

Committee on Banking, Housing, and Urban Affairs
Nominations of Mr. Brian Johnson, Ms. Abby Warren, and The Honorable Irving Dennis
July 23, 2026

**Questions for Mr. Brian Johnson, to be Director, Consumer Financial Protection Bureau,
from Ranking Member Elizabeth Warren:**

Capital One Bonus

1. In your Ethics Agreement you wrote (paraphrasing) that you “agreed to repay the full amount of any sign-on bonus or anniversary payments received within one year prior to [your] termination date if [you] voluntarily terminate[d] employment...[and you] agreed to repay 50% of the amount of any sign-on bonus or anniversary payments received more than one year but less than 2 years prior to [your] termination date if [you] voluntarily terminate[d] employment with Capital One.”

Since you began in November 2024, the agreement you signed stated that if you left before November 2026, you had to pay back half of your bonus amounts. You went on to explain that Capital One waived this portion of your agreement: “Capital One has determined that [you would] not be required to repay any portion of [your] sign-on bonus or anniversary bonus...[because they made the] decision to waive the repayment obligations [in your] sign-on bonus.”

- a. Explain and summarize your understanding of how Capital One made the determination that you did not have to pay them back. Provide a copy of any and all discussions of this determination to the Committee
 - i. Who at Capital One made this decision?

I do not know.

- ii. Did you speak with the decisionmaker?

Not to my knowledge.

- iii. Were you part of the decisionmaking process in any way?

I engaged personal counsel to discuss the terms of my employment agreement with the company’s counsel.

- iv. To the best of your knowledge, is this an exception that the Company typically makes?

I cannot speak to the company’s practices in this area.

1. If so, are you aware of any other individuals at Capital One for whom they made this exception?
 2. If not, and especially considering the position for which you’ve been nominated as one of their regulators—would you consider it to be

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unethical, if Capital One made a special exception just for you?

- b. Capital One asked you to sign an agreement to return your bonus if you left the company early so they would not be required to compensate you for money that you did not earn.
 - i. Explain how their decision to waive your repayments is any different from Capital One simply continuing to compensate you as an employee while you're serving in a government role.

I signed an agency ethics agreement that was reviewed and approved by both career staff at the OGE and CFPB, which will resolve any potential financial conflicts of interest in the event of my confirmation.

- ii. Do you plan to do any favors for Capital One for allowing you to keep this money?

No. Moreover, per my agency ethics agreement, upon my confirmation, I will be recused from particular party matters involving Capital One for a period of two years.

- iii. Is this bonus a payment for services not yet rendered by you?

Per my agency ethics agreement, Capital One has determined that I will not be required to repay any portion of my Sign-On Bonus or Anniversary Bonus. In the event of my confirmation, I will not participate personally and substantially in any particular matter involving specific parties in which Capital One is a party or represents a party for a period of two years, unless I first receive a written waiver, pursuant to 5 C.F.R. § 2635.503(c).

- 2. In your publicly available OGE Form 278e, you disclosed that the amount of your "Salary/Bonus" was "\$739,378."

- a. Of \$739,378, what was the amount of your annual bonus?

I received an annual bonus of \$114,000 for my performance in 2025.

- b. Of \$739,378, what was the amount of your sign-on bonus?

The amount of my Sign-On Bonus is not included in this amount, per OGE Form 278e filing instructions.

- c. Was any amount or proportion of your bonus paid in equity?

No. I have received unvested Restricted Stock Units, which I disclosed in my OGE Form 278e.

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- i. If so, did you disclose those amounts in your OGE Form 278e under the classification of a Capital One stock asset?

CFPB Communications

3. Provide a list of all instances in which CFPB employees communicated with you in any form from November 1, 2024, to present. For each instance, provide:

I was invited by schedulers in three instances to attend meetings with CFPB leadership. To the best of my recollection, I was asked to provide my thoughts on CFPB operations and processes and authorities based on my prior service with the CFPB and the House Financial Services Committee. I did not discuss Capital One. The meetings occurred on April 4, 2025, April 24, 2025, and February 9, 2026. I also attended one social lunch on February 17, 2026, at the invitation of then-Deputy Director Geof Gradler, at which I shared my thoughts about fulfilling the duties of CFPB Deputy Director based on my prior experiences in the role.

Additionally, in connection with my nomination, I communicated with career counsel in the CFPB ethics office, and I also communicated with CFPB officials as part of my confirmation process.

- a. The date of the outreach.
 - b. Which CFPB officials conducted the outreach.
 - c. The CFPB employee or official who requested the communication.
 - d. The purpose of the outreach and topics under discussion.
 - e. The date of your response along with a summary of the conversation(s) that occurred.
 - f. Copies of the emails, texts, call records, and/or meeting records that stemmed from the outreach.
4. Provide a list of all instances in which you communicated with any CFPB employees in any form from November 1, 2024, to present. For each instance, provide:

In connection with my nomination, I communicated with career counsel in the CFPB ethics office, and I also communicated with CFPB officials as part of my confirmation process.

- a. The date of the outreach.
- b. Which CFPB officials you contacted.
- c. The purpose of the outreach and topics under discussion.

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- d. The date of the CFPB's response along with a summary of the conversation(s) that occurred.
- e. Copies of the emails, texts, call records, and/or meeting records that stemmed from the outreach.

Communications with Acting CFPB Director Russell Vought

5. Provide a list of all instances in which Russell Vought communicated with you in any form from November 1, 2024, to present. For each instance, provide:

I do not recall the specific date, but after the White House announced that President Trump had nominated me as Director of the CFPB, Mr. Vought congratulated me on my nomination.

- a. The date of the outreach.
- b. The purpose of the outreach and topics under discussion.
- c. The date of your response along with a summary of the conversation(s) that occurred.
- d. Copies of the emails, texts, call records, and/or meeting records that stemmed from the outreach.

6. Provide a list of all instances in which you communicated with Russell Vought in any form from November 1, 2024, to present. For each instance, provide:

I do not recall the specific date, but when I read a news article about the assassination attempt on Mr. Vought's life at his family home, I reached out unprompted to say that I was praying for him and his family.

- a. The date of the outreach.
- b. The purpose of the outreach and topics under discussion.
- c. The date of your response along with a summary of the conversation(s) that occurred.
- d. Copies of the emails, texts, call records, and/or meeting records that stemmed from the outreach.

Consumer Complaint Database

7. The Bureau created a database to share complaint information with the public, including the press, individuals, researchers, advocates, market participants, and others. Every director has

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maintained access, including the Acting Director Vought. When you were last at the Bureau, Director Kraninger said the database is here to stay—and enhanced it.¹ Do you commit to continuing to publish complaints in the Database?

If confirmed, I commit to fulfilling the portions of the Dodd-Frank Act (principally Sections 1013 and 1034) that reference consumer complaints.

8. The CFPB added multiple screens requiring consumers to first dispute directly with credit reporting companies before filing a complaint with the CFPB. The CFPB framed these changes as combating abuse of the complaint system.²
- a. If thousands of complaints are filed against a company about the same practice, how would you differentiate abuse of the system versus evidence of a real, widespread problem the company needs to fix?

If confirmed, I will study this issue.

- b. If a consumer uses AI for help submitting a complaint, would that constitute abuse of the system?

If confirmed, I will study this issue.

- c. If a consumer gets help from a nonprofit legal aid clinic that helps dozens of clients file complaints against the same predatory lender, would that constitute abuse of the system?

If confirmed, I will study this issue.

- d. Please provide a list of other federal agencies that require two-factor authentication in order for people to access the complaint system.

If confirmed, I will study this issue.

9. If confirmed, will you pause any further portal changes pending an independent GAO or Inspector General review of the CFPB's changes to the system so far?

If confirmed, I will work to address any pending GAO or IG findings.

Deleted Website Content

¹ New York Times, "Consumer Bureau's Complaints Database Is 'Here to Stay,' Director Says," Stacy Cowley, September 18, 2019, <https://www.nytimes.com/2019/09/18/business/consumer-bureau-database.html>.

² American Banker, "CFPB makes changes to complaint portal, citing abuse," Kate Berry, June 25, 2026, <https://www.americanbanker.com/news/cfpb-makes-changes-to-complaint-portal-citing-abuse>.

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On June 22, 2026, I joined Senators Warnock, Kim, and Blunt Rochester in requesting information regarding content that was deleted from the CFPB's website.³ CFPB employees have said that "they are unable to access prior work content, even internally."⁴ The Federal Records Act requires agencies to maintain records under National Archives and Records Administration (NARA) approved schedules.

10. Do you plan to restore the deleted website content and return currently archived material to the main website?

If confirmed, I will study this issue.

11. If confirmed, do you commit to resume publishing *Supervisory Highlights* reports and restoring the 35 deleted *Supervisory Highlights* reports to the CFPB's non-archived, main website?

If confirmed, I will study this issue.

12. If confirmed, will you continue to publish consumer advisory notices for the American public?

If confirmed, I will study this issue.

13. Will you commit to restoring the deleted articles and reports, given the support they provided consumers, private sector employees, and regulators?

If confirmed, I will study this issue.

a. If not, why not?

14. What turnaround time for FOIA requests do you think is appropriate?

If confirmed, I will follow applicable law and regulations regarding FOIA requests.

15. Will you commit to maintaining FOIA staff levels to what they were before President Trump was inaugurated?

If confirmed, I will study this issue.

Servicemember Issues at the CFPB

³ Letter from Senators Warren, Warnock, Kim, and Blunt Rochester to Acting CFPB Director Russell Vought, June 22, 2026, <https://www.banking.senate.gov/imo/media/doc/20260622lettertocfpbdeletedwebsitecontent.pdf>.

⁴ American Banker, "In ongoing records purge, CFPB deletes supervisory reports," Kate Berry, June 8, 2026, <https://www.americanbanker.com/news/in-ongoing-records-purge-cfpb-deletes-supervisory-reports>.

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16. Do you support or oppose the Military Lending Act and the 36% rate cap for loans made to servicemembers and their families?

If confirmed, I will enforce the Military Lending Act.

17. Do you plan on allowing the Office of Servicemember Affairs (OSA), the Office of Regulations, and the Enforcement and Supervision Divisions to meet regularly with the Department of Defense, military and veterans service organizations, military legal aid providers, and other stakeholders to gather information on the effectiveness of the law?

If confirmed, I will enforce the Military Lending Act and maintain an Office of Servicemember Affairs.

18. Do you plan to continue publishing annual reports analyzing servicemember complaints and highlighting financial protection issues affecting the military, including the annual OSA report?

If confirmed, I will study this issue.

19. Will you restore OSA travel funding for OSA employees to make sure they are able to travel to military installations, share CFPB resources, and hear directly from servicemembers and their families?

If confirmed, I will study this issue.

20. Will you commit to restoring the practice of hosting and attending in-person listening sessions on military installations with military installations commanders, military legal aid providers, servicemembers, and military family members?

If confirmed, I will study this issue.

Student Loans

21. One statutory responsibility of the Student Loan Ombudsman role is to make policy recommendations to the CFPB Director, Education Secretary, Senate Banking Committee, and Senate HELP Committee, among others.⁵ If confirmed as Director, will you ensure that the Student Loan Ombudsman makes these recommendations on at least an annual basis, and prioritizes the interests of borrowers, and not private student loan lenders, when making such recommendations?

If confirmed, I will abide by the requirements of the Dodd-Frank Act, and any other applicable legal provisions.

⁵ 12 U.S.C. 5535.

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22. Under the Federal Trade Commission (FTC) Holder Rule, private student loans are subject to the same claims and defenses that the borrower could assert against their school, meaning that borrowers who were defrauded by their schools may be eligible to have their loans cancelled.⁶ The most common type of private loan complaint submitted to CFPB last year was about lenders refusing to evaluate such claims for debt relief, even when publicly claiming to offer such relief.⁷

- a. Do you support the application of the Holder Rule to private student loans? If not, why not?

If confirmed, I will study this issue.

- b. If you are confirmed as Director of the Bureau, what steps will you take to support borrowers who are harmed by private lenders illegally ignoring the Holder Rule?

If confirmed, I will study this issue.

23. In June 2025, the most recent month covered by the previous Student Loan Ombudsman's annual report, the most common type of private loan complaint was issues with credit reporting.⁸ As Director of the Bureau, what steps will you take to protect borrowers who are harmed by credit reporting errors?

If confirmed, I will work to implement and enforce the Fair Credit Reporting Act.

24. If you are confirmed, how many CFPB employees will be responsible for resolving private student loan borrowers' complaints? How many CFPB employees had been responsible for doing so under the Biden Administration?

If confirmed, I will study this issue.

25. Under what circumstances do you believe that borrowers should take out private student loans?

That is a decision for borrowers based on their individual circumstances.

⁶ New America, "Guest Post: "Holding" Lenders Responsible for Ripped-Off Students," Deanne Loonin, February 16, 2009, <https://www.newamerica.org/insights/guest-post-holding-lenders-responsible-for-ripped-off-students/>; Letter from U.S. Senators Elizabeth Warren, Edward J. Markey, Jeffrey A. Merkley, et al. to Navient President and CEO David L. Yowan, April 17, 2024, <https://www.warren.senate.gov/imo/media/doc/2024.04.16%20Letter%20to%20Navient%20on%20Cancelling%20Predatory%20Private%20Student%20Loans.pdf>.

