

**Directions and Explanations for Teachers/Guiding Questions for Students**  
**Close Reading Lesson for Excerpt from “Is it a Crime for a Citizen of the United States to Vote?”**

The purpose of this attachment to the lesson plan is to provide teachers with explanatory notes and models of the lesson procedure and pedagogy, the kinds of text-dependent questions upon which this close reading lesson relies, and other lesson components, such as ideas for formative assessment and differentiation for ELLs and gifted and talented/advanced students. It is important to remember that the primary purpose of the lesson is to model instruction in close reading. Teachers may wish to vary components of the lesson to fit the needs of their students, but the focus on close reading should remain.

Sections in this attachment are as follows:

- Reader’s self-analysis checklist for argument
- Organizer for use in analyzing argument
- Lesson procedure and guiding questions
- Fishbowl discussion
- Informative/explanatory writing assignment
- Appendix I: Differentiation for Gifted and Talented/Advanced Students
- Appendix II: Differentiation for English Language Learners
- Appendix III: Generic rubric for the fishbowl discussion
- Appendix IV: Generic rubric for informative/explanatory writing
- Appendix V: Additional vocabulary

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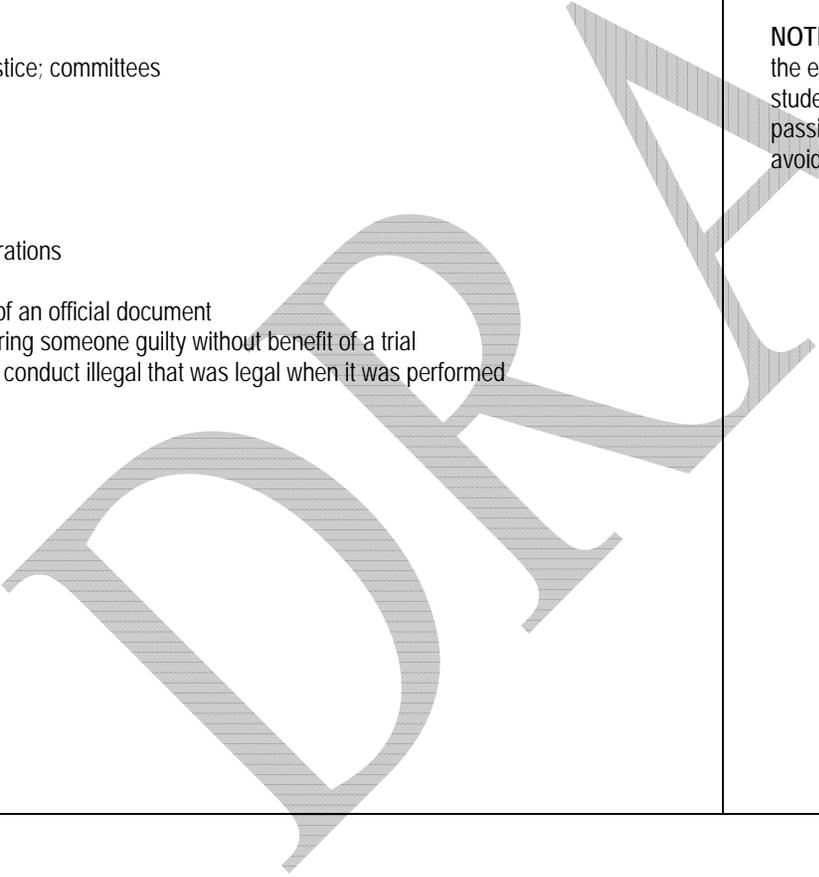
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<p><b>Reading Argument</b> <b>Self-analysis Checklist</b></p> <p>Using the following scale, rate yourself by putting an “X” in the column you think best fits your behaviors as a reader of argument.</p> <table style="width: 100%; border-collapse: collapse;"> <thead> <tr> <th style="width: 60%; text-align: left;">As a reader of argument, I can</th> <th style="width: 10%;">Never</th> <th style="width: 10%;">Sometimes</th> <th style="width: 10%;">Usually</th> <th style="width: 10%;">Always</th> </tr> </thead> <tbody> <tr> <td>identify the topic or issue</td> <td></td> <td></td> <td></td> <td></td> </tr> <tr> <td>identify the claim(s)</td> <td></td> <td></td> <td></td> <td></td> </tr> <tr> <td>identify and explain the speaker’s or writer’s underlying assumptions or beliefs</td> <td></td> <td></td> <td></td> <td></td> </tr> <tr> <td>identify and explain the counterclaims</td> <td></td> <td></td> <td></td> <td></td> </tr> <tr> <td>evaluate the reliability, completeness, and effectiveness of the evidence used to support the claim(s)</td> <td></td> <td></td> <td></td> <td></td> </tr> <tr> <td>identify, explain, and analyze the organization</td> <td></td> <td></td> <td></td> <td></td> </tr> <tr> <td>identify, explain, and analyze language choices that contribute to meaning</td> <td></td> <td></td> <td></td> <td></td> </tr> <tr> <td>identify, explain, and analyze language choices that contribute to tone</td> <td></td> <td></td> <td></td> <td></td> </tr> <tr> <td>identify, explain, and analyze that contribute to style</td> <td></td> <td></td> <td></td> <td></td> </tr> </tbody> </table> <p>To improve my skills as a reader of argument, in this lesson I will focus on</p>	As a reader of argument, I can	Never	Sometimes	Usually	Always	identify the topic or issue					identify the claim(s)					identify and explain the speaker’s or writer’s underlying assumptions or beliefs					identify and explain the counterclaims					evaluate the reliability, completeness, and effectiveness of the evidence used to support the claim(s)					identify, explain, and analyze the organization					identify, explain, and analyze language choices that contribute to meaning					identify, explain, and analyze language choices that contribute to tone					identify, explain, and analyze that contribute to style					<p><b>1. Complete the self-analysis checklist; set personal goals for this lesson.</b></p> <p>One of the important elements of this lesson is self- and peer-monitoring on the part of the students. The “Capacities of a Literate Individual” on page 7 of the Common Core State Standards for ELA/Literacy identify independence as an important aspect of literacy. Encouraging metacognition and peer support are two ways to foster independence and perseverance in students, a trait critically important for seniors approaching adulthood. The <a href="#">formative assessment</a> practices of self and peer monitoring, integral to enhancing teaching and learning, frame this lesson and provide opportunities for self and peer evaluation at regular intervals throughout the lesson.</p>
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<p><b>Analyzing Argument</b></p> <pre> graph TD     A((What is the issue/topic??)) &lt;--&gt; B((What are the underlying assumptions or beliefs?))     C((What is the claim? What are the counterclaims?))     D((What evidence does the author use to support the claim?))     E((What is the organization?))     F((What language choices contribute to meaning, tone, and style?))     C &lt;--&gt; A     C &lt;--&gt; B     C &lt;--&gt; D     C &lt;--&gt; E     C &lt;--&gt; F     </pre>	<p><b>2. Explain the organizer students will be using to record evidence from their analysis of the excerpt.</b>  The organizer aligns with the standards and the supporting standards for Writing Argument (W1) but looks at those standards from a reading perspective. In addition, the organizer aligns to a number of Reading Informational Text (RI) standards, although the particular language of those standards is not used. A key point about this organizer is that it is intended to facilitate the recording of information/evidence. It should not be used to constrain student thinking. To that end, students may wish to individualize this organizer to meet their own learning and thinking styles. So long as the key components of the analysis are not lost, teachers should allow and even encourage individual approaches. Doing so aligns with fundamental principles of UDL and opens the lesson to access by all students.</p>

