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HOW TO USE THIS READER

The primary sources in this reader can be used for inquiry-based learning exercises and projects. Each document falls under the umbrella topic of voter education, and students are encouraged to annotate in the margins in order to support the development of document analysis and critical thinking skills. Suggested projects that make use of this reader’s primary sources are also included for the educator as a springboard for research-based projects.
The right to vote is a fundamental tenet of a democratic society. In the United States of America, countless social activists have waged hard-fought battles to ensure that every American citizen can vote, and therefore can have an equal voice in the governance of the nation.

The documents that follow – held at the Rockefeller Archive Center – demonstrate the various ways that philanthropy has supported voter education over the last century. Philanthropy is the distribution of funds by individuals or organizations for the public good.

These materials illustrate some of the historic barriers that have prevented Americans from voting, as well as the organized strategies intended to promote voter participation including:

- Documents showing the struggles women suffragists faced in the early twentieth-century prior to the ratification of the Nineteenth Amendment, which granted women the right to vote in 1920, and the later work of organizations such as the League of Women Voters to educate female voters.

- Documents from the Voter Education Project (VEP) during and prior to the racial upheavals of the American Civil Rights Movement highlight efforts to guarantee African-American voting rights.

- An outline of the “Rock the Vote” campaign illustrates more recent attempts to raise youth voting turnout at the dawn of the new millennium.

Together these groups of primary sources serve as a springboard for further research. With these materials in hand, students can then examine the various obstacles to full political participation faced by disenfranchised Americans across the twentieth century, the ways in which voting can affect social change, and the continued need for civic education today.
HISTORY IN BRIEF:
WOMEN’S RIGHT TO VOTE IN AMERICA

- Conversations about women’s participation in American government date to the founding of the United States of America in 1776.
- The first women’s rights convention in America was held from July 19-20, 1848 in Seneca Falls, New York, and is popularly known today as the Seneca Falls Convention.
- At the Seneca Falls Convention, suffragette Elizabeth Cady Stanton, who helped organize the 1848 meeting alongside African-American abolitionist Frederick Douglass and other grassroots organizers, discussed a manifesto on women’s rights entitled the “Declaration of Sentiments.”
- The “Declaration of Sentiments” was written by Stanton and activists Lucretia Mott, Mary M’Clintock, and Martha Coffin Wright.
- After the Civil War ended in 1865, debate surrounding the women’s vote intensified.
- In 1870, Congress passed the Fifteenth Amendment, which prohibited the denial of voting rights by “race, color or previous condition of servitude,” but women were still unable to vote.
- Some states provided women with at least partial voting rights in the late-nineteenth and early-twentieth century through amendments to state constitutions, but full voting rights were not guaranteed to all female citizens until the ratification of the Nineteenth Amendment in 1920.
- On the heels of the Nineteenth Amendment, in 1920, Carrie Chapman Catt, a former teacher turned voting rights activist, founded the League of Women Voters to empower women to speak up and help shape national and local policies.
- Many players participated in the fight for women’s suffrage, crossing class and race lines over many decades.
- As an example: Margaret Olivia Sage, who established one of the twentieth century’s most influential philanthropies—the Russell Sage Foundation—made many gifts of financial backing to women’s education and rights.
HISTORY IN BRIEF: AFRICAN AMERICAN RIGHT TO VOTE IN AMERICA

• When the United States of America was established as an independent nation by the Continental Congress in 1776, most black inhabitants of the country were still held as slaves. President Abraham Lincoln’s 1863 Emancipation Proclamation and the conclusion of the American Civil War in 1865 granted freedom to all those formerly enslaved.

• However, African-Americans were not immediately granted the same rights and privileges enjoyed by white citizens.

• In 1868, the Fourteenth Amendment to the American Constitution granted African-Americans citizenship, but not the right to vote.

• The ratification of the Fifteenth Amendment two years later, in 1870, solved this problem, but many states continued to practice voter suppression tactics designed to limit black voting.

