

## Equality in U.S. History: Where Great Persons, Literacy, and Historical Evidence Intersect

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WHILE U.S. HISTORY CURRICULA focus on the nation's progress toward achieving national goals such as equality,<sup>1</sup> they emphasize ethnic success stories and downplay ethnic struggles and conflicts.<sup>2</sup> Doing so results in a vapid, nationalistic version of U.S. history<sup>3</sup> that minimizes the controversy associated with such efforts, suggests that there is one ideal of equality, and assumes that the story is complete. Recent efforts to prevent single-sex marriages, to promote fair treatment of African American males by police, and to disregard the Great Recession's devastating effect on those in poverty indicate otherwise. We propose opening the U.S. history curriculum to more voices of those who represent the diversity of our changing culture so as to enrich the recurring public deliberation about equality, and to enable students to explore multiple perspectives on it, thus fostering their discipline-specific literacy. In this article, we present a justification for focusing on historical individuals' efforts to secure greater equality for a group of people; instructional strategies on how to use the individuals to investigate the changing conceptions of equality and the civic means used to

further or fight the oppression of groups; and a showcase of one example given to ninth graders related to African Americans and equality in a U.S. history course.

### **Justification for and Explanation of Approach**

Granting a curricular voice to those who fought against oppression leaves the rough edges of individuals' struggle for equality intact,<sup>4</sup> enriches students' understanding of equality, and exposes students to civic advocates and a myriad of ways in which to become civically engaged.<sup>5</sup> Reading excerpts of speeches and letters from those who deliberated, and even quarreled, about definitions of equality in public forums offers an effective way for students to foster their discipline-specific literacy skills, and to learn how to better ensure equal opportunity for all people. Shanahan and Shanahan describe discipline-specific literacy as "an emphasis on the knowledge and abilities possessed by those who create, communicate, and use knowledge within the disciplines," with a focus on the "unique tools that the experts in a discipline use to engage in the work of that discipline."<sup>6</sup> In history, this would include having students analyze primary sources through examination of the author, the author's argument, and the document's historical context, then corroborating that source with other sources from the time before having students conclude with their own arguments.<sup>7</sup> Engaging with multiple sources in an appropriate historical context enables students to learn significantly more content and develop skills in analyzing primary sources<sup>8</sup> because they must "think analytically and critically about the contexts in which texts or ideas were produced."<sup>9</sup> Oftentimes, students learn what historical figures thought about equality in a point-counterpoint manner, such as the differences between Booker T. Washington and W. E. B. Du Bois, or between Martin Luther King, Jr. and Malcolm X. We suggest diversifying the recurring historical deliberation about equality throughout U.S. history beyond the thinking of two or three major figures of the time, and opening the dialogue to less well-known people of the day (see **Appendix A** for historical figures).

We provide a simple instructional format where students use the work of African Americans of the time to deliberate about equality, but realize that teachers will need to adapt what we propose to

**Historical Figures Deliberate about Equality  
in a Public Forum**

**Teacher Part**

Teacher provides historical context for and biographical information about several historical figures, as well as information about the issue that their figures are to address in a public forum.

(We provide biographical information on historical figures often not addressed in a U.S. history course. The nature of the forum for public deliberation, such as a town hall meeting, depends upon the time period.)

**Student Part**

Students read each excerpt, identify the author’s main points, prepare to present their figure’s thinking, and craft questions to ask other historical figures.

Students deliberate the issue on behalf of the historical figures in a public forum.

**Teacher and Student Part**

Students debrief the public forum by using a graphic organizer to compare each individual’s thinking and then by placing the figures’ thinking along a continuum.

Teacher facilitates a class-wide debriefing using the student responses as a guide.

As an assessment, students explain which historical figure made the most reasonable argument and who made the most compelling argument.

**Figure 1:** Teacher and Student Roles for the Deliberating about Equality Activity

their own students. While we briefly discuss how to instructionally implement a public forum, such as a town hall meeting, we focus on how people in different time periods deliberated about a question related to equality.

The public forum has been divided into a teacher and student part (see **Figure 1**). In the teacher part, we present a historical context for a problem related to equality faced by historical figures, and pose

a question arising from the problem. In the student part, we provide a historical question students will deliberate publicly, and a more immediate historical context for the question and related problem. We then present a task that prepares students for the public forum, and a way to organize the information they gather from primary source excerpts (see **Figure 2**). For our showcased example, we address how we modified the sources to meet the literacy needs of ninth grade U.S. history students in a “class within a class.”

### **Diverse Voices on Equality in a U.S. History Course**

Issues of equality have pervaded American history traditionally through representation of dichotomous opinions from well-known historical figures. By providing students an opportunity to investigate equality through different time periods and from a variety of largely unknown perspectives that fall along a continuum, they can gain greater insight into the complexity of the issue as its definition changes over time.

During the 1840s and 1850s, for example, slavery became a hotly contested issue. Several national figures staked out a public position on the issue of slavery and equality for African Americans. Instead of relying upon the voices of already well-known figures such as Abraham Lincoln, Stephen Douglas, and William Garrison to teach students about this issue, we suggest shifting the focus to less familiar African American voices whose opinions illustrated a larger range of approaches to abolition and the laws that favored slavery. Charles Redmond, for example, argued that slavery was implied in the Constitution, and, therefore, the nation had to be disbanded entirely in order for African Americans to achieve greater equality.<sup>10</sup> Meanwhile, Frederick Douglass argued that the Constitution was neutral on the issue of slavery, and thought the abolition of slavery alone was possible without dissolution of the Union.<sup>11</sup> Third, Frances Harper argued that the Constitution was insufficient, but encouraged work within the system to secure abolition and greater equality.<sup>12</sup> By presenting these issues in this way, students begin to understand the range of opinions that demonstrated how complex the challenges of abolishing slavery and gaining equality really were.

