

## Thinking about Race, Voting Rights, and the Past: People, Moments, and Documents - Transcript

Please stand by for realtime captions.

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If you are just joining us. Welcome to this final day of the conference. We have just about four minutes and then we will get started with the program on the history of voting rights.

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Okay. It's 1:00 so I will keep us punctual today. Welcome to the final day of the 2020 Federal Depository Library conference. We appreciate you sticking in here with us through four days of programming. It's been a great four days and all of the recordings from the previous days are now starting to be in the FDLP academy training repository. We are adding a link to that on to the event page a little bit later this afternoon. You will have every link to every session, slides, chat transcripts, anything you would like to view from the last few days. We are recording right now and we will also add that to the repository. If you have questions for these presenters, please put them in the chat. As usual we will relay them to the presenters when they are done presenting their content. And with that I will not delay this any further. Our speakers today are Mr. Luis Fuentes-Rohwer. A professor of law at Indiana University and Jennifer Morgan, one of our Depository Library Council members and government documents librarian at the Indiana University law library. And first up is Mr. Fuentes-Rohwer.

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Kelly, thank you. And thank you everyone for coming. This is really exciting. Talking about the things I care most about in the world which is my work. And I love to tell people about what I do, what I am doing. And the things I'm thinking about. So, thank you. Thank you for inviting me, Jennifer, Kelly, the Federal Depository Library conference. I know it's a 30 minutes of my time, which is a long time to just talk so what I hope I would do is tell you some stories about what I've been thinking about and walk you through a book project that's been in the works for a long time, close to, I would say, 10 years in fits and starts. And it's a story, not necessarily about the voting rights act and interestingly enough, at least to me, there's not a definitive history, a place where you can turn to to think about the issues, the lessons, the stories about what led to that moment in 1965. That's where the project began and then it morphed into a bigger history about race and voting. Which is where we are. The project, I say we, not the royal way but I have a co-author in this project. So saying that I want to start by looking. It's a story about the voting rights act. I want to start in 1964 and I want to start with Mississippi and the reason I want to start with Mississippi is because that is where the Mississippi freedom Democratic Party, really, the Freedom Movement, began its push that led to the voting rights act. They targeted Mississippi, the Freedom Movement's, because and I'm quoting John Lewis -- Mississippi is a stronghold of the whole vicious system of segregation. If we can crack Mississippi, we will likely be able to crack the system and the rest of the country. Specifically that focused on the 1964 Democratic National Convention. The reason they did is they wanted, specifically, to replace the delegates to the convention from Mississippi. They came to the convention hoping to do that. The argument being the Mississippi delegation will have been elected or selected via a racist process. So they felt their delegation was the legitimate

delegation for the entire state of Mississippi at the problem was Lyndon Johnson wanted no part of it. He was coming to Atlantic City as part of a coronation, not a fight, for the soul of the nation. If you think about that moment, this is no August, 1964, the house had just passed on August 8 the economic opportunity act which was the centerpiece of Johnson's war on poverty. And the Senate had just approved it the previous July. Two days after come August 10, Johnson had just received approval from Congress of the Gulf of Tonkin resolution which essentially removed Vietnam from the conversation, from the debate. And neutralized it so that then Senator Goldwater could not press for further escalation. So, coming to Atlantic City in August 1964, Johnson essentially wanted to come to be serenaded, not looking for a fight. Of course, now, because of the Mississippi freedom Democratic Party, he found himself in a fight. He had to deal with Mississippi. In fact, he said to his aides, for example, things like, now, you need to fix, and I quote, the Mississippi problem. More specifically he told Senator Humphrey if we mess with the group of Negroes, and I'm quoting now, we will lose 15 states without even campaigning. Well, the Mississippi freedom Democratic Party did not back down. August 22, 1964, Fannie Lou Hamer spoke to the credentials committee and made her case. That is an incredible speech and we were hoping, trying, to make it available to you. It's about eight minutes and two seconds.

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Luis, you have the balsa you can advance the slides.

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I was going to get to that. Thank you.

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So, at that moment she is telling the committee why the committee should, must cede the Mississippi delegation. She gave a speech and as I said we were hoping to show it to you, just a little piece. We cannot figure out how so I would have to read and you will have to bear with me because I am not anywhere near at the level of Fannie Lou Hamer. In here is part of what she said. All of this is an account of we want to register. And by the way, all of this she means the beatings, the violence, and the speeches. This gives you a flavor for the things she had to put up with in 1964. She began in 1963, herself. The thing there Freedom Movement had to do, all of this, is on account of we want to register to become first-class citizens. And their freedom Democratic Party is not seated now, I question America. Is this America, the land of the free and the home of the brave, where we have to sleep with our telephones off the hooks because our lives be threatened it daily, because we want to live as decent human beings, in America? As I said, incredible speech. Is this America? This is 1964. That's the first puzzle that we are trying to think about in our big project, our book project. Move back seven years to 1957. This is Dr. King on the steps of the Lincoln Memorial. This is the give us a ballot speech. Again I strongly recommended. You can find it online everywhere. Not everywhere but in a lot of different places. Give us the ballot and we will no longer have to worry the federal government about our basic rights. Give us the ballot and we will no longer plea to the federal government for passage of an anti-lynching law. Give us the ballot and we will fight for legislative halls with men of goodwill. Give us the ballot and we will place judges on the benches of the South who will do justly and love mercy. Give us the ballot and we will quietly and nonviolently, without rancor or bitterness, implement the Supreme Court's decision of May 17, 1954.