• In the 1950s and the 1960s, the American Civil Rights Movement, led by individuals such Martin Luther King, Jr. and Rosa Parks, mobilized many African-Americans and white supporters to work toward ending the discriminatory policies and racial segregation that had prevented true equality.

• The VEP (Voter Education Project) was created in 1961 as a collaborative effort by philanthropists, the Department of Justice, and several major civil rights leaders, including Martin Luther King, Jr. and Roy Wilkins, Executive Secretary of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP).

• Under the auspices of the Southern Regional Council, the VEP distributed funds from private foundations to support grassroots voting drives, voter education, and voter protection activities that could ensure African-Americans’ safe exercise of their civic rights at the voting booth.

• The passage of the Voting Rights Act in 1965 helped protect African-Americans’ and other minority groups’ right to vote by making voter suppression techniques illegal.

• As these documents suggest, concerns regarding black voter suppression remain ongoing and organizations continue to support initiatives to ensure that all American citizens, regardless of race, gender, class, or creed can have a voice in the governance of the United States of America.
1. Carrie Chapman Catt to Margaret Olivia Russell Sage, April 1, 1911
   Folder 996 | Box 98 | Series 10
   Russell Sage Foundation records, Rockefeller Archive Center

2. Mary Garrett Hay to Margaret Olivia Russell Sage, Oct. 4, 1915
   Folder 997 | Box 99 | Series 10
   Russell Sage Foundation records, Rockefeller Archive Center

   Folder 88 | Box 14 | Series D
   Office of the Messrs. Rockefeller records, Rockefeller Archive Center

4. Excerpt from “VEP Goals, Methods, Priorities for the 1980s,” Nov. 13, 1979
   Box 2297 | RG 1 Projects | FA479
   Rockefeller Foundation records, Rockefeller Archive Center

5. Voter Education Project, Press Release, February 6, 1985
   Box R2379 | RG 1 Projects | FA479
   Rockefeller Foundation records, Rockefeller Archive Center

6. “Rock the Vote,” 2000
   Box 191 | Series 9 | RG 4
   Rockefeller Foundation records, Rockefeller Archive Center
International Woman Suffrage Alliance

My dear Mrs. Sage:

There are no words in the English language to describe my ecstasy of spirit when Mrs. Croxwell—get me your glasses and check this evening—are going to make a suffrage pilgrimage around the world, and my greatest vow over the New York work was the question of finances. Now you have lifted that load from my shoulders and I go light, the aslant and happy! The money will be put into a special fund and used for our wants only. We have just made some-thing over $200 from a benefit performance and we made $500 from a luncheon Mrs. MacRay arranged. I do thank God & myself! This crowd is exceedingly pleased.

Carrie Chapman Catt to Margaret Olivia Russell Sage, April 1, 1911, Folder 996, Box 98, Series 10, Russell Sage Foundation records, Rockefeller Archive Center
generous, and now act—this may be used to keep the poor building it as splendid. We are surely going to get the suffrage in this field and when it comes, it will be due in large part to your generosity.

On Monday, our City Committee needs, and shall there present yours. Thank you for you can’t realize the extent of our gratitude and the great happiness you have given us all. Blessings on you, a thousand fold. I love you for what you are, and reverence you for what you do.

Miss Russell, who in a sense already in our cause was incomparably helpful and grateful to you.

Lovingly & Cordially,

Carrie Chapman Catt

Carrie Chapman Catt to Margaret Olivia Russell Sage, April 1, 1911, Folder 996, Box 98, Series 10, Russell Sage Foundation records, Rockefeller Archive Center
Mary Garrett Hay to Margaret Olivia Russell Sage, Oct. 4, 1915, Folder 997, Box 99, Series 10, Russell Sage Foundation records, Rockefeller Archive Center
Mrs. Bage, cont'd

The prices of the boxes are:

First Tier  $10.00  (seating eight)
Second Tier $ 5.00  (seating six)

Enclosed find announcements of speakers of the meetings.