⁷ Consumer Financial Protection Bureau, "Annual Report of the CFPB Student Loan Ombudsman," October 2025, p. 20, https://prospect.org/wp-content/uploads/2026/01/2025-SL-Ombudsmans-Report_Final.pdf.

⁸ *Id.*

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26. How do you think an expansion of the private student loan market would affect the financial well-being of borrowers? What implications would such an expansion have for your role, if you are confirmed as Director of the Bureau?

If confirmed, I will ensure the CFPB monitors markets for potential risks to consumers in the offering or extension of consumer financial products and services.

27. As you may know, the CFPB has deprioritized supervision and enforcement activities related to student loans, as reported in an April 2025 internal memo.⁹ If confirmed as Director, would you continue to deprioritize oversight and enforcement activities in this space? If so, please explain why.

If confirmed, I will exercise my own judgment regarding supervisory and enforcement activities.

28. Have you ever lobbied on behalf of a company that has, at any time, offered private student loans?

I have never registered as a lobbyist.

- a. If so, provide any and all company names and the range of years during which you lobbied on their behalf.
- b. Will you recuse yourself from handling any allegations of misconduct involving a company you have represented as a lobbyist or a company whose parent company you have represented?

29. In the 2025 Student Loan Ombudsman's annual report, the CFPB argued for a "systems approach" to resolving complaints and that the agency should only seek to directly resolve individual borrowers' complaints "in the rare cases where it is necessary to do so."¹⁰ If confirmed as Director, what criteria will you use to determine whether a borrower's complaint is one of those "rare cases," and approximately what percentage of complaints do you expect to address through a "systems approach"?

If confirmed, I will study this issue.

30. The Trump Administration renamed the Student Loan Ombudsman to instead be called the Private Education Loan Ombudsman. Is it your view that the Ombudsman's team should only address private loan borrowers' complaints, or do you believe the team should also continue to address federal loan borrowers' complaints? If confirmed as Director, will the Bureau plan to compile data and produce policy recommendations regarding both private and federal loans?

⁹ Tweet by Brian Schwartz, April 16, 2025, <https://x.com/schwartzbWSJ/status/1912633869255188512>.

¹⁰ Consumer Financial Protection Bureau, "Annual Report of the CFPB Private Education Student Loan Ombudsman," January 2026, https://files.consumerfinance.gov/f/documents/cfpb_pelo-annual-report_2026-01.pdf.

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Section 1035 of the Dodd-Frank Act refers to a “Private Education Loan Ombudsman” with specific statutory functions. I am not familiar with a statutory position known as the “Student Loan Ombudsman.”

Supervision and Enforcement

31. Acting Director Vought has publicly stated that the Bureau was “weaponized” under the prior administration. Do you agree with his characterization?

I am not familiar with Acting Director Vought’s use of this term, or the context in which it may have been used.

32. Acting Director Vought described the SoLo Funds case dismissal as reversing “weaponized” enforcement.¹¹ Do you agree with that characterization, and if you are confirmed, what standard would you apply to determine whether a past enforcement action was legitimate versus “weaponized?”

I am not familiar with the circumstances of this matter, as I was not employed at the CFPB at that time. If confirmed, I will apply the facts to the law without fear or favor.

33. Please define “weaponization” as you would apply it in your own decision-making if you are confirmed.

If confirmed, I will execute any applicable statute as written and as bound by judicial decisions.

34. Will you commit that no enforcement action will be dismissed, modified, or settled more favorably because of a company’s campaign contributions, personal connections to Administration officials, or your own prior employment history? If so, please describe what internal process would document and prevent that. If not, why not?

If confirmed, I will apply the facts to the law without fear or favor.

35. Will you continue or end the practice of requiring examiners to conduct a humility pledge?

If confirmed, I will study this issue.

36. During your first tenure at the CFPB, you supported the use of “no-action letters” (NALs) and Compliance Assistance Sandbox (CAS) approvals.

- a. When an agency issues a NAL, does it create winners and losers in the marketplace?

¹¹ Banking Dive, “CFPB drops case against SoLo Funds,” Caitlin Mullen, February 24, 2025, <https://www.bankingdive.com/news/cfpb-drops-case-against-fintech-solo-funds-vought/740753/>.

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If confirmed, I will pursue policies that will facilitate access and innovation in the financial marketplace.

- b. Do NALs “create the false appearance of endorsement or favored regulatory status?”¹² Do they distort competition?

If confirmed, I will pursue policies that will facilitate access and innovation in the financial marketplace.

- c. If a no-action letter is issued for one participant in a market, will competitors interpret that letter as an expression of policy, similar to a rulemaking but without meaningful opportunities for notice and comment?¹³

If confirmed, I will pursue policies that will facilitate access and innovation in the financial marketplace.

- d. Do you commit to not issuing a NAL or CAS to a business with ties to President Trump, his family, or one of his closely-related businesses?

If confirmed, I will pursue policies that will facilitate access and innovation in the financial marketplace.

Transparency and Conflicts

37. If you are confirmed, do you plan to run the CFPB independently and without input from OMB?

If confirmed, I will exercise my own judgment in fulfilling my responsibilities as Director consistent with all applicable laws and regulations.

38. If you are confirmed, do you plan on taking steps to prevent political considerations from influencing the research used to report on or evaluate financial markets or CFPB policy? If so, what steps will you take? If not, why not?

If confirmed, I will exercise my own judgment in fulfilling my responsibilities as Director consistent with all applicable laws and regulations.

¹² Federal Register, “Notice Policy Statement on No-Action Letters,” notice by the Consumer Financial protection Bureau, January 10, 2025, <https://www.federalregister.gov/documents/2025/01/10/2025-00378/policy-statement-on-no-action-letters>.

¹³ Kate Berry. (2025, January 10). CFPB issues new fintech sandbox and no-action letter policy. *American Banker*. <https://www.americanbanker.com/news/cfpb-issues-new-fintech-sandbox-and-no-action-letter-policy>

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39. If you are confirmed, are you willing to report any evidence of politically-manipulated research to this Committee?

If confirmed, I will exercise my own judgment in fulfilling my responsibilities as Director consistent with all applicable laws and regulations.

40. Prior to Acting Director Vought's tenure at the CFPB, it was a standard policy for speeches by a Director to be made available to the public. Will you commit to making your speeches, including those before supervised companies, available to the press and public, and to publishing them on the CFPB's website?

If confirmed, I will make any speeches that I deliver available to the public.

Policy Priorities and Vision for the CFPB

41. Will you commit not to shut down the agency if you are confirmed?

If confirmed, I will follow any applicable statutes as written and as bound by judicial decisions.

42. Do you believe that the CFPB operated more closely to its statutory mandates under Acting Director Mulvaney and/or Director Kraninger or under Acting Director Vought? Which approach better reflects your vision?

Each Director or Acting Director of the CFPB has used the discretion afforded by the Dodd-Frank Act in the execution of the CFPB's statutory duties.

43. In a House Financial Services Committee hearing in July 2023, you said: "To have any chance of success in a regulation, from my experience at the agency, you have to carefully identify a market failure, you have to come up with a proposal that is narrowly tailored to address the root causes of that market failure, and you have to undergo careful cost-benefit analysis to determine whether or not your solution is going to be worse than the problem to begin with."¹⁴ Please describe three current market failures.

Economic literature describes traditional types of market failures.

44. Do you agree with the legal theory that the CFPB cannot draw funding when the Federal Reserve does not have positive net income ?

My understanding is that the Federal Reserve currently has positive net income.

¹⁴ House Financial Services Committee hearing, "Taking Account of Fees and Tactics Impacting Americans' Wallets", July 26, 2023, <https://www.congress.gov/118/chrg/CHRG-118shrg57229/CHRG-118shrg57229.pdf>.

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45. At your confirmation hearing, you told Sen. Gallego that you could not think of a single decision of Acting Director Vought's with which you disagreed. For the record, can you name a single such decision?

I do not recall any at this moment.

46. Reporting indicates that Russell Vought, who is required to step down as Acting Director of the CFPB on August 1, 2026, is planning to remain at the CFPB as "Senior Adviser" until your nomination is confirmed by the Senate.¹⁵ Do you intend to coordinate with Russell Vought regarding future decisions for the CFPB and its operations during the period preceding your confirmation, while he serves as Senior Adviser?

I do not intend to pre-judge the outcome of the confirmation process.

47. After initially halting the CFPB's funding, Acting Director Vought began drawing funding again in January. If you are confirmed as Director of the CFPB, do you plan on continuing to draw that funding for the CFPB?

If confirmed, I will exercise my discretion regarding any future funding requests, per Section 1017 of the Dodd-Frank Act as amended.

48. If you are confirmed, will you meet with groups representing the interests of consumers upon their request?

If confirmed, I will exercise my own judgment in fulfilling my responsibilities as Director consistent with all applicable laws and regulations, and will be careful to guard against agency capture by dark money NGOs attempting to influence the CFPB.

Relocation Notices

49. On June 30, 2026, Acting Director Vought issued a notice informing roughly 450 employees based outside of Washington D.C. that they had two weeks to decide whether to relocate to the agency's new headquarters, or face dismissal.¹⁶ Although the CFPB has since indicated that it will delay implementation of the relocation order until after you are confirmed as the permanent director of the agency, it has not abandoned the relocation plan. If confirmed, will you rescind the relocation requirement?

If confirmed, I will study this issue.

¹⁵ Tweet by Eleanor Mueller, July 24, 2026, https://x.com/Eleanor_Mueller/status/2080646042458960147?s=20.

¹⁶ Bloomberg Law, "CFPB Gives Workers Two Weeks to Decide Whether to Move to DC," Evan Weinberger, June 30, 2026, <https://news.bloomberglaw.com/banking-law/cfpb-gives-workers-two-weeks-to-decide-whether-to-move-to-dc>.

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50. The CFPB's new headquarters at 445 12th Street Southwest has capacity for roughly 550 employees.¹⁷ The CFPB's current workforce is 1,100, and the relocation deadline requires 450 out-of-town employees to relocate to D.C. or lose their jobs. If you are confirmed, do you intend to maintain the new headquarters as the CFPB's new, permanent location?

If confirmed, I will study this issue.

51. If fewer than all 450 out-of-town staff refuse to relocate, will you lease a new office space to hold the Bureau's employees over the 550 that 445 12th Street Southwest can accommodate?

If confirmed, I will study this issue.

Civil Investigative Demands

In 2019, under your leadership at the CFPB, the agency announced a new policy on civil investigative demands (CIDs)—or required information requests from lenders and other financial companies the CFPB regulates to identify violations of law or to understand complicated markets.¹⁸ The changes to that policy substantially reduced the number and scope of those information requests. The Washington Post recently reported that the CFPB is possibly using civil investigative demands to investigate Community Development Financial Institutions (CDFIs).¹⁹

52. Will you commit to reviewing all CIDs if confirmed?

If confirmed, I will exercise my own judgment in fulfilling my responsibilities as Director consistent with all applicable laws and regulations.

53. Will you apply the standards you laid out in 2019 or some other standard for whether to proceed with those open inquiries?

If confirmed, I will exercise my own judgment in fulfilling my responsibilities as Director consistent with all applicable laws and regulations.

The CFPB Payday Rule

¹⁷ Bloomberg Law, "CFPB's New DC Home Set to Match Trump's Plan to Shrink Agency," Evan Weinberger, May 21, 2026, <https://news.bloomberglaw.com/banking-law/cfpbs-new-dc-home-set-to-match-trumps-plan-to-shrink-agency>.

¹⁸ Consumer Financial Protection Bureau, "CFPB Announces Policy Change Regarding Bureau Civil Investigative Demands," April 23, 2019, <https://wayback.archive-it.org/all/20250828005109/https://www.consumerfinance.gov/about-us/newsroom/cfpb-announces-policy-change-regarding-bureau-civil-investigative-demands/>

¹⁹ New York Times, "How the CFPB became a political weapon for Trump allies," Andrew Ackerman, June 8, 2026. <https://www.washingtonpost.com/business/2026/06/08/how-cfpb-became-political-weapon-trump-allies/>

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While you were at the CFPB under the First Trump administration, the 2017 payday rule was delayed and eventually scaled back considerably.²⁰

54. How specifically do you plan to implement the CFPB's policy on Gold Standard Science?

If confirmed, I will study this issue.

55. Will you commit to preventing political considerations from influencing the research used to report on or evaluate financial markets or CFPB policy?

If confirmed, I will exercise my own judgment in fulfilling my responsibilities as Director consistent with all applicable laws and regulations.

56. Is it appropriate for the Director of the CFPB to manipulate research created by Bureau staff?

As established by the Dodd-Frank Act, the CFPB acts through the Director, who may be informed by the work of subordinate staff.

57. Will you commit to reporting any evidence of politically-manipulated research to this committee?

If confirmed, I will exercise my own judgment in fulfilling my responsibilities as Director consistent with all applicable laws and regulations.

The Taskforce on Federal Consumer Financial Law

58. When at the CFPB previously, you spent a considerable amount of CFPB time and resources on a task force that was ultimately found to be in violation of federal law.²¹ The task force, among other expenses, included a budgeted salary of roughly \$600,000 for five individuals, including industry lawyers who had previously represented payday lenders in CFPB enforcement actions.²²

- a. How do you explain repeated statements about the need for government transparency, while championing a task force that violated transparency laws?