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Give us the ballot. What could he possibly mean? And that's a real question because, surely, you are thinking to yourselves, there's something that we did in the past, that is the 15th amendment. The 15th amendment, this was enacted in 1870, long before, pretty clearly states the right of citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or any state on account of race, color, or previous condition of servitude. Give us the ballot says Dr. King. And yet here is where we gave the ballot. In a world where the 15th amendment is go to wall, how does that speech make any sense? In our world for the 15th amendment is in the books, why is Fannie Lou Hamer talking about, is this America? Where we want to be first-class citizens? That is the question. That is the puzzle we set out to think about and to solve, even.

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Well, I'm just going to tell you and I will give you where we came to the end but I want to do two things. I want to give you the answer which many of you suspect you know. I want to tell you the story behind some of these, briefly because I only have so much time -- some of the stories behind how we came to the answer and I want to tell you how my co-author and I went about uncovering that answer in ways that make sense to us. The puzzle begins in 1787. It begins here at the founding. Article 1 section 2 was clear. Who is in charge of elections? The states who's in charge of qualifications for electors? The states. Is that clear? Think about all the divisiveness were having today about voting and elections. All the lawsuits you've seen if you've been watching in Pennsylvania and Florida and in Ohio. That is the conversation. States are doing things which are, in some ways, clashing, intention colliding with federal requirements but in the end states are basically left to do that which they must. That which they want. That is the constitutional design. And of course this is now 1787. 1781 is a similar point. Whatever is delegated to the United States is reserved to the states respectively or to the people. The same point. If we led the qualification questions to the states, that's where they began. We did not delegate them to have the states keep them. That is the point, that is the starting point, hence, the question -- think about what happens in 1787 moving forward into the 19th century and the few black Americans who were voting at the time are soon disenfranchised. It was kind of ironic as democracy ascended, the right to vote for African Americans begins to actually go the opposite way. So that by the Civil War, the debate was over slavery. Lots of questions. Lots of compromises. As the country expanded and slavery expanded, the question of slavery came to a halt. If you think about it this way, this is the compromise of 1850. The Kansas Nebraska act. This is Dred Scott. This is the Civil War. The Lincoln election. At that moment the question became, the question of reconstruction, what does it mean to be free? If you were to get that question some time, some thoughts, you would soon realize that is not a simple question. You would think it is but it's really not. And here's what I mean. I'm not going to spend much time on that. This is the realm of philosophers. I want to meet it and think about it and I want to show you the way that reconstruction era Congress thought of it. The first pass was this one. To be free meant to have civil rights and that's different than what you think civil rights mean or what you know. Civil rights mean today. So to the reconstruction Congress, to have rights meant these rights. To make and enforce contracts, to sue and be parties and give evidence. Inherit, purchase some, lease, sell, hold, and so on. What does it mean? It means to be a free laborer. A means to engage oneself in the free marketplace and to sell one's wares. To be a free agent in the economic sphere. That is the meaning of freedom. The point that I want to

underscore here is that it did not mean to have political rights. It did not mean to be a voter. To be a citizen, in fact, did not mean to be a voter. In fact it doesn't mean that today, by the way, interestingly. So, then, we were told many we the people, of course I wasn't there and neither are you -- that at the end of the day this is what we mean by freedom. By 1870, that definition has shifted to the right to vote or to be free from racial discrimination and voting, which is a very different thing, by the way.

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The state could put qualifications of voting, lots of them, any of them, but what it could not do is keep the right to vote on account of race. And that's a big deal for lots of different reasons because that explains why the 15th amendment didn't really work. That explains, the move they made in 1870 explains why she's asking about questions about America. And that explains Dr. King talking about giving us the ballot because here's what happens. By the turn-of-the-century, in fact, if you see curves. It's clear 1867 the Reconstruction act brought African American men to the polls and massive numbers. Never seen before. In fact, for that check question, to the point, 1867 is the first time that we said that line on voting. Only men, black men vote from here forward. Of course white men too. And that's when that break between the suffragettes and the abolitionists happens, at that moment, which made a controversial. 1867. And look at the 14th Amendment. 1868, section 2, if you have a chance to read it. It's the first time the Constitution uses gender terms. Talks about males voting or males being kept from voting. The point of that, in the same point I'm making, even though we passed an amendment, and such a big amendment by the way that many at the time spoke of it being the end of reconstruction from Grant on down. You can read, I guess you can listen to it, maybe you can Grant's speech after the amendment was simply saying look, the work is done. And it wasn't the only one. Others were saying the same thing. We are now, we have achieved freedom. Construction is over. And then African American men are voting and by the turn-of-the-century they weren't voting anymore.