The 1930s provides another such time in American history when African Americans faced new challenges related to equality.

### **Strategies on Advancing Equality at Beginning of Twentieth Century**

Historical Context: In the years immediately following the Civil War, slavery had been outlawed and the Constitution was amended to grant African Americans greater equality. However, those rights were quickly limited through poll taxes, literacy tests, and *de jure* segregation, among other methods. Now, African Americans faced a new challenge to achieving equality. How should African Americans define the challenge before them? What is the best way to overcome those challenges?

Task: You and your group members will participate in a town hall meeting. You will represent a prominent African American of the late 1800s-early 1900s and discuss how best to achieve equality in the face of massive opposition. Before the meeting, you will review excerpts of speeches given by five historical persons and answer the following three questions in the chart below:

1. What goals does the person have for achieving equality?
2. How does the person suggest going about achieving the goal?
3. How does that person define equality?

#### **Charting Their Thinking and Actions**

	Booker T. Washington	Monroe Trotter	W. E. B. Du Bois	Ida B. Wells	Mary Bethune
Goal(s)					
Means to Attain Goal(s)					
Definition of Equality					

**Figure 2:** Handout for the Deliberating about Equality Activity

Lynching represented the antithesis of all that the nation supposedly symbolized and illustrated how the nation's adherence to a particular legal and political process took priority over painful and grisly deaths heaped upon thousands of people on an individual basis, as well as the anarchy and injustice that led to such deaths. As lynchings increased throughout the South, many prominent people called for solutions to the problem; controversy ensued over whether or not it was the duty of the federal government to intervene. For example, while FDR favored an anti-lynching bill, he was concerned that if he took a public stance, "[Southerners] will block every bill I [propose] to keep America from collapsing" and noted that he couldn't "take that risk."<sup>13</sup> Meanwhile, when the anti-lynching bill was being debated in the Senate, Senator Theodore G. Bilbo (D-MS) warned that passage of a bill like this would only increase lynchings in the South, among other horrible crimes. He proposed that the only solution to the problems in the South were either to maintain white supremacy through segregation, or deport the "entire Negro race to its native heath, Africa."<sup>14</sup> However, Senator Robert F. Wagner argued that, although some said lynching should be left to the local leaders to address, he insisted that the time had come for the federal government to intervene because this kind of vigilante justice was anarchy and threatened the entire nation.<sup>15</sup>

For this paper, we will focus on the struggle to advance equality at the beginning of the twentieth century. We will introduce prominent African Americans during the time who took strong positions on what equality is and how it could be achieved, although those voices may not be commonly known among students. We argue that by providing multiple perspectives concerning the issue, students will have a better understanding not only of the complexity of equality, but also of the complexity of the solutions to it.

### **Historical Context: Strategies on Advancing Equality at the Beginning of Twentieth Century**

Though the U.S. abolished slavery in 1865, African Americans still suffered oppression in 1900, ranging from disenfranchisement and discrimination to lynching. African American leaders of the time overwhelmingly agreed they deserved equal protection, but disagreed on how to approach it. While Booker T. Washington's

policy of accommodation and W. E. B. Du Bois' more assertive strategies receive the most attention, they only begin to capture the complexity of civic advocacy among their contemporaries. Although they had limited immediate impact, those like Ida B. Wells, Mary Bethune, and Monroe Trotter laid a foundation that civil rights leaders built upon several generations later. Exploring the efforts of less well-known African Americans of the time enables students to gain greater insight into varying conceptions of equality, and different ways African Americans at the time became civically engaged.

### **Historical Problem: Seekers of Equality ...Though by Different Paths**

To begin, the teacher provided background information on the plight of African Americans at the turn of the century, including Jim Crow laws, *Plessy v. Ferguson*, segregation, poll taxes, literacy tests, etc. Then, students were given role cards that featured one of five African Americans from the late 1800s-early 1900s who took strong positions on advancing equality for African Americans, including Booker T. Washington, Monroe Trotter, W. E. B. Du Bois, Ida B. Wells, and Mary Bethune (see **Appendix B** for the role cards).

Each role card provided students with biographical information of the person, accompanied by an opening question to encourage students to think about the individual's thoughts on equality and to foreshadow what is in the excerpts. The respective role cards included: Booker T. Washington and excerpts from the *Atlanta Compromise*; Monroe Trotter and excerpts challenging the legitimacy of Booker T. Washington's thinking; W. E. B. Du Bois and excerpts from his speech at Niagara Falls; Ida B. Wells and excerpts bringing attention to lynching; and Mary Bethune and excerpts advocating for the education of black youth in her *Last Will and Testament*.

The students then read the excerpts on the cards and answered the corresponding questions to each excerpt. The questions had a specific purpose to help the students with their historical literacy skills. Introductory questions addressed language unique to the time, and subsequent questions asked students to interpret the passage. After having an opportunity to analyze the sources, students then deliberated their findings with their classmates in a town hall meeting. The meeting concluded with a series of synthesis questions that required

students to step back and think about the individual's overall thinking and to apply that thinking to the time. We opted to bundle all of this information on single role cards so as to better facilitate the students' ability to represent each historical figure in a classroom deliberation.

