

Teaching Hard History through Children’s Literature about Enslavement

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While enslavement is a topic present in elementary social studies standards for all fifty states,¹ it also remains one of the most difficult topics to teach. Recently, the Southern Poverty Law Center conducted a survey of the historical knowledge of 1,000 American high school seniors about enslavement.² The results were not encouraging. Respondents appeared unaware that enslavement was the central cause of the Civil War and that it took a constitutional amendment to end enslavement. Importantly, less than a quarter of respondents acknowledged the institutional nature of enslavement in U.S. history, that enslavement was enshrined in founding documents, and that the founders were themselves owners of enslaved persons.³ Given disheartening news reports of slave auction simulations in classrooms, math problems about enslaved persons being beaten, and homework questions about the pros and cons of enslavement, it is tempting to blame teachers for the issues identified in this survey. However, SPLC’s survey also found that teachers’ efforts to enact deep coverage of enslavement are unlikely to be supported by their textbooks or state standards, which tend toward superficial coverage.

Children’s literature is the primary vehicle through which elementary teachers put their social studies curricula into practice, though the integration of children’s literature and social studies instruction tends to be “opportunistic, as happenstance, rather than systematic.”⁴ Teaching enslavement through children’s literature is unlikely to be an exception to this observable pattern. The research on the impact of children’s literature on elementary students’ understandings of history is rather thin. However, in ideal moments, teachers could use well-chosen narratives supported by thoughtful instruction to motivate inquiry and analysis into difficult historical topics such as enslavement.⁵

Because of a long tradition of children’s literature depicting enslavement,⁶ elementary teachers have an expansive assortment of books from which to choose. These books, however, can be filled with inaccuracies, troubling illustrations, and dubious interpretations of the “peculiar institution.” The recent controversy over *A Birthday Cake for George Washington*, a book

written for first-through-third graders, filled with illustrations of enslaved persons smiling while they work in bondage, demonstrates just how problematic these books have the potential to be.⁷ In this article, we offer lessons from our study of recently published children’s books that depict enslavement.⁸ Our aim is not to provide teachers with a list of books that we deem as “acceptable” for use in the elementary classroom (though readers may use our findings to and make informed choices, and perhaps add to classroom libraries). Rather, our analytical framework will assist teachers as they decode the interpretive stances embedded in the narratives and illustrations of books that depict enslavement. We then offer recommendations for an instructional strategy aligned with the *College, Career, and Civic Life (C3) Framework for Social Studies State Standards*⁹ that will support students’ learning about enslavement from any of the books in our study, or other books that may be available in a particular school library.

Our Study of 22 Books

When the aforementioned controversy over *A Birthday Cake for George Washington* made national headlines in 2016, we recognized a need for empirical examinations of portrayals of enslavement in children’s literature that teachers might currently be using. Researchers before us had begun the important work of considering trends in the representation of enslavement in children’s literature over the last 60 years.¹⁰ Thus, we hoped to contribute to this research our qualitative content analysis of both narrative text and illustrations from a cross-section of recently published children’s literature about enslavement.¹¹

In our study, we interrogated the instructional implications of both the narrative text and illustrations of 22 books through the development and use of an analytical tool. We drew from critical race theorists¹² and research traditions on African American subjects in children’s literature to establish a framework for analyzing textual and visual features in our dataset. Each set of features fell into one of three stances of historical interpretation, which we used to deductively categorize books and draw out instructional implications. The three stances (or

categories) are selective tradition, social conscience, and culturally conscious, which we expound on below. The bibliography on page 18, comprises the 22 books in our dataset, categorized according to these three categories.

