

Great Plains Congressmen, *1933-36*

by
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On March 9, 1933 the Seventy-Third Congress was called to order.¹ Summoned into emergency session by newly inaugurated President Franklin D. Roosevelt, this Congress was to enact an impressive array of major laws and thus begin the momentous era of the New Deal. Between March 9, 1933 and the formal adjournment of the Seventy-Fourth Congress on June 20, 1936,² the nation was destined to undergo the most sweeping domestic reform movement in its entire history, experience a wide variety of severe economic and social problems, and witness the ominous rise of totalitarian aggression in Europe, Africa, and the Far East.

During this historic thirty-nine month period, a number of congressmen from the Great Plains were serving in the House of Representatives and United States Senate. Without exception these gentlemen were closely identified with high priority legislation. Indeed these congressmen from the Great Plains had a profound impact on the sequence of dramatic developments which corresponded with the first administration of Franklin D. Roosevelt.

Among the prominent congressmen during these eventful years were four members of the House of Representatives from widely separated districts in the Great Plains. They were William A. Ayres of Kansas, Withurn Cartwright of Oklahoma, Edgar Howard of Nebraska, and William Lemke of North Dakota.

Ayres, an articulate Democrat from a heavily Republican state, was to serve nine terms in the House.³ Between 1931 and 1934 he was a senior member of the powerful Committee on Appropriations and Chairman of the Naval Appropriations Subcommittee. Ayres' subcommittee chairmanship assumed increasing significance after the

failure of the 1930 London Disarmament Conference and the passage of the 1934 Naval Parity Act. Indeed the Kansan exercised the primary responsibility of determining how much money would be expended on the Navy and Marine Corps at the time that our government had made an unqualified commitment in behalf of naval expansion.⁴ In August 1934 Ayres relinquished his seat in Congress to accept President Roosevelt's appointment to the Federal Trade Commission.⁵

Acknowledged as Congress's foremost authority on highway transportation, Cartwright would eventually be elected to eight consecutive terms in the House. He was Chairman of the Committee on Roads, 1933-1943, and the ranking Democrat on the Committee on Insular Affairs, 1935-1943. While chairing the former committee, Cartwright was to co-author two of the most ambitious road construction statutes ever enacted, the Federal Highway (Hayden-Cartwright) Acts of 1934 and 1936.⁶

A former Lieutenant-Governor of Nebraska, Howard represented twenty-two rural counties in the northeastern portion of his state. A specialist in the problems of the American Indian, he was Chairman of the House Committee on Indian Affairs, 1933-1935. Howard's most widely acclaimed legislative contribution was the Indian Reorganization (Wheeler-Howard) Act of 1934, a comprehensive statute designed to completely overhaul the relationship between the United States government and the hitherto chronically neglected Indian tribes.⁷

Lemke, a lawyer by profession, had served his political apprenticeship as Attorney-General of North Dakota.⁸ He was one of his state's two congressmen-at-large, thus representing one of the nation's most populous and spacious districts.⁹ An outspoken leader of the bipartisan congressional farm bloc, Lemke also strongly espoused a bank owned and operated by the federal government¹⁰ and the immediate cash payment of a bonus to World War I veterans.¹¹ His most noteworthy successes were the Federal Farm Bankruptcy (Frazier-Lemke) Acts of 1934 and 1935,¹² each of which suspended farm mortgage foreclosures.¹³ Conversely, Lemke's most widely publicized failure occurred in 1936, when the House defeated the controversial Agricultural Indebtedness (Frazier-Lemke) Bill.¹⁴ Although originally a loyal supporter of Roosevelt's New Deal, Lemke in 1936 was nominated by the Union Party to oppose the President's re-election.¹⁵

Three other congressmen from the Great Plains during the First Roosevelt Administration were Representative Clifford R. Hope of Kansas and Senators Lynn J. Frazier of North Dakota and Peter

Norbeck of South Dakota. Hope, Frazier, and Norbeck were to spend an aggregate total of sixty-three years on Capitol Hill.