Will you not buy a box for each of these meeting and so help us to be assured of a successful demonstrations?

If it is impossible for you to be present yourself, you could invite some of your political friends to occupy your box; or, if you desire it, we could ask prominent men and women who need to be influenced to do so.

Help now, and victory will be ours.

Yours for success,

Mary L. Hay
Chairman.
HOW WILL YOU VOTE ON THE NEW YORK STATE CONSTITUTIONAL CONVENTION

"Shall there be a convention to revise the constitution and amend the same?"

This question will be number (1) on the top line of your voting machine, for your "YES" or "NO" vote.

If the vote is "YES"

189 delegates to the convention will be elected Nov., 1958. The convention will meet April, 1959.

The New York State Constitution is a long, detailed document covering all areas of government in the state. It includes articles determining House Rule, Court Organization, Apportionment, Legislative Procedures, Suffrage, Education, and many other provisions affecting every New York State Citizen.

A constitutional convention has authority to prepare proposed amendments to any part of the state constitution, or to propose general revisions which could include simplification. It can submit its proposals as separate amendments or as a new constitution. The proposals of the convention go to the voters for final decision.

"YES" voters are saying

It provides a once-a-generation chance for the people to focus their attention on the fundamental law of the state.

The legislature never has time to look at the constitution as a whole and therefore tends to deal only with piecemeal repair jobs.

Controversial but needed changes can be examined more objectively in a convention than under the political stress of a legislative session.

The constitution must be brought up to date to meet the changing needs of our progressive state.

If the vote is "NO"

The question will be on the ballot again, by law, in 20 years unless the legislature submits it before then.

A convention does not have a time limit. (The 1938 convention was in session for nearly 5 months.) Delegates consider hundreds of proposals suggested by public and private groups, individuals, and delegates. Only those which receive a majority vote of the convention are submitted to the voters.

"NO" voters are saying

Public interest in a convention cannot be expected, since the people are not interested in such complex matters.

The legislative process of amending the constitution provides careful consideration of changes by two separately elected legislatures.

Special interest and political pressures operate on convention delegates as well as on legislators. Delegates are no more objective than legislators.

Changes required in the constitution can be achieved by means less costly than a convention.
You must be registered to be eligible to vote.

**QUALIFICATIONS**
1. 21 years old, or before November 5th
2. A citizen of the U.S. by birth, or by naturalization, on or before August 7th
3. A resident, immediately prior to November 5th, of at least 1 year in New York State, 4 months in your county, city or village - 30 days in your election district
4. Able to read and write English - new and first voters must show proof of literacy.

**LOCAL REGISTRATION DATES**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Time</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Oct. 12</td>
<td>7 a.m. to 10 p.m.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oct. 19</td>
<td>7 a.m. to 10 p.m.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oct. 11, 12, 13</td>
<td>7 a.m. to 10 p.m.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oct. 19</td>
<td>7 a.m. to 10 p.m.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**ELECTION DAY — NOVEMBER 5TH**

6 A.M. TO 7 P.M.

**ABSENTEE VOTING**

Permitted if you are registered and can show proof of being unable to appear personally at your local polling place because of:

1. Illness or physical disability
2. Duties, occupation or business require you to be outside county of residence. Also applies to spouse, parent or child accompanying same voter if otherwise qualified and from same election district.

Apply for absentee ballot when registering, or between Oct. 7th and 29th, either by mail or in person at boards of election. Ballots must be returned to or received by boards of election by Nov. 1st.

