

Tensions, Twists, and Turns: The Development and Evolution of Voting Rights in United States History

by John McNamara and Ron Nash

UNIT OVERVIEW

This unit is one of the Gilder Lehrman Institute’s Teaching Civics through History™ resources, designed to align to the Common Core State Standards. The lessons can also be modified to conform to the C3 Framework. These units were developed to enable students to foundational knowledge of the historical roots of current civic and social issues facing their communities and the nation while building their literacy, research, and critical thinking skills. By connecting the past with current events, the pilot will 1) enable students to understand that history is made of up individual actions, 2) empower students to develop their civic voices and encourage them to take civic action, and 3) help students recognize their ability to influence history in their own communities and nationwide.

In this unit, over the course of one to two weeks, students will learn and practice literacy skills that will help them develop knowledgeable and well-reasoned points of view on the history of voting in the United States. They will examine and assess primary and secondary sources, engage in an analysis of articles in the media written from different perspectives using materials produced by the AllSides website, and then develop a civic engagement project that integrates their knowledge of voting rights in the past and today.

Students will demonstrate what they have learned through their analysis and assessment of the primary sources orally in small-group and whole-class discussions and by writing responses to the essential questions posed in the lessons. To conclude the unit, the students will develop and implement a civic action project in their own community related to voting rights.

CLASS TIME REQUIRED: 1–2 weeks based on the time available; the student project may require additional time outside of class.

GRADE LEVEL: 9–12

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

Voting is the fundamental right of American citizens, for it is guardian of every other right in American society. Yet, the right to vote was not conceived of as a natural “inalienable” attribute of citizenship by the nation’s founders. Rather it was often viewed as a privilege, restricted to groups of Americans who possessed certain economic, gender, racial, and social characteristics and qualifications. The framers of the US Constitution reserved the right to determine suffrage eligibility to the states, not the federal government.

The history of voting rights has not been a smooth, uninterrupted train of progress to reach universal suffrage. Indeed, the right to vote has expanded and contracted throughout our nation's history, filled with many tensions, twists, and turns of conflicts and compromises, and periods of greater exclusion and inclusion for segments of the American people.

ESSENTIAL QUESTIONS

To what extent should voting be viewed as an “inalienable” right, privilege, or duty for Americans?

To what extent has the United States been a nation “of the people, by the people, and for the people” throughout its history?

To what extent have governments (federal, state, local) in the United States represented and reflected the will of the people throughout the nation's history?

UNIT OBJECTIVES

Students will be able to

- Demonstrate an understanding of a scholarly essay that outlines the complexity of voting history
- Analyze primary source documents using close-reading strategies
- Draw logical inferences and summarize the essential message of a written document
- Compose summaries of the major points in a document
- Compare and contrast the proposals made by different writers
- Develop a viewpoint, present it, and write a response based on textual and visual evidence
- Collaborate effectively with classmates in small groups
- Distinguish between facts and opinions and identify their proper use in visual and written source materials
- Develop, execute, and evaluate a civic action project

COMMON CORE STATE STANDARDS

CCSS.ELA-Literacy.RH.11-12.1: Cite specific textual evidence to support analysis of primary and secondary sources, connecting insights gained from specific details to an understanding of the text as a whole.

CCSS.ELA-Literacy.RH.11-12.2: Determine the central ideas or information of a primary or secondary source; provide an accurate summary that makes clear the relationships among the key details and ideas.

CCSS.ELA-LITERACY.RH.11-12.7: Integrate and evaluate multiple sources of information presented in diverse formats and media (e.g., visually, quantitatively, as well as in words) in order to address a question or solve a problem.

CCSS.ELA-LITERACY.RH.11-12.9: Integrate information from diverse sources, both primary and secondary, into a coherent understanding of an idea or event, noting discrepancies among sources.

CCSS.ELA-LITERACY.RL.9-10.4: Determine the meaning of words and phrases as they are used in the text, including figurative and connotative meanings; analyze the cumulative impact of specific word choices on meaning and tone (e.g., how the language evokes a sense of time and place; how it sets a formal or informal tone).

CCSS.ELA-LITERACY.RL.11-12.1: Cite strong and thorough textual evidence to support analysis of what the text says explicitly as well as inferences drawn from the text, including determining where the text leaves matters uncertain.

CCSS.ELA-Literacy.SL.9-10.1.C: Propel conversations by posing and responding to questions that relate the current discussion to broader themes or larger ideas; actively incorporate others into the discussion to broader themes or larger ideas; actively incorporate others into the discussion; and clarify, verify, or challenge ideas and conclusions.

CCSS.ELA-LITERACY.SL.11-12.1: Initiate and participate effectively in a range of collaborative discussions (one-on-one, in groups, and teacher-led) with diverse partners on [grade-level] topics, texts, and issues, building on others' ideas and expressing their own clearly and persuasively.

CCSS.ELA-Literacy.W.9-10.1 and 11-12.1: Write arguments to support claims in an analysis of substantive topics or texts, using valid reasoning and relevant and sufficient evidence.

LESSON 1

OVERVIEW

In this unit, Lesson 1 focuses on voting rights in the United States from the late eighteenth century to the late nineteenth century with an emphasis on African American suffrage during Reconstruction and the Jim Crow era. Lesson 2 focuses on women’s suffrage and the impact of the civil rights movement of the 1950s and 1960s on African American suffrage in the twentieth century and recent times.

In Lesson 1, students will read a secondary source—an essay written by historian Allan Lichtman—that provides content and perspective on the history of voting from the framing of the US Constitution in 1787 to the Jim Crow era of the late nineteenth century. They will also examine, analyze, and engage with an array of primary sources that drill down into the issues presented in the scholarly essay. They will demonstrate their comprehension through class discussion, close reading of texts, analysis of visual materials, and completed activity sheets.

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

See in the students’ handouts, p. 17: “A History of Voting Rights in the United States, Part 1: The Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries,” by Allan Lichtman, Distinguished Professor of History, American University

ESSENTIAL QUESTIONS

To what extent should voting be viewed as an “inalienable” right, privilege, and/or duty for Americans?

To what extent has the United States been a nation “of the people, by the people, and for the people” throughout its history?

To what extent have governments (federal, state, local) in the United States represented and reflected the will of the people throughout the nation’s history?

MATERIALS

- Historical Background 1 and the Document Analysis activity sheet (optional): “A History of Voting Rights in the United States, Part 1: The Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries,” by Allan Lichtman, Distinguished Professor of History, American University
- Documents with activity sheets: You may use all the sets of documents or a selection of them.
 - Set 1: The Founders’ Views on Democracy and Suffrage
 - (a) Excerpts from a Letter by John Adams to James Sullivan, May 26, 1776, *Founders Online*, National Archives, <https://founders.archives.gov/documents/Adams/06-04-02-0091>. [Original source: *The Adams Papers*, Papers of John Adams, vol. 4, February–August 1776, ed. Robert J. Taylor. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1979, pp. 208–213.] Also see

- Philip B. Kurland and Ralph Lerner, ed., *The Founders' Constitution* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1987), 1:394–396.
- (b) Excerpts from Alexander Hamilton’s “Speech in the Constitutional Convention on a Plan of Government,” June 18, 1787. (Version recorded in the notes by Judge Robert Yates) in *Alexander Hamilton: Writings*, Joanne B. Freeman, ed. (New York: Library of America, 2001), p. 164.
 - (c) Excerpts from a Letter by Thomas Jefferson to Samuel Kercheval, “Reform of the Virginia Convention,” July 12, 1816, in *Thomas Jefferson: Writings*, Merrill D. Peterson, ed. (New York: Library of America, 1984), pp. 1398, 1400.
- Set 2: The US Constitution on Elections and Voting, 1787
 - (a) US Constitution, Article 1, Section 4.
 - (b) US Constitution, Article 4, Section 2.
 - (c) US Constitution, Article 4, Section 4.
 - (d) US Constitution, Article 6.
 - Set 3: Chronology of Property Requirements and Race Exclusions for Suffrage: 1790–1855
 - (a) “Chronology of Property Requirements for Suffrage, 1790–1855” in Alexander Keyssar, *The Right to Vote: The Contested History of Democracy in the United States* (New York: Basic Books, 2000), Table A.3 (adapted).
 - (b) “Chronology of Race Exclusions, 1790–1855” in Alexander Keyssar, *The Right to Vote: The Contested History of Democracy in the United States* (New York: Basic Books, 2000), Table A.5 (adapted).
 - Set 4: Excerpt from Robert Purvis’s *Appeal of Forty Thousand Citizens, Threatened with Disfranchisement to the People of Pennsylvania* (Philadelphia: Mayhew and Gunn, 1838), p. 15, in *Preserving American Freedom: The Evolution of American Liberty in Fifty Documents*, Historical Society of Pennsylvania, <http://digitalhistory.hsp.org/pafm/doc/appeal>.
 - Set 5: Election Paintings by George Caleb Bingham
 - (a) George Caleb Bingham, *Stump Speaking* (1856), engraved by Gautier (Chicago: Goupil & Co., 1856), The Gilder Lehrman Institute of American History, GLC04075.
 - (b) George Caleb Bingham, *The County Election*, engraved by John Sartain (New York: Goupil & Co., 1854), The Gilder Lehrman Institute of American History, GLC04074.
 - Set 6: The Fourteenth Amendment (1868) and the Fifteenth Amendments
 - (a) US Constitution, The Fourteenth Amendment, Sections 1 and 2, 1868.
 - (b) US Constitution, The Fifteenth Amendment, Sections 1 and 2, 1870.

- Set 7: Illustrating the Impact of the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments on African American Suffrage
 - (a) “The First Vote” by A. R. Waud, *Harper’s Weekly*, November 16, 1867, The Gilder Lehrman Institute Collection, GLC01733.09, p. 721.
 - (b) “The Georgetown Election – The Negro at the Ballot Box” by Thomas Nast, *Harper’s Weekly*, March 16, 1867, The Gilder Lehrman Institute of American History, GLC01733.09, p. 172.
 - (c) “Portraits of African American Members of Reconstruction Congresses,” Wellstood and Co., NY, n.d., The Gilder Lehrman Institute of American History, GLC09400.447.
- Set 8: Illustrating the Impact of the End of Reconstruction and the Beginning of the Jim Crow Era on African American Suffrage
 - (a) “This Is a White Man’s Government,” by Thomas Nast, *Harper’s Weekly*, September 5, 1868, The Gilder Lehrman Institute of American History, GLC01733.01, p. 568.
 - (b) “Is This a Republican Form of Government?” by Thomas Nast, *Harper’s Weekly*, September 2, 1876, Library of Congress Prints and Photographs Division.
 - (c) “The Union as It Was” by Thomas Nast, *Harper’s Weekly*, October 24, 1874, Library of Congress Prints and Photographs Division.
 - (d) Poll Tax Receipt, Birmingham, Alabama, April 9, 1896, National Museum of American History.

PROCEDURE

1. Display the Essential Question(s) for the class as the framework for the lesson. You may choose to focus on one specific essential question.
 - To what extent should voting be viewed as an “inalienable” right, privilege, and/or duty for Americans?
 - To what extent has the United States been a nation “of the people, by the people, and for the people” throughout its history?
 - To what extent have governments (federal, state, local) in the United States represented and reflected the will of the people throughout the nation’s history?
2. Optional: Distribute Part 1 of Allan Lichtman’s essay, “A History of Voting Rights in the United States, Part I: The Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries” and the accompanying activity sheet with important phrase selection and critical thinking activities. You may assign it as homework before starting the lesson, and the students can complete the activity sheet to prepare for the class discussion or complete it in class.

Before the students work on the activity sheet, you may also choose to “share read” the essay in class. This is done by having the students follow along silently while you begin to read aloud, modeling prosody, inflection, and punctuation. Then ask the class to join in with the reading after a

few sentences while you continue to read aloud, still serving as the model for the class. This technique will support struggling readers as well as English language learners (ELL).

NOTE: Depending on the time available and the experience of your students, you may choose to discuss the historical background with your class rather than assigning the reading.

3. Depending on the students' experience with examining texts, you may choose to complete the Document Analysis as a whole-class activity or model the selection and analysis of the first phrase and, when the class is ready, the answer to the first question. For the rest of the activity sheet, you may choose to have the students work individually, as partners, or in small groups of three or four.
4. After giving the students enough time to complete the activity, reconvene the class and discuss different responses and interpretations developed by individual students or groups.
5. The students will then explore excerpts from primary sources and other resources to understand the founders' views of suffrage and the expansion of voting rights through Reconstruction. There are eight sets of documents and activity sheets, each focusing on a different time period, document type, or issue. Once the students complete each reading and accompanying activity, reconvene the class to facilitate a discussion.

You may choose to include all the document sets in the lesson or a selection of them, or divide them up among different students or student groups, allowing time for students to share out the documents they worked on.

Throughout this part of the lesson, students may work individually or collaboratively in pairs or small groups.

Set 1: The Founders' Views on Democracy and Suffrage and Set 2: The US Constitution on Elections and Voting, 1787:

- Distribute Set 1 and Set 2 of the primary source documents with the accompanying Document Analysis activity sheets.
- The students will read and, if working collaboratively, discuss the provided texts and complete the activity sheet as they learn about the viewpoints of John Adams, Alexander Hamilton, and Thomas Jefferson on American citizens' voting rights and about how elections and voting rights were incorporated into the US Constitution.
- Once the students have had time to complete their activity sheets, facilitate student discussion on these topics.

Set 3: Chronology of Property Requirements and Race Exclusions for Suffrage: 1790–1855: Follow the same three steps for this document set—distribute the set of documents and accompanying activity sheet(s), give students time to examine the material and complete the activities, and reconvene the class to facilitate a discussion about what they have learned from the materials and their consideration of the critical thinking questions. Upon completion of this document set, the students will share their responses to the questions as well as assess

why the number and percentage of states with property requirements for voting decreased but the number and percentage of states with race exclusions increased over time.

Set 4: Excerpt from Robert Purvis’s *Appeal of Forty Thousand Citizens*: The excerpt from this pamphlet focuses on the reactions of African Americans to the amended Pennsylvania State Constitution (1838), which restricted voting rights to “white freemen.” After the class reads the text and completes the activity sheet, facilitate student discussion on African Americans’ voting rights, using both the table of race-related exclusions from Set 3 and the *Appeal of Forty Thousand Citizens*.

