

From: Lisa Royse <lisa.royse@nara.gov> <lisa.royse@nara.gov>
Sent time: 08/11/2017 07:48:28 AM
To: Ray Ruskin <ray.ruskin@nara.gov>
Cc: Michael Hussey <michael.hussey@nara.gov>; Porter, Corinne <corinne.porter@nara.gov>
Subject: Re: Draft Conceptual Package

Let's plan to do that prior to hand-off to NAF.

Lisa Royse
Director of Exhibits
National Archives and Records Administration
202-357-5974 office
240-676-9117 cell

On Fri, Aug 11, 2017 at 7:42 AM, Ray Ruskin <ray.ruskin@nara.gov> wrote:

Great, glad it works for us. I wish it were more polished and thought through. In addition to our own proofreading, is there any way we could get one of the editors to look this over as well?

Ray Ruskin
Exhibition Designer
National Archives, Museum Programs
ph. [202-357-5131](tel:202-357-5131)
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ray.ruskin@nara.gov

On Thu, Aug 10, 2017 at 10:53 PM, Michael Hussey <michael.hussey@nara.gov> wrote:

Ray,

Just great! Thank you.

I'll take a closer look at it first thing tomorrow, but this is an impressive accomplishment.

Michael

Sent from my iPhone

On Aug 10, 2017, at 7:07 PM, Ray Ruskin <ray.ruskin@nara.gov> wrote:

Here it is. In my haste I did a lot of looking but not a lot of reading, so we should definitely proofread. The images I dropped in don't have captions, which may be fine but that's up to you. Let's beat this thing up sometime before 10:00 tomorrow if possible to give me time to make any edits and changes.

Ray

Ray Ruskin
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<Women's Rights Exhibit Conceptual Package.pdf>

THE WOMEN'S VOTING RIGHTS EXHIBITION

(WORKING TITLE)

MARCH 8, 2019–SEPTEMBER 7, 2020



CONCEPTUAL DESIGN

PART 1: BACKGROUND

1A. FLOOR PLAN

1B. GRAPHIC TREATMENTS

PART 2: THEMES

2A. WHO DECIDES WHO VOTES?

2B. WHY DO WOMEN NEED THE VOTE?

2C. WHY WAS GETTING THE VOTE SO HARD?

2D. WHAT DID THE 19TH AMENDMENT ACCOMPLISH?

PART 3: MILESTONE SCHEDULE

PART 4: BROADER INITIATIVE

BACKGROUND

In commemoration of the 100th anniversary of the 19th Amendment to the Constitution, a landmark moment in American history, the National Archives presents an exhibition that tells the story of women’s struggle for voting rights as a critical step towards equal citizenship. In this country, most Americans consider the ability to vote fundamental to the enjoyment of full citizenship, yet American women were long denied that right. The 19th amendment is rightly celebrated as a major milestone made possible by decades of women’s active civic engagement. As home to some of the most important records from the woman suffrage story, the National Archives is uniquely positioned to create a powerful educational experience that relates the fuller story of the struggle to make the vote a reality for all women. Drawing on National Archives’ records and loans, the exhibit will illustrate the dynamic involvement of American women across the spectrums of race, ethnicity, and class to secure their voting rights and make the United States a more perfect union.

The story of U.S. women’s voting rights is a complicated one, however. Millions of women could vote before the amendment and millions were denied their franchise after. By revealing the complex and overlooked history of women’s struggle to be included in the electorate, this exhibition will also carry contemporary resonance that will inspire appreciation for the value of participation in the political process. The exhibition will be organized thematically following a question-driven exploration of women’s long struggle for the vote that encourages visitors to probe why an act of civic engagement that seems basic to our definition of democracy today was denied to one half of the people for so long and remains controversial. Based on initial audience testing, it is evident that this is a history that is seldom told in full.

A single exhibit cannot adequately cover the breadth of American women’s equality struggles. Indeed, this exhibition’s historical advisory group has unanimously advised that to do so would dilute the exhibit generally and reduce its educational impact. However, the exhibit team believes it can find a balance point on which can explore the history of the women’s voting rights struggle while grappling with more contemporary issues.