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And here's why. The loopholes were gargantuan. You don't use race but you can use poll taxes and literacy tests and requirements and the secret ballot that comes in at this time. Residency requirements and registration requirements. Grandfather clauses. And you see the graphic. This goes down to zero. So much so in fact and let me show you briefly in 1901 the Alabama convention says explicitly, what is it we want to do to establish white supremacy in the state. They established, and this is a quote -- the louse most elaborate suffragette crimes that have ever been in force United States and contain almost every qualification for voting ever devised by the mind of man other than religious qualifications. And it worked. I say perfectly. I'd say quite well. There are about 181,000 eligible voters on the rolls in Alabama in 1900. After this passed in 1901 they were reduced to 3000. In Louisiana the same story. 1896, 130,000 registered black voters picked the new Constitution and by 1900 5300 voters. By 1910 there are 730 eligible voters registered to vote in the state of Louisiana. Less than half of a % of eligible black men. They removed, essentially, black voters, black male voters, the only ones who were there, from the roles. In North Carolina the numbers went almost down to zero. The same and Virginia. It's remarkable how well they worked. So, the question that I want to think about that the book is trying to think about is how do we go from that moment in 1900 to 1965. I would love to tell you justice and freedom and equity and the quality triumph and the morality. That

would be a story. That would not be the story I would tell you. I would not say that the voter act is just. That's not what I'm saying. I'm saying how do we come to this moment? The nation had to be moved and pushed. And that is the story I'm telling you about when we started. Benny Lou Hamer and Dr. King. Here is the story more specifically. This is a story of the book, in many ways. This is the Freedom Movement. This is Ella Baker. This is Benny Lou Hamer. This is John Lewis. This is SNCC, the student nonviolent correlating committee. The Southern Christian leadership conference. Congress of racial equality. This is Birmingham. Montgomery. Selma. Saint Augustine. Albany. This is how the Mississippi campaign, the voter education project, freedom summer, plenty Sunday, this is how the voting rights act came into being. All of these things had to happen. All of them. People had to do the things they did for the 15th amendment to have any life. To have any power. To have any authority that to me, to us is the story of the voting rights act. More specifically, I will be even more specific. In my remaining time. Here is what happens because I told you about Fanny Lou Hamer coming to Atlantic City. With the Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party. And the party rebuffed her. Point blank. That's another great story. So then you have the Freedom Movement, many of them, left disenchanted. That is a crucial moment in the life of the Freedom Movement. This is where some argue that the black power movement begins. Essentially we get close to power and, yet, even that would not accomplish it. These tools are not working. You have Bob Moses and others essentially sing we are done trying it this way. We are going a different way. And the different way was, for them, the black power movement. The Freedom Movement went further. They went further meaning it was in their movement. The next campaign is in Selma, Alabama. The point is they have to move the party. They have to move the country. And that is the big story of the book. How do you move the country towards where you want the country to go? Here's how they did it. Remember, this is August 1964. Lyndon Johnson wants no part of them. This is the Mississippi problem, he said. Solve it. Get rid of them. This is my time.

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January 1, 1965. The movement goes to Selma. The Selma campaign. And I know you know where this is going. It ended on March March 1965, Bloody Sunday. People had to march. People had to go and get hosed by policemen. People had to be beaten. This is John Lewis, by the way on his knees. The person in the front. These things happened. And then we get people marching. And then we get the moral conscious of our nation. Think about what I told you before. Fighting for the soul of our nation. This is what did it. This is what moves the country forward. And here's, to me, what is remarkable. Things begin to shift in the country. When the Freedom Movement took to the streets and demanded more, only, then, will the 15th amendment come to mean anything. Think about that. And think about that story. The idea that what is the 15th amendment? What is the 14th Amendment? What is any amendment? What is the Constitution? Other than, of course, at its root, paper. Ideals. Ideas that need to be enforced on the ground.