The Framework: Selecting and Using Books

In the sections below, we present a brief explanation of each interpretive stance, followed by a description of one book from our dataset that embodies the features of this stance. We must be clear in stating that we make no claims on the intentions of the authors or illustrators. Rather, we are concerned with the meanings that students are likely to infer from narratives and illustrations that contain particular features. For additional details on elements of each stance, see our earlier article.⁸

Selective Tradition Books

More than 40 years ago, scholar and novelist Raymond Williams argued that in selecting particular people, events, and experiences for representation, “selective tradition” books validate certain historical accounts and invalidate others.¹³ We classified books that offer readers a narrow or simplified version of historical events as “selective tradition” books. In depicting enslavement, such books minimize or exclude the violence of enslavement, show masters and enslaved persons working happily together or as equals, or omit enslaved persons from events in which they played prominent roles. In sum, selective tradition books emphasize the “‘better’ aspects of the slave system over a more honest telling of U.S. history.”¹⁴ An example of a book we classified as selective tradition is *A Fine Dessert: Four Centuries, Four Families, One Delicious Treat*, by E. Jenkins and S. Blackall (New York: Schwartz & Wade Books, 2015). This book tells the story of four fictional families throughout U.S. history making the same dessert. Focusing on the vignette depicting an enslaved mother and daughter, the pair are illustrated as smiling while they pick the blackberries, prepare the treat, and eat the remnants in hiding. The characters are not explicitly described as enslaved persons; this must be inferred by the reader. Contextualized by three other short stories of families making the same dessert, this book equivocates the experiences of enslaved families with those of free families from other moments in U.S. history.

Social Conscience Books

“Social conscience books” is a term coined by scholar and educator Rudine Sims in 1982 to describe children’s literature initially written in the 1960s with the hopes of assisting school integration following *Brown v. Board of Education*.¹⁵ We have adapted the features identified by Sims and applied them to books recently written about enslavement. Social conscience books offer mixed portrayals of enslavement; in such books enslavement is a joyless, painful experience, but subtle misrep-

resentations often pervade the narrative text, or illustrations, or both. While they are honest in their portrayal of enslavement, social conscience books are also likely to point readers’ attentions away from the institutional nature of enslavement by presenting the violence of enslavement in passive voice, or by focusing on masters who were generally immoral individuals.¹⁶ Thus, social conscience books are often historically accurate, though not historically representative.

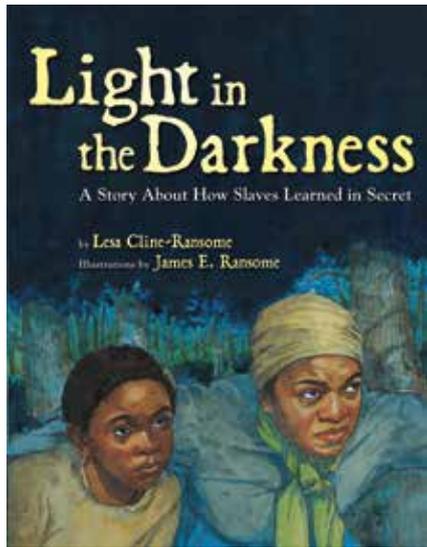
Ellen Craft’s Escape from Slavery by C. Moore and M. Braught (Minneapolis, MN: Millbrook Press, 2011) is a social conscience book depicting the nonfiction story of Ellen and William Craft, who escape from bondage in Georgia to freedom in Philadelphia. During the couple’s four-day journey, Ellen poses as a white man and William as her enslaved person. The narrative is hopeful, and readers will immediately note Ellen’s bravery, ingenuity, and humanity. However, some subtle issues with this book led us to classify it as social conscience. For one, escape was a particularly rare occurrence.¹⁷ As a result, *Ellen Craft’s Escape from Slavery* is a historically accurate book, but not historically representative of enslavement. Without appropriate scaffolding, young readers might infer that escape was a viable option for most enslaved people, and that the countless numbers of enslaved persons who remained in captivity were simply flawed or chose enslavement over freedom. Second, this book contains passages depicting the abuse suffered by Ellen and William written in passive voice. For example, “They could be bought and sold like animals. Even children could be sold and sent away from their parents. Ellen had been taken away from her mother when she was a little girl” (p. 7). As a result, children will learn about the horrors of enslavement when reading the book, but the perpetrators of these crimes go unidentified. Omitting references to the perpetrators, to named persons, may give readers the mistaken impression that enslavement “happened upon people,” like the weather, and was not an oppression that other humans violently forced upon them. Using the passive voice in such a narrative diffuses responsibility.