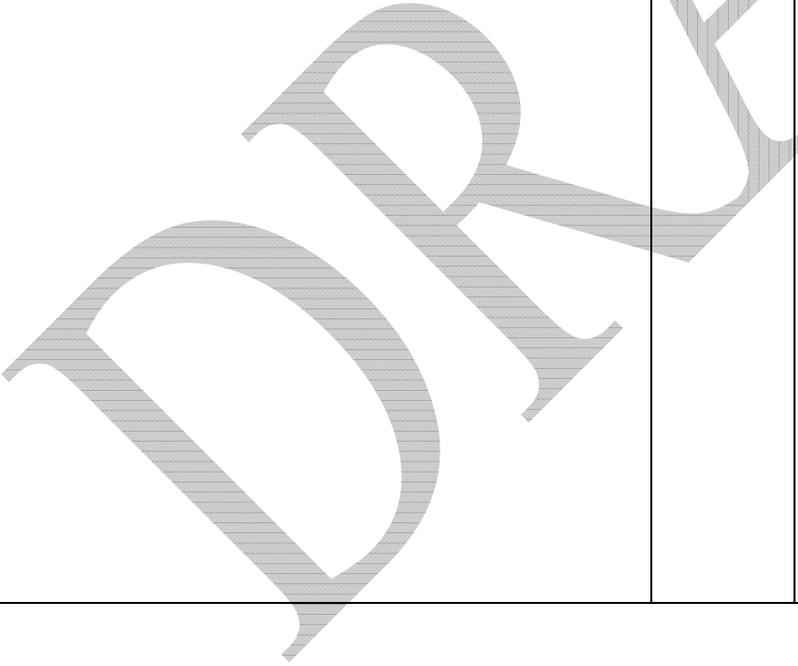
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<p><i>[After her arrest but prior to her trial on charges of voting illegally in the 1872 federal election, Susan B. Anthony went on an extensive speaking tour of Monroe County and Ontario County in New York. The following text is an excerpt from the speech she gave on that tour.]</i></p> <p><u>Glossed Words</u></p> <p><u>executing</u>: carrying out what is required</p> <p><u>assert</u>: declare, state</p> <p><u>tribunals</u>: courts of justice; committees</p> <p><u>confer</u>: give</p> <p><u>exercise</u>: use</p> <p><u>posterity</u>: future generations</p> <p><u>1st art. 2d</u>: a section of an official document</p> <p><u>bill of attainder</u>: declaring someone guilty without benefit of a trial</p> <p><u>ex post facto</u>: making conduct illegal that was legal when it was performed</p>	<p>3. <b>Introduce the excerpt and ask students to read the excerpt independently.</b>        Other than noting the context-setting information in the italicized introduction and discussing the glossed words, teachers should refrain from frontloading this lesson with activities that put special emphasis on background information. The <b>close reading</b> approach used in this lesson requires students to rely solely on the text and not on information gained from presentations on the life of Susan B. Anthony or the history of the suffragist movement, for example. Teachers may want to mention the syntax and sentence structure used in this speech because some students will find navigating the prose challenging at times. Explain to students that working carefully through the text, reading and rereading, will result in comprehension of what may be difficult to understand at first.</p> <p><b>NOTE:</b> In keeping with <b>UDL</b>, some students may benefit from access to a recording of the excerpt. Throughout this lesson, students read independently; at those times, some students may also need to listen as well. However, students should listen actively, not passively, so that the recording becomes an aide to comprehension and not a means to avoid the text.</p>



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<p>[After her arrest but prior to her trial on charges of voting illegally in the 1872 federal election, Susan B. Anthony went on an extensive speaking tour of Monroe County and Ontario County in New York. The following text is an excerpt from the speech she gave on that tour.]</p> <p style="text-align: center;"><b>Is it a Crime for a Citizen of the United States to Vote?</b></p> <p>[1] Our democratic-republican government is based on the idea of the natural right of each individual member thereof to a voice and a vote in making and <u>executing</u> the laws. We <u>assert</u> the province of government to be to secure the people in the enjoyment of their unalienable rights. We throw to the winds the old dogma that governments can give rights. Before governments were organized no one denies that each individual possessed the right to protect his own life, liberty, and property. And when one hundred or one million people enter into a free government, they do not barter away their natural rights, they simply pledge themselves to protect each other in the enjoyment of them through prescribed judicial and legislative <u>tribunals</u>. They agree to abandon the methods of brute force in the adjustment of their differences and adopt those of civilization.</p>	<p><u>executing</u>: carrying out what is required <u>assert</u>: declare, state</p> <p><u>tribunals</u>: courts of justice; committees</p>	<p>4. Read the excerpt aloud as students follow along. After students have had the opportunity to read the excerpt silently, they should listen to the excerpt being read aloud. Direct students to follow along in order to identify the claim, the counterclaims, and the evidence Anthony uses to make her argument. Slow and careful reading and rereading will help students navigate difficult syntax to discover the flow of the speech and, hence, the development of the argument.</p> <p>5. Guide discussion and analysis of the title and paragraph 1. Using a “Think Aloud” strategy, model a <u>close reading</u> of the title and paragraph 1. Share with students the thought processes involved in reading and understanding the claim and argument Anthony establishes in the first paragraph of the excerpt. Bring to light any underlying assumptions or beliefs on Anthony’s part. Following the “Think Aloud” and using the questions below, guide students through a discussion of the title and paragraph 1.</p> <p><b>(Q1) What does the title of Anthony’s speech imply about both the direction her argument will take and the underlying assumptions or beliefs she holds?</b> Anthony carefully links four key words in her title to which she will return throughout her remarks: <i>crime</i>, <i>citizen</i>, <i>United States</i>, and <i>vote</i>. By avoiding gender and focusing instead on citizenship, Anthony frames her argument with a universal appeal that sets logic above emotion. Her question is almost rhetorical and hints at her fundamental assumption or belief that she is not a criminal but rather a citizen who merely exercised a citizen’s rights. Another of Anthony’s assumptions seems to be that her audience will answer her question the same way she has answered it.</p> <p><b>(Q2) In the first sentence, what does Anthony say about the foundation of our form of government? What is significant about the phrase “natural right”?</b> Anthony connects our “democratic-republican” government to the right of each individual to vote and, therefore, have a voice in the making and enforcement of our laws. The phrase “natural right” is significant because it establishes the notion that this right is inherent in each individual and not something that can be given or taken away.</p> <p><b>(Q3) In the remainder of paragraph 1, how does Anthony describe the role of government in the face of the idea of natural rights? Paraphrase the remainder of paragraph 1.</b> Anthony says that we believe that a government cannot grant a right that its citizens already naturally possess. Instead, the role of government is to secure or protect that right for its citizens. Before there were governments, individuals had the right to protect themselves, their freedom, and their property. When individuals enter into a free government, they are not agreeing to give up their rights. Rather, they pledge to abide by a system in which the rights of all citizens are protected in a civilized, nonviolent way.</p>



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<p>[2] Nor can you find a word in any of the grand documents left us by the fathers that assumes for government the power to create or <u>confer</u> rights. The Declaration of Independence, the United States Constitution, the constitutions of the several states, and the organic laws of the territories, all alike, propose to protect the people in the <u>exercise</u> of their God-given rights; not one of them pretends to bestow rights.</p> <p>All men are created equal and endowed by their creator with certain unalienable rights; among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness. That, to secure these, governments are instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed.</p>	<p><u>confer</u>: give</p> <p><u>exercise</u>: use</p>	<p><b>6. Guide discussion and analysis of paragraph 2.</b>            Direct students to reread paragraph 2 silently; then read it again aloud. See <b>NOTE</b> on page 3 of this lesson regarding <b>UDL considerations</b>.</p> <p><b>(Q4) What is Anthony’s purpose in paragraph 2? Paraphrase her remarks in paragraph 2.</b>            Anthony’s purpose in paragraph 2 is to advance the claim she makes in paragraph 1. Having argued that governments cannot give rights that individuals naturally possess, she first paraphrases federal, state, and territorial documents and then quotes from our founding documents to support the notion that “unalienable rights” come from the creator (i.e., are natural) and that the role of government is to “secure” or protect those rights. The phrase “deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed” harkens back to the first sentence in which she refers to an individual “voice and a vote.” Students should take special note of the phrase “consent of the governed” because it will take on resonance as Anthony continues to develop her argument.</p> <p><b>7. Pause at this point in the lesson to allow students to gather their thoughts.</b>            Direct students to paraphrase in their <b>class journals</b> the claims Anthony makes in paragraphs 1 and 2 and the evidence she uses to support those claims. Allow them to share their journal entries with a peer and revise based on peer feedback. Collecting and reviewing these journals would be a good <b>formative assessment</b> practice to verify that students understand the lesson.</p> <p><b>8. Model for students how to take notes to add information to the organizer.</b>            One of the critical behaviors exhibited by strong, independent readers is articulating key points, ideas, and evidence in a concise manner. The purpose of the organizer is to encourage students to attend to that behavior by having them express key points and ideas concisely. By modeling for students how to distill information and express it in concise language, teachers can help students refine and focus their thinking and make precise language choices that best express that thinking.</p>



