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REVIEWS

A "GREAT ROADS" APPROACH TO TEACHING MODERN WORLD HISTORY AND LATIN AMERICAN REGIONAL SURVEY COURSES: A VERACRUZ TO MEXICO CITY CASE STUDY

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In January of 2000, the authors of this article made a ten-day field trip along Mexico's Veracruz to Mexico City corridor, with notebooks, detailed maps, and digital camera in hand. This was all in support of their recent experience in teaching history survey courses on their respective campuses. Jim Brown of Samford University has been developing interactive three-dimensional topography models as a basis for his sophomore modern world history course. Doug Sullivan-González, Latin American historian at the University of Mississippi, has been fine-tuning his introductory regional history courses in the Croft International Program there. We have both gravitated towards use of a "great roads" approach. Twenty years of discussion between us, including recent visits to each other's campuses and incorporation of some of the other's approaches, led up to this joint field trip. In this article we first outline an innovative "great roads" way of teaching "World History Since 1500" as it has evolved at Samford in recent years. Then at more length we develop the "Veracruz to Mexico City corridor" case study approach to the modern history of Latin America as we both now use it in our survey courses.

Teaching history survey courses requires paring and teaching by microcosm. The size and complexity of the subject matter make it hard to integrate this course without reducing the vast historic drama to vague general formulas on the one hand or unconnected vignettes on the other. Suppose a teacher presented as the great theme of the last five hundred years the following two-part process. First, unparalleled new power was generated by European and Europeanized countries through new kinds of social mobilization and technology, enabling them to explore and eventually conquer most of the world. Second, the rest of the world then fought to regain its independence, in part by borrowing crucial ideas from those same new powers, particularly those social catalysts of nationalism and socialism. This two-step process in world history can then be illumined by studying a sample country or countries from each of the world's major non-European regions—we have chosen Japan from East Asia, Indonesia from Southeast Asia, India from South Asia, South Africa from Africa, Israel/Palestine from the Middle East, and Mexico from Latin America. Each country's experiences, in turn, are sampled by using a "great roads" approach. This further limits and focuses the history, yet at the same time gives it a human scale filled with personal detail.

For some of these countries a single road works well. Japan's Tokaido or "East Sea Road" that runs from the old imperial capital of Kyoto to the newer frontier capital of Tokyo, for example, is a single dominant road that can be used to organize almost all important developments in Japanese history since 1500. The Grand Trunk Road in the British Raj that ran from Calcutta in today's India to Lahore in today's Pakistan, with an important spur on to Peshawar and the Khyber Pass, was based on the ancient key road connecting the Ganges basin with the Punjabi tributaries of the Indus. The part of it in India today is still of key importance and familiarly known to Indians as "the GT Road." Most important aspects of modern Indonesian history can be linked to the single Javanese road from Jakarta (the Dutch colonial capital Batavia) to the ancient cultural capital of Yogjakarta. It passes up through the hill country resort of Bogor, through the volcanic highlands university city of Bandung, and after Yogjakarta by extension on to the key industrial city of Surabaya. In other countries or regions where there is no clear single most important road, we specify a simple network of roads that achieves almost the same effect. With South Africa, for example, we concentrate on that elongated triangle of roads from Capetown inland through Kimberly to Johannesburg, thence to Durban on the Kwa Zulu-Natal coast, and from Durban down the coast through Port Elizabeth and again to Capetown. We outline a more complicated network of roads in Israel/Palestine, caused by the constraints that topography has placed on traveling from the Nile delta to Damascus or Amman. The Via Maris along the Mediterranean coast and the King's Road along the Jordanian escarpment each have their obstacles, and various intermediate compromises connect these two extremes. Last, and the real substance of this article, comes the Mexican "great road." There may not be a single Mexican road as important as the Tokaido is to Japan, but there is a single clearly dominant corridor—that Veracruz to Mexico City network of roads that has been key to Mexican history ever since Cortés.

As we lecture on the development of European power and its impact on specific cultures and polities in the non-European world, students in small groups are working toward class presentations on one of these countries. They are asked to connect their presentations whenever possible with the key roads or networks of roads specified above. We have found that if students can visualize the ups and downs of a key road, including some of the texture of the land in terms of soils, plants, animals, and human communities, they are much quicker to engage the history of the country as it played out along that road.