²⁰ New York Times, "Trump Appointees Manipulated Agency's Payday Lending Research, Ex-Staffer Claims," Nicholas Confessore and Stacy Cowley, April 29, 2020, <https://www.nytimes.com/2020/04/29/business/cfpb-payday-loans-rules.html>

²¹ The Federalist Society, "Brian C. Johnson," biography, <https://fedsoc.org/bio/brian-c-johnson>; Democracy Forward, "In Response to Suit, CFPB Concedes It Created and Operated Trump-Era Taskforce in Violation of Federal Transparency Law," press release, November 30, 2021, <https://democracyforward.org/news/press-releases/in-response-to-suit-cfpb-concedes-it-created-and-operated-trump-era-taskforce-in-violation-of-federal-transparency-law/>.

²² Bloomberg Law, "Financial Watchdog's Conflicted Task Force Earning Top Dollar," Evan Weinberger, May 11, 2020, <https://news.bloomberglaw.com/banking-law/financial-watchdogs-conflicted-task-force-earning-top-dollar>.

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My understanding is that the CFPB, following a change of administration and under new leadership, abandoned its defense of a civil suit and agreed to a settlement, wherein a federal court did not independently determine the facts stipulated by the parties in the settlement agreement, nor was there a judicial finding of a violation of federal law. I was not involved in that settlement.

b. How did this taskforce benefit the public?

The task force produced a public research report and associated policy recommendations.

c. Will the CFPB under your leadership restart this task force or a similar effort?

If confirmed, I will exercise my own judgment in fulfilling my responsibilities as Director consistent with all applicable laws and regulations.

Election Results

Results of Past U.S. Presidential Elections

59. During the presidential election of 1788-1789, George Washington received 69 electoral votes.²³ Additional candidates included John Adams, who received 34 electoral votes; John Jay, who received 9 electoral votes; Robert H. Harrison, who received 6 electoral votes; John Rutledge, who received 6 electoral votes; John Hancock, who received 4 electoral votes; George Clinton, who received 3 electoral votes; Samuel Huntington, who received 2 electoral votes; John Milton, who received 2 electoral votes; James Armstrong, who received 1 electoral vote; Benjamin Lincoln, who received 1 electoral vote; and Edward Telfair, who received 1 electoral vote.²⁴

a. Did George Washington win the presidential election of 1789, Yes or No? A response that is not “Yes” or “No” will be considered a refusal to answer the question.

My understanding is that Congress certified the winner of this election.

b. Did George Washington lose the presidential election of 1789, Yes or No? A response that is not “Yes” or “No” will be considered a refusal to answer the question.

My understanding is that Congress certified the winner of this election.

²³ National Archives, “1789 Electoral College Results,” <https://www.archives.gov/electoral-college/1789#certificates>.

²⁴ *Id.*

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- c. Did John Adams win the presidential election of 1789, Yes or No? A response that is not “Yes” or “No” will be considered a refusal to answer the question.

My understanding is that Congress certified the winner of this election.

- d. Did John Adams lose the presidential election of 1789, Yes or No? A response that is not “Yes” or “No” will be considered a refusal to answer the question.

My understanding is that Congress certified the winner of this election.

60. During the 1792 presidential election, George Washington received 132 electoral votes.²⁵ Additional candidates included John Adams, who received 77 electoral votes; George Clinton, who received 50 electoral votes; Thomas Jefferson, who received 4 electoral votes; and Aaron Burr, who received 1 electoral vote.²⁶

- a. Did George Washington win the presidential election of 1792, Yes or No? A response that is not “Yes” or “No” will be considered a refusal to answer the question.

My understanding is that Congress certified the winner of this election.

- b. Did George Washington lose the presidential election of 1792, Yes or No? A response that is not “Yes” or “No” will be considered a refusal to answer the question.

My understanding is that Congress certified the winner of this election.

- c. Did John Adams win the presidential election of 1792, Yes or No? A response that is not “Yes” or “No” will be considered a refusal to answer the question.

My understanding is that Congress certified the winner of this election.

- d. Did John Adams lose the presidential election of 1792, Yes or No? A response that is not “Yes” or “No” will be considered a refusal to answer the question.

My understanding is that Congress certified the winner of this election.

61. During the 1796 presidential election, John Adams received 71 electoral votes.²⁷ Additional candidates included Thomas Jefferson, who received 68 electoral votes; Thomas Pinckney,

²⁵ National Archives, “1792 Electoral College Results,” <https://www.archives.gov/electoral-college/1792>.

²⁶ *Id.*

²⁷ National Archives, “1796 Electoral College Results,” <https://www.archives.gov/electoral-college/1796>.

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who received 59 electoral votes; Aaron Burr, who received 30 electoral votes; Samuel Adams, who received 15 electoral votes; Oliver Ellsworth, who received 11 electoral votes; George Clinton, who received 7 electoral votes; John Jay, who received 5 electoral votes; James Iredell, who received 3 electoral votes; Samuel Johnston, who received 2 electoral votes; George Washington, who received 2 electoral votes; John Henry, who received 2 electoral votes; and Charles C. Pinckney, who received 1 electoral vote.²⁸

- a. Did John Adams win the 1796 presidential election, Yes or No? A response that is not “Yes” or “No” will be considered a refusal to answer the question.

My understanding is that Congress certified the winner of this election.

- b. Did John Adams lose the 1796 presidential election, Yes or No? A response that is not “Yes” or “No” will be considered a refusal to answer the question.

My understanding is that Congress certified the winner of this election.

- c. Did Thomas Jefferson win the 1796 presidential election, Yes or No? A response that is not “Yes” or “No” will be considered a refusal to answer the question.

My understanding is that Congress certified the winner of this election.

- d. Did Thomas Jefferson lose the 1796 presidential election, Yes or No? A response that is not “Yes” or “No” will be considered a refusal to answer the question.

My understanding is that Congress certified the winner of this election.

62. During the 1800 presidential election, Thomas Jefferson received 73 electoral votes.²⁹ Additional candidates included Aaron Burr, who received 73 electoral votes; John Adams, who received 65 electoral votes; Charles C. Pinckney, who received 64 electoral votes; and John Jay, who received 1 electoral vote.³⁰ Since Mr. Jefferson and Mr. Burr tied with the highest number of electoral votes, the election was decided by the House of Representatives, where 10 state delegations voted for Mr. Jefferson, 4 voted for Mr. Burr, and 2 made no choice.³¹

- a. Did Thomas Jefferson win the 1800 presidential election, Yes or No? A response that is not “Yes” or “No” will be considered a refusal to answer the question.

²⁸ *Id.*

²⁹ National Archives, “1800 Electoral College Results,” <https://www.archives.gov/electoral-college/1800>.

³⁰ *Id.*

³¹ *Id.*

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My understanding is that Congress certified that the Electoral College vote resulted in a tie after then-Vice President Jefferson used his unilateral power as Chair to “count[] himself into the Presidency.” Bruce Akcerman & David Fontana, *Thomas Jefferson Counts Himself Into the Presidency*, 90 Va. L. Rev. 551, 551 (2004). The House of Representatives then elected and certified Jefferson President.

- b. Did Thomas Jefferson lose the 1800 presidential election, Yes or No? A response that is not “Yes” or “No” will be considered a refusal to answer the question.

My understanding is that Congress certified that the Electoral College vote resulted in a tie after then-Vice President Jefferson used his unilateral power as Chair to “count[] himself into the Presidency.” Bruce Akcerman & David Fontana, *Thomas Jefferson Counts Himself Into the Presidency*, 90 Va. L. Rev. 551, 551 (2004). The House of Representatives then elected and certified Jefferson President.

- c. Did Aaron Burr win the 1800 presidential election, Yes or No? A response that is not “Yes” or “No” will be considered a refusal to answer the question.

My understanding is that Congress certified that the Electoral College vote resulted in a tie after then-Vice President Jefferson used his unilateral power as Chair to “count[] himself into the Presidency.” Bruce Akcerman & David Fontana, *Thomas Jefferson Counts Himself Into the Presidency*, 90 Va. L. Rev. 551, 551 (2004). The House of Representatives then elected and certified Jefferson President.

- d. Did Aaron Burr lose the 1800 presidential election, Yes or No? A response that is not “Yes” or “No” will be considered a refusal to answer the question.

My understanding is that Congress certified that the Electoral College vote resulted in a tie after then-Vice President Jefferson used his unilateral power as Chair to “count[] himself into the Presidency.” Bruce Akcerman & David Fontana, *Thomas Jefferson Counts Himself Into the Presidency*, 90 Va. L. Rev. 551, 551 (2004). The House of Representatives then elected and certified Jefferson President.

63. During the 1804 presidential election, Thomas Jefferson received 162 electoral votes.³² His main opponent, Charles C. Pinckney, received 14.³³

- a. Did Thomas Jefferson win the 1804 presidential election, Yes or No? A response that is not “Yes” or “No” will be considered a refusal to answer the question.

My understanding is that Congress certified the winner of this election.

³² National Archives, “1804 Electoral College Results,” <https://www.archives.gov/electoral-college/1804>.

³³ *Id.*

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- b. Did Thomas Jefferson lose the 1804 presidential election, Yes or No? A response that is not “Yes” or “No” will be considered a refusal to answer the question.

My understanding is that Congress certified the winner of this election.

- c. Did Charles C. Pinckney win the 1804 presidential election, Yes or No? A response that is not “Yes” or “No” will be considered a refusal to answer the question.

My understanding is that Congress certified the winner of this election.

- d. Did Charles C. Pinckney lose the 1804 presidential election, Yes or No? A response that is not “Yes” or “No” will be considered a refusal to answer the question.

My understanding is that Congress certified the winner of this election.

64. During the 1808 presidential election, James Madison received 122 electoral votes.³⁴ Additional candidates included Charles C. Pinckney, who received 47 electoral votes, and George Clinton, who received 6 electoral votes.³⁵

- a. Did James Madison win the 1808 presidential election, Yes or No? A response that is not “Yes” or “No” will be considered a refusal to answer the question.

My understanding is that Congress certified the winner of this election.

- b. Did James Madison lose the 1808 presidential election, Yes or No? A response that is not “Yes” or “No” will be considered a refusal to answer the question.

My understanding is that Congress certified the winner of this election.

- c. Did Charles C. Pinckney win the 1808 presidential election, Yes or No? A response that is not “Yes” or “No” will be considered a refusal to answer the question.

My understanding is that Congress certified the winner of this election.

- d. Did Charles C. Pinckney lose the 1808 presidential election, Yes or No? A response that is not “Yes” or “No” will be considered a refusal to answer the question.

My understanding is that Congress certified the winner of this election.

³⁴ National Archives, “1808 Electoral College Results,” <https://www.archives.gov/electoral-college/1808>.

³⁵ *Id.*

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65. During the 1812 presidential election, James Madison received 128 electoral votes.³⁶ His main opponent, DeWitt Clinton, received 89.³⁷

- a. Did James Madison win the 1812 presidential election, Yes or No? A response that is not “Yes” or “No” will be considered a refusal to answer the question.

My understanding is that Congress certified the winner of this election.

- b. Did James Madison lose the 1812 presidential election, Yes or No? A response that is not “Yes” or “No” will be considered a refusal to answer the question.

My understanding is that Congress certified the winner of this election.

- c. Did De Witt Clinton win the 1812 presidential election, Yes or No? A response that is not “Yes” or “No” will be considered a refusal to answer the question.

My understanding is that Congress certified the winner of this election.

- d. Did De Witt Clinton lose the 1812 presidential election, Yes or No? A response that is not “Yes” or “No” will be considered a refusal to answer the question.

My understanding is that Congress certified the winner of this election.

66. During the 1816 presidential election, James Monroe received 183 electoral votes.³⁸ His main opponent, Rufus King, received 34.³⁹

- a. Did James Monroe win the 1816 presidential election, Yes or No? A response that is not “Yes” or “No” will be considered a refusal to answer the question.

My understanding is that Congress certified the winner of this election.

- b. Did James Monroe lose the 1816 presidential election, Yes or No? A response that is not “Yes” or “No” will be considered a refusal to answer the question.

My understanding is that Congress certified the winner of this election.

- c. Did Rufus King win the 1816 presidential election, Yes or No? A response that is not “Yes” or “No” will be considered a refusal to answer the question.

³⁶ National Archives, “1812 Electoral College Results,” <https://www.archives.gov/electoral-college/1812>.

³⁷ *Id.*

³⁸ National Archives, “1816 Electoral College Results,” <https://www.archives.gov/electoral-college/1816>.

³⁹ *Id.*

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My understanding is that Congress certified the winner of this election.

- d. Did Rufus King lose the 1816 presidential election, Yes or No? A response that is not “Yes” or “No” will be considered a refusal to answer the question.

My understanding is that Congress certified the winner of this election.

67. During the 1820 presidential election, Mr. James Monroe received 231 electoral votes.⁴⁰ His main opponent, John Quincy Adams, received 1.⁴¹

- a. Did James Monroe win the 1820 presidential election, Yes or No? A response that is not “Yes” or “No” will be considered a refusal to answer the question.

My understanding is that Congress certified the winner of this election.

- b. Did James Monroe lose the 1820 presidential election, Yes or No? A response that is not “Yes” or “No” will be considered a refusal to answer the question.

My understanding is that Congress certified the winner of this election.

- c. Did John Quincy Adams win the 1820 presidential election, Yes or No? A response that is not “Yes” or “No” will be considered a refusal to answer the question.

My understanding is that Congress certified the winner of this election.

- d. Did John Quincy Adams lose the 1820 presidential election, Yes or No? A response that is not “Yes” or “No” will be considered a refusal to answer the question.