Given how primary sources often make history unfathomable for striving readers, we took Wineburg and Martin's advice and "tampered" with history to enable students to engage in the work of historians: sourcing, contextualizing and corroborating.<sup>16</sup> The primary source excerpts included on the role card were designed for students in a "class within a class" setting. We judiciously chose excerpts from each source and, when appropriate, modified parts of excerpts and provided aids, such as bolding certain words and providing definitions of words where needed.

### **Lessons Learned**

After implementing this strategy into a unit in ninth grade U.S. history, we not only learned about the quality of the instructional materials, but we also gained insight into what students learned about the complexity of equality through the lens of lesser-known voices.

#### *Instructional Lessons Learned*

Although student use of the *Trotter* and *Du Bois* role cards revealed shortcomings of the excerpts' brevity and the need for the teacher to connect students' prior knowledge with relevant parts of an excerpt more purposefully, it showed us how important Wineburg's three heuristics are in history education to develop a student's historical literacy.<sup>17</sup> This became especially important when authors alluded to something rather than stating it directly. For example, even though students knew what a lynching was, most students were not able to make the connection between lynching and Trotter's use of the phrase "the rope and the torch." However, a few did, such as the student who understood how the reference was "like how black people got hung [*sic*]." This short example quickly revealed that, without proper understanding of historical context, even this excerpt may be difficult, if not impossible, to interpret.

On a more complex level, while students already had learned about the U.S. Supreme Court's decision in *Plessy v. Ferguson*, the



teacher had to explain how what Du Bois described in his speech was an outgrowth of Jim Crow laws and related court decisions like *Plessy*. Students then saw how the *Bethune* role card complements the *Washington* card by addressing the importance of education, while the *Wells* card highlights another example of an assertive approach, akin to that of Du Bois and Trotter.

The *Bethune* role card illustrates several ways we sought to support striving readers. Drawing on his past experience with them, the teacher identified words that many students likely did not know. We underlined these words and provided a synonym in parentheses. Given the language of some excerpts geared for striving readers, we also bolded certain words to assist students in identifying a main idea and answering the related question. On the *Bethune* card, we gave students an excerpt that said, “We live in a world which respects power above all things. **Power**, intelligently directed, **can lead to more freedom.**” We then asked students what kind of “power” Bethune is referring to, before asking how this kind of “power” can lead to more freedom. This kind of contextualizing practice led students to greater analysis of the excerpt. One student suggested “the more power that person [has], the more that they can make a difference. So they can influence what people think...” Another student argued that “most of the money people make are off black people, so if they stop riding the bus, and shopping at white owned stores they will most likely give them what they want.” However, even after making these modifications for all of the role cards, the teacher realized the *Wells* card was the most challenging of the five readings, so he purposefully gave this card to his more capable readers. Regardless of the readability of the excerpts, all five role cards included Opening Questions that were meant to create a purpose for reading, to activate background knowledge, and to encourage students to predict what each historical figure might think about equality.<sup>18</sup>

### *What Students Learned About the People, Problems, and Solutions*

The teacher who field-tested these materials has been teaching in the same district, and in the same building, for over twenty years. During that time, the state standards and the district pacing guide for his American history course have never specifically mentioned any individuals to include when talking about civil rights during

the Progressive Era. However, the district-adopted textbooks have always included Washington and Du Bois. About ten years into his teaching career, the teacher personally added Wells to the discussion about equality. However, he had never heard of Trotter or Bethune, let alone included them in his instruction, until he implemented this strategy. After one year of using this strategy, he noticed important differences in the students' understanding of the issues facing African Americans at the time.

The teacher found that the conventional learning experience for students left them believing that the fight for equality was simply a choice between those who felt equality had to be earned or was a right African Americans should not need to prove. As a result of this lesson, students realized that the means of obtaining equality was not that easy. After the completion of the role cards, students collaborated to complete a graphic organizer synthesizing what each student discovered about their individual historical figure. With this new information in hand, students examined the definition of equality among these historical figures. Students explained how all of the historical figures thought "everyone deserved to be treated equally," and each "wanted to obtain their equal rights as an American citizen." Quickly, they identified differences in proposed solutions to the challenges African Americans faced at the turn of the century. As one student summed up so eloquently:

All the African American leaders wanted to obtain their equal rights as an American citizen. All of them wanted to do it a little differently. Some knew it would take time [and] others wanted to do it as fast as possible. Some aimed for educational values to prove themselves while others believed that they didn't need to prove themselves and they were born equal.

This synthesis enabled students not only to pull from what they learned about their historical figure, but also pushed them to begin making judgments about the positions of the others.

Unlike during previous years, these students recognized how these prominent African Americans parted ways, which illustrated the richness of perspectives among African Americans of the time. Students concluded that "people define equality based on their life experiences." As a result, some students explored these unique differences between the types of education available to African American men and women at the time, while other students

addressed whether equality is a natural right or if you need to prove that you deserve to be treated equally.