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Then here's what happens in my story. Then you have, eight days later, this voice, on Monday Lyndon Johnson, an amazing story, and if you read Richard Goodwin's account of this moment. An amazing story how the speech came to be and how he wrote it and hurriedly. An amazing speech. I don't recommend you listen to all of you. You may want to reset read it. Lyndon Johnson, not the best speaker. It's out there too. Most incredible for what it said and for what it

did but not for the delivery. I'm not here to judge anybody. Is that I speak here tonight but the dignity and the destiny of democracy. Urge every member of both parties, Americans of all religions and of all colors, from every section of this country to join me and that cause. This cause must be our cost too. There cause. The Freedom Movement cause because it's not just Negroes but all of us, says Lyndon Johnson, who must overcome the crippling legacy of bigotry and injustice. And then he says -- and we shall overcome. That is an incredible moment. Think about, again, go back to 1964 in Atlantic City. The movement is trotting to get close. The movement is trying to move the party. Here is the parties saying we are moved. We shall overcome. We adopted the mantra of the movement in a speech to the nation. Over 80 million people watching. The president is saying I am on your side. We are going to accomplish that which we have to accomplish. I would not call it incredible. I would call it remarkable. That is the moment, March 15. And from there, within detail what took place and what happened and how we went from March 15 to August 6 of 1965. An amazing story. Some argue that at this moment it was a done deal. Maybe that. The Attorney General who was behind the bill, one of the main forces argues that he did not think the bill was in peril or in danger. It was mostly about the details. Maybe that. The story as you read it on paper reads a little differently to me but, that said, this is the moment when we knew the 15th amendment would come to mean something. Eight days after Selma. Seven months after the president. The same president said I want no part of this. As I said, incredible story which has repercussions, by the way, to our present moment and let me give you three to think about.

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The lessons that I take from this is the following. Are the following. Thinking about social movements and grassroots organizing. The idea that we think about a Constitution as living outside of us, as having a life outside of the country, as if, as if higher law, which, by the way, it is. But with the social movements to give it life and whatever rendition they come about without people on the ground pushing for them and forcing them, helping them along, they don't mean anything. The 15th amendment stood on the books for 95 years, essentially. Dormant until the Freedom Movement gave it life. That's an incredible -- to me. That is if you take anything from this moment and as we think about today about whatever your political views, as you think about the Supreme Court. It's been in the news. We talk and behave as if the Supreme Court stands outside the country. As if they live outside of us and they decide things my questions, outside of the cultural where they exist. I'm here to suggest to you that it's a little more complicated story. And when you think about the 15th amendment, remember the Republicans at the time in 1870, they packed up and went home. And that meant that piece of paper came to me nothing. And this gets me to the second point. The limits of law. On the books and unenforced, it's just paper. And that tracks back to the first point how do you ensure enforcement? The most basic thing, voting. Participating. And voting, of course, through the voting booth. But also voting with your feet which is one of the favorite aphorisms or ways to think about the Constitution. Full indifference, he would say. In the end go to Congress or take to streets. I would not go quite there I would tell you that even after laws are passed, even after the Constitution is drafted and ratified, we the people, the popular constitutionalism, we have more power, more say, more work to do then we often recognize. And that is a story of the voting rights act, for sure. Not the only one. I could give you lots of examples if you are interested. Finally. History as a pendulum. If you think about the voting history in this country

we think of it as rising. Always rising. I'm here to tell you this is like a wicked history of progress. It's always progress. Always moving toward higher ground. I'm here to tell you that history doesn't quite play out that way. The fits and starts. Two steps forward and one step backwards. That is voting in this country. Some argue, maybe, that we are at a moment in our history where backwards steps may be taking place. Maybe that. The larger point to think about is that we think about constitutional rights as if once they are passed, they just keep moving towards progress and higher ground. The history of voting in this country makes it clear that that is not the case. In fact, as put in the chat, think about Shelby County, the recent case. Some argue that case begins to signal the end of the second reconstruction. That's a different talk and that will be in the book, for sure. But the point is, the fits and the starts, there are ups and downs. It's and always moving forward as if linearly, that is not history. That is not this history, I meant to say. Finally I have a few slides to show you.

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How it came to do all this work which is really to me the most interesting part and this is where Jennifer has been invaluable. I cannot tell you my estimation of librarians. I will not pretend to understand them, why they do what they do but I can tell you that without them my work would not be what it is. And let me just show you quickly what I mean by that . I began a long time ago thinking about frankfurter. He is one of my favorite justices for reasons that I don't have time to explain. That's a quirky choice. Not the choice of many. I began to try to go through his papers and next thing I know 10, 12, 15 years ago. I go to the library and I get these papers and I say they have these things called microfiche, I think. I said, what is microfiche and would like it one? And I get these things that look bizarre and then I get them to sheen you see in front of you. I don't even know what that is. So we put that in my office. Long story short I never got around to seeing them. I started trying and it was just impossible. To do any work. Terrible. And then now, today, those papers are, that's right, online. Thank you, whomever online maybe. That person. I would think whoever invented the Internet but I will stop and not cracked that joke. That's old. That is a long time ago. This was several years ago. Now I can get those online and they are incredible.

