Grades: 9-12  
Subjects: Social Studies/ African American History, English/ Language Arts  
Time required: 2–3 days  
Author: Ashli Burton, Teaching With Primary Sources—MTSU

**OVERVIEW**
In the aftermath of Civil War and Reconstruction, African Americans failed to receive full rights as freed slaves. During the Jim Crow period, African Americans were subjected to violence, lynching, segregation, and disenfranchisement. White society for the most part refused to treat them as equals. Many African Americans rose up against unfair treatment and misrepresentation fighting for equal rights, voting rights, and economic opportunities. Marcus Garvey, W.E.B. Dubois, and Booker T. Washington were all visionaries and leading figures for the African American community in the early twentieth century. Although their philosophies differed, all shared a common goal of creating a prosperous and thriving black community.

**UNDERSTANDING GOAL**
Students will examine the roots of Pan-Africanism and the Back to Africa Movement. Students will analyze life under Jim Crow for African Americans. Students will understand the ideologies of Marcus Garvey, Booker T. Washington, and W.E.B. Dubois. By evaluating texts from all three leaders, students will use evidence from the text to demonstrate a comparison of ideologies.

**OBJECTIVES**
- The student will define Pan Africanism and the Back to Africa Movement. 
- Students will explain the role of the NAACP and the UNIA.  
- Students will evaluate life for African Americans under Jim Crow.  
- Students will compare and contrast the ideas of Booker T. Washington, Marcus Garvey and W.E.B. Dubois.

**INVESTIGATIVE QUESTION**
How did Washington, Garvey, and Dubois address challenges faced by African Americans? Why would these movements have attracted different followings in African American communities across the country?

**CURRICULUM STANDARDS**

**English/Language Arts:**
- 11-12.RI.KID.1 Analyze what a text says explicitly and draw inferences; support an interpretation of a text by citing and synthesizing relevant textual evidence from multiple sources.  
- 11-12.W.TTP.2 Write informative/explanatory texts to analyze, synthesize, and convey complex ideas, concepts, and information clearly and accurately through the effective selection and organization of content.

**United States History and Geography:**
- US.35 Examine challenges related to civil liberties and racial/ethnic tensions during this era, including (T.C.A. § 49-6-1006): First Red Scare, Immigration Quota Acts of the 1920s, Resurgence of the Ku Klux Klan, Efforts of Ida B. Wells, Emergence of Garveyism, Rise of the NAACP

**African American History:**
- AAH.21 Assess the economic and social impact of Jim Crow laws on African Americans.
### Materials
- Projector
- Computer / Laptop for PPT
- **Video:** A. Philip Randolph on Marcus Garvey
- “If You Believe the Negro Has a Soul”: “Back to Africa” with Marcus Garvey
- Richmond Planet: “Marcus Garvey, Negro Moses?”
- Talented Tenth Excerpt
- Niagara Movement Speech
- The Souls of Black Folk
- The Appeal: “The Soul of Black Folk”
- Atlanta Exposition Speech

### Resources
- PowerPoint: Pan-Africanism
- Debate Worksheet
- Back to Africa Movement essay
- Primary Source Set: Jim Crow in America
- Negroes to ride in City railway passenger cars!