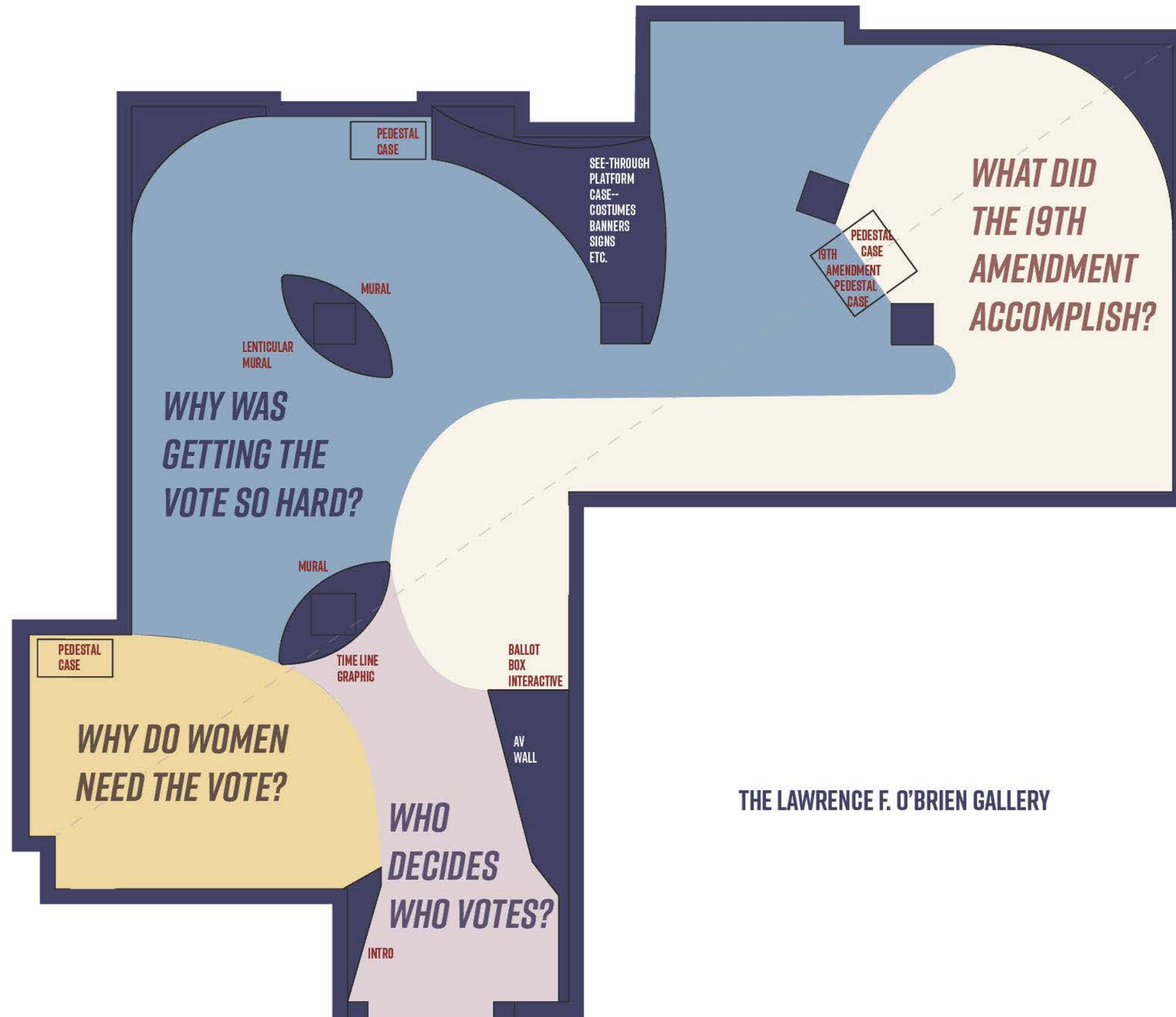
GOAL #1

Address the lack of attention given to this story.

GOAL #2

Inspire young people to engage with the issues of today from a firm grounding in the lessons of the past. This exhibition will resonate with Americans, in particular, younger women—coming of age in a world with a host of economic, social, and political challenges. This will be particularly true given that this exhibit will be opening during the lead-up to the 2020 elections. Stories from the past will inform their consideration of today’s issues. Web-based interactives will engage a world-wide audience.





SECTION TITLE HEADER

SECTION TEXT

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INTRO PANEL

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LADIES

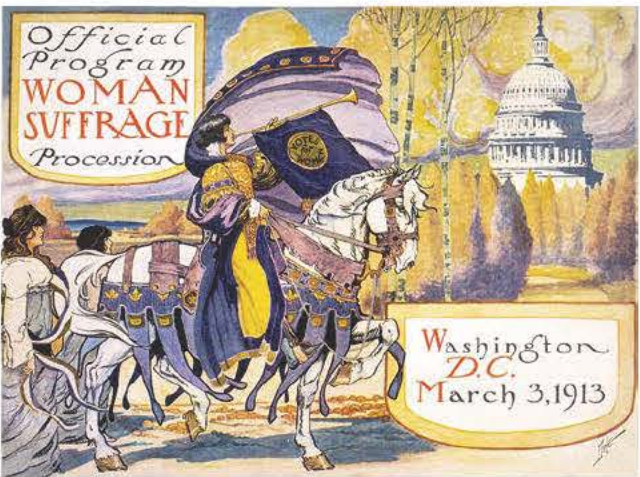
GENTS

RIFT BOLD

RIFT BOLD ITALIC

Minion Pro Regular

Minion Pro Italic



WHO DECIDES WHO VOTES? (10%)

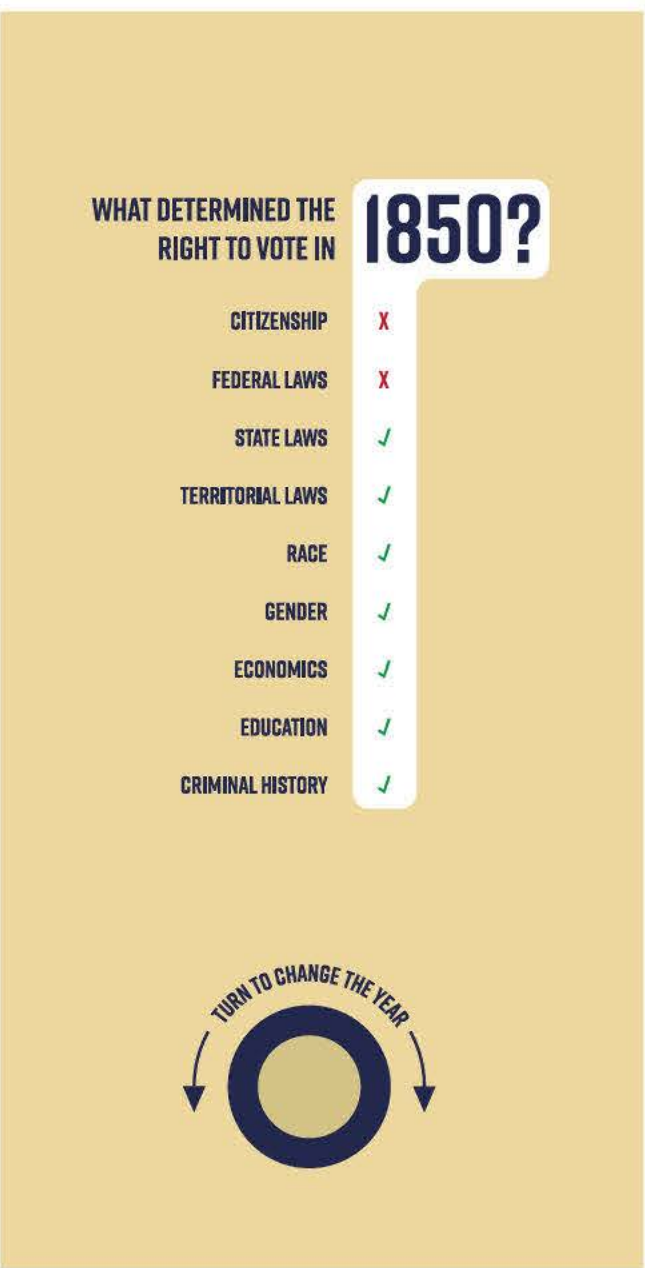
Today many Americans take for granted that the right to vote cannot be denied on the basis of race, sex, or economic means. Yet, at the founding of our republic voting rights were mostly limited to white men of property. When did that change? Who changed it? Why? The right to vote has been incrementally and unevenly extended to diverse groups of Americans throughout the history of the republic and the long and contested story of women’s struggle for voting rights is one chapter in this larger narrative.