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<p>[3] Here is no shadow of government authority over rights, no exclusion of any class of men from their full and equal enjoyment. Here is pronounced the right of all men, and, “consequently,” as the Quaker preacher said, “of all women,” to a voice in the government. And here, in this very first paragraph of the Declaration, is the assertion of the natural right of all to the ballot; for how can the “consent of the governed” be given if the right to vote be denied? Again: “That whenever any form of government becomes destructive of these ends, it is the right of the people to alter or abolish it, and to institute a new government, laying its foundations on such principles, and organizing its powers in such form, as to them shall seem most likely to effect their safety and happiness.</p> <p>[4] Surely the right of the whole people to vote is here clearly implied. However destructive to their happiness this government might become, a disfranchised class could neither alter nor abolish it, nor institute a new one, except by the old brute-force method of insurrection and rebellion.</p> <p style="text-align: center;">*****</p>	<p><b>9. Guide discussion and analysis of paragraphs 3 and 4.</b>            Direct students to reread paragraphs 3 and 4 silently; then read them aloud. Guide students through a discussion of the following questions, allowing time for recording of data on the organizer. Collecting and reviewing the organizers is a good <b>formative assessment</b> practice.</p> <p><b>(Q5) What is important about Anthony’s reference to the “Quaker preacher”?</b>            By alluding to a position held by a religious figure, Anthony acknowledges and attempts to respond to a possible counterclaim. (NOTE: The fact that “the Quaker preacher” is not named suggests that Anthony’s audience probably understood the allusion. The omission of the preacher’s name provides a good opportunity for teachers to demonstrate that having absolutely all of the details is not always necessary to making meaning and drawing conclusions. The point here is that a religious figure, someone whose judgment should be trustworthy, has already interpreted the words “all men” to be inclusive of women.)</p> <p><b>(Q6) Explain how Anthony uses the phrase “consent of the governed” as evidence to support her claim?</b>            Quoting and applying the Declaration of Independence continues to add weight to Anthony’s argument. Simply put, the Declaration asserts that our government functions only because of the consent of the people who have the right to alter the government if it behaves in a manner counter to the good of its people. In our country, altering the government involves the vote. Anthony’s argument here is clear: How can any group from whom the vote is withheld ever be able to exercise its right to effect change in the government except by force, which she has already established as antithetical to a civilized society.</p> <p><b>10. Allow time for students to paraphrase paragraphs 3 and 4 in their journals and to discuss their journal entries for paragraphs 1 through 4 with a peer.</b>            Being able to revisit the same piece of text and to put in their own words the claim, counterclaim, and evidence at this point in the excerpt encourages comprehension by chunking the text into manageable sections. This <b>UDL</b> approach is good for all students, but it is especially helpful for students who struggle with challenging text.</p> <p><b>11. In a structured discussion, encourage students to share “clicks and clunks” so far in their reading. Revisit and revise personal goals based on success and challenges.</b>            One way students can monitor their progress is to be aware of what they have understood and what they have not understood. This <b>formative assessment</b> practice encourages metacognition and can be used to help students adjust their focus as the lesson progresses.</p>

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<p>[5] The preamble of the Federal Constitution says: “We, the people of the United States, in order to form a more perfect union, establish justice, insure domestic tranquility, provide for the common defence, promote the general welfare, and secure the blessings of liberty to ourselves and our <u>posterity</u>, do ordain and establish this Constitution for the United States of America.”</p> <p>[6] It was we the people-not we white male citizens-nor yet we male citizens-but we the whole people, who formed this Union; and we formed it, not to give the blessings of liberty, but to secure them-not to the half of ourselves and the half of our posterity, but to the whole people, women as well as men. And it is downright mockery to talk to women of their enjoyment of the blessings of liberty while they are denied the use of the only means of securing them provided by this democratic-republican government.</p> <p style="text-align: center;">*****</p> <p>[7] And the early journals of Congress show that when the committee reported to that body the original articles of confederation, the very first article which became the subject of discussion was that respecting equality of suffrage. Article 4th said: “The better to secure and perpetuate mutual friendship and intercourse among the people of the different states of this Union, and free inhabitants of each of the states (paupers, vagabonds, and fugitives from justice excepted) shall be entitled to all the privileges and immunities of the free citizens of the several states.”</p> <p>[8] Thus, as the very beginning, did the fathers see the necessity of the universal application of the great principle of equal rights to all in order to produce the desired result- a harmonious Union and a homogeneous people.</p> <p style="text-align: center;">*****</p>	<p>posterity: future generations</p>	<p><b>12. Guide discussion and analysis of paragraphs 5 through 8.</b>            Direct students to reread paragraphs 5 through 8 silently; then read them aloud. Allow time for pairs or small groups to respond to the question below and record their ideas on their organizers. Guide students through a large-group discussion. Again, see <b>NOTE</b> on page 3 for <b>UDL considerations</b>.</p> <p><b>(Q7) Explain how Anthony uses the preamble to the Constitution and Article 4 of the Articles of Confederation to strengthen and extend her argument in these paragraphs.</b>            Anthony continues to look to our founding documents for evidence that supports her claim that she is not a criminal but a citizen who has simply exercised her rights. In the famous words from preamble to the Constitution, she finds the inclusiveness that she alludes to earlier: “We, the people...” As individuals who make up “the people,” women, she argues, were there when the government was started. They were always intended to benefit from and, her argument follows, to have a voice in the government. She highlights the phrase “secure the blessings of liberty” in order to underscore her earlier point about natural rights. In this case, the government is not giving the blessings of liberty; instead, the government is securing those blessings for its citizens. As she rounds out her analysis of the preamble, she points out the hypocrisy inherent in a system that talks about the blessings of liberty but then denies them the right to have a say about the very institution charged with securing those blessings. In paragraph 7, she incorporates the words “free inhabitants of each of the states...shall be entitled to all the privileges and immunities of the free citizens of the several states.” Her conclusion is that the founding fathers recognized the need for equal rights for all people if we hoped to create a more perfect union for our citizens.</p> <p><b>13. Revisit your organizer and your journal entries. On an exit slip, evaluate the effectiveness of Anthony’s claim and evidence so far in the excerpt.</b>            An exit slip is an important <b>formative assessment</b> practice that allows teachers to gather information about how well students are grasping the content at a crucial time in the lesson. The intent of this particular lesson is to differentiate at this point and assign students to small-group reading and analysis for the remainder of the excerpt. Teachers can use the data from the exit slips to decide whether this approach is feasible or whether a particular group of students may need more direct assistance to navigate the remaining paragraphs.</p>

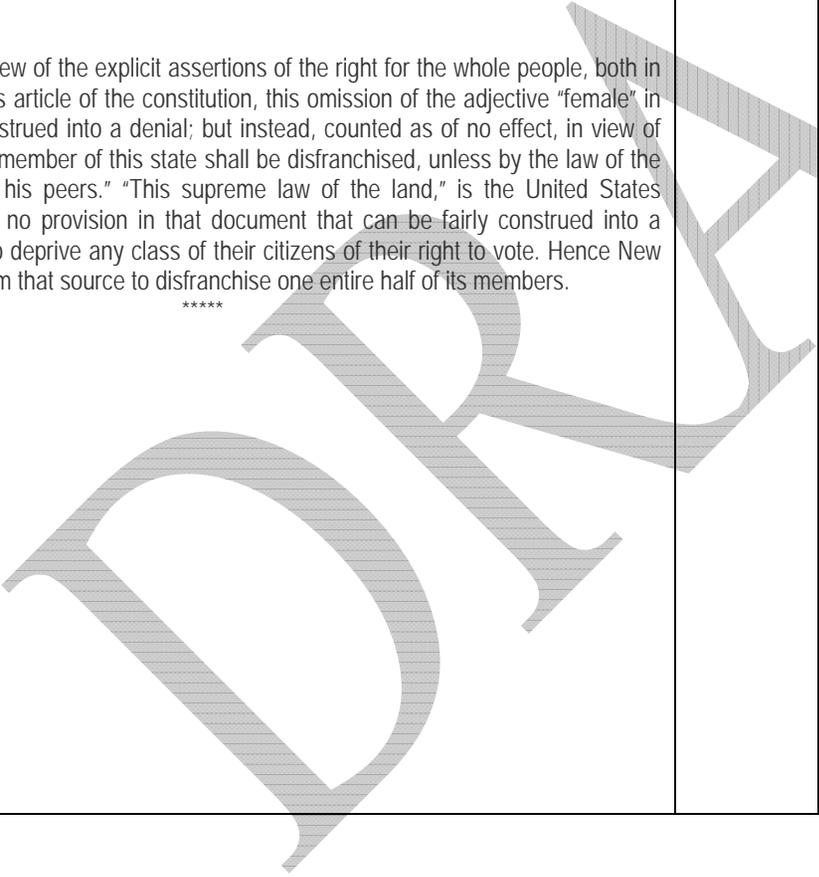
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<p><b>Group 1:</b> Paragraphs 17 through 20</p> <p><b>Group 2:</b> Paragraphs 26, 28, and 29</p> <p><b>Group 3:</b> Paragraphs 33 through 35, 42, and 88</p> <p><b>Group 4:</b> Paragraphs 89, 90, 91, and 92</p>	<p><b>14. Organize students into cooperative groups and explain the procedure for reading and analysis of the rest of the excerpt.</b>            Encourage students to assume roles and to engage in productive discussions to ensure that the group will run smoothly and the task will be accomplished. Students should employ the reading and rereading approach modeled at the beginning of this lesson. Students should also record data from the discussion on their organizers.</p> <p>In forming groups, teachers might consider a number of variables. First, teachers might form cooperative groups of varying levels. Teachers could allow students to select which sections they want to read and analyze. Teachers could also differentiate (UDL) at this point by moving those students who need individual attention into a group with which the teacher could work closely. In the last instance, teachers might also decide to be strategic about which section to assign to those students.</p> <p>Finally, during this phase of lesson, teachers should circulate among the groups, noting who is or perhaps is not engaged in the discussion, which comments are on target and which comments reflect misunderstanding, etc. As a formative assessment practice, observation and data gathering can help to identify and correct misreading before it takes root. Teachers can also use data gathered from observation to work with students who are showing discomfort with group discussion.</p>