Culturally Conscious Books

In culturally conscious books, the systemic nature of enslavement is a theme throughout the narrative and illustrations, unlike selective tradition and social conscience books. Rudine Sims Bishop (nee Rudine Sims) originally intended this classification to apply to certain fictional books. We broaden this definition to also include nonfiction accounts for use in analyzing children’s literature about enslavement.¹⁸ The dialogue in culturally conscious books may contain linguistic styles associated with African Americans while narratives and illustrations offer laudatory portrayals of African American cultural customs. Representations of skin color are explicitly affirmative in an “effort to create and promote positive associations with the darkness that carries so many negative connotations.”¹⁹ Oppression is an explicit theme in culturally

conscious books. As such, the narratives in these books use active voice in describing the horrors of enslavement.

A book we characterized as culturally conscious is *Light in the Darkness: A Story of How Slaves Learned in Secret* by L. Ransome, L. and J. E. Ransome (New York: Jump at the Sun Books, 2013). In this historical fiction, a young girl named Rosa narrates how she, her friend Morris, Mama, and other enslaved African-Americans secretly learn to read and write in so-called



“pit-schools.” To minimize the risk of a master’s punishment, some enslaved people dug pits far away from living quarters and covered them to create concealed learning places. The narrative text and images portray African Americans struggling to rise above their condition of enslavement. They are humans who want to read and

write. They experience pride in learning, but dread getting caught. In one scene, one girl is beaten for learning, and those forced to watch have pained expressions or avert their eyes. The story ends with a clear message: enslavement is horrific, and yet many African-Americans nevertheless persisted in trying to extend their humanity through learning. Learning to read and write provides moments of satisfaction that does not erase the sorrow of enslavement. Struggling to become literate is also an investment in a better future and a tool of social and political power.

Teaching Tips

We see important pedagogical opportunities in teaching with books from any of these three categories—if done while teaching students to think critically about what they are reading. Select two or more books that provide an opportunity for students to compare and critique differing accounts of enslavement. We recommend pairing a culturally conscious book with one from the selective tradition or social conscience category. To avoid creating confusion and transmitting false information, we recommend avoiding instruction where a single selective tradition or social conscience book stands alone in a lesson.

In the lesson below, we describe a process you might practice with your students throughout the year. This process merges English language arts with social studies by applying historical inquiry questions to children’s literature. As articulated in Dimension 2 of the C3 Framework’s Inquiry Arc, this process

guides students through the use of disciplinary tools in service of historical analysis. It assists them in the close reading of children’s literature about enslavement to determine “main ideas, details, structure, purpose, source type, and claims emitting from the sources, and comparing multiple sources.”²⁰ The process also provides developmentally appropriate scaffolds for answering questions backed by evidence and can be applied to both nonfiction and fiction books that depict historical events. The process we recommend is as follows:

- Begin your lesson by having students brainstorm their prior knowledge of enslavement. Importantly, ask them to reflect on where they have learned about enslavement. What have they learned in your class about enslavement already? What did they learn at home? From depictions in books, television, and/or movies?
- Choose books carefully, as described above. Two books that provide divergent accounts of the same event (in this case, the construction of The White House in Washington, DC) are *Brick by Brick* by Charles R. Smith, Jr. (New York: Amistad, 2015) and *The House That George Built* by Suzanne Slade (New York: Charlesbridge, 2015). The first book focuses on the role enslaved African-Americans had in its construction, and the second omits them entirely, and even suggests that George Washington himself helped in the physical labor, which is highly unlikely.
- Have students read *Brick by Brick* first. Begin by asking your students to point out the enslaved persons in the narrative and illustrations, and challenge them to find the enslaved persons’ names. Ask students to describe how enslaved people are depicted. Possible answers include pained and somber expressions. Ask students to describe the relationship between master and enslaved person. Students are likely to point out a page where two greedy white owners exchange money between themselves; they profit from the enslaved people’s work.
- Ask students to brainstorm what they thought the author’s purpose was in writing this book. Possible answers may lay bare the evils of enslavement. Others may allude to the ironies of enslaved people helping to build the White House, an icon of a new republic proclaiming that ‘all men are created equal’.
- Next have students read *The House That George Built*. Ask them the same questions as you did with *Brick by Brick*. Be prepared that some students may be confused by these prompts, as no enslaved people or masters are depicted; the entire work staff is white.