My understanding is that Congress certified the winner of this election.

68. During the 1824 presidential election, John Quincy Adams received 84 electoral votes.⁴² Additional candidates included Andrew Jackson, who received 99 electoral votes; William H. Crawford, who received 41 electoral votes; and Henry Clay, who received 37 electoral votes.⁴³ Since Mr. Jackson received only a plurality of electoral votes, the election was decided by the House of Representatives, where Mr. Adams received 13 votes, Mr. Jackson received 7 votes, and Mr. Crawford received 4 votes.

⁴⁰ National Archives, “1820 Electoral College Results,” <https://www.archives.gov/electoral-college/1820>.

⁴¹ *Id.*

⁴² National Archives, “1824 Electoral College Results,” <https://www.archives.gov/electoral-college/1824>.

⁴³ *Id.*

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- a. Did John Quincy Adams win the 1824 presidential election, Yes or No? A response that is not “Yes” or “No” will be considered a refusal to answer the question.

My understanding is that Congress certified that no candidate had achieved a majority of Electoral Votes cast. The House of Representatives then subsequently elected and certified John Quincy Adams President.

- b. Did John Quincy Adams lose the 1824 presidential election, Yes or No? A response that is not “Yes” or “No” will be considered a refusal to answer the question.

My understanding is that Congress certified that no candidate had achieved a majority of Electoral Votes cast. The House of Representatives then subsequently elected and certified John Quincy Adams President.

- c. Did Andrew Jackson win the 1824 presidential election, Yes or No? A response that is not “Yes” or “No” will be considered a refusal to answer the question.

My understanding is that Congress certified that no candidate had achieved a majority of Electoral Votes cast. The House of Representatives then subsequently elected and certified John Quincy Adams President.

- d. Did Andrew Jackson lose the 1824 presidential election, Yes or No? A response that is not “Yes” or “No” will be considered a refusal to answer the question.

My understanding is that Congress certified that no candidate had achieved a majority of Electoral Votes cast. The House of Representatives then subsequently elected and certified John Quincy Adams President.

69. During the 1828 presidential election Andrew Jackson received 178 electoral votes.⁴⁴ His main opponent, John Quincy Adams, received 83.⁴⁵

- a. Did Andrew Jackson win the 1828 presidential election, Yes or No? A response that is not “Yes” or “No” will be considered a refusal to answer the question.

My understanding is that Congress certified the winner of this election.

- b. Did Andrew Jackson lose the 1828 presidential election, Yes or No? A response that is not “Yes” or “No” will be considered a refusal to answer the question.

My understanding is that Congress certified the winner of this election.

⁴⁴ National Archives, “1828 Electoral College Results,” <https://www.archives.gov/electoral-college/1828>.

⁴⁵ *Id.*

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- c. Did John Quincy Adams win the 1828 presidential election, Yes or No? A response that is not “Yes” or “No” will be considered a refusal to answer the question.

My understanding is that Congress certified the winner of this election.

- d. Did John Quincy Adams lose the 1828 presidential election, Yes or No? A response that is not “Yes” or “No” will be considered a refusal to answer the question.

My understanding is that Congress certified the winner of this election.

70. During the 1832 presidential election, Andrew Jackson received 219 electoral votes.⁴⁶ Additional candidates included Henry Clay, who received 49 electoral votes; John Floyd, who received 11 electoral votes; and William Wirt, who received 7 electoral votes.⁴⁷

- a. Did Andrew Jackson win the 1832 presidential election, Yes or No? A response that is not “Yes” or “No” will be considered a refusal to answer the question.

My understanding is that Congress certified the winner of this election.

- b. Did Andrew Jackson lose the 1832 presidential election, Yes or No? A response that is not “Yes” or “No” will be considered a refusal to answer the question.

My understanding is that Congress certified the winner of this election.

- c. Did Henry Clay win the 1832 presidential election, Yes or No? A response that is not “Yes” or “No” will be considered a refusal to answer the question.

My understanding is that Congress certified the winner of this election.

- d. Did Henry Clay lose the 1832 presidential election, Yes or No? A response that is not “Yes” or “No” will be considered a refusal to answer the question.

My understanding is that Congress certified the winner of this election.

71. During the 1836 presidential election, Martin Van Buren received 170 electoral votes.⁴⁸ Additional candidates included William H. Harrison, who received 73 electoral votes; Hugh L. White, who received 26 electoral votes; Daniel Webster, who received 14 electoral votes; and Willie P. Mangum, who received 11 electoral votes.⁴⁹

⁴⁶ National Archives, “1832 Electoral College Results,” <https://www.archives.gov/electoral-college/1832>.

⁴⁷ *Id.*

⁴⁸ National Archives, “1836 Electoral College Results,” <https://www.archives.gov/electoral-college/1836>.

⁴⁹ *Id.*

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- a. Did Martin Van Buren win the 1836 presidential election, Yes or No? A response that is not “Yes” or “No” will be considered a refusal to answer the question.

My understanding is that Congress certified the winner of this election.

- b. Did Martin Van Buren lose the 1836 presidential election, Yes or No? A response that is not “Yes” or “No” will be considered a refusal to answer the question.

My understanding is that Congress certified the winner of this election.

- c. Did William H. Harrison win the 1836 presidential election, Yes or No? A response that is not “Yes” or “No” will be considered a refusal to answer the question.

My understanding is that Congress certified the winner of this election.

- d. Did William H. Harrison lose the 1836 presidential election, Yes or No? A response that is not “Yes” or “No” will be considered a refusal to answer the question.

My understanding is that Congress certified the winner of this election.

72. During the 1840 presidential election, William H. Harrison received 234 electoral votes.⁵⁰ His main opponent, Martin Van Buren, received 60.⁵¹

- a. Did William H. Harrison win the 1840 presidential election, Yes or No? A response that is not “Yes” or “No” will be considered a refusal to answer the question.

My understanding is that Congress certified the winner of this election.

- b. Did William H. Harrison lose the 1840 presidential election, Yes or No? A response that is not “Yes” or “No” will be considered a refusal to answer the question.

My understanding is that Congress certified the winner of this election.

- c. Did Martin Van Buren win the 1840 presidential election, Yes or No? A response that is not “Yes” or “No” will be considered a refusal to answer the question.

My understanding is that Congress certified the winner of this election.

- d. Did Martin Van Buren lose the 1840 presidential election, Yes or No? A response that is not “Yes” or “No” will be considered a refusal to answer the question.

⁵⁰ National Archives, “1840 Electoral College Results,” <https://www.archives.gov/electoral-college/1840>.

⁵¹ *Id.*

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My understanding is that Congress certified the winner of this election.

73. During the 1844 presidential election, James K. Polk received 170 electoral votes.⁵² His main opponent, Henry Clay, received 105.⁵³

- a. Did James K. Polk win the 1844 presidential election, Yes or No? A response that is not “Yes” or “No” will be considered a refusal to answer the question.

My understanding is that Congress certified the winner of this election.

- b. Did James K. Polk lose the 1844 presidential election, Yes or No? A response that is not “Yes” or “No” will be considered a refusal to answer the question.

My understanding is that Congress certified the winner of this election.

- c. Did Henry Clay win the 1844 presidential election, Yes or No? A response that is not “Yes” or “No” will be considered a refusal to answer the question.

My understanding is that Congress certified the winner of this election.

- d. Did Henry Clay lose the 1844 presidential election, Yes or No? A response that is not “Yes” or “No” will be considered a refusal to answer the question.

My understanding is that Congress certified the winner of this election.

74. During the 1848 presidential election, Zachary Taylor received 163 electoral votes.⁵⁴ His main opponent, Lewis Cass, received 127.⁵⁵

- a. Did Zachary Taylor win the 1848 presidential election, Yes or No? A response that is not “Yes” or “No” will be considered a refusal to answer the question.

My understanding is that Congress certified the winner of this election.

- b. Did Zachary Taylor lose the 1848 presidential election, Yes or No? A response that is not “Yes” or “No” will be considered a refusal to answer the question.

My understanding is that Congress certified the winner of this election.

⁵² National Archives, “1844 Electoral College Results,” <https://www.archives.gov/electoral-college/1844>.

⁵³ *Id.*

⁵⁴ National Archives, “1848 Electoral College Results,” <https://www.archives.gov/electoral-college/1848>.

⁵⁵ *Id.*

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- c. Did Lewis Cass win the 1848 presidential election, Yes or No? A response that is not “Yes” or “No” will be considered a refusal to answer the question.

My understanding is that Congress certified the winner of this election.

- d. Did Lewis Cass lose the 1848 presidential election, Yes or No? A response that is not “Yes” or “No” will be considered a refusal to answer the question.

My understanding is that Congress certified the winner of this election.

75. During the 1852 presidential election, Franklin Pierce received 254 electoral votes.⁵⁶ His main opponent, Winfield Scott, received 42.⁵⁷

- a. Did Franklin Pierce win the 1852 presidential election, Yes or No? A response that is not “Yes” or “No” will be considered a refusal to answer the question.

My understanding is that Congress certified the winner of this election.

- b. Did Franklin Pierce lose the 1852 presidential election, Yes or No? A response that is not “Yes” or “No” will be considered a refusal to answer the question.

My understanding is that Congress certified the winner of this election.

- c. Did Winfield Scott win the 1852 presidential election, Yes or No? A response that is not “Yes” or “No” will be considered a refusal to answer the question.

My understanding is that Congress certified the winner of this election.

- d. Did Winfield Scott lose the 1852 presidential election, Yes or No? A response that is not “Yes” or “No” will be considered a refusal to answer the question.

My understanding is that Congress certified the winner of this election.

76. During the 1856 presidential election, James Buchanan received 174 electoral votes.⁵⁸ Additional candidates included John C. Frémont, who received 114 electoral votes, and Millard Fillmore, who received 8 electoral votes.⁵⁹

⁵⁶ National Archives, “1852 Electoral College Results,” <https://www.archives.gov/electoral-college/1852>.

⁵⁷ *Id.*

⁵⁸ National Archives, “1856 Electoral College Results,” <https://www.archives.gov/electoral-college/1856>.

⁵⁹ *Id.*

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- a. Did James Buchanan win the 1856 presidential election, Yes or No? A response that is not “Yes” or “No” will be considered a refusal to answer the question.

My understanding is that Congress certified the winner of this election.

- b. Did James Buchanan lose the 1856 presidential election, Yes or No? A response that is not “Yes” or “No” will be considered a refusal to answer the question.

My understanding is that Congress certified the winner of this election.

- c. Did John C. Frémont win the 1856 presidential election, Yes or No? A response that is not “Yes” or “No” will be considered a refusal to answer the question.

My understanding is that Congress certified the winner of this election.

- d. Did John C. Frémont lose the 1856 presidential election, Yes or No? A response that is not “Yes” or “No” will be considered a refusal to answer the question.

My understanding is that Congress certified the winner of this election.

77. During the 1860 presidential election, Abraham Lincoln received 180 electoral votes.⁶⁰ Additional candidates included John C. Breckinridge, who received 72 electoral votes; John Bell, who received 39 electoral votes; and Stephen A. Douglas, who received 12 electoral votes.⁶¹

- a. Did Abraham Lincoln win the 1860 presidential election, Yes or No? A response that is not “Yes” or “No” will be considered a refusal to answer the question.

My understanding is that Congress certified the winner of this election.

- b. Did Abraham Lincoln lose the 1860 presidential election, Yes or No? A response that is not “Yes” or “No” will be considered a refusal to answer the question.

My understanding is that Congress certified the winner of this election.

- c. Did John C. Breckinridge win the 1860 presidential election, Yes or No? A response that is not “Yes” or “No” will be considered a refusal to answer the question.

My understanding is that Congress certified the winner of this election.

⁶⁰ National Archives, “1860 Electoral College Results,” <https://www.archives.gov/electoral-college/1860>.

⁶¹ *Id.*

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- d. Did John C. Breckinridge lose the 1860 presidential election, Yes or No? A response that is not “Yes” or “No” will be considered a refusal to answer the question.

My understanding is that Congress certified the winner of this election.

78. During the 1864 presidential election, Abraham Lincoln received 212 electoral votes.⁶² His main opponent, George B. McClellan, received 21.⁶³

- a. Did Abraham Lincoln win the 1864 presidential election, Yes or No? A response that is not “Yes” or “No” will be considered a refusal to answer the question.

My understanding is that Congress certified the winner of this election.

- b. Did Abraham Lincoln lose the 1864 presidential election, Yes or No? A response that is not “Yes” or “No” will be considered a refusal to answer the question.

My understanding is that Congress certified the winner of this election.

- c. Did George B. McClellan win the 1864 presidential election, Yes or No? A response that is not “Yes” or “No” will be considered a refusal to answer the question.

My understanding is that Congress certified the winner of this election.

- d. Did George B. McClellan lose the 1864 presidential election, Yes or No? A response that is not “Yes” or “No” will be considered a refusal to answer the question.

My understanding is that Congress certified the winner of this election.

79. During the 1868 presidential election, Ulysses S. Grant received 214 electoral votes.⁶⁴ His main opponent, Horatio Seymour, received 80.⁶⁵

⁶² National Archives, “1864 Electoral College Results,” <https://www.archives.gov/electoral-college/1864>.

⁶³ *Id.*

⁶⁴ National Archives, “1868 Electoral College Results,” <https://www.archives.gov/electoral-college/1868>.