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<p>[17] Article 1st of the New York State constitution says: “No member of this state shall be disfranchised or deprived of the rights or privileges secured to any citizen thereof, unless by the law of the land or the judgment of his peers.”</p> <p>[18] And so carefully guarded is the citizen’s right to vote, that the constitution makes special mention of all who may be excluded. It says: “Laws may be passed excluding from the right of suffrage all persons who have been or may be convicted of bribery, larceny, or any infamous crime.”</p> <p style="text-align: center;">*****</p> <p>[19] The only seeming permission in the New York State constitution for the disfranchisement of women is in the <u>1st art. 2d</u>: “Every male citizen of the age of 21, etc., shall be entitled to vote.”</p> <p>[20] But I submit, that in view of the explicit assertions of the right for the whole people, both in the preamble and previous article of the constitution, this omission of the adjective “female” in the 2d, should not be construed into a denial; but instead, counted as of no effect, in view of the direct prohibition, “No member of this state shall be disfranchised, unless by the law of the land, or the judgment of his peers.” “This supreme law of the land,” is the United States Constitution, and there is no provision in that document that can be fairly construed into a permission to the states to deprive any class of their citizens of their right to vote. Hence New York can get no power from that source to disfranchise one entire half of its members.</p> <p style="text-align: center;">*****</p>	<p><u>1st art. 2d</u>: a section of an official document</p>	<p><b>(Q8) What evidence does Anthony cite from the constitution of New York that supports her claim? Paraphrase her reasoning in addressing a possible counterclaim in paragraph 20.</b></p> <p>Anthony moves from citing federal documents to citing state documents. Since her “crime” was committed in New York, she looks to the documents of her state for evidence to support her argument. Essentially, she highlights a seeming contradiction in the state constitution. On one hand, the document calls for all citizens to have the same rights and privileges (with the exception of those who have committed a specific type of crime), including the right to vote (“No member of this state shall be disfranchised...”). On the other hand, the first article of the state constitution cites only males over the age of 21. On one level this statement could be used by those who counter her contention that she has committed no crime. To address this possible counterclaim, Anthony points to the words “the law of the land.” Her argument is that the omission of the word “female” in the New York document is irrelevant because the Constitution of the United States, the “supreme law of the land,” makes no reference to denying women the right to vote. And, since voting has already been established as a “natural right,” individual states can do nothing to prevent women from exercising that right.</p>



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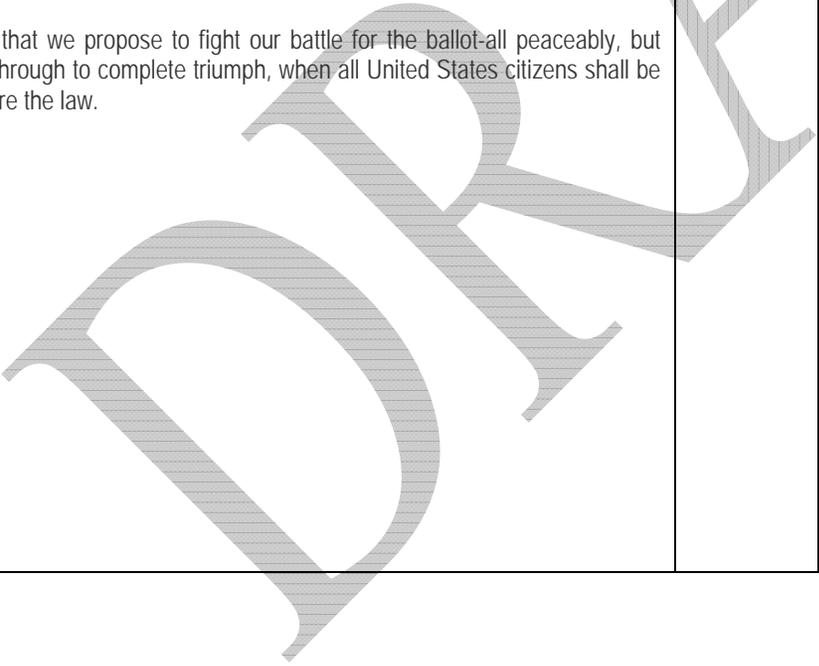
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<p>26] For any state to make sex a qualification that must ever result in the disfranchisement of an entire half of the people, is to pass a <u>bill of attainder</u>, or <u>ex post facto</u> law, and is, therefore, a violation of the supreme law of the land. The blessings of liberty are forever withheld from women and their posterity. To them this government has no just powers derived from the consent of the governed. To women this government is not a democracy; it is not a republic; it is an odious aristocracy—a hateful oligarchy of sex!! And this in the face of sec. 4 of article 4th, which says, “The United States shall guarantee to every state in this Union a republican form of government.” What, I ask you, is the distinctive difference between an inhabitant of a monarchical and those of a republican form of government? Save that in the monarchical the people are subjects—helpless, powerless—bound to obey laws made by superiors, while in the republican the people are citizens, all clothed with equal power to make and unmake both their laws and law-makers.</p> <p style="text-align: center;">*****</p> <p>[28] But, it is urged, the use of the masculine pronouns, he, his, and him, in all the constitutions is proof that only men were meant to be included in their provisions. If you insist on this version of the letter of the law, we shall insist that you be consistent and accept the other horn of the dilemma, and exempt women from taxation for the support of the government and from the penalties for the violation of laws.</p> <p>[29] A year ago I was at Walla Walla, Washington Territory. I saw there a theatrical company called the “Pixley Sisters,” playing before crowded houses every night of the whole week of the territorial fair. The eldest of those three fatherless girls was scarcely eighteen; yet every night a United States officer stretched out his long fingers and clutched \$6 of the proceeds of the exhibitions of those orphan girls, who but a few years before were half starlings in the streets of the capital of that far-off northwest territory. So the poor widow, who keeps a boardinghouse, manufactures shirts, or sells apples and peanuts on the street corners, is compelled to pay taxes from her scanty pittance. I would that the women of this Republic at once resolve never again to submit to taxation until their right to vote is recognized.</p> <p style="text-align: center;">*****</p>	<p><u>bill of attainder</u>: declaring someone guilty without benefit of a trial</p> <p><u>ex post facto</u>: making conduct illegal that was legal when it was performed</p>	<p><b>(Q9) In paragraph 26, what does Anthony imply about the legality of denying women the right to vote? Paraphrase her argument in this paragraph and connect that argument to her larger claim.</b></p> <p>Anthony posits that denying women the right to vote is illegal because that right was in place from the time our nation began. Denying it now is, therefore, after the fact (ex post facto) and, in effect, illegal because it denies to half of the population the blessings to which they are entitled. Furthermore, it calls into question the notion of “the consent of the governed,” since half of the population has given no consent to anything. Finally, she equates the denial of the vote to women to their living under a monarchy where subjects have no power or voice in their government.</p> <p><b>(Q10) Explain the dilemma that Anthony explores in paragraph 28? What is her purpose in pointing out this dilemma?</b></p> <p>In this paragraph, Anthony returns to the problem of the use of masculine pronouns in the various constitutions. She acknowledges that some would use this fact as proof that women were excluded from the provisions of those documents. She debunks this counterclaim by pointing out that women are taxed by the government and subject to punishment for disobeying the laws of the government, yet they have no voice in that government.</p> <p><b>(Q11) What is the purpose of the anecdote about the Pixley Sisters in paragraph 29? Explain how this anecdote connects to the dilemma described in paragraph 28.</b></p> <p>Anthony is highlighting the hypocrisy inherent in a system that takes a portion of the profits (taxes) earned by three orphan girls yet would deny those same girls a voice in the very government that seizes those profits. This example is especially poignant since these girls seem to have worked hard to pull themselves out of poverty and to give themselves a better life. She extends the idea to include widows who live on almost nothing but are required to pay taxes in any case. She ends this paragraph with a call to action on the part of all women to refuse to pay taxes unless their right to vote is recognized.</p>