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- After students identify that these stories take very different perspectives of the same event, ask students in a whole-class discussion, “Why do you think the authors of *The House That George Built* might have preferred to leave out the story of the enslaved people?” A goal of such discussion might be for students to understand that discussing enslavement openly and honestly is a challenge for many people.
- Next, ask students, “Why do you think the authors of *Brick by Brick* chose to focus on the role of enslaved people in the construction of the White House, especially if talking about the subject is difficult for many?” Answers may vary, but consider the possibility of following up with the question, “How do you feel talking about enslavement? What things, if any, make it difficult to talk about?”
- Finally, ask your students to assess what they have learned about enslavement from the books they are comparing against what they have learned from your social studies instruction or from other accounts they are familiar with. This can lead to discussions around why distortions, omissions, and simplifications about the past in general exist in children’s literature, popular culture, and political campaigns.

The above guided inquiry allows you to model the types of inquiry questions your students ought to ask of the historical books they read and to support their analyses through the discussion you moderate. At this point it is helpful to use a formative assessment to determine the extent to which your students are prepared to independently complete this inquiry model.

- For this formative assessment you might select a book using the bibliography (p. 18) if you want students to analyze features from a particular stance. You might also use the criteria from our framework to select a book we did not analyze in our study. For example, you might have your students independently read *Ellen Craft’s Escape from Slavery* and then work independently through the observational questions you posed during the guided inquiry: “Who are the enslaved persons? For example, what are their names? What do the enslaved persons experience?”
- Next, ask students to brainstorm what they learn about the enslaved persons’ lives, focusing on what they say and what experiences they have. Finally, ask your stu-

dents to make observations about how the enslaved persons are illustrated, focusing on their facial expressions, clothing, etc.

- Once your students have catalogued the features of the book they are reading, direct them in making inferences about enslavement, were they only to learn about enslavement from this particular book. For example, your students might make statements such as, “According to *Ellen Craft’s Escape from Slavery*, enslaved children could be separated from their parents. Enslaved persons could disguise themselves as white people to escape to freedom.” Ask your students to support such inferences with specific words or illustrations from the book they are reading.

With these simple inquiry questions, first modeled by you and later posed as written or discussion prompts, your students can do the work of uncovering the interpretive stances nestled in books about enslavement. This process empowers students to apply disciplinary concepts used by historians in “describing how the perspectives of people in the present shape their interpretations of the past.”²¹ This kind of questioning also assists students in reflecting on the difficulty they may have in talking about enslavement. Teaching with elementary-level books that diverge in their portrayals of enslavement provides an opportunity for students to analyze and reflect upon a reluctance by many to discuss enslavement in U.S. history. When this process is accompanied by direct instruction on the history of enslavement, your students will develop deeper understandings of enslavement and become better prepared to identify and acknowledge literary and visual conventions that convey subtle (and not so subtle) meanings. Meanwhile, the formative assessment allows you to determine the extent to which your students understand the inquiry process and are ready to apply it when reading other historical topics presented in children’s literature.