A former Speaker of the Kansas House of Representatives, Hope in March 1933 was commencing his fourth of fifteen terms in Congress. Serving perhaps the nation's most thoroughly agricultural district, it was quite appropriate that he was the ranking Republican on the Committee on Agriculture. Hope played an active role in shaping every one of the numerous landmark farm bills passed by Congress between 1933 and 1936,¹⁸ and was especially conspicuous in the deliberations culminating in the Farm Credit Act¹⁹ and the Soil Conservation and Domestic Allotment Act.²⁰ Although generally sympathetic to federal involvement in agriculture, he vigorously opposed such southern-oriented measures as the Cotton Control (Bankhead) Act²¹ and the Tobacco Control Act.²²

Previous to entering Congress, Frazier had served as Governor of North Dakota.²³ Between 1927 and 1933 he had been Chairman of the Senate Committee on Indian Affairs. Frazier, as a member of the Committee on Agriculture and Forestry, was primarily interested in alleviating the distress of the farmers in the Great Plains and throughout the country. As previously mentioned, he co-authored the farm bankruptcy²⁴ and farm refinancing bills.²⁵ Like Lemke, he staunchly supported an official government bank²⁶ and generous benefits for veterans.²⁷ Finally, Frazier was a vociferous proponent of an expanded federal program of social security.²⁸

A former Lieutenant-Governor and Governor of South Dakota, Norbeck had been elected to his third term in the Senate in 1932.²⁹ He had been Chairman of the Committee on Banking and Currency between 1927 and 1933.³⁰ Strongly favoring banking reform and the strict regulation of stock exchanges, Norbeck was designated to serve on the House-Senate conference committees having jurisdiction over the Truth-in-Securities Act³¹ and the Banking Act of 1935.³² Moreover, he authored the legislation to complete the famous Mount Rushmore National Memorial.³³

The three most illustrious congressmen from the Great Plains between 1933 and 1936 were Senators Gerald P. Nye of North Dakota, Arthur Capper of Kansas, and George W. Norris of Nebraska. Nye, Capper, and Norris certainly rank among the most innovative public servants of the past half century.

Nye had never held political office prior to being sworn in as a member of the Senate in 1925. From 1927 to 1933 he was Chairman of the Committee on Public Lands and Surveys. Vitaly concerned with maintaining a sound federal land policy, Nye was one of the congressmen most instrumental in the passage of the Taylor Grazing Act of

1934.³² His foremost interests, however, were in the field of foreign affairs.³³ An ardent isolationist, Nye strongly advocated legislation to prevent war profiteering³⁴ and steadfastly opposed American participation in the Permanent Court of International Justice (World Court).³⁵ He also introduced a series of resolutions to restrict passports,³⁶ forbid foreign loans,³⁷ and prohibit the export of arms in wartime.³⁸ Although these resolutions were not adopted individually, in most respects they were incorporated into the Neutrality Act of 1935.³⁹ Nye's most celebrated activity occurred between 1934 and 1936 as Chairman of the Special Committee to Investigate the Munitions Industry.⁴⁰

Prior to his election to the Senate in 1918, Capper had been publisher of the Topeka *Daily Capital* and Governor of Kansas. During the First Roosevelt Administration he served on the Committees on Agriculture and Forestry and Finance. Although a Republican, Capper compiled a record of virtually unblemished support for New Deal legislation.⁴¹ Keenly interested in farm problems, he played a key role in the passage of the Agricultural Adjustment Act,⁴² the Cattle Control Act,⁴³ and the Sugar (Jones-Costigan) Act.⁴⁴ As a member of the Finance Committee, Capper was to cooperate with his Democratic colleagues in producing two of the priority New Deal measures, the Social Security Act⁴⁵ and the Revenue Act of 1935.⁴⁶ The high esteem in which the people of Kansas held Capper was evident in November 1936 when the Senator, defying a Democratic trend in the Great Plains and throughout the United States, was re-elected to his fourth term.⁴⁷

Norris, whose House and Senate career paralleled the administrations of seven Presidents, was outranked in continuous seniority by only one of the five hundred and thirty-one members of Congress.⁴⁸ He had been Chairman of the Committee on Agriculture and Forestry, 1921-1926, and the Committee on the Judiciary, 1926-1933. In 1932 Norris had attracted nationwide attention by co-authoring both the Anti-Injunction (Norris-LaGuarda) Act⁴⁹ and the Twentieth (Lame Duck) Amendment to the Constitution.⁵⁰ A fervent and longstanding supporter of public power, he had been urging federal development of the Muscle Shoals facilities for an entire decade.⁵¹ Norris's efforts were rewarded in May 1933, when his proposal, the Tennessee Valley Bill, was signed into law by President Roosevelt.⁵² Three years later, Norris, a passionate spokesman of the American farmer, co-authored the Rural Electrification (Norris-Rayburn) Act.⁵³

In addition to the obvious talents and abilities of the aforementioned congressmen, two major factors accounted for their collective

influence between March 1933 and June 1936. These factors were accumulation of seniority and possession of desirable committee assignments.