**Directions and Explanations for Teachers/Guiding Questions for Students**  
**Close Reading Lesson for Excerpt from “Is it a Crime for a Citizen of the United States to Vote?”**

Text Under Discussion	Directions and Explanations for Teachers/Guiding Questions for Students
<p>[33] The statute of New York reads: “Every person shall be assessed in the town or ward where he resides when the assessment is made, for all the lands owned by him,” etc.</p> <p>[34] And again: “Every collector shall call at least once on the person taxed, or at his usual place of residence, and shall demand payment of the taxes charged on him.”</p> <p>[35] The same is true of all criminal laws: “No person shall be compelled to be a witness against himself,” etc.</p> <p style="text-align: center;">*****</p> <p>[42] The only question left to be settled here is, are women persons? And I hardly believe any of our opponents will have the hardihood to say they are not! Being persons, then women are citizens; and no state has a right to make any new law, or enforce any old law, that shall abridge their privileges or immunities.</p> <p style="text-align: center;">*****</p> <p>[88] Benjamin F. Butler, in a recent letter to me said, “I do not believe anybody in Congress doubts that the Constitution authorizes the right of women to vote, precisely as it authorizes trial by jury and many other like rights guaranteed to citizens;” and again General Butler said, “It is not laws we want; there are plenty of laws, good enough too. Administrative ability to enforce law is the great want of the age; in this country especially. Everybody talks of law, law. If everybody would insist on the enforcement of law, the government would stand on a firmer basis; and questions would settle themselves.” And lastly, President Grant, in his late message to Congress, speaks approvingly of the disbursements through the Department of Justice having been “increased by the recent acts of Congress to enforce the rights of citizens of the United States to vote in several states of the Union.” Again he speaks of lawless men combining “to deprive other citizens of the rights guaranteed to them by the Constitution of the United States, and then says, I do not doubt that a great majority of the people in all parts of the country favor full enjoyment by all classes of persons of those rights to which they are entitled under the Constitution and laws. And I invoke the aid and influence of all good citizens to prevent, by all lawful means, any interference with those rights.”</p>	<p><b>(Q12) Explain the purpose of the quotations in paragraph 33 through 35. How do these quotations extend an idea established in the previous section?</b>            Anthony uses these quotations to extend her argument by introducing the idea of personhood. Clearly, the legal language in these quotations establishes legal responsibilities/expectations for all persons; therefore, as Anthony asks, “The only question left to be settled here is, are women persons?” Since arguing that a woman is not a person is impossible, Anthony concludes that no state can make or enforce any law that denies a woman’s/person’s rights or protections. These quotations connect to Anthony’s previous point about paying taxes. How is it that in some areas women are full citizens, but in one critical area, they are not?</p> <p><b>(Q13) Why does Anthony choose to quote from a letter she received from Benjamin F. Butler? Paraphrase the quotation from Butler’s letter to Anthony.</b>            Anthony quotes from Butler’s letter because it adds credibility to her argument. Butler is a representative in the government that is denying a fundamental right. Butler says that he doubts anyone in the Congress would argue against the right of women to vote. His stance is that lack of enforcement is the problem, a point that President Grant seems to support as he praises additional money to prevent “lawless men” from being allowed to deprive fellow citizens of their rights. Grant says that the majority of people throughout the country support the rights of all citizens and that “all good citizens” should oppose any interference with those rights.</p>

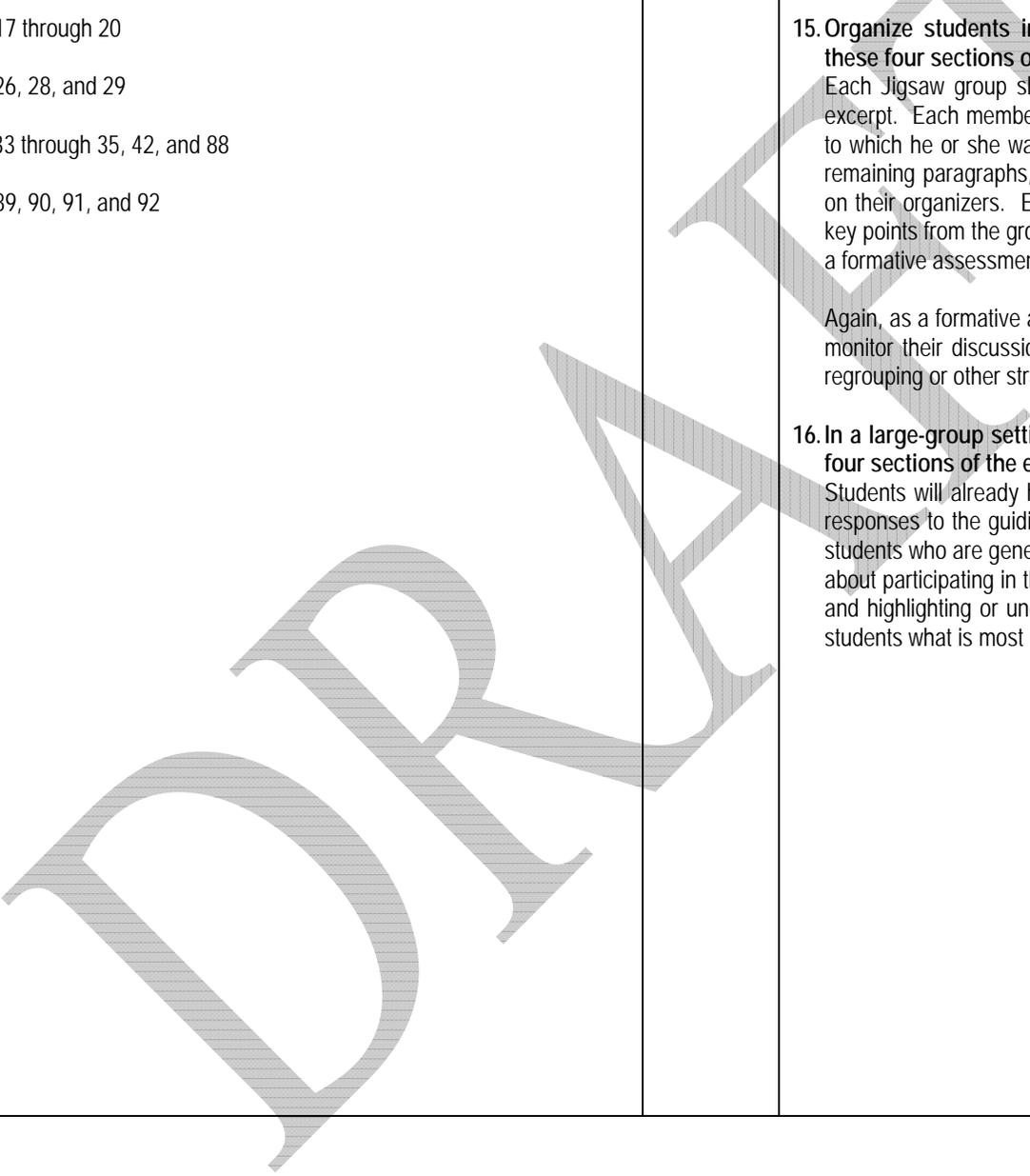
**Directions and Explanations for Teachers/Guiding Questions for Students**  
**Close Reading Lesson for Excerpt from “Is it a Crime for a Citizen of the United States to Vote?”**

Text Under Discussion	Directions and Explanations for Teachers/Guiding Questions for Students
<p>[89] And it is upon this conclusion of “the citizens’ constitutional right to vote” that our National Woman Suffrage association has based its argument and action for the last four years. We no longer petition legislature nor congress to give us the right to vote. We appeal to the women everywhere to assume their too long neglected “citizen’s right to vote.” We appeal to the inspectors of elections everywhere to receive the votes of all United States citizens as it is their duty to do. We appeal to United States commissioners and marshals to arrest the inspectors who reject the names and votes of United States citizens, as it is their duty to do, and leave alone those who, like our eighth ward inspectors, perform their duties faithfully and well.</p> <p>[90] We ask the courts to render true and unprejudiced opinions of the law, and wherever there is room for a doubt to give its benefit on the side of liberty and equal rights to all citizens, remembering that “the true rule of interpretation under our national constitution, especially since its amendments, is that anything for human rights is constitutional, everything against human rights unconstitutional.”</p> <p>[91] We ask the juries to fail to return a verdict of “guilty” against honest, law-abiding, tax paying United States citizens for offering their votes, at our elections. Or against intelligent, worthy young men, inspectors of elections, for receiving and counting such citizens’ votes.</p> <p>[92] And it is on this line that we propose to fight our battle for the ballot-all peaceably, but nevertheless persistently through to complete triumph, when all United States citizens shall be recognized as equals before the law.</p>	<p><b>(Q14) How does the direction of Anthony’s argument change beginning with paragraph 89? How are these paragraphs different from the rest of the excerpt? Paraphrase the appeals she makes in the closing paragraphs.</b></p> <p>Anthony seems to feel that she had made her case, so she decides not to appeal to the legislature or to Congress. Instead, her appeals become more personal calls to action. She appeals to women to begin to go the polls on election days and vote. She appeals to election inspectors to receive the votes of women and not to turn them away. She calls for the arrest of election inspectors who turn away women voters at the same time that election inspectors who do permit women to vote are left alone. She asks the courts to rule on the side of liberty and equal rights for all and to remember the relationship between the Constitution and human rights. She asks juries not to convict women for voting or election inspectors who allow them to vote. Finally, she vows to fight on, peaceably but persistently until all citizens are “recognized as equals before the law.”</p>



