

# Black Slave Revolt Depiction and Minority Representation in U.S. History Textbooks from 1950-2005

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## ABSTRACT

I examine the evolution of ethnic and racial minority group representation in U.S. history textbooks since 1950 in this study. To accomplish this goal, Black slave rebellions were examined and quantitatively and qualitatively analyzed in textbooks published during the 1950s, 1960s, 1970s, 1980s, and 1990s. Qualitative analysis is subjective. All readers may not agree with the interpretations of the author but the findings are supported with evidence. The textbooks only represent a sample of the information one might expect to find in similar textbooks during each decade and by no means indicate that all textbooks from each decade cover the examined material in the same manner.

Five U.S. history textbooks were examined in this study. One textbook was examined from each decade beginning in the 1950s, with the final book being a contemporary textbook still used in many Wisconsin public high schools.<sup>1</sup> The textbooks were selected based on their availability and the level of their targeted audience. The textbooks chosen were targeted at student audiences in the late junior high through high school grades.

Recently at an urban school in Minneapolis a teacher asked her students to write “I hope never again” and “I wish” at the top of their papers. They were to make a list of things they hoped would not happen again and another list of things for which they wished. Shantae, a Black student was the last to read: “I hope never again to feel the kind of prejudice I feel every day when I walk down the street, or go into a store, or stand in line somewhere.” She had only one wish: “I wish I was an American.”<sup>2</sup> Students throughout America suffer with the issue at the core of Shantae’s feelings; that issue is race and racism. Unfortunately, unless confronted with no alternatives, race is not an issue most Americans discuss openly.

How is it possible that a young girl whose family lived in America since the mid-1600s feels she is not American? Shantae’s statements represent a historical divide between White people and people of color in the United States that remains prevalent in American society and the nation’s schools. Just as schools are reflections of society, the information students learn in schools reflect the attitudes of those who control the power. From the head of the Department of Education, to the local school district, to the classroom teacher, all these people and groups influence what children learn in schools. But another educational tool, the classroom textbook, continues to influence students’ attitudes and perceptions about United States history.

Representation of racial and ethnic minorities in school textbooks has been a source of controversy since textbooks began being used regularly in public school classrooms. However, textbook publishers made improvements in terms of minority coverage, especially over the course of the last half-century, as argued in studies performed during the 1960s and 1970s. Nevertheless, scholars correctly point out that “Our knowledge of racial bias in today’s texts is sketchy, and it

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<sup>1</sup> Lewis Paul Todd and Merle Curti, *America’s History* (New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company, 1950) Harold H. Eibling, Fred M. King, and James Harlow, *History of Our United States 2<sup>nd</sup> Ed* (River Forest, IL: Laidlaw Brothers, 1968) James P. Shenton, Judith R. Benson, and Robert E. Jakoubek, *These United States* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1978) Joseph R. Conlin, *Our Land, Our Time* (San Diego: Coronado Publishers Press, 1987) Gerald A. Danzer, J. Jorge Klor de Alva, Larry S. Krieger, Louis E. Wilson and Nancy Woloch, *The Americans* (Evanston, IL: McDougal Littell, 1998). The textbooks *Our Land, Our Time* and *The Americans* were borrowed from the curriculum resource center at the University of Wisconsin-La Crosse. The older textbooks were purchased off the World Wide Web after searches of Interlibrary Loan, the La Crosse city library archives, the La Crosse county historical society, the library at the University of Wisconsin-Madison, and the Wisconsin State Historical Society failed to produce satisfactory results.

<sup>2</sup> Julie Landsman, *A White Teacher Talks About Race* (Lanham, MD: Scarecrow Press, 2001), viii

may be tempting to assume that it has been taken care of by publishers.”<sup>3</sup> Failure to identify slave revolts, especially successful ones, speaks to the contrary. Examining how representation of minorities improved over time and searching for other textbook shortcomings are important for ensuring students of all genders, races, religions, and creeds can feel their stories and the stories of their ancestors find their appropriate place in the study of United States history. Appropriateness does not merely concern textbooks devoting a certain percentage of space to ethnic and racial minorities. Rather than attempt to re-write history to include ethnic and racial minorities, as textbook authors have attempted to do for the past half-century, publishers must also remember that history accurately.

Textbooks dominate history more than any other discipline. The traditional history textbook is the major instructional tool of most social studies teachers, and typically teachers use only one book.<sup>4</sup> America’s 2001 U.S. history report card indicated that 34 percent of students said they never used reading materials outside of the textbook, or if they did, only used outside materials once or twice during the year.<sup>5</sup> History textbooks have been in American public schools since American Independence; teachers depend on them, and students use them virtually on a daily basis. Yet heated debates regarding their use and content remain. Because interpretations of U.S. history in schools affect how students view their country, themselves, and their families and communities in relation to the national historical narrative, minority absence or misrepresentation in texts can be disturbing to young readers.

Although analyses of textbooks are not new, they are essential for understanding part of the teaching and learning process in classrooms because textbooks drive the curriculum and instructional practices in most schools. A. Graham Down of the Council for Basic Education emphasizes the degree of textbook reliance in the classroom and notes:

Textbooks, for better or worse, dominate what students learn. They set the curriculum, and often the facts learned, in most subjects. For many students, textbooks are their first and sometimes only early exposure to books and to reading. The public regards textbooks as authoritative, accurate, and necessary. And teachers rely on them to organize lessons and structure subject matter.<sup>6</sup>

Teacher reliance on textbooks in the learning process is evident by the fact secondary students spend 75 percent of their time learning a lesson and 90 percent of their time on homework with text materials.<sup>7</sup> Black’s 1967 study found that during a child’s school career (he or she) will attempt to absorb at least 32,000 textbook pages. National surveys conducted during the 1980s confirmed teachers use textbooks for more than 70 percent of their instructional time (Kirst, 1984). Even into the 1990s, “Textbooks continue to dominate the elementary, middle and secondary curriculum as the major instructional tool” (Ciborowski, 1992).<sup>8</sup> Textbooks and textbook dependency have been a source of pedagogical controversy for much of the last half-century. In order to examine textbooks and their depiction of minorities, it is important to place them in the proper historical context.

The textbook business grew substantially after the Second World War and during the second half of the twentieth century. Whereas total sales from textbooks had been \$17,275,000 in 1913, that amount ballooned to \$131,000,000 by 1947. Some estimates report that 44,000,000 textbooks had been purchased in the United States in 1947 alone. By 1985 over one billion dollars was being spent annually on textbooks, which were produced exclusively by more than sixty firms, with the five largest companies accounting for 40 percent of all books. The profit margin for textbooks at the time was a lucrative 14 percent. As a comparative frame of reference, the profit margins for the automobile industry and the retail industry during the 1980s were 5.5 percent and

<sup>3</sup> Michael W. Apple and Linda K. Christian-Smith ed., *The Politics of the Textbook* (New York: Routledge, Chapman and Hall Inc., 1991), 81

<sup>4</sup> Alvin Wolf, “Minorities in U.S. History Textbooks, 1945-1985” *Clearing House* 65.5 (May/June 1992), 292. Wolf cites a number of studies performed by Simms, Parsons, Shaver, Davis, Helburn, Fitzgerald, and Sewall from 1975 to 1987.

<sup>5</sup> Online, <http://www.nces.ed.gov/nationsreportcard/data/ppt/ushistorypress052002.ppt>

<sup>6</sup> Apple, 5

<sup>7</sup> Michael W. Apple, *Teachers and Texts: A Political Economy of Class and Gender Relations in Education* (New York: Routledge and Kegan Paul Inc., 1986), 85

<sup>8</sup> Gerard Giordano, *Twentieth-Century Textbook Wars: A History of Advocacy and Opposition* (New York: Peter Lang Publishing Inc., 2003), 150-151. Giordano charts various quotes and studies to demonstrate the amount of time students spent working with textbooks over the past half-century, which authors criticize.

3.2 percent respectively.<sup>9</sup> The textbook industry is clearly a highly profitable business. Introducing private industry into a public good such as education can bear some benefits, but the consequences loom large. In theory, competition over the textbook market should result in higher quality products, but as is too often the case in education, the emphasis usually shifts from students' needs and interests to a more easily measurable outcome such as test scores or dollars and cents.

Textbooks have undergone other changes in recent years as well. In an effort to visually appeal to students and sell their books, publishers have included more interactive materials, such as CD-ROMs, in their books. Authorship of texts has also changed. Whereas older textbooks tend to have one, two, or maybe three White male authors, today's texts have an army of authors and consultants from various backgrounds. Certainly the shift to include more authors and perspectives can create problems as well. Efforts to include each author's position often lead to compromises, which can compromise the overall quality of the information.

While textbook writers and publishers present their own biases, the process of choosing which materials schools purchase creates more controversy. There are no federal regulations or specifications regarding what information states are to teach or not to teach in the public school curriculum. Nor are there guidelines for the way in which educational materials used in public schools should be selected. Each state has the power to determine how to implement textbook adoption. States use one of two methods to select the textbooks used in their schools. Thirty states allow local agencies or schools to choose the textbooks they will use. A total of 20 states, known as textbook adoption states, choose at the state level which textbooks will be used by all school districts within the state. In Wisconsin each school district has the authority to adopt its own textbooks.

