day this resolution was approved by the committee on rules. According to the terms of the resolution, only two hours of general debate would be permitted in the House chamber.¹⁸

Three Oklahoma congressmen, Representatives McKeown, Garber, and Hastings, spoke in behalf of the McNary-Haugen Bill. As in 1926, these three gentlemen beseeched the House to pass farm relief legislation.

Acknowledging that he represented an agrarian constituency, McKeown appealed to congressmen from industrial districts to vote for the passage of a farm relief bill. McKeown, while conceding that the McNary-Haugen Bill was not a perfect proposal, emphasized that agricultural legislation “is imperative and speed in enacting a relief measure is the essence of the necessity.” Alleging that since the

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beginning of the 1920s, the nation's farmers had “seen their earnings vanish like a mist before a new-born gale,” McKeown feared that the home-owning independent farmer was “fast passing out of the picture of American life.”¹⁹

Garber explained that the American farmer was seeking “relief from the conditions created for prosperity for labor and industry which now operate against him and place him at a disadvantage with which he is unable to cope.” Insisting that the farmer must receive prices that will yield him a reasonable profit, Garber asked the House to provide the farmer with the “machinery to successfully merchandise his products.”²⁰

Noting that every member of Congress was aware of the existence of an authentic farm crisis, Hastings was convinced that farmers could not survive under existing conditions. Urging his colleagues to “restore confidence in the justice and fairness of our Government” by approving the McNary-Haugen Bill, Hastings concluded:

Pass this bill and you add to the prosperity of the entire citizenry of the Nation. The prosperous farmer buys more of the goods manufactured in the East, furnishes more products for transportation, spends more improving his farms, employs more men, has money in the bank, spends more money with local merchants, more generously supports schools and churches, and is better able to clothe, educate, and maintain his family. The proceeds of his products go into the channels of trade, and the result is beneficial to all.²¹

Based on the tone of the floor discussion, it seemed likely that the McNary-Haugen Bill would be approved by the House. On February 17, 1927, the House voted 214–178 in favor of the bill's passage. As in 1926, Oklahomans were aligned 7–1 for the bill. The sole dissenter again was Representative Montgomery.

On February 25, 1927, President Calvin Coolidge vetoed the McNary-Haugen Bill. Since Coolidge had sternly warned that he was opposed to the idea of a federal farm board, the President's action had been anticipated by all the principal congressional leaders. Acknowledging the impossibility of overriding the veto, Senator McNary merely proposed that the Chief Executive's message be referred to the Committee on Agriculture and Forestry.²³

In 1928 the McNary-Haugen Bill received its maximum exposure on Capitol Hill. For eleven weeks the bill was the only question of consequence pending before Congress. Unlike 1927, both the House and Senate scrutinized the bill in a thorough and patient manner and without difficulty reached a consensus on its merits.

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The Farm Relief Bill was reintroduced by McNary on March 7, 1928. After promptly securing the endorsement of the Senate Agriculture and Forestry Committee, the measure was placed on the Senate calendar. The Senate thereupon analyzed the McNary-Haugen Bill for eight days between March 29 and April 12.²⁴

The Senate passed the McNary-Haugen Bill on April 12, 1928, by the impressive margin of 53-23. The bill, which had been approved by a margin of eight votes in 1927, prevailed in the Senate by a thirty vote majority in 1928. The McNary-Haugen measure commanded the support of a solid majority of senators affiliated with both political parties, including Democrat Elmer Thomas and Republican William B. Pine of Oklahoma.²⁵

On April 14, 1928, the McNary-Haugen Bill received a favorable report from the House Committee on Agriculture. The House debate on the bill lasted from April 26 to May 3. Three Oklahomans, Representatives Swank, Everette B. Howard of Tulsa, and Jed Johnson of Anadarko, participated in the deliberations on the McNary-Haugen Bill and voiced sentiments similar to the ones advanced by the Oklahoma delegation in 1924, 1926, and 1927.²⁶

Swank argued that the distress pervading agriculture signified that there could be no general prosperity in the nation. Reminding his colleagues that their entire supplies of food and clothing were produced on farms, he asked the House to pass the McNary-Haugen Bill and place the farmer of the United States "upon the same plane as our other citizens." Swank, attempting to describe the magnitude of the existing situation, observed that "never in the history of this country have we seen agriculture and farming conditions so depressed as in the past eight years."²⁷