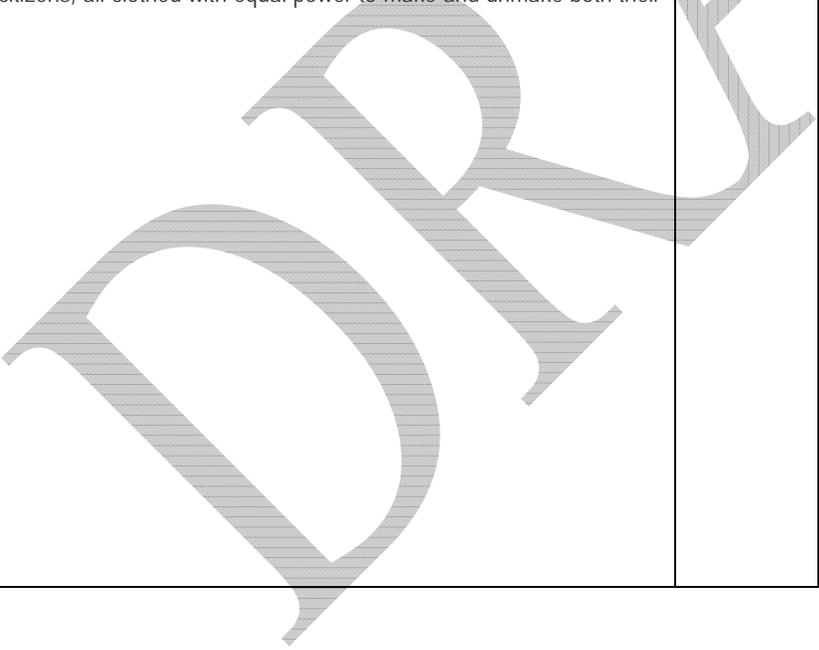
**Directions and Explanations for Teachers/Guiding Questions for Students**  
**Close Reading Lesson for Excerpt from “Is it a Crime for a Citizen of the United States to Vote?”**

Text Under Discussion	Directions and Explanations for Teachers/Guiding Questions for Students
<p><b>Group 1:</b> Paragraphs 17 through 20</p> <p><b>Group 2:</b> Paragraphs 26, 28, and 29</p> <p><b>Group 3:</b> Paragraphs 33 through 35, 42, and 88</p> <p><b>Group 4:</b> Paragraphs 89, 90, 91, and 92</p>	<p><b>15. Organize students into mixed groups to conduct a Jigsaw discussion of these four sections of the excerpt.</b>            Each Jigsaw group should have 4 members representing the 4 sections of the excerpt. Each member serves as the “lead” for the specific section of the excerpt to which he or she was originally assigned. Allow time for groups to discuss the remaining paragraphs, ask clarifying questions of one another, and to take notes on their organizers. Each Jigsaw group should <b>select a means of presenting</b> the key points from the group’s discussion to the class. This presentation can serve as a formative assessment at this point in the lesson.</p> <p>Again, as a formative assessment practice, teachers should observe the groups to monitor their discussions. Information gathered from this observation can inform regrouping or other strategies that will keep students on track and</p> <p><b>16. In a large-group setting, review the guiding questions to pull together these four sections of the excerpt.</b>            Students will already have had a chance to respond to, discuss, and revise their responses to the guiding questions in two different small-group settings, so those students who are generally shy about speaking in class should feel more confident about participating in this discussion. In addition, displaying the text of the speech and highlighting or underlining key words and phrases models and reinforces for students what is most noteworthy.</p>



**Directions and Explanations for Teachers/Guiding Questions for Students**  
**Close Reading Lesson for Excerpt from “Is it a Crime for a Citizen of the United States to Vote?”**

Text Under Discussion	Directions and Explanations for Teachers/Guiding Questions for Students
<p>[6] It was we the people-not we white male citizens-nor yet we male citizens-but we the whole people, who formed this Union; and we formed it, not to give the blessings of liberty, but to secure them-not to the half of ourselves and the half of our posterity, but to the whole people, women as well as men. And it is downright mockery to talk to women of their enjoyment of the blessings of liberty while they are denied the use of the only means of securing them provided by this democratic-republican government.</p> <p>26] For any state to make sex a qualification that must ever result in the disfranchisement of an entire half of the people, is to pass a <u>bill of attainder</u>, or <u>ex post facto</u> law, and is, therefore, a violation of the supreme law of the land. The blessings of liberty are forever withheld from women and their posterity. To them this government has no just powers derived from the consent of the governed. To women this government is not a democracy; it is not a republic; it is an odious aristocracy-a hateful oligarchy of sex!! And this in the face of sec. 4 of article 4th, which says, “The United States shall guarantee to every state in this Union a republican form of government.” What, I ask you, is the distinctive difference between an inhabitant of a monarchical and those of a republican form of government? Save that in the monarchical the people are subjects-helpless, powerless-bound to obey laws made by superiors, while in the republican the people are citizens, all clothed with equal power to make and unmake both their laws and law-makers.</p>	<p>17. Ask students to read paragraphs 6 and 26 independently, paying close attention to specific language choices. (See NOTE on page 3 for UDL considerations.) Guide a discussion of the language choices in these paragraphs using the questions below.</p> <p>(Q15) What is the effect of the repetition and parallelism used in paragraph 6? Anthony repeats the word “we” to emphasize the idea of equality. All citizens were included in the “we” when the Union was formed, and all citizens should be included in the Union now. The parallelism in the first sentence provides a point/counterpoint that clarifies and strengthens Anthony’s argument.</p> <p>(Q16) What tone does Anthony create in these paragraphs? What deliberate language choices contribute to that tone? Anthony’s tone is indignant and combative, yet it is grounded in logic and reasoning. In paragraph 6, she singles out “white male citizens” as the privileged group benefiting from the “blessings of liberty.” She uses the phrase “downright mockery” when talking about the fact that women are denied the only means of “securing” those blessings of liberty. In paragraph 26, she uses the words “an odious aristocracy—a hateful oligarchy of sex!” to describe the government. To an American audience, the word “aristocracy” would have had particular resonance because of our overthrow of a British aristocracy. In addition, she uses the words “monarchical,” “subjects,” and “powerless,” “superiors,” all of which have negative connotations that would resonate with an American audience. Her language is purposeful and direct, and she always links that language back to her fundamental claim.</p>

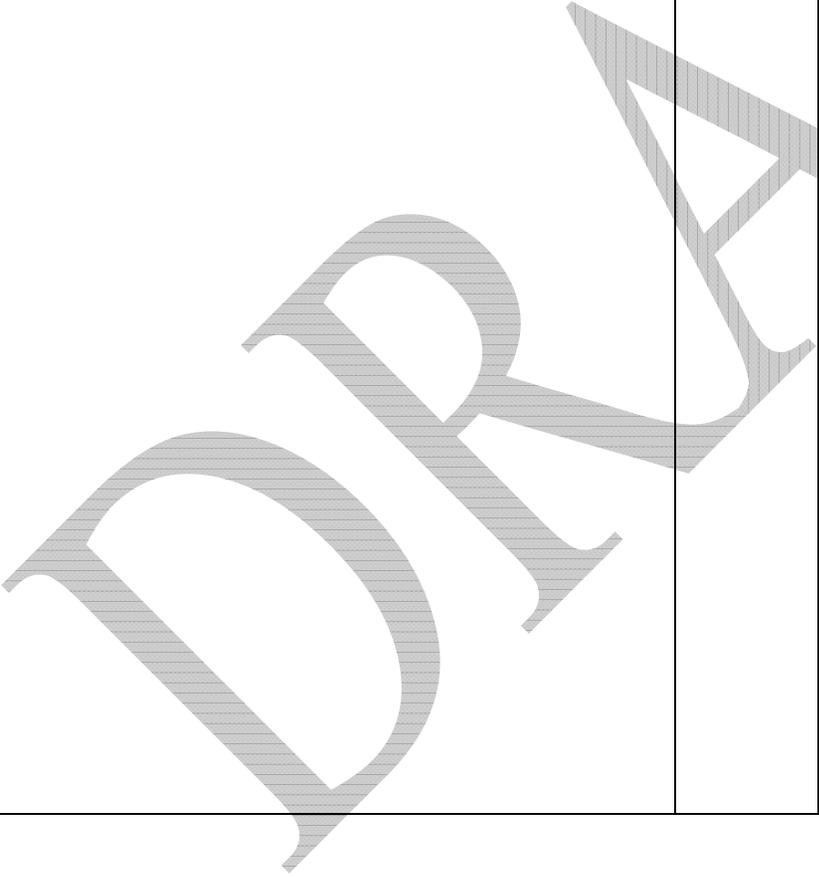


**Directions and Explanations for Teachers/Guiding Questions for Students**  
**Close Reading Lesson for Excerpt from “Is it a Crime for a Citizen of the United States to Vote?”**