Set 5: Election Paintings by George Caleb Bingham: Display the images in a format large enough for the whole class to see, if possible, and distribute two copies of the Details, Description, and Decisions activity sheet along with the images. Student discussion should focus on which groups of people are included and which are excluded in these paintings and what conclusions they can draw about American democracy and voting rights in the mid-nineteenth century. You may choose to use the Questions for Discussion activity sheet.

Set 6: The Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments and Set 7: Illustrating the Impact of the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments on African American Voting Rights: Facilitate a class discussion on the historical and modern impact of these amendments on the lives of American citizens as well as the expansion of African American suffrage.

Set 8: Illustrating the Impact of the End of Reconstruction and the Beginning of the Jim Crow Era on African American Voting Rights: Facilitate a class discussion on the impact of the end of Reconstruction and the beginning of the Jim Crow era on African Americans and their voting rights.

6. Lesson Closure and Summary Activity: Students will develop a position, based on the historical evidence from the textual and visual documents, on one of the Essential Questions for this lesson.
- To what extent should voting be viewed as an “inalienable” right, privilege, and/or duty for Americans?
 - To what extent has the United States been a nation “of the people, by the people, and for the people” throughout its history?
 - To what extent have governments (federal, state, local) in the United States represented and reflected the will of the people throughout the nation’s history?

They will express their viewpoint, orally or in writing, using the evidence presented in class to elucidate and support their arguments.

LESSON 2

OVERVIEW

In Lesson 2, students will read a secondary source—an essay written by historian Allan Lichtman—that provides content and perspective on the history of voting in the twentieth century, particularly women’s suffrage and the civil rights movement, concluding with an examination of voting rights since the election of 2000. They will also examine, analyze, and engage with an array of primary sources that drill down into the issues presented in the scholarly essay. They will demonstrate their comprehension through class discussion, close reading of texts, analysis of visual materials, and completed activity sheets.

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

See in the students’ handouts, p. 51: “A History of Voting Rights in the United States, Part 2: The Twentieth and Twenty-first Centuries,” by Allan Lichtman, Distinguished Professor of History, American University

ESSENTIAL QUESTIONS

To what extent should voting be viewed as an “inalienable” right, privilege, and/or duty for Americans?

To what extent has the United States been a nation “of the people, by the people, and for the people” throughout its history?

To what extent have governments (federal, state, local) in the United States represented and reflected the will of the people throughout the nation’s history?

MATERIALS

- Historical Background 2 and Document Analysis activity sheet (optional): “A History of Voting Rights in the United States, Part 2: The Twentieth and Twenty-first Centuries,” by Allan Lichtman, Distinguished Professor of History, American University
- Documents with activity sheets: You may use all the sets of documents or a selection of them.
 - Set 1: The Election of US Senators and the Seventeenth Amendment
 - (a) Joseph Keppler, “The Bosses of the Senate,” *Puck*, January 23, 1889. (Library of Congress Prints and Photographs Division) and “The Cartoon in Context.”
 - (b) The Seventeenth Amendment, US Constitution, 1913
 - Set 2: The Women’s Rights Convention and the “Declaration of Sentiments,” 1848
 - (a) Notice of *The First Convention Ever Called to Discuss the Civil and Political Rights of Women, Seneca Falls, NY, July 19, 20, 1848*, Library of Congress Rare Books and Manuscripts Division

- (b) First page of “Declaration of Sentiments” in *The First Convention Ever Called to Discuss the Civil and Political Rights of Women, Seneca Falls, NY, July 19, 20, 1848*, 1848, Library of Congress Rare Books and Manuscripts Division,
<https://cdn.loc.gov/master/rbc/rbcmil/scrp4006702/010.jpg>
- (c) Excerpts from the “Declaration of Sentiments” in *The First Convention Ever Called to Discuss the Civil and Political Rights of Women, Seneca Falls, NY, July 19, 20, 1848*, 1848, Library of Congress Rare Books and Manuscripts Division
- Set 3: Persuading Voters on the Question of Women’s Suffrage
 - (a) “Women in the Home” broadside, Woman Suffrage Party of the City of New York, ca. 1915, The Gilder Lehrman Institute of American History, GLC08964.
 - (b) “Who Shares the Cost of War?” broadside, Pennsylvania Woman Suffrage Association, Harrisburg, PA, ca. 1915, Ann Lewis Women’s Suffrage Collection,
<https://lewissuffragecollection.omeka.net/items/show/1471>
 - (c) “The Map Proves It” broadside, n.p., original ca. 1914, The Gilder Lehrman Institute of American History, GLC09773.
 - (d) “Women Have Full Suffrage in . . .” handbill, Oregon Chapter of the College Equal Suffrage League, 1912, The Oregon Historical Society, Mss 1534,
<https://oregonhistoryproject.org/articles/historical-records/women39s-suffrage-handbill/#.XdhHXZNKhpq>.
 - (e) “Vote Against Woman Suffrage” postcard, Georgia Association Opposed to Woman Suffrage, Macon GA, ca. 1915 (HR64A-F20.4); Records of the US House of Representatives, Record Group 233; National Archives, Washington DC.
- Set 4: The Fight for Civil Rights in the 1960s
 - (a) Photograph of the March on Washington for Jobs and Freedom, Washington, DC, August 28, 1963, US Information Agency, Record Group 306, National Archives,
<https://catalog.archives.gov/id/542045>.
 - (b) Excerpts from the Civil Rights Act of 1964, “One Hundred Milestone Documents,” *Our Documents*, National Archives,
<https://www.ourdocuments.gov/doc.php?flash=false&doc=97>
- Set 5: The Fight for Voting Rights in the 1960s
 - (a) Photograph of protesters marching from Selma to Montgomery, Alabama, March 7, 1965, attempting to cross the Edmund Pettus Bridge, AP photograph, The Gilder Lehrman Institute of American History, GLC09734.19.
 - (b) Excerpts from the Voting Rights Act of 1965, “One Hundred Milestone Documents,” *Our Documents*, National Archives,
<https://www.ourdocuments.gov/doc.php?flash=false&doc=100>

PROCEDURE

1. Display one or more of the Essential Questions for the class as the framework for the lesson.
 - To what extent should voting be viewed as an ‘inalienable’ right, privilege, and/or duty for Americans?
 - To what extent has the United States been a nation ‘of the people, by the people, and for the people’ throughout its history?
 - To what extent have governments (federal, state, local) in the United States represented and reflected the will of the people throughout the nation’s history?”
2. Optional: Distribute Part 2 of Allan Lichtman’s essay, “A History of Voting Rights in the United States, Part 2: The Twentieth and Twenty-first Centuries,” and the accompanying activity sheet with important phrase selection and critical thinking activities. You may assign it as homework before starting the lesson, and the students can complete the activity sheet to prepare for the class discussion or complete it in class.

Before the students work on the activity sheet, you may also choose to “share read” the essay in class. This is done by having the students follow along silently while you begin to read aloud, modeling prosody, inflection, and punctuation. Then ask the class to join in with the reading after a few sentences while you continue to read aloud, still serving as the model for the class. This technique will support struggling readers as well as English language learners (ELL).

NOTE: Depending on the time available and the experience of your students, you may choose to discuss the historical background with your class rather than assigning the reading.

3. Depending on the students’ experience with examining texts, you may choose to complete the Document Analysis as a whole-class activity or model the selection and analysis of the first phrase and, when the class is ready, the answer to the first question. For the rest of the activity sheet, you may choose to have the students work individually, as partners, or in small groups of three or four.
4. After giving the students enough time to complete the activity, reconvene the class and discuss different responses and interpretations developed by individual students or groups.
5. The students will then explore excerpts from primary sources and other resources to understand the fight for voting rights for women and African Americans in the twentieth century. There are five sets of documents and activity sheets, each focusing on a different time period, document type, or issue. Once the students complete the reading and the accompanying activity, reconvene the class to facilitate a discussion.

You may choose to include all the document sets in the lesson or a selection of them, or divide them up among different students or student groups, allowing time for students to share out the documents they worked on.

Throughout this part of the lesson, students may work individually or collaboratively in pairs or small groups.

Set 1: The Election of US Senators and the Seventeenth Amendment: After the students have examined the cartoon and the amendment and completed the activity, facilitate student discussion on the impact of the Seventeenth Amendment on the expansion of voting rights for the American people. Ask the students to consider to what extent this amendment made government more democratic and more representative in reflecting the “will of the people.”

Set 2: The Women’s Rights Convention and the “Declaration of Sentiments,” 1848: Facilitate student discussion on the economic, political, and social status of women in mid-nineteenth-century American society as well as a comparison of text of the Declaration of Independence (1776) and the “Declaration of Sentiments” (1848). Additional discussion question: How did the Women’s Rights Convention of 1848 establish a foundation for the women’s suffrage movement in the early twentieth century?

Set 3: Persuading Voters on the Questions of Women’s Suffrage: This set consists of broadsides and other pieces of propaganda designed to influence Americans to vote for or against enfranchising women. Facilitate a discussion stemming from the questions on the activity sheets of development of the women’s rights movement and women’s suffrage movement of the early twentieth century as well as the reasons given to support and reject women’s suffrage.

Set 4: The Fight for Civil Rights in the 1960s and Set 5: The Fight for Voting Rights in the 1960s: In these two sets, the photograph depicts an event that led to the passage of a new law advancing civil and voting rights. In the first case, the March on Washington for Jobs and Freedom in 1963 was a precursor to the Civil Rights Act of 1964; in the second, the attack on peaceful protesters trying to march across the Edmund Pettus Bridge from Selma to Montgomery, Alabama, in 1965 led to the passage of the Voting Rights Act of 1965. After the students complete the activity, lead a discussion exploring how the Civil Rights Act of 1964 strengthened African Americans’ citizenship rights and opportunities for economic, educational, political, and social equality and the Voting Rights Act of 1965 strengthened the voting rights of African Americans.

In addition, you may choose to distribute the United States Supreme Court decision *Shelby County v. Holder* (2013) concerning the constitutionality of the Voting Rights Act of 1965.

6. Summary Activities: Display the chart, “Expansion of Voting Rights in the Twentieth Century,” which highlights how recent (twentieth-century) constitutional amendments (Seventeenth Amendment, Nineteenth Amendment, Twenty-third Amendment, Twenty-fourth Amendment, and Twenty-sixth Amendment) have expanded voting rights in the United States as well as advanced the nation’s egalitarian and democratic ideals. The students will view, discuss, analyze, and assess the amendments and then write responses to Critical Thinking Questions 1 and 2.

As a final activity, direct the students’ attention back to the lesson’s Essential Question(s). Students

will develop a position, based on the historical evidence from the textual and visual documents in Lessons 1 and 2, on one of the Essential Questions and express their viewpoints, orally or in writing through the completion of an “Exit Card” response or the composition of a persuasive evaluative essay, citing evidence from the historical primary sources.

LESSONS 3 AND 4

OVERVIEW

In these two lessons, based on the foundational knowledge from the first two lessons, students will read, analyze, and assess current news articles on voting rights issues facing American society today. They will learn how to use the AllSides widget on the TCTH webpage. AllSides.com is a website that identifies articles written from right, center, and left viewpoints on the political spectrum. The students will engage in group discussions that emphasize civil discourse and distinguishing facts from opinions.

MATERIALS

- Articles from AllSides.com on the TCTH website, gilderlehrman.org/tcth
- Analyzing a News Article activity sheet
- Teacher’s Resource (optional): Civil Discourse Guidelines. The guidelines provided here are adapted from “Managing Difficult Classroom Discussions,” Center for Innovative Teaching and Learning, Indiana University Bloomington, citl.indiana.edu/teaching-resources.

PROCEDURE

1. Introduce the scope and purpose of the next two days. A demonstration of the AllSides material will allow students to comfortably begin to research materials that reflect a spectrum of right, center, and left on the political scale.
2. Students will then explore (either in groups or individually) some of the articles concerning voting rights issues.
3. You may assign three articles from AllSides representing different points on the political spectrum (right, center, left) or allow students to select their own three articles.
4. Students will read the three articles and complete the Analyzing a News Article activity sheet.
5. Facilitate a class discussion among the students about their responses to the questions in the activity sheet. To help maintain civil discourse throughout the discussion, you may ask the students to develop guidelines to follow as they discuss potentially divisive issues that affect them and their families or communities. We have provided examples of such guidelines on the Teacher’s Resource in the handouts. Student input is important, and helping them create the rules for civil discourse themselves will give them greater commitment to follow those rules.
6. As a summary activity, students will develop an oral or written response to the following question: “How do the important issues presented in the voting rights articles reflect, refute, and/or compare with the historical development and evolution of voting rights in the United States?” Make sure that the students cite evidence from the articles and use their historical knowledge to support their viewpoints.

LESSON 5

OVERVIEW

The final component of the Voting Rights unit is the design, development, and evaluation of a student civic engagement project. The projects will be supported by the historical background presented in Lessons 1 and 2, the ability to discuss, analyze, and assess articles on current issues, and the students' interest in issues that affect their communities. They will choose engagement activities, formulate action steps for implementation, and present on the effectiveness of their projects.

MATERIALS

- Civic Engagement Project Proposal activity sheet

PROCEDURE

1. Based on the knowledge and understanding of the historical roots of current civic and social issues facing their communities and the nation, their literacy, research, and critical thinking skills, and their experience discussing, analyzing, and assessing present-day articles written from different perspectives, the students will design and develop civics-outreach activity projects on topics of their choice and interest with action steps for implementation.
2. The students may work collaboratively or independently to plan, implement, and present civic engagement projects that relate to voting rights and popular participation in the democratic process in modern American society. The students will work collaboratively with you to develop a list of projects related to voting rights that have an impact in the school or community. For example,
 - Increasing student participation in voter registration drives
 - Poll-watching and assistance at election sites
 - Lowering the voting age to sixteen
 - Establishing a more equitable redrawing of election district boundaries to counter gerrymandering
 - Expanding voter accessibility
 - Permitting online voting
3. Distribute the Project Proposal activity sheet to each student or student group. The student or group will complete the Project Proposal and submit it to you for evaluation and approval. You may return it to them with suggestions and request revisions before signing off.
4. Guidelines for student civic action projects:
 - Identify issues related to voting rights and the democratic process that are important to the students' lives and community.