Throughout the two decades after World War I the citizens of the Great Plains maintained a tradition of re-electing incumbents to the House and Senate. By June 1936 the ten gentlemen previously cited had compiled one hundred and thirty-two years of uninterrupted congressional service. The accumulation of such considerable seniority in large measure explained why these congressmen were so influential. Thus, unlike those regions having a high proportion of junior members within the ranks of their delegations, the stature of the Great Plains was roughly commensurate with the aggregate seniority of its congressmen.

Most significantly congressmen from the Great Plains were conspicuous by their presence on several key committees. Among these panels were the Senate Committees on Finance, Banking and Currency, and Agriculture and Forestry and the House Committees on Appropriations, Agriculture, and Roads. Between 1933 and 1936 these six committees were responsible for initiating a sizeable portion of the principle bills and resolutions considered by the two houses. Even under normal conditions each of these committees would have been quite important. Their importance, however, was accentuated by the pressing need for legislation to remedy the suffering caused by the Great Depression.

The ten aforementioned members of the House of Representatives and United States Senate were chosen by the citizens of the various states of the Great Plains to serve in Congress during one of the most turbulent and exhilarating periods in the country's history.⁴ Between March 9, 1933 and June 20, 1936 each of these gentlemen compiled records of genuine accomplishment.⁵ Although the Great Plains accounted for less than six percent of the nation's population, its congressmen exerted profound and disproportionate influence on Capitol Hill.⁶

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NOTES

1. United States Congress, *Congressional Record*, Seventy-Third Congress, First Session (Washington: United States Government Printing Office, 1933), LXXVII, 41, 67.

2. Between March 9, 1933 and June 20, 1936 Congress was in session for twenty-three months and one day. During this period a total of fifteen hundred and twenty-six bills were enacted into law. Department of Commerce, *Historical Statistics of the United States, Colonial Times to 1970* (Washington, United States Government Printing Office, 1975), p. 1081.

3. Between its admission to the Union in 1861 and the presidential campaign of 1932, Kansas had cast its electoral votes for the Democratic presidential candidate on only three occasions. Notwithstanding the state's political complexion, Ayres had been successful in nine of his ten quests for a seat in Congress. In 1932 he had been re-elected to his final term by a 65,713-23,176 majority (73.9%). Svend Petersen, *A Statistical History of the American Presidential Elections* (New York: Frederick Ungar Publishing Company, 1963), pp. 40-90; United States Congress, *Congressional Directory* (Washington: United States Government Printing Office, 1933), p. 242.

4. House of Representatives, *Conference Report on the bill (H.R. 7199) making appropriations for the Navy Department and the naval service for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1935, and for other purposes*, March 8, 1934; *Congressional Record*, LXXVIII, 1090-1122, 1185-1200, 1201-1219, 1265-1267, 1270-1275, 2769, 4012-4015; *The Statutes at Large of the United States of America, 1933-1934* (Washington: 1934), XLVIII, 403-425.

5. Lawrence F. Kennedy (comp.), *Biographical Directory of the American Congress, 1774-1971* (Washington: United States Government Printing Office, 1971), p. 535.

6. *Conference Report on the bill (H.R. 8781) to increase employment by authorizing an appropriation to provide for emergency construction of public highways and related projects, and to amend the Federal Aid Road Act, approved July 11, 1916, as amended and supplemented, and for other purposes*, June 9, 1934; *Conference Report on the bill (H.R. 11687) to amend the Federal Aid Highway Act, approved July 11, 1916, as amended and supplemented, and for other purposes*, June 1, 1936; *Congressional Record*, LXXVIII, 8621-8653, 10636, 10964-10968; LXXXI, 3468, 4950, 5578-5596, 7241, 8553, 8698-8705; *Statutes at Large*, XLVIII, 993,996; XLIX, 1519-1522; Frederick L. Passon, "The Highway Movement, 1916-1935," *American Historical Review*, January 1946, pp. 236-253.