Whether a state is an adoption state or a non-adoption state is significant because a non-adoption state is less likely to have leverage to influence the content of a textbook. According to Hillel Black, "If one state provides a large enough market for a textbook, it can ask and sometimes get a publisher to change to the content of the school book if the state decides to buy. Because publishers find it less costly to issue a single nationwide edition, they will frequently incorporate these changes in future printings sold throughout the country. In short, it is possible for one state to determine the content of textbooks used from Maine to Oregon."<sup>10</sup> The fact that most of the former Confederate states have state-level adoptions has meant that past conservative White school boards have imposed their racial prejudices not only on the children in their states but on children throughout the nation.<sup>11</sup> Today, pressure groups and curriculum developers from states like Florida, California, and Texas have the greatest impact on the content of most U.S. history textbooks. For example, children in New England, whose ancestors disapproved of the Mexican War, have grown up with heroic tales of Davy Crockett and Sam Houston, not because historians felt the war was justified but to appease Texans who decided if books were acceptable.<sup>12</sup> Those who support this argument believe we as educators are not teaching a common United States history, but instead are teaching a history those who historically held power want students to learn.

Selecting textbooks and textbook reviewers also varies from state to state. Historically, the district superintendent selected textbooks, often with the assistance and approval of the local school board. This practice no longer prevails. Review committees and commissions have long since replaced superintendents. In non-adoption states, like Wisconsin, the most common method of selecting reviewers is to allow the school district superintendent to appoint selection committee members. Other common practices include requesting volunteers for committees and allowing the curriculum coordinator to appoint committee members.<sup>13</sup> In 1998, each discipline brought in groups of teachers from around the state of Wisconsin to help form performance and content

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<sup>9</sup> Giordano, 20-21. The author cites a 1985 Fox study that examined the profit growth of the textbook industry since the Second World War.

<sup>10</sup> Altbach, 52

<sup>11</sup> Frances Fitzgerald, *America Revised: History Schoolbooks in the Twentieth Century* (Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1979), 34

<sup>12</sup> Richard Rothstein, "Books Often Give History a Facelift" *New York Times* 2 October 2002, B8. Rothstein references Frances Fitzgerald's *America Revised* in order to support his arguments.

<sup>13</sup> Altbach, 54-55

standards. Whether or not textbooks meet the criteria established by those standards will likely impact which textbooks get chosen.

History textbooks feature many other shortcomings, including an inflamed national bias in the American historical narrative. Although nationalism and ethnocentrism are present in schools around the globe, the concept is quite prevalent in U.S. history textbooks. For some time scholars complained nationalism was one of the culprits of bad history textbook writing. The titles of texts themselves indicate a shift from impartial neutrality, which teacher education courses prepare pre-service educators to deliver to history students, to egocentrism: *The Great Republic*, *The American Way*, *Land of Promise*. Such titles differ from the titles of all other textbooks students read in high school or college. Chemistry books, for example, are called *Chemistry* or *Principles of Chemistry*, not *Rise of the Molecule*.<sup>14</sup> Two of the textbooks chosen for this study, *History of Our United States* and *Our Land, Our Time* present a nationalistic title to the readers. However, nationalism is not an evil notion. There is nothing wrong with having pride in one's country. Yet when ethnocentrism leads to bias, and when textbook authors attempt to make a common history out of each individual's unique cultural experience and report that history from a single perspective, tensions and discrepancies emerge.

The current protest movement surrounding textbooks is not new. Individuals and groups have expressed displeasure with the content of history textbooks since students began attending public schools in large numbers. Protestors frequently argue over textbook content and others call for their revision to allow for greater inclusion. Following the Civil War, veterans from the Northern and Southern armies pressured textbook publishers to change histories. For example, in the North, the *Grand Army Record* urged Union veterans to "Aid in dashing down the cup of moral poison that our school histories are holding to our youth."<sup>15</sup> After the First World War the Daughters of the American Revolution denounced one American history text because it did not "Place enough emphasis on military history to make good soldiers out of children."<sup>16</sup> Following the Second World War, individuals and organizations tried to drive textbooks giving favorable treatment to communism out of the classroom.<sup>17</sup> Whether individuals or large groups, textbook protesters in America have never shied away from exercising their Constitutional rights and pushing their agendas for making schools reflections of the society they wish to create.

Over the past three decades there has been considerable controversy regarding the content of instructional materials as well. One survey showed that 26 percent of four hundred school districts throughout the nation reported that there has been a recent challenge to textbooks or instructional materials.<sup>18</sup> Religion, government, values, and other topics have continually resurfaced as sources of history textbook controversy, and at the dawn of the 21<sup>st</sup> century the textbook industry continues to draw criticism from both sides of the color line in America.

With the advent of the Civil Rights Movement, many of the controversies and protests surrounding U.S. history texts shifted to the issue of race. In *Schoolbook Nation*, Joseph Moreau claims versions of America that histories of the 1950s imagined as a country united across class lines, tolerant, blessed by equal opportunity for all, and ever looking forward unraveled as authors and publishers were forced to confront the legacy of race. During the Civil Rights era, people of color, particularly (Black)-Americans, demanded larger and revised roles in textbooks.<sup>19</sup> The issues regarding race and minority inclusion not only affect textbook authors and publishers, but also influences classroom teachers as well. Discussions over the amount of time social studies teachers devote to minority groups continue to remain a source of controversy at curriculum committee planning meetings in schools throughout America.

Many researchers agree minority depiction in textbooks has improved in recent years, but historically this was not the case. Fox and Hess's 1972 study found that, in general, members of

<sup>14</sup> James W. Loewen, *Lies My Teacher Told Me: Everything your American History Textbook Got Wrong* (New York: Touchstone Books, 1995), 12-13

<sup>15</sup> Edward B. Jenkinson, *The Schoolbook Protest Movement: 40 Questions and Answers* (Bloomington: Phi Delta Kappa Educational Foundation, 1986), 11

<sup>16</sup> Jenkinson, 12

<sup>17</sup> Jenkinson, 12

<sup>18</sup> Philip G. Altbach, Gail P. Kelly, Hugh G. Petrie, and Lois Weis ed., *Textbooks in American Society: Politics, Policy, and Pedagogy* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1991), 56

<sup>19</sup> Joseph Moreau, *Schoolbook Nation: Conflicts over American History Textbooks from the Civil War to the Present* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2003), 262

minority groups in America have either been given superficial or unflattering coverage in social studies textbooks.<sup>20</sup> A 1985 study also concluded that, “for all practical purposes,” Blacks were not portrayed in secondary United States history textbooks prior to the 1960s.<sup>21</sup> Such an unbalanced portrayal of minorities in U.S. history textbooks throughout the twentieth century reflects the historical disempowerment of these groups by the White culture. Poststructuralist Michael Foucault is renowned for examining the workings of power in its various forms. He argued that the operation of power within societies tends to reinforce the dominant discourse of that society. Foucault’s work demonstrates history writing can be a form of power: we use our knowledge to control and domesticate the past.<sup>22</sup> In essence, history has no ‘truths’ but only dominant knowledge imparted to others. Whites, controlling the power, control the telling of American history.

Textbook depiction of minorities is a growing concern for America’s youth. According to the San Francisco Examiner, “An overwhelming majority” of the 4,000 high school seniors it surveyed in April of 1990 indicated that their history textbooks did not accurately depict ethnic minorities.<sup>23</sup> Figures like these are most alarming because even after all the expert analyses, students’ perceptions are all that matter.

Unfortunately, there is little space in history textbooks allotted for minorities to tell their stories from their point of view. U.S. history is the story of America. The person or people telling the story are important because the story changes depending whom one asks. If a White person tells the story of slavery, the story will have discrepancies, just as the story of a battle between the American Colonies and the British would differ depending on whether one asks a British soldier or a member of the Colonial militia. Perspective is clearly important, and it becomes a problem when the story’s perspective comes from one source. According to the Council on Interracial Books (1977), there is a tendency for history textbooks to report events from the White person’s perspective. For example, an author writes: “To live in the South was to live in daily fear of slave violence.” The Black perspective, which is not given, would be: “To live in the South was to live in the daily hope of a successful rebellion against slaveowners.”<sup>24</sup> Presenting information from a Euro-centric point of view ignores the contributions and roles of non-Europeans to America’s development. And, although coverage of events like slave rebellions has improved over the last fifty years, contemporary textbooks continue to report events from the White perspective, ignoring the thoughts and feelings of those held in bondage.

The textbook industry is a business, and combining business with education often leads to problems. For instance, to avoid a loss of sales resulting from controversies over content, publishers make their textbooks appear to present neutral knowledge. Being primarily interested in profits, the publishing industry tries to please all customers by avoiding any possible conflict over content, thus reflecting a very conservative perspective.<sup>25</sup> Furthermore, there is no accurate measure to determine the marketability of textbooks, so publishers must rely on previous textbooks to determine content. Therefore, what often occurs is a change in presentation, but not in content. This paradox makes textbooks mirror images of each other, so textbooks are likely to include the same events, such as the same slave rebellions, from year to year.

History textbooks are huge, yet history is being made with each day that passes and in each new edition there are more stories to be told. Textbook reviewers say today’s history textbooks are 1,300 to 1,400 pages in length. In their effort to engage children, publishers have recently begun including more material – more exercises, critical-thinking questions, sidebar articles and photographs – all alien to the textbook of thirty years ago.<sup>26</sup> Any student that has had a U.S. history course during the past decade will say a large portion of their textbook went unread, despite the frequency in which the book was used. This phenomenon presents a contradiction when minorities attempt to get their stories included in textbooks. Efforts to cover everything in

<sup>20</sup> Giordano, 78

<sup>21</sup> Wolf, 291. Wolf cites Jesús García and Julie Goebel’s 1985 study of Black Americans’ portrayal in U.S. history textbooks.