- Select an issue to address.
 - Research the chosen issue and discuss what specific actions could improve the situation.
 - Plan an action that could effect change keeping in mind what the specific goal is; who or what body has power to make the change; how can that person or body be approached, developing action steps to accomplish the goal.
 - Carry out the action (write letters, convene meetings with community members or officials, create flyers/exhibitions/websites, etc.) depending on the specific goals of the project.
 - Assess the effort when it is completed in order to understand their successes, challenges, and ways to continue learning in the future.
5. Based on the time available and your students' experience, establish a schedule of due dates for implementation and presentation of the projects. Discuss what the challenges were and how the students addressed those challenges; how successful were their civic engagement projects; what could they do to be more effective in the future.

Historical Background 1

“A History of Voting Rights in the United States, Part 1: The Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries,” by Allan Lichtman, Distinguished Professor of History, American University.

The greatest oversight made by America’s Founding Framers was to omit the right to vote from both the original Constitution and the Bill of Rights. Instead, they left voting rights to the individual states, which periodically led to controversies and conflicts among the states and their relationship to the national government. As a result, many Americans have fought and even died for access to the ballot from the earliest days of the Republic to the present. Over the past two centuries advances for white men who did not own property, African Americans, women, and young adults have been tempered by setbacks and defeats.

Despite the revolutionary rallying cry of “no taxation without representation,” delegates to the Constitutional Convention of 1787 spent only about one percent of their time addressing the right to vote. These men considered suffrage to be not a universal right, but a privilege restricted to persons with the independence and capacity to vote wisely and knowledgeably: men with a stake in society who owned property or at a minimum, paid taxes. The prevailing wisdom of the time denigrated persons without property as dependents, lacking a will of their own, and susceptible to corruption by demagogues or the wealthy few on whom their livelihoods rested.

The limited debates on suffrage at the convention centered on whether the Constitution should establish a property qualification for voting. Practical considerations halted this debate short of a principled resolution. Delegates could not agree on specifying a property valuation responsive to the varying economic conditions of the states or future changes in the value of money. So, they left the Constitution silent on qualifications for voting, allowing states to continue to impose property or taxation requisites for the franchise.

During the first half of the nineteenth century, the new ideology of a “white man’s republic” prompted a readjustment of voting qualifications. The states largely dropped economic qualifications but maintained the exclusion of nonwhites and women, fearing that their participation would destabilize the existing social order of American society.

For example, in 1838, Pennsylvania adopted a new constitution that fell in line with most other states by dropping economic qualification while limiting voting to white men only. With a ringing protest in a pamphlet entitled *The Appeal of Forty Thousand Citizens Threatened with Disfranchisement to the People of Pennsylvania*, black leaders condemned the new state

constitution for denying “that all men are born equally free by making political rights depend on the skin in which a man is born.” This and similar protests fell on deaf white ears in the states. In 1800, only five of the sixteen states mandated white-only voting. By 1860, however, twenty-eight of the thirty-three states had done so.

Following the Civil War, during Reconstruction in the late 1860s, pro-civil rights Republicans in Congress sought to establish voting rights for freed slaves. However, they missed an opportunity to guarantee a positive right to vote in the Constitution, to include voting rights for women, and to prevent disenfranchisement through poll taxes and literacy requirements. Instead, the Fifteenth Amendment was negatively framed to prohibit the states from abridging the right to vote on grounds of “race, color or previous condition of servitude.” Republican senator Henry Wilson of Massachusetts said during the congressional debates that if “the white people of a state should be disposed to having the power to disfranchise the colored citizens of that State, could they not put the legislation accomplishing that purpose upon some other ground than upon race or color?”

As Wilson warned, white supremacists who took over southern governments after Reconstruction circumvented the Fifteenth Amendment primarily through literacy tests, white-only primaries, and poll taxes. For the white Democrats who controlled the “redeemer” governments, the disenfranchisement of African Americans weakened the opposition Republican Party and helped forestall insurgent movements that sought to recruit African American support. The result was to create a “Solid South” dominated by the Democratic Party and the social and economic elites of the region.

Document Analysis: "A History of Voting Rights, Part I"

Important Phrases

Which phrases or sentences related to voting rights in the United States are the most informative and important in this scholarly essay? Choose three and give the reason for your choice.

Phrase 1:

Why is this phrase important or powerful?

Phrase 2:

Why is this phrase important or powerful?

Phrase 3:

Why is this phrase important or powerful?

Critical Thinking Questions

Cite evidence from the text in your answers.

1. Why does Professor Allan Lichtman assert that the issue of the right to vote was the "greatest oversight" and omission by the framers of the US Constitution?

2. According to Professor Allan Lichtman, why did founders of the United States view suffrage as a "privilege" and not a "universal [constitutional] right?"

3. During the first half of the nineteenth century, how did the states change their voting laws to reflect the new ideology of the “white man’s republic”?

4. Briefly explain how voting rights initially expanded and later contracted for African Americans during the decades after the Civil War (1861–1865) to the end of the nineteenth century?

5. Briefly explain how the disenfranchisement of African Americans during the late nineteenth century led to the development of a politically controlled “Solid South,” dominated by the Democratic Party?

1. The Founders' Views on Democracy and Suffrage

(a) Excerpts from a Letter by John Adams to James Sullivan, May 26, 1776

“The only moral Foundation of Government is the Consent of the People. . . . But let us first Suppose, that the whole Community of every Age, Rank, Sex, and Condition, has a Right to vote. . . . Whence arises the Right of the Majority to govern, and the Obligation of the Minority to obey? from Necessity, you will Say, because there can be no other Rule. But why exclude Women? You will Say, because their Delicacy renders them unfit for Practice and Experience, in the great Business of Life, and the hardy Enterprises of War, as well as the arduous Cares of State. Besides, their attention is so much engaged with the necessary Nurture of their Children, that Nature has made them fittest for domestic Cares. . . . True. But will not these Reasons apply to others? Is it not equally true, that Men in general in every Society, who are wholly destitute of Property, are also too little acquainted with public Affairs to form a Right Judgment, and too dependent upon other Men to have a Will of their own? If this is a Fact, if you give to every Man, who has no Property, a Vote, will you not make a fine encouraging Provision for Corruption by your fundamental Law? Such is the Frailty of the human Heart, that very few Men, who have no Property, have any Judgment of their own. They talk and vote as they are directed by Some Man of Property, who has attached their Minds to his Interest. . . .

It is dangerous to open So fruitful a Source of Controversy and Altercation, as would be opened by attempting to alter the Qualifications of Voters. There will be no End of it. New Claims will arise. Women will demand a Vote. Lads from 12 to 21 will think their Rights not enough attended to, and every Man, who has not a Farthing, will demand an equal Voice with any other in all Acts of State. It tends to confound and destroy all Distinctions, and prostrate all Ranks, to one common Level.”

Source: *Founders Online*, National Archives, <https://founders.archives.gov/documents/Adams/06-04-02-0091>. [Original source: *The Adams Papers*, Papers of John Adams, vol. 4, *February–August 1776*, ed. Robert J. Taylor. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1979, pp. 208–213.] Also see Philip B. Kurland and Ralph Lerner, ed., *The Founders' Constitution* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1987), 1:394–396.

(b) Excerpt from Alexander Hamilton's "Speech in the Constitutional Convention on a Plan of Government," June 18, 1787 (Version recorded in the notes by Judge Robert Yates)

“ . . . All communities divide themselves into the few and the many. The first are the rich and the well-born, the other the mass of the people. The voice of the people has been said to be

the voice of God; and however generally this maxim has been quoted and believed, it is not true in fact. The people are turbulent and changing; they seldom judge or determine right. Give therefore to the first class a distinct permanent share in the government. They will check the unsteadiness of the second, and as they cannot receive any advantage by a change, they therefore will ever maintain good government. Can a democratic assembly, who annually revolve in the mass of the people, be supposed steadily to pursue the public good? Nothing but a permanent body can check the imprudence of democracy. Their turbulent and uncontrolling disposition requires checks. . . .”

Source: Joanne B. Freeman, editor, *Alexander Hamilton: Writings*, New York: The Library of America, 2001, p. 164.

(c) Excerpt from a Letter by Thomas Jefferson to Samuel Kercheval, “Reform of the Virginia Convention,” July 12, 1816

“The true foundation of republican government is the equal right of every citizen. . . . I am not among those who fear the people. They, and not the rich, are our dependence for continued freedom. . . .”

Source: Merrill D. Peterson, ed., *Thomas Jefferson: Writings* (New York: Library of America, 1984), pp. 1398, 1400.

1. Document Analysis: “The Founders’ Views on Democracy and Suffrage”

Important Phrases

Which phrases or sentences regarding the founders’ views on suffrage are the most informative and important in these excerpts? Choose three and give the reason for your choice.

Phrase 1:

Why is this phrase important or powerful?

Phrase 2:

Why is this phrase important or powerful?

Phrase 3:

Why is this phrase important or powerful?

Critical Thinking Questions

Cite evidence from the text in your answers.

1. Based on the letter John Adams wrote to James Sullivan on May 26, 1776, which groups of Americans should be included and excluded in exercising the right to vote. Briefly explain how John Adams justified his viewpoint.

2. Based on his “Speech in the Constitutional Convention on a Plan of Government,” how did Alexander Hamilton view the extent of democracy and the roles of the “well-born” and the common people in government?

3. Based on his letter to Samuel Kercheval, written on July 12, 1816, how did Thomas Jefferson view the extent of democracy and the role of the common people participating in government?

4. Briefly compare the views of John Adams, Alexander Hamilton, and Thomas Jefferson concerning the extent of democracy and the proper role of the common people in government. Whose view, Adam's, Hamilton's, or Jefferson's, do you think was more effective for the development of the United States and its government? Briefly explain your viewpoint.

2. The US Constitution on Elections and Voting, 1787

(a) Article 1, Section 4

“The Times, Places and Manner of holding Elections for Senators and Representatives, shall be prescribed in each State by the Legislature thereof; but the Congress may at any time by Law make or alter such Regulations, except as to the Places of chusing Senators.”

(b) Article 4, Section 2

“The Citizens of each State shall be entitled to all Privileges and Immunities of Citizens in the several States. . . . No Person held to Service or Labour in one State, under the Laws thereof, escaping into another, shall, in Consequence of any Law or Regulation therein, be discharged from such Service or Labour, but shall be delivered up on Claim of the Party to whom such Service or Labour may be due.”

(c) Article 4, Section 4

“The United States shall guarantee to every State in this Union a Republican Form of Government, and shall protect each of them against Invasion; and . . . against domestic Violence.”

(d) Article 6

“This Constitution, and the Laws of the United States which shall be made in Pursuance thereof; and all Treaties made, or which shall be made, under the Authority of the United States, shall be the supreme Law of the Land; . . . The Senators and Representatives before mentioned, and the Members of the several State Legislatures, and all executive and judicial Officers, both of the United States and of the several States, shall be bound by Oath or Affirmation, to support this Constitution; but no religious Test shall ever be required as a Qualification to any Office or public Trust under the United States.”

2. Document Analysis: The US Constitution, 1787

Important Phrases

Which phrases or sentences are the most informative and important in these articles from the US Constitution? Choose three and give the reason for your choice.

Phrase 1:

Why is this phrase important or powerful?

Phrase 2:

Why is this phrase important or powerful?

Phrase 3:

Why is this phrase important or powerful?

Critical Thinking Questions

Cite evidence from the text in your answers.

1. According to the original Constitution, which level of government, federal or state, was primarily empowered to establish eligibility and qualifications for voting in elections? Cite evidence from the text in your response.

2. Based on the articles cited from the original Constitution, to what extent did the framers of the US Constitution view voting as a fundamental inalienable right or a privilege? Cite evidence from the text in your response.

3. Based on the articles cited from the original Constitution, what limitations and/or restrictions should be placed on people's freedom and right to vote? Cite evidence from the text in your response.

3. Chronology of Property Requirements and Race Exclusions for Suffrage: 1790–1855

(a) Chronology of Property Requirements for Suffrage, 1790–1855

Year	Number of States in the Union	Number of States with Property Requirements
1790	13	10
1800	16	10
1810	17	9
1820	23	9
1830	24	8
1840	26	7
1850	31	4
1855	31	3*

*In 1855, the three states with property requirements were Rhode Island, New York, and South Carolina; however, Rhode Island exempted native-born citizens, New York’s requirement only applied to African Americans, and South Carolina offered a residency alternative requirement.

Source: Alexander Keyssar, *The Right to Vote: The Contested History of Democracy in the United States* (New York: Basic Books, 2000), Table A.3 (adapted).

(b) Chronology of Race Exclusions, 1790–1855

Year	Number of States in the Union	Number of States with Race Exclusions
1790	13	3
1800	16	5
1810	17	8
1820	23	14
1830	24	15*
1840	26	20
1850	31	25
1855	31	25

*New York is not counted as a state with a race exclusion, although a significant property qualification for “men of color,” adopted in 1821, was discriminatory toward African Americans.

Source: Alexander Keyssar, *The Right to Vote: The Contested History of Democracy in the United States* (New York: Basic Books, 2000), Table A.5 (adapted).

3. Document Analysis: “Property Requirements for Suffrage”

Critical Thinking Questions

Respond to the following questions based on the data in the “Property Requirements for Suffrage” table.

1. Based on the data in the table, explain how the number of states in the Union and the number of states with property requirements for voting changed between 1790 and 1855.

2. Calculate the percentage of states with voting property requirements in 1790. Calculate the percentage of states with voting property requirements in 1855.

3. Draw a conclusion about the extent of voting rights in the United States during this period (from the ratification of the US Constitution to the eve of the Civil War) and how voting rights changed.

3. Document Analysis: “Race Exclusions for Suffrage” Table

Critical Thinking Questions

Respond to the following questions based on the data in the “Race Exclusions for Suffrage” table.

1. Based on the data presented in the chart, explain how the number of states in the Union and the number of states with race exclusions for voting changed between 1790 and 1855.

2. Calculate the percentage of states with race exclusions for voting in 1790. Calculate the percentage of states with race exclusions in 1855.

3. Draw a conclusion about the extent of African Americans’ voting rights in the United States during this period (from the ratification of the Constitution to the eve of the Civil War) and how voting rights changed during this period.