7. *Conference Report on the bill (S. 3645) to conserve and develop Indian lands and resources, to establish a credit system for Indians; to provide for higher education for Indians, to extend toward Indians the right to form business and other organizations, and for other purposes*, June 16, 1934; *Congressional Record*, LXXVIII, 7807, 11724-11744, 12161-12165; *Statutes at Large*, XLVIII, 964-988.

8. A scholarly account of Lemke's career is Edward C. Blackorby, *Prairie Rebel: The Public Life of William Lemke* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1963).

9. Lemke represented the 680,845 citizens and 70,665 square miles of North Dakota. In population his district was larger than all but eight of the four hundred and thirty-five districts, and in area was more spacious than the aggregate territory of New Hampshire, Massachusetts, Rhode Island, Connecticut, New Jersey, Delaware, Maryland, West Virginia, and the District of Columbia.

10. *H.R. 3834—A bill to establish the Bank of the United States, owned, operated, and controlled by the Government of the United States; defining the scope and manner of its operation, defining the powers and duties of persons charged with its management, creating a board of directors; and for other purposes*, March 20, 1933; *Congressional Record*, LXXVII, 647, 3907-3909; LXXIX, 178, 6800-6802.

11. Highly sympathetic to the nation's veterans, Lemke enthusiastically supported the Adjusted Serviceman's Compensation (Palman Bonus) Bill. *Congressional Record*, LXXVII, 1064-1066, 3271, 3281-3282; LXXVIII, 389, 391, 1790, 1791, 4337-4338; LXXIX, 4104-4105, 4232, 7996-7997; LXXX, 292-293.

12. The original Frazier-Lemke Act was invalidated by the United States Supreme Court on May 27, 1935, but a modified version of the act was upheld by the Court on March 29, 1937.

13. *Conference Report on the bill (S. 3580) to amend an act entitled "An act to establish a uniform system of bankruptcy throughout the United States," approved July 1, 1898, and acts amendatory thereof and supplementary thereto,* June 18, 1934; *Report on the bill (S. 3002) to amend an act entitled "An act to establish a uniform system of bankruptcy throughout the United States," approved July 1, 1898, and acts amendatory thereof and supplementary thereto,* July 1, 1935; *Congressional Record*, LXXVIII, 11273, 11301-11302, 12061-12066, 12378-12382; LXXIX, 10463, 13348-13349, 13413, 13633-13641; *Statutes at Large*, XLVIII, 1289-1291; XLIX, 942-945.

14. *Report on the bill (H.R. 2066) to liquidate and refinance agricultural indebtedness at a reduced rate of interest by establishing an efficient credit system, through the use of the Farm Credit Administration, the Federal Reserve banking system, and creating a Board of Agriculture to supervise the same,* May 3, 1935; *Congressional Record*, LXXIX, 6939; LXXX, 7097-7137, 7159-7230.

15. In 1936 Lemke polled 892,390 votes. A detailed analysis of his presidential campaign may be found in David H. Bennett, *Demagogues in the Depression: American Radicals and the Union Party, 1932-1936* (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 1969), pp. 217-260.

16. An informative study of farm legislation during the first Roosevelt Administration may be found in Murray R. Benedict, *Farm Policies of the United States, 1790-1950* (New York: The Twentieth Century Fund, 1953), pp. 276-355.

17. *Conference Report on the bill (H.R. 5790) to provide for organizations within the Farm Credit Administration to make loans for the production and marketing of agricultural products, to amend the Federal Farm Loan Act, to provide a market for obligations of the United States, and for other purposes,* June 10, 1933; *Congressional Record*, LXXVII, 4689-4710, 5685, 5689-5691; *Statutes at Large*, XLVIII, 257-273.

18. *Conference Report on the bill (S. 3780) to make further provision for the conservation and proper utilization of the soil resources of the nation,* February 26, 1936; *Congressional Record*, LXXX, 2467-2526, 2541, 2569-2570, 2677-2678, 2855, 2931-2937; *Statutes at Large*, XLIX, 1148-1152.

19. *Conference Report on the bill (H.R. 8402) to place the cotton industry on a sound commercial basis, to prevent unfair competition and practices in putting cotton into channels of interstate and foreign commerce, to provide funds for paying additional benefits under the Agricultural Adjustment Act, and for other purposes,* April 13, 1934; *Congressional Record*, LXXVIII, 4435-4436, 4443, 4634-4635, 4640-4643, 4652-4655, 4702-4703, 4708-4709, 4735-4736, 4742, 6057, 6586, 6769-6776; *Statutes at Large*, LXVIII, 598-607.