<sup>22</sup> Anna Green and Kathleen Troup, *The Houses of History: A Critical Reader in Twentieth-Century History and Theory* (New York: State University of New York Press, 1999), 302-303

<sup>23</sup> Wolf, 292

<sup>24</sup> Wolf, 297

<sup>25</sup> Joel Spring, *Conflict of Interests: The Politics of American Education 3<sup>rd</sup> Ed.* (Boston: McGraw-Hill, 1998), 162, 167

<sup>26</sup> Mark Clayton, “Textbook Size Expands to Include Extras” *Christian Science Monitor* Dec. 1997, 11

U.S. history, while at the same time satisfying the biases of school districts nationwide and the particular doctrines of various interest groups, often prevent textbooks from giving full accounts of minorities in America's history. In order to say something about everything, textbooks often give a mere tidbit, a word, a phrase, or a heading to a topic.<sup>27</sup> Studies conducted on the representation of specific ethnic groups in American history textbooks revealed that even though more recent textbooks have increased their coverage of information on certain individual groups, most of the additional content is tagged onto the end of a chapter, placed in a sidebar outside the main narrative, or dropped into a new chapter, usually at the beginning or end of a unit. The following study clearly illustrates the problems of including insufficient information and injecting information about minorities in specific locations, rather than rewriting texts.

## METHODOLOGY

Black slave rebellion is an issue pertaining to ethnic minority representation in U.S. history textbooks. A slave rebellion is an armed uprising by slaves. This research examines textbook coverage of Slave rebellions in American history textbooks from the beginning of the Slave trade until the emancipation of Slaves in 1863. An analysis of which rebellions were written about and how the textbooks present information is included. The study of slave rebellions emerged in the discipline beginning in the 1940s. Historian Herbert Aptheker, the foremost authority on the topic, estimated that roughly 250 Slave rebellions occurred in the South prior to the Civil War. Although it is not known how many rebellions occurred in American history, after preliminary research of slave revolts, thirteen rebellions were chosen for examination. For the purpose of the study, these will be the examined rebellions<sup>28</sup>:

### *New York Revolt of 1712*

On April 8, about twenty-five slaves set fire to a house, killed nine Whites and wounded seven others. Within twenty-four hours, six rebels committed suicide and twenty-one slaves were executed. Some were burned and others hanged. One was broken on the wheel, and one was hung alive in chains. The revolt caused Massachusetts and Pennsylvania to pass tariff regulations to cut down the importation of slaves.

### *Stono Rebellion (1739)*

This rebellion started September 9, on the Stono plantation, twenty miles southwest of Charleston, South Carolina. A man named Cato led the rebels, and their aim was to reach Spanish-held Florida, the Governor of which had promised liberty to all fugitive English slaves. The rebels destroyed everything in their path, burned stores, took up arms, and recruited slaves. The group killed about thirty Whites. About forty Blacks were killed and forty were captured and executed. Nearly a dozen slaves escaped, or remained unaccounted for. The Stono rebellion resulted in a 10-year moratorium on slave imports through Charleston and enacted further slave codes, which banned earning money and education for slaves.

### *New York Slave Insurrection of 1741*

Beginning in March there were a series of suspicious fires and many were convinced that Black slaves and White accomplices set some of these. About one hundred fifty slaves and twenty-five Whites were arrested. Four Whites and thirteen slaves were burned alive. Eighteen Blacks were hanged, two of them in chains. Seven who were indicted were not captured, and about seventy were banished. Much of the testimony came from known liars and from Slaves who were tortured or promised freedom in exchange for their cooperation. As a result, historians argue whether the New York rebellion of 1741 was a complete framing resulting from panic, or a real and considerable conspiracy.

### *Santo Domingo Rebellion (1791)*

Toussaint L'Ouverture led a slave revolt against the French colonizers. L'Ouverture was a self-educated former slave. The rebellion is often considered one of the most successful slave revolts in the western hemisphere. The

<sup>27</sup> Wolf, 293. Wolf cites a 1986 Harriet Tyson Bernstein and Arthur Woodward study on the language in U.S. history textbooks.

<sup>28</sup> Events of the rebellions were borrowed and paraphrased from the writings of scholars: Herbert Aptheker, *Negro Slave Revolts in the United States 1526-1860* (New York: International Publishers, 1939), James Loewen, *Lies My Teacher Told Me: Everything Your U.S. History Textbook Got Wrong* (New York: Touchstone Books, 1995), Howard Zinn, *A People's History of the United States 1492-Present* (New York: Harper's Press, 2003) and *Voices of a People's History of the United States* (New York: Seven Stories Press, 2004), and Charles Johnson, Patricia Smith and the WGBH Series Research Team, *America's Journey Through Slavery* (New York: Harcourt Inc., 1998).

revolt established Haiti as a free Black republic. Thousands died as a result of the conflict and news of the rebellion influenced similar revolts in the eastern United States.

#### *Gabriel Prosser's Rebellion (1800)*

Gabriel, the name by which he was known, was the slave of Thomas Prosser. Gabriel became a skilled blacksmith who organized a group of over one thousand slaves with the intention of seizing Richmond and ending slavery in Virginia. On August 30, flood rains postponed the rebellion, and the next day slaves were arrested. Thirty-four Blacks were executed, including Gabriel. At least four condemned slaves escaped prison, and at least one committed suicide. Gabriel eluded capture until September 25, when he was captured in Norfolk. His trial was postponed in hopes he would talk, but as the other Blacks who were captured, he remained silent. As a result of the attempted uprising, many owners restricted the travel rights of slaves. The attempted uprising led to conspiracies of other rebellions and forced slave owners to choose between a program of gradual emancipation or reducing the slave population to an illiterate, unskilled condition.

#### *Louisiana Territory Slave Rebellion, led by Charles Deslondes (1811)*

Slaves, led by Charles Deslondes, rose on January 8, starting at the plantation of one Major Andry. They killed Andry's son and wounded the Major, then took possession of guns and marched from plantation to plantation. Slaves joined the march and helped kill at least one other White and destroy several plantations. Forces were then dispatched from New Orleans, which was about thirty-five miles from where the rebellion began. Of the four hundred rebels, sixty-six were killed or executed on the spot, sixteen were captured and sent to New Orleans, and seventeen were reported missing, presumed dead in the woods. All those tried in New Orleans were executed and their heads were strung at intervals from the city to Andry's plantation.

#### *Boxley Rebellion (1815)*

In March, George Boxley, a White storekeeper, decided to free the slaves and formed a conspiracy in Virginia's Spotsylvania, Louisa and Orange counties. A slave woman betrayed the plot, and early in 1816 about thirty slaves were arrested. While Boxley fled, six slaves escaped and six others were hanged.

#### *Fort Blount Revolt (1816)*

In Apalachicola Bay, Florida about three hundred slaves and twenty Native Americans held Fort Blount for several days before being attacked by U.S. troops.

#### *Denmark Vesey's Uprising (1822)*

Vesey was a slave who purchased his freedom in 1800 and then started a successful carpentry business. His rebellion, which would have been the largest in U.S. history, was to occur on the second Sunday in July. About 9,000 slaves and free Blacks throughout Charleston became aware of the plot, which was leaked by Black spies. One hundred thirty one Blacks were arrested in Charleston, and forty-seven of them were condemned. Twelve were pardoned and transported, but thirty-five were hanged. Twenty were banished and twenty-six acquitted, with eleven told to leave the state. Thirty-eight Blacks were discharged and four White men were fined and imprisoned for verbally encouraging the Blacks. The planned revolt comprised attacks from five points and a sixth force on horseback.

#### *Nat Turner's Rebellion (1831)*

Turner was a religious slave who ran away from his master when he was twenty-one, but he later returned. He was known among fellow slaves as "The Prophet," and found religious signs instructing him to rebel against slavery. Following an eclipse, Turner told four slaves of an attempted uprising to be carried out on July 4. However, Turner became ill and waited for a second sign, which occurred on August 13 when the sun appeared greenish blue. A meeting was called for Sunday, August 21. In the evening a group of six slaves killed Turner's master, Joseph Travis, and his family. Within twenty-four hours the number of Blacks and slaves rose to over seventy, and they killed nearly all the Whites they encountered. About sixty Whites were killed, but the rebels spared non-slaveholding families. Troops were called in and suppressed the rebellion within forty-eight hours. Thirteen slaves and three free Blacks were immediately hanged. Turner was not captured until October 30, and was hanged on November 11. About 55 Blacks suspected of being involved in the uprising were killed. Following the rebellion, hundreds of Blacks were beaten, tortured and murdered by White mobs. As a consequence of the rebellion,

Virginia's state legislature considered abolishing slavery, and created an official policy which forbade questioning the slave system in the fear such discussion would encourage similar revolts.

#### *Amistad Seizure (1839)*

A man known as Joseph Cinque led a revolt of West Africans kidnapped into slavery. The captives were Mende people from Sierra Leone. Using a nail to pick the iron collar locks of their fellow captives, the captives opened boxes of sugarcane knives to carry out their insurrection. Cinque and his group of forty rebels took control of the slave ship, *La Amistad*, and killed the ship's captain. The ship ended up near Long Island, New York where the Navy took the Blacks to New Haven, Connecticut to await trial. Both the United States and Spain banned Atlantic Slave trading, so it was unclear if the passengers were free or property. The case was tried all the way to the Supreme Court, and eventually the Africans were freed.