This section will give critical context to the story of the woman suffrage by clarifying that the Constitution does not guarantee citizens’ right to vote—rather it grants states the power to decide voting qualifications for their residents. The federal government has stepped in to protect voting rights under certain circumstances through amendments to the Constitution (which were or must be ratified by the states), but those amendments have only specified the conditions under which states could not abridge or deny citizens’ franchise. According to the constitution today, no state can deny the vote on the basis of race, color, previous condition of servitude, or sex; no state can require a poll tax; and no state can deny the vote on the basis of age to those 18 and over. Additionally, the vocabulary of voting will also be explained so that visitors will know that franchise, suffrage and the right to vote all mean the same thing.

Contemporary Resonance – Several states have passed voter identification laws. Some argue that these laws suppress citizens’ voting rights; others claim that they are intended to prevent voting fraud. Regardless, these laws reaffirm that voting rights remain in large measure up to the states.

“The right of voting, or the privilege of voting, is a right or privilege arising under the constitution of the state, and not under the constitution of the United States...Citizenship, age, sex, residence, are variously required in the different states, or may be so. If the right belongs to any particular person, it is because such a person is entitled to it by the laws of the state where he offers to exercise it, and not because of citizenship in the United States.”

Justice Ward Hunt's Decision in United States v. Susan B. Anthony, 1872



INTERACTIVE DETAL



ELEMENTS OF MURALS EXTEND INTO
FLOATING 3-D CUT-OUTS

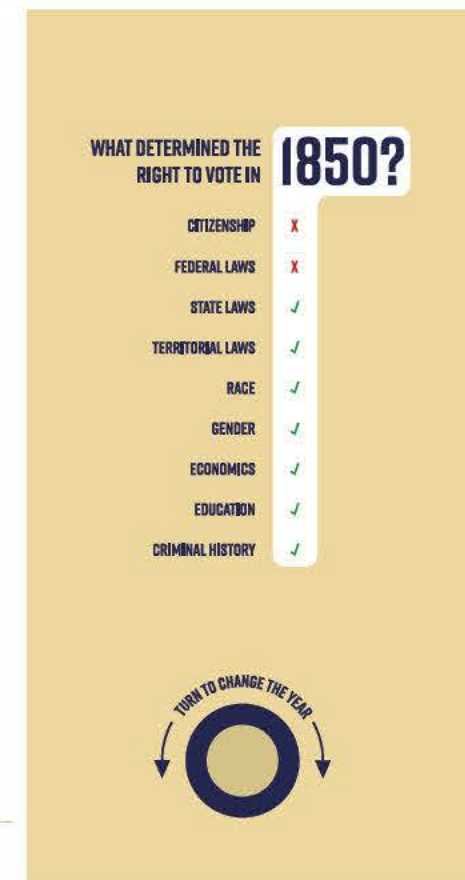
WHO DECIDES WHO VOTES?



INTRODUCTORY AV PRESENTATION
PROJECTED ON THE WALL, MASKED
AROUND DOCUMENTS AND LABELS



LIFE-SIZE MURALS "HOLD" ONE END
OF THE SECTION TITLE BANNERS



DIAL THROUGH THE DECADES TO
SEE HOW VOTING AUTHORITY HAS
CHANGED OVER TIME



THE LAWRENCE F.
O'BRIEN GALLERY

WHY DO WOMEN NEED THE VOTE? (20%)

Women’s disenfranchisement did not just infringe upon the rights that many believed they were entitled to as American citizens. The absence of the vote resulted in real economic, political, and social consequences for women and their families. Through personal stories about the effects of disenfranchisement on their lives, this section will reveal why women from a diverse cross-section of the country and across a vast stretch of time claimed that they needed the vote. It will also explore women’s strategies to influence politics—locally and nationally—before they had the ballot. Despite their “political disability,” women have always found ways to champion their causes, with or without the vote. Indeed, women’s organizing around myriad social and political reform issues played a key role in building nationwide support for woman suffrage as women realized that they needed the ballot to enact lasting change in society. Regardless of their original mission, many women and their reform organizations eventually merged their collective voices into one of the most consequential political movements in American history.