Concluding Thoughts

Our research might have been more expedient for teachers if it created a canon of books that are most effective in teaching young learners about enslavement. But enslavement falls into the category of what educator Deborah P. Britzman calls “difficult knowledge,”²² referring to the “representation of social trauma and the individuals’ encounter with them in pedagogy.”²³ The social studies curriculum is fraught with this sort of content: imperialism, genocide, and religious discrimination are several other examples. That these topics are difficult makes the instructional choices teachers make around them all the more important. In the case of enslavement, some books clearly present more challenges than others, but none are challenge-free. Passive voice within a narrative about punishing enslaved persons is a subtle feature of social conscience books, one that

BOOK RESOURCES

Culturally Conscious

Cline-Ransome, Lesa. *Light in the Darkness: A Story about How Slaves Learned in Secret*. New York: Jump at the Sun Books. 2013.

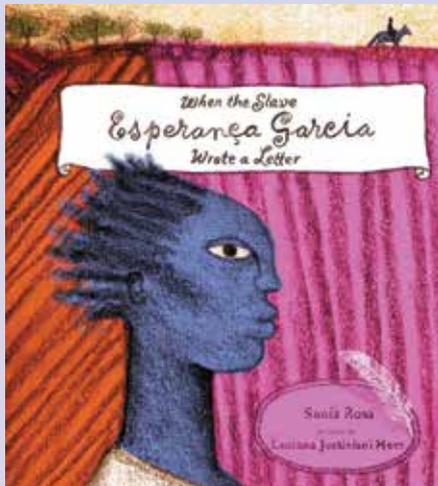
McGill, Alice and Michael Cummings. *In the Hollow of Your Hand: Slave Lullabies*. Boston, MA: Houghton Mifflin. 2000.

Pringle, Laurence, Cornelius Van Wright, and Ying-Hwa Hu. *American Slave, American Hero: York of the Lewis and Clark Expedition*. Honesdale, PA: Calkins Creek. 2006.

Raven, Margot Theis and E. B. Lewis. *Circle Unbroken*. New York: Square Fish. 2007.

Ringgold, Faith. *The Invisible Princess*. New York: Crown Publishers. 1999.

Rosa, Sonia and Luciana Justiniana Hees. *When the Slave Esperança Garcia Wrote a Letter*. Toronto, Canada: Greenwood Books. 2012.



Slate, Joseph and E.B. Lewis. *I Want to Be Free*. New York: G.P. Putnam's Sons Books for Young Readers. 2009.

Smith, Charles R. and Floyd Cooper. *Brick by Brick*. New York: Harper Collins. 2013.

Stroud, Bettye and Erin Susanne Bennett. *The Patchwork Path: A Quilt Map to Freedom*. New York: Candlewick. 2007.

Social Conscience

Cooper, Floyd. *Juneteenth for Mazie*. North Mankato, MN: Picture Window Books. 2015

Evans, Shane W. *Underground: Finding the Light to Freedom*. New York: Roaring Brook Press. 2011.

Hopkinson, Deborah and James Ransome. *Sweet Clara and the Freedom Quilt*. New York: Reading Rainbow Books. 2013.

Kamma, Anne and Pamela Johnson. *If You Lived When There was Slavery in America*. New York: Scholastic. 2004.

Levine, Ellen and Larry Johnson. *If You Traveled on the Underground Railroad*. New York: Scholastic Paperbacks. 1992.

Levine, Ellen and Kadir Nelson. *Henry's Freedom Box: A True Story from the Underground Railroad*. New York: Scholastic. 2007.

Lyons, Kathy Starling and Don Tate. *Hope's Gift*. New York: G.P. Putnam's Sons Books for Young Readers. 2012.

Lyons, Kelly Starling and E.B. Lewis. *Tea Cakes for Tosh*. New York: G.P. Putnam's Sons Books for Young Readers. 2012

Moore, Cathy and Mark Braught. *Ellen Craft's Escape from Slavery*. Minneapolis, MI: Lerner Classroom. 2010.

Nelson, Kadir. *Heart and Soul: The Story of American and African Americans*. New York: Harper Collins. 2013.

Selective Tradition

Ganeshram, Ramin and Vanessa Brantley-Newton. *A Birthday Cake for George Washington*. New York: Scholastic Press. 2016.