#### *Creole Revolt (1841)*

Nineteen slaves seized a ship named the *Creole*, which was transporting 135 slaves from Virginia to New Orleans, Louisiana. The rebels killed the captain and demanded the ship be taken to Nassau in the Bahamas, which was a British colony. Although the British held the nineteen rebels on the charge of murder, the case created diplomatic tension between Great Britain and the United States.

#### *Captain John Brown's Raid on Harper's Ferry (1859)*

Prior to his raid on Harper's Ferry, abolitionist John Brown avenged the destruction of Lawrence, Kansas by slavery advocates by killing five pro-slavery men. On October 16, 1859, Brown led twelve other White men and five Black men, four escaped slaves and a free Black, in an attack on the federal arsenal at Harper's Ferry, Virginia (now West Virginia). On October 18 U.S. marines captured the rebels. The seven survivors of the battle were tried, convicted and hanged, Brown on December 2. Additional troops were called for the trial in fear that Brown's supporters may try to rescue him. One marine died, along with four other Whites and a free Black. Southern slave owners, fearful that other abolitionists would emulate Brown and attempt to lead rebellions, organized militias. Some people condemned Brown while others viewed him as a martyr.

Examining slave insurrection is essential for the understanding of American slavery as part of America's history. Slave rebellions are referred to twice in the U.S. Constitution.<sup>29</sup> The study of slave rebellions is also important because they contradict the stereotypes of Bourbon historians who make slavery appear idyllic, and portray slaves being content, obedient and racially inferior. In order to preserve the sanctity of the institution, these historians distort the truth by saying attempts at resistance, namely rebellion, were rare when in fact they were not.<sup>30</sup> Society and children, in turn, accept these falsities as they are reported, or more commonly omitted, in history textbooks. Revolt was merely one method by which slaves hoped to obtain their liberty. If problems reporting slave rebellions in textbooks occurred and continue, surely other minority representation problems exist as well. Resistance to bondage is relative to every student because at the heart of rebellion is the enduring question: What price are you willing to pay for freedom? If stories of resistance are not told, the image of slaves accepting an inferior and subordinate position will continue to plague future generations.

Textbook authors avoid in-depth discussions of such issues as slave revolts for a number of reasons. Text authorship is not created in a vacuum, but rather evolves over time to reflect the attitudes of writers. History authors borrow from their predecessors, namely those who wrote about events during which they occurred. Certainly during the 1700s and 1800s reporting slave rebellions and their successes was not in the best interests of White southerners. Doing so would not only disrupt the social order by admitting Blacks were not happy in bondage, but would also acknowledge that violence had been used to break down the racial hierarchy of the time period. That fact that those revolts written about extensively during the time period failed should not be seen as coincidence. Consequences of rebellions and successful revolts were censored to preserve this order for future generations. However, this attempt at censorship has now become amnesia, as such details are continually omitted from U.S. history textbooks.

<sup>29</sup> Paul Finkelman, *Slavery and the Founders*, 2nd Ed. (New York: M.E. Sharpe, 2001), 6-9 Article I, Section 8, Paragraph 15. The domestic insurrections clause empowered Congress to call "forth the Militia" to "suppress Insurrections," including slave rebellions. Article IV, Section 4. The domestic violence provision guaranteed that the United States government would protect states from "domestic Violence," including slave rebellions.

<sup>30</sup> Aptheker, 10-11. Aptheker refutes the assumptions of Bourbon historians Phillips, Hicks, and Randall.



## FINDINGS AND ANALYSIS

### *Descriptions of Textbooks*

A description of the textbooks that were analyzed in this study is presented in this section.

Todd and Curti's 1950 *America's History* [contains 866 pages, ten units, and 44 chapters] is aimed at a high school audience. Each unit has between three and six chapters. Each chapter is broken down into sections. There is a 'Study Helps' feature at the end of each chapter. The section contains terms to define, review questions, discussion questions and activities. Reading suggestions are also included at the conclusion of each unit. The textbook contains 67 maps, 22 charts, and 378 other illustrations, such as drawings, photographs, works of art, cartoons, and pictures of primary documents.

Eibling, King, and Harlow's 1968 *History of Our United States* [contains 672 pages, eight units, and 30 chapters] is aimed at a middle grade through early high school audiences. Each unit contains between two and five chapters. At the end of each chapter there are review questions, key terms, in-class activities, a chapter summary, and suggested further readings. The textbook also contains 51 maps and 490 illustrations, cartoons, and images of primary sources.

Shenton, Benson, and Jakoubek's 1978 *These United States* [contains 768 pages, seven units, and 30 chapters] is aimed at a middle grade through early high school audience. Each unit contains between four and six chapters. A 'Try This' section containing review questions and activities follows each chapter. At the conclusion of each unit, the authors include a 'Roundup' section telling the students the information they should know, as well as research projects, critically thinking exercises, and questions to think about from the unit. The textbook also contains 49 maps, 17 charts and graphs, 16 Picture Essays in which the authors tell a story through the use of illustrations, and 360 other images.

Conlin's 1987 *Our Land, Our Time* [contains 872 pages, ten units, and 34 chapters] was reviewed by three high school teachers, two social studies department chairs, two social studies curriculum consultants, and one social studies curriculum program supervisor. The text is aimed at a high school audience. Each unit has between three and five chapters. The chapters are broken down into sections. There is a 'Section Review' feature at the conclusion of each section of a chapter, in which three to four review questions are raised. There is also a 'Chapter Review' feature at the end of each chapter, which includes time lines, skills strategies, maps, and chapter tests. In addition, there is a Unit Test at the conclusion of each of the ten units. The textbook contains 69 maps, 35 tables, graphs and charts, and 660 other illustrations, such as drawings, photographs, works of art, cartoons, and pictures of primary documents. The textbook also contains several special features. The 'Movers and Shapers' features are short biographies of what the author considers interesting people who lived during the certain time periods. According to the author, the 'Movers and Shapers' made a difference to American history by their unique contributions, problem-solving abilities, and often by the force of their will to make life better for themselves and their country. This feature appears 19 times throughout the text, and includes historical figures from Henry the Navigator and Queen Isabella to Rosalyn Yalow and Barbara McClintock. Primary-source materials are featured in 'Going to the Source,' which appears in each unit. This feature presents original writings from the period covered in the chapters where they appear, including personal letters, diary entries, speeches, and other documents. This feature appears 22 times throughout the text, and ranges from Columbus's *Letter on His Discoveries* to Martin Luther King, Jr.'s *I Have a Dream* speech. Finally, 'Profiles of the Presidency' gives special attention to a quotation from each president. The quotations are presented as primary sources from speeches, diaries, letters, and documents. This feature was designed to give students insight into the person in the presidential office. Each president is also afforded a picture. Presidents Washington through Reagan are featured.

Danzer, Klor de Alva, Krieger, Wilson, and Woloch's 1998 *The Americans* [contains 1144 pages, nine units, and 34 chapters] was reviewed by three consultants, five content consultants, a six-member multicultural advisory board, and a teacher review panel, consisting of 11 Florida high school teachers, eight Illinois high school teachers, and ten Texas high school teachers. Twenty-two students throughout the country also reviewed the prototype materials. The text is aimed at a high school audience. Each of the nine units has four chapters, with the exception of units five and nine, which only contain three chapters. Each chapter has between four and five sections. At the conclusion of each section there is a 'Section Assessment' feature consisting of Terms and Names, Summarizing, Evaluating, and Applying activities. There is also a 'Chapter Assessment' feature at the end of each chapter, which includes: Reviewing the Chapter, Thinking Critically, and Alternative Assessment activities. A timeline feature of events and people also accompanies the beginning of each new unit. The textbook contains 92 maps, 118 charts, graphs and tables, and 1145 other illustrations, such as drawings, photographs, works of art, cartoons, and pictures of primary documents. Primary Sources & Personal Voices, Economic Background, Point/Counterpoint, On The World Stage, Another Perspective, Difficult Decisions in History, Historical Spotlight, Tracing Themes, Daily Life,

Geography Spotlight, American Studies, Now & Then, and Key Players are the special features the text offers its readers.

These textbooks dealt with slave rebellions in several ways. No textbook includes a specific chapter or section to slave rebellions in general, but instead includes the mentioned rebellions as part of larger chapters, events, or units of study. In the following section I compare which rebellions were written about, how many words were devoted to the rebellions, and how the portrayal of slave rebellions differs from the accounts of some historians. I also examine how the accounts of slave rebellions differ among the reviewed textbooks. I conclude this manuscript with some concluding remarks about textbook depiction of minorities and slave rebellions, and also provide some personal critiques and insights into the textbook industry and the use of textbooks in the American classroom.

## AMERICA'S HISTORY (1950)

*The text specifically mentions four of the inspected rebellions, which I examine in this section.*

### *New York Uprising of 1712*

Sixty-five words are used to describe the New York Uprising. The text focuses on the punishment of the slaves involved, rather than on the negative results for those against whom the slaves rebelled: "One slave was broken on the wheel, 20 were hanged or burned – one over a slow fire for a period of 12 hours before death brought relief from his agony."<sup>31</sup> The authors apparently feel comfortable speaking for this particular slave. The text states that Colonists feared slaves as their numbers rose, and mentions 'harsh measures' that were needed to keep them in order, seemingly justifying their punishment and subordinate status. The text downplays the incident by mentioning the good people that tried to improve the slaves' situation at the conclusion of the paragraph. At a subconscious level, this tells the reader that the rebels were the criminals, were punished appropriately for their actions, and were defiant for no apparent reason because there were people who expressed positive goodwill and tried to help slaves. At the very end of the section the authors write, "Negroes played an essential part in the creation of a new nation."<sup>32</sup> Not only is this presented as an afterthought, but the authors also fail to give any prompt explanation.