**ARMED FORCES VOTING**

If qualified to vote, members apply for an absentee ballot giving home and military address, and signature. Previous registration not necessary. Apply -

(A.M.) June 24th

Secretary of State
Div. of Servicemen’s Voting
Albany, New York

(Also permitted for those honorably discharged after October 1st)

**How to use the voting machine**

1. The large handle towards your left to close the curtain. Leave it in this position. If you need assistance part the curtain with your hand.
2. When entering the voting room, look at the top of the machine, the left side, and the right side. The boxes are either “YES” or “NO”.
3. A list of names is displayed across the machine, directly below the question. The name and symbol of the political party will be printed above the names of candidates.
4. Write the number of candidates in the space above the name of the candidate you wish to vote for.
5. Pull the pointer down to the name of the candidate you wish to vote for. Leave the pointer down.
6. If you make a mistake, push the pointer up and start over. Do not feel rushed. You are allowed 3 minutes. Be sure to leave the pointer down over each candidate you vote for.
7. When finished voting, the handle is turned to the right. This automatically records your vote, and the pointer snaps back up, opening the curtain and leaving the machine ready for the next voter.

**Register**

Westchester League of Women Voters, “Facts for Voters,” 1957, Folder 88, Box 14, Series D, Office of the Messrs. Rockefeller records, Rockefeller Archive Center
The Development of Program

With an emphasis on increased citizen involvement, even where there is a voter registration component, several priorities are essential as VEP restructures its program. These are:

1. VEP must target its programs. There are no illusions that VEP should be a catch-all, be-all agency. Nor are there illusions that, with the possible exception of research and communications, the agency will have the resources to blanket the region.

Several criteria are important. For instance, in addition to voter registration statistics, it will be necessary to identify local groups and agencies and to determine how to reach them, to know the median income of the area, to have an economic profile on the potential area and to assess the potential economic growth areas. This is not to suggest that the most "promising" area should be targeted for VEP program. In fact a targeted area might be among the most depressed in the South. It is to suggest that a total community profile is necessary, including especially, present economic reality and economic potential before program areas are selected.

2. VEP will intensify its efforts to identify, work with, promote the interests of and in some instances expand the potential of local groups involved in community organization, voter registration and economic development. There may be times when VEP will feel it necessary to create such groups, but the first emphasis is on that of working with those which now exist.

VEP recognizes the wealth of talent, resources and experience that now exists throughout the region. In the past, utilization of these resources has been limited and the coordination of programs has been inadequate. VEP
will fully develop the potential for working with, learning from and assisting these local groups.

This priority is commented on further under the subjects "community approach" and "research."

(3) VEP must organize and expand the state advisory committees.

These committees were established to give the central office outreach into the various sections of the region and to provide a mechanism whereby individuals and groups could provide input into the central office. While done largely through financial necessity in lieu of financing state directors and college-related state service centers, this structure proved valuable to VEP. State advisory committees will be reorganized and in some instances expanded to reflect the concerns, needs, and interests of each state.

In the past the state advisory committee has assumed a passive, advisory role. VEP will now ask members of the committees to assume an active program role. Functions of the advisory committees will include:

1. Keeping VEP informed of events and needs
2. Serving as the outreach into local communities for VEP interests
3. Sponsoring state-wide and local conferences for community leadership, workers and elected officials
4. Assisting the VEP staff in targeting areas for programs
5. Developing original programs toward meeting the needs of the state
6. Monitoring state election law changes

**Community Program Approach**

Henceforth, VEP must approach a community with an understanding of, and the tools and resources for total community involvement in
the quest for community improvement. For instance, in voter registration the shifting interest to participation would not involve abandoning the voter registration role, but rather, in seeing that role as one factor only in the total thrust of community development. Where voter registration is needed, every effort should be made to see that it is included as an additional program for existing local groups or agencies engaged in other but related activities.

In this new approach the entire subject of economic development becomes of the utmost importance. In fact, VEP and other experiences have shown that frequently, local thrusts in economic development come before effective voter registration. Rarely does an individual give undue importance to access to the ballot where there is not access to an income.