4. Excerpt from *Appeal of Forty Thousand Citizens, Threatened with Disfranchisement, to the People of Pennsylvania, 1838*, by Robert Purvis

“. . . Are we to be disfranchised, lest the purity of the *white* blood should be sullied by an intermixture with ours? It seems to us that our white brethren might well enough reserve their fear, till we seek such alliance with them. We ask no social favors. We would not willingly darken the doors of those to whom the complexion and features, which our Maker has given us, are disagreeable. The territories of the commonwealth are sufficiently ample to afford us a home without doing violence to the delicate nerves of our white brethren, for centuries to come. Besides, we are not intruders here, nor were our ancestors. Surely you ought to bear as unrepiningly the evil consequences of your fathers' guilt, as we those of our fathers' misfortune. Proscription and disfranchisement are the last things in the world to alleviate these evil consequences. Nothing, as shameful experience has already proved, can so powerfully promote the evil which you profess to deprecate, as the degradation of our race by the oppressive rule of yours. Give us that fair and honorable ground which self-respect requires to stand on, and the dreaded amalgamation, if it take place at all, shall be by your own fault, as indeed it always has been. We dare not give full vent to the indignation we feel on this point, but we will not attempt wholly to conceal it. We ask a voice in the disposition of those public resources which we ourselves have helped to earn; we claim a right to be heard, according to our numbers, in regard to all those great public measures which involve our lives and fortunes, as well as those of our fellow citizens; we assert our right to vote at the polls as a shield against that strange species of benevolence which seeks legislative aid to banish us—and we are told that our white fellow citizens cannot submit to an *intermixture of the races!* Then let the indentures, title-deeds, contracts, notes of hand, and all other evidences of bargain, in which colored men have been treated as men, be torn and scattered on the winds. Consistency is a jewel. Let no white man hereafter ask his colored neighbor's *consent* when he wants his property or his labor, lest he should endanger the Anglo-Saxon purity of his descendants! Why should not the same principle hold good between neighbor and neighbor, which is deemed necessary, as a fundamental principle, in the Constitution itself? . . .”

Source: Robert Purvis, *Appeal of Forty Thousand Citizens, Threatened with Disfranchisement to the People of Pennsylvania* (Philadelphia: Mayhew and Gunn, 1838), p. 15, in *Preserving American Freedom: The Evolution of American Liberty in Fifty Documents*, Historical Society of Pennsylvania, <http://digitalhistory.hsp.org/pafirm/doc/appeal>.

4. Document Analysis: Appeal of Forty Thousand Citizens

Important Phrases

Which phrases or sentences regarding equality and suffrage rights for African Americans in this text are the most informative and important? Choose three and give the reason for your choice.

Phrase 1:

Why is this phrase important or powerful?

Phrase 2:

Why is this phrase important or powerful?

Phrase 3:

Why is this phrase important or powerful?

Critical Thinking Questions

Cite evidence from the text in your answers.

1. How did the African American community in Philadelphia react when the amended Pennsylvania State Constitution in 1838 restricted voting rights to “white freemen”?

2. Why did African American political activist Robert Purvis believe and assert that African Americans were entitled to the right to vote in Pennsylvania?

5. Election Paintings by George Caleb Bingham (1811–1879)

(a) Stump Speaking (1856)



The Gilder Lehrman Institute of American History, GLC04075

(b) The County Election (1854)



The Gilder Lehrman Institute of American History, GLC04074

Questions for Discussion

Stump Speaking and *The County Election* illustrate the extent of antebellum American democracy. The spread of universal suffrage for adult white males and the mobilization of popular politics through party organizations were important hallmarks of the turbulent age.

- (a) In this image which groups of people are included and which are excluded?
- (b) Why do you think that the excluded groups have been omitted from this painting?

5. Details, Description, and Decision

<p style="text-align: center;"><i>People</i></p> <p>Descriptive Details About: Identify the person/people in this image.</p> <p>Descriptive Summary Sentence:</p>	<p style="text-align: center;"><i>Objects</i></p> <p>Descriptive Details About: Identify the object(s) in this image.</p> <p>Descriptive Summary Sentence:</p>
<p style="text-align: center;"><i>Action/Activity</i></p> <p>Descriptive Details About: Identify the action/activity in this image.</p> <p>Descriptive Summary Sentence:</p>	<p style="text-align: center;"><i>Overall Assessment</i></p> <p>Decision: What have I learned from this painting about voting rights in the United States during the mid-nineteenth century?</p>

6. The Fourteenth Amendment (1868) and the Fifteenth Amendment (1870)

(a) The Fourteenth Amendment, July 28, 1868

(Note: The underlining has been added for emphasis and is not in the original document.)

SECTION 1. All persons born or naturalized in the United States, and subject to the jurisdiction thereof, are citizens of the United States and the State wherein they reside. No State shall make or enforce any law which shall abridge the privileges or immunities of citizens of the United States; nor shall any State deprive any person of life, liberty, or property, without due process of law; nor deny to any person within its jurisdiction the equal protection of the laws.

SECTION 2. Representatives shall be apportioned among the several States according to their respective numbers, counting the whole number of persons in each State, excluding Indians not taxed. But when the right to vote at any election for the choice of electors for President and Vice President of the United States, Representatives in Congress, the Executive and Judicial officers of a State, or the members of the Legislature thereof, is denied to any of the male inhabitants of such State, being twenty-one years of age, and citizens of the United States, or in any way abridged, except for participation in rebellion, or other crime, the basis of representation therein shall be reduced in the proportion which the number of such male citizens shall bear to the whole number of male citizens twenty-one years of age in such State.

(b) The Fifteenth Amendment, March 30, 1870

SECTION 1. The right of citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any State on account of race, color, or previous condition of servitude.

SECTION 2. The Congress shall have power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation.

6. Document Analysis: The Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments

Critical Thinking Questions

Base your answers on the text of the two amendments.

1. How does the Fourteenth Amendment define American citizenship and citizenship rights that cannot be infringed upon by the states?

2. How does the Fourteenth Amendment define eligibility for voting in federal and state elections?

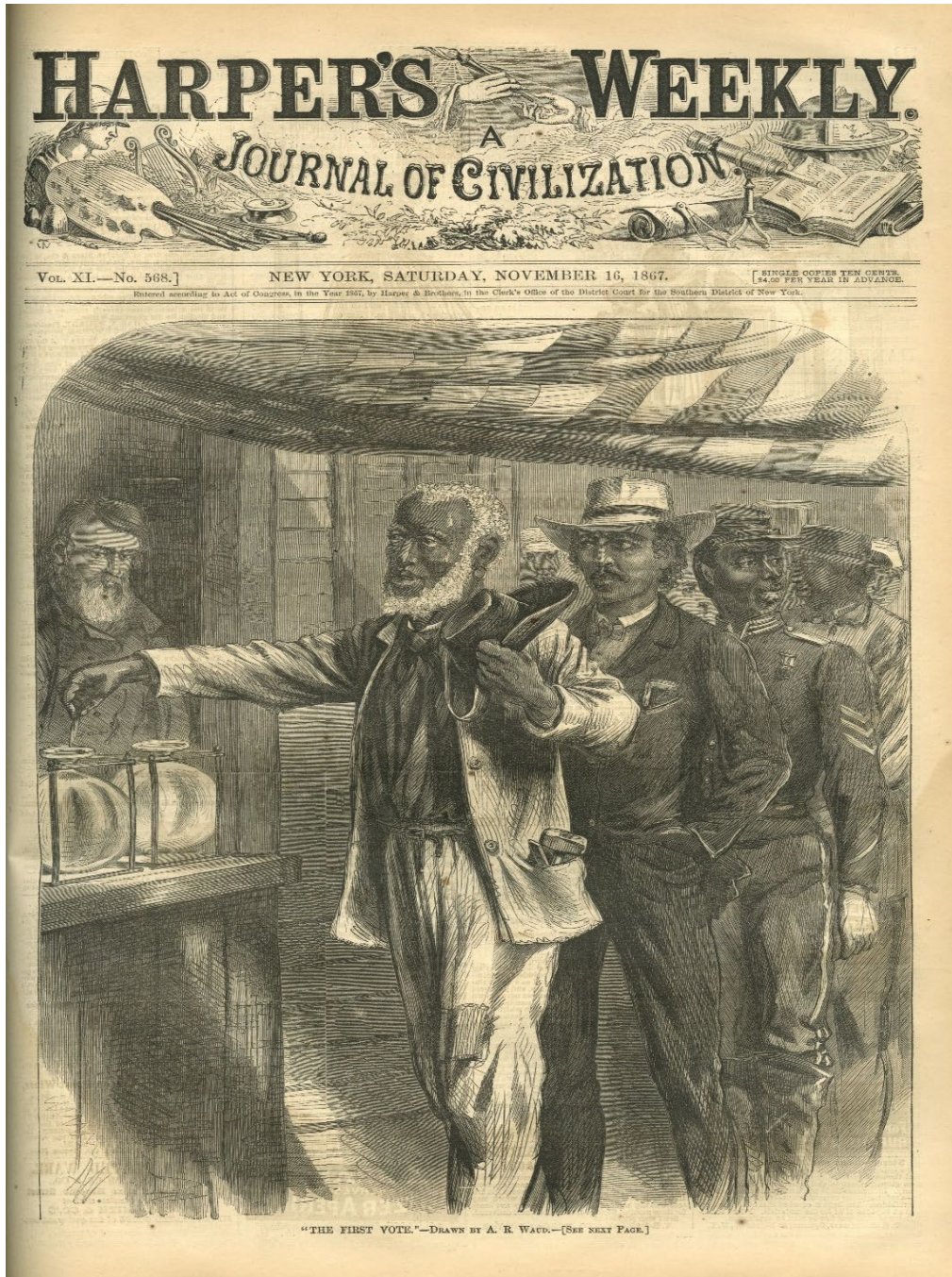
3. How does the Fifteenth Amendment define eligibility for voting in federal and state elections?

4. To what extent did the Fifteenth Amendment make the ideal of universal suffrage real for the American people?

5. Briefly explain how the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments altered and/or limited the power of the states to set requirements for voting.

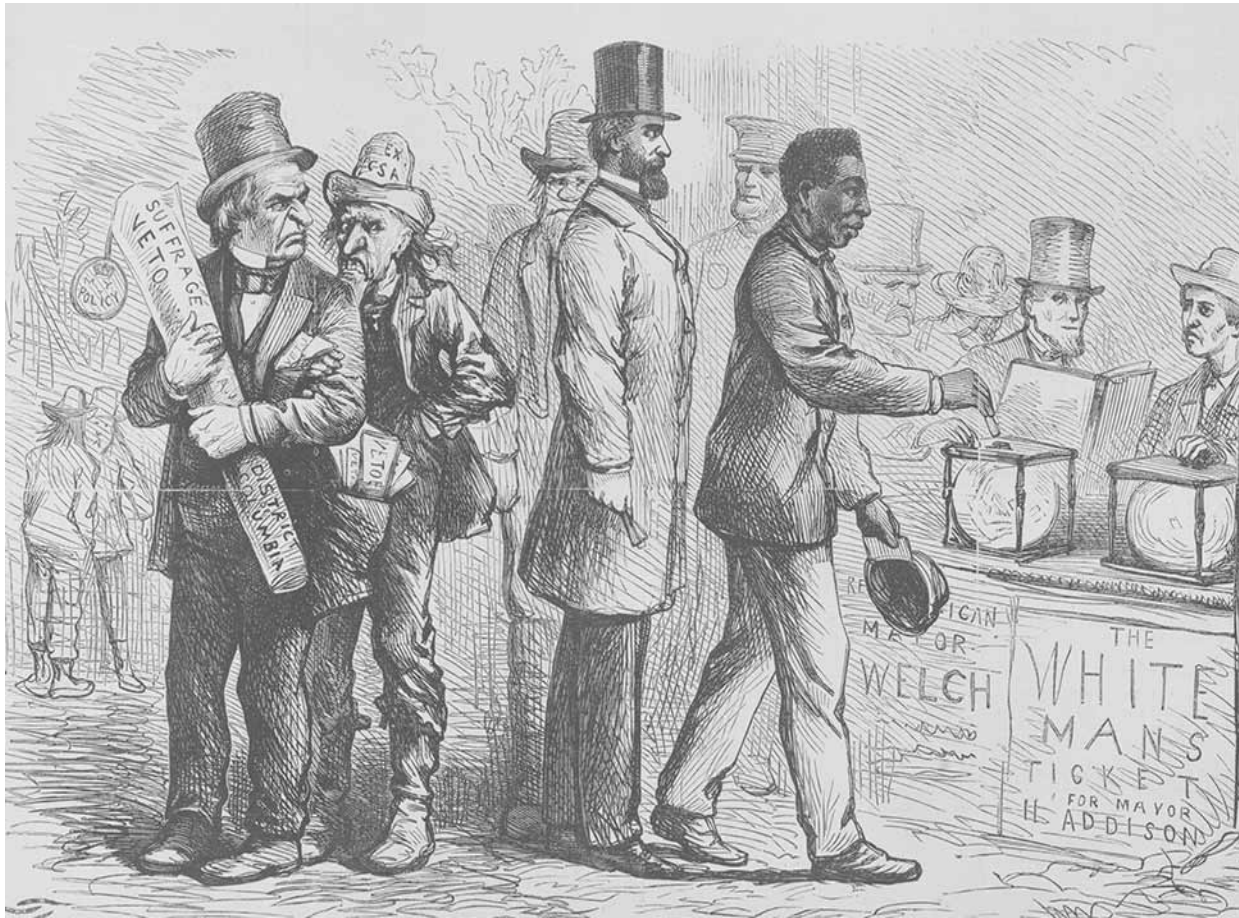
7. Illustrating the Impact of the Fourteenth and
Fifteenth Amendment on African American Suffrage