### *Santo Domingo Rebellion of 1791*

The textbook acknowledged one reason for Napoleon's decision to sell Louisiana to Thomas Jefferson and America was the 'fierce resistance' offered by the Negroes of the West Indian Island, led by Toussaint L'Ouverture.<sup>33</sup> This is all the text has to say regarding the rebellion.

### *Nat Turner's Rebellion of 1831*

Nat Turner's Rebellion is described using forty-two words. The text explains the rebellion had two significant consequences, which were that the rebellion cost the lives of more than fifty Whites, and, "To prevent further rebellions and to protect their property, (slaveowners) enacted laws that placed the slaves under the strictest supervision."<sup>34</sup> Again, this shows that slaves were inferior, dangerous, and justifies the need for their control. The reader is also left to assume that the loss of White lives is noteworthy, while the Blacks who died are not important. The title of the section is "The Abolitionist Crusade" and opens with the efforts of Whites such as William Lloyd Garrison, Sarah and Angelina Grimké, Ralph Waldo Emerson, and a slough of other Whites before mentioning Nat Turner, leading the reader to believe his efforts were less important.

### *John Brown's Raid of 1859*

The textbook discusses Brown's role in the violence between slavery supporters and abolitionists in Kansas using twenty-nine words. The words portray a biased, one-sided interpretation of the 'Bleeding Kansas' events. The actions of proslavery bands are described in an unproblematic tone, saying a group "marched on the town of Lawrence...and had burned a good part of it."<sup>35</sup> The text then goes on to describe the revenge taken by a 'fanatical' abolitionist named John Brown, in which he and his sons murdered five 'helpless' proslavery men in 'cold blood.'<sup>36</sup> Although the text later acknowledges neither side was guiltless in the fighting that occurred in Kansas, the language leads readers of the text to believe John Brown and the abolitionists are not only mentally unstable, but that they

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<sup>31</sup> Todd, 33-34

<sup>32</sup> Todd, 34

<sup>33</sup> Todd, 208

<sup>34</sup> Todd, 269

<sup>35</sup> Todd, 359

<sup>36</sup> Todd, 359

were guilty of more wrongdoing than those in favor of slavery. This is an example of the authors imparting their personal feelings of which actions and causes are just.

John Brown's raid on Harper's Ferry is granted the most words (225) of any slave rebellion, and he is portrayed as a zealot in the only picture devoted to slave rebellion. Again, the authors describe Brown as a 'fanatical abolitionist,' and called his idea 'wild' and 'certain to fail.'<sup>37</sup> The text did however cite that some repudiated Brown, while others thought him to be a martyr.

### *Further Findings*

On page 33 the authors discuss some of the reasons why 'Negroes' made good slaves. One reason was because, unlike the Indians, the Negroes dared not flee into the almost certain death that awaited them in the forests. Three problems immediately arise from this notion. The first is that the authors attempt to combine the unique experiences of all Blacks and cast them under one label. The authors present the same mass generalizations for Southern Whites on page 310 when they say the 8,000,000 free Whites were united in a common fear of the slaves, and that the Negroes were considered inferior, not only to the rich planters, but to *all* the Whites. The authors took the liberty of italicizing the word 'all' for the reader. Second, many Blacks did attempt to flee into the woods, some even forming alliances and living among various Indigenous tribes. Third, were they afraid of trees? What dangers awaited them in the forests, and how would they know not to flee into the woods? On the same page the authors reinforce the view that slaves were sub-human, saying they were packed like 'sardines' on slave ships. Whether or not it was the intent of the authors to degrade the experience of slaves is not known, however this analogy demonstrates slaves were more comparable to objects or property than humans. Intent, also, does not excuse consequence.

The authors also speak for household servants on page 303 when they say, "The household servants, whose work was much easier than that of the field hands, were proud of their position on the plantation and of their master's social position in the community."<sup>38</sup> One page earlier the textbook described slaves as "...inferior beings, treated even by those who liked them as happy but irresponsible children."<sup>39</sup> The text acknowledges that slaves sometimes managed to escape, but quickly interjected that more often they were caught.<sup>40</sup> What message does it send to children, especially Black Americans, when textbook authors focus the stories of their ancestors on the punishments, the slaves who were caught, their perceived status of inferiority, and those happy to serve their masters? To make matters worse, the authors seem to excuse themselves from any misinformation they give the reader saying that there is no way to know how the slaves felt because very few could read or write. The authors say they could not, almost implying that slaves were not capable of reading and writing, rather than saying they were not allowed to do so.

## **HISTORY OF OUR UNITED STATES (1968)**

*The text mentions two specific rebellions, which I examine in this section.*

### *Nat Turner's Rebellion of 1831*

The authors use thirty-seven words to describe Nat Turner's revolt. The book says Turner was a preacher from Virginia who led an uprising in which, "Fifty-five or sixty Whites were killed, and at least one hundred Negroes, including Turner."<sup>41</sup> Although the authors acknowledge Blacks lost their lives as well, the text gives no details and mentions only that the rebellion created fear in the South that other revolts would occur.

### *John Brown's Raid of 1859*

The text calls John Brown an 'extreme abolitionist,' and discusses his actions at Harper's Ferry using one hundred fifty two words. Both this text and the *America's History* text describe Brown as either extreme or fanatical. Although the adjectives vary slightly, the adjectives used imply that undertaking in violence is required in order for one to be considered an extreme or fanatical abolitionist. The text gives very few details concerning Brown's actions, saying only, "He was captured, tried for treason and hanged."<sup>42</sup> The authors also use an authoritative writing style when they write, "All should have realized that the raid was the work of a fanatic and let it go at that."<sup>43</sup> This type of writing tells readers that the authors have all the answers and are the sole authority on

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<sup>37</sup> Todd, 362

<sup>38</sup> Todd, 303

<sup>39</sup> Todd, 302

<sup>40</sup> Todd, 305

<sup>41</sup> Eibling, 329

<sup>42</sup> Eibling, 335

<sup>43</sup> Eibling, 335

historical matters. The text does say some in the North felt Brown was wrong, but others thought he died in the cause of liberty and justice.

#### *Further Findings*

On page 329 the text says that at least fifty rebellions took place in the 1700s and another fifty occurred between 1800 and 1860. Including this information is a positive development, not only because the information is fairly accurate, but also because it acknowledges slave rebellions were much more prevalent than other textbooks imply. However, the textbook only mentions two specific rebellions, and describes them using very little detail. Also, unlike the *America's History* text, this book fails to discuss the role of the Santo Domingo rebellion in France's decision to sell Louisiana to the United States, John Brown's precursory actions in Kansas, and fails to include a picture of slave rebellion or any of the leaders.

### **THESE UNITED STATES (1978)**

*The text makes reference to six of the examined rebellions. An examination of each is included in this section.*

#### *New York Uprising of 1712*

Forty-nine words are used to describe the punishment of those who killed nine Whites in New York. The text says, "Twenty-one slaves were burned alive, hanged, or broken on the wheel,"<sup>44</sup> and calls the retribution 'savage.' The text also mentions six other slaves killed themselves. Again, although the word savage is the only clear element of bias, the focus of attention on the punishment of the slaves in New York seems to be the primary concern.

#### *Santo Domingo Rebellion of 1791*

The text uses ninety-two words to describe the Santo Domingo rebellion, and how the actions of the slaves helped U.S. efforts to purchase Louisiana. The authors present the leader of the rebellion, Toussaint L'Ouverture, in a very positive manner, calling him a "brilliant Black man."<sup>45</sup> The text also says that L'Ouverture was "treacherously seized – even though he had been promised fair treatment – and sent to France."<sup>46</sup> Of the revolt itself, the text only mentions that the fierce resistance, along with an outbreak of yellow fever, all but destroyed the French force.

#### *Gabriel Prosser's Rebellion of 1800*

The revolts led by Gabriel Prosser, Denmark Vesey, and Nat Turner are all described on page 246-247 under the heading "War Between the Races." A mere sixteen words are used to describe Prosser's rebellion. The text mentions Prosser was a blacksmith and that his fellow slaves betrayed his plot.

#### *Denmark Vesey's Revolt of 1822*

The text devotes thirty words to Vesey's revolt. It mentions only that he was a free Black from Charleston, South Carolina who attempted to organize a widespread rebellion before Charleston authorities discovered the plot before it could get underway.<sup>47</sup> While including the uprisings of Prosser and Vesey demonstrates improvements over the earlier textbooks, including so little about the events and failing to include any consequences other than that the leaders were hanged, proves to the reader that the uprisings were inconsequential and were quickly subdued. A reader interpreting this information in such a manner only re-enforces White dominance over slaves.

#### *Nat Turner's Rebellion of 1831*

The authors use eighty words for Nat Turner's uprising. The text says Turner was a preacher who believed God had chosen him to lead a war between the races, and that he inspired other slaves to undertake in a "bloody uprising."<sup>48</sup> The text says the rebels killed Turner's master along with about sixty other Whites, but acknowledges that over one hundred slaves were killed as well. Again, however, when discussing the loss of life in Turner's revolt, the loss of White life is mentioned before the loss of Black life. This text even mentions a specific White person, Turner's master, whereas none of the one hundred or more Blacks who lost their life are known with the exception of Turner himself. On a positive note, in a separate one hundred twenty-eight-word paragraph this text explores the further significance of Turner's revolt, other than the increased fear among slaveowners. The text says

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<sup>44</sup> Shenton, 57

<sup>45</sup> Shenton, 146

<sup>46</sup> Shenton, 147

<sup>47</sup> Shenton, 247

<sup>48</sup> Shenton, 247

the revolt not only led to stricter slave laws, but also led to Virginia organizing night patrols, and inspired a debate among the Virginia legislature as to whether or not it would make more sense to free slaves rather than risk another rebellion.