VEP materials and training programs, formal and informal, will stress the interdependence of political strength and economic opportunity. In its educational programs, VEP will stress not just to Blacks and other elected officials, but to the total community leadership, the government financial assistance available, the means of getting this assistance and the avenues and mechanisms for seeking relief of economic grievance.

VEP will stress the necessity of merging political and economic interests within local communities. All too frequent, distinct groups such as Black elected officials, other political interest and economic development organizations function separately and independently of each other. These local groups must be made to understand the need for functional interdependence if meaningful progress is to be made. In approaching a local community, every effort must be made to identify those groups and individuals especially concerned with economic development, to assist them, and to incorporate their interests and talents into the politically-oriented interests of the community.
PRESS RELEASE

CONTACT: DR. BRIAN SHERMAN
(404) 522-7495
FEBRUARY 6, 1985

BLACK TURNOUT IN NORTH CAROLINA INCREASED BY 63% IN NOV. ELECTION

An estimated 452,000 black North Carolinians voted in the 1984 presidential election. This figure represents an increase of 63% over the estimated 277,000 black North Carolinians who voted in 1980. The 1984 estimate is from a Voter Education Project (VEP) study based upon an analysis of the presidential election returns from fifty-one predominantly black and 247 predominantly white North Carolina precincts.

Most of the increase in black turnout is attributable to the 41% net increase between 1980 and 1984 in the number of blacks registered in North Carolina. Of those blacks registered in 1984, 64% cast ballots in the presidential election. In comparison, 72% of North Carolina’s registered whites cast a ballot for president. The black turnout rate of 64% represents a slight increase from the 63% black turnout rate in 1980.

The presidential vote in North Carolina followed the pattern of racial polarization observed in all the states analyzed to date by the VEP Research Dept. (Alabama, Arkansas, Georgia, Louisiana, Mississippi, South Carolina, Virginia). Ronald Reagan received 62% of the white vote, but only 4% of the black vote in North Carolina. On the other hand, Walter Mondale received 38% of the white vote, but 96% of the black vote. These figures are VEP estimates.

Third party candidates David Bergland (Libertarian Party) and Nell Mason (Socialist Workers Party) received less than an estimated 0.1% of the white vote and slightly more than 0.1% of the black vote between them.

Reagan received almost all (an estimated 98.7%) of his North Carolina vote from whites. Mondale, in contrast, received slightly more than half (51%) of his North Carolina vote from blacks. Bergland and Mason each got most of their votes from whites (92% and 81% respectively).

The North Carolina study is part of the VEP Research Dept’s ongoing study of the comparison of black and white participation in the 1984 presidential election in the eleven southern states. The full report will be issued later in 1985.

VOTER EDUCATION PROJECT INC. 52 FAIRLIE STREET, N.W. SUITE 360, ATLANTA, GEORGIA 30303 (404) 522-7495
It's—OUR TURN

OUR TURN is a ten-month long campaign that will bring together the power of network television, the Internet, and voter-generated video to rock Election Day 2000 like never before.

Through OUR TURN, Rock the Vote and BNN will put power into the hands of young people across the country by giving them the ability to communicate and participate, and encouraging them to register to vote and get to the polls on Election Day.

“Rock the Vote,” 2000, Box 191, Series 9, RG 4, Markle Foundation records, Rockefeller Archive Center
What does Rock the Vote want to know from young people?

- How are you making change in your community?
- What do you want candidates to know about yourself and your generation?
- What do you want to see happen in the 21st century?
- What are you going to do to make that happen?

When the story ideas come in . . .

Rock the Vote has partnered with Broadcast News Network to develop the concept for OUR TURN. BNNTV producers will contact the young story contributors, learn more about their stories, and send them cameras to enable them to document their own stories with their own words and images.

"Rock the Vote," 2000, Box 191, Series 9, RG 4, Markle Foundation records, Rockefeller Archive Center
How will OUR TURN work?

To begin with . . .