⁶⁵ *Id.* Notably, per the National Archives, “The electoral votes of Georgia were contested and the Senate and the House of Representatives could not agree whether to accept—and count—them or not.” Including Georgia, Horatio Seymour received 80 electoral votes; excluding Georgia, he received 71. Regardless, Ulysses S. Grant “was the clear winner in either case.”

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- a. Did Ulysses S. Grant win the 1868 presidential election, Yes or No? A response that is not “Yes” or “No” will be considered a refusal to answer the question.

My understanding is that Congress certified the winner of this election.

- b. Did Ulysses S. Grant lose the 1868 presidential election, Yes or No? A response that is not “Yes” or “No” will be considered a refusal to answer the question.

My understanding is that Congress certified the winner of this election.

- c. Did Horatio Seymour win the 1868 presidential election, Yes or No? A response that is not “Yes” or “No” will be considered a refusal to answer the question.

My understanding is that Congress certified the winner of this election.

- d. Did Horatio Seymour lose the 1868 presidential election, Yes or No? A response that is not “Yes” or “No” will be considered a refusal to answer the question.

My understanding is that Congress certified the winner of this election.

80. During the 1872 presidential election, Ulysses S. Grant received 286 electoral votes.⁶⁶ His main opponent, Horace Greeley, initially received 3 electoral votes, but they were not counted after he died on November 28, 1872, before the Electoral College could officially meet.⁶⁷ Other candidates included Benjamin Gratz Brown, who received 18 electoral votes; Thomas A. Hendricks, who received 42 votes; Charles J. Jenkins, who received 2 votes; and David Davis, who received 1 vote.⁶⁸

- a. Did Ulysses S. Grant win the 1872 presidential election, Yes or No? A response that is not “Yes” or “No” will be considered a refusal to answer the question.

My understanding is that Congress certified the winner of this election.

- b. Did Ulysses S. Grant lose the 1872 presidential election, Yes or No? A response that is not “Yes” or “No” will be considered a refusal to answer the question.

My understanding is that Congress certified the winner of this election.

- c. Did Horace Greeley win the 1872 presidential election, Yes or No? A response that is not “Yes” or “No” will be considered a refusal to answer the question.

⁶⁶ National Archives, “1872 Electoral College Results,” <https://www.archives.gov/electoral-college/1872>.

⁶⁷ *Id.*

⁶⁸ *Id.*

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My understanding is that Congress certified the winner of this election.

- d. Did Horace Greeley lose the 1872 presidential election, Yes or No? A response that is not “Yes” or “No” will be considered a refusal to answer the question.

My understanding is that Congress certified the winner of this election.

81. During the 1876 presidential election, Rutherford B. Hayes received 185 electoral votes.⁶⁹ His main opponent, Samuel J. Tilden, received 184.⁷⁰

- a. Did Rutherford B. Hayes win the 1876 presidential election, Yes or No? A response that is not “Yes” or “No” will be considered a refusal to answer the question.

My understanding is that Congress certified the winner of this election.

- b. Did Rutherford B. Hayes lose the 1876 presidential election, Yes or No? A response that is not “Yes” or “No” will be considered a refusal to answer the question.

My understanding is that Congress certified the winner of this election.

- c. Did Samuel J. Tilden win the 1876 presidential election, Yes or No? A response that is not “Yes” or “No” will be considered a refusal to answer the question.

My understanding is that Congress certified the winner of this election.

- d. Did Samuel J. Tilden lose the 1876 presidential election, Yes or No? A response that is not “Yes” or “No” will be considered a refusal to answer the question.

My understanding is that Congress certified the winner of this election.

82. During the 1880 presidential election, James A. Garfield received 214 electoral votes.⁷¹ His main opponent, Winfield S. Hancock, received 155.⁷²

- a. Did James A. Garfield win the 1880 presidential election, Yes or No? A response that is not “Yes” or “No” will be considered a refusal to answer the question.

My understanding is that Congress certified the winner of this election.

⁶⁹ National Archives, “1876 Electoral College Results,” <https://www.archives.gov/electoral-college/1876>.

⁷⁰ *Id.*

⁷¹ National Archives, “1880 Electoral College Results,” <https://www.archives.gov/electoral-college/1880>.

⁷² *Id.*

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- b. Did James A. Garfield lose the 1880 presidential election, Yes or No? A response that is not “Yes” or “No” will be considered a refusal to answer the question.

My understanding is that Congress certified the winner of this election.

- c. Did Winfield S. Hancock win the 1880 presidential election, Yes or No? A response that is not “Yes” or “No” will be considered a refusal to answer the question.

My understanding is that Congress certified the winner of this election.

- d. Did Winfield S. Hancock lose the 1880 presidential election, Yes or No? A response that is not “Yes” or “No” will be considered a refusal to answer the question.

My understanding is that Congress certified the winner of this election.

83. During the 1884 presidential election, Grover Cleveland received 219 electoral votes.⁷³ His main opponent, James G. Blane, received 182.⁷⁴

- a. Did Grover Cleveland win the 1884 presidential election, Yes or No? A response that is not “Yes” or “No” will be considered a refusal to answer the question.

My understanding is that Congress certified the winner of this election.

- b. Did Grover Cleveland lose the 1884 presidential election, Yes or No? A response that is not “Yes” or “No” will be considered a refusal to answer the question.

My understanding is that Congress certified the winner of this election.

- c. Did James G. Blane win the 1884 presidential election, Yes or No? A response that is not “Yes” or “No” will be considered a refusal to answer the question.

My understanding is that Congress certified the winner of this election.

- d. Did James G. Blane lose the 1884 presidential election, Yes or No? A response that is not “Yes” or “No” will be considered a refusal to answer the question.

My understanding is that Congress certified the winner of this election.

⁷³ National Archives, “1884 Electoral College Results,” <https://www.archives.gov/electoral-college/1884>.

⁷⁴ *Id.*

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84. During the 1888 presidential election, Benjamin Harrison received 233 electoral votes.⁷⁵ His main opponent, Grover Cleveland, received 168.⁷⁶

- a. Did Benjamin Harrison win the 1888 presidential election, Yes or No? A response that is not “Yes” or “No” will be considered a refusal to answer the question.

My understanding is that Congress certified the winner of this election.

- b. Did Benjamin Harrison lose the 1888 presidential election, Yes or No? A response that is not “Yes” or “No” will be considered a refusal to answer the question.

My understanding is that Congress certified the winner of this election.

- c. Did Grover Cleveland win the 1888 presidential election, Yes or No? A response that is not “Yes” or “No” will be considered a refusal to answer the question.

My understanding is that Congress certified the winner of this election.

- d. Did Grover Cleveland lose the 1888 presidential election, Yes or No? A response that is not “Yes” or “No” will be considered a refusal to answer the question.

My understanding is that Congress certified the winner of this election.

85. During the 1892 presidential election, Grover Cleveland received 277 electoral votes.⁷⁷ His main opponent, Benjamin Harrison, received 145.⁷⁸

- a. Did Grover Cleveland win the 1892 presidential election, Yes or No? A response that is not “Yes” or “No” will be considered a refusal to answer the question.

My understanding is that Congress certified the winner of this election.

- b. Did Grover Cleveland lose the 1892 presidential election, Yes or No? A response that is not “Yes” or “No” will be considered a refusal to answer the question.

My understanding is that Congress certified the winner of this election.

- c. Did Benjamin Harrison win the 1892 presidential election, Yes or No? A response that is not “Yes” or “No” will be considered a refusal to answer the question.

⁷⁵ National Archives, “1888 Electoral College Results,” <https://www.archives.gov/electoral-college/1888>.

⁷⁶ *Id.*

⁷⁷ National Archives, “1892 Electoral College Results,” <https://www.archives.gov/electoral-college/1892>.

⁷⁸ *Id.*

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My understanding is that Congress certified the winner of this election.

- d. Did Benjamin Harrison lose the 1892 presidential election, Yes or No? A response that is not “Yes” or “No” will be considered a refusal to answer the question.

My understanding is that Congress certified the winner of this election.

86. During the 1896 presidential election, William McKinley received 271 electoral votes.⁷⁹ His main opponent, William J. Bryan, received 176.⁸⁰

- a. Did William McKinley win the 1896 presidential election, Yes or No? A response that is not “Yes” or “No” will be considered a refusal to answer the question.

My understanding is that Congress certified the winner of this election.

- b. Did William McKinley lose the 1896 presidential election, Yes or No? A response that is not “Yes” or “No” will be considered a refusal to answer the question.

My understanding is that Congress certified the winner of this election.

- c. Did William J. Bryan win the 1896 presidential election, Yes or No? A response that is not “Yes” or “No” will be considered a refusal to answer the question.

My understanding is that Congress certified the winner of this election.

- d. Did William J. Bryan lose the 1896 presidential election, Yes or No? A response that is not “Yes” or “No” will be considered a refusal to answer the question.

My understanding is that Congress certified the winner of this election.

87. During the 1900 presidential election, William McKinley received 292 electoral votes.⁸¹ His main opponent, Williams J. Bryan, received 155.⁸²

- a. Did William McKinley win the 1900 presidential election, Yes or No? A response that is not “Yes” or “No” will be considered a refusal to answer the question.

My understanding is that Congress certified the winner of this election.

⁷⁹ National Archives, “1896 Electoral College Results,” <https://www.archives.gov/electoral-college/1896>.

⁸⁰ *Id.*

⁸¹ National Archives, “1900 Electoral College Results,” <https://www.archives.gov/electoral-college/1900>.

⁸² *Id.*

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- b. Did William McKinley lose the 1900 presidential election, Yes or No? A response that is not “Yes” or “No” will be considered a refusal to answer the question.

My understanding is that Congress certified the winner of this election.

- c. Did William J. Bryan win the 1900 presidential election, Yes or No? A response that is not “Yes” or “No” will be considered a refusal to answer the question.

My understanding is that Congress certified the winner of this election.

- d. Did William J. Bryan lose the 1900 presidential election, Yes or No? A response that is not “Yes” or “No” will be considered a refusal to answer the question.

My understanding is that Congress certified the winner of this election.

88. During the 1904 presidential election, Theodore Roosevelt received 336 electoral votes.⁸³ His main opponent, Alton B. Parker, received 140.⁸⁴

- a. Did Theodore Roosevelt win the 1904 presidential election, Yes or No? A response that is not “Yes” or “No” will be considered a refusal to answer the question.

My understanding is that Congress certified the winner of this election.

- b. Did Theodore Roosevelt lose the 1904 presidential election, Yes or No? A response that is not “Yes” or “No” will be considered a refusal to answer the question.

My understanding is that Congress certified the winner of this election.

- c. Did Alton B. Parker win the 1904 presidential election, Yes or No? A response that is not “Yes” or “No” will be considered a refusal to answer the question.

My understanding is that Congress certified the winner of this election.

- d. Did Alton B. Parker lose the 1904 presidential election, Yes or No? A response that is not “Yes” or “No” will be considered a refusal to answer the question.

My understanding is that Congress certified the winner of this election.

⁸³ National Archives, “1904 Electoral College Results,” <https://www.archives.gov/electoral-college/1904>.

⁸⁴ *Id.*

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89. During the 1908 presidential election, William H. Taft received 321 electoral votes.⁸⁵ His main opponent, William J. Bryan, received 162.⁸⁶

- a. Did William H. Taft win the 1908 presidential election, Yes or No? A response that is not “Yes” or “No” will be considered a refusal to answer the question.

My understanding is that Congress certified the winner of this election.

- b. Did William H. Taft lose the 1908 presidential election, Yes or No? A response that is not “Yes” or “No” will be considered a refusal to answer the question.

My understanding is that Congress certified the winner of this election.

- c. Did William J. Bryan win the 1908 presidential election, Yes or No? A response that is not “Yes” or “No” will be considered a refusal to answer the question.

My understanding is that Congress certified the winner of this election.

- d. Did William J. Bryan lose the 1908 presidential election, Yes or No? A response that is not “Yes” or “No” will be considered a refusal to answer the question.

My understanding is that Congress certified the winner of this election.

90. During the 1912 presidential election, Woodrow Wilson received 435 electoral votes.⁸⁷ His main opponent, Theodore Roosevelt, received 88.⁸⁸

- a. Did Woodrow Wilson win the 1912 presidential election, Yes or No? A response that is not “Yes” or “No” will be considered a refusal to answer the question.

My understanding is that Congress certified the winner of this election.

- b. Did Woodrow Wilson lose the 1912 presidential election, Yes or No? A response that is not “Yes” or “No” will be considered a refusal to answer the question.

My understanding is that Congress certified the winner of this election.

- c. Did Theodore Roosevelt win the 1912 presidential election, Yes or No? A response that is not “Yes” or “No” will be considered a refusal to answer the question.

⁸⁵ National Archives, “1908 Electoral College Results,” <https://www.archives.gov/electoral-college/1908>.

⁸⁶ *Id.*

⁸⁷ National Archives, “1912 Electoral Vote Tally, February 12, 1913,” <https://www.archives.gov/legislative/features/1912-election>.

⁸⁸ *Id.*

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My understanding is that Congress certified the winner of this election.

- d. Did Theodore Roosevelt lose the 1912 presidential election, Yes or No? A response that is not “Yes” or “No” will be considered a refusal to answer the question.

My understanding is that Congress certified the winner of this election.