Agreeing with Swank's interpretation, Howard, a former Oklahoma State Auditor, stressed that the plight of American agriculture was "deplorable." Howard, insisting that enactment of the McNary-Haugen Bill would assure a "square deal" for the country's farm community, summarized the problem: "The farmers continue to toil from daylight to dark, as do their wives and children, and are unable to pay their interest, taxes, and other expenses and do not enjoy in full even the necessities of life."²⁸

Johnson, who served twenty years in Congress and sixteen years as a Judge of the United States Customs Court, praised the McNary-Haugen Bill as "an honest effort to help the farmer to help himself and to restore to the farmer the stabilization of farm products." Citing the McNary-Haugen plan as obviously of paramount importance to

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the status of agriculture, Johnson bluntly concluded: “We must give the farmer this measure or go home empty handed, as far as farm legislation is concerned.”²⁹

On May 3, 1928, the House of Representatives passed the McNary-Haugen Bill by the convincing margin of 204–121. Among the 102 Republicans and 100 Democrats favoring the bill were all eight members of the Oklahoma delegation. Thus, between 1924 and 1928 the number of House members supporting the McNary-Haugen measure rose from 155 to 204, while the opponents dwindled from 222 to 121.³⁰

A conference committee was appointed on May 4 to reconcile the comparatively minor differences between the House and Senate versions of the bill. Within ten days the conferees succeeded in resolving the variations in the respective bills. With the eight Oklahomans casting affirmative votes the House on May 14 adopted the conference report on a 204–117 roll call. Two days later the Senate approved the report by voice vote.³¹

It was absolutely certain that President Coolidge would veto the 1928 McNary-Haugen Bill. The President officially disapproved the bill on May 23. In contrast to 1927, however, the members of the



Congressman Sam Montgomery, a Republican from Bartlesville, was the only Oklahoman voting against farm relief. He served only one term (Courtesy Western History Collections).

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Senate's farm bloc were determined to challenge Coolidge's veto. On May 25 the Senate balloted 50–31 in favor of a motion to override. Since there were four votes short of the necessary two-thirds majority, the veto was upheld.³²

The President's second veto of the McNary-Haugen Bill marked the culmination of four years of spirited debate over the wisdom of farm relief legislation. Although the McNary-Haugen Bill was never enacted into law, it attracted enormous attention throughout the country and alerted millions of Americans to the plight of the nation's farmers.

There were three basic reasons explaining why all but one of the fourteen Oklahomans who served in Congress between 1924 and 1928 supported the McNary-Haugen Bill. First, there was a close identification in Oklahoma with the other states of the Great Plains. Another factor was the sustained presence of the Democratic Party as Oklahoma's dominant political force. Finally, and perhaps most important, was the solidly agricultural complexion of the Oklahoma economy.

The Great Plains, extending from the southern boundary of Oklahoma to the Canadian border, contained the nation's highest proportion of farm population and was more severely plagued by the agricultural crisis than any other region. Even under normal circumstances no section of the country was more thoroughly dependent upon agriculture for its economic survival. During the 1920s the Great Plains experienced the lowest rate of population growth in the United States, a factor largely attributable to a \$2,385,000,000 (28.4%) decline in the value of farm property. In 1924 congressmen from the Great Plains voted for the McNary-Haugen Bill by the unanimous margin of 26–0, while in 1926 they favored the measure by a 27–1 ratio. In 1927 and 1928 the respective majorities in behalf of the McNary-Haugen Bill were 35–1 and 36–0. Indeed, Representative Montgomery, the sole congressman from the Great Plains who opposed the McNary-Haugen Bill, was defeated for re-election in 1926. The unwavering commitment of Great Plains congressmen to a federal farm relief program was certainly reflected by the votes of the Oklahoma delegation on the various roll calls between 1924 and 1928.

Although the McNary-Haugen Bill was co-authored by two distinguished Republicans, it was the Democratic Party which exhibited increasing enthusiasm for the bill with each passing year. In 1924 Democrats in the House opposed the McNary-Haugen Bill by a major-

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ity of 100–52, while in 1926 Democrats were aligned 89–6 against the bill. The situation changed dramatically in 1927, when the bill commanded the support of congressional Democrats by a 127–80 majority. In 1928 Democratic endorsement for the bill grew to 123–70, and in the same year the Democratic National Convention adopted a platform strongly advocating passage of the McNary-Haugen Bill. The fact that Democrats won twenty-one of twenty-six congressional elections during the period the McNary-Haugen Bill was under consideration certainly established that Oklahoma was an essentially Democratic state, and the successive tabulations on the McNary-Haugen Bill furnished evidence that Oklahoma Democrats were an important component in the growing Democratic acceptance of the McNary-Haugen Bill.