The teacher also discovered that students were able to acknowledge the depth of an individual's beliefs. Mary Bethune's beliefs about education were grounded in equality and power. One student inferred that Bethune argued African Americans should "learn how to read, write because it will help them, it could help them prove they are smart and equal to whites," while another student posited how Bethune "wants them to have knowledge over the law." Yet another student described Bethune's vision of the economic benefits of equality and power for African Americans "so they can better themselves too [*sic*] getting what they want and need." By tampering with the excerpts and providing some sourcing and contextualizing questions, students demonstrated their ability to think more critically about a primary source.

Other students learned to categorize the diverse ways of thinking about equality, which the teacher had never experienced with students before. One student attested that all African Americans "obviously wanted to be treated the same as the white people, which no one could blame them for to be completely honest. But they all had things that they thought were the worst things that needed to be changed and put into their rights." The student, however, did not stop there. She goes on to explain in great detail how each historical figure held a different view on achieving equality before eloquently bringing it all together in the end:

All of these great and famous African Americans all in all wanted to have all of the rights that the whites did because we're all people and just because someone is a different color than you doesn't mean that there actually any different than you are.

Meanwhile, other students analyzed the thinking of the historical figures by placing their arguments into larger, overarching categories, for example: "Rights, treatment, equality, lynchings, discrimination, awareness, [or] knowledge." Another student went a step further and placed the five historical figures in two groups: "helping African Americans and getting their rights." The student justified the categories, saying:

Ida Wells and Mary Bethune would be part of the helping the African Americans group because Ida Wells wanted to help the African

Americans stop getting hurt by having lynching be bad or illegal, and Mary Bethune taught the black people how to do things like read and write because they couldn't get education. If they did get an education though, it wasn't a very good one. The other group would consist of Booker T. Washington, W. E. B. Du Bois, and Monroe Trotter. They all wanted to give the African Americans their rights and freedoms whereas the white people did not want them to have it.

These categorizations demonstrate the students' ability to think critically about equality. However, these analyses would not have been as thorough or deep if students had only been exposed to two voices that represented more of a dichotomy of positions rather than the richness of perspectives that existed at the turn of the century.

One of the most important things the teacher noticed in his students during this lesson was their attempt to make comparisons between what they were learning about in the fight for equality at the turn of the century with present-day politics and society. In prior years, students made no attempt to show a connection across time. Students during this lesson, however, not only began to do so, but they did so without prompting. One student in particular claimed, "African Americans made a difference and became civically engaged fighting for what is right. If they have never fought for equal right Obama would of never of been president [*sic*]." Another student linked civic activism of the early twentieth century with present-day civic activism, arguing:

To African Americans back then times were very rough. They got treated poorly and no one understood they must feel horrible...At the end of the day civically engaged means you are living a normal life, doing the things you love while being engaged with the world. Also now-a-days everything is revolved around equality.

A third student said, "equality is defined differently by everyone, but most think it is something that must be earned now." The teacher noted that this is one of the first times he had seen students enact historical literacy by making contemporary connections to a historical issue without prompting.

Overall, students gained greater insight both into the complexity of equality and the difficulty in guaranteeing it. When reviewing the historical figures' thinking, one group of students drew a connection between equality and the possession of the power necessary to guarantee it. One student in the group, for example, noted how Mary

Bethune wanted African Americans “to gain more power to set them free.” Another student interpreted Du Bois’ thinking about equality as requiring “every single right that belongs to a free born American,” and how having the right to vote and therefore wield political power was paramount to ensuring other rights. They recognized how equality concerned not only education and economics, but also public safety. As one student noted about Ida B. Wells, “equality for her was simply for blacks [to] not be discriminated and harmed just because they try to make a living.” Not surprisingly, these students associated traits like courage, dignity, and a right to a peace of mind with the historical figures’ thinking about equality and ways to obtain it.

### Conclusion

The diversity of people, richness of thinking, and range of civic actions associated with the efforts to ensure equal opportunity for all makes equality an exciting and enriching concept for students to learn. Akin to the “one-drop” rule though, students often learn about attempts to guarantee equality for different ethnic groups as dichotomous propositions, such as Booker T. Washington’s accommodation-oriented approach versus W. E. B. Du Bois’ assertive approach. By opening the dialogue to other perspectives, students began to think critically about the struggle for equality as well as the wide range of perspectives involved beyond the traditional historical figures. More importantly, they began to make comparisons to current struggles for equality, all of which the teacher had not experienced with his students before.

Ultimately, we think one group’s assessment of Du Bois’ thinking applies to what we are seeking to accomplish—“getting to the truth of why we aren’t equal, to get passed [*sic*] it.” Du Bois’ called for the right to freely associate, and to end segregation in public places, which only were possible to achieve through “unceasing agitation” and “hammering at the truth.” Trotter demanded the right to vote and work, otherwise African Americans would continue to live a “new form of slavery” and suffer from the “rope and the torch.” In crying out against terror and lynching, Wells suggested that African Americans use economic weapons such as boycotts and, if they failed, move out of such communities. Their voices echoed across the twentieth century—beginning with the initiation of the Great

Migration, during Congressional debates in the 1930s over making lynching a federal crime, and in the 1950s and 1960s during the Civil Rights Movement—and provide for a much richer deliberation about equality than if students only contemplated the thinking of Du Bois and Washington.