The topography is simple enough to do, using two-dimensional or better yet three-dimensional maps featuring the area of the crucial "great roads." The texture of the land can be layered in a process familiar from many humanities and social sciences disciplines. Several academic fields in the past century have "invented" the same general model of telescoping time. They begin by looking at geology and climate, then turn to the botany and zoology that these supported, then the anthropology or

prehistory based in turn on those, then the history proper. The last step is finally to study political issues, in a study now informed by all the foregoing. Take, as examples, geographer Carl Sauer's *The Early Spanish Main*, landscape architect Ian McHarg's *Design With Nature*, and not least historian Fernand Braudel's *The Mediterranean and the Mediterranean World in the Age of Philip II*. All three deal with the vivacious interplay between humanity and the regional environment in this "telescoping time" way, beginning with soils and climate and ending with (informed) politics.[1]

In this light, consider the history of Mexico since 1500. It is quite a complex problem, and in such a survey course a teacher might have only a week—three one-hour MWF classes, perhaps—to spend with this sole example of Latin American history. Even in a more detailed regional study of Latin America, Mexico might get only a fraction of the course. Our proposed solution: Take the Veracruz to Mexico City corridor, an east–west rectangle roughly two hundred miles long that covers maybe three percent of Mexican territory but is crucial to much of its modern history, and use it as a microcosm to limit and focus the whole. In this way we can still approach Mexican history in time-honored chronological fashion, coaching students in researching and reporting on the conquest and early colonial structures, late colonial patterns and independence, nineteenth-century interventions, and finally the twentieth-century revolution and modern civic myth. First, though, we claim the opening half-hour to present that interdisciplinary view of the lay and texture of the land.

With maps, pictures, and even tourist guidebooks, we walk American students imaginatively along this corridor. We take them from dry and thinly vegetated dune lands, and then on up the complicated 8500-foot slope, most of it green year round and striated by altitude into cooler and cooler climates, up to the cloud forests on the volcanic ridge above. Whitewater rivers drain this eastern slope of the Sierra Madre Oriental and have cut deep, steep-sided gorges, or *barrancas*, into the natural terraces of the slope. Sugar cane, pasture, and forest dominate the lowlands at the bottom of the slope, and coffee *fincas* shaded by bananas and semi-tropical forest alternate with pasturelands in the more broken country further up. Bird life, just to hint at zoology, is rich in both these zones, including at least two dozen species of hummingbirds, half a dozen kinds of trogons, the whole range of neo-tropical parrots from macaws down to parakeets, and occasional isolated trees full of the suspended woven nests of some brilliant oriole relative. Mornings on the eastern slope are typically crystal clear and chilly, and noon even in winter usually warms up to short-sleeve shirt weather, with increasing humidity gradually reducing the long-range views with haze. By late

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[1]Carl O. Sauer, *The Early Spanish Main* (Berkeley: University of California, 1992); Ian L. McHarg, *Design With Nature* (New York: Natural History Press, 1969); and Fernand Braudel, *The Mediterranean and the Mediterranean World in the Age of Philip II* (New York: Harper and Row, 1969).

afternoons the warm wet air from the Gulf has often risen to meet the colder drier air of the altiplano, causing a condition somewhere between fog and drizzle so common here that the locals have come up with a special name for it, *chipi-chipi.*

Even halfway up the eastern slope of this Sierra Madre Oriental, travelers become aware of former volcanic action: an occasional miniature but perfect volcanic cone rises up, extinct now and green with tropical vegetation. At the top of the slope stands a massive forty-mile-long volcanic ridge, both ends rising well above the tree line. On the southern end of the ridge, at 18,400 feet, the snow-capped Pico de Orizaba stands as the highest point in Mexico and one of the highest in all North America. On clear days it can be seen from the whole slope and even out to sea, as symmetrical and beautiful as Mt. Fuji and half again taller. It claims ten lives a year on average: inexperienced climbers apparently assume that its tropical location minimizes the danger. Yet it is very hazardous: it is part of Mexico's Frozen Land (Tierra Helada), the fourth and highest zone (after the Tierra Caliente of the lowlands, the Tierra Templada of the slopes, and the Tierra Fría of the high plains). The old name for Orizaba Peak in the Nahuatl, the Aztec *lingua franca* of central Mexico, is more poetic—Citlaltépetl, Mountain of the Star. The northern end of this volcanic ridge is dominated by the Cofre de Perote, a great rounded mountain with what looks like an absurd little pillbox hat on its top. The first Spanish to see it thought the square volcanic extrusion looked like the box a church in Spain would use for storing holy relics, a *cofre*, kin to the English word coffer. The brash Cortés crossed the sway-backed ridge between Cofre and Orizaba, which does not dip below 10,000 feet at its lowest point, while savvy later travelers bypassed it. Since Cortés's day, the two main roads from the port city of Veracruz to Mexico City have swung either northwards of the ridge through the towns of Xalapa and Perote or south of it through the towns of Córdoba and Orizaba.[2]

When travelers round either shoulder of that volcanic ridge with its lush pine forests and come out behind the ridge onto the altiplano, or high plains, they experience the quickest and most dramatic change of scenery on the whole road to Mexico City. The rain shadow west of the volcanic ridge translates into immediate semi-desert. Rows and fields of the giant aloe or century plant called maguey give some symmetry to the arid landscape. The maguey provided fiber, needles, and a sugary sap to make a kind of beer called pulque (and with later distillation, the whiskey-strong mescal and tequila). If there is a single plant that gives visual character to the altiplano, it has to be the maguey, although it sometimes grows in the lowlands as well.