## DAY 1

Day one will cover the effects of Jim Crow on African Americans. Day one will also be used to focus on key terms and figures and the beginning of Pan Africanism and the Back to African Movement. Students will also be introduced to the three leading figures.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Step</th>
<th>Description</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Step 1</td>
<td>Begin the class by defining Jim Crow and key points of the time period using the primary source set and PowerPoint presentation. (PPT Slide 2) The following key terms need to be covered in order to move on in the lesson: Jim Crow laws, Segregation, Integration, Plessy v. Ferguson and the 14th amendment.</td>
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<td>Step 2</td>
<td>Present the image on PPT slide #3 to the class and prompt a discussion over the impact of Jim Crow laws upon African Americans and American politics. How did Jim Crow laws effect African Americans and their everyday lives? What role did segregation and other Jim Crow laws play in politics?</td>
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<td>Step 3</td>
<td>Students will watch the video on PPT slide #3 illustrating the reasons behind Garvey’s ability to gain support. After the video prompt students to answer discussion questions on PPT slide #3. What stood out most for you in this video, why? How does what you witnessed in the video affect Garvey’s ability to gain followers? What strategies could a group use to fight this sort of oppression?</td>
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<td>Step 4</td>
<td>At this time hand students a copy of the Back to Africa Movement essay and allow time for silent reading. (Essay should take about 10 minutes to read and can be divided amongst groups to save time.)</td>
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<td>Step 5</td>
<td>Students will answer the questions on a sheet of paper/journals that go along with the handout as a class (PPT slide #4). How did the movement begin? How did it change over time? What reasons did African Americans have in supporting the movement? What was the overall philosophy or goal?</td>
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<td>Step 6</td>
<td>Using PPT slides 5 through 8, introduce Marcus Garvey, W.E.B. Dubois, UNIA, and the NAACP</td>
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<td>Step 7</td>
<td>Now would be a good time to take a moment to review the differences between Garvey and Dubois as a class. (PPT slide #9)</td>
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<td>Step 8</td>
<td>Continue with the rest of the PowerPoint and introduce Booker T. Washington. (PPT slide #10)</td>
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<td>Step 9</td>
<td>After completing the introduction of key terms and figures, students will end the class by filling out an exit ticket or possible journal entry. (PPT slide #11) Students will answer the following questions: Why were organizations such as the NAACP and the UNIA founded? What purpose did each organization serve for the African American community? (The length of the answer can be adjusted for grade or ability level)</td>
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## DAY 2

Day two gives the teacher an opportunity to have students explore the ideologies of Garvey, Dubois, and Washington. Day 2 and Day 3 can be combined by collaborating with other teachers and working across subject areas.

**Step 1**

Start by dividing the class into 4 groups: 2 groups = Affirmative team, 2 groups= Negative team. The affirmative will defend this statement. African American should support Marcus Garvey’s Back to Africa movement.

One negative team will be in support of Dubois’s philosophy.

The other will be in support of Washington’s philosophy.

**Step 2**

Cover the rules and procedures for the debate activity with the students. (PPT slides #12-13)

Pass out the [debate worksheet](#) to each student

Pass out the handouts used for research: (Each group gets their corresponding leader)

- Garvey handout (pg. 7-8)
- Dubois Handout (pg. 9-10)
- Washington Handout (pg. 11-12)

**Step 3**

Each student will receive both copies. However, split the two documents pertaining to each figure among the individual groups. Students will only use one document to fill out their debate worksheets.

**Step 4**

The remainder of the class time will be used for research and filling out the debate worksheet. Allow students to take home research for homework to prepare for the debate activity on Day 3.

## DAY 3

Day three will consist of the debate activity and review of the three different ideologies.

**Step 1**

Students will return to their groups from Day 2. Students should have their debate worksheet and research materials out for the debate. Assign each group another group to evaluate. For example, Garvey group one will evaluate the argument of the Dubois group and the Dubois group will evaluate the Washington group.

**Step 2**

Start the evidence based argument portion of the debate. Each student must participate in order to create a beach ball effect. Encourage students to make counter arguments.

**Step 3**

Call on one student to give an initial statement. Initial statements should briefly cover the main points of each figure’s ideology or position.

**Step 4**

After each student has made at least one statement, call upon one student to give a summation of the arguments and evidence presented for their group during the debate.

**Step 5**

Students not in the active debate groups will serve as evaluators and the teacher will choose the winner at the end or the following day. Have students complete the following statement on a scrap sheet of paper or index card: Based on the following evidence (list evidence) given by group _____ I would or would not support their movement because_____.