GENERAL TYPES OF RECORDS

- Personal letters
- Memorials and petitions
- Records of legislative hearings/testimonies
- Newspapers/periodicals/broadsides

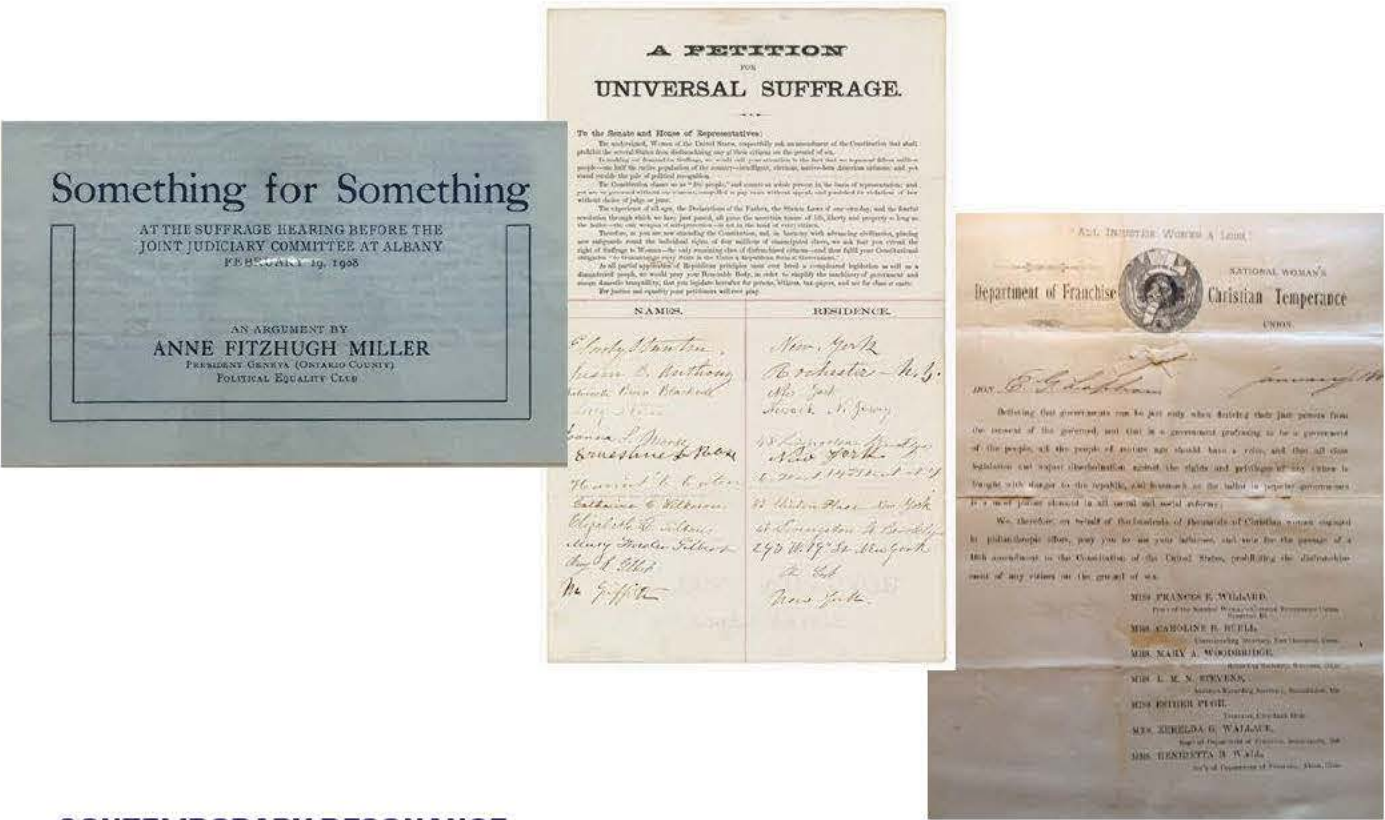
SOME SPECIFIC EXAMPLES

- An 1878 letter to Congress from Mariann Hosmer of Iowa stating that some men in her town—by a one vote margin—voted to construct a road through her property. Their decision required her to pay \$500 to maintain the road. Had she a vote, she could have blocked the measure.
- Suffrage petition drive instructions on collecting working-class signatures, which included strategies customized to effectively canvas working class neighborhoods. These included visiting “factories, workshops and schools during the noon hour” while workers would be on their lunch breaks.

- Annotated copy of a speech “Something for Something” given by Anne Fitzhugh Miller at a 1908 suffrage hearing before the NY State Joint Judiciary committee:

“We denounce the law which denies us the ballot, because it involves both you and us in the abominable practice of ‘Something for Nothing’... The law compels us to give, and you seem willing to take our ‘Something for Nothing’....In the meantime I would rather be as we are—forced to give ‘Something for Nothing’ then to be as you are—responsible for taking ‘Something for Nothing’...All we ask is fair play—‘Something for Something.’”

- An example of women’s organizations promoting social reforms: a ca. 1905 letter from the President of the Pennsylvania State Federation of the General Federation of Women’s Club’s which advocated for a federal investigation into the industrial conditions of women in the United States, arguing “It is both claimed and denied that the economic and social welfare of the country is menaced by this army of women wage-earners. We feel that sane conclusions can be reached only by having accurate data.”



CONTEMPORARY RESONANCE

In spite of increased access to the vote, women continue to face issues including a gender pay gap and the threat of violence. Visitors will be encouraged to examine both the efficacy and the limitations of the ballot box in creating change in these and other areas.