Opening public deliberations about equality to a range of voices also fosters students' discipline-specific literacy. We sought to support the students' historical literacy skills by furnishing an array of primary sources that all addressed the same overarching idea of equality during the same time period, providing them with the background of the author, asking questions to help students discover the main arguments of those authors, and having students corroborate the different sources before crafting their own opinions on the issue.<sup>19</sup> Although the teacher had spent time setting a historical context and discussing the range of thinking about seekers of equality at the turn of the century, the students' experience revealed how “thinking about the implications of the author during interpretation is an essential history reading process,” which better enabled students to “understand context” of the times.<sup>20</sup> Although during this deliberation, students primarily investigated what each person thought about equality, they also learned about differing ways to secure equality, which set the groundwork for the rest of the course. In the future, we plan to approach learning about the historical context and the figures' thinking about equality as an iterative process, one where each figure helps to inform students of the relevant time period.

## Notes

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## Appendix A

**Deliberating about Equality throughout U.S. History**

<b>Question</b>	<b>What did each person identify as the problem impeding equality, and how did they propose resolving it?</b>
<b>Historical Era and Figures</b>	1850s  Charles Lenox Redmond; Frederick Douglass; Frances Watkins Harper; Mary Shadd
<b>Unique Position</b>	<i>Had it been my lot to have lived beneath the Crescent instead of the Cross, had injustice and violence been heaped upon my head as a Mohammedan woman, as a member of a common faith, I might have demanded justice and been listened to by the Pasha, the Bey or the Vizier; but when I come here to ask for justice, men tell me, "We have no higher law than the Constitution."</i>  - Frances Watkins Harper
<b>Sample Sources</b>	<b>Charles Lenox Remond</b> , "For the Dissolution of the Union," Speech at the New England Anti-Slavery Society's convention, May 7, 1844, (Originally published in <i>National Anti-Slavery Standard</i> , July 18, 1844); < <a href="http://www.blackpast.org/1844-charles-lenox-remond-dissolution-union#sthash.V2URnsi6.dpuf">http://www.blackpast.org/1844-charles-lenox-remond-dissolution-union#sthash.V2URnsi6.dpuf</a> >.  <b>Mary Shadd</b> , <i>A Plea for Emigration</i> (1852), < <a href="https://archive.org/details/cihm_47542">https://archive.org/details/cihm_47542</a> >.  <b>Frances Watkins Harper</b> , "Liberty for Slaves" (1857), Speech at the 4 <sup>th</sup> anniversary meeting of the New York Anti-Slavery Society, (Originally published in <i>National Anti-Slavery Standard</i> , May 23, 1857), < <a href="http://msa.maryland.gov/megafile/msa/speccol/sc3500/sc3520/012400/012499/html/12499bio.html">http://msa.maryland.gov/megafile/msa/speccol/sc3500/sc3520/012400/012499/html/12499bio.html</a> >.
<b>Question</b>	<b>How are some people "more equal" than others?</b>
<b>Historical Era and Figures</b>	1870s and early 1880s  John Marshall Harlan; John M. Langston; Representative James T. Rapier; C. Sumner
<b>Unique Position</b>	<i>I have no compromise to offer...either I am a man or I am not a man.</i>  - Representative James T. Rapier



<p><b>Sample Sources</b></p>	<p><b>James T. Rapier</b>, “Neglected Voices: Speeches of African-American Representatives Addressing the Civil Rights Bill of 1875,” February 4, 1875, &lt;<a href="http://www.law.nyu.edu/sites/default/files/RapierFeb041875.pdf">http://www.law.nyu.edu/sites/default/files/RapierFeb041875.pdf</a>&gt;.</p> <p>Leslie Friedman Goldstein, “Slavery and the Marshall Court: Preventing ‘Oppressions of the Minor Party?’” <i>Maryland Law Review</i> 67, no. 1 (2007): 167-199, &lt;<a href="http://digitalcommons.law.umaryland.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=3339&amp;context=mlr">http://digitalcommons.law.umaryland.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=3339&amp;context=mlr</a>&gt;.</p>
<p><b>Question</b></p>	<p><b>What is the best way to achieve equality in face of massive opposition?</b></p>
<p><b>Historical Era and Figures</b></p>	<p>Early 1900s</p> <p>Mary Bethune; W. E. B. Du Bois; Monroe Trotter; Booker T. Washington; Ida B. Wells</p>
<p><b>Unique Position</b></p>	<p><i>You would help the race more by exposing the new form of slavery just outside the gates of Tuskegee than by preaching submission.</i></p> <p style="text-align: right;">- Monroe Trotter</p>
<p><b>Sample Sources</b></p>	<p>Stephen Fox, <i>The Guardian of Boston: William Monroe Trotter</i> (New York: Atheneum, 1970), 50-51.</p> <p><b>Mary Bethune</b>, “Dr. Bethune’s Last Will and Testament”, &lt;<a href="http://www.cookman.edu/about_bcu/history/lastwill_testament.html">http://www.cookman.edu/about_bcu/history/lastwill_testament.html</a>&gt;.</p> <p><b>Booker T. Washington</b>, Washington’s Atlanta Compromise, Speech at the Cotton States and International Exposition in Atlanta, Georgia, September 18, 1895, &lt;<a href="https://memory.loc.gov/cgi-bin/query/r?ammem/murray:@field(DOCID+@lit(lcrbmrpt0c15div4))">https://memory.loc.gov/cgi-bin/query/r?ammem/murray:@field(DOCID+@lit(lcrbmrpt0c15div4))</a>&gt;.</p>
<p><b>Question</b></p>	<p><b>How do you balance the greater good with individual lives?</b></p>
<p><b>Historical Era and Figures</b></p>	<p>1930s</p> <p>Senator Theodore G. Bilbo; FDR; Senator Robert F. Wagner; Charles Tuttle; Walter White; Senator Joseph W. Bailey</p>