(a) "The First Vote," 1867



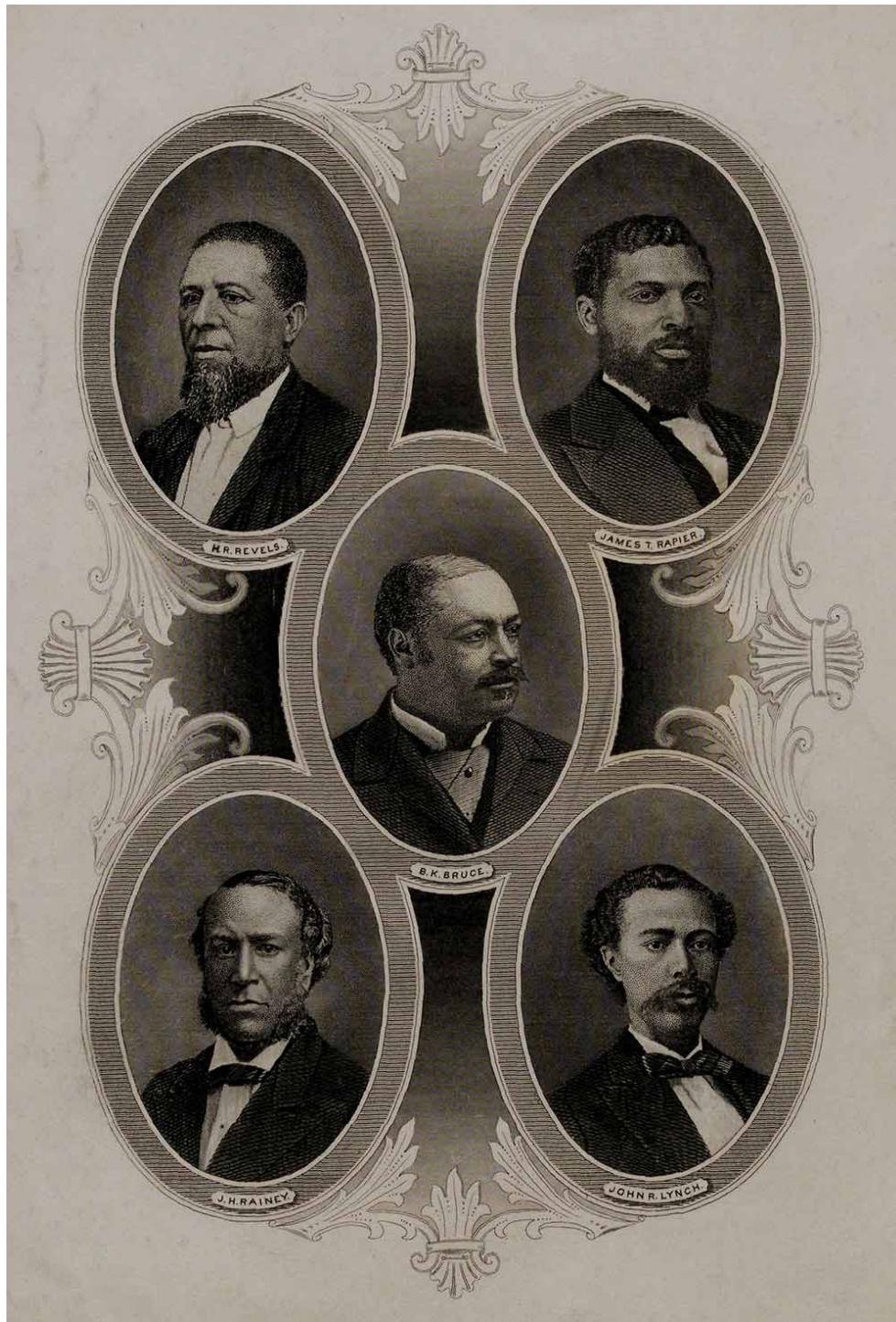
"The First Vote" by A. R. Waud, Harper's Weekly, November 16, 1867. (The Gilder Lehrman Institute, GLC01733.09, p. 721)

(b) "The Georgetown Elections - The Negro at the Ballot Box"



"The Georgetown Election - The Negro at the Ballot Box" by Thomas Nast, Harper's Weekly, March 16, 1867. (The Gilder Lehrman Institute of American History, GLC01733.09, p. 172)

(c) African American Members of the Reconstruction Congresses



Engraved portraits of African American members of Reconstruction Congresses – Hiram R. Revels of Mississippi, James T. Rapier of Alabama, Blanche K. Bruce of Mississippi, Joseph H. Rainey of South Carolina, and John R. Lynch of Mississippi, ca. 1880s. (The Gilder Lehrman Institute of American History, GLC09400.447)

7. Document Analysis: Illustrating the Impact of the Fourteenth Amendment (1868) and Fifteenth Amendment (1870) on African American Suffrage

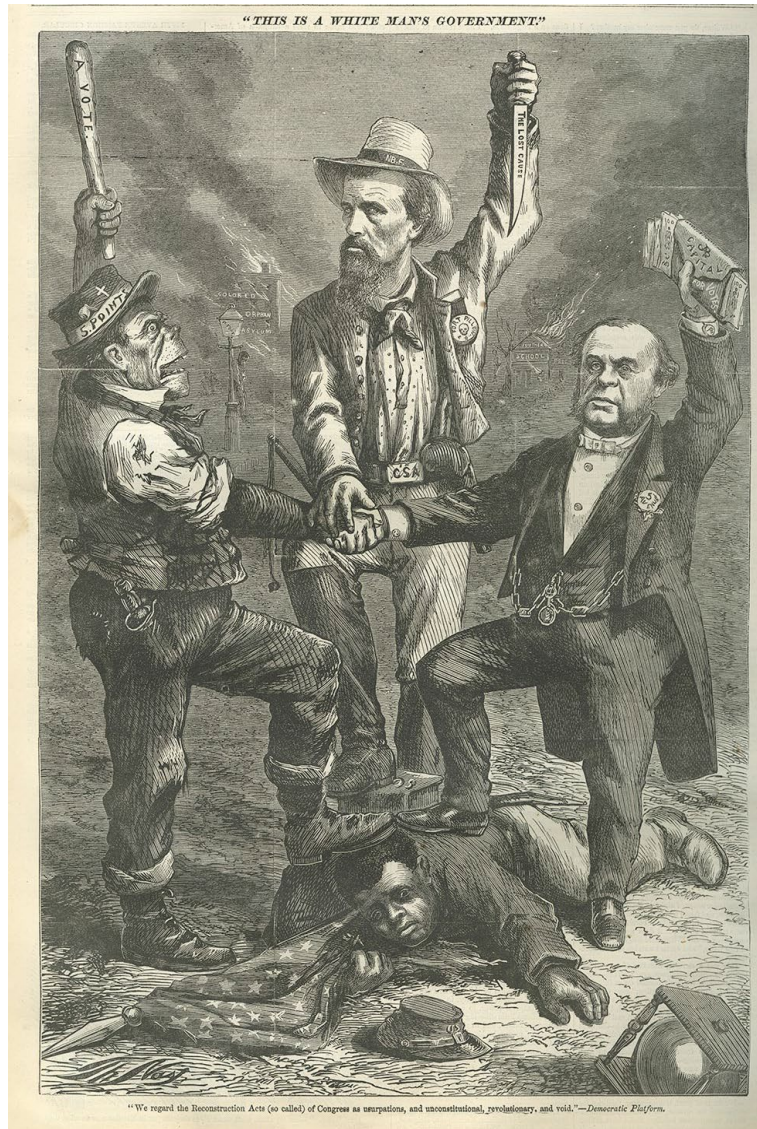
Critical Thinking Question

Approximately 2,000 African Americans served in local, state, and national government during Reconstruction. Nearly 700 served in state legislatures, and sixteen were elected to Congress, including two (Blanche Bruce and Hiram Revels) to the US Senate.

Based on these three illustrations briefly explain the impact of the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments on African Americans' voting rights.

8. Illustrating the Impact of the End of Reconstruction and the Beginning of the Jim Crow Era on African Americans and Their Suffrage Rights

(a) "This Is a White Man's Government"

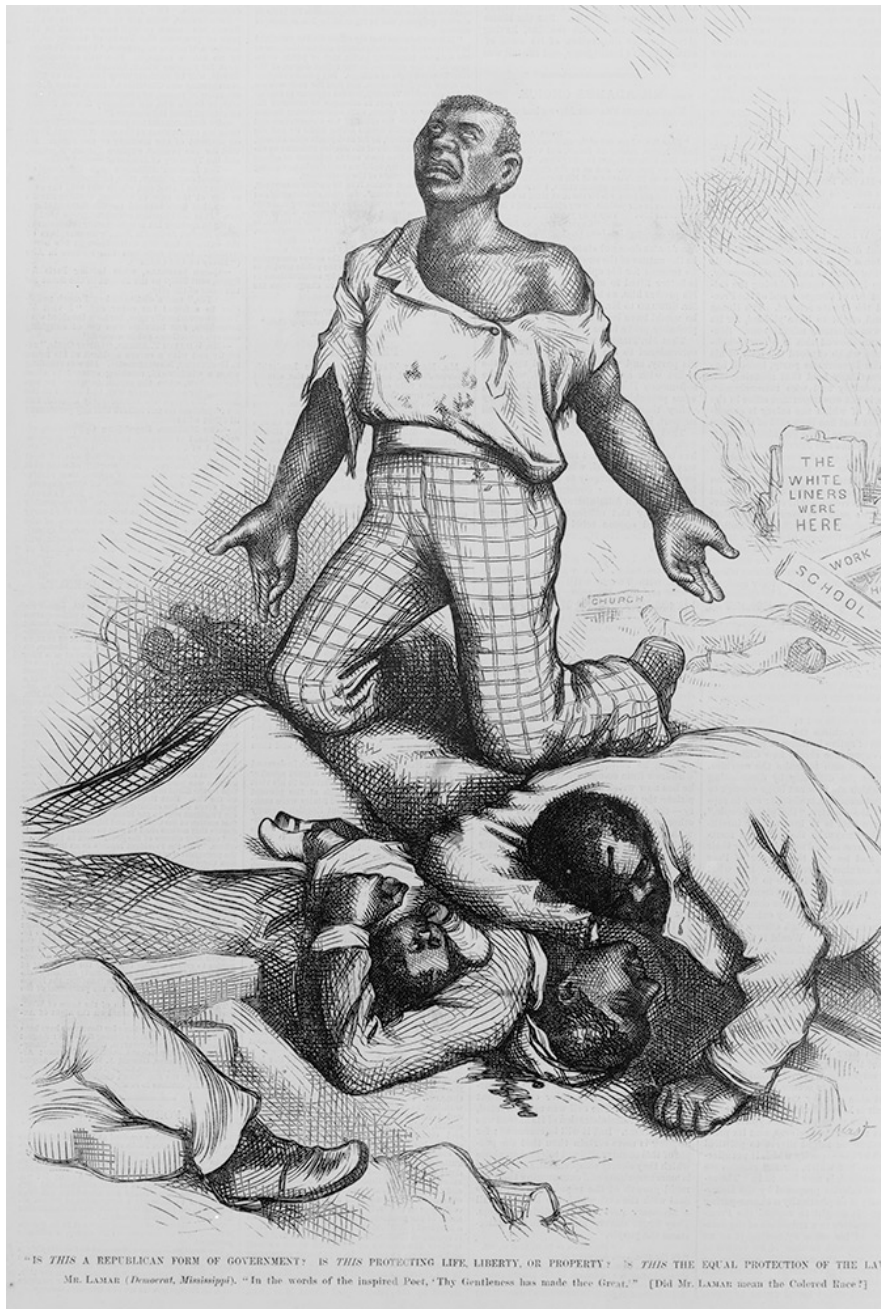


"This Is a White Man's Government," by Thomas Nast, *Harper's Weekly*, September 5, 1868. (The Gilder Lehrman Institute of American History, GLC01733.01, p. 568)

Caption: "'We regard the Reconstruction Acts (so called) of Congress as usurpations, and unconstitutional, revolutionary, and void.' —*Democratic Platform.*"

Stereotypes of three characters stand with a foot on a black soldier: an Irish immigrant, a Confederate, and an industrialist. In the background, a “colored orphan asylum” and a “southern school” are in flames; African American children have been lynched near the burning buildings.

(b) "Is This a Republican Form of Government?"



"Is this a republican form of government?" by Thomas Nast, *Harper's Weekly*, September 2, 1876. (Library of Congress Prints and Photographs Division)

Caption: "Is this a republican form of government? Is this protecting life, liberty, or property? Is this the equal protection of the laws? Mr. Lamar (Democrat, Mississippi): "In the words of the inspired Poet, 'Thy Gentleness has made thee Great.' [Did Mr. Lamar mean the Colored Race?]" In the background signs read, "The White Liners were here," "School," "Church," "Work Shop," and "Homes."

(c) "The Union as It Was"



"The Union as It Was" by Thomas Nast, *Harper's Weekly*, October 24, 1874. (The Library of Congress Prints and Photographs Division)

(d) Poll Tax Receipt, Birmingham, Alabama, April 9, 1896

No. **S38** Birmingham, Ala. *4/9* 189*6*
Received of *J. M. Hillis* (Col.) (White.)
the sum of *Two 02 5/8* Dollars
in full of amount of Poll Tax for the year 1895.

Poll Tax,		<i>1</i>	<i>50</i>
Assessor's Fee,			<i>50</i>
Collector's Fee,			<i>50</i>

A. B. ... P. T. C.

National Museum of American History

8. Analyzing a Political Cartoon

Cartoon # _____

Give the cartoon your own original title:

What is the significance of the central figure(s) and/or object(s) in this cartoon?

What action is taking place in the cartoon?

What mood or tone is created by the cartoon? What in the image is creating that mood or tone?

Briefly explain the message that the artist is giving to the viewer.

Cartoon # _____

Give the cartoon your own original title:

What is the significance of the central figure(s) and/or object(s) in this cartoon?

What action is taking place in the cartoon?

What mood or tone is created by the cartoon? What in the image is creating that mood or tone?

Briefly explain the message that the artist is giving to the viewer.

Historical Background 2

“A History of Voting Rights in the United States, Part 2: The Twentieth and Twenty-first Centuries,” by Allan Lichtman, Distinguished Professor of History, American University

The egalitarian ideals that contributed to passage of the Fifteenth Amendment never extended to women, whose struggle for the vote stalled during the late nineteenth century. The movement revived during the Progressive Era and World War I with about three-quarters of the states enfranchising women. The final successful push for women’s voting resulted in the ratification of the Nineteenth Amendment in 1920, which, following the precedent of the Fifteenth Amendment, was also phrased negatively to prohibit states from denying the right to vote based on sex. The ultimate success of the suffrage movement nationwide resulted from the pincer effect of political lobbying the mainstream organization National-American Women’s Suffrage Association headed by Carrie Chapman Catt and militant protests by the more radical National Women’s Party run by Alice Paul.