WHY WAS IT SO HARD FOR WOMEN TO GET THE RIGHT TO VOTE? (40%)

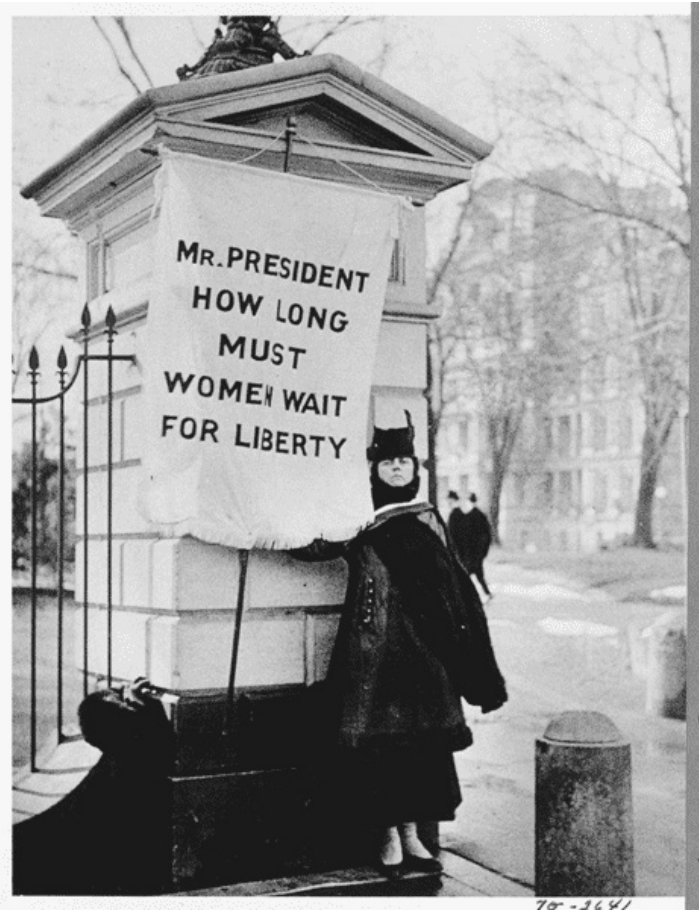
The struggle for suffrage was a long, difficult, and at times dramatic battle waged across the country. Beginning at early important gatherings, such as the 1848 Seneca Falls Convention to discuss women’s rights, the topic of woman suffrage was passionately debated by women and men from both sides of the issue. At the federal level, a resolution proposing a woman suffrage amendment was first introduced in Congress in 1868, and after 1878 it was continuously proposed in every Congress for 40 years until it passed in 1919 and was ratified by three-quarters of the states as the 19th amendment in 1920.

Of course, this story is bigger than the fight for a federal amendment: while continuing to introduce a federal suffrage amendment in every session of Congress, suffragists deployed multiple strategies in different states at different times to gain voting rights across the country. In some areas women gained the right to vote in municipal elections. In others they were given the right to vote in presidential elections but not state elections. Suffragists fought to extend the vote in any way they could, hoping in the end to establish full woman suffrage in every state. It was a long and frustrating battle, seeking suffrage state by state, trying to educate the public to the justice and benefits of woman suffrage and convincing politicians it was just or at least politically expedient for them to support it. And along the way they encountered stiff opposition from both men and women anti-suffragists. But by 1919 a patch-work of women’s voting rights had been established at the state level. As a result millions of women had at least some voting rights prior to 1920. As women gained the vote in each state they were able to apply pressure to their congressional representatives to support a federal suffrage bill.

By drawing upon the diversity of voices, experiences and strategies from the pro-suffrage and anti-suffrage movements, this section will collectively demonstrate why it took so long to pass the woman suffrage amendment. The diversity of methods—petitioning, congressional hearings, public speaking, attempting to vote, marching, protesting, hunger strikes in jail—that women employed to agitate for the vote will be represented, as well as critical moments in the struggle that resulted from these efforts. The section will explore why extending suffrage to women was successful in certain times and places, but so deeply contested elsewhere. It will also detail the final march towards the 19th Amendment and the key events that mounted the pressure needed to shift politicians in favor of granting votes for women.

GENERAL TYPES OF RECORDS

- Proposed Legislation
- Personal letters
- Memorials and petitions
- Legislative hearings records
- Posters
- Photographs
- Artifacts
- Newspapers/magazines/broadsides
- Political cartoons
- Court records
- Speeches
- Patents
- Motion picture



SOME SPECIFIC EXAMPLES

- An article titled “The Anthony Amendment” from the May 1918 issue of The Crisis which relays racist statements made by New Orleans suffragists Kate and Jean Gordon who opposed a federal amendment because they felt it threatened white supremacy because “while white men would be willing to club Negro men away from the polls they would not use the club upon black women.”
- A 1917 petition from the National Association Opposed to Woman Suffrage that makes a number of arguments against a woman suffrage amendment, including that “it would be an official endorsement of nagging as a national policy.”

• A postcard from the Georgia Association Opposed to Woman’s Suffrage which lists a number of arguments for voting against woman suffrage including: “BECAUSE universal suffrage wipes out the disfranchisement of the negro by State law” and “BECAUSE White Supremacy must be maintained.”

• A 1916 letter from Enid Piece to Rep. Ambrose Kennedy of Rhode Island, urging him to confront. . .

“Even those “hot headed” senators from southern states where the people struggle along, yes struggle be they black or white with the weight of horrible race hatred...try to make them listen to reason even if they would still like to use a shot gun for their best argument. Tell them that God alone chose whether to put on you or me or them a black skin or a white one, and that He alone said whether we should be created male or female, then shall either of these conditions deprive us of our birthright? Which in a republic means a voice in those conditions and laws which surround us and bind us.”