#### *John Brown's Raid of 1859*

The text presents a one-sided account of the events of 'Bleeding Kansas' in its thirty-four-word description. The text mentions only, "proslavery agents had attacked the antislavery center of Lawrence."<sup>49</sup> The text then says, "A band of six men, led by an abolitionist named John Brown, had massacred five proslavery settlers at Pottawatomie."<sup>50</sup> Not only does the language of words like 'massacre' imply John Brown and his men were more guilty than slavery advocates, but the textbook authors explicitly say this was an even worse "atrocious."<sup>51</sup>

An incredible 439 words are used to tell the story of Brown's raid on Harper's Ferry. The text states the names of several people who contributed to Brown, including Gerrit Smith, Theodore Parker, and Thomas Wentworth, to name a few. However, the authors make their own speculations, saying that the contributors probably did not know what Brown had in mind. The text says, "On Sunday, October 16, 1859, Brown and 21 followers, including a few Blacks, invaded the town and seized the powerhouse at the arsenal."<sup>52</sup> Again, Blacks are listed, but as of secondary importance, and without any specific names or numbers of those involved. The authors speculate saying, "Apparently he expected that slaves on nearby plantations would rise up and join his force"<sup>53</sup> in response to the question, what was the point of Brown's attack? The text does describe Brown's capture and trial, and even includes some quotations from Brown himself. However, unlike previous texts, this book claimed Brown was hailed as a martyr throughout the anti-slavery North, implying every person in the North approved of Brown's actions. A picture is devoted to Brown, which shows him tied up and in route to his execution.

#### *Further Findings*

This text shows significant improvements from earlier texts in its quantitative coverage of slave rebellions. However, a further analysis leads to other insights. On page 59 the authors write, "We can only guess how slaves learned to hide their feelings at the treatment they received. The number of slave rebellions and uprisings shows that sometimes they were unable to do so." This statement acknowledges that there was a large number of uprisings, but still represents the problem of Anglo-perspective writing. It implies slavery and its repercussions are over, and there is no way to guess how 'others' (slaves) felt about slavery.

The problem of the Anglo experience being the norm is further illustrated on page 59 as well. There is a 'Try This' activity that asks students to write the diary of an imaginary journey through the American colonies in the 1700s. Among the questions for students to answer: How would you travel? What route would you follow? What places might you visit? What would you want to see? What kind of people would you meet? These questions pose a definite problem for today's African Americans, Native Americans, women, and other minorities trying to use the textbook to answer such questions and make the activity applicable to their unique experiences and heritage.

## **OUR LAND, OUR TIME (1987)**

*The text describes seven of the examined rebellions, which will be examined in this section.*

#### *Stono Rebellion of 1739*

This is the first text to discuss the Stono rebellion, and does so using twenty-four words. The text uses the rebellion to provide an example of justification of Whites who lived in fear. The text says a slave known as Cato "led a revolt at the Stono plantation in South Carolina, during which 74 people were killed."<sup>54</sup> As a potential research assignment, the textbook encourages teachers to have students write a report detailing Cato's revolt.

#### *Santo Domingo Rebellion of 1791*

The text uses fifty words to describe the rebellion that led to independence from France. There are several new facts included in the text compared to previously examined works. Although prior texts say Santo Domingo is in the Caribbean, this text is the first to tell the reader Santo Domingo is present-day Haiti. This text also articulates the

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<sup>49</sup> Shenton, 283

<sup>50</sup> Shenton, 283

<sup>51</sup> Shenton, 283

<sup>52</sup> Shenton, 288

<sup>53</sup> Shenton, 289

<sup>54</sup> Conlin, 310

proper pronunciation of the leader of the rebellion, Toussaint L'Ouverture, and describes him as the "Black Napoleon."<sup>55</sup> Finally, the text acknowledges the army of former slaves killed or captured 20,000 French troops.

#### *New York (1741)*

Although this text does not mention the New York Uprising of 1712, as other texts have done, it is the first to discuss the New York incident of 1741. The following forty-one words are what happened according to the text: "In New York City, two years after Cato's revolt, the mere rumor of rebellion among the city's Blacks led to the trial and conviction of more than 100 Blacks, on very flimsy evidence, and the execution of 31."<sup>56</sup> This depiction of sentences for Black insurgents is less graphic in this text compared with that of earlier texts.

#### *Gabriel Prosser's Rebellion*

The text says that in 1801 a slave named Gabriel Prosser urged Blacks to rebel and march on Richmond. The text goes on to say only, "He was caught and hanged."<sup>57</sup> This description leads the reader to ask whether anyone else was convicted or killed, and if the rebellion was at all successful. This text also presents a contradiction. The only other text to mention Prosser's rebellion heretofore was *These United States*. In that text however, it was reported that Prosser's rebellion occurred in 1800, not 1801, which presents a discrepancy.

#### *Denmark Vesey's Rebellion of 1822*

Unlike *These United States*, this text reports 36 others, not only Vesey, were executed as a result of the plot. Thirty-seven words detail event, saying Vesey was a Black who persuaded slaves and other free Blacks to rise up and kill their masters, or so the authorities thought.<sup>58</sup> Again, this short description leaves many unanswered questions to the reader, forcing he or she to engage in further, outside investigation.

#### *Nat Turner's Rebellion of 1831*

This is the first text to include a picture of Turner, in addition to the 174-word description of his revolt. In the picture he is conspiring with other Blacks, all appearing dangerous and angry. The text indicates Turner was a slave who was taught to read by a "kind mistress."<sup>59</sup> This element of bias forces the reader to accept this as the only truth, and discounts the very real possibility Turner taught himself to read.<sup>60</sup> Which is true may not be known for certain, but this account prevents the reader from deciding for himself or herself which story is more authentic, or at least being able to acknowledge a variety of interpretations exist regarding the subject. The text also reports Turner engaged in the rebellion, believing the Bible held a message for slaves to revolt. Although the text agrees with the other books saying sixty Whites were killed, this text differs in the report of Blacks killed, saying that 60 Blacks were in the group and only "Turner and 16 others were hanged, and Blacks not directly responsible for spilling blood were sold out of state."<sup>61</sup> This text also discussed the debate of the Virginia legislature to free slaves as a result of the rebellion.

#### *John Brown's Raid of 1859*

This text presents a rather un-biased, uncontroversial depiction of John Brown's role in Bleeding Kansas. In the forty-two-word description, the book states, "Three days after the burning of Lawrence, an abolitionist named John Brown, accompanied by several of his sons, rode up to a small proslavery settlement and brutally killed five men."<sup>62</sup> Previously, however, the text discusses how 'border ruffians' burned the antislavery town of Lawrence, killing several people. This is the first text to call the antislavery instigators ruffians, or to bring up the deaths of several Lawrence citizens.

In this description of Brown's raid on Harper's Ferry, members of Brown's party include, armed Blacks and his own sons, the first text to acknowledge the Black contribution first. This author believes Brown's raid failed because he stayed at Harper's Ferry too long, calling the decision Brown's big mistake. It is written that Brown was tried for treason and hanged, without providing any further details. The author writes, "...a number of prominent

<sup>55</sup> Conlin, 217

<sup>56</sup> Conlin, 312

<sup>57</sup> Conlin, 312

<sup>58</sup> Conlin, 312

<sup>59</sup> Conlin, 312

<sup>60</sup> Aptheker, 48. Aptheker believes Turner taught himself to read, which he documents in his detailed report of Nat Turner's Revolt.

<sup>61</sup> Conlin, 312

<sup>62</sup> Conlin, 352

Northerners declared that Brown was a saint,”<sup>63</sup> without acknowledging his actions were condemned by some as earlier texts indicated. Unlike earlier texts, as well, there is no picture of Brown.

## THE AMERICANS (1998)

*Nine of the inspected rebellions are specifically mentioned in this text. An examination of each will be provided in this section.*

### *Stono Rebellion of 1739*

The Stono rebellion is described using 118 words. The authors describe the actions of the rebels, saying, “...they killed several planter families and marched south, beating drums and loudly inviting other slaves to join them.”<sup>64</sup> The text says that many slaves died during the fighting and those caught were executed. The rebellion is said to have been a failure, even though, “...it sent a chill through many Southern colonists and led to the tightening of harsh slave laws.”<sup>65</sup>

### *New York Uprising of 1712 and 1741*

The text uses sixty-two words to cover both New York City rebellions. Of the first rebellion, the text says only that twenty-one slaves were executed as a result of the uprising. Suspicious activity prompted New Yorkers to make an example of suspected ringleaders. Consequently, according to the text, “they burn(ed) 14 slaves alive and hung 18 – even though the main witness to the alleged conspiracy was a known liar.”<sup>66</sup>

### *Santo Domingo Revolt of 1791*

The Santo Domingo rebellion is discussed on page 188. The text uses only twenty-three words to mention the revolt of the Black slaves in Haiti, under the leadership of Toussaint L’Ouverture, but this is the first text to mention the revolt took place in the 1790s.