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Then I began to go to libraries deliver the country and think of a kid in a candy store. Finding these things is just incredible. On the left, this is notes, the draft of the opinion, Carolina versus Katzenbach where the whole court upheld the voting rights act. Those notes are just him saying, what are you doing? And incredible story which I wrote about elsewhere and if you're interested in a story I think it's an incredible story. I'm happy to refer you to that. I should have brought it and put in the link. Anyway, the point is that writing right there, this is 1965, Justice Brennan. That moment from the act to the opinion, he basically foresaw Shelby County versus Holder in 2013. He's basically saying in those notes if we do this and we are drafting this opinion, we may get Shelby County in the future and rest assured we did. Again, incredible story. And finding this is just incredible. The one on the right is Justice Douglas. Another major case that nobody knows a lot about which I've been doing lots of work on and Jennifer has been so helpful with that work. I think she will tell you a little about it if I recall correctly. Binding these, lots of these have been incredible.

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I also went to the Johnson library in Austin, Texas. And its again like meeting old friends for the first time and finding papers and ideas and, again, I've been there just once for three or four days. I cannot tell you enough. What an incredible -- and I know that you know -- that Robert Carol was there for years. Again, and another incredible story. I wish I could do that. My team won't let me. Imagine my. Alan Fisher, the librarian, unbelievable. I went to the Kennedy library for the Katzenbach papers. The same story. You can read about anything and everything. Things you've seen and heard but you haven't lived. You can almost live them. Incredible. I think the final point. A couple more and then I will cede the floor. The Dirksen Congressional Center. This is a Republican at the time. He always was picked Republican supporter of the voting rights act at the time. He is a big part of the story. Of our story also because he is the one, he is the counterpoint to the southern Democrats who are big critics of the act. This is a bipartisan effort. Southern Democrats, know the Democrats and Republicans come together to pass a voting rights act. Dirksen is a Senate majority leader and he is influential minority leader. He's influential. Deeply influential and you see it in the debates. It's incredible how he is holding the critics to toe the line and his story, to me, is one of the most interesting one. I reached out to the Dirksen Congressional Center, Isabel three hours from here in Illinois. I spoke to Fred. Incredible. Again, as I said before, I don't know why librarians do what they do but maybe I. He sends me this massive documents and he said you don't have to come down here. You can if you want but Dirksen did not really keep many of his papers, didn't take notes, he wasn't a big writer. It wasn't him but there is stuff here and I will send it to you and he sent me this document full of stuff. Unbelievable. As I said. It's incredible.

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And then finally I'm looking at the SNCC papers. You can get many of them online and I find them invaluable. Again, learning about people and places that are almost lost but are coming back in different ways to this moment in time in ways that are sometimes surprising and sometimes not.. And with that I believe I've come to the end of my time. I want to make sure if you have any questions, I hope you will ask them. If you don't have time I would like to reach me separately, I hope you do that. I would love to speak with all or any of you about any of this in any way that you would like us to speak. And with that, thank you. I look forward to your questions and, Jennifer, I think I need to pass this little ball to you.

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Gap. Can everybody hear me?

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Yes we can.

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If you did want to reach out to Luis I put the link , there is a link to Luis's profile and you can get his email address from there and also his faculty bibliography if you wanted to see any of his articles.

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Luis, he is a very hard act to follow us but I will give it a try and he told this very moving story about the Freedom Movement and then with his research he went all over the country to presidential libraries and archives so I just wanted to talk about some other resources that we have here available at Indiana University. We are a major research institution so we have incredible resources to support our faculty scholarship. And over the last few decades through

a collaborative partnership with the Wells library, the Wells library GPO federal depository library of the year, the Jerome Hall Law Library has been able to acquire many of the ProQuest databases that contain federal government information content. And additionally we make purchases for the entire campus on her own. We have ProQuest legislative insight. Over the decades because of our collection development efforts with the Wells library we've been able to access government information resources that have comprehensive coverage and advanced search functionality and incredible indexing so I want to show you a few of those resources that we have used to support Luis ' recent research. ProQuest history ball debuted in 2011 and it's grown to include multiple archival collections that document some of the most important and widely studied topics in American history. You can see those listed there including the black Freedom Movement. And then you can see the types of documents that are included in that digitize archive. Two of the history about modules that are topically important for Luis research other civil rights and Black freedom struggle module and the law and society since the Civil War module.

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The civil rights and Black freedom struggle module consist of the NAACP papers, federal government records, organizational records and personal papers regarding the black freedom struggle in the 20th century. And the module has the records of four of the most important civil rights organizations of the 1950s and 1960s. The Southern Christian leadership conference, national association of colored women's clubs. The student nonviolent correlating committee and the Congress of racial equality.

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And the law and society since the Civil War module includes American legal manuscripts from the Harvard Law school library and that's where we got the Frankfurter papers. They digitize them an assault was available and I was able to get that purchase accomplished. And that collection continues. Opinions and memoranda for the Supreme Court October terms from 1938 through 1961 and his voluminous correspondence throughout his legal and judicial career.