91. During the 1916 presidential election, Woodrow Wilson received 277 electoral votes.⁸⁹ His main opponent, Charles E. Hughes, received 254.⁹⁰

- a. Did Woodrow Wilson win the 1916 presidential election, Yes or No? A response that is not “Yes” or “No” will be considered a refusal to answer the question.

My understanding is that Congress certified the winner of this election.

- b. Did Woodrow Wilson lose the 1916 presidential election, Yes or No? A response that is not “Yes” or “No” will be considered a refusal to answer the question.

My understanding is that Congress certified the winner of this election.

- c. Did Charles E. Hughes win the 1916 presidential election, Yes or No? A response that is not “Yes” or “No” will be considered a refusal to answer the question.

My understanding is that Congress certified the winner of this election.

- d. Did Charles E. Hughes lose the 1916 presidential election, Yes or No? A response that is not “Yes” or “No” will be considered a refusal to answer the question.

My understanding is that Congress certified the winner of this election.

92. During the 1920 presidential election, Warren G. Harding received 404 electoral votes.⁹¹ His main opponent, James M. Cox, received 127.⁹²

- a. Did Warren G. Harding win the 1920 presidential election, Yes or No? A response that is not “Yes” or “No” will be considered a refusal to answer the question.

My understanding is that Congress certified the winner of this election.

⁸⁹ National Archives, “1916 Electoral College Results,” <https://www.archives.gov/electoral-college/1916>.

⁹⁰ *Id.*

⁹¹ National Archives, “1920 Electoral College Results,” <https://www.archives.gov/electoral-college/1920>.

⁹² *Id.*

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- b. Did Warren G. Harding lose the 1920 presidential election, Yes or No? A response that is not “Yes” or “No” will be considered a refusal to answer the question.

My understanding is that Congress certified the winner of this election.

- c. Did James M. Cox win the 1920 presidential election, Yes or No? A response that is not “Yes” or “No” will be considered a refusal to answer the question.

My understanding is that Congress certified the winner of this election.

- d. Did James M. Cox lose the 1920 presidential election, Yes or No? A response that is not “Yes” or “No” will be considered a refusal to answer the question.

My understanding is that Congress certified the winner of this election.

93. During the 1924 presidential election, Calvin Coolidge received 382 electoral votes.⁹³ His main opponent, John W. Davis, received 136.⁹⁴

- a. Did Calvin Coolidge win the 1924 presidential election, Yes or No? A response that is not “Yes” or “No” will be considered a refusal to answer the question.

My understanding is that Congress certified the winner of this election.

- b. Did Calvin Coolidge lose the 1924 presidential election, Yes or No? A response that is not “Yes” or “No” will be considered a refusal to answer the question.

My understanding is that Congress certified the winner of this election.

- c. Did John W. Davis win the 1924 presidential election, Yes or No? A response that is not “Yes” or “No” will be considered a refusal to answer the question.

My understanding is that Congress certified the winner of this election.

- d. Did John W. Davis lose the 1924 presidential election, Yes or No? A response that is not “Yes” or “No” will be considered a refusal to answer the question.

My understanding is that Congress certified the winner of this election.

⁹³ National Archives, “1924 Electoral College Results,” <https://www.archives.gov/electoral-college/1924>.

⁹⁴ *Id.*

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94. During the 1928 presidential election, Herbert C. Hoover received 444 electoral votes.⁹⁵ His main opponent, Alfred E. Smith, received 87.⁹⁶

- a. Did Herbert C. Hoover win the 1928 presidential election, Yes or No? A response that is not “Yes” or “No” will be considered a refusal to answer the question.

My understanding is that Congress certified the winner of this election.

- b. Did Herbert C. Hoover lose the 1928 presidential election, Yes or No? A response that is not “Yes” or “No” will be considered a refusal to answer the question.

My understanding is that Congress certified the winner of this election.

- c. Did Alfred E. Smith win the 1928 presidential election, Yes or No? A response that is not “Yes” or “No” will be considered a refusal to answer the question.

My understanding is that Congress certified the winner of this election.

- d. Did Alfred E. Smith lose the 1928 presidential election, Yes or No? A response that is not “Yes” or “No” will be considered a refusal to answer the question.

My understanding is that Congress certified the winner of this election.

95. During the 1932 presidential election, Franklin D. Roosevelt received 472 electoral votes.⁹⁷ His main opponent, Herbert C. Hoover, received 59.⁹⁸

- a. Did Franklin D. Roosevelt win the 1932 presidential election, Yes or No? A response that is not “Yes” or “No” will be considered a refusal to answer the question.

My understanding is that Congress certified the winner of this election.

- b. Did Franklin D. Roosevelt lose the 1932 presidential election, Yes or No? A response that is not “Yes” or “No” will be considered a refusal to answer the question.

My understanding is that Congress certified the winner of this election.

⁹⁵ National Archives, “1928 Electoral College Results,” <https://www.archives.gov/electoral-college/1928>.

⁹⁶ *Id.*

⁹⁷ National Archives, “1932 Electoral College Results,” <https://www.archives.gov/electoral-college/1932>.

⁹⁸ *Id.*

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- c. Did Herbert C. Hoover win the 1932 presidential election, Yes or No? A response that is not “Yes” or “No” will be considered a refusal to answer the question.

My understanding is that Congress certified the winner of this election.

- d. Did Herbert C. Hoover lose the 1932 presidential election, Yes or No? A response that is not “Yes” or “No” will be considered a refusal to answer the question.

My understanding is that Congress certified the winner of this election.

96. During the 1936 presidential election, Franklin D. Roosevelt received 523 electoral votes.⁹⁹ His main opponent, Alfred M. Landon, received 8.¹⁰⁰

- a. Did Franklin D. Roosevelt win the 1936 presidential election, Yes or No? A response that is not “Yes” or “No” will be considered a refusal to answer the question.

My understanding is that Congress certified the winner of this election.

- b. Did Franklin D. Roosevelt lose the 1936 presidential election, Yes or No? A response that is not “Yes” or “No” will be considered a refusal to answer the question.

My understanding is that Congress certified the winner of this election.

- c. Did Alfred M. Landon win the 1936 presidential election, Yes or No? A response that is not “Yes” or “No” will be considered a refusal to answer the question.

My understanding is that Congress certified the winner of this election.

- d. Did Alfred M. Landon lose the 1936 presidential election, Yes or No? A response that is not “Yes” or “No” will be considered a refusal to answer the question.

My understanding is that Congress certified the winner of this election.

97. During the 1940 presidential election, Franklin D. Roosevelt received 449 electoral votes.¹⁰¹ His main opponent, Wendell L. Willkie, received 82.¹⁰²

⁹⁹ National Archives, “1936 Electoral College Results,” <https://www.archives.gov/electoral-college/1936>.

¹⁰⁰ *Id.*

¹⁰¹ National Archives, “1940 Electoral College Results,” <https://www.archives.gov/electoral-college/1940>.

¹⁰² *Id.*

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- a. Did Franklin D. Roosevelt win the 1940 presidential election, Yes or No? A response that is not “Yes” or “No” will be considered a refusal to answer the question.

My understanding is that Congress certified the winner of this election.

- b. Did Franklin D. Roosevelt lose the 1940 presidential election, Yes or No? A response that is not “Yes” or “No” will be considered a refusal to answer the question.

My understanding is that Congress certified the winner of this election.

- c. Did Wendell L. Willkie win the 1940 presidential election, Yes or No? A response that is not “Yes” or “No” will be considered a refusal to answer the question.

My understanding is that Congress certified the winner of this election.

- d. Did Wendell L. Willkie lose the 1940 presidential election, Yes or No? A response that is not “Yes” or “No” will be considered a refusal to answer the question.

98. During the 1944 presidential election, Franklin D. Roosevelt received 432 electoral votes.¹⁰³ His main opponent, Thomas E. Dewey, received 99.¹⁰⁴

- a. Did Franklin D. Roosevelt win the 1944 presidential election, Yes or No? A response that is not “Yes” or “No” will be considered a refusal to answer the question.

My understanding is that Congress certified the winner of this election.

- b. Did Franklin D. Roosevelt win the 1944 presidential election, Yes or No? A response that is not “Yes” or “No” will be considered a refusal to answer the question.

My understanding is that Congress certified the winner of this election.

- c. Did Thomas E. Dewey win the 1944 presidential election, Yes or No? A response that is not “Yes” or “No” will be considered a refusal to answer the question.

My understanding is that Congress certified the winner of this election.

¹⁰³ National Archives, “1944 Electoral College Results,” <https://www.archives.gov/electoral-college/1944>.

¹⁰⁴ *Id.*

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- d. Did Thomas E. Dewey lose the 1944 presidential election, Yes or No? A response that is not “Yes” or “No” will be considered a refusal to answer the question.

My understanding is that Congress certified the winner of this election.

99. During the 1948 presidential election, Harry S. Truman received 303 electoral votes.¹⁰⁵ His main opponent, Thomas E. Dewey, received 189.¹⁰⁶

- a. Did Harry S. Truman win the 1948 presidential election, Yes or No? A response that is not “Yes” or “No” will be considered a refusal to answer the question.

My understanding is that Congress certified the winner of this election.

- b. Did Harry S. Truman lose the 1948 presidential election, Yes or No? A response that is not “Yes” or “No” will be considered a refusal to answer the question.

My understanding is that Congress certified the winner of this election.

- c. Did Thomas E. Dewey win the 1948 presidential election, Yes or No? A response that is not “Yes” or “No” will be considered a refusal to answer the question.

My understanding is that Congress certified the winner of this election.

- d. Did Thomas E. Dewey lose the 1948 presidential election, Yes or No? A response that is not “Yes” or “No” will be considered a refusal to answer the question.

My understanding is that Congress certified the winner of this election.

100. During the 1952 presidential election, Dwight D. Eisenhower received 442 electoral votes.¹⁰⁷ His main opponent, Adlai Stevenson, received 89.¹⁰⁸

- a. Did Dwight D. Eisenhower win the 1952 presidential election, Yes or No? A response that is not “Yes” or “No” will be considered a refusal to answer the question.

My understanding is that Congress certified the winner of this election.

¹⁰⁵ National Archives, “1948 Electoral College Results,” <https://www.archives.gov/electoral-college/1948>.

¹⁰⁶ *Id.*

¹⁰⁷ National Archives, “1952 Electoral College Results,” <https://www.archives.gov/electoral-college/1952>.

¹⁰⁸ *Id.*

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- b. Did Dwight D. Eisenhower lose the 1952 presidential election, Yes or No? A response that is not “Yes” or “No” will be considered a refusal to answer the question.

My understanding is that Congress certified the winner of this election.

- c. Did Adlai Stevenson win the 1952 presidential election, Yes or No? A response that is not “Yes” or “No” will be considered a refusal to answer the question.

My understanding is that Congress certified the winner of this election.

- d. Did Adlai Stevenson lose the 1952 presidential election, Yes or No? A response that is not “Yes” or “No” will be considered a refusal to answer the question.

My understanding is that Congress certified the winner of this election.

101. During the 1956 presidential election, Dwight D. Eisenhower received 457 electoral votes.¹⁰⁹ His main opponent, Adlai Stevenson, received 73.¹¹⁰

- a. Did Dwight D. Eisenhower win the 1956 presidential election, Yes or No? A response that is not “Yes” or “No” will be considered a refusal to answer the question.

My understanding is that Congress certified the winner of this election.

- b. Did Dwight D. Eisenhower lose the 1956 presidential election, Yes or No? A response that is not “Yes” or “No” will be considered a refusal to answer the question.

My understanding is that Congress certified the winner of this election.

- c. Did Adlai Stevenson win the 1956 presidential election, Yes or No? A response that is not “Yes” or “No” will be considered a refusal to answer the question.

My understanding is that Congress certified the winner of this election.

- d. Did Adlai Stevenson lose the 1956 presidential election, Yes or No? A response that is not “Yes” or “No” will be considered a refusal to answer the question.

My understanding is that Congress certified the winner of this election.

¹⁰⁹ National Archives, “1956 Electoral College Results,” <https://www.archives.gov/electoral-college/1956>.

¹¹⁰ *Id.*

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102. During the 1960 presidential election, John F. Kennedy received 303 electoral votes.¹¹¹ His main opponent, Richard M. Nixon, received 219.¹¹²

- a. Did John F. Kennedy win the 1960 presidential election, Yes or No? A response that is not “Yes” or “No” will be considered a refusal to answer the question.

My understanding is that Congress certified the winner of this election.

- b. Did John F. Kennedy lose the 1960 presidential election, Yes or No? A response that is not “Yes” or “No” will be considered a refusal to answer the question.

My understanding is that Congress certified the winner of this election.

- c. Did Richard M. Nixon win the 1960 presidential election, Yes or No? A response that is not “Yes” or “No” will be considered a refusal to answer the question.

My understanding is that Congress certified the winner of this election.

- d. Did Richard M. Nixon lose the 1960 presidential election, Yes or No? A response that is not “Yes” or “No” will be considered a refusal to answer the question.

My understanding is that Congress certified the winner of this election.

103. During the 1964 presidential election, Lyndon B. Johnson received 486 electoral votes.¹¹³ His main opponent, Barry M. Goldwater, received 52.¹¹⁴

- a. Did Lyndon B. Johnson win the 1964 presidential election, Yes or No? A response that is not “Yes” or “No” will be considered a refusal to answer the question.

My understanding is that Congress certified the winner of this election.

- b. Did Lyndon B. Johnson lose the 1964 presidential election, Yes or No? A response that is not “Yes” or “No” will be considered a refusal to answer the question.