Jenkins, Emily and Sophie Blackall. *A Fine Dessert: Four Centuries, Four Families, One Delicious Treat*. New York: Schwartz and Wade Books. 2015.

Slade, Suzanne and Rebecca Bond. *The House that George Built*. Watertown MA: Charlesbridge. 2013.

acknowledges a crime without identifying a criminal. On the other hand, culturally conscious books will be more explicit in identifying the perpetrators of enslavement but are less likely to have happy endings. The narrative text and illustrations in these books will lead to demanding discussions with students as well as parents and guardians.

Hence, much depends on your instructional choices and importantly your content knowledge about and dispositions towards enslavement. The SPLC survey of 2018 described in the introduction to this article found that a significant majority of teachers (89 percent) believed teaching about enslavement was essential, but only half (56 percent) felt comfortable discussing this subject with their students. Even fewer (15 percent) felt supported in teaching this difficult knowledge by their state's teaching standards. Reflecting on these survey results along with our research, we have to conclude there is no ideal arrangement of book and pedagogical strategy when it comes to teaching enslavement to young learners. Rather, you, the teacher, must systematically consider and evaluate your understandings of enslavement in U.S. history and what relevance it has for your students' learning. These reflections, supported by the framework in this article, can be used as you choose books and develop your instructional strategies that will elicit deep understandings of enslavement in U.S. history as well as modern representations of this topic. 🌍

Acknowledgements

We thank educator and graduate student Andrea Terrero Gabbadon for her thoughtful feedback on several drafts of this article.

Notes

1. C. L. Busey and I. Walker, "A Dream and a Bus: Black Critical Patriotism in Elementary Social Studies Standards," *Theory & Research in Social Education* 45, no. 4(2017): 456–488.
2. Southern Poverty Law Center, "Teaching Hard History: American Slavery" (2018), <https://www.splcenter.org/20180131/teaching-hard-history>.
3. In this and other articles we chose to use the term "enslaved person" rather than "slave," and "enslavement" rather than "slavery." This is reflective of a larger debate over terminology in historical and literary circles. Our decision is guided by the notion that to refer to an individual as a "slave" risks depriving that person of their humanity. We aim to avoid reducing historical actors entirely to their condition of servitude. The term "enslaved person" acknowledges one's humanity; "slave" reduces one to her/his/their status.
4. M. Boyle-Baise, M. Hsu, S. Johnson, S. C. Serriere, and D. Stewart, "Putting Reading First: Teaching Social Studies in Elementary Classrooms," *Theory & Research in Social Education* 36, no. 3 (2008): 233.
5. L. Levstik and S. J. Thornton, "Reconceptualizing History for Early Childhood through Early Adolescence," in *The Wiley Handbook of Social Studies Research*, M. M. Manfra and C.M. Bolick, eds. (West Sussex, UK: Wiley Blackwell, 2017), 360–384.
6. Rudine Sims Bishop, *Free Within Ourselves: The Development of African American Children's Literature* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 2007), 71; W. Brooks and J. C. McNair, "'But this Story of Mine is Not Unique.' A Review of Research on African American Literature," *Review of Educational Research* 79, no. 1 (2009): 125–162.
7. The book's publisher ultimately pulled *A Birthday Cake for George Washington* by Ramin Ganeshram (New York: Scholastic Press, 2016) from distribution, although at the time of this writing, copies of it are still available for purchase from online book sellers.