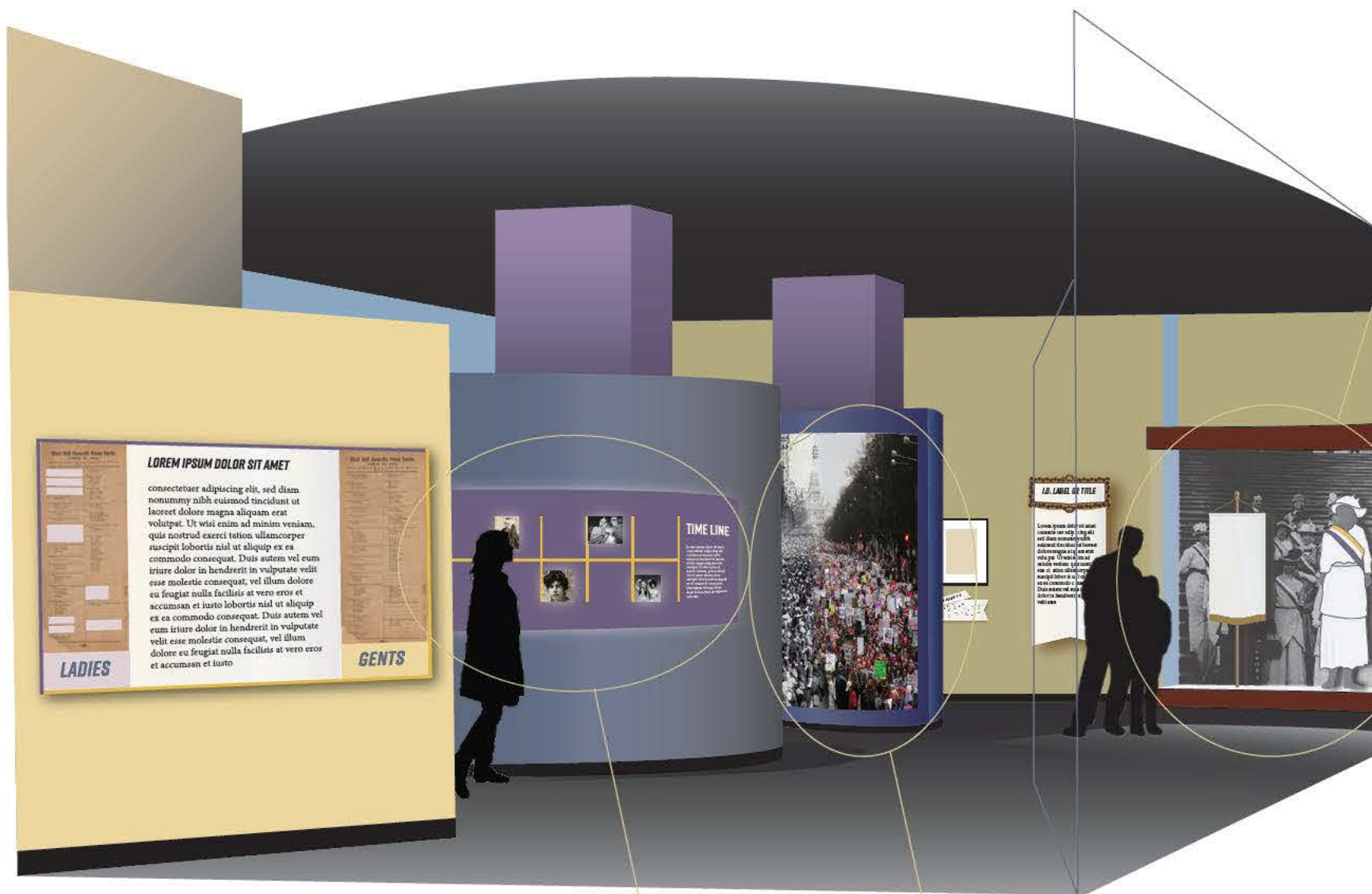
• A WWI Red Cross nurse’s uniform worn during WWI. Women’s wartime service and support of the war effort on the home front was one of many factors that tipped the political balance in support of woman suffrage.

- Records from the 19th amendment’s journey to ratification, including:
 - Joint Resolution proposing an amendment to the Constitution extending the right of suffrage to women
 - Tennessee’s ratification of the 19th amendment, the final state needed ratify the 19th amendment
 - Secretary of State Bainbridge Colby’s certification that the 19th amendment had been ratified

CONTEMPORARY RESONANCE

Visitors will be encouraged to consider what current issues seem resistant to resolution. The exhibition will engage visitors on contemporary women’s issues, by encouraging them to cast their vote via a “ballot box” interactive for the contemporary women’s rights issue that is their top concern.





LARGE, CURVED SEE-THROUGH
PLATFORM CASE FOR
COSTUMES, BANNERS, AND
OTHER ARTIFACTS



1913/2016 MARCH LENTICULAR

HALO-LIT TIME LINE



WHAT DID THE 19TH AMENDMENT MEAN?

WHAT STRUGGLES PERSIST? (30%)

The 19th amendment prohibited the states from denying the vote on the basis of sex. What did that mean for the lives of American women who were able to vote for the first time? What did such a dramatic change in the electorate mean for the country? And, what of the millions of women—including African American women in the South, Native American women living on reservations, many Latinas, Asian immigrant women, and poor women who couldn't afford the poll tax—who were disfranchised on bases other than their sex?

This section will highlight the immediate impact of the 19th amendment as women use their votes in the early years after ratification to make progress on women's reform issues including maternity care, married women's citizenship, child labor and women's equality. However, this section will also explode the myth that all American women were able to vote after the 19th Amendment.

This ongoing disfranchisement was largely the result of racism, but it also kept many women of low socioeconomic status away from the polls. Voter suppression tools such as poll taxes, understanding clauses/literacy tests, and intimidation – both physical and economic—were instituted in many states to keep people of color away from the polls. Language minority voters, especially Latinas, were discriminated against at polls that provided exclusively English voting information and ballots. For a time, federal law excluded Asian-immigrant women and many Native American women from citizenship altogether. Even after these groups were eligible for citizenship, some states prevented them from voting. Puerto Rican women were barred from voting on that island until 1929 for literate women and 1935 for all adult women. Many of these barriers to women's freedom of elective franchise wouldn't be legally prohibited until the Voting Rights Act of 1965 and its subsequent amendments, although the struggle against discriminatory polling practices continues through today.