My understanding is that Congress certified the winner of this election.

- c. Did Barry M. Goldwater win the 1964 presidential election, Yes or No? A response that is not “Yes” or “No” will be considered a refusal to answer the question.

¹¹¹ National Archives, “1960 Electoral College Results,” <https://www.archives.gov/electoral-college/1960>.

¹¹² *Id.*

¹¹³ National Archives, “1964 Electoral College Results,” <https://www.archives.gov/electoral-college/1964>.

¹¹⁴ *Id.*

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My understanding is that Congress certified the winner of this election.

- d. Did Barry M. Goldwater lose the 1964 presidential election, Yes or No? A response that is not “Yes” or “No” will be considered a refusal to answer the question.

My understanding is that Congress certified the winner of this election.

104. During the 1968 presidential election, Richard M. Nixon received 301 electoral votes.¹¹⁵ His main opponent, Hubert H. Humphrey, received 191.¹¹⁶

- a. Did Richard M. Nixon win the 1968 presidential election, Yes or No? A response that is not “Yes” or “No” will be considered a refusal to answer the question.

My understanding is that Congress certified the winner of this election.

- b. Did Richard M. Nixon lose the 1968 presidential election, Yes or No? A response that is not “Yes” or “No” will be considered a refusal to answer the question.

My understanding is that Congress certified the winner of this election.

- c. Did Hubert H. Humphrey win the 1968 presidential election, Yes or No? A response that is not “Yes” or “No” will be considered a refusal to answer the question.

My understanding is that Congress certified the winner of this election.

- d. Did Hubert H. Humphrey lose the 1968 presidential election, Yes or No? A response that is not “Yes” or “No” will be considered a refusal to answer the question.

My understanding is that Congress certified the winner of this election.

105. During the 1972 presidential election, Richard M. Nixon received 520 electoral votes.¹¹⁷ His main opponent, George S. McGovern, received 17.¹¹⁸

- a. Did Richard M. Nixon win the 1972 presidential election, Yes or No? A response that is not “Yes” or “No” will be considered a refusal to answer the question.

¹¹⁵ National Archives, “1968 Electoral College Results,” <https://www.archives.gov/electoral-college/1968>.

¹¹⁶ *Id.*

¹¹⁷ National Archives, “1972 Electoral College Results,” <https://www.archives.gov/electoral-college/1972>.

¹¹⁸ *Id.*

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My understanding is that Congress certified the winner of this election.

- b. Did Richard M. Nixon lose the 1972 presidential election, Yes or No? A response that is not “Yes” or “No” will be considered a refusal to answer the question.

My understanding is that Congress certified the winner of this election.

- c. Did George S. McGovern win the 1972 presidential election, Yes or No? A response that is not “Yes” or “No” will be considered a refusal to answer the question.

My understanding is that Congress certified the winner of this election.

- d. Did George S. McGovern lose the 1972 presidential election, Yes or No? A response that is not “Yes” or “No” will be considered a refusal to answer the question.

My understanding is that Congress certified the winner of this election.

106. During the 1976 presidential election, Jimmy Carter received 297 electoral votes.¹¹⁹ His main opponent, Gerald R. Ford, received 240.¹²⁰

- a. Did Jimmy Carter win the 1976 presidential election, Yes or No? A response that is not “Yes” or “No” will be considered a refusal to answer the question.

My understanding is that Congress certified the winner of this election.

- b. Did Jimmy Carter lose the 1976 presidential election, Yes or No? A response that is not “Yes” or “No” will be considered a refusal to answer the question.

My understanding is that Congress certified the winner of this election.

- c. Did Gerald R. Ford win the 1976 presidential election, Yes or No? A response that is not “Yes” or “No” will be considered a refusal to answer the question.

My understanding is that Congress certified the winner of this election.

- d. Did Gerald R. Ford lose the 1976 presidential election, Yes or No? A response that is not “Yes” or “No” will be considered a refusal to answer the question.

¹¹⁹ National Archives, “1976 Electoral College Results,” <https://www.archives.gov/electoral-college/1976>.

¹²⁰ *Id.*

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My understanding is that Congress certified the winner of this election.

107. During the 1980 presidential election, Ronald Reagan received 489 electoral votes.¹²¹ His main opponent, Jimmy Carter, received 49.¹²²

- a. Did Ronald Reagan win the 1980 presidential election, Yes or No? A response that is not “Yes” or “No” will be considered a refusal to answer the question.

My understanding is that Congress certified the winner of this election.

- b. Did Ronald Reagan lose the 1980 presidential election, Yes or No? A response that is not “Yes” or “No” will be considered a refusal to answer the question.

My understanding is that Congress certified the winner of this election.

- c. Did Jimmy Carter win the 1980 presidential election, Yes or No? A response that is not “Yes” or “No” will be considered a refusal to answer the question.

My understanding is that Congress certified the winner of this election.

- d. Did Jimmy Carter lose the 1980 presidential election, Yes or No? A response that is not “Yes” or “No” will be considered a refusal to answer the question.

My understanding is that Congress certified the winner of this election.

108. During the 1984 presidential election, Ronald Reagan received 525 electoral votes.¹²³ His main opponent, Walter F. Mondale, received 13.¹²⁴

- a. Did Ronald Reagan win the 1984 presidential election, Yes or No? A response that is not “Yes” or “No” will be considered a refusal to answer the question.

My understanding is that Congress certified the winner of this election.

- b. Did Ronald Reagan lose the 1984 presidential election, Yes or No? A response that is not “Yes” or “No” will be considered a refusal to answer the question.

My understanding is that Congress certified the winner of this election.

¹²¹ National Archives, “1980 Electoral College Results,” <https://www.archives.gov/electoral-college/1980>.

¹²² *Id.*

¹²³ National Archives, “1984 Electoral College Results,” <https://www.archives.gov/electoral-college/1984>.

¹²⁴ *Id.*

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- c. Did Walter F. Mondale win the 1984 presidential election, Yes or No? A response that is not “Yes” or “No” will be considered a refusal to answer the question.’

My understanding is that Congress certified the winner of this election.

- d. Did Walter F. Mondale lose the 1984 presidential election, Yes or No? A response that is not “Yes” or “No” will be considered a refusal to answer the question.

My understanding is that Congress certified the winner of this election.

109. During the 1988 presidential election, George Bush received 426 electoral votes.¹²⁵ His main opponent, Michael S. Dukakis, received 111.¹²⁶

- a. Did George Bush win the 1988 presidential election, Yes or No? A response that is not “Yes” or “No” will be considered a refusal to answer the question.

My understanding is that Congress certified the winner of this election.

- b. Did George Bush lose the 1988 presidential election, Yes or No? A response that is not “Yes” or “No” will be considered a refusal to answer the question.

My understanding is that Congress certified the winner of this election.

- c. Did Michael S. Dukakis win the 1988 presidential election, Yes or No? A response that is not “Yes” or “No” will be considered a refusal to answer the question.

My understanding is that Congress certified the winner of this election.

- d. Did Michael S. Dukakis lose the 1988 presidential election, Yes or No? A response that is not “Yes” or “No” will be considered a refusal to answer the question.

My understanding is that Congress certified the winner of this election.

110. During the 1992 presidential election, Bill Clinton received 370 electoral votes.¹²⁷ His main opponent, George Bush, received 168.¹²⁸

- a. Did Bill Clinton win the 1992 presidential election, Yes or No? A response that is not “Yes” or “No” will be considered a refusal to answer the question.

¹²⁵ National Archives, “1988 Electoral College Results,” <https://www.archives.gov/electoral-college/1988>.

¹²⁶ *Id.*

¹²⁷ National Archives, “1992 Electoral College Results,” <https://www.archives.gov/electoral-college/1992>.

¹²⁸ *Id.*

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My understanding is that Congress certified the winner of this election.

- b. Did Bill Clinton lose the 1992 presidential election, Yes or No? A response that is not “Yes” or “No” will be considered a refusal to answer the question.

My understanding is that Congress certified the winner of this election.

- c. Did George Bush win the 1992 presidential election, Yes or No? A response that is not “Yes” or “No” will be considered a refusal to answer the question.

My understanding is that Congress certified the winner of this election.

- d. Did George Bush lose the 1992 presidential election, Yes or No? A response that is not “Yes” or “No” will be considered a refusal to answer the question.

My understanding is that Congress certified the winner of this election.

111. During the 1996 presidential election, Bill Clinton received 379 electoral votes.¹²⁹ His main opponent, Bob Dole, received 159.¹³⁰

- a. Did Bill Clinton win the 1996 presidential election, Yes or No? A response that is not “Yes” or “No” will be considered a refusal to answer the question.

My understanding is that Congress certified the winner of this election.

- b. Did Bill Clinton lose the 1996 presidential election, Yes or No? A response that is not “Yes” or “No” will be considered a refusal to answer the question.

My understanding is that Congress certified the winner of this election.

- c. Did Bob Dole win the 1996 presidential election, Yes or No? A response that is not “Yes” or “No” will be considered a refusal to answer the question.

My understanding is that Congress certified the winner of this election.

- d. Did Bob Dole lose the 1996 presidential election, Yes or No? A response that is not “Yes” or “No” will be considered a refusal to answer the question.

My understanding is that Congress certified the winner of this election.

¹²⁹ National Archives, “1996 Electoral College Results,” <https://www.archives.gov/electoral-college/1996>.

¹³⁰ *Id.*

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112. During the 2000 presidential election, George W. Bush received 271 electoral votes.¹³¹ His main opponent, Al Gore, received 266.¹³²

- a. Did George W. Bush win the 2000 presidential election, Yes or No? A response that is not “Yes” or “No” will be considered a refusal to answer the question.

My understanding is that Congress certified the winner of this election.

- b. Did George W. Bush lose the 2000 presidential election, Yes or No? A response that is not “Yes” or “No” will be considered a refusal to answer the question.

My understanding is that Congress certified the winner of this election.

- c. Did Al Gore win the 2000 presidential election, Yes or No? A response that is not “Yes” or “No” will be considered a refusal to answer the question.

My understanding is that Congress certified the winner of this election.

- d. Did Al Gore lose the 2000 presidential election, Yes or No? A response that is not “Yes” or “No” will be considered a refusal to answer the question.

My understanding is that Congress certified the winner of this election.

113. During the 2004 presidential election, George W. Bush 286 electoral vote.¹³³ His main opponent, John F. Kerry, received 251.¹³⁴

- a. Did George W. Bush win the 2004 presidential election, Yes or No? A response that is not “Yes” or “No” will be considered a refusal to answer the question.

My understanding is that Congress certified the winner of this election.

- b. Did George W. Bush lose the 2004 presidential election, Yes or No? A response that is not “Yes” or “No” will be considered a refusal to answer the question.

My understanding is that Congress certified the winner of this election.

- c. Did John F. Kerry win the 2004 presidential election, Yes or No? A response that is not “Yes” or “No” will be considered a refusal to answer the question.

¹³¹ National Archives, “2000 Electoral College Results,” <https://www.archives.gov/electoral-college/2000>.

¹³² *Id.*

¹³³ National Archives, “2004 Electoral College Results,” <https://www.archives.gov/electoral-college/2004>.

¹³⁴ *Id.*

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My understanding is that Congress certified the winner of this election.

- d. Did John F. Kerry lose the 2004 presidential election, Yes or No? A response that is not “Yes” or “No” will be considered a refusal to answer the question.

My understanding is that Congress certified the winner of this election.

114. During the 2008 presidential election, Barack Obama received 365 electoral votes.¹³⁵ His main opponent, John McCain, received 173.¹³⁶

- a. Did Barack Obama win the 2008 presidential election, Yes or No? A response that is not “Yes” or “No” will be considered a refusal to answer the question.

My understanding is that Congress certified the winner of this election.

- b. Did Barack Obama lose the 2008 presidential election, Yes or No? A response that is not “Yes” or “No” will be considered a refusal to answer the question.

My understanding is that Congress certified the winner of this election.

- c. Did John McCain win the 2008 presidential election, Yes or No? A response that is not “Yes” or “No” will be considered a refusal to answer the question.

My understanding is that Congress certified the winner of this election.

- d. Did John McCain lose the 2008 presidential election, Yes or No? A response that is not “Yes” or “No” will be considered a refusal to answer the question.

My understanding is that Congress certified the winner of this election.

115. During the 2012 presidential election, Barack Obama received 332 electoral votes.¹³⁷ His main opponent, Mitt Romney, received 206.¹³⁸

- a. Did Barack Obama win the 2012 presidential election, Yes or No? A response that is not “Yes” or “No” will be considered a refusal to answer the question.

My understanding is that Congress certified the winner of this election.

¹³⁵ National Archives, “2008 Electoral College Results,” <https://www.archives.gov/electoral-college/2008>.

¹³⁶ *Id.*

¹³⁷ National Archives, “2012 Electoral College Results,” <https://www.archives.gov/electoral-college/2012>.

¹³⁸ *Id.*

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- b. Did Barack Obama lose the 2012 presidential election, Yes or No? A response that is not “Yes” or “No” will be considered a refusal to answer the question.

My understanding is that Congress certified the winner of this election.

- c. Did Mitt Romney win the 2012 presidential election, Yes or No? A response that is not “Yes” or “No” will be considered a refusal to answer the question.

My understanding is that Congress certified the winner of this election.

- d. Did Mitt Romney lose the 2012 presidential election, Yes or No? A response that is not “Yes” or “No” will be considered a refusal to answer the question.