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Just a quick look at the website. The home page offers the ability where you can both search or browse collections. You see that menu across the top . Browse allows you to look through and search in the modules or you can narrow down to specific collections. Advanced search gives you field searching including fulltext and searching within all or a selection of the modules that are available so -- your own institution subscription.

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And is also a timeline search. The timeline arranges significant historical events chronologically and it goes back from 1816 to 1995 and it links to primary source material including the history vault. You can browse all the topics chronologically or you can narrow the timeline to specific topics like elections or civil rights legislation or as I have on the screen, the civil rights movement. So then you can say documents are linked directly to the events on the timeline.

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And if you run a search, a radius search for Fannie Lou Hamer as a person as a subject. You can see then that you can sort your results by relevance, date or folder number and then there's a little field where you can search within your results if you feel like you need to add additional search terms. And then on the left are the facets. You can fill to our narrow your results by

date, subject, geography, person as a subject, federal agency, organizations, collections, or the principal correspondence.

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And then when you click on the results, I chose one of the results from my auntie Lou Hamer search. You can then see that metadata record for the file. And the folder numbers listed at the top and it lists the folders in the order they are found if you are visiting the owning institution. And then the record includes the collection title, descriptive title, subject terms that you can use to find more records. And then on the upper right, the ability to download a PDF of the file or you can email this record to you. There is also a durable URL that you can use and a bibliography or catalog record or research guide. This example we are looking at is one of the files on Fannie Lou Hamer from the student nonviolent coordinating committee files collection. This particular file you can download the entire PDF and it contains -- she ran for Congress so it has materials from her congressional campaign, correspondence, there was an article about her reprinted from the nation. And there were some educational materials by the Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party on Congress. And the file also contains a complaint for a civil lawsuit in the U.S. district court for the Northern District of Mississippi regarding a local election and they were seeking an injunction to restrict defendants from engaging in practices like enforcing the poll tax. These practices that prevented citizens from voting.

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And here's a look at one of the PDFs that you would download. This one is from a different folder. This is from the FBI surveillance of the Southern Christian leadership conference. Surveillance of the home telephone of Stanley Levinson, a former advisor to Martin Luther King. And the PDFs and the history vault are fully searchable. The digitized documents have been OCR so the text is searchable but the handwriting is not.

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I want to show you another resource. This is ProQuest legislative insight and it's very useful for historical research. Legislative insight is a database of compiled legislative histories for an inactive federal laws and U.S. constitutional amendments and the coverage spans from laws enacted during the first Congress through the current . Legislative insight includes only documents related to the passage of a law. So, these are compiled legislative histories but if you are looking for any bills that were not passed or hearings that were unrelated to legislation or any other types of documents, they are not going to be in this database. You would use another database like congressional our got info our Congress.gov. If you look at the search there several different ways to search the database. You can see my example. Mostly what I do as I type the popular name of the law in the search box and close it in quotation marks or there's the voting rights act. On the right of that you will see a link to popular names of laws. There's a list there that you can search. Is also a citation checker pick up at the red box around it. The citation checker is handy. If you have a bill number you can plug it in there and will give you the statutes at large citation and the PublicLaw number and you can click on the button to go to the legislative history. And it also works if you just have the PublicLaw number or the statutes citation. At the top you can see quick search, guided search. That is field searching and advanced searching, and there's a timeline browse much like the history vault. And then search by numbers but if you have a citation. If you had the bill number or if you have a committee

report number, you can plug that in there and it would take you directly to your document, as well as any other related documents for the one that you are searching.

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And here are the search results. This shows you the legislative history is associated with your search terms. Then he would just click on the title to go to that legislative history. There is another search within results box and over on the left you can filter your results by publication type. The ones that are highlighted in the purple color, those of the legislative histories and then it's all color-coded for the other documents. You can also filter by Congress or coverage dates are by subject terms, area of practice and source. And the source is the committees. If you had a committee name you could plug that in there.

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Let's look at what and legislative history looks like. Each compiled legislative history includes the full text of the Public Law itself, all versions of related bills, congressional record excerpts, committee hearings, reports, and committee prints, and also included are the presidential signing statements and a CRS report or miscellaneous congressional publications that would give you background material to help you understand the issues related to the making of the law. If you look at the top options that are in red, that's a menu that allows you to sort your legislative history by publication type or date and then that go to menu, you can use that to jump down into the history to a specific publication type. Some of these are really long like the voting rights act one is really long. Also, under the title of the act, voting rights act of 1965, SS digital PDF ID. That's where you can download a PDF of this record. Then you can have the entire legislative history. And then there is a durable URL that you can use to send to your patron if you wanted to.

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There is also on this slide, you see, above the red arrow a field that says find terms and fulltext publication. That allows you to search within the publications in the compiled history. You can search for a particular word or phrase in the history of the law and that is useful for hiding evidence of legislative intent or discussion of a particular issue or even to research the origin of words or phrases. And you can see I searched for the word literacy test and then your results will have this old box around the document ID.