Text Under Discussion	Directions and Explanations for Teachers/Guiding Questions for Students
<p>[89] And it is upon this conclusion of “the citizens’ constitutional right to vote” that our National Woman Suffrage association has based its argument and action for the last four years. We no longer petition legislature nor congress to give us the right to vote. We appeal to the women everywhere to assume their too long neglected “citizen’s right to vote.” We appeal to the inspectors of elections everywhere to receive the votes of all United States citizens as it is their duty to do. We appeal to United States commissioners and marshals to arrest the inspectors who reject the names and votes of United States citizens, as it is their duty to do, and leave alone those who, like our eighth ward inspectors, perform their duties faithfully and well.</p> <p>[90] We ask the courts to render true and unprejudiced opinions of the law, and wherever there is room for a doubt to give its benefit on the side of liberty and equal rights to all citizens, remembering that “the true rule of interpretation under our national constitution, especially since its amendments, is that anything for human rights is constitutional, everything against human rights unconstitutional.”</p> <p>[91] We ask the juries to fail to return a verdict of “guilty” against honest, law-abiding, tax paying United States citizens for offering their votes, at our elections. Or against intelligent, worthy young men, inspectors of elections, for receiving and counting such citizens’ votes.</p> <p>[92] And it is on this line that we propose to fight our battle for the ballot-all peaceably, but nevertheless persistently through to complete triumph, when all United States citizens shall be recognized as equals before the law.</p>	<p>18. Ask students to reread paragraphs 89, 90, 91, and 92 independently, paying close attention to the specific language and style. (See NOTE on page 3 for UDL considerations.) Direct students to respond to the question below and record information on their organizers.</p> <p>(Q14) Explain how Anthony uses repetition, parallelism, and language that would resonate with her audience in these paragraphs? Record your notes on the organizer.</p> <p>Each sentence but the first contains a “we” construction: “We no longer petition,” “We appeal,” “We appeal,” “We ask,” “We ask,” and “we propose.” The progression of these phrases moves from establishing the shift in the suffragettes’ strategy to making clear the conscious choice they have made to fight on. Making no progress with the legislature, they are now appealing directly to the people. The words “appeal” and “ask” are noteworthy in their almost humble tone. Anthony is not demanding, stipulating, or commanding; rather, she is appealing and asking, words that invite people to join her cause rather than try to force them to do so. The repetition of these “we” constructions ties ideas that begin with the women themselves, then move to the inspectors, the commissioners and the marshals, the courts, and finally the juries. The juxtaposition of “fight” and “peaceably” acknowledges the difficulty of the task but also the plan for accomplishing that task. Both words fit the self-portrait Anthony has painted in the excerpt. Finally, the repetition of words and the parallelism in syntax in these sentences highlight the equal importance of all aspects of the “battle” Anthony describes. In paragraph 90, especially, the parallel structure in the concluding sentence underscores Anthony’s belief that the struggle to secure votes for women is a simple question of constitutionality. There can be no middle ground.</p> <p><b>NOTE:</b> As students are working independently, teachers can circulate and observe, correcting any errors and answering any questions as part of effective <a href="#">formative assessment</a> practices. For students who are struggling, teachers should adjust the activity to address their needs. Such instructional adjustment should accompany any formative assessment at any time throughout a lesson.</p> <p>19. Conduct a guided discussion of these paragraphs, answering the question above and modeling note taking on the organizer.  As a <a href="#">formative assessment</a>, ask students to analyze the language of a different paragraph of their choice. Collect and evaluate their responses. Address errors and questions as needed.</p>

Directions and Explanations for Teachers/Guiding Questions for Students  
 Close Reading Lesson for Excerpt from “Is it a Crime for a Citizen of the United States to Vote?”

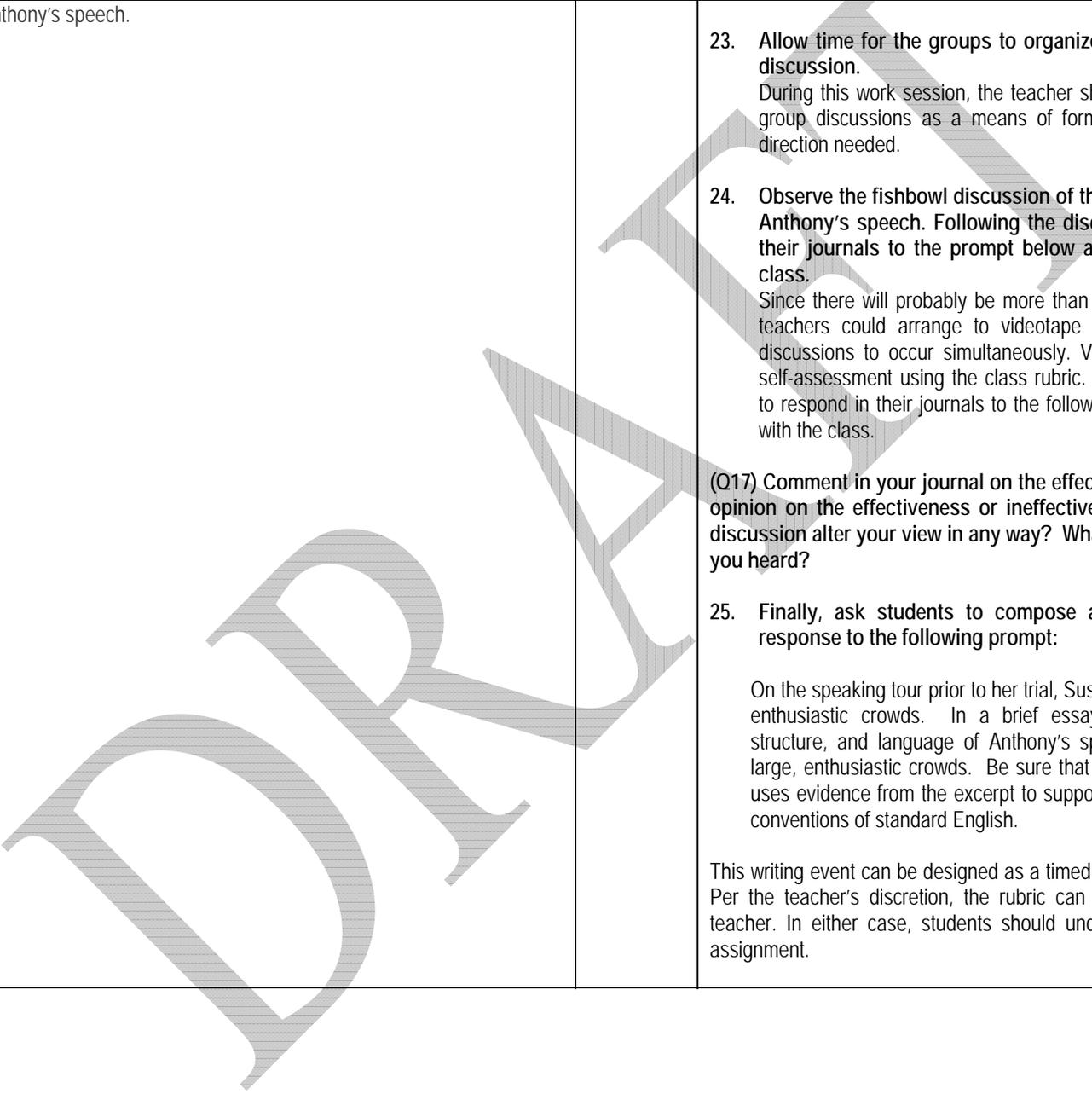
Text Under Discussion	Directions and Explanations for Teachers/Guiding Questions for Students
<p>Title and paragraphs 1-8, 17-20, 26, 28-29, 33-35</p>	<p>20. Ask students to describe in their journals how Anthony organizes her argument. (See Q15 below.) Allow time for students to share their ideas in a pair or small group. Conduct a large-group discussion and model note taking.</p> <p>(Q15) Using the notes you have taken on your organizer as well as the excerpt itself, describe how Anthony organizes her argument.        The organization of Anthony’s argument is, at base level, a Q&amp;A. Her title poses the question (and implies the answer); the text cites and examines evidence that answers the question and develops her argument, ending with an appeal for support and a promise to continue the struggle.</p> <p>I. Our country is founded on the belief that each citizen has a natural right to a voice/a vote in the government.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• A fundamental belief upon which the country was founded</li> <li>• A right that government can neither bestow nor deny           <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>◦ An idea supported by legal documents               <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>◆ Declaration of Independence, the U.S. Constitution</li> <li>◆ State constitutions, aws of the territories</li> </ul> </li> <li>◦ An idea interpreted by early thinkers (e.g., “the Quaker preacher” to include women</li> <li>◦</li> </ul> </li> </ul> <p>II. The importance of “We, the people,” is central to our society.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• The idea that everyone formed the union, not just white male citizens</li> <li>• The idea that the union guarantees everyone’s rights</li> <li>• The idea that universal harmony requires the inclusion of all citizens</li> </ul> <p>III. Lack of a direct reference to women or females in founding documents is inconsequential.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• NY documents’ claim that “No member of this state shall be disenfranchised”</li> <li>• U.S. Constitution’s guarantees as “supreme law of the land” include the vote</li> <li>• Denial of vote now seen as bill of attainder or ex post facto           <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>◦ Women not part of “consent of the governed”</li> <li>◦ Women forced to live like subjects instead of citizens</li> <li>◦ Hypocrisy of having women pay taxes and be subject to other laws               <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>◆ Anecdote re the Pixley sisters</li> <li>◆ NY statues that refer to “person”</li> </ul> </li> </ul> </li> </ul>