The struggle for voting rights later in the twentieth century, which focused on excluded racial minorities, was part of the larger movement for civil rights that gained momentum after the Montgomery Bus Boycott of 1955, led by Rosa Parks and Martin Luther King Jr. The struggle was fought in three arenas: on the streets, in the courtroom, and in Congress. After achieving in 1964 the Twenty-fourth Amendment, which abolished the poll tax for federal elections, and the Civil Rights Act, the movement turned to voting rights using the well-tested civil disobedience methods that provoked overreaction from southern law enforcement. The voting rights march that led to police violence on the Pettus Bridge in Selma, Alabama, in March 1965 was the pivotal event triggering passage of the Voting Rights Act of 1965.

Among other provisions, the act authorized the courts nationwide to suspend the use of any discriminatory test or device used by a jurisdiction as a prerequisite for voting and to appoint federal election examiners and monitors to register voters and ensure the fair conduct of elections. It required certain “covered” states and localities, mostly in the South, with a history of voter discrimination and low turnout, to preclear with the US Department of Justice any changes in voting laws or regulations. It authorized the Justice Department and private parties to file suit against states or subdivisions that denied minorities an equal opportunity to participate fully in the political process and elect candidates of their choice.

The enforcement of the act had the immediate effect of dramatically increasing black registration and turnout in the South. Within two years after its passage, the percentage of registered blacks in the Deep South states of Alabama, Georgia, Louisiana, and Mississippi more

than doubled from 21.1 percent in 1964 to 48.5 percent. Over time, the act was expanded to include Hispanics, Asian Americans, and Native Americans, and enforcement diminished the impact of discriminatory practices such as at-large elections and redistricting plans that either needlessly packed minorities into one or more districts or submerged minorities in districts dominated by white voters. The US Supreme Court also expanded the impact of votes by minorities and city dwellers with its one-person, one-vote rulings in the 1960s that eliminated large disparities in the populations of rural and urban legislative districts.

The enactment and enforcement of the Voting Rights Act did not end the struggle for the vote in America. Since the contested election of 2000, America has been engaged in what legal scholar Richard L. Hasen calls the “new voting wars.” Through the mid-twentieth century it was primarily Democrats in the South that benefitted from restrictions on the vote. The players in the struggle for the vote have changed over time, but the arguments remain depressing familiar and the stakes are very much the same: Who has the right to vote in America and who benefits from exclusionary practices? Since 2000, some seventeen states have adopted voter photo identification laws. Numerous other states have cut early voting, tightened registration requirements, and shut down polling places.

In 2013, in *Shelby County v. Holder*, the US Supreme Court struck down the Voting Rights Act’s preclearance provision. The Court held that the “pervasive,” “flagrant,” “widespread,” and “rampant” discrimination that Congress sought to correct in 1965 no longer existed in the twenty-first century. Yet, by neglecting new forms of voter suppression, the Court unleashed a renewed push to erode voting rights.

Most notable was legislation that North Carolina adopted just weeks after the *Shelby* decision that bundled together a strict voter photo ID law, cutbacks in early voting, and elimination of the opportunity to register during early voting, of the pre-registration of sixteen- and seventeen-year-olds, and of the partial counting of ballots cast in the incorrect precinct. In 2016, the Fourth Circuit Court of Appeals struck down the law, ruling that it had both the effect and intent of discriminating against African Americans.

In addition, gerrymandering of electoral districts by political bodies deprives many Americans of a meaningful vote for legislative offices. The gerrymandering of legislative districts to favor one party over another at every level of government kills political competition and the incentive to vote. It lets candidates choose their voters, rather than voters choose their candidates. In a 5-4 2019 decision in *Rucho v. Common Cause* the Supreme Court ruled that gerrymandering is a political issue with no role for the federal courts. In his majority opinion, Chief Justice John Roberts wrote that “the fact that gerrymandering is ‘incompatible with democratic principles’ . . . does not mean that the solution lies with the federal judiciary.”

The real problem with American elections is abysmally low turnout that ranks America near the bottom of peer democracies. Experience in the United States and abroad demonstrates that there are pathways to reforming the vote in America that can elevate the nation to its lost status as a first-class democracy. A constitutional right to vote would subject any voting measure to strict scrutiny by the courts—the highest level of review. Several states have adopted laws that empower voters to register on Election Day or provide government-assisted registration. Oregon, for example, pioneered legislation that would automatically register persons who applied for a new or renewed driver’s license. The law resulted in a substantial expansion of registered voters and actual voters in 2016. Federal legislation that restores preclearance would deter states from policies that restrict access to the vote.

Many contemporary political commentators believe that voter reform will not emanate from politicians but rather through a concerted grassroots movement to prompt Congress to enact additional voting rights legislation. “When too many Americans don’t vote or participate, some see apathy and despair,” said the late Wisconsin senator Paul Wellstone. “I see disappointment and even outrage. And I believe that out of this frustration can come hope and action.”

Document Analysis: "A History of Voting Rights, Part 2"

Important Phrases

Which phrases or sentences related to voting rights in the United States are the most informative and important in this scholarly essay? Choose three and give the reason for your choice.

Phrase 1:

Why is this phrase important or powerful?

Phrase 2:

Why is this phrase important or powerful?

Phrase 3:

Why is this phrase important or powerful?

Critical Thinking Questions

Cite evidence from the text in your answers.

1. Briefly explain how the struggle for equitable voting rights for African Americans was connected to the civil rights movement of the 1950s and the 1960s.

2. Briefly explain how the Voting Rights Act of 1965 strengthened African Americans' right to vote.

3. Briefly explain why Professor Allan Lichtman believes that the Supreme Court’s decision in *Shelby County v. Holder* (2013) “unleashed a renewed push to erode voting rights.”

1: "The Bosses of the Senate" Cartoon (1889)



"The Bosses of the Senate" by Joseph Keppler, Puck, January 23, 1889. (Library of Congress)

The Cartoon in Context

This popular cartoon from 1889 depicts corporate interests—from steel, oil, sugar, and coal to paper bags and salt—as giant money bags looming over the tiny US senators below the motto “This is the Senate of the Monopolists by the Monopolists and for the Monopolists!” A door to the Senate gallery, the “people’s entrance,” is bolted and barred.

With the ratification of the Seventeenth Amendment (May 31, 1913), US senators were elected by the people rather than state legislatures.

The Seventeenth Amendment says, in part, that “the Senate of the United States shall be composed of two senators from each State, elected by the people thereof, for six years, and each Senator shall have one vote. . . .”

1: Analyzing a Cartoon

Cartoon # _____

Give your own original title to this cartoon:

What is the significance of the central figure(s) and/or object(s) in this cartoon?

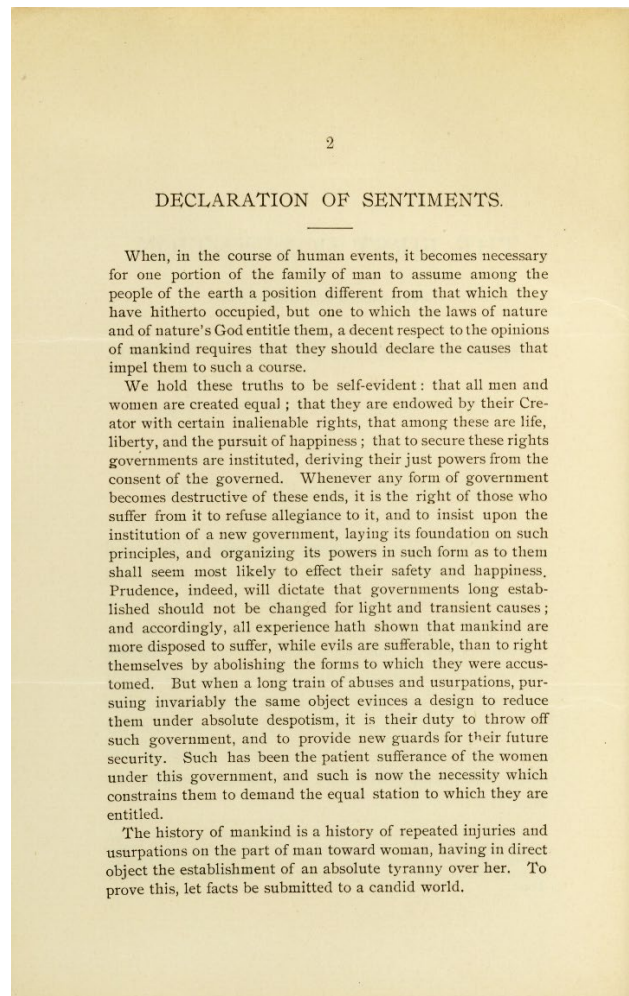
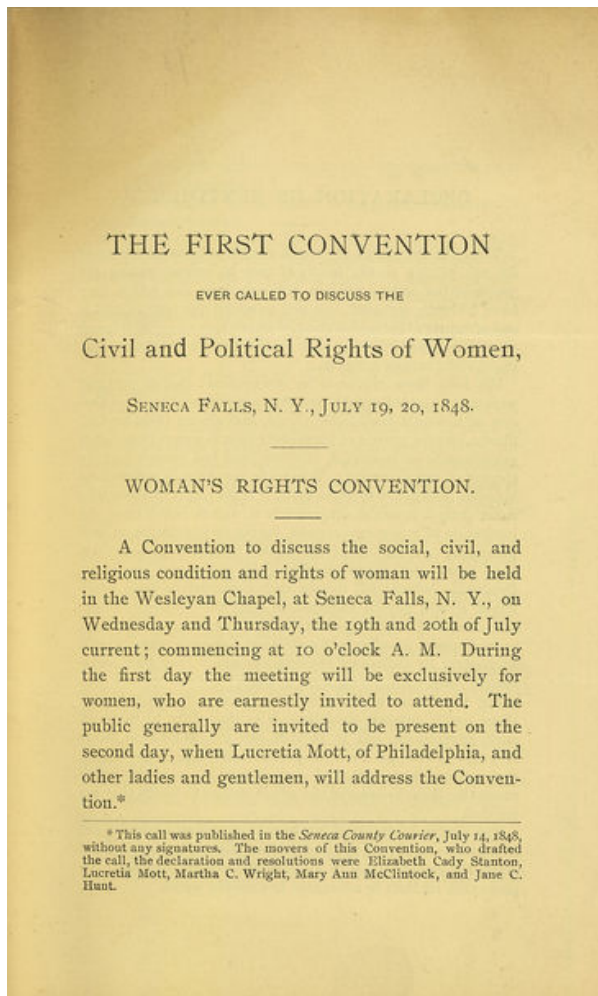
What action is taking place in the cartoon?

What mood or tone is created by the cartoon and what in the image is creating that mood or tone?

Briefly explain the message that the artist is giving to the viewer.

2: Notice of the Women’s Rights Convention the first page of the “Declaration of Sentiments” at Seneca Falls, NY, July 19 and 20, 1848

(a) Notice of “The First Convention” and (b) first page of the “Declaration of Sentiments”



The First Convention Ever Called to Discuss the Civil and Political Rights of Women, Seneca Falls, NY, July 19, 20, 1848, (n.p., 1848), pp. 1 and 2, Library of Congress Rare Books and Manuscripts Division, <https://www.loc.gov/resource/rbcmil.scrp4006801/>

The Women’s Rights Convention (1848) in Seneca Falls, New York, adopted and issued a “Declaration of Sentiments” on women’s rights, which linked the credo of equality in the Declaration of Independence to the rights of women and made the first public demand for women’s right to vote.

(c) Excerpts from the “Declaration of Sentiments” (July 1848)

“We hold these truths to be self-evident: that all men and women are created equal . . . with certain inalienable rights. . . .

The history of mankind is a history of repeated injuries and usurpations on the part of man toward woman, having in direct object the establishment of an absolute tyranny over her. To prove this, let facts be submitted to a candid world.

He has never permitted her to exercise her inalienable right to the elective franchise.

He has compelled her to submit to laws, in the formation of which she had no voice.

He has withheld from her rights which are given to the most ignorant and degraded men—both natives and foreigners.

Having deprived her of this first right of a citizen, the elective franchise, thereby leaving her without representation in the halls of legislation, he has oppressed her on all sides.

He has made her, if married, in the eye of the law, civilly dead. . . .

He has monopolized nearly all the profitable employments, and from those she is permitted to follow, she receives but a scanty remuneration. . . .

He has denied her the facilities for obtaining a thorough education—all colleges being closed against her. . . .

He has endeavored, in every way that he could, to destroy her confidence in her own powers, to lessen her self-respect, and to make her willing to lead a dependent and abject life.

Now, in view of this entire disfranchisement of one-half the people of this country, their social and religious degradation,—in view of the unjust laws above mentioned, and because women do feel themselves aggrieved, oppressed, and fraudulently deprived of their most sacred rights, we insist that they have immediate admission to all the rights and privileges which belong to them as citizens of the United States.”

Source: *The First Convention Ever Called to Discuss the Civil and Political Rights of Women, Seneca Falls, NY, July 19, 20, 1848*, pp. 2-4, (n.p., 1848), Library of Congress Rare Books and Manuscripts Division, <https://www.loc.gov/resource/rbcmil.scrp4006801/>

2: Document Analysis: “Declaration of Sentiments”

Important Phrases

Which phrases or sentences are the most informative and important in these excerpts from the “Declaration of Sentiments”? Choose three and give the reason for your choice.

Phrase 1:

Why is this phrase important or powerful?

Phrase 2:

Why is this phrase important or powerful?

Phrase 3:

Why is this phrase important or powerful?

Critical Thinking Questions

Cite evidence from the text in your answers.