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And here's a look at one of those committee reports that I opened up and you can see that the PDFs are searchable. They have been OCR to and this particular committee report discusses the origin of the use of the literacy test and Congress's power under the 15th amendment.. You can also use legislative insight to research legislative history of a constitutional amendment because Congress can propose an amendment by using a joint resolution. So, Luis told me he wanted to find the Florida bank for the 15th amendment and knew I could use legislative insight pretty quickly to find that debate. You just type in the amendment number. 15th amendment and select that from your results. And then here is the legislative history. They congressional debates on the 15th amendment occurred during January and February 1869 so volume 40 of the Congressional Globe contains transcriptions of the Florida debate in Congress during that time period and that consumes about 300 pages of the globe. And they congressional glow was a nonpartisan journal that reported all congressional Florida base. Much like the congressional record is today. And the globe was published from 1833 until 1873. And starting in 1865, the

Congressional Globe was published on a daily basis. The globe started the practice of printing debates as first-person narratives rather than third person summations. So the Congressional Globe achieved that almost verbatim accounts by employing a corps of reporters trained in the latest stenographic techniques.

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On these pages of the globe you can learn exactly what congressional leaders said about the proposed 15th amendment and here's an example. On February 26, 1869 during the debate on the conference report, Senator Howard expressed his dissatisfaction that even though the proposed 15th amendment outlawed discrimination, it did not explicitly confer upon the colored man the right to vote. He is saying it did not protect Negro suffrage at all.

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Another good resource for researching documents is this online. This was launched in 2000. The database that provided online access to historical legal periodicals but since then it has expanded its online database to increase its federal government documents content and you can see here listed the list of their U.S. federal content. And the great thing about it is that for most of these theories, coverages comprehensive dating back to the inception of the first volume or issue and continues to the most currently published issue. And the content is presented in the original page image format in a PDF. A searchable PDF. When I was researching the voting rights act I knew I could find a lot of information in the Congressional record and the Congressional record began publication in 1873. As the official record of proceedings and debates in Congress and the record contains transcripts of Florida session including remarks by member of Congress, their votes, proposed amendments, conference committee reports, messages from the president and occasionally the full text of the bills. And the record also includes submitted materials that supplement statements made on the floor of either chamber and here's an example. During the debate on the legislation that became the voting rights act, Senator Javits submitted this report which was from the committee on federal legislation and the committee on the Bill of Rights of the city of New York Bar Association.

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To find materials in the Congressional record, of course, you can do keyword searching in an online database or you can use the index. I really love the index to the Congressional record. The bounds, permanent Index has been part of the Congressional record since its beginning and it's normally the first -- last part published in a session volume series and it usually released about five or six years after the end of the Congressional session. Each volume of the Congressional record covers one session of Congress and each volume has its own index. And I don't know if you can see here but if you download the PDF of my presentation you can see the material in the index organized alphabetically by subject, last name, and name of act. And it notes and cites to the bills, remarks, letters and any other items you can find in the record. And I just wanted to point out when you're using the index to make sure you follow up on all cross references and you can see when I looked up voting and voting rights act it referenced me to elections and civil rights. You can also look up the sponsor name. You would look up Mansfield and Dirksen to see what was listed under them and also recommend looking up as an entry yes and no votes in the Senate and that's where you will find the voting rights as a subheading and the Congressional record citations to boats on the legislation and its amendments.

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And then my favorite tool in the back of the index and it's called the history of bills and resolutions and it's really great because it provides a detailed legislative chronology for every bill and resolution introduced in a congressional session and it gives you citations to page numbers where activity can be found in the bound congressional record. If you start at the top you can see the bill number for the voting rights act, the official title, the sponsors and cosponsors, the committee to which the bill was referred. And then you see I highlighted in pale yellow all the citations to the debate. And then you will see notes on the further action of the bill. It went to conference committee. There is the citation for all the committee reports and the conference report. And lastly that the bill was approved. Here you have all the page numbers. You know that it's volume 111 and then you can go back to HeinOnline and plug those numbers into the citation navigator or you can browse in government info to find these pages.

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Also wanted to point out quickly that HeinOnline has a new database on civil rights and social justice and is a curated collection of publications and government information covering civil rights in the U.S. and there are links to more than 500 scholarly articles, hearings, committee prints, legislative histories on landmark legislation, CRS and GAO reports and it even has briefs from major Supreme Court cases and publication from the commission on civil rights. And I wanted to share this because I just learned that they are offering this database free of charge. Not only to HeinOnline core subscribers but to any interested organizations. And you see the link here on the screen. If you register for the civil rights and social justice module, then you get the other two modules for free in the social justice suite.