**Directions and Explanations for Teachers/Guiding Questions for Students**  
**Close Reading Lesson for Excerpt from “Is it a Crime for a Citizen of the United States to Vote?”**

Text Under Discussion	Directions and Explanations for Teachers/Guiding Questions for Students
<p>The entire excerpt from Anthony’s speech.</p>	<p><b>23. Allow time for the groups to organize the evidence and prepare for their discussion.</b>            During this work session, the teacher should circulate to observe and listen to group discussions as a means of formative assessment. Offer advice and direction needed.</p> <p><b>24. Observe the fishbowl discussion of the effectiveness or ineffectiveness of Anthony’s speech. Following the discussion, ask students to respond in their journals to the prompt below and to share their thoughts with the class.</b>            Since there will probably be more than one pair of groups for this discussion, teachers could arrange to videotape the discussions to allow for multiple discussions to occur simultaneously. Videotaping would also allow for group self-assessment using the class rubric. Following the discussion, ask students to respond in their journals to the following prompt and to share their thoughts with the class.</p> <p><b>(Q17) Comment in your journal on the effect of the discussion on your personal opinion on the effectiveness or ineffectiveness of Anthony’s speech. Did the discussion alter your view in any way? What was the most compelling evidence you heard?</b></p> <p><b>25. Finally, ask students to compose an informative/explanatory piece in response to the following prompt:</b></p> <p>On the speaking tour prior to her trial, Susan B. Anthony drew large and enthusiastic crowds. In a brief essay, explain how the content, structure, and language of Anthony’s speech would have generated large, enthusiastic crowds. Be sure that your essay is well organized, uses evidence from the excerpt to support your ideas, and applies the conventions of standard English.</p> <p>This writing event can be designed as a timed, in-class writing or a full process piece. Per the teacher’s discretion, the rubric can be generated by the class or by the teacher. In either case, students should understand the rubric before starting the assignment.</p>



Directions and Explanations for Teachers/Guiding Questions for Students  
Close Reading Lesson for Excerpt from "Is it a Crime for a Citizen of the United States to Vote?"

Appendix I

Differentiation for Gifted and Talented/Advanced Students

This lesson can be differentiated for Gifted and Talented/Advanced students in a number of ways, including but not limited to

- researching and comparing different versions of the "Is it a Crime for a Citizen of the United States to Vote?" speech.
- analyzing in depth the rhetoric of the speech, including the use of rhetorical devices. (anecdote, allusion, syllogism, irony, etc.)
- researching other speeches by suffragettes and comparing those speeches to the "Is it a Crime for a Citizen of the United States to Vote?" speech.
- analyzing in depth the reasoning used in the speech.

**Enthymeme:** A two-part structure consisting of a claim and a reason.

**Example:**

Everyone should buy a computer; otherwise, they'll be left behind by the technological revolution.

**Claim:** Everyone should buy a computer.

**Reason:** Otherwise, they'll be left behind by the technological revolution.

**Anthony:**

I am not guilty of any crime because, as a citizen of the United States, I have always had the right to vote.

**Claim:** I am not guilty of any crime.

**Reason:** As a citizen of the United States, I have always had the right to vote.

This component could be extended to include syllogisms.

Directions and Explanations for Teachers/Guiding Questions for Students  
Close Reading Lesson for Excerpt from “Is it a Crime for a Citizen of the United States to Vote?”

Appendix II

Differentiation for English Language Learners

This lesson can be differentiated for ELL students by applying [WIDA](#) Performance Definitions and CAN DO Descriptors. Click here for a more fully developed [ELL model](#).

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**Directions and Explanations for Teachers/Guiding Questions for Students**  
**Close Reading Lesson for Excerpt from “Is it a Crime for a Citizen of the United States to Vote?”**

**Appendix III**

Below is a suggested rubric for evaluating a fishbowl discussion.\*

Fishbowl Rubric				
Criteria	Scale			Observer's Notes
Careful preparation and reflection are apparent.	Never	Sometimes	Consistently	
Norms for a collegial discussion are observed.	Never	Sometimes	Consistently	
Comments reflect close reading and analysis.	Never	Sometimes	Consistently	
Questions extend and deepen the discussion.	Never	Sometimes	Consistently	
Evidence from the text is used in both questions and comments.	Never	Sometimes	Consistently	
Participants attend to eye contact, adequate volume, and clear pronunciation.	Never	Sometimes	Consistently	

\* This rubric addresses only the speakers in the discussion. A critical component of the fishbowl strategy is the role of the listeners. Teachers may wish to adjust the rubric to include listening.

**Directions and Explanations for Teachers/Guiding Questions for Students**  
**Close Reading Lesson for Excerpt from “Is it a Crime for a Citizen of the United States to Vote?”**

**Appendix IV**

Below is a suggested rubric\* for evaluating the informative/explanatory writing that marks the culmination of this lesson.

<b>Informative/explanatory Rubric</b>				
<b>Criteria</b>	<b>Scale</b>			<b>Evaluator's Notes</b>
Topic and focus statement are evident.	Minimally	Adequately	Effectively	
Topic is developed through well-chosen evidence and/or details.	Minimally	Adequately	Effectively	
Transitions between and among sections creates coherence.	Minimally	Adequately	Effectively	
Relationships between and among complex ideas are clear.	Minimally	Adequately	Effectively	
Language choices are precise and effective.	Minimally	Adequately	Effectively	
Style is formal and tone is objective.	Minimally	Adequately	Effectively	
Conclusion follows from and supports the information presented.	Minimally	Adequately	Effectively	
Conventions of Standard English are observed.	Minimally	Adequately	Effectively	

\*Teachers may wish to adjust this rubric to fit a particular instructional focus. This rubric is intended to be generic and probably does not fit all instructional scenarios

**Directions and Explanations for Teachers/Guiding Questions for Students**  
**Close Reading Lesson for Excerpt from “Is it a Crime for a Citizen of the United States to Vote?”**

**Appendix V**

Below is a list of additional vocabulary, beyond the glossed words, with which students might struggle. When possible, students should try to access the word through context before the teacher provides a definition. On some occasions, however, context is not always sufficient, and students may need additional support. Note that the definitions provided fit the context of the excerpt and may not represent all definitions of a given word.

Additional Vocabulary	
alleged: asserted by not yet proven	oligarchy: government or control by a small group of people
aristocracy: nobility	petition: to ask or request
assert: to state a position or point of view	posterity: descendants
barter: to exchange goods or services in return to other goods or services	prescribed: approved
disenfranchisement: depriving of a right, especially the right to vote	province: a sphere of knowledge or activity
dogma: a belief or set of beliefs that a political, philosophical, or moral group holds to be true	secure: to protect or guarantee
Indictment: a formal accusation of a serious crime	unalienable: that which cannot be given or taken away
odious: loathsome	

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