<b>Unique Position</b>	<i>If I come out for [an] antilynching bill, [Southerners] will block every bill I [propose] to keep America from collapsing. I can't take that risk.</i> - President Franklin Delano Roosevelt
<b>Sample Sources</b>	Handbill, <i>What You Can Do To Stop Lynching</i> , published in January 1935, < <a href="http://spartacus-educational.com/USAcostiganwagner.htm">http://spartacus-educational.com/USAcostiganwagner.htm</a> >.  Robert L. Fleepler, "Theodore Bilbo and the Decline of Public Racism, 1938-1947," <i>The Journal of Mississippi History</i> 68, no. 1 (Spring 2006): 1-27, < <a href="http://mdah.state.ms.us/new/wp-content/uploads/2013/07/bilbo.pdf">http://mdah.state.ms.us/new/wp-content/uploads/2013/07/bilbo.pdf</a> >.  <b>Walter White</b> , "Excerpt of Walter White's letter to Senator Edward Costigan," November 27, 1933, NAACP Papers, Library of Congress, < <a href="http://edsitement.neh.gov/sites/edsitement.neh.gov/files/worksheets/combined.pdf">http://edsitement.neh.gov/sites/edsitement.neh.gov/files/worksheets/combined.pdf</a> >.
<b>Question</b>	<b>What should be the purpose(s) of a march on Washington?</b>
<b>Historical Era and Figures</b>	Early 1960s  Dorothy Height; John Lewis; Martin Luther King, Jr.; Whitney Young; Malcolm X; Phillip Randolph; Gloria Richardson; Bayard Rustin; Anna Hedgeman
<b>Unique Position</b>	<i>It is incredible that no woman should appear as a speaker.</i> - Anna Hedgeman
<b>Sample Sources</b>	Sar Kugler, "When You Remember the March on Washington, Remember Anna Hedgeman," August 21, 2013, < <a href="http://ajccenter.wfu.edu/2013/08/21/march-on-washington-remember-anna-hedgeman/">http://ajccenter.wfu.edu/2013/08/21/march-on-washington-remember-anna-hedgeman/</a> >.  <b>John Lewis</b> , Speech at the March on Washington, August 28, 1963, < <a href="http://voicesofdemocracy.umd.edu/lewis-speech-at-the-march-on-washington-speech-text/">http://voicesofdemocracy.umd.edu/lewis-speech-at-the-march-on-washington-speech-text/</a> >.  "Civil Rights Pioneer Gloria Richardson, 91, on How Women Were Silenced at the 1963 March on Washington," August 27, 2013, < <a href="http://www.democracynow.org/2013/8/27/civil_rights_pioneer_gloria_richardson_91">http://www.democracynow.org/2013/8/27/civil_rights_pioneer_gloria_richardson_91</a> >.

Appendix B

**Role Cards for Turn of Twentieth Century Deliberation**

<b>Booker T. Washington</b>	
<p>Biographical information and his thoughts on equality</p>	<p>Booker T. Washington was a former slave who fought against Jim Crow laws in the South. He served presidents and founded the Tuskegee Institute to provide African Americans an opportunity for higher education in Southern states. Despite these achievements, lynching had become a serious problem in America by 1895. That same year, Washington encouraged African Americans to prove their economic worth and to avoid confrontation in his famous <i>Atlanta Compromise</i> speech.</p>
<p>Opening questions</p>	<p>How would you convince African Americans to turn the other cheek and not fight back? Why did you decide that?</p>
<p>Why do you think Washington suggested that African Americans should start “at the bottom of life and not the top?”</p>	<p><i>Our greatest danger is that in the great leap from slavery to freedom, we may overlook the fact that the masses of us are to live by the productions of our hands and... that we shall prosper as we learn to dignify and glorify common labor and put brains and skill into the common occupations of life....It is at the bottom of life we should begin and not the top.</i>                      - Excerpt from Booker T. Washington, <i>Atlanta Compromise</i> speech, 1895</p>
<p>Who is Washington referring to when he says “we” in this passage?</p>	<p><i>In all things that are purely social <u>we</u> can be as separate as the fingers, yet one as the hand in all things essential to mutual progress.</i>                      - Excerpt from Booker T. Washington, <i>Atlanta Compromise</i> speech, 1895</p>
<p>How can African Americans gain security?  Why must African Americans become “useful and intelligent citizens?”</p>	<p><i>There is no...security for any of us except in the highest intelligence and development of all. If...there are efforts... to curtail the full growth of the Negro let these efforts be turned into...making him the most useful and intelligent citizen.</i>                      - Excerpt from Booker T. Washington, <i>Atlanta Compromise</i> speech, 1895</p>

<p>According to Washington, why is “artificial forcing” not the way to achieve civil rights?</p>	<p><i>The wisest among my race understand that the agitation [stirring up] of questions of social equality is the extreme folly [foolishness] and that progress in the ‘enjoyment’ of all the privileges that will come to us, must be the result of severe and constant struggle, rather than artificial forcing.</i>  - Excerpt from Booker T. Washington, <i>Atlanta Compromise</i> speech, 1895</p>
<p>Synthesis questions</p>	<p>What were Washington’s goals? How would he define equality? What influence might Washington have had on future civil rights leaders like Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr.? If you were to give a speech in the Southern city of Atlanta, what points would you make in a speech during this time? Do you agree with Booker T. Washington’s main points? Why or why not?</p>