My understanding is that Congress certified the winner of this election.

116. During the 2016 presidential election, Donald J. Trump received 304 electoral votes.¹³⁹ His main opponent, Hillary Clinton, received 227.¹⁴⁰

- a. Did Donald J. Trump win the 2016 presidential election, Yes or No? A response that is not “Yes” or “No” will be considered a refusal to answer the question.

My understanding is that Congress certified the winner of this election.

- b. Did Donald J. Trump lose the 2016 presidential election, Yes or No? A response that is not “Yes” or “No” will be considered a refusal to answer the question.

My understanding is that Congress certified the winner of this election.

- c. Did Hillary Clinton win the 2016 presidential election, Yes or No? A response that is not “Yes” or “No” will be considered a refusal to answer the question.

My understanding is that Congress certified the winner of this election.

- d. Did Hillary Clinton lose the 2016 presidential election, Yes or No? A response that is not “Yes” or “No” will be considered a refusal to answer the question.

My understanding is that Congress certified the winner of this election.

¹³⁹ National Archives, “2016 Electoral College Results,” <https://www.archives.gov/electoral-college/2016>.

¹⁴⁰ *Id.*

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117. During the 2020 presidential election, Joseph R. Biden received 306 electoral votes.¹⁴¹ His main opponent, Donald J. Trump, received 232.¹⁴²

- a. Did Joseph R. Biden win the 2020 presidential election, Yes or No? A response that is not “Yes” or “No” will be considered a refusal to answer the question.

My understanding is that Congress certified the winner of this election.

- b. Did Joseph R. Biden lose the 2020 presidential election, Yes or No? A response that is not “Yes” or “No” will be considered a refusal to answer the question.

My understanding is that Congress certified the winner of this election.

- c. Did Donald J. Trump win the 2020 presidential election, Yes or No? A response that is not “Yes” or “No” will be considered a refusal to answer the question.

My understanding is that Congress certified the winner of this election.

- d. Did Donald J. Trump lose the 2020 presidential election, Yes or No? A response that is not “Yes” or “No” will be considered a refusal to answer the question.

My understanding is that Congress certified the winner of this election.

118. During the 2024 presidential election, Donald J. Trump received 312 electoral votes.¹⁴³ His main opponent, Kamala Harris, received 226.¹⁴⁴

- a. Did Donald J. Trump win the 2024 presidential election, Yes or No? A response that is not “Yes” or “No” will be considered a refusal to answer the question.

My understanding is that Congress certified the winner of this election.

- b. Did Donald J. Trump lose the 2024 presidential election, Yes or No? A response that is not “Yes” or “No” will be considered a refusal to answer the question.

My understanding is that Congress certified the winner of this election.

- c. Did Kamala D. Harris win the 2024 presidential election, Yes or No? A response that is not “Yes” or “No” will be considered a refusal to answer the question.

¹⁴¹ National Archives, “2020 Electoral College Results,” <https://www.archives.gov/electoral-college/2020>.

¹⁴² *Id.*

¹⁴³ National Archives, “2024 Electoral College Results,” <https://www.archives.gov/electoral-college/2024>.

¹⁴⁴ *Id.*

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My understanding is that Congress certified the winner of this election.

- d. Did Kamala D. Harris lose the 2024 presidential election, Yes or No? A response that is not “Yes” or “No” will be considered a refusal to answer the question.

My understanding is that Congress certified the winner of this election.

Results of Selected Past U.S. Senate Elections

119. During the 2012 election in Massachusetts, Elizabeth A. Warren received 1,696,346 votes to serve as a U.S. Senator (53.74% of votes cast in the state), and Scott P. Brown received 1,458,048 votes (46.19% of votes cast in the state).¹⁴⁵

- a. Did Elizabeth A. Warren win the Massachusetts U.S. Senate election in 2012, Yes or No? A response that is not “Yes” or “No” will be considered a refusal to answer the question.

It is my understanding that state officials certify the winners of U.S. Senate elections.

- b. Did Elizabeth A. Warren lose the Massachusetts U.S. Senate election in 2012, Yes or No? A response that is not “Yes” or “No” will be considered a refusal to answer the question.

It is my understanding that state officials certify the winners of U.S. Senate elections.

- c. Did Scott P. Brown win the Massachusetts U.S. Senate election in 2012, Yes or No? A response that is not “Yes” or “No” will be considered a refusal to answer the question.

It is my understanding that state officials certify the winners of U.S. Senate elections.

- d. Did Scott P. Brown win the Massachusetts U.S. Senate election in 2012, Yes or No? A response that is not “Yes” or “No” will be considered a refusal to answer the question.

It is my understanding that state officials certify the winners of U.S. Senate elections.

¹⁴⁵ Federal Election Commission, “Federal Elections 2012: Election Results for the U.S. President, the U.S. Senate and the U.S. House of Representatives,” July 2013, p. 65, <https://www.fec.gov/resources/cms-content/documents/federalections2012.pdf>.

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120. During the 2018 election in Massachusetts, Elizabeth A. Warren received 1,633,371 votes to serve as a U.S. Senator (60.34% of votes cast in the state), and Geoff Diehl received 979,210 votes (36.17% of votes cast in the state).¹⁴⁶

- a. Did Elizabeth A. Warren win the Massachusetts U.S. Senate election in 2018, Yes or No? A response that is not “Yes” or “No” will be considered a refusal to answer the question.

It is my understanding that state officials certify the winners of U.S. Senate elections.

- b. Did Elizabeth A. Warren lose the Massachusetts U.S. Senate election in 2018, Yes or No? A response that is not “Yes” or “No” will be considered a refusal to answer the question.

It is my understanding that state officials certify the winners of U.S. Senate elections.

- c. Did Geoff Diehl win the Massachusetts U.S. Senate election in 2018, Yes or No? A response that is not “Yes” or “No” will be considered a refusal to answer the question.

It is my understanding that state officials certify the winners of U.S. Senate elections.

- d. Did Geoff Diehl lose the Massachusetts U.S. Senate election in 2018, Yes or No? A response that is not “Yes” or “No” will be considered a refusal to answer the question.

It is my understanding that state officials certify the winners of U.S. Senate elections.

121. During the 2024 election in Massachusetts, Elizabeth A. Warren received 2,041,668 votes to serve as a U.S. Senator (58.12% of votes cast in the state), and John Deaton received 1,365,440 votes (38.87% of votes cast in the state).¹⁴⁷

- a. Did Elizabeth A. Warren win the Massachusetts U.S. Senate election in 2024, Yes or No? A response that is not “Yes” or “No” will be considered a refusal to answer the question.

It is my understanding that state officials certify the winners of U.S. Senate elections.

¹⁴⁶ Federal Election Commission, “Federal Elections 2018: Election Results for the U.S. Senate and the U.S. House of Representatives,” October 2019, p. 23, <https://www.fec.gov/resources/cms-content/documents/federalections2018.pdf>.

¹⁴⁷ William Francis Galvin, Secretary of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts, “2024 U.S. Senate General Election,” <https://electionstats.state.ma.us/elections/view/165304/>.

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- b. Did Elizabeth A. Warren lose the Massachusetts U.S. Senate election in 2024, Yes or No? A response that is not “Yes” or “No” will be considered a refusal to answer the question.

It is my understanding that state officials certify the winners of U.S. Senate elections.

- c. Did John Deaton win the Massachusetts U.S. Senate election in 2024, Yes or No? A response that is not “Yes” or “No” will be considered a refusal to answer the question.

It is my understanding that state officials certify the winners of U.S. Senate elections.

- d. Did John Deaton lose the Massachusetts U.S. Senate election in 2024, Yes or No? A response that is not “Yes” or “No” will be considered a refusal to answer the question.

It is my understanding that state officials certify the winners of U.S. Senate elections.

General Questions

122. President Trump has stated that he “had a great election in 2020. We won the election by a lot.”¹⁴⁸ Did President Trump “win the election by a lot” in 2020? A response that is not “Yes” or “No” will be considered a refusal to answer the question.

My understanding is that Congress certified the winner of this election.

123. If President Trump asked you to claim that a candidate won a presidential election, but that candidate had, in fact, not won the election, would you do it? A response that is not “Yes” or “No” will be considered a refusal to answer the question.

My understanding is that Congress certifies the winners of presidential elections.

124. If President Trump asked you to claim that a candidate won a U.S. House of Representatives election, but that candidate had, in fact, not won the election, would you do it? A response that is not “Yes” or “No” will be considered a refusal to answer the question.

My understanding is that state officials certify the winners of U.S. House elections.

125. If President Trump asked you to claim that a candidate won a U.S. Senate election, but that candidate had, in fact, not won the election, would you do it? A response that is not “Yes” or “No” will be considered a refusal to answer the question.

¹⁴⁸ New York Times, “Five Years On, Trump Keeps Pushing Jan. 6 Conspiracies,” Luke Broadwater and Dylan Freedman, January 6, 2026, <https://www.nytimes.com/2026/01/06/us/trump-impeachment-election-conspiracies.html>.

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My understanding is that state officials certify the winners of U.S. Senate elections.

126. Does a candidate “win” a presidential election because Congress certifies them as the winner, or does Congress certify presidential election results because a candidate has already won?

My understanding is that Congress certifies the winners of presidential elections, such as in the Election of 1800.

127. Over the course of your nomination process:

- a. Did any employee of the White House, including but not limited to employees of the Presidential Personnel Office, ask you versions of any of the following questions, or questions invoking similar themes? If so, describe the question you were asked and your answer. If not, say “No.”

No.

- i. Who won the 2020 presidential election?
 - ii. Did Donald Trump win the 2020 presidential election?
 - iii. Did Joe Biden win the 2020 presidential election?
 - iv. Did Joe Biden lose the 2020 presidential election?
- b. Did any employee of the White House, including but not limited to employees of the Presidential Personnel Office:
 - i. Show or provide you copies or examples of how other nominees have answered questions regarding the outcome of the 2020 election during the 119th Congress?

No.

- ii. Suggest how you could or should answer questions regarding the outcome of the 2020 election during the 119th Congress?

No.

- c. Did any employee of the agency to which you have been nominated ask you versions of any of the following questions, or questions invoking similar themes? If so, describe the question you were asked and your answer. If not, say “No.”

No.

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- i. Who won the 2020 presidential election?
 - ii. Did Donald Trump win the 2020 presidential election?
 - iii. Did Joe Biden win the 2020 presidential election?
 - iv. Did Joe Biden lose the 2020 presidential election?
- d. Did any employee of the agency to which you have been nominated:
- i. Show or provide you copies or examples of how other nominees have answered questions regarding the outcome of the 2020 election during the 119th Congress?

No.

- ii. Suggest how you could or should answer questions regarding the outcome of the 2020 election during the 119th Congress?

No.

Committee Questionnaire

128. Under Committee rules, you are required to provide true and correct responses to all questions in the Committee's questionnaire. Can you confirm that you have provided complete, true, and correct answers to all of the Committee's questions in the questionnaire?

Yes.

129. The Committee questionnaire requires you to list all of the formal speeches, presentations (e.g., PowerPoint), and public statements you have delivered during the past ten years which are on topics relevant to the position for which you have been nominated, including dates and name of the forum you delivered the speech, presentation, or public statement. The questionnaire also requires you, if available, to provide the Committee with one digital copy of each formal speech, presentation, and public statement, and if text is no longer available, list the date, place, and organization or group to whom you made the speech or presentation. Can you confirm that you have provided complete, true, and correct disclosures in response to the Committee's requirements?

As indicated in my questionnaire, I have done my best to identify all such materials, including a thorough review of personal files and searches of publicly available electronic databases. Despite my searches, there may be other materials I have been unable to identify, find, or remember.

Nomination

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130. During or leading up to the selection of your nomination, did anyone on the Trump campaign, transition team, or other closely related entity approach you about your loyalty to President-elect Trump? Did you sign a loyalty pledge or other similar oath?

No.

131. During or leading up to the selection of your nomination, did you discuss Project 2025 with any officials directly or associated with the Heritage Foundation? If so, please explain.

No.

132. Please provide a comprehensive list of the people who approached you about joining the administration.

I was approached by White House staff regarding my interest in serving as Director and to advise that I was under consideration for nomination.

133. Did any person provide advice to you, oral or written, on your responses to these questions? If so, please provide a comprehensive list of the individuals or organizations that provided assistance.

No.

Congressional Oversight and Whistleblower Protection

134. If confirmed, will you commit to making yourself available to provide testimony (including but not limited to briefings, hearings, and transcribed interviews) to the Committee on any matter within its jurisdiction, upon the request of either the Chair or Ranking Member?

If confirmed, I will testify if invited by the Committee at a hearing.

135. If confirmed, will you commit to fully complying with all information requests from me and responding to those requests in a timely manner?

If confirmed, I will adhere to the Congressional accommodations process and will provide a timely initial response to any letter I may receive from a Senator.

136. If confirmed, do you intend to respond to congressional information requests differently depending on who is making the request?

If confirmed, I will adhere to the Congressional accommodations process and will provide a timely initial response to any letter I may receive from a Senator.

Committee on Banking, Housing, and Urban Affairs
Nominations of Mr. Brian Johnson, Ms. Abby Warren, and The Honorable Irving Dennis
July 23, 2026

137. If confirmed, will you commit to complying with any federal protections for whistleblowers?

If confirmed, I will follow all applicable law regarding whistleblowers.