**Step 6**

Bring the class back together for a group discussion. Students will answer the investigative questions:

How did Washington, Garvey, and Dubois address challenges faced by African Americans? Why would these movements have attracted a different following in in African American communities across the country?
EXTENSION

This lesson provides a great opportunity for creative extension ideas. For example, teachers could

- Have students watch a video and explore the [Biography web site](#) to investigate the impact Dubois, Washington, and Garvey had on future civil rights leaders.
- Use the Library of Congress’s web site and exhibit surrounding the evolution of the [NAACP](#) to further explain the contributions and accomplishments of the organization.
- Have students write an additional essay for homework over a different [civil rights activists](#) and compare and contrast their philosophy to that of Garvey, Dubois, or Washington.
- Use the [Teaching American History web site](#) to explore and present other speeches and essays produced by Booker T. Washington.

EVALUATION

TOTAL POINTS: 100
- Back to Africa movement questions: 10%
- Class Participation (both days): 25%
- Debate Worksheet: 25%
- Debate Participation: 40%

[Image 1: Marcus Garvey, 1887-1940 (1924)]

[Image 2: Booker T. Washington (?)]
Day 1: Rubric

Student Name:___________

1. Participation _____ out of 10
   The student contributed to class discussion.
   Total Points: 35

2. Questioning/Discussion:_______ out of 25
   The student answered the questions using evidence from the
   text and complete sentences.
   Points Achieved:______

   Grade:______

Day 2: Rubric

Student Name:___________  Assigned Leader:___________

1. Debate Participation :________ out of 15
   Student contributed to their group’s argument using supported
   evidence
   Total Points: 65

2. Debate Worksheet_________ out of 50
   Debate worksheet is completed using evidence from research.
   Points Achieved:______

   Grade:______
NEGROES TO RIDE
IN CITY RAILWAY
PASSENGER CARS!

MORTON McMICHAEL
Declines to say whether he is in favor of, or against, Negroes riding in the City Passenger Railway Cars.

DANIEL M. FOX
Declares himself in opposition to all such privileges. See his manly, direct Letter, in which he declares against all social and political equality with the Negro Race, and in favor of cars exclusively for themselves. Read the Letter in the "Ledger" and "Inquirer" of to-day.
“If You Believe the Negro Has a Soul”: “Back to Africa” with Marcus Garvey

Black Nationalist Marcus Garvey recognized that his Universal Negro Improvement Association (UNIA) would find its most enthusiastic audience in the United States, despite the organization’s professed worldwide mission. After fighting World War I, ostensibly to defend democracy and self-determination, thousands of African-American soldiers returned home to find intensified discrimination, segregation, racial violence, and hostile relations with white Americans. Sensing growing frustration, Garvey used his considerable charisma to attract thousands of disillusioned black working-class and lower middle-class followers and became the most popular black leader in America in the early 1920s. The UNIA, committed to notions of racial purity and separatism, insisted that salvation for African Americans meant building an autonomous, black-led nation in Africa...

Fellow citizens of Africa, I greet you in the name of the Universal Negro Improvement Association and African Communities League of the World. You may ask, “what organization is that?” It is for me to inform you that the Universal Negro Improvement Association is an organization that seeks to unite, into one solid body, the four hundred million Negroes in the world. To link up the fifty million Negroes in the United States of America, with the twenty million Negroes of the West Indies, the forty million Negroes of South and Central America, with the two hundred and eighty million Negroes of Africa, for the purpose of bettering our industrial, commercial, educational, social, and political conditions. As you are aware, the world in which we live today is divided into separate race groups and distinct nationalities. Each race and each nationality is endeavoring to work out its own destiny, to the exclusion of other races and other nationalities. We hear the cry of “England for the Englishman,” of “France for the Frenchman,” of “Germany for the German,” of “Ireland for the Irish,” of “Palestine for the Jew,” of “Japan for the Japanese,” of “China for the Chinese.” We of the Universal Negro Improvement Association are raising the cry of “Africa for the Africans,” those at home and those abroad. There are 400 million Africans in the world who have Negro blood coursing through their veins, and we believe that the time has come to unite these 400 million people toward the one common purpose of bettering their condition. The great problem of the Negro for the last 500 years has been that of disunity. No one or no organization ever succeeded in uniting the Negro race. But within the last four years, the Universal Negro Improvement Association has worked wonders. It is bringing together in one fold four million organized Negroes who are scattered in all parts of the world. Here in the 48 States of the American Union, all the West Indies islands, and the countries of South and Central America and Africa. These four million people are working to convert the rest of the four hundred million that are all over the world, and it is for this purpose, that we are asking you to join our land and to do the best you can to help us to bring about an emancipated race. If anything stateworthy is to be done, it must be done through unity, and it is for that reason that the Universal Negro Improvement Association calls upon every Negro in the United States to rally to this standard. We want to unite the Negro race in this country. We want every Negro to work for one common object, that of building a nation of his own on the great continent of Africa. That all Negroes all over the world are working for the establishment of a government in Africa, means that it will be realized in another few years. We want the moral and financial support of every Negro to make this dream a possibility. Our race, this organization, has established itself in Nigeria, West Africa, and it endeavors to do all possible to develop that Negro country to become a great industrial and commercial commonwealth. Pioneers have been sent by this organization to Nigeria, and they are now laying the foundations upon which the four hundred million Negroes of the world will build. If you believe that the Negro has a soul, if you believe that the Negro is a man, if you believe the Negro was endowed with the senses commonly given to other men by the Creator, then you must acknowledge that what other men have done, Negroes can do. We want to build up cities, nations, governments, industries of our own in Africa, so that we will be able to have a chance to rise from the lowest to the highest position in the African Commonwealth.