### *Gabriel Prosser’s Rebellion of 1800*

Prosser’s Rebellion is given a special ‘Historical Spotlight’ feature in this text. Ninety-six words explained Prosser’s motivations for attempting a rebellion, explaining he, “...demanded the rights promised all Americans under a republic.”<sup>67</sup> Newly acknowledged also, was that Prosser had assembled 1,000 slaves, and had the intention of making Virginia a state for African-Americans. This depiction makes the event appear much larger than earlier texts.

### *Nat Turner’s Revolt of 1831*

A picture of a brave looking Nat Turner, sword in hand and tethered clothes walking into the barrel of a backwoodsman’s gun, is shown on page 222. His story is told on page 233, using 182 words. The text says he organized a bloody rebellion that left many dead. This text mentions that Turner fled his plantation six years earlier after a beating, and returned to become a preacher. The authors say Turner gathered more than fifty followers and moved from plantation to plantation. The text says Turner and his band “slaughtered about 70 Whites.”<sup>68</sup> As mentioned in other texts, sixteen members of Turner’s band were executed, and Turner himself was captured, tried, and hanged. However, new information is reported, saying also that Whites, in retaliation, “killed more than 200 Blacks, most of whom had never heard of Nat Turner.”<sup>69</sup> The raised information is an important development in the reporting of the story. However, with the addition of the last line the authors may be implying Turner, not the Whites doing the killing, were responsible for the deaths of 200 Blacks.

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<sup>63</sup> Conlin, 354

<sup>64</sup> Danzer, 76

<sup>65</sup> Danzer, 76

<sup>66</sup> Danzer, 79

<sup>67</sup> Danzer, 185

<sup>68</sup> Danzer, 233

<sup>69</sup> Danzer, 233

### *New Orleans Rebellion of 1811 and Denmark Vesey's Revolt of 1822*

This textbook is the first to mention the New Orleans rebellion. The revolt is described in twenty-six words as part of a 'Historical Spotlight' feature devoted entirely to slave revolts. The feature was included to dispel the myth of slaveowners that slaves were happy. The text says more than 300 slaves marched on New Orleans with spikes and axes before a well-trained militia stopped them.<sup>70</sup> The spotlight feature also mentions the thwarted attempts of rebellion by Gabriel Prosser and Denmark Vesey. Thirty-four words were used to make reference to the failed revolts.

### *John Brown's Raid of 1859*

This text provides the most extensive coverage of John Brown and his actions. The authors use 124 words to describe Brown's actions in the Bleeding Kansas affair. His actions are discussed in two paragraphs, under the bold heading, 'The Pottawatomie Massacre.' Earlier, the text says of the proslavery band in Lawrence: "With wild yells the posse burned down the antislavery headquarters, destroyed two newspapers' printing presses, and looted many houses and stores."<sup>71</sup> Unlike the *Our Land, Our Time* text, there is no reference to any deaths caused by the proslavery band. In fact, this text says, "Brown had the mistaken impression that a proslavery posse in Lawrence had killed five men."<sup>72</sup> The authors then describe Brown's revenge, saying he and his band, "...hacked off their hands, and stabbed them with broadswords,"<sup>73</sup> and also called the event a massacre. Brown is also referred to as an 'anti-slavery fanatic' on the same page.

John Brown is also the subject of a 'Key Player' feature on page 293. The 107-word section also includes an actual photograph of Brown, the first text to do so. Some new information about the personal life of Brown is included in this section. The text says that most people who knew Brown believed he was mentally unbalanced. The article also mentions Brown was an unsuccessful businessman and failed as a farmer as well. According to the text, "Brown began to hate slavery when he saw a White man beating a young slave with a shovel."<sup>74</sup> No other text provided any information about Brown, other than that he had several sons, prior to this textbook.

The same picture of Brown being carted to his execution as seen in the *These United States* textbook is presented in this text, alongside a 473-word description of Brown's raid of Harper's Ferry. This text provides a new nickname for Brown, calling him "God's angry man."<sup>75</sup> The text also mentions he studied earlier slave uprisings, and that he led a group of eighteen men, Black and White. Again, Black listed as the former. A positive development in this text is the lack of authoritative language used to describe the event. The text says that historians have long argued about Brown's true motive for the raid, and raised questions for further investigation such as, "Why did he not tell slaves in the area of his plans beforehand, and Why did he only provide enough food for his men for one day?"<sup>76</sup> The text admits no one knows for certain. The text describes Brown's hanging and the mixed reaction from Northerners, and tells how the event terrified Southern Whites and led to the assault of Whites suspected of having anti-slavery views. Unfortunately, there is no mention of the response of Blacks to Brown's attempted rebellion.

## **SUMMARY**

Textbook coverage of slave rebellions has improved over the last half-century. More recent texts devote more space and cover more rebellions than earlier textbooks. However, there is no evidence of improvement on a continuum. Rather, a push and pull factor seems to have occurred until the 1980s. For example, textbook coverage of slave rebellions is more extensive in the *America's History* text than the *History of Our United States* text, which was published eighteen years earlier. Nevertheless, the struggle for slave rebellion representation in textbooks worked, although problems still remain.

Many shortcomings of slave revolt coverage, as presented in the earlier textbooks, continue to prevail in modern texts. Although modern textbooks make more references to specific rebellions, their coverage of the rebellions is short, acknowledging only that the rebellions occurred or were plotted, and that they failed. Such short coverage of slave revolts or any event in U.S. history hinders the opportunities for children to learn and causes students to view such events as inconsequential, which decreases the likelihood they will retain any information regarding the events.

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<sup>70</sup> Danzer, 233

<sup>71</sup> Danzer, 293

<sup>72</sup> Danzer, 293

<sup>73</sup> Danzer, 293

<sup>74</sup> Danzer, 293

<sup>75</sup> Danzer, 302

<sup>76</sup> Danzer, 302



Another major problem is the factual credibility of the slave rebellions. As my study proves, discrepancies in the facts surrounding the rebellions, from how many people were involved, the causes and results of the rebellions, to the dates of events, change from text to text. If facts regarding slave rebellions are controversial, other events in U.S. history certainly must vary from text to text, giving readers a distorted version of the truth that can lead to confusion and frustration. Furthermore, *America's History* did not even give dates for the Santo Domingo rebellion or John Brown's role in Bleeding Kansas. *History of Our United States* also failed to provide dates for the rebellions of Nat Turner and John Brown. No dates for the Santo Domingo rebellion are provided in *These United States or Our Land, Our Time*, and *Our Land, Our Time* gives the wrong year (1801) for the events surrounding Prosser's rebellion of 1800. Certainly, no reporter would write about an event without covering who, what, where, when, why, and how, and there is no justifiable explanation as to why textbook authors would omit such information.

A third problem is that many texts fail to discuss the overall impact of slave rebellions, mentioning them only as isolated incidents that sparked fear in Whites and led to tighter restrictions on Blacks. Some texts reported that rebellions led to a debate regarding the sanctity of the institution, and all agreed the revolts created fear in Whites. However, no text mentions specifically how or why. No text in the study mentions how the military might of the U.S. Government was concentrated in the South during times of peace because of the fear of rebellion. Nor does any text discuss the South's position of favoring annexation to acquire more lands, and thus reducing the concentration of slaves in one area.<sup>77</sup> Furthermore, no text mentions the successful rebellions carried out by Blacks who allied themselves with the Florida Seminole Indians in the mid 1830s. Some texts do, however, mention the proposal to raise money to send slaves back to Africa, and more modern texts acknowledge that slave rebellions occurred much more frequently than originally thought.

Accompanying the lack of information provided is the one-sided account of slavery by all the books. The language is often muted or sanitized in order to avoid commenting on the brutal or unjust actions of Whites. All the texts contain shortcomings in their portrayal of revolt leaders such as John Brown, the reporting of events from a White perspective, or ignoring the thoughts Blacks in general. All five texts also describe the awful conditions aboard slave ships, but none of them talked about the struggle to escape the middle passage, rendering the image of slaves aboard the ships as helpless and accepting of their condition. No text made reference to revolts aboard the Creole slave ship or the Amistad mutiny. The Amistad revolt of 1839 raised legal questions about slaves as humans or property, provided a stage for a growing abolitionist movement in America, created political tensions between the North and South, and was portrayed in a major motion picture. Some scholars agree that the Amistad case was the most important involving slavery up to the time.<sup>78</sup> However, no reviewed textbook mentions such slave revolts aboard slave ships.

Complicating matters and adding to my frustration (and surely that of students) was the difficulty I experienced locating the specific examined rebellions within the text itself. Unlike normal texts, school history textbooks do not include all of the information included within the book's index because doing so would make the index too large. Many rebellions I discovered in the textbooks were not located within the index, and those revolts mentioned within the index were often scattered over various subheadings. For example, one logically assumes that examining 'slavery' in the index and discovering the subheading 'revolts against' would suffice, as is the case with the *America's History* text. The 'revolts against' subheading instructed readers to examine page 269 where they discover information on Nat Turner's rebellion. However, as I described earlier, the *America's History* text mentions not only Nat Turner's rebellion, but also three other slave revolts as well. This pattern is prevalent in many U.S. history textbooks, not merely the books examined in this study. In order to ensure I did not overlook a specific rebellion mentioned in the textbook, I had to perform an exhaustive search of the index, have prior knowledge of slave revolts, and examine nearly every page of every text. Needless to say, finding information regarding specific slave rebellions in American history textbooks requires far too much effort for middle and high school students.