According to the Census of 1920, 72.5% of the 2,028,283 citizens of Oklahoma resided in rural communities. Five years later the Department of Commerce found that 1,045,000 (50.1%) of the people of Oklahoma lived on farms, thereby constituting the highest number of individuals engaged in agriculture of any of the states in the Great Plains. Altogether in 1925 there were 197,000 farms and 30,869,000 acres of farmland within the confines of Oklahoma. Between 1920 and 1930 the value of farm property in the Sooner State dropped by \$119,000,000 (8.8%). Between 1924 and 1928 Oklahoma produced 235,492,000 bushels of wheat, 280,084 bushels of corn, 138,078 bushels of oats, and 7,207,000 pounds of cotton. In the aggregate totals for the period from 1924 to 1928 Oklahoma ranked fourth in the nation in wheat production and fifth in cotton production. An analysis of the prices commanded by such crops as wheat, corn, oats, and cotton indicated that the Oklahoma farm economy was in a precarious position. The official price statistics were:

	1924	1928
Wheat	\$1.24/bushel	\$1.00/bushel
Corn	\$0.89/bushel	\$0.68/bushel
Oats	\$0.53/bushel	\$0.47/bushel
Cotton	\$0.22/pound	\$0.17/pound

Thus, over a four-year interval farm prices dwindled as follows: Wheat 19.9%; Corn 24.8%; Oats 11.3%; Cotton 22.7%. The ominous figures for Oklahoma farmers obviously meant that congressmen from a predominantly agrarian state would be vigilant in their efforts to enact a measure such as the McNary-Haugen Bill.

Between 1924 and 1928 Congress on four separate occasions had

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the opportunity to review the McNary-Haugen Bill. During the same comparatively brief period the farm crisis became the paramount domestic issue facing the nation. The members of the Oklahoma congressional delegation, representing a state whose economy was primarily based on agriculture, mobilized in behalf of the McNary-Haugen Bill and hoped that its passage would provide a desperately needed remedy for the frustrations and hardships of their constituents.

ENDNOTES

* Phillip A. Grant, Jr., is a historian residing in Bronxville, New York.

¹ Scholarly accounts of American agriculture between 1924 and 1928 may be found in the following works: John D. Hicks, *Republican Ascendancy, 1921-1932* (New York: Harper and Row, 1960), pp. 193-214; Arthur M. Schlesinger, Jr., *The Crisis of the Old Order* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1956), pp. 105-10; George H. Soule, *Prosperity Decade* (New York: Rinehart and Company, 1947), pp. 229-51.

² According to the Census of 1920, Oklahoma had a population of 2,028,283. More populous than sixteen of the other twenty-one states west of the Mississippi River, Oklahoma bordered on the midwestern states of Missouri and Kansas, the southern states of Arkansas and Texas, and the western states of New Mexico and Colorado.

³ John D. Black, "The McNary-Haugen Movement," *American Economic Review* (September, 1928), pp. 405-27; Darwin N. Kelley, "The McNary-Haugen Bills, 1924-1928," *Agricultural History* (October, 1940), pp. 170-80; Earl Pomeroy, "Charles Linza McNary," *Dictionary of American Biography, Supplement Three* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1973), pp. 496-97; Earle D. Ross, "Gilbert Nelson Haugen," *Dictionary of American Biography, Supplement One* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1944), pp. 384-85; Henry A. Wallace, "Stabilization of Farm Prices Under the McNary-Haugen Bill," *Annals of the Academy of Political and Social Science* (March, 1929), pp. 402-405; "The McNary-Haugen Agricultural Bill," *Congressional Digest* (May, 1924), pp. 263-79.

⁴ House of Representatives, *H.R. 9033—A bill declaring an emergency in respect of certain agricultural commodities, to promote equality between agricultural commodities and other commodities, and for other purposes*, May 2, 1924; House of Representatives, *Report Number 631*, May 2, 1924; United States Congress, *Congressional Record* (Washington: United States Government Printing Office, 1924), LXV, 9021-9034, 9196-9239, 9280-9372, 9374-9388, 9435-9462, 9926-9955, 10040-10067, 10340-10341.

⁵ Lawrence F. Kennedy (comp.), *Biographical Director of the American Congress, 1774-1971* (Washington: United States Government Printing Office, 1971), pp. 711, 934, 1383, 1778.

⁶ *Congressional Record*, LXV, 10026-10028.

⁷ *Ibid.*, 9377-9378.

⁸ *Ibid.*, 9208-9211.

⁹ *Ibid.*, 8814-8819.

¹⁰ *Congressional Record*, LXV, 10340-10341; *Times*, New York, N. Y., June 4, 1924, pp. 1, 2.

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¹¹ *H.R. 11603—A bill to establish a Federal farm board to aid in the orderly marketing and in the control and disposition of the surplus in agricultural commodities*, April 26, 1926; *House Report 1003*, April 27, 1926; *Congressional Record*, LXVII, 8696–8717, 8836–8877, 8931–8955, 8981–9006, 9093–9180, 9217–9246, 9292–9406, 9463–9483, 9648–9663, 9745–9799, 9849–9863.

¹² *Congressional Record*, LXVII, 8869–8870, 8992–8996, 9096–9098, 9364–9368.

¹³ *Congressional Record*, LXVII, 9749–9753; *Biographical Directory of American Congress*, p. 1085.

¹⁴ *Congressional Record*, LXVII, 7085–7086; Charles C. Hay III, "Elmer Thomas," *Dictionary of American Biography, Supplement Seven* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1981), pp. 738–39.

¹⁵ *Congressional Record*, LXVII, 9863; *Times*, New York, May 22, 1926, pp. 1, 6.

¹⁶ *United States Senate, S. 4808—A bill to establish a Federal farm board to aid in the orderly marketing and in the control and disposition of the surplus in agricultural commodities*, December 14, 1926; *United States Senate, Report Number 1304*, January 24, 1927.

¹⁷ *Congressional Record*, LXVIII, 2868–2869, 2932–2946, 3025, 3124–3139, 3245–3257, 3336–3343, 3424–3433, 3506–3518; *Times*, New York, N.Y., February 12, 1927, pp. 1, 5.

¹⁸ *House of Representatives, H.Res. 421—A resolution providing for the consideration of S. 4808*, February 14, 1927; *House Report 2072*, February 14, 1927.

¹⁹ *Congressional Record*, LXVIII, 3868–3869.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, 3890–3892.

²¹ *Ibid.*, 3705–3708.

²² *Congressional Record*, LXVIII, 4095; *Times*, February 18, 1927, pp. 1, 2.

²³ *Times*, New York, N.Y., February 26, 1927, pp. 1, 6, 7.

²⁴ *S. 3555—A bill to establish a Federal farm board to aid in the orderly marketing and in the control and disposition of the surplus of agricultural commodities in interstate and foreign commerce*, March 7, 1928; *House Report 500*, March 8, 1928; *Congressional Record*, LXIX, 5572, 5813–5820, 5821–5826, 5926–5932, 6009–6028, 6087–6103, 6155–6175, 6196–6217, 6260–6282.

²⁵ *Congressional Record*, LXIX, 6283; *Post*, Washington, D.C., April 13, 1928, pp. 1, 3.

²⁶ *House Report 1273*, April 14, 1928; *Congressional Record*, LXIX, 7258–7280, 7358–7364, 7440–7497, 7548–7586, 7648–7675, 7725–7792.

²⁷ *Congressional Record*, LXIX, 7272–7276.

²⁸ *Congressional Record*, LXIX, 7486–7488; *Biographical Directory of American Congress*, p. 1147.

²⁹ *Congressional Record*, LXIX, 7769–7770; *Biographical Directory of American Congress*, p. 1194.

³⁰ *Congressional Record*, LXIX, 7772; *Times*, New York, N.Y., May, 1928, pp. 1, 2.

³¹ *House Report 1620*, May 4, 1928; *Congressional Record*, LXIX, 7814, 7853, 8639–8647, 8805–8810.

³² *Congressional Record*, LXIX, 9873–9889; *Times*, New York, N.Y., May 24, 1928, pp. 1, 20, 21; May 26, 1928, pp. 1, 2; Donald R. McCoy, *Calvin Coolidge*, (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1967), pp. 324–27.