Source: Courtesy of the Marcus Garvey and the UNIA Papers Project at the University of California, Los Angeles. Recording courtesy of Michigan State University, G. Robert Vincent Voice Library.
GARVEY'S VERSION OF HISTORY

Through his newspaper and the widening campaign of his lieutenants, Garvey in a short space of time had the greater part of the Negro world acquainted with a great part of the voluminous features of his romantic enterprise and the carefully prepared and not illogical arguments supporting them. His propaganda retold the history of the world as it relates to the black race. From the time of Ham and the allotment to him by Noah of his share of territory, Ethiopia, Garvey pictured the ups and downs of his race. The beginnings of civilization as we know it today, in fact the existence of a perhaps greater civilization long since dimmed by the ages, he claimed as the work of the black race. The Cushites, of earliest Negroes, he contended along with ample support of white historians, were the first royal and learned race from whom in turn the Egyptians, the Phcenicians the Greeks, and so on, acquired their culture. The earliest Ethiopians, he ascertained, were the first to worship according to present belief and he added there was plenty of historical corroboration for the statement that even Christ was black. Then, as Gibbon wrote and Garvey admitted, “a long period began when the Ethiopians were surrounded by the enemies of their religion and slept for nearly a thousand years, forgetful of a world

by whom they were forgotten.” Some of them woke long enough to give Hannibal to history, after which there re-urred another long sleep. This nap, it seems, was not interrupted until the Fifteenth Century when Portugese navigators found the west coast with the result that since, Garvey reminded his brethren, they have been in varying degrees of bondage. The complete history of the slave trade, particularly in England and America, was again narrated with all the inhumanity Garvey’s main purpose was to show that that chronicle contains, though how and where historically the Negro was abducted from his motherland with the double result that in latter years the scattered race was rendered still more impotent for a revival of Ethiopian civilization and the continent which was their original and rightful property was seized by alien races.

Since the Civil War, according to Garvey’s doctrine, the Negro has been forcibly taught that he is and forever must remain the inferior of the white in every way. Released from slavery into what at one time was heralded as real freedom and equality, he argued the Negro instead has been slowly molded, educated, preached, and wheeled into a state of servitude and crouching cowardice far more stultifying so far as concerns the ultimate freedom of the race, than any system of physical bondage. No matter how far a Negro may advance today or no matter how great may be his material success, Garvey said, such achievement will represent only the scant fraction of what he could accomplish in his own country or in a country which held a wholesome fear of and respect for the nation in which he possessed citizenship.

What happens, Garvey asked, when an Englishman or a Frenchman, or an American meets with illegal discrimination or physical mistreatment in a foreign country? No other people in the world except Negroes, he declared, are in the helpless condition

Richmond planet. (Richmond, Va.) 1883-1938, February 26, 1921, Page THREE, Image 4 [1921]
W.E.B. DUBOIS HANDOUT

Talented Tenth [1903] (excerpt)  W.E.B. Dubois

The Negro race, like all races, is going to be saved by its exceptional men. The problem of education, then, among Ne-groes must first of all deal with the Talented Tenth; it is the problem of developing the Best of this race that they may guide the Mass away from the contamination and death of the Worst, in their own and other races. Now the training of men is a difficult and intricate task. Its technique is a matter for educational experts, but its object is for the vision of seers. If we make money the object of mantraining, we shall develop money-makers but not necessarily men; if we make technical skill the object of education, we may possess artisans but not, in nature, men. Men we shall have only as we make manhood the object of the work of the schools—intelligence, broad sympathy, knowledge of the world that was and is, and of the relation of men to it—this is the curriculum of that Higher Education which must underlie true life. On this foundation we may build bread winning, skill of hand and quickness of brain, with never a fear lest the child and man mistake the means of living for the object of life. Niagara

Movement Speech [1905] (excerpt)  W.E.B. Dubois

Fifth, We want our children educated. The school system in the country districts of the South is a disgrace and in few towns and cities are Negro schools what they ought to be. We want the national government to step in and wipe out illiter-acy in the South. Either the United States will destroy ignorance or ignorance will destroy the United States. And when we call for education we mean real education. We believe in work. We ourselves are workers, but work is not necessarily education. Education is the development of power and ideal. We want our children trained as intelligent human beings should be, and we will fight for all time against any proposal to educate black boys and girls simply as servants and under-lings, or simply for the use of other people. They have a right to know, to think, to aspire.
W.E.B. DUBOIS HANDOUT: *THE SOULS OF BLACK FOLK*

Chapter 3

Teuton and Mongolian, the Negro is a sort of seventh son, born with a veil, and gifted with second-sight in this American world, -- a world which yields him no true self-consciousness, but only lets him see himself through the revelation of the other world. It is a peculiar sensation, this double-consciousness, this sense of always looking at one's self through the eyes of others, of measuring one's soul by the tape of a world that looks on in amused contempt and pity. One ever feels his twoness, -- an American, a Negro; two souls, two thoughts, two unreconciled strivings; two warring ideals in one dark body, whose dogged strength alone keeps it from being torn asunder.

The history of the American Negro is the history of this strife, -- this longing to attain self-conscious manhood, to merge his double self into a better and truer self. In this merging he wishes neither of the older selves to be lost. He would not Africanize America, for America has too much to teach the world and Africa. He would not bleach his Negro soul in a flood of white Americanism, for he knows that Negro blood has a message for the world. He simply wishes to make it possible for a man to be both a Negro and an American, without being cursed and spit upon by his fellows, without having the doors of Opportunity closed roughly in his face.

This, then, is the end of his striving: to be a co-worker in the kingdom of culture, to escape both death and isolation, to husband and use his best powers and his latent genius. These powers of body and mind have in the past been strangely wasted, dispersed, or forgotten. The shadow of a mighty Negro past flits through the tale of Ethiopia the Shadowy and of Egypt the Sphinx. Through history, the powers of single black men flash here and there like falling stars, and die sometimes before the world has rightly gauged their brightness. Here in America, in the few days since Emancipation, the black man's turning hither and thither in hesitant and doubtful striving has often made his very strength to lose effectiveness, to seem like absence of power, like weakness. And yet it is not weakness, -- it is the contradiction of double aims. The double-aimed struggle of the black artisan -- on the one hand to escape white contempt for a nation of mere hewers of wood and drawers of water, and on the other hand

Chapter 6

...It is the public schools, however, which can be made, outside the homes, the greatest means of training decent self-respecting citizens. We have been so hotly engaged recently in discussing trade-schools and the higher education that the pitiable plight of the public-school system in the South has almost dropped from view. Of every five dollars spent for public education in the State of Georgia, the white schools get four dollars and the Negro one dollar; and even then the white public-school system, save in the cities, is bad and cries for reform. If this is true of the whites, what of the blacks? I am becoming more and more convinced, as I look upon the system of common-school training in the South, that the national government must soon step in and aid popular education in some way. To-day it has been only by the most strenuous efforts on the part of the thinking men of the South that the Negro's share of the school fund has not been cut down to a pittance in some half-dozen States; and that movement not only is not dead, but in many communities is gaining strength. What in the name of reason does this nation expect of a people, poorly trained and hard pressed in severe economic competition, without political rights, and with ludicrously inadequate common-school facilities? What can it expect but crime and listlessness, offset here and there by the dogged struggles of the fortunate and more determined who are themselves buoyed by the hope that in due time the country will come to its senses?
Let Washington speak for himself. In one of his latest public utterances, an address delivered before the Brooklyn Institute of Arts and Sciences, among other things he said:

"The Negro has lived for over two centuries in the midst of the people who, from pulpit to rostrum, through the press and in school, in legislative halls and on many a battlefield, have been constantly upholding the doctrine that the most complete development of each human being can come only through his being permitted to exercise the most complete freedom compatible with the freedom of others. Under these conditions the Negro naturally had wrought into every fibre of his being a belief that if freedom is good for one race, it is equally helpful and necessary to the well being of others. It is impossible that the impassioned plea of Patrick Henry, 'Give me liberty or give me death,' should have had no influence upon our black citizens. If the black man did not have in him that spurring him toward the acquiring of those qualities which you consider most essential, neither the white man at the North nor the white man at the South would have any respect for him or confidence in his future.

"Patiently, quietly, doggedly, persistently, through summer and winter, sunshine and shadow, by self-sacrifice, by foresight, by honesty and industry, we must re-enforce argument with results. One farm bought, one house built, one home sweetly and intelligently kept, one man who is the largest tax-payer or has the largest bank account, one school or church maintained, one factory running successfully, one truck garden profitably cultivated, one patient cured by a Negro doctor, one sermon well preached, one office well filled, one life cleanly lived—these will tell more in our favor than all the abstract eloquence that can be summoned to plead our cause. Our pathway must be up through the soil, up through swamps, up through forests, up through the streams, the rocks, up through commerce, education and religion.

"In connection with our presence in this country, it should always be borne in mind that, unlike other races, we not only were forced to come into this country against our will, but were brought here in the face of our most earnest protest. Both as slaves and as freemen, we have striven to serve the interests of this country as best we could. We have cleared forests, bulled railways, tunneled mountains, grown the cotton and the rice, and we have always stood ready to defend the flag. We have never disturbed the country by strike or lock-outs. Ours has been a peaceful, faithful service and life.

"In the face of all this I cannot believe I will not believe, that a country that invites into its midst every type of European, from the highest to the very dregs of the earth, and gives them corner shanties, protection and the highest encouragement, will refuse to accord the same protection and encouragement to her black citizens. I repeat here what I have often said in the South: The Negro seeks no special privileges. All that he asks is opportunity—that the same law which is made by the white man and applied to the one race be applied with equal certainty and exactness to the other.

"And when I say this, I repeat also that which I have said directly to the members of more than one state constitutional convention in the South—namely, that any revised state constitution that is capable of being twisted into one interpretation when an ignorant white man is concerned and another when an ignorant black man is concerned, will not represent true justice nor the highest statesmanship. These new constitutions should place a premium upon good citizenship for both races, and wherever they fail to do this, they are weak and are not in accord with the best interests of the state.

"When in any country there are laws which are not respected, which are trampled under foot and made to mean one thing when applied to one race and another thing when applied to another race, there is not only injustice for which in the end the nation must pay the penalty, but there is a hardening and blunting of the conscience, there is sapping of the growth of human beings, in kindness, justice, and all the higher, purer and sweeter things in life. No race can degrade another without degrading itself. No race can assist in lifting up another without itself being broadened and made more Christ-like.

"We must not grow disappointed or despondent because, forsooth, all that was hoped for thirty-five years ago has not taken place just exactly as we wished, or as had been planned. Man's way is not always God's way. The ten commandments and the golden rule were proclaimed centuries ago, and yet with all its growth and strivings, the Anglo-Saxon, citing him as an example, has not. I think you will agree with me, reached the point where he is living up to them in daily life. And yet, because of this failure, no one has yet been bold enough to propose that we should repeal the ten commandments and the golden rule. Every intelligent black and white
ornamental gewgaws of life and the useful. No race can prosper till it learns that there is as much dignity in tilling a field as in writing a poem. It is at the bottom of life we must begin, and not at the top. Nor should we permit our grievances to overshadow our opportunities.

To those of the white race who look to the incoming of those of foreign birth and strange tongue and habits for the prosperity of the South, were I permitted I would repeat what I say to my own race, "Cast down your bucket where you are." Cast it down among the 8,000,000 Negroes whose habits you know, whose fidelity and love you have tested in days when to have proved treacherous meant the ruin of your firesides. Cast down your bucket among these people who have, without strikes and labor wars, tilled your fields, cleared your forests, built your railroads and cities, and brought forth treasures from the bowels of the earth, and helped make possible this magnificent representation of the progress of the South. Casting down your bucket among my people, helping and encouraging them as you are doing on these grounds, and to education of head, hand, and heart, you will find that they will buy your surplus land, make blossom the waste places in your fields, and run your factories. While doing this, you can be sure in the future, as in the past, that you and your families will be surrounded by the most patient, faithful, law-abiding, and unresentful people that the world has seen. As we have proved our loyalty to you in the past, in nursing your children, watching by the sick bed of your mothers and fathers, and often following them with tear-dimmed eyes to their graves, so in the future, in our humble way, we shall stand by you

with a devotion that no foreigner can approach, ready to lay down our lives, if need be, in defense of yours, interlacing our industrial, commercial, civil, and religious life with yours in a way that shall make the interests of both races one. In all things that are purely social we can be as separate as the fingers, yet one as the hand in all things essential to mutual progress.

There is no defense or security for any of us except in the highest intelligence and development of all. If anywhere there are efforts tending to curtail the fullest growth of the Negro, let these efforts be turned into stimulating, encouraging, and making him the most useful and intelligent citizen. Effort or means so invested will pay a thousand per cent interest. These efforts will be twice blessed—"blessing him that gives and him that takes."

There is no escape through law of man or God from the inevitable:

The laws of changeless justice bind
Oppressor with oppressed;
And close as sin and suffering joined
We march to fate abreast.

Nearly sixteen millions of hands will aid you in pulling the load upwards, or they will pull you against the load downwards. We shall constitute one third and more of the ignorance and crime of the South, or one third its intelligence and progress; we shall contribute one third to the business and industrial prosperity of the South, or we shall prove a veritable body of death, stagnating, depressing, retarding every effort to advance the body politic.

Gentlemen of the Exposition, as we present to you our humble effort at an exhibition of our progress, you

must not expect overmuch. Starting thirty years ago with ownership here and there in a few quilts and pumpkins and chickens (gathered from miscellaneous sources), remember the path that has led from these to the inventions and production of agricultural implements, buggies, steam engines, newspapers, book, statuary, carving, paintings, the management of drug stores and banks has not been trodden without contact with thorns and thistles. While we take pride in what we exhibit as a result of our independent efforts, we do not for a moment forget that our part in this exhibition would fall far short of your expectations but for the constant help that has come to our educational life, not only from the Southern States, but especially from Northern philanthropists, who have made their gifts a constant stream of blessing and encouragement.
1. Summarize your position/ideology in a few short sentences. Write at least 3 words or identifiers you can write on the

2. What is the position you will be taking on the topic and how will you support it?

4. Briefly list several facts that your source provides regarding your topic.

5. The issue may be local, national or international in scope. List the parties (who) involved and the setting (where/when/why).

6. Place the issue within its historical (when) context. Is it a recent or long-standing situation?

7. What are the various economic aspects of the issue and your position?

8. Are there political, cultural, religious or other social aspects of the issue? Explain.

9. What arguments, feelings, ideas or information can you use to SUPPORT your position?

10. What is the most obvious argument AGAINST your position, and how will you rebut it?