Rock the Vote will put out the word that we are looking for stories of real political power through

- a series of four print ads,
- a series of radio spots
- online virtual postcards (to enable young people to invite their friends to contribute story ideas),
- and links from a network partner and Internet portal sites.

—all of which will drive traffic to the Rock the Vote web site.
GUIDED QUESTIONS

DOCUMENT 1
1. Who is Mrs. Sage?
2. How would you describe women's suffrage?

DOCUMENT 2
1. How would you define a suffragist?
2. What was Mrs. Sage's role in women suffrage, and how can you find out more about Mrs. Sage's role in women suffrage?

DOCUMENT 3
1. What was the New York State Constitutional Convention?
2. What are some of the qualifications for voting?

DOCUMENT 4
1. What does the acronym VEP stand for?
2. What were some of the VEP's goals?

DOCUMENT 5
1. What was the VEP publicizing?
2. What is the North Carolina study?

DOCUMENT 6
1. What is one of the goals of Rock the Vote?
2. Who is the target audience of the Rock the Vote campaign?
SUGGESTED PRIMARY SOURCE PROJECTS

PROJECT 1
The students use provided documents to generate a research question

LEARNING OBJECTIVES
• Students will filter through documents to find archival sources of interest
• Students will learn how to develop a research question
• Students will learn about the research process

REFLECTION QUESTIONS
1. How did you hone your research question?
2. What was the research process like for you?
3. What connections can you make between the documents, daily life, and current issues?

PROJECT 2
The students create an annotated bibliography of primary and secondary sources related to voter education

LEARNING OBJECTIVES
• Students will be introduced to the primary source documents and start to analyze documents
• Students will learn why and how to cite sources
• Students will be introduced to pathfinders (links to useful primary and secondary sources)

REFLECTION QUESTIONS
1. What were some useful searching strategies?
2. Why is an annotated bibliography a useful resource?
3. What are some differences between primary and secondary sources?
SUGGESTED PRIMARY SOURCE PROJECTS

PROJECT 3
The students host a Research Forum where students share their voter education research with their peers

LEARNING OBJECTIVES
- Students will work on close reading, corroborating, and contextualizing primary and secondary sources
- Students will present their research in an organized manner
- Students will learn effective public speaking strategies

REFLECTION QUESTIONS
1. What were some of the tactics used in voter suppression?
2. Describe some of the individuals and organizations involved in voter education.
3. What were some important lessons you took away from your research?
Marissa Vassari is Archivist and Educator at the Rockefeller Archive Center. She founded the Archival Educators Roundtable to facilitate communication among professionals who use primary sources in public outreach and teaching. She holds a BA in Psychology and Special Education, an MA in Childhood Education, and an MLIS degree with an Archival Studies specialization.

Elizabeth Berkowitz, MA, PhD, is the 2018-2020 Mellon/ACLS Public Fellow at the Rockefeller Archive Center, where she works as the Outreach Program Manager for the Research and Education division. An art historian, Elizabeth has taught extensively in museums and universities, and has published both popular and academic articles.
ABOUT US

RE:source is the digital platform for the Rockefeller Archive Center’s Research and Education division. RE:source’s stories, photo-galleries, and archival education teaching materials showcase the many facets of philanthropic practice—from the fields touched by philanthropic giving, to issues particular to the philanthropic sector.

The Rockefeller Archive Center (RAC) is a not-for-profit repository and research center that preserves and makes available for research the records of several dozen foundations and nonprofit organizations.

In addition to the papers of the Rockefeller family, the RAC’s collections include the records of the Rockefeller Foundation, Ford Foundation, Near East Foundation, Commonwealth Fund, Rockefeller Brothers Fund, Henry Luce Foundation, W. T. Grant Foundation and many other philanthropic organizations. The papers of leaders of the philanthropic community, Nobel Prize laureates, and world-renowned investigators in science and medicine
CONTACT

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15 Dayton Avenue
Sleepy Hollow, NY 10591
resource.rockarch.org
resource@rockarch.org