<b>Monroe Trotter</b>	
<p>Biographical information and his thoughts on equality</p>	<p>Other than the importance of education, Booker T. Washington and Monroe Trotter agreed on little else. Washington focused on technical education, while Trotter emphasized more intellectual education. Trotter founded a newspaper, the <i>Guardian</i>, in 1901 as “propaganda against discrimination.” He thought the NAACP was too moderate, so he revived the National Equal Rights League in 1908 to pursue equal rights for African Americans in the courts. In a 1904 article in the <i>Guardian</i>, Trotter argued that Washington’s “policy of compromise has failed [and the] policy of resistance and aggression deserves a trial.” In 1903, Trotter composed questions to ask Washington at a meeting of the National Negro Business League’s Boston branch.</p>
<p>Opening questions</p>	<p>What types of questions do you think Trotter would ask Washington? Why did you decide that?</p>
<p>What were the “economic and educational conditions” of African Americans that Washington was referring to?</p> <p>How could a ballot provide self-protection?</p>	<p>Trotter to Washington: <i>In an interview [about] whether the Negro should insist on his ballot [voting], you [Washington] are quoted as saying:</i></p> <p><i>“As is well known, I hold that no people in the same economic and educational condition as the masses of the black people...should make politics a matter of the first importance in...their development.”</i></p> <p><i>Do you not know that the ballot [voting] is the only self-protection for any class of people in this country?</i>  - Excerpt from Stephen Fox, <i>The Guardian of Boston: William Monroe Trotter</i> (New York: Atheneum, 1970)</p>

<p>Why does Trotter think Washington would make a bad leader?</p>	<p>Trotter to Washington: <i>In view of the fact that you are understood to be unwilling to insist upon the Negro having his every right (both civil and political), would it not be a calamity [disaster] at this juncture to make you our leader?</i>                  - Excerpt from Stephen Fox, <i>The Guardian of Boston: William Monroe Trotter</i> (New York: Atheneum, 1970)</p>
<p>What does “race” refer to?  What does Trotter think Washington should be doing?</p>	<p><i>Don't you know you would help the race more by exposing the new form of slavery [sharecropping] just outside the gates of Tuskegee than by preaching submission [giving in]?</i>                  - Excerpt from Stephen Fox, <i>The Guardian of Boston: William Monroe Trotter</i> (New York: Atheneum, 1970)</p>
<p>What do the words “rope and the torch” refer to?</p>	<p><i>Are the rope and the torch all the race is to get under your leadership?</i>                  - Excerpt from Stephen Fox, <i>The Guardian of Boston: William Monroe Trotter</i> (New York: Atheneum, 1970)</p>
<p>Synthesis questions</p>	<p>What were Trotter’s goals? How would he define equality? How might his questions help African Americans achieve equality? How would you have reacted? Do you agree with Monroe Trotter? Why or why not?</p>

<p style="text-align: center;"><b>W. E. B. Du Bois</b></p>	
<p>Biographical information and his thoughts on equality</p>	<p>W. E. B. Du Bois was critical of Booker T. Washington’s conciliatory (or peaceful) approach to securing equality for African Americans. Du Bois convened (or brought together) a group of like-minded African Americans at Niagara Falls. In a speech there, he detailed an alternative approach for African Americans to get social equality. The group met on the Canadian side of the falls because as African Americans, they were denied accommodations on the U.S. side.</p>
<p>Opening questions</p>	<p>In his speech, what do you think Du Bois would want to tell the world about civil rights and equality? Why did you decide that?</p>
<p>What rights is Du Bois demanding?</p>	<p><i>The men of the <u>Niagara</u> [Niagara Falls] Movement... claim...every single right that belongs to a freeborn American...and until we get these rights we will never cease to protest....In detail our demands are clear and unequivocal.</i>                  - Excerpt from W. E. B. Du Bois, <i>Niagara Speech</i>, 1905</p>

<p>How were voting rights denied to African Americans?</p>	<p><i>First, we would vote; with the right to vote goes everything: Freedom, manhood, the honor of your wives, the chastity of your daughters, the right to work, and the chance to rise....We want full manhood suffrage, ...now....</i> - Excerpt from W. E. B. Du Bois, <i>Niagara Speech</i>, 1905</p>
<p>What Supreme Court decision directly impacted the problem Du Bois addressed?</p> <p>What basic idea or right do the Third and Fourth demands have in common?</p>	<p><i>Third. We claim the right of freemen to walk, talk, and be with them that wish to be with us. No man has a right to choose another man's friends....</i></p> <p><i>Fourth. We want the laws enforced against rich as well as poor...against white as well as black. We are not more lawless than the white race, we are more often arrested, convicted, and mobbed....and No State allowed to base its franchise [permission or license] simply on color.</i> - Excerpt from W. E. B. Du Bois, <i>Niagara Speech</i>, 1905</p>
<p>What does Du Bois want?</p> <p>How does he say they will get it?</p>	<p><i>How shall we get [what we want]? By voting where we may vote, by...unceasing agitation; by hammering at the truth, by sacrifice and work...Courage brothers! The battle for humanity is not lost or losing...We must not falter, we may not shrink. Above are the everlasting stars.</i> - Excerpt from W. E. B. Du Bois, <i>Niagara Speech</i>, 1905</p>
<p>Synthesis questions</p>	<p>What were the goals of Du Bois? How would he define equality? What is the best goal on his list? What would you have put on a list of demands?</p>