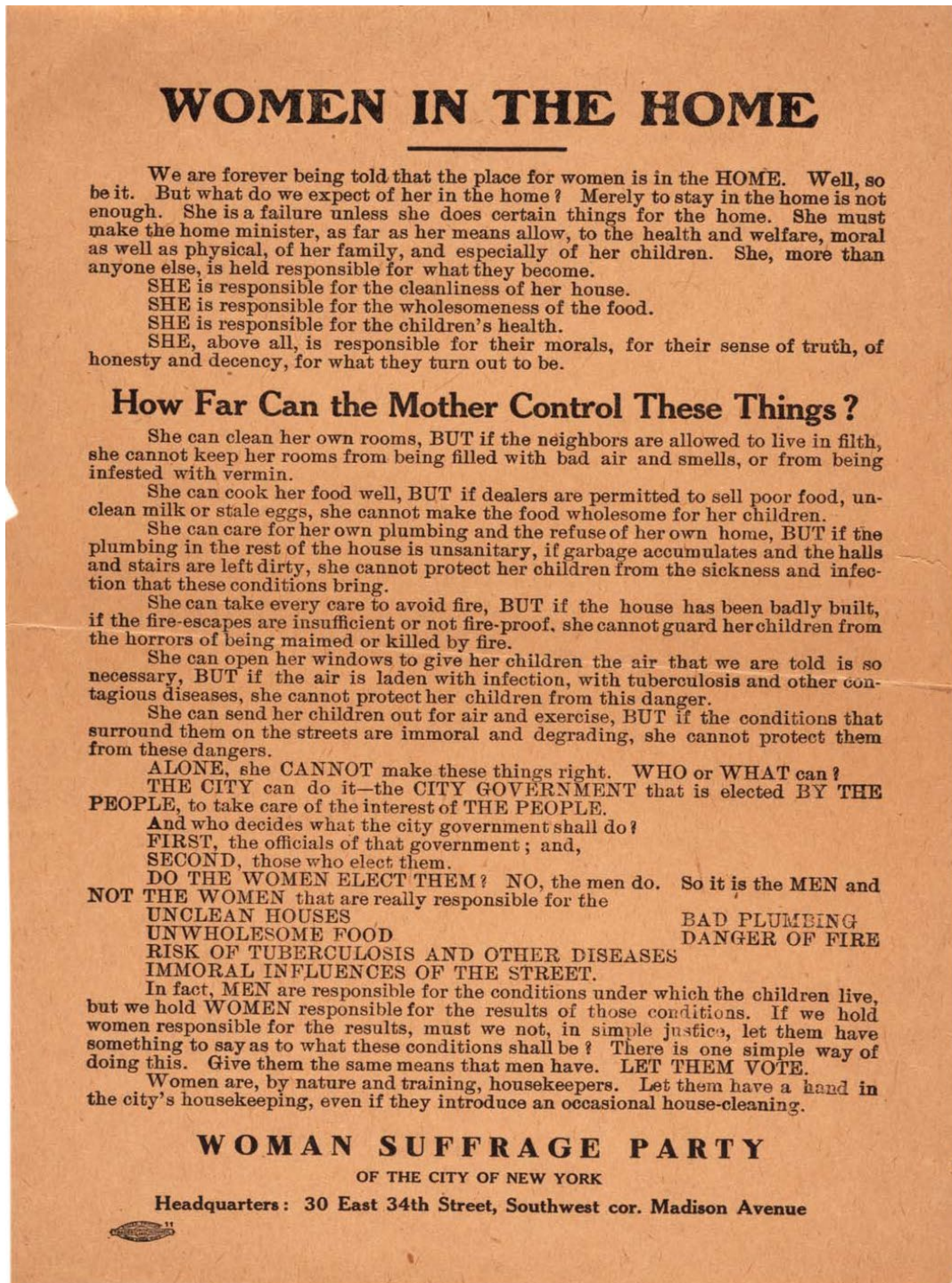
1. Briefly describe the civil, economic, and social inequalities that women experienced in mid-nineteenth-century America.

2. Why did the authors of the “Declaration of Sentiments” use such powerful words as *degradation*, *aggrieved*, *oppressed*, and *fraudulently deprived*?

3. Why was the “Declaration of Sentiments” written in the style of the Declaration of Independence?

3: Persuading Voters on the Question of Women's Suffrage

(a) Women's Roles and Responsibilities in the Home



"Women in the Home" broadside, Woman Suffrage Party of the City of New York, ca. 1915. (The Gilder Lehrman Institute of American History, GLC08964)


(b) Women's Roles and Responsibilities in World War I

WHO SHARES THE COST OF WAR?

Who face death in order to give life to men?	WOMEN.
Who love and work to rear the sons who then are killed in battle?	WOMEN.
Who plant fields and harvest crops when all the able-bodied men are called to war?	WOMEN.
Who keep shops and schools and work in factories while men are in the trenches?	WOMEN.
Who nurse the wounded, feed the sick, support the helpless, brave all danger?	WOMEN.
Who see their homes destroyed by shell and fire, their little ones made destitute, their daughters outraged?	WOMEN.
Who are sent adrift, alone, no food, no hope, no shelter for the unborn child?	WOMEN.
Who must suffer agony for every soldier killed?	WOMEN.
Who are called upon to make sacrifices to pay the terrible tax of war?	WOMEN.

Who dares say that war is not their business? In the name of Justice and Civilization give women a voice in Government and in the councils that make or prevent war.

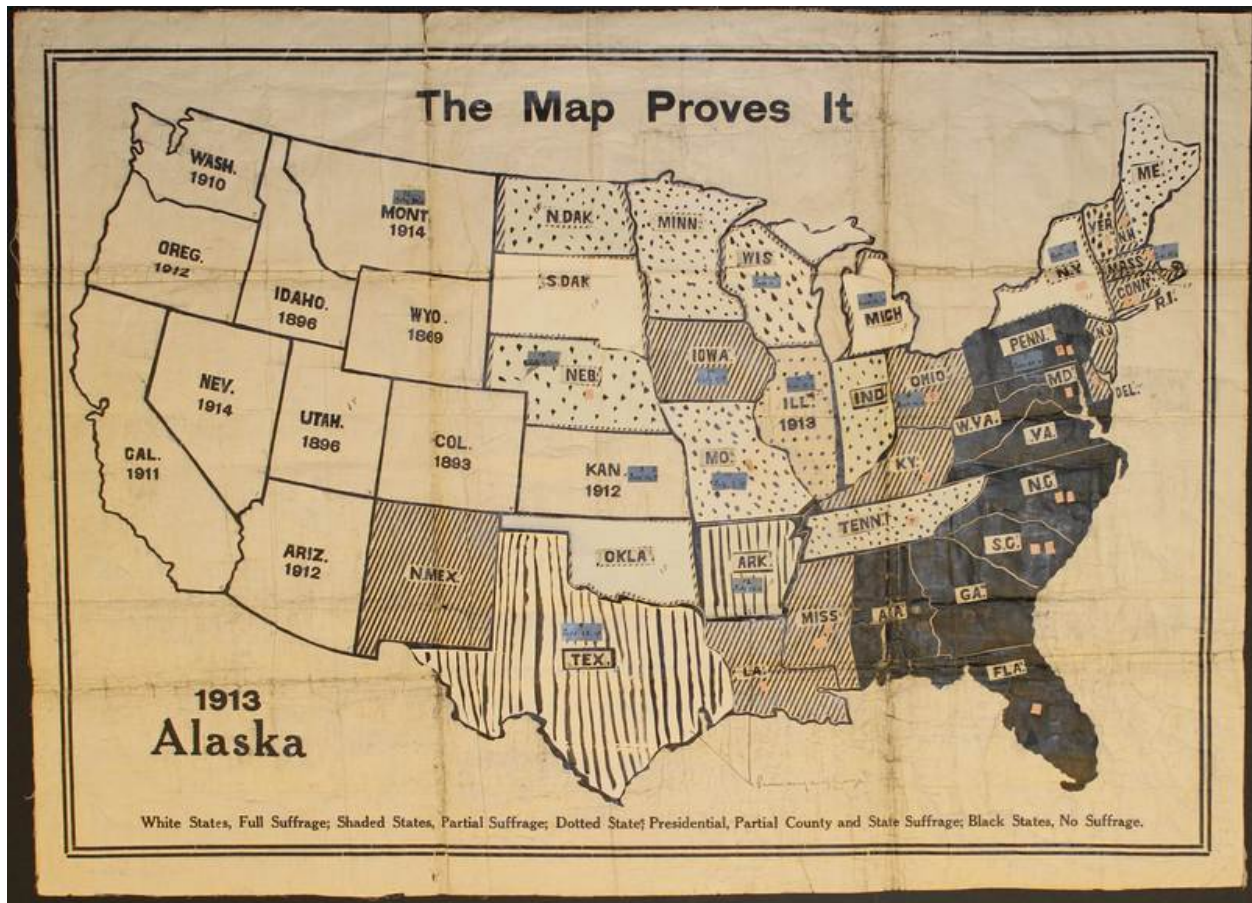
VOTE for the WOMAN SUFFRAGE AMENDMENT IN NOVEMBER

PENNSYLVANIA WOMAN SUFFRAGE ASSOCIATION
Headquarters: 201-5 Arcade Building, Harrisburg 

N. W. S. Publishing Co., Inc.

"Who Shares the Cost of War?" Pennsylvania Woman Suffrage Association, Harrisburg, PA, ca. 1915, Ann Lewis Women's Suffrage Collection, <https://lewissuffragecollection.omeka.net/items/show/1471>

(c) Extension of Women's Suffrage in the United States by 1919



"The Map Proves It," orig. 1914. (The Gilder Lehrman Institute of American History, GLC09773)

This map was originally printed in 1914 to show where women had full (white, no markings) and partial suffrage. The original owner of the map then continued to update the map as different states passed suffrage legislation—like Texas and North Dakota. We do not know the meaning of all the hand-drawn additions.

(d) The Progress of Women's Suffrage at Home and Abroad

WOMEN HAVE FULL SUFFRAGE IN
AUSTRALIA NORWAY ISLE OF MAN
NEW ZEALAND FINLAND TASMANIA

WOMEN HAVE MUNICIPAL SUFFRAGE IN
ENGLAND ICELAND DENMARK
SCOTLAND CANADA SWEDEN
WALES NATAL, SOUTH AFRICA

In the United States Women
Vote in twenty-eight states on
Municipal and School affairs

**WOMEN VOTE
ON EQUAL TERMS WITH MEN**

IN
WYOMING COLORADO
UTAH WASHINGTON
IDAHO CALIFORNIA

WHY NOT IN OREGON?

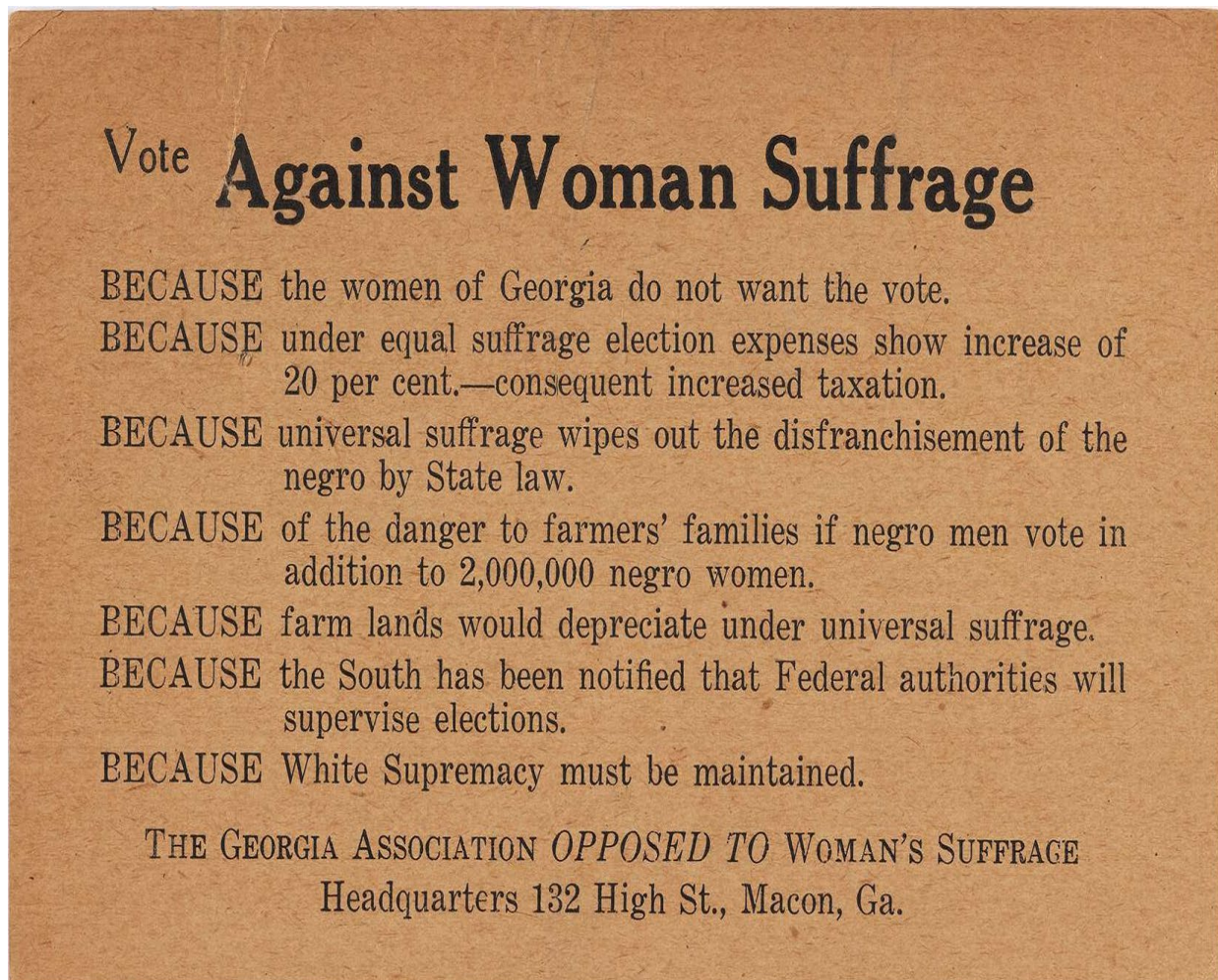
VOTE	300 X 'YES'	AMENDMENT NO. 1, NOV. 5, 1912
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REGISTERED TRADE MARK
GILDER LEHRMAN INSTITUTE OF AMERICAN HISTORY

Women's Suffrage Handbill, Oregon, 1912. (Oregon Historical Society, Mss 1534)

The Oregon chapter of the College Equal Suffrage League produced this handbill as part of a successful 1912 state campaign to give women the right to vote.