8. T. Patterson and J. M. Shuttleworth, "The (Mis)representation of Enslavement in Historical Literature for Elementary Students," *Teachers College Record* 121, no. 4 (2019): 1–40.
9. NCSS, *The College, Career, and Civic Life (CC3) Framework for Social Studies State Standards: Guidance for Enhancing the Rigor of K-12 Civics, Economics, Geography, and History* (Silver Springs, MD: NCSS, 2013).
10. J. H. Bickford, III, and C. W. Rich, "Examining the Representation of Slavery within Children's Literature," *Social Studies Research and Practice* 9 no. 1 (2014): 66–94; J. H. Bickford, III, and L. N. Schuette, "Trade Books' Historical Representation of the Black Freedom Movement, Slavery through Civil Rights," *Journal of Children's Literature* 42, no. 1 (2016): 20–43; T. L. Williams, "A Closer Look: The Representation of Slavery in the Dear America Series," *Social Studies and the Young Learner* 21, no. 3 (January/February 2009): 26–29.
11. We used the search terms "slavery" and "children's book" to identify books for inclusion in this study. For details on how we assembled our dataset, see Patterson and Shuttleworth (2019), note 8, above.
12. D. D. Bernal, "Critical Race Theory, Latino Critical Theory, and Critical Raced-Gendered Epistemologies: Recognizing Students of Color as Holders and Creators of Knowledge," *Qualitative Inquiry* 8, no. 1 (2002), 105–126; A. D. Dixson and C. Rousseau, *Critical Race Theory in Education: All God's Children Got a Song* (New York: Routledge, 2006); L. Parker, "'Race is, Race Ain't': An Exploration of the Utility of Critical Race Theory in Qualitative Research in Education," *International Journal of Qualitative Studies in Education* 11, no. 1 (1998): 43–55; G. Ladson-Billings, ed., *Critical Race Theory Perspectives on Social Studies: The Profession, Policies, and Curriculum* (Greenwich, CT: Information Age, 2003); D. Solórzano, "Images and Words that Wound: Critical Race Theory, Racial Stereotyping, and Teacher Education," *Teacher Education Quarterly* 24, no. 3 (1997): 5–9.
13. Raymond Williams, *Culture and Society, 1780–1950* (New York: Harper and Row, 1966); *Marxism and Literature* (Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press, 1977).
14. Rudine Sims Bishop, "A Question of Perspective," *The Advocate* 3, no. 3 (1984): 145–156.
15. Rudine Sims, *Shadow and Substance: Afro-American Experience in Contemporary Children's Fiction* (New York: National Council for Teacher Education, 1982); Rudine Sims Bishop, "Reframing the Debate about Cultural Authenticity," in *Stories Matter: The Complexity of Cultural Authenticity in Children's Literature*, K. Short and D. Fox, eds., (Urbana, IL: NCTE, 2003), 25–37.
16. The institution of slavery was upheld mainly by law-abiding Americans, not only the disreputable or socially maladjusted. For example, in chapter 7 of his autobiographical *Narrative*, Frederick Douglass describes his master's wife as "a kind and tender-hearted woman ... She at first lacked the depravity indispensable to shutting me up in mental darkness." Her husband, however, berates her for teaching the young Douglass how to read. "It was at least necessary for her to have some training in the exercise of irresponsible power, to make her equal to the task of treating me as though I were a brute."
17. The rarity of successful escapes is revealed in three chapters in *United States History: Vol. 1. Colonial through Reconstruction*, edited by R. J. Maddox (New York: McGraw Hill, 2012), namely: K. Frost, "From Detroit to the Promised Land" (101–104), F. Bordewich, "Free at Last" (123–127), and D. Blight, "A Slave's Audacious Bid for Freedom" (142–143).
18. Rudine Sims, "A Question of Perspective," *The Advocate* 3, no. 3 (1984) 145–156.
19. H. A. Williams, *African American Education in Slavery and Freedom* (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 2005).
20. NCSS, 2013, p. 50.
21. NCSS, 2013, p. 17.
22. Debarah P. Britzman, *Lost Subjects, Contested Objects: Toward a Psychoanalytic Inquiry of Learning* (Albany, NY: State University of New York Press, 1998).
23. A. Pitt and D. P. Britzman, "Speculations on Qualities of Difficult Knowledge in Teaching and Learning: An Experiment in Psychoanalytic Research," *Qualitative Studies in Education* 16, no. 6, (2003): 755–776.

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