### Ida B. Wells

<p>Biographical information and her thoughts on equality</p>	<p>Three African American entrepreneurs, Thomas Moss, Calvin McDowell, and Henry Stewart, owned the People's Grocery in Memphis. Their store was very successful in attracting customers from a white grocery store. Angry about the competition, a group of white men attacked the People's Grocery. The owners fought back, shooting one of the white attackers. Instead of arresting the attackers, the police arrested the owners. Later, a mob broke into the jail, took the People's Grocery store owners out of town, and lynched them. A lynching is a public execution by a mob in order to punish or to intimidate a minority group. In response to the lynching, Ida Wells published a story in the African American-owned Memphis newspaper, <i>Free Speech</i>. When the newspaper company was destroyed, Wells published pamphlets and gave speeches about the horrors of lynching.</p>
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<p>Opening questions</p>	<p>How do you think Ida Wells responded to the lynching? Why did you decide that?</p>
<p>Why didn't blacks buy guns to protect themselves?</p> <p>What did Ida Wells suggest African Americans should do?</p>	<p><i>There is nothing we can do about the lynching now, as we are out-numbered and without <u>arms</u> [weapons]. The white mob could help itself to ammunition without pay, but the order is rigidly enforced against the selling of guns to Negroes. There is...only one thing left to do; save our money and leave a town which will neither protect our lives and property, nor give us a fair trial...but takes us out and murders us in cold blood when accused by white persons.</i></p> <p>- Excerpt from Ida B. Wells, <i>Free Speech</i> Editorial, 1892</p>
<p>How else could African Americans fight back if they are unable to leave Memphis?</p> <p>What does the word "them" refer to? What does the word "they" refer to below?</p>	<p><i>The Afro-Americans of Memphis <u>denounced</u> [said something is evil] the lynching of three of their best citizens, and urged...the authorities to...bring the lynchers to justice. No attempt was made to do so, and the black men left the city by thousands, bringing about great <u>stagnation</u> [lack of movement] in every...business. Those who remained so injured the business of the street car company by staying off the cars, that the <u>superintendent</u> [someone in charge]...asked [the <i>Free Speech</i> editor] to urge our people to give <b>them</b> their <u>patronage</u> [support] again.</i></p> <p>- Excerpt from Ida B. Wells, <i>Southern Horrors: Lynch Law in All Its Phases</i>, 1892</p>
<p>What happened to those who killed the owners of the People's Grocery?</p>	<p><i>Other business men became alarmed...and the "Free Speech" was run away that the colored people might be more easily controlled. A meeting of white citizens... three months [later], passed resolutions for the first time, condemning it. But <b>they</b> did not punish the lynchers.</i></p> <p>- Excerpt from Ida B. Wells, <i>Southern Horrors: Lynch Law in All Its Phases</i>, 1892</p>
<p>Synthesis questions</p>	<p>What were Wells' goals? How would she define equality? How can a newspaper or pamphlet help solve the problem of lynching? How would you have reacted? Do you agree with Ida Wells? Why or why not?</p>

<b>Mary Bethune</b>	
Biographical information and her thoughts on equality	Known as the “First Lady of the Struggle,” Bethune was an early civil rights leader and the founder of the Daytona Educational and Industrial Training School for Negro Girls in 1904. This school taught girls reading, writing, and home economics skills and later became Bethune-Cookman College. In 1955, Bethune wrote her <i>Last Will and Testament</i> to reflect her thinking during the early 1900s. The <i>Last Will</i> can be found at < <a href="http://www.cookman.edu/about_bcu/history/lastwill_testament.html">http://www.cookman.edu/about_bcu/history/lastwill_testament.html</a> >.
Opening questions	What do you think Bethune would want to tell the world about civil rights and equality? Why did you decide that?
How might African Americans support each other for economic betterment?	<i>As long as Negroes are <u>hemmed</u> [restricted in movement] into racial blocs by prejudice and pressure, it will be necessary for them to <b>band together for economic betterment</b>.</i>  - Excerpt from Mary Bethune, <i>Last Will and Testament</i> , 1955
What kind of “power” is she referring to?  How might this “power” lead to more freedom?	<i>Knowledge is the prime need of the <b>hour</b>. We live in a world which respects power above all things. <b>Power</b>, intelligently directed, <b>can lead to more freedom</b>.</i>  - Excerpt from Mary Bethune, <i>Last Will and Testament</i> , 1955
What might be the “old ideas and practices” that African Americans often faced?	<i>We have a powerful potential in our youth, and we must have the courage to change <b>old ideas and practices</b> so that we may direct their power toward good ends.</i>  - Excerpt from Mary Bethune, <i>Last Will and Testament</i> , 1955
Select two ideas and describe how they might lead to equality.	<i>Faith, courage, brotherhood, dignity, ambition, reasonability—We must <u>cultivate</u> [develop skills] them and use them as tools for our task of completing the establishment of equality for the Negro.</i>  - Excerpt from Mary Bethune, <i>Last Will and Testament</i> , 1955
Synthesis questions	What were Mary Bethune’s goals? How would she define equality? Why is her <i>Last Will and Testament</i> important to the civil rights movement? What would you have written in your last will and testament?