In addition to slave revolt depiction, another disturbing pattern exists in far too many American history textbooks, and that trend is White bias. A section of the *America's History* text is entitled, 'Americans Struggle For Freedom English Domination.' No such title of a section or chapter is devoted to the struggle of slaves. Page 125 of the *History of Our United States* text displays the words, 'The Spirit of Rebellion Grows' in large, bold characters. As one can imagine, the texts are describing the anticipation of White Colonist rebellion against the British, not slave uprisings for freedom from bondage. This paradigm enforces the notion that rebellions led by Whites are positive and heroic, whereas rebellions led by Blacks were not only negative and dangerous, but they

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<sup>77</sup> Aptheker, 60-61, 63. Aptheker describes these, and others, as consequences of slave revolts.

<sup>78</sup> Johnson, 354-355

also aroused fear. Perhaps Anthony Hopkins, playing the role of former President John Quincy Adams in the film *Amistad*, summed it up perfectly when he said children would learn Cinque's (an African who led a revolt on the slave ship *La Amistad*) name, along with Patrick Henry, for generations in schools if he were White.

## CONCLUSIONS

Unfortunately, social studies teachers continue to rely heavily on the textbook and lecture format to present the bulk of information students are expected to learn. This practice differs from current trends in mathematics and science pedagogy where increased use of manipulatives and hands-on activities are regular features of instruction. In addition, modern textbooks have only slightly begun to transform from presenting information chronologically to thematically. In order to understand slave revolts, one must examine the subject broadly rather than learn about individual events that happened within the context of a calendar year. I stand by my argument that teachers who rely solely on textbooks in history classrooms promote cultural and historical illiteracy.

Shortcomings of textbooks not only damage the quality of textbook content, but students' perceptions and overall learning suffer as well. Indeed, there are aspects of slavery and of those times that are entirely left out of [the curriculum]: slave insurrections, successful lives of runaway slaves, as well as whole countries run by Africans. Because the study of slavery in textbooks is simplistic, the pieces of truth and cursory details thrown to students by even the most well meaning [textbooks] often provoke intense anger.<sup>79</sup> Should we then be surprised that a higher percentage of minorities continue to drop out of high school and perform more poorly in U.S. history classrooms than Whites?<sup>80</sup> We must continue proceeding with caution, however, as history is about the understanding of the world and the past, and not about improving self-esteem.

Injecting pieces of information on subjects concerning minorities represents a common theme of modern textbooks. Frances Fitzgerald summarizes this deficiency of textbooks in *America Revised*: "The past is no highway to the present; it is a collection of issues and events that do not fit together and that lead in no single direction. The word 'progress' has been replaced by the word 'change.'"<sup>81</sup> It seems nothing short of a major overhaul or the abolition of the prevalent use of textbooks will serve as a sufficient remedy to the problem. However, in disciplines as large as the Social Sciences, textbooks continue to remain a necessary evil in education.

The new features of history textbooks emphasize style over content. A report conducted by Gilbert T. Sewall summarizes most problems with contemporary textbooks. His study found: "Textbooks are vague about things that are interesting, and specific about events and people that no one needs to remember. Too many topics are covered superficially. Textbooks have difficulty building bridges from one subject to another. Language is often choppy, stilted, and impersonal. It is a difficult style to read, understand, or remember."<sup>82</sup> As a classroom teacher, I review the content of textbooks on a daily basis. I often question whether reading certain passages of textbooks help students better understand concepts or play any consequential role in the development of their historical intelligence quotient. One thing I know for certain based on my minimal experience is that students asked more questions, participated more in their learning, and performed better on standardized assessments during a unit on Slavery, in which I covered the *Amistad* revolt, than in their other units of history instruction.

Politics is a constant struggle over whose values win. There is a current backlash among conservatives and Christian Rights who refute the successes of liberals pushing for multicultural education. Because of the humanistic element of social studies, history is ripe for debates about which topics should be included and omitted in the curriculum. Historical knowledge is very similar to 200 people abandoned at sea trying to survive and make their way on to a floatation device designed for 50 people. Just as not everyone at sea will survive, not every tidbit of knowledge will make its way into U.S. history textbooks. However, we have a responsibility to ensure everyone is treated fairly and their stories told truthfully. U.S. history textbooks must represent American history, not Black history, Indian history, Women's history, or any other form of history predicated upon race gender or ethnicity. This debate over what should be taught in schools is likely to be argued long into the new millennium and will remain as permanent of a division as race itself is in America.

If students are not going to learn the whole truth, with the intent on honoring historical figures, then the social studies curriculum should be designed to respect the differences and recognize the contributions all groups have made to the development of America. There is a power of silences in today's textbooks and curriculums: the lack of

<sup>79</sup> Landsman, 33

<sup>80</sup> For specific statistics, one can examine tables 104 and 118 of the U.S. Department of Education, National Center for Education Statistics to see public high school dropout rates and the percentage of students at or above selected U.S. history proficiency levels for 2001.

<sup>81</sup> Fitzgerald, 11

<sup>82</sup> Kathleen Kennedy, "Analysis Finds Shallowness in Latest History Textbooks" *Education Week* 19.33 (2000), 6

Black literature, the absence of runaway slaves in textbooks. This omission is not just an omission of many students' pasts or their culture; it is a silence surrounding the history of every American.<sup>83</sup> It seems arbitrary and unjust for history textbook authors to pay homage to the White Colonists' struggles for freedom from Britain while ignoring the efforts of Black slaves to fight for their own independence. By doing so, textbook authors support the beliefs of those such as Thomas Jefferson, who believed only Whites of European descent were entitled to advancement through revolution, and slave rebellion was an illegal attempt by property to obtain freedom where none was deserved.<sup>84</sup> The experiences and actions of rebellious people, not property, shaped the creation and formation of America, and that cannot be ignored.

A common indicator of knowledge in classrooms involves a teacher asking students whether or not they understand something. Many students are quick to say they understand; understand what slavery was like for those held in bondage, understand why certain slaves rebelled, or even understand what it is like to be a Black American in contemporary society. One person saying they understand is easy, but how does one tell if they really understand something? Wiggins and McTighe argue understanding involves six facets: explanation, interpretation, application, perspective, empathy, and self-knowledge.<sup>85</sup> If students are to understand the intricacies of slave revolts, they must apply all of the facets, which textbooks rarely provide.

Inevitably, teachers who do not know much about the subject of history come to rely heavily on textbooks. If history textbooks do not improve, the burden of correcting the problems relies on the regular classroom teacher. This problem is compounded by the fact that only 31 percent of middle school and 41 percent of high school history teachers majored in history as undergraduates.<sup>86</sup> At the end of their school careers, however, students will remember good teachers and the information they learned from those teachers, not what they learned from textbooks. Those at the center of the modern textbook debate place far too much emphasis on bound paper and words and pay far too little attention to those occupying the core of the learning process: students and teachers.

## RECOMMENDATIONS

The emphasis today is placed too highly on what should be taught, rather than how it is taught. If teachers continue to lecture and use textbooks, children will continue to be bored with history. Engaging students in their learning will inspire them to research on their own. If teachers can get students to enjoy learning they will want to discover about Crispus Attucks and Paul Revere, eliminating the debate over which character deserves more attention in school textbooks. Students need more freedom to learn and more opportunities to engage in discovering history. Programs like National History Day must play a vital role in U.S. history curriculum development. Similar programs encourage students to think for themselves and discover knowledge rather than become passive acceptors of information. As a society we completely undervalue the thoughts and experiences of our nation's youth. Students must be given a greater voice in determining the content that will best prepare them to face the challenges in the modern world, which they will one day inherit.

The stories of the Amistad and the other slave revolts are incredible, but they are reported in texts as simple facts with the occasional opinion from the authors. Facts are dull. Stories engage students, and textbooks need to allow student exploration, which the National Council for the Social Studies (NCSS) recommends. U.S. history is not the same as math class. Students must understand that slaves are not numbers; slaves are real people with families, emotions, and struggles similar to those of us living today. Students need to read letters detailing slave revolt plots,<sup>87</sup> examine the writings of Osborne Anderson, the only Black who survived to write about John Brown's raid on Harper's Ferry<sup>88</sup>, and read the oral testimonies of former slaves like Mary Armstrong who fought back against those who oppressed her<sup>89</sup>, in order to gain an appreciation for the struggles of Black Americans. Teachers might be able to provide these opportunities for students, but current textbooks certainly do not. If textbooks fail to change, and continue appealing to interest groups, we are doomed to repeat our mistakes as a nation. Historically, textbooks have long retarded the growth of the American education system and its students, and they continue to silence the oppressed; those who helped create one of the most fascinating nations in world history.

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<sup>82</sup> Landsman, 40

<sup>84</sup> Johnson, 265

<sup>85</sup> Grant Wiggins and Jay McTighe, *Understanding by Design* (Alexandria: Association for Supervision and Curriculum Development, 1998), Chapter 4, pages 44-62 introduce the reader to the six facets of understanding.

<sup>86</sup> Chester E. Finn Jr., "Today's Textbooks Offer an Unhealthy Diet of History" *USA Today* 25 March 2004, A.15

<sup>87</sup> Zinn, 36. In *A People's History of the United States* Zinn includes a 1720 letter from South Carolina to London reporting knowledge of a potential slave uprising in the area.

<sup>88</sup> Zinn, 188-190

<sup>89</sup> Norman R. Yetman ed., *Voices From Slavery* (Mineola, NY: Dover Publications Inc., 2000), 19

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