(e) Opposition to Women's Suffrage



Vote **Against Woman Suffrage**

BECAUSE the women of Georgia do not want the vote.

BECAUSE under equal suffrage election expenses show increase of 20 per cent.—consequent increased taxation.

BECAUSE universal suffrage wipes out the disfranchisement of the negro by State law.

BECAUSE of the danger to farmers' families if negro men vote in addition to 2,000,000 negro women.

BECAUSE farm lands would depreciate under universal suffrage.

BECAUSE the South has been notified that Federal authorities will supervise elections.

BECAUSE White Supremacy must be maintained.

THE GEORGIA ASSOCIATION *OPPOSED TO WOMAN'S SUFFRAGE*

Headquarters 132 High St., Macon, Ga.

Georgia Association Opposed to Woman Suffrage Card; ca. 1915; (HR64A-F20.4); Records of the US House of Representatives, Record Group 233; National Archives Building, Washington, DC

As the women's suffrage movement grew in the early twentieth century, varying motives in different regions of the country fueled an organized anti-suffrage movement. Some people feared women's collective political power as a voting bloc. This broadside from Georgia outlines several motives, including "Because White Supremacy must be maintained."

3: Document Analysis: Persuading Voters on the Question of Women’s Suffrage

Critical Thinking Questions

Cite evidence from the five broadsides on voting for/against women’s suffrage in your answers.

1. Based on Broadside (a), briefly explain the challenges for and responsibilities of “Women in the Home” in the early twentieth century.

2. Based on Broadside (b), briefly explain the vital contributions and sacrifices that women made to aid the US victory in World War I.

3. Based on “The Map Proves It,” why should a constitutional amendment be ratified to guarantee women full voting rights in all elections?

4. Based on the women’s suffrage handbill from Oregon, why should the United States, as a leading democratic nation, grant women full voting rights in all elections?

5. Based on the postcard printed by the Georgia Association Against Woman Suffrage, why did some groups of Americans oppose women’s suffrage?

4: The Fight for Civil Rights in the 1960s

(a) Photograph of the Civil Rights March in Washington, DC, August 28, 1963



March on Washington for Jobs and Freedom, Washington, DC, August 28, 1963, US Information Agency, Record Group 306, National Archives, <https://catalog.archives.gov/id/542045>

Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. and other civil rights leaders organized a huge demonstration in Washington, DC, on August 28, 1963, to support civil and economic rights legislation. More than 250,000 people participated. In front of the Lincoln Memorial, Dr. King delivered his historic “I Have a Dream” Speech.

(b) Excerpts from the Civil Rights Act of 1964 (July 2, 1964)

To enforce the constitutional right to vote, to confer jurisdiction upon the district courts of the United States to provide injunctive relief against discrimination in public accommodations, to authorize the Attorney General to institute suits to protect constitutional rights in public facilities and public education, to extend the Commission on Civil Rights, to prevent discrimination in federally assisted programs, to establish a Commission on Equal Employment Opportunity, and for other purposes. . . .

Title I: Voting Rights

No person acting under color of law shall . . . (b) deny the right of any individual to vote in any Federal election because of an error or omission on any record or paper relating to any application, registration, or other act requisite to voting. . . . [or] employ any literacy test as a qualification for voting in any Federal election. . . .”

Title II: Injunctive Relief Against Discrimination in Places of Public Accommodation

Sec. 201. (a) All persons shall be entitled to the full and equal enjoyment of the goods, services, facilities, privileges, advantages, and accommodations of any place of public accommodation . . . without discrimination or segregation on the ground of race, color, religion, or national origin. (b) Each of the following establishments which serves the public is a place of public accommodation within the meaning of this title if its operations affect commerce or if discrimination or segregation by it is supported by State action: (1) any inn, hotel, or other establishment which provides lodging to transient guests. . . ; (2) any restaurant, cafeteria, lunchroom, lunch counter, soda fountain, or other facility engaged in selling food for consumption on the premises. . . ; (3) any motion picture house, theater, concert hall., sports arena stadium, or other place of exhibition or entertainment.

Title III: Desegregation of Public Facilities

Sec. 301. (a) Whenever the Attorney General receives a complaint in writing signed by an individual to the effect that he is being deprived of or threatened with the loss of his right to the equal protection of the laws, on account of his race, color, religion, or national origin, by being denied equal utilization of any public facility. . . the Attorney General is authorized to institute . . . a civil action in any appropriate district court of the United States against such parties and for such relief as may be appropriate. . . .

Title IV: Desegregation of Public Education

Sec 401.- Definitions: ‘Desegregation’ means the assignment of students to public schools and within such schools without regard to their race, color, religion, or national origin, but

‘desegregation’ shall not mean the assignment of students to public schools in order to overcome racial imbalance.

Title V: Commission on Civil Rights

Sec. 104. (a) The commission shall investigate allegations in writing . . . that certain citizens of the United States are being deprived of their right to vote and have that vote counted by reason of their color, race, religion, or national origin. . . . (f) The Commission may hold such hearings . . . [and] issue subpoenas. . . requiring such persons to appear before the Commission . . . to produce relevant evidence . . . and give testimony touching the matter under investigation; and any failure to obey such order of the court may be punished by said court as a contempt thereof.

Title VI: Nondiscrimination in Federally Assisted Programs

Sec. 601. No person in the United States shall, on the ground of race, color, or national origin, be excluded from participation in, be denied the benefits of, or be subjected to discrimination under any program or activity receiving Federal government assistance.

Title VII: Equal Employment Opportunity

Sec. 703. (a) It shall be an unlawful employment practice for an employer --- (1) to fail or refuse to hire or to discharge any individual, or otherwise to discriminate against any individual with respect to his compensation, terms, conditions, or privileges of employment, because of such individual’s race, color, religion, sex, or national origin; or (2) to limit, segregate, or classify his employees in any way which would deprive or tend to deprive an individual of employment opportunities, or otherwise adversely affect his status as an employee, because of such individual’s race, color, religion, sex, or national origin.

Sec. 705. (a) There is hereby created a Commission to be known as the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission, which shall be composed of five members, . . . appointed by the President . . . with the advice and consent of the Senate. . . . The Commission shall make such reports on the cause of and means of eliminating discrimination and such recommendations for further legislation as may appear desirable. . . [and] refer matters to the Attorney General with recommendations for intervention in a civil action brought by an aggrieved party.

5: The Fight for Voting Rights in the 1960s

(a) March from Selma to Montgomery, Alabama, across the Edmund Pettus Bridge, on March 7, 1965



Marchers cross the Edmund Pettus Bridge out of Selma, Alabama, to the state capital, Montgomery, March 22, 1965. (The Gilder Lehrman Institute of American History, GLC09734.19)

In January 1965, Dr. Martin Luther King launched a voting rights campaign in Selma, Alabama, where a mere 355 out of 15,000 African Americans had been permitted to register to vote. Dr. King and others attempted to lead protest marches from Selma to the state capital in Montgomery. On March 7, at the Edmund Pettus Bridge, the peaceful marchers encountered a

blockade of state and local police who ordered the marchers to disperse. When they refused, the police attacked the crowd with clubs and tear gas. Television coverage of this event, known as “Bloody Sunday,” triggered national outrage.

This and other violent incidents spurred President Lyndon Johnson and Congress to pass the Voting Rights Act of 1965. This legislation prohibited the practice of using literacy tests to prevent African Americans from voting. Moreover, this law authorized the US government to identify places in the South where only a small percentage of African Americans had registered to vote by 1964. It empowered the Attorney General to have the Civil Rights Commission assign federal registrars to go to these places to assist African Americans with voter registration.

(b) Excerpts from the Voting Rights Act of 1964 (August 6, 1965)

Sec. 2. No voting qualification or prerequisite to voting, or standard, practice, or procedure shall be imposed or applied by any State or political subdivision to deny or abridge the right of any citizen of the United States to vote on account of race or color. . . .

Sec. 3. (a) Whenever the Attorney General institutes a proceeding under any statute to enforce the guarantees of the Fifteenth Amendment in any State or political subdivision the courts shall authorize the appointment of Federal examiners by the United States Civil Service Commission . . . to serve for such period of time and for such political subdivisions as the court shall determine is appropriate to enforce the guarantees of the Fifteenth Amendment. . . .

Sec. 4. (a) To assure that the right of citizens of the United States to vote is not denied or abridged on account of race or color, no citizen shall be denied the right to vote in any Federal, State, or local election because of his failure to comply with any test or device in any State. . . .

Sec. 4. (c) The phrase “test or device” shall mean any requirement that a person as a prerequisite for voting or registration for voting (1) demonstrate the ability to read, write, understand, or interpret any matter, (2) demonstrate any educational achievement or his knowledge on any particular subject, (3) possess good moral character, or (4) prove his qualifications by the voucher of . . . any other class. Sec. 4 (d) No state or political subdivision shall be . . . engaged in the use of tests or devices for the purpose or with the effect of denying or abridging the right to vote on account of race or color.

Sec. 5 Whenever a State or political subdivision with respect to . . . the prohibitions set forth in Section 4 (a) . . . shall enact or seek to administer any voting qualification or prerequisite to voting . . . , such State or subdivision may institute an action in the United States District Court . . . for a declaratory judgment that such qualification, prerequisite, . . . practice, or procedure does not have the purpose and will not have the effect of denying or abridging the right to vote on account of race or color, and . . . until the court enters such judgment no person shall be denied the right to vote for failure to comply with such qualification, prerequisite, . . . practice, or procedure.

4 and 5: Document Analysis: The Civil Rights Act of 1964 and the Voting Rights Act of 1965

Important Phrases

Which phrases or sentences are the most informative and important in the Civil Rights Act of 1964 and the Voting Rights Act of 1965? Choose two phrases from each document and give the reasons for your choices.

Civil Rights Act of 1964

Phrase 1:

Why is this phrase important or powerful?

Phrase 2:

Why is this phrase important or powerful?

Voting Rights Act of 1965

Phrase 1:

Why is this phrase important or powerful?

Phrase 2:

Why is this phrase important or powerful?

Critical Thinking Questions

Cite evidence from the text in your answers.

1. Briefly explain how the Civil Rights Act of 1964 strengthened African Americans' citizenship rights and opportunities for economic, educational, political, and social equality.

2. Briefly explain how the Voting Rights Act of 1965 strengthened the voting rights of African Americans.

Expansion of Voting Rights in the Twentieth Century

Constitutional Amendments	
<u>Seventeenth Amendment</u> (May 31, 1913)	Direct election of US Senators by the people
<u>Nineteenth Amendment</u> (August 26, 1920)	Women have the right to vote in all elections.
<u>Twenty-third Amendment</u> (March 29, 1961)	Residents of Washington DC can vote in presidential elections, choosing three electors.
<u>Twenty-fourth Amendment</u> (January 23, 1964)	Prohibition of poll taxes in all federal elections
<u>Twenty-sixth Amendment</u> (June 30, 1971)	Voting age is lowered to eighteen years old

Critical Thinking Questions

1. Based on the chart above, briefly explain how the amendments added to the US Constitution in the twentieth century have expanded voting rights in the United States.

2. Based on the chart above, briefly explain how the amendments added to the US Constitution in the twentieth century have advanced the democratic ideals of the United States.

3. Essential Question: To what extent should voting be viewed as an “inalienable” right, privilege, and/or duty for Americans?

4. Essential Question: To what extent has the United States been a nation ‘of the people, by the people, and for the people’ throughout its history?

5. Essential Question: To what extent have governments (federal, state, local) in the United States represented and reflected the “will of the people” throughout the nation’s history?

Supreme Court Decision *Shelby County v. Holder* (June 25, 2013) concerning the constitutionality of the Voting Rights Act of 1965

Issue: Does the renewal of Section 5 of the Voter Rights Act of 1965 under the constraints of Section 4(b) exceed Congress's authority under the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments, and therefore violate the Tenth Amendment and Article Four of the Constitution?

Supreme Court Decision in *Shelby County v. Holder* (June 25, 2013): In a 5 to 4 majority ruling, Justice John G. Roberts delivered the opinion that Section 4 of the Voting Rights Act of 1965 is unconstitutional. The Supreme Court held that Section 4 of the Voting Rights Act imposes current burdens that are no longer responsive to the current conditions in the voting districts in question. Although the constraints this section places on specific states with a history of voter discrimination (primarily in the South) were legitimate in the 1960s and 1970s, they do not any longer and now represent an unconstitutional violation of the power to regulate elections that the Constitution reserves for the states. The Court also held that the formula for determining whether changes to a state's voting procedure should be federally reviewed is now outdated and does not reflect the changes that have occurred in the last fifty years in narrowing the voting turnout gap in the states in question.

Analyzing a News Article

Source: _____
newspaper/magazine/website

Article Title: _____

Date published: _____

1. What did you already know about that topic?

2. Basic information presented:

Who? _____

What? _____

When? _____

Where? _____

Why? _____

How? _____

3. Does your article have a right/center/left point of view? What evidence leads you to that conclusion?

4. What audience was this article written for? What evidence supports your conclusion?

5. Reliability of Sources

a. Is there an author's name? _____ If so, who is the author: _____

b. What source or sources does the author quote or refer to in the article? Do you think these sources are reliable? Why or why not? What evidence supports your conclusion?

6. Personal Reaction: What do you think of this article?

(Include two points made in the text to support your answer.)

Civil Discourse Guidelines¹

Listen respectfully without interrupting

Allow everyone the opportunity to speak

Criticize ideas, not individuals or groups

Avoid inflammatory language, including name-calling.

Ask questions when you don't understand; don't assume you know others' thinking or motivations.

Don't expect any individuals to speak on behalf of their gender, ethnic groups, class, status, etc. (or the groups we perceive them to be a part of).

Base your arguments on evidence, not assumptions.

¹ The guidelines provided here are adapted from "Managing Difficult Classroom Discussions," Center for Innovative Teaching and Learning, Indiana University Bloomington, citl.indiana.edu/teaching-resources/diversity-inclusion.

Name _____ Date _____ Period _____

Civic Engagement Project Proposal

Project Title: _____

Project Participant(s): _____

Project Goal:

Action Steps:

Teacher's Comments

Questions to Consider:

Revisions Needed:

Approved: _____