Contemporary Resonance - The exhibition will conclude by highlighting women's political activity beyond the right to vote, including important legislative and legal victories protecting women's rights as well as women's equality struggles that continue.

Web-based interactives, which can be accessed in the O'Brien Gallery, the Boeing Learning Center, classrooms, and homes across the country will be developed. These might, for example, engage users on the topic of the gender-based wage gap. Examples from the 1920s could be compared with noted cases of today, such as the revelation that Jennifer Lawrence (of the Hunger Games movies) made so much less than her male counterparts.



GENERAL TYPES OF RECORDS

- Legislative bills
- Court records
- Petitions and letters
- Investigative reports
- Photographs
- Newspapers and periodicals
- Motion picture
- Posters
- Political cartoons

SOME SPECIFIC EXAMPLES

• A Dorothea Lange photograph captioned “San Bruno, California. Entering Recreational Hall where election is being held for Councilman. A general election for five members of the Tanforan Assembly Center Advisory Council is being held on this day. The Issei have never been able to vote before because of American naturalization laws.”

• A petition for redress of grievance to Congress from African American women and men calling for a Voting Rights Bill:

“How can these governments be representative with the Negro citizens of these states cannot vote. We cannot because of terror, intimidation, coercion and even murder. Registrars of Voters in our States are appointed not to register persons to vote, but to keep the Negro from registering to vote. The entire power structure of these States...have engages in a conspiracy to prevent the Negro from sharing responsibility in the State governments of the south.”


• A photograph of the ruins of a Baptist church in Gluckstadt, Mississippi, (that housed a Congress of Racial Equality voter school) after it was destroyed by a fire in 1964 when the fire department never came.


• A Universal Newsreel showing voters, many of them African American women and men voting for the first time in their lives during the 1966 primaries in Alabama.








SELECT A WOMAN




























































Midred Jefferson



MA

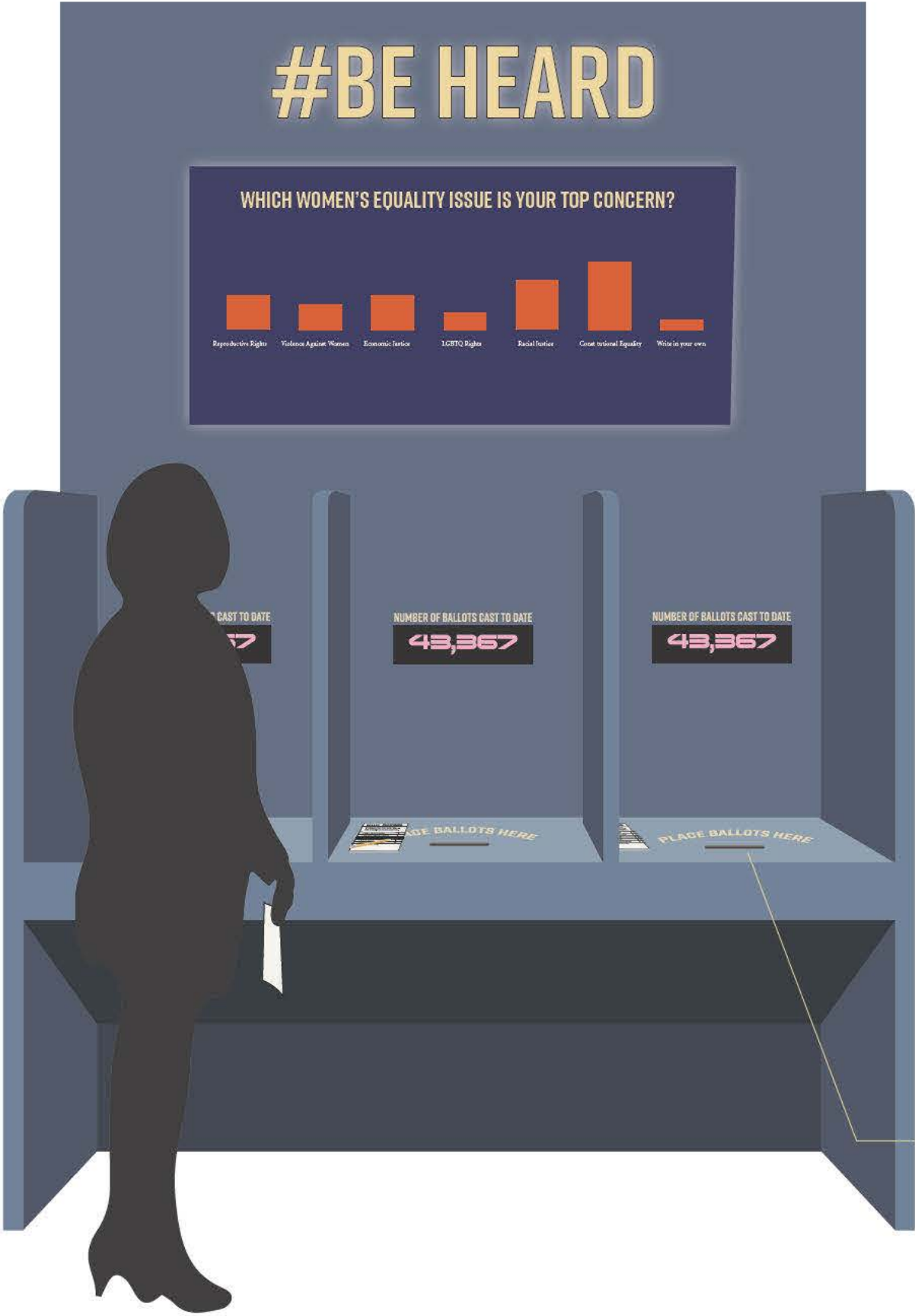
Born in Pittsburg, Texas in 1926. At the age of 16, she earned her bachelor's degree from Texas College. She then went on to Tufts University where she received her master's degree and, finally, to Harvard Medical School where she graduated in 1951, becoming the first black woman to do so.