20. *Report of the bill (H.R. 9690) to place the tobacco-growing industry on a sound financial and economic basis, to prevent unfair competition and practices in the production and marketing of tobacco entering into the channels of interstate and foreign commerce, and for other purposes,* May 22, 1934; *Congressional Record*, LXXVIII, 10646-10667; *Statutes at Large*, XLVIII, 1275-1281.

21. A succinct contemporary biographical sketch of Frazier is George Creel, "The Old Homesteader," *Collier's*, October 3, 1936, p. 22.

22. *Congressional Record*, LXXVIII, 11301-11302, 12060-12067, 12077, 12378; LXXIX, 13413, 13633-13637, 13644-13645.

23. *Ibid.*, LXXIX, 7040; LXX, 4387, 7050.

24. *Ibid.*, LXXVII, 785; LXXVIII, 1999.

25. Frazier not only consistently voted for increased appropriations for World War I veterans, but also to override President Roosevelt's 1935 and 1936 vetoes of the Patman Bonus Bills. *Congressional Record*, LXXVIII, 3212; LXXIX, 8066-8067; LXXX, 669-670, 703.

26. On January 6, 1936 an omnibus social insurance bill, co-authored by Frazier and Representative Ernest Lundeen of Minnesota, was introduced in Congress. Although the Frazier-Lundeen measure was never reported to the floor of either the House or Senate, several of its provisions were incorporated into the social security system in later years. *S. 3475—A bill to provide for the establishment of a nationwide system of social insurance*, January 6, 1936; *Congressional Record*, LXXX, 47, 120, 1538-1543.

27. Although Franklin D. Roosevelt had won South Dakota in 1932 by 84,303 votes (64.8%) and carried all but one of the state's sixty-nine counties, Norbeck, a Republican, had been re-elected to the Senate in the same year by 26,114 votes (54.7%). An interesting biography of Norbeck is Gilbert C. Fite, *Peter Norbeck: Prairie Statesman* (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 1948).

28. As Chairman of the Banking and Currency Committee during the Seventy-Second Congress (1931-1933), Norbeck had played a pivotal role in the passage of the Reconstruction Finance Corporation Act and the Federal Home Loan Bank Act and presided over a lengthy inquiry on prevailing stock market practices. *Statutes at Large*, XXXVII, 5-12, 726-741; *Hearing on S. Res. 84, a resolution to thoroughly investigate practices of stock exchanges with respect to the buying and selling and the borrowing and lending of listed securities, the values of such securities and the effects of such practices*, April 11, 1932-March 2, 1933.

29. *Conference Report of the bill (H.R. 5480) to provide full and fair disclosure of the character of securities sold in interstate and foreign commerce and through the mails, and to prevent frauds in the sale thereof, and for other purposes*, May 22, 1933; *Congressional Record*, LXXVII, 3000, 3223-3233; *Statutes at Large*, XLVIII, 74-95; Michael E. Parrish, *Securities Regulation and the New Deal* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1970), pp. 42-72.

30. *Conference Report on the bill (H.R. 7617) to provide for the sound, effective, and uninterrupted operation of the banking system, and for other purposes*, August 19, 1935; *Congressional Record*, LXXIX, 11935, 13603-13616; *Statutes at Large*, XLIX, 684-723; Frederick A. Bradford, "The Banking Act of 1935," *American Economic Review*, December 1935, pp. 661-672.

31. *Report on the bill (S. 3204) to provide additional funds for the completion of Mount Rushmore National Memorial, in the State of South Dakota, and for other purposes*, July 10, 1935; *Congressional Record*, LXXIX, 10688, 10908, 11760; *Statutes at Large*, XLIX, 962.

32. *Conference Report on the bill (H.R. 6462) to stop injury to the public grazing lands by preventing overgrazing and soil deterioration; to provide for their orderly use, improvement, and development, to stabilize the livestock industry dependent upon the public range, and for other purposes*, June 16, 1934; *Congressional Record*, LXXVIII, 11658, 12004; *Statutes at Large*, XLVIII, 1269-1275.

33. A definitive account of Nye during the first Roosevelt Administration may be found in Wayne S. Cole, *Senator Gerald P. Nye and American Foreign Relations* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1962), pp. 54-111.

34. *Report on the bill (H.R. 5529) to prevent profiteering in time of war and to equalize the burdens of war and its provide for the national defense and promote peace*, May 3, 1935; *Congressional Record*, LXXIX, 5446, 6839, 9257.

35. *Report on the protocols relating to the World Court*, January 10, 1935; *Congressional Record*, LXXIX, 249, 892, 1147; Denna F. Fleming, *The United States and the World Court* (Garden City: Doubleday and Company, Inc., 1945), pp. 117-137.

36. *Report on the joint resolution (S. J. Res. 99) to regulate the issuance of passports to American citizens in time of war*, June 1, 1935; *Congressional Record*, LXXIX, 5286-5287, 10463, 10997-10998.

37. *Report on the joint resolution (S. J. Res. 100) to prohibit the extension of credit and the issuance of foreign loans under certain conditions*, June 1, 1935; *Congressional Record*, LXXIX, 6287, 10463, 10997-10998.

38. *S. J. Res. 120—To prohibit the export of arms and ammunition and to regulate trade in contraband of war under certain conditions*, May 7, 1935; *Congressional Record*, LXXIX, 7042.

39. *Report on the joint resolution (S. J. Res. 173) providing for the prohibition of the export of arms and ammunition and implements of war to belligerent countries; the prohibition of the transportation of arms, ammunition, and implements of war by vessels of the United States for the use of belligerent states; for the registration and licensing of persons engaged in the business of manufacturing, exporting, or importing arms, ammunition, or implements of war; and restricting travel on belligerent ships during war*, August 20, 1935; *Congressional Record*, XLIX, 13795-13797, 13951-13959, 13967-13968, 14282-14284, 14430-14434; *Statutes at Large*, XLIX, 1081-1085; Robert A. Divine, *The Illusion of Neutrality* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1962), pp. 81-117; Manfred Jonas, *Isolationism in America, 1935-1941* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1966), pp. 169-175.

40. *Report on the Special Committee on Investigation of the Munitions Industry*, June 19, 1936; *Congressional Record*, LXXVIII, 4228-4229, 4758, 5829, 7485, 6896; LXIX, 44-461; LXXX, 1629-1630, 6803-6817; John E. Wiltz, *In Search of Peace: The Senate Munitions Inquiry, 1934-1936* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1963).

41. A lively account of Capper during the first Roosevelt Administration may be found in Homer E. Socolofsky, *Arthur Capper* (Lawrence: University of Kansas Press, 1962), pp. 168-177.

42. *Report of the bill (H.R. 3835) to relieve the existing national economic emergency by increasing agricultural purchasing power, to raise revenue for extraordinary expenses incurred by reason of such emergency, to provide emergency relief with respect to agricultural indebtedness, to provide for the orderly liquidation of joint-stock land banks, and for other purposes*, April 5, 1933; *Congressional Record*, LXXVII, 1729-1733, 2404-2406; *Statutes at Large*, XLVIII, 31-51.

43. *Report on the bill (H.R. 7478) to amend the Agricultural Adjustment Act so as to include cattle as a basic agricultural commodity, and for other purposes*, March 26, 1934; *Congressional Record*, LXXVIII, 3663, 4073; *Statutes at Large*, XLVIII, 528.

44. *Report on the bill (H.R. 8861) to include sugar beets and sugar cane as basic agricultural commodities under the Agricultural Adjustment Act, and for other purposes*, April 17, 1934; *Statutes at Large*, XLVIII, 670-678.

45. *Report on the bill (H.R. 7260) to provide for the general welfare by establishing a system of Federal old-age benefits, and by enabling the several States to make more adequate provision for aged persons, dependent and crippled children, maternal and child welfare, public health, and the administration of their unemployment compensation laws; to establish a Social Security Board; to raise revenue; and for other purposes*, May 20, 1935; *Congressional Record*, LXXIX, 7787; *Statutes at Large*, XLIX, 620-648.

46. *Report on the bill (H.R. 8974) to provide revenue, equalize taxation, and for other purposes*, August 12, 1935; *Congressional Record*, LXXIX, 12897; *Statutes at Large*, XLIX, 1014-1028.

47. In 1936 Roosevelt carried forty-six of the forty-eight states, easily winning in Oklahoma, Kansas, Nebraska, South Dakota, and North Dakota. Although Roosevelt defeated Alfred E. Landon, the incumbent Governor, by 66,793 votes in Kansas, Capper emerged victorious over his Democratic challenger by a 21,188 plurality. After the 1936

elections only sixteen of the ninety-six members of the Senate were Republicans.

48. Norris had first become a member of the House on March 4, 1933. He was out-ranked only by Senator Morris Sheppard of Texas, who has entered Congress on December 1, 1902. A definitive two volume account of Norris' career prior to the New Deal is Richard Lowitt, *George W. Norris: The Making of a Progressive, 1861-1912* (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 1963) and *George W. Norris. The Persistence of a Progressive, 1913-1933* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1971).

49. *Statutes at Large*, XLVII, 70-73.

50. *Ibid.*, 745.

51. Muscle Shoals bills, authored by Norris in 1928 and 1931, had been vetoed by Presidents Calvin Coolidge and Herbert Hoover. Preston J. Hubbard, *Origins of the TVA, The Muscle Shoals Controversy, 1920-1932* (Nashville: Vanderbilt University Press, 1961), pp. 217-235; *Presidential Vetoes, 1789-1968* (Washington: United States Government Printing Office, 1969), pp. 97, 100.

52. *Conference Report on the bill (H. R. 5081) to provide for the common defense: to aid interstate commerce by navigation, to provide flood control, to promote the general welfare by creating the Tennessee Valley Authority; to operate the Muscle Shoals facilities, and to encourage agricultural, industrial, and economic development*, May 15, 1933; *Congressional Record*, LXXVIII, 1536, 2563, 2595, 2623-2639, 2661-2672, 2675-2691, 2777-2809, 3125, 3374-3381, 3474-3475; *Statutes at Large*, XLVIII, 58-72; William H. Droze, *High Dams and Slack Waters: TVA Rebuilds a River* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1965), pp. 19-41; Frank Freidel, *Franklin D. Roosevelt: Launching the New Deal* (Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1973), pp. 162-165, 350-354; Judson King, *The Conservation Fight from Theodore Roosevelt to the Tennessee Valley Authority* (Washington: Public Affairs Press, 1959), pp. 267-276; Thomas K. McCraw, *TVA and the Power Fight, 1933-1939* (Philadelphia: J. P. Lippincott Company, 1971), pp. 34-36.

53. *Conference Report on the bill (S. 3483) to provide for rural electrification, and for other purposes*, May 15, 1936; *Congressional Record*, LXXX, 2168, 2737, 2750-2759, 2818-2833, 3212-3213, 3229-3240, 3303-3307, 3308-3317, 5356, 7361-7362; *Statutes at Large*, XLIX, 1363-1367; George Norris, *Fighting Liberal* (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1945), pp. 318-327.

54. Among the other Great Plains congressmen between 1933 and 1936 were Senators Edward R. Burke of Nebraska, William J. Bulow of South Dakota, and Elmer Thomas of Oklahoma and Representative Frank Carlson of Kansas. Burke co-authored the Selective Service (Burke-Wadsworth) Act of 1940. Bulow chaired the Committee on Civil Service from 1933 to 1942. Thomas as Chairman of the Committee on Indian Affairs, 1935-1944, and the Committee on Agriculture and Forestry, 1944-1946 and 1949-1950. Carlson was Governor of Kansas, 1947-1950, and Chairman of the Senate Committee on Post Office and Civil Service, 1953-1954.

55. Collectively these gentlemen spent two hundred and twelve years in federal service. Most of these individuals continued in public life after 1936. Serving on the Federal Trade Commission until his death in 1952, Ayres was Chairman of that body in 1937, 1942, and 1946. Hope chaired the House Agriculture Committee, 1947-1948 and 1953-1954. Nye was in the forefront of the isolationist movement during the months and years immediately prior to World War II. Capper presided over the Senate Committee on Agriculture and Forestry in 1947 and 1948. Norris was one of the best known and most highly respected members of Congress at the time of his retirement in January 1943.

56. According to the Census of 1940, the states of Oklahoma, Kansas, Nebraska, South Dakota, and North Dakota had an overall population of 6,738,192. This accounted for 5.7% of the nationwide population of 131,669,275.