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The last story I wanted to share was an interesting adventure. Luis wanted to find the pleadings for the last B Northampton County Board of elections case. And he told me he wanted to know how the plaintiffs presented their claim because it was a literacy test case but the court did not talk about that. I set out to find what I could find. And we have multiple resources at our disposal. The library is one of 10 repositories for printed Supreme Court briefs. We have the printed records and brave. Their house offsite and off-site storage but easily retrievable. We had the Supreme Court records that raise the questions of microfiche. Not my first choice and that we have the two databases. Digitize Supreme Court records and briefs. Gaels making a modern law from 1832 to 1878 and the ProQuest Supreme Court insight which covers the 1975 to 1976 term through the current. Because of the date of the case I knew that MOML has the brace. I wasn't sure about the pleadings. The pleadings of the formal documents that state the party's basic positions and include complaints, memoranda of points of authorities, answers, replies and emotions. You can see you do a simple case name search and then I easily found the record with the Braves. Bad four briefs and another document called a transcript of record. And that's a printed record of the proceedings and pleadings of the case and it's required by the appellate court to be able to review the history of the case.

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In making of modern law I wanted to show you that you can download a PDF or you can download an HTML file of the OCR. Their PDFs aren't searchable, which I was a little disappointed and I do not think this HTML file was very useful to me. They do have a tool called explore and you can use it while you're actually in the database and you can look at the

document, the document review, and then type in your search terms and see where all of those are in your document. And that's fine if you're doing your own research but it's not helpful if you need to send somebody the PDF.

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So I wanted to, I got print volumes out of off-site storage because I wanted to compare them to what the making of modern law database had and there were no differences. I looked at the microfiche and there weren't any other records or pleadings so I decided to be really thorough and I looked for the docket sheet to see what we might be missing. And the docket sheet CSRS at the table of contents for the materials filed in the case. The docket sheet contains the chronological lifespan of the case. A list of parties. The participating attorneys. All filings and events. And I saw here, I knew where to get that. The Supreme Court website links to this NARA catalog and NARA, the national archives, has scanned all of the docket sheets for the Supreme Court from 1791 to 1995. I looked at that docket and I saw that there was one pleading that we did not have. It was a motion to dismiss. Or there were several. I contacted my ProQuest rep because I knew they were going back historically and they were digitizing all the older cases. The records and briefs. And I contacted them and gave them the case citation and I said, what do you have? And they sent me everything that they had and it included the one pleading that was not available on NARA and not available in our bound printed Supreme Court records and briefs and it was a motion to dismiss which contains a review of the history of the litigation, more helpful background documents including the District Court opinion and the North Carolina Supreme Court opinion and some history on the Constitution and the statutes in North Carolina. So the lesson being, you just have to be really thorough and reach out to your reps and lastly I went to Oyez because I wanted to find the oral arguments. And the oral argument are the advocates oral presentation and questions by the judges or justices. Oral argument is a really intense conversation between the justices and the lawyers where the lawyers had the opportunity to add to the arguments that they presented in their briefs and they can clear up any misconceptions or questions raised by the briefs. And the Supreme Court and start an audio recording system in 1955 and they began recording their cases. The Supreme Court website has transcripts and audio files going back only to 2010. But Oyez.org is a free multimedia archive and they have transcripts and audio files going back to 1955. Which is the beginning. You pull up your case by name and then you select the hearing that you want to listen to and there were two that I had to choose from and here's the transcript of the oral argument and you see the menu bar. The menu bar allows you to print the transcript and you can print to PDF. You can search the transcript, play the audio or share it to Facebook, twitter. You can download an MP3 of the audio file or clips. And then I just wanted to say one thing you need to keep in mind -- the transcript is synchronized and searchable so that just means you can read the transcript as you listen to the recording and then search it. And then just keep in mind when you're researching historical documents or primary sources that language has changed. And while we wouldn't use the words Negro or colored and polite conversation today, they are historically correct words and you would need to use those and a fulltext search from this time period so you can see I found highlighted here the part of the argument where Justice Frank Herter asks the attorney if he was arguing the state of not Carolina was using literacy tests against, quote, the Negroes and not the whites. Was the discrimination because of race or color? And Mitchell, the attorney argued that, yes, the literacy test was designated to make it impossible for Negroes to register to

vote in North Carolina. And if Luis was to show anything he mentioned to me the difference between listening to the oral argument and reading the transcript and the tone of voice actually changed the meaning of the words. For him.

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Eisai our time is up and that's what I have. And I don't know, Luis, do you want to say anything else?

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Thank you.

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Thank you, both, so much for this presentation. I know I speak for everyone. It was thorough and was passionate and it was fascinating and we really appreciate you taking your time to present at our event. I did not really see many questions. Lots of thoughtful discussion in chat, in the chat box but all of those transcripts will also build what be made available. We will send it to you as presenters and make it available publicly so, thank you, both, once again, so much. And in 15 minutes we will begin in this room our DLC business meeting. Thank you, everyone.

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Thank you, everybody. Thank you.

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[ The DLC Business Meeting will begin at 2:15 p.m. EST. ]

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