	1928	1948	1968
PRESIDENT & VICE PRESIDENT	X	✓	✓
U.S. SENATOR	X	✓	✓
U.S. REPRESENTATIVE	X	✓	✓
STATE SENATOR	X	X	✓
STATE REPRESENTATIVE	X	X	✓
COUNTY OFFICES	X	X	✓
CITY OFFICES	X	X	✓
SCHOOL DISTRICT OFFICES	X	X	✓
REGIONAL QUESTIONS	X	X	✓

SELECTING A PERSON BRINGS UP A SHORT BIO AND THE PLACE WHERE THEY WOULD HAVE VOTED,

... AND SHOWS WHAT ELEMENTS THEY COULD OR COULD NOT HAVE VOTED FOR IN DIFFERENT YEARS AFTER THE 19TH AMENDMENT

VOTING INTERACTIVE



BALLOT

WHICH WOMEN'S ISSUE IS YOUR TOP CONCERN?

The struggle for women's equal rights continues today. "Vote" for the women's rights issue that you are most concerned about or write-in your own concern below.

Mark with an "X"

Reproductive Rights	
Violence Against Women	
Economic Justice	
LGBTQ Rights	
Racial Justice	
Constitutional Equality	
Write in your own:	

SUBMITTING A BALLOT UPDATES THE COUNTERS AND ACTIVATES A FLASHING REFRESH OF THE MOST RECENTLY TALLIED RESULTS ON THE SCREEN

A CALL TO PARTICIPATE

MILESTONE SCHEDULE

8/11/17	Conceptual Design to AOTUS
8/31/17	Conceptual Design to NAF [Board Meeting - 9/12/17]
10/27/17	Exhibit Title and Logo to AOTUS
2/27/18	Preliminary Design and Draft Selections to AOTUS
3/1/18	Preliminary Design & Draft Selections to NAF [Board Meeting - 3/13/18]
5/3/18	Draft Final Design and Selections, Draft Script, etc. to AOTUS
5/3/18	Draft Final Design and Selections, Draft Script, etc. to NAF
8/24/18	Final Script to AOTUS
3/8/19	Public Opening

NARA-WIDE EXHIBITION AND INITIATIVE OPPORTUNITIES

The centennial of the 19th amendment will not only spur public interest in the woman suffrage movement, but in women’s history more broadly. The National Initiative can leverage that interest by highlighting other important moments in women’s history and the ongoing struggle for women’s quality that complement and expand upon the critical story told in the Women’s Voting Rights exhibition in the Larry F. O’Brien Gallery. The Featured Document exhibit in the East Rotunda Gallery, the Landmark Document Case in the Rubenstein Gallery, and the Constitutional Amendment Case in the Public Vaults exhibit, can all be leveraged to greatly expand the reach of the initiative in the National Archives Museum to ensure that nearly every visitor encounters at least one women’s history exhibition during their visit.

Through our Travelling Exhibit program’s general women’s history exhibit, visitors across the country will also be able to explore the rich resources on this topic with NARA’s holdings. Possible women’s rights achievement that could be featured include:

- The unratified Equal Rights Amendment – which would bring equal justice under the law if it became a constitutional amendment
- Title IX of the Education Amendments Act, June 1972 – prohibited the exclusion of any person based on their sex from any educational program or activity. [This will likely be addressed in much greater detail in the upcoming sports exhibition.]
- Equal Credit Opportunity Act, October 1974 – prohibited discrimination by any creditor on the basis of sex, race, marital status, age, color, religion, and national origin.
- Violence Against Women Act, September 1994 – provided \$1.6 billion to investigate and prosecute crimes against women and created the Justice Department’s Office on Violence Against Women
- Roe v. Wade, 1973 – landmark Supreme Court decision on the issue of abortion
- Lilly Ledbetter Fair Pay Restoration Act, January 2009 – legislation that addressed unfair gender wage gap by restoring protections against pay discrimination that were stripped away by an earlier Supreme Court decision
- Pregnancy Discrimination Act of 1978 – which outlaws discriminating against a woman in hiring or promotion decisions because she is or may become pregnant



11,000 attempts, but only 27 amendments

National Archives

Over the past 225 years, our Constitution has been amended 27 times, but more than 11,000 amendments have been proposed in Congress. What is it about those 27, and especially the first 10, our Bill of Rights, that elevated those issues to such a level?

The effort to alter our then brand-new Constitution set the stage for 225 years of continuous attempts to renegotiate our fundamental governing contract. We amend not only to solve current problems. We amend when Americans share an understanding of an essential concern that affects us all. We amend so that We the People can create a more perfect Union. When we add new ideas to our governing charter—our Constitution—we are Amending America.

To commemorate this important anniversary, the National Archives is not only exploring the history of amending the Constitution but also considering how we will ensure rights and justice in the 21st century.

"Happy for us that when we find our constitutions defective and insufficient to secure the happiness of our people, we can assemble with all the coolness of philosophers and set it to rights, while every other nation on earth must have recourse to arms to amend or to restore their constitutions."

Thomas Jefferson, 1787

Visit the exhibit online:
www.archives.gov/amending-america

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#AmendingAmerica

Amending America is presented in part by:

