

Knowing the Past Makes Sense of the Present: White Violence and School Segregation in Toledo

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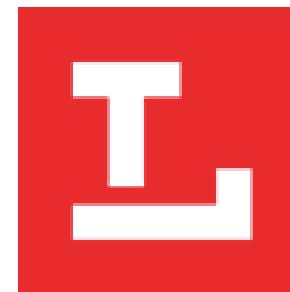
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Moderated by Quatez Scott

September 2, 2020



Anti-Racism Teach-Ins
August-Labor Day, 2020
On Zoom in Toledo, Ohio



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Of the Participant Learning Objectives (PLOs) for series, today involves:

PLO#4. Examine white supremacy, structural racism, and white fragility in the context of drastically unequal racial power and privilege invested in whiteness.

My guiding questions:

1. Why didn't I know this history?
2. How has not knowing it supported both myself as an individual and white supremacy in society?
3. What do I do now that I do know this?

Why History?

- “History is a story about the past told for its usefulness in the present” (anon.).
- “‘Racist’ is not...a pejorative. It is not the worst word in the English language; it is not the equivalent of a slur. It is descriptive, and **the only way to undo racism is to consistently identify and describe it—and then dismantle it**” (Kendi, *How to be an Antiracist*, 2019, n.p.).



- Necessary to describe how racist policies were and are basic to Toledo and Ohio society and schools in order to understand our current situations—as individuals and as a society
- History that is taught in school & media is “sanitized”—the diversity ideologies that Dr. Malakpa talked about Monday are dominant in our history

McGinnis, F. (1962). *The education of Negroes in Ohio*. Wilberforce, OH: Wilberforce University.



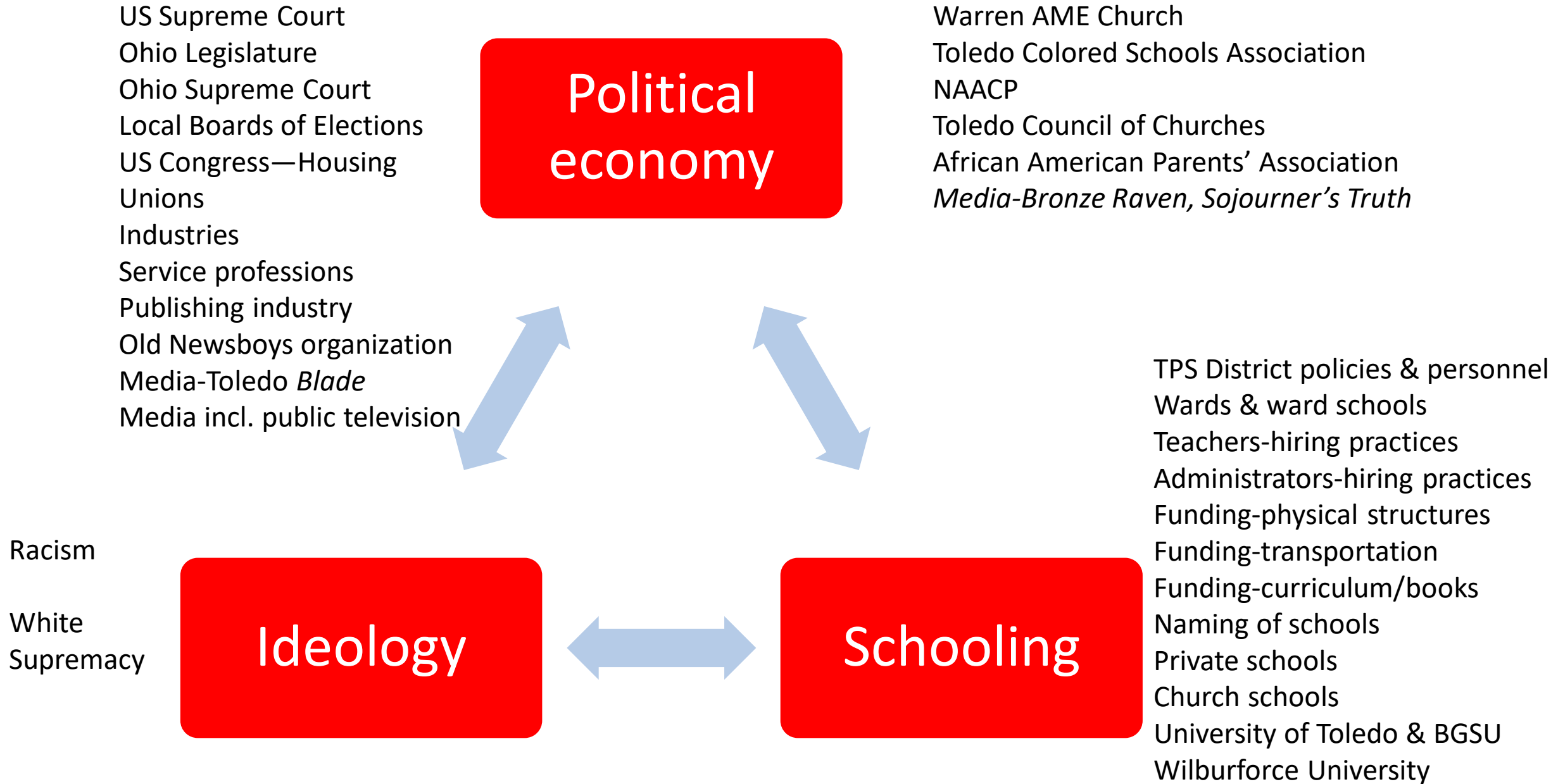
...and other techniques of dominance, were used to keep the Negro in his place.

It was in the social milieu outlined above that the conscience-ridden, restricted program of instruction known as Negro Education was born.

Negro Education, as a special type of education for a special racial group, was never meant to be equal to the education offered white inhabitants. It was meant to educate Negroes for the subservient place in American Society which the whites hoped they could be induced to accept. Where Negroes were in the largest numbers, as in the South, the fight to keep them down depended largely upon the ability of the whites to keep them ignorant, or at most to keep them satisfied with much less education than that offered the white citizens. In other words, the education offered Negroes was especially organized and administered to fit them for the place in society reserved for them.


In the border states and in the Northern states like Ohio, Southern influence, anti-Negro propaganda, and indigenous race

Tozer et al. (2020) basic analytic model depiction of this presentation



19th century Toledo, Ohio (Williams, 1977; Musteric, 1998)

- 1802 Ohio Constitutional Convention prohibits slavery (*by a single vote*)
- 1804 **Ohio legislated Black Laws**
- 1829 Port Lawrence Township, first public school in what would be Toledo
- 1837 Toledo incorporated & established one grammar school in each of three wards
- 1838 Ohio established fund for education of white youth: “in exempting blacks from the school tax, Ohio also systematically excluded them from public education” (Musteric, p. 5).
- 1847 **Ohioans including Jesup W. Scott, writing as *Blade* editor, warned against accepting Black migrants (free or slave) into Ohio.**



in 1807, the state legislature prescribed the legal, social, and economic status of Afro-Americans within the state through the enactment of its Black Laws. These Laws prohibited blacks from testifying in court against whites or serving on juries. They required that black residents in Ohio be registered while those entering the state be compelled to post "good behavior and support bonds" and furnish positive proof of their free status. In the absence of "freedom papers," entering blacks were to be denied employment.³ When the state established a system of common schools in the third decade of the nineteenth century, it explicitly provided "for the instruction of white youth of every class and grade, . . . only."⁴ In the main, blacks and mulattoes faced a similar circumscription throughout the midwest region of antebellum America.⁵

Jesup W. Scott (1847), editor of the *Blade*, on Black Laws and Blacks coming to Ohio

Despite the measures contained in the Black Laws, increasing numbers of blacks--slave and free--entered the state. Some whites, looking to the old Northwest Ordinance and the nation's growing sectionalism, welcomed the black newcomers. This appeared to be the case in 1835 as Cincinnati's former Lane Seminary "rebels" brought James Bradley to Oberlin College as its first Afro-American student.⁶ In 1848, William Henry Seward admonished Ohioans to reform their Black Codes and "extend a cordial welcome to the fugitive who lays his weary limbs at the State's door."⁷ But in the southern Ohio city of Cincinnati, anti-Negro whites demanded that local authorities enforce the existing Black Laws against the unchecked settlement of Afro-Americans. Other Ohioans, such as Jesup W. Scott in 1847, warned against offering blacks "any inducements to come among" them. In the main, the majority of white Ohioans, while opposed to slavery

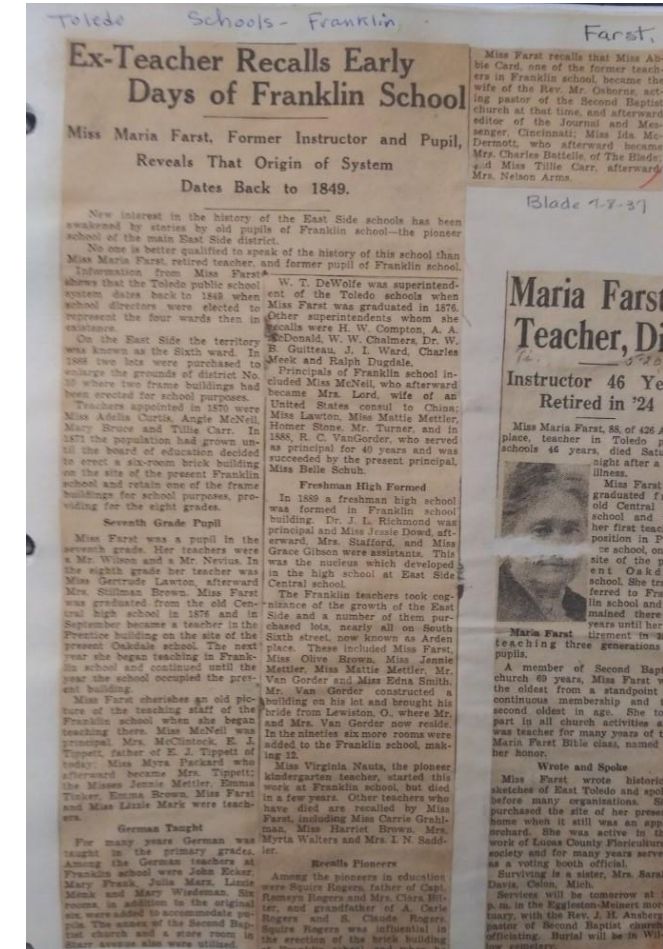
and its extension, seem to have believed that "the south should give the Negroes freedom in the south and not send them north to be free." Increasing hostility to the influx of blacks forced more than a thousand Afro-Americans to flee Cincinnati in the late 1820's. As they passed through Northwest Ohio, some blacks may have remained in Toledo.⁸

⁸Toledo *Blade*, February 10, 1847; Litwack, *North of Slavery*, pp. 72-74; and *History of Lake Shore Ohio* (New York: Lewis Historical Publishing Company, Inc., 1952), I, 367. For an account of antebellum northern white attitudes toward the abolitionists, fugitive slaves, and free blacks, see Leonard L. Richards, *Gentlemen of Property and Standing: Anti-Abolition Mobs in Jacksonian America* (New York: The Oxford University Press, 1970).



19th century Toledo, Ohio (Musteric, 1998)

- 1849 Toledo Board of Education established; number of elementary schools increased; **schools taught in multiple languages to serve immigrants** (Blade, 1937; Musteric)
- 1850 Fugitive Slave Law passed; in contrast to Chicago, **“Toledoans resolved, without serious resistance, to support the law ... from the time of its enactment”** (Williams, p. 15).
- 1850 Lucas County’s population included 139 blacks (just over 1% of total); black students from 7 of the 8 city wards all went to one one-room school, corner of Erie & Canal
- 1853 Ohio Law required one or more separate schools for colored children if more than 30 in district; if in a month, the number fell below 15, then the school could be discontinued for 6 months

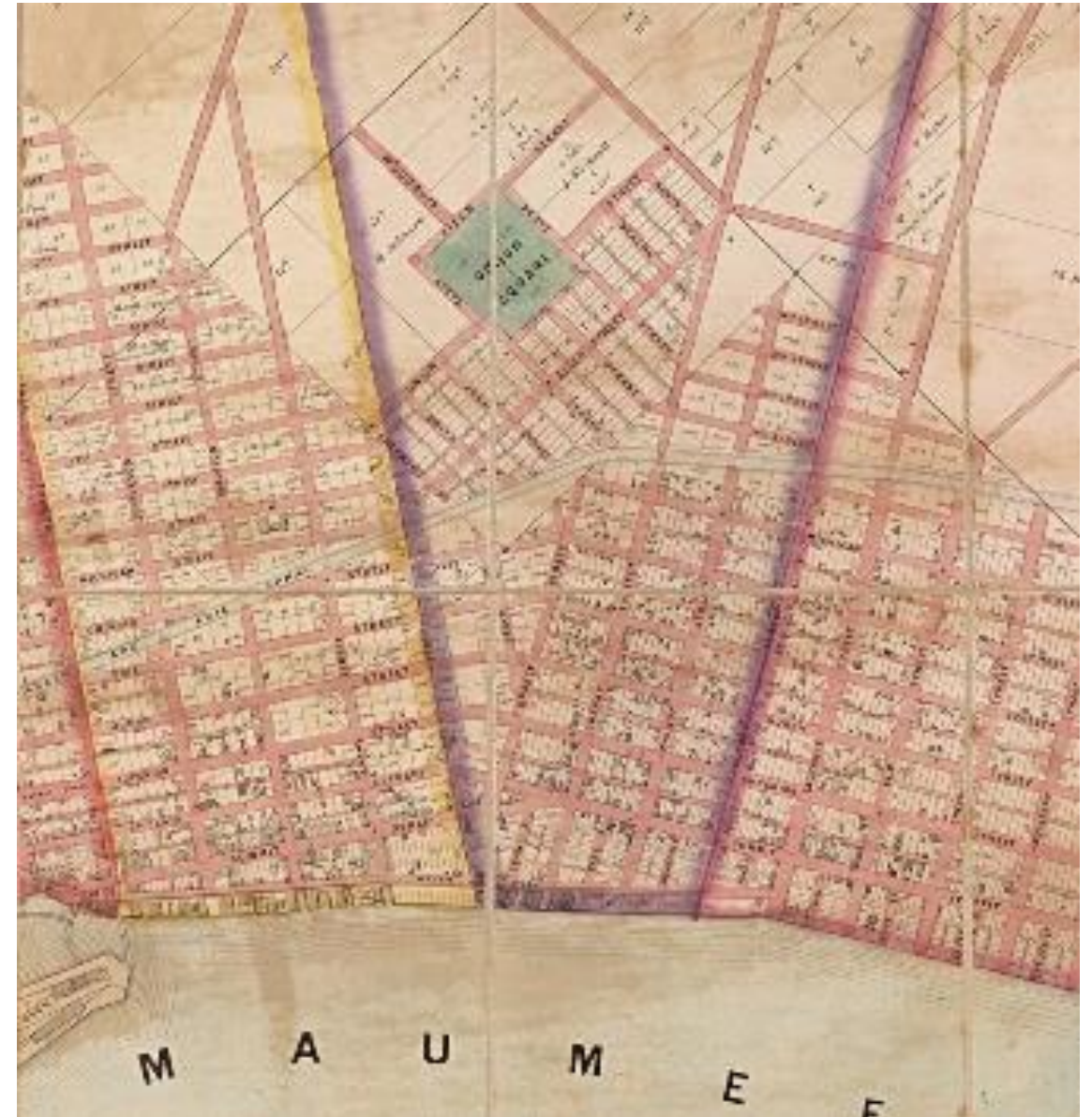


Jesup W. Scott on Fugitive Slave Law, 1850

The Toledo rescue episode prompted civic leader and Blade editor Jesup W. Scott to warn residents that while they were not bound to turn slave catchers, they had a "duty to obey the supreme law of the land." Scott informed his readers that the American Constitution provided for the recovery of runaways and that citizens should not aid the "slave in his escape or throw any obstacle in the way of his recovery." Scott's admonition repeated the generally held view of many law-abiding citizens in non-slaveholding areas of the nation. But he went beyond that, proceeding to impart a theory of slavery as a training ground for Afro-Americans. "In the plantation states," said Scott, blacks "are receiving a course of education and improvement, slow and apparently hard, but probably just as is needed to bring them out of their degraded barbarism into civilization."¹⁷ Within this southern school of civilization, Scott saw a closeness of contact that exposed the Afro-American directly to the social and cultural life of southern whites. For Scott, this racial interaction provided the remote yet worthwhile chance of elevating blacks in their most natural American habitat--the South. "Indeed," he concluded, "the sympathy of feeling between the two races is much stronger at the south than at the north."

Williams, 1977, pp. 15-16

Site of first high school (1854) & site of colored school (1850s)



<https://bostonraremaps.com/inventory/a-rare-case-map-of-toledo-ohio/>

19th c. Toledo (cont.) (Musteric, Blade, McGinnis, Williams)

- 1857 US Supreme Court Dred Scott Case (US Constitution does not include people of African descent re: legal rights)
- 1859 Ohio Supreme Court ruled “distinctly black” children could not attend public school with whites; Toledo continued occasionally to allow black children to attend white public schools, so long as no white parent objected
- 1859 **S.J.R. 78, the Safford Amendment, passed by Ohio Legislature, preventing persons of African descent from voting**
- 1862 Warren African Methodist Episcopal (AME) Church established the Toledo Colored Schools Association
- 1867 Ohio defeated referendum to extend suffrage to Blacks; also defeated in Lucas County
- 1867 **Nebraska School constructed; in 1916, rebuilt and renamed Gunckel after founder of Old Newsboys Association (Blade, 1989).**

JOURNAL OF THE SENATE

OF THE

STATE OF OHIO:

FOR THE SECOND SESSION

OF THE

FIFTY-THIRD GENERAL ASSEMBLY,

COMMENCING ON

MONDAY, JANUARY 3, 1859,

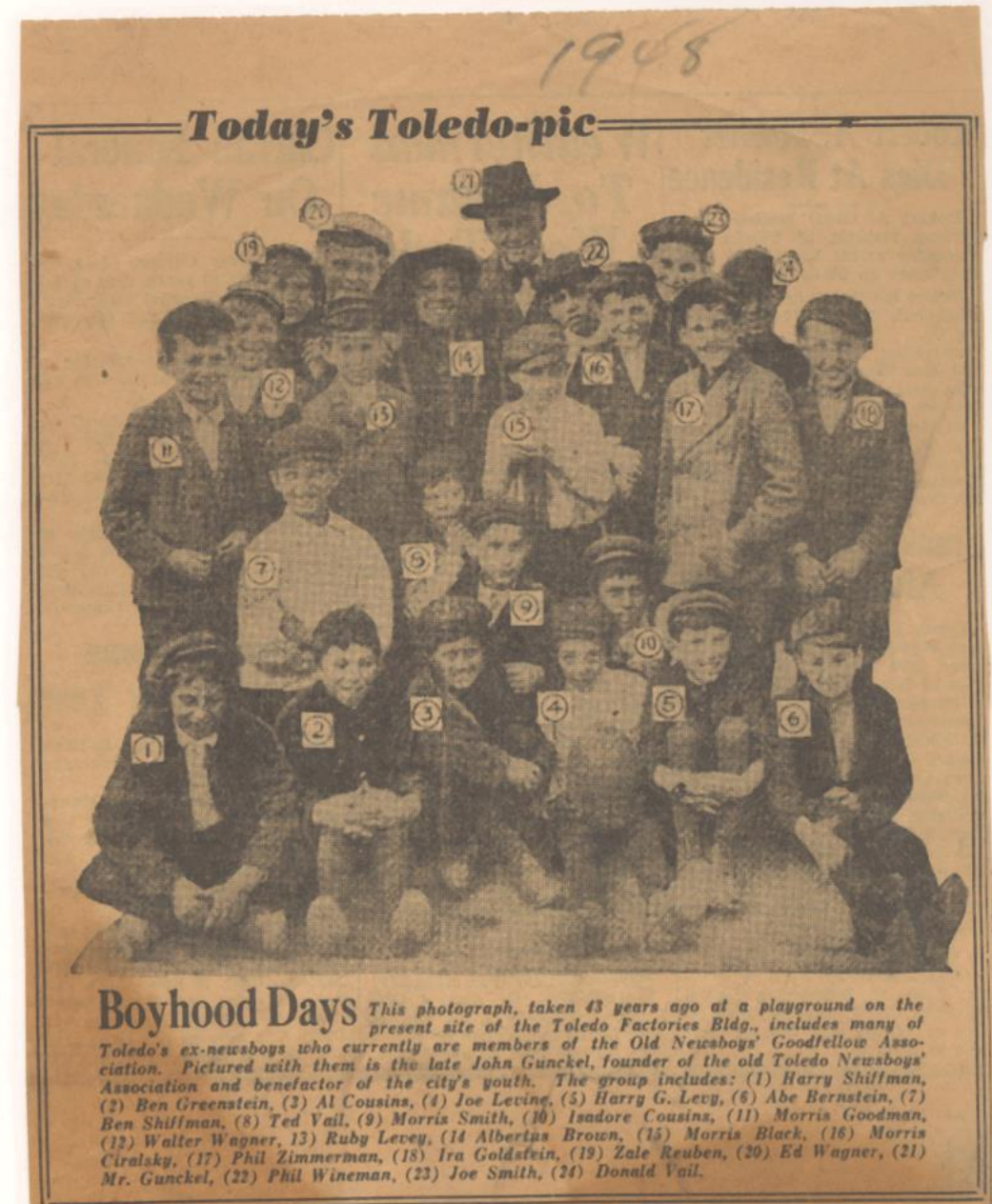
BEING THE FOURTH LEGISLATURE UNDER THE NEW CONSTITUTION.

VOLUME LV.

On motion of Mr. Safford,
S. J. R. No. 78; Relative to an amendment to the constitution, preventing persons of African descent from voting,
Was taken from the table.
The question then being on the passage of the resolution,
The yeas and nays were ordered, and resulted—yeas 21, nays 11, as follows:
Those who voted in the affirmative were—
Messrs. Cantwell, Cass, Chapman, Corwine, Gard, Hatch, Kincaid, Langdon, McKelly, Morrow, Murdock, Perkey, Perrill, Phelps, Safford, Shideler, Schleich, Smith, Thomas, Vanatta and Westcott—21.
Those who voted in the negative were—
Messrs. Ashmun, Buckland, Cadwell, Gatch, Green, Henkle, Holloway, McCleary, Miles, Taylor and Winans—11.
So said resolution was agreed to.
On motion of Mr. Schleich,
The Senate took a recess.

Nebraska School (1867) and Old Newsboys (1903)

(http://www.oldohioschools.com/lucas_county.htm and <https://toledosattic.org/essays/101-abstracts/biography/102-johngunckel#:~:text=Although%20Toledo's%20Old%20Newsboys%20were,25%2C%201892%2C%20John%20E.&text=The%20new%20boys%20asked%20Gunckel%20or,the%20time%20were%20elected%20trustees.>)



19th c. Toledo (cont.) (Musteric, Blade, McGinnis, Williams)

- 1869 Warren AME protested segregation of Toledo high schools—specifically unequal conditions & over-sized districts—by withdrawing from public school and teaching at church
- 1869-1870 Toledo's Black citizens petition for entrance into various wards' schools, citing unequal facilities (Williams, p. 38)
- 1870 Toledo's Black Civil War veterans lead celebration of ratification of 15th Amendment and are mocked in the *Blade* (Williams, p. 37)
- 1871 Amid rampant *Blade* editorials (Williams, 14-15), **Toledo school board members voted in favor of desegregation**; see WGTE documentary noting Toledo desegregated voluntarily & early
- 1873 Ohio Legislature revised codification of school laws, retaining segregation as an option (Musteric)
- 1878 Ohio Legislature further revised, specifying districts must furnish blacks with schooling for same term as whites
- 1887 State of Ohio legally abolished segregation and repealed Black Laws (Musteric)
- 1890 Housing segregation and decisions by Toledo Board of Education continued de facto school segregation in Toledo
- 1896 US Supreme Court *Plessy vs. Ferguson* establishes “separate but equal” doctrine

White members of Toledo Board of Education on integration, and Black members of community on integration

In the early months of 1870, Toledoans expressed their views concerning the integration of the city's schools through the local press. According to Charles W. Hill, a member of the school board, black students were not prepared to compete in classes with whites. "Years must elapse," stated Hill, "before Colored youth of the same ages as the whites could step into and keep up with the same classes." Hill also cited race prejudice as the overriding issue in maintaining separate schools. This prejudice against blacks, warned Hill, could not be eradicated by "all the [School] boards, newspapers, and courts in the state." Black citizens, such as Alexander Taylor and William Waring, were not in total disagreement with the statements of board member Hill. They

agreed that the existing educational level of black students did not compare with that of their white counterparts. These men did not agree, however, that blacks should continue to endure inferior and inaccessible educational facilities. "We would ask," remarked Taylor, "what has been gained by our Colored school in the city of Toledo?" "Not one graduate," he continued, "has been produced." William Waring concurred with this assessment when he stated that "not one Colored youth has grown up" in the city "with what, under the most generous construction of the term, could be called a good common school education." According to blacks, admission to the city's ward schools was not an honor but a right of all citizens. At the same time, they recognized race prejudice as a key factor in the creation and continuation of a segregated educational system. "Even the foreigner," stated Taylor, had "a better right to send his children to any school in the city" than the man who "wielded the bayonet during the [Civil] War." Beyond this obvious reference to black

Early 20th Century Toledo Segregation & Violence

- In 1890, **75% of Toledo's black population lived in 4 of 8 wards; in other wards, "residentially concentrated on the fringes of white neighborhoods"** (Musteric, p. 9).
- In 1915, John Willys led establishment of Village of Ottawa Hills within Toledo city limits
- Increased racial tensions in Toledo but **no open violence so long as did not move into white neighborhoods**, and due in part to Toledo Council of Churches Race Relations Department, est. 1925 (Musteric, p. 12).
- "In 1917, efforts by blacks to move to the Bulgarian and Birmingham neighborhoods of East Toledo were met with **threats and incidents**. Two years later, 146 East Toledoans filed a **restrictive covenant agreement** with county officials, even though the Supreme Court had outlawed such agreements" (Musteric, p. 12).
- "**Toledoans were able to limit their overt racial hostility, so long as their black neighbors did not move outside of 'black' areas**; when this was attempted, white Toledoans erupted with open violence" (Musteric, p. 12).

Early 20th century school segregation, despite “official” desegregation

“[I]n 1920 the NAACP accused the TPS Superintendent William B. Gitteau of ordering segregation of blacks in certain public schools. At a school board meeting, **NAACP officials charged that Superintendent Gitteau had ordered the segregation of blacks in the Industrial Heights School. According to the allegations, all black students in the school had been placed ‘under the charge of’ Miss Duffy, a black teacher.** Superintendent Gitteau denied the charges and said that it was the **policy of the schools to ‘place all backward pupils under one teacher.’** Members of the Board of Education supported this contention and Board president W. C. Carr added that board was not aware of ‘any segregation other than this’” (Musteric, 1998, p. 13).

Segregation and funding

Garfield 8th Grade Class of 1923



Washington & Longfellow new schools, 1924



1930s (Musteric, 1998; Borden, 1994)

- 1929 Hostility toward blacks in white neighborhoods continued, especially in East Toledo with documented attack on black family
- 1930s With Great Migration, “a distinct ghetto of 11, 000 blacks existed close to the downtown central business district” (Musteric, p.10).
Restrictive covenant agreements
Railroad work (incl. living in boxcars)
Housing shortage and poor quality housing
- 1930s US Congress funded low income housing, designating “Negro houses” and “white houses,” and in Toledo blacks were mostly “in the Pinewood area, south of downtown Toledo” (Musteric, p. 14).
- 1930s “In industrial work, blacks accounted for only two percent of the total work force. Of those blacks employed, all were in semi-skilled or cleaning/janitorial positions.” No active black firemen and 3 or 4 black policemen (Musteric, p. 15).
- 1937 After 4 years of New Deal, blacks unemployed at 33% and whites unemployed at 10%

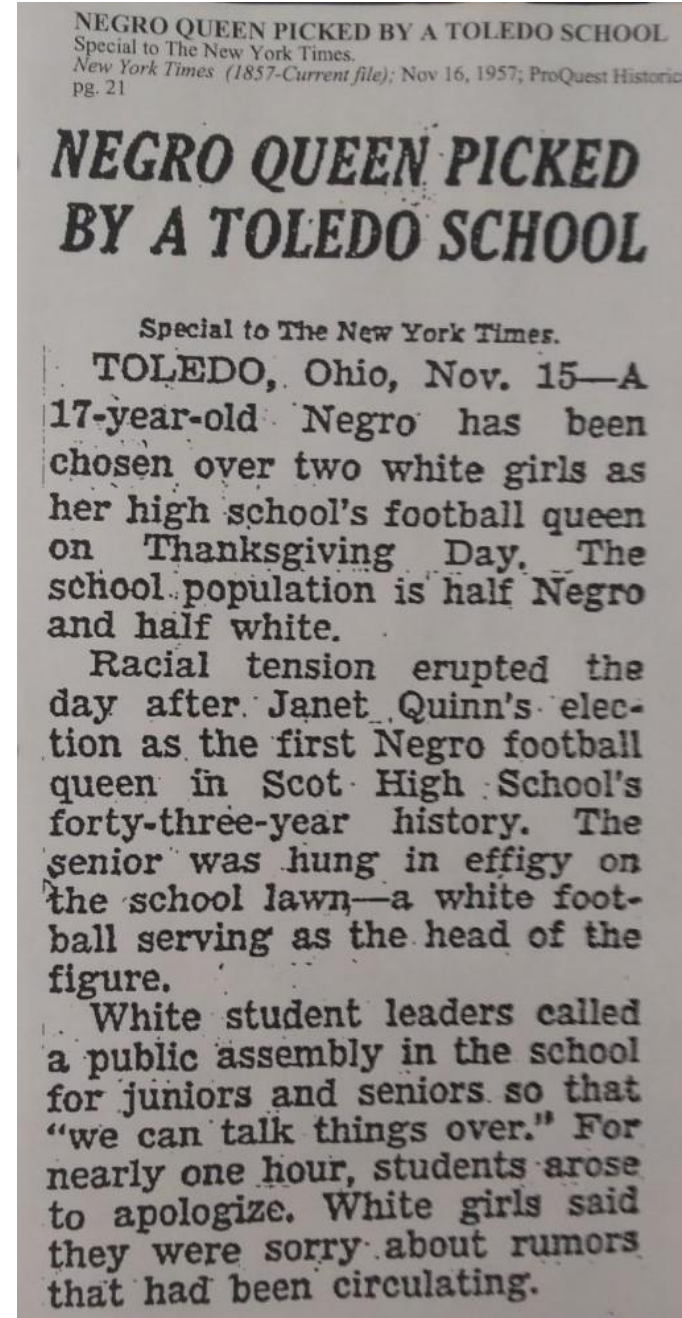
1930s-1940s (cont.) (Musteric)

- 1937 TPS Superintendent E.L. Bowsher charged with segregating black students by transferring black students from Washington Elementary to Gunckel Elementary; he said Washington was overcrowded and Board backed this as reason for decision
- 1938 Two schools cited for overcrowding: Robinson and Gunckel (drawing Bowsher's 1937 statement into question)
- 1944 Emory Leverette named assistant principal of Gunckel, becoming first Black administrator in TPS (Blade, 1998)



1950s & 1960s

- 1954 US Supreme Court, *Brown vs. Board of Education of Topeka*, “separate is inherently unequal” & state-sanctioned segregation of public schools violates 14th Amendment
- 1957 “When Scott High School crowned its first lack homecoming queen..., whites burned her in effigy” (Musteric, p. 24).
- Late 1950s Washington Township Schools established separate from TPS: issues were “money and race” (Blade, 2004).
- 1960s Increased suburbanization in Toledo but blacks remained residentially segregated



1960s (Musteric)

- 1960s TPS changed from Gunckel being “the” black elementary school to having several predominantly black schools: Washington, Pickett, Lincoln, Warren, Robinson, King, Stewart, and Fulton) instead of creating integrated schools. “The Toledo Board of Education did not deliberately integrate its schools in the 1960s. Instead, the board maintained segregated schools either by limiting the choices of students, or ...by making no effort to reverse the effects of residential segregation, or both” (Musteric, p. 23).
- 1962 TPS opened Bowsher HS and Start HS, and redrew boundaries; Scott HS not involved in redistricting
- 1964 US Civil Rights Acts of 1964 and 1968, and Voting Rights Act of 1965
- 1967 “Violence broke out in sections of the city of Toledo. Looting was widespread and several cases of arson
- 1969 Woodward HS students suspended for protest of ‘too few Negro teachers, no suitable history course on Negro life, no Negro cheerleaders, and only a token representative on the ... athletic coaching staffs... At Scott HS, 300 students who supported the demands by Woodward students for a ‘Negro’ curriculum by boycotting classes were suspended by black principal Flute Rice” (Musteric, p. 24-25).
- 1969 Woodward HS’s “Negro History Week” protested by United Citizens Council of America: “This is only the beginning of more intolerable situations that will occur unless we unite in a common cause for preservation of the civil rights of white students” ” (Musteric, p. 24).

TPS on desegregation, 1966 & 1968 (Musteric, pp. 25-26)

How did Toledo measure up in terms of school integration in the 1960s? On May 23, 1966, the Toledo Board of Education adopted a policy statement with the following language:

The public schools will work cooperatively with all community agencies in constructive efforts to eliminate artificial separation on the basis of race, religion, or economic conditions, and will not seek to perpetuate separation of minority groups . . . All reasonable approaches to better interracial experiences will be considered.¹¹⁸

Was this promise fulfilled for black schoolchildren in Toledo?

A 1968 HEW study found that the Toledo Public School system was in non-compliance with civil rights laws in several areas: (1) Eighty percent of black teachers hired in the years preceding the study were assigned to the fourteen predominantly black schools; a special recruitment team was used to recruit black teachers for these schools. (2) Only one black principal and one black assistant principal were assigned to schools

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outside of the inner city. (3) Funds provided for poorer schools (from Title I of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965) were being used to make black schools equal to white schools—thereby implying explicitly that the schools were “separate and unequal”—not for curriculum enrichment. (4) A predominantly black high school had an inferior curriculum compared with other schools. (5) Buildings and curricula in a black district that was annexed in 1968 were declared to be “inferior and inadequate.”¹¹⁹

In response to these accusations, Superintendent Frank Dick responded to each claim in turn. For example, he claimed that black principals had been assigned to predominantly black schools because of the demands of school district residents. However, according to the NAACP, this pattern of assignment had been practiced since

“A 1971 editorial in the *Bronze Raven* perhaps best summarizes the impact of the 1960s upon the schools: ‘During the last decade there has been some improvement in integration in the Toledo Public Schools, but no there are actually more schools that are predominantly black than there were then [in the early 1960s]’” (Musteric, p. 23).



1970s (Musteric)

- Early 1970s **“[T]he first black homecoming queen of the University of Toledo (then Toledo University) was presented with wilted flowers” ” (Musteric, p. 24).**
- 1970s Whites in Toledo increasingly sent children to parochial schools
- 1970s Overcrowding in public schools became a serious issue, with Pickett, Fulton, and Cherry (all predominantly black) most serious
- 1970s Only 2 black men had been on board of education; only one black administrator in a predominantly white school; only one school did not have at least one black teacher; complaints lodged with Ohio Civil Rights Commission about discrimination (Musteric, p. 91-92)
- 1970s **Looking back, Principal Leverette of Gunckel, recalled questioning if building annexes on Gunckel and others “was the school district’s way of ‘corralling’ blacks in their own neighborhood,” and that the authorities “reminded me that I was just the principal of Gunckel School” (Blade).**
- 1971 **US Supreme Court, Swann vs. Charlotte-Mecklenburg Board of Education, busing could be used to achieve racial balance: both Blacks and whites opposed**
- 1972 In Toledo, of 61 elementary and junior highs, “seven had a black student enrollment of over 90 percent... Three other schools had a black population of more than 80 percent.... 22 schools had no black enrollment” (Musteric, p. 87)
- 1974 NAACP found “eleven schools had all their black students in programs such as special education, effectively creating a segregated ‘school within a school’” (Musteric, p. 87)

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Cultural violence in the 1970s (Musteric, p. 93)

Black students playing in a Findlay basketball game were subject to ridicule

because of their race. An editorial in February 1, 1969 issue of the *Toledo Bronze Raven* described how

[r]abid Findlay fans, adult and juveniles—all behaved like brats—shouted insults, gestured obscenely, dressed in white gloves with black bands, and . . . went onto the court after Libbey won a close victory and set upon Cowboy [Libbey's mascot] players and fans.⁴⁴

A cartoon in a student newspaper was the catalyst for racial conflict at Waite High School in 1971. The cartoon depicted black students about to be dropped through a grate; black students interpreted it “as a gesture of genocide from the whites.”⁴⁵ At a basketball game against St. John’s Jesuit High School in 1975, Scott High School students were asked to leave without incident when they wanted to tear down a sign which read, “Beat Dem Boo Dogs.”⁴⁶ Following a fight that began after a Scott High School vs. Central Catholic High School basketball game in 1973, the Scott High School athletic team was placed on probation by the Toledo Public Schools athletic commissioner. The decision was criticized by Clarence J. Walker, a Board of Education member. He complained that

Getting integrated? A personal history of public schooling (Johnson, 2009)

I went to Pickett in the 1970s. Pickett Elementary was a great school. It must have been one of the best schools in Toledo Public at that time. It was in the South Toledo area that had been called “Kuschwantz” or “cow’s tail,” when it had been Polish, from the 1880s into the ‘50s, but in the 1960s, when the city destroyed the Black neighborhood on Dorr Street through what they called “urban renewal,” it became one of the main Black neighborhoods in town. When I went to Pickett, it was grades K through 8. It was like that until I got to the seventh grade. Then the district decided to change things and to ship us eighth graders out to one of the junior highs for our eighth-grade years. They decided to send half of us to McTigue Junior High and half of us to Byrnedale Junior High: I went to Byrnedale because I was on the south side of Nebraska Avenue, and the ones on the north side went to McTigue. We were all bused. Both of those schools were all white.

Back then, at Pickett, not all the teachers lived in our neighborhood, but the teachers allowed us out to their homes. They might have a pool party or an outing to their homes. Also, even if they might not live around the kids, they were in a whole lot of programs with the kids, so they were around the neighborhood every day. Say we had a science fieldtrip: we'd all go together down to the creek, or walk around the neighborhood, looking at things. It was hands-on. We'd go to Ottawa Park to collect samples: we would get a bus, or teachers would carpool, or the parents would help carpool the class. Or it would be within walking distance, like Libby High School; there was a creek right there, and we'd walk to that. Or catch frogs—there aren't too many frogs now, but there were back then. Or worms—there aren't too many worms any more, either. But then, it was easy for projects that we did every day. It wasn't just *in-class* projects, but projects that they did outside. We didn't stay in class all the time.

But at Byrnedale, it was just *The Book*. I think the teachers at Pickett realized that there were things other than books. There was *life*, which helped the kids learn what was *in the book*. I think that's probably how I learned the most, because I didn't really like books then, you know. There were all kinds of things that we did outside of class with the teachers. Go to ball games. Go downtown. I guess, whatever the teacher had to teach in class, we'd see out in society, and our episode in society would tie into what we had to learn in class, and that gave us better a understanding of what we had to learn in class.

I still don't understand why we were shipped out like that. The only reason I see why they destroyed Pickett School like that was that the program was going too well. That's the only thing I can think, because the school and the teachers were some of the best in the city: Mr. E, Mrs. B, and Mrs. K. And when they transferred us and those teachers out, the teachers were saddened. It doesn't make any sense for them to have shipped us out there and then shipped us right back. It doesn't make any sense. Who's progressing from that? Who? It wasn't the kids. It wasn't the teachers. The only thing I can think of is divide and conquer.

Toward present: African American Parents' Association (founded 1995) filed this complaint in 2009, resolved in 2016:

WHO WE ARE

The “fierce urgency of now” compels us to file this complaint with the U.S. Department of Education, Office of Civil Rights and to alert other parties to the disparities that ensnare black children in Toledo into a life of incarceration, mental illness, homelessness, unemployment and exclusion. We are a group of community activists greatly concerned with the state of the public school system and how it relates to the achievement of our black students, male and female, in the city in which we reside.

We are a cross section of the community who have a vested interest in the product (student) that is being produced in the Toledo Public School District. Our concerns are real and we have been attempting to engage the top level administration in seeking reasonable solutions that will ensure our black students/black teachers/black schools and our minority contractors a level playing field, when it comes to employment, education and a future for our city. We have been met with obstinacy.

WHY THE COMPLAINT

This complaint is being filed against the Toledo Public School System, located in Toledo Ohio. The Federal law violated is the Civil Rights Act of 1964 Title II and Title VI which prohibits educational discrimination on the basis of race, color or national origin. The Toledo Public School System has systematically denied black students/black parents/black employees the same opportunities, programs, services, treatment and subjected black students to segregation and separate treatment.

Toledo *Blade* report, (<http://www.toledoblade.com/Education/2016/01/22/U-S-orders-TPS-to-give-equal-access.html>).

Questions for discussion

Family history and privilege

1. What were your ancestors doing during the decades described in the 19th and 20th centuries? What do you know about their experiences with schooling, housing, and employment?
2. How do the experiences and opportunities they had then affect the experiences and opportunities you have now?

OR Local history and supremacy

1. What of the history presented today did you know? Where did you learn it? Or, if you never learned it, why did you not learn it?
2. How is *not* knowing this history important for the preservation of white supremacy?
3. How does the history learned today relate to how we memorialize our past in the present?

OR History and work today

1. How does this history relate to schooling experiences of your students today?
2. How does *now knowing* this history affect your work as an antiracist? Or in Kendi's words, now that we can "identify and describe" racism, how do we "dismantle it"?

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