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[2]Most people in today's rather conservative state of Puebla spell the name of the town Xalapa in the next-door state of Veracruz with a J (Jalapa) instead of with an X. The X comes from the Nahuatl, and so hints at identification with the pre-Conquest world, while the J spelling subtly champions the Spanish heritage. In the state of Veracruz, the spelling "Xalapa" is required by law!

The altiplano itself begins at about 8500-foot altitude at the western base of the Pico de Orizaba–Cofre de Perote ridge and slopes imperceptibly down the next hundred miles to Mexico City's 7500-foot altitude. One way we get students to imagine the landscape is to have them picture a flat gray volcanic sand lake bed, as perfectly flat as the salt lake beds in the American west like the Bonneville flats. Then add to that perfect flatness a pile of gray boulders here and there, catapulted out of the earth by some past volcanic eruption. To these add volcanic extrusions ranging from a few feet tall to a hundred feet tall to 1,000 feet tall, and finally huge world-class volcanic cones that rise fully 10,000 feet above the plains, and that often have enormous ridges and slopes around them made by lava flow or ash accumulation. La Malinche, a great snaggle-toothed rust-red volcano about fifty miles west of the Pico de Orizaba, divides the easternmost valley of the altiplano from the next valley west, the Tlaxcala–Puebla valley. On the far side of that valley, only forty miles west of Malinche, comes the great volcanic ridge called the Sierra de Tláloc. It is anchored on the south by two peaks over 17,000 feet tall: the still active volcano Popocatépetl, "Smoking Mountain" in the Nahuatl, and next to it Ixtaccíhuatl, "Sleeping Woman," named for its long snow-covered ridgeline. A little further north in the line comes the slightly lower peak of Tláloc itself, named after the old Aztec rain god. Over this great ridge lies the central valley of the altiplano, mostly taken up by today's Mexico City, ringed by mountains on the south and west as well as the Sierra de Tláloc on its east, and with smaller volcanic ridges almost closing it off in the north. The high plains are dry and brown in the winter, spinning up pretty little dust devils daily and an occasional massive dust storm that can blanket the capital, but much of it is greener and agriculturally productive in the summer. Up on the altiplano no compass is needed for navigation (except when it is immersed in Mexico City's smog, often trapped in its mountain bowl) because five or six tall volcanoes, each unique and recognizable at a glance, stand like giant road signs. This whole plateau is often simply called the *Mesa Central*, that "tableland" so central to the culture, although geologists' general term for it carries much more punch and movement—the *Zona Neovolcanica.*

Most of the old colonial churches of Mexico City, even the great cathedral on the main plaza or Zócalo, have great cracks in their masonry or sit at drunken angles because they have settled further into the sand of the old lake bed with each vibration in the earth. Earthquakes are so frequent and devastating here as to make California seem a stable place by comparison: a minimum of 10,000 people died in the 1985 Mexico City quake, and probably at least double that number. Recently the lava has risen so high in Popocatépetl that orange light has been seen reflected off clouds hanging over it. And the world's most populated city lies thirty to forty miles away from it, 22,000,000 strong at last count. Life there is not dull and apparently never has been: this *Zona Neovolcanica* housed Mexico's densest population 500 years ago, too.

As vivid as we try to present this interdisciplinary introduction in words, it seems to compute better with most students when explained in association with a three-

dimensional map. The authors use a layered contour map they have developed, each layer representing a 500-foot vertical increment of this Veracruz to Mexico City slice of Mexico. The surprising average elevation of the altiplano valleys—one and a half times the altitude of Denver—becomes visually clear, along with the even more surprising altitude of the tallest volcanoes and the neat division of the altiplano into separate valleys.

In using this "great roads" approach, we needed one manageable paperback for the whole class to read for one detailed snapshot of the history along this corridor. We chose to have students read Bernal Díaz's *The Conquest of New Spain*, taking three daily readings from it that capture most of Cortés's journey from Veracruz (the island of San Juan de Ulúa, technically) to Cempoala, Xalapa, Tlaxcala, and Cholula to Tenochtitlán and back.[3] We have tried to focus our students' search for crucial moments in Mexican history and help them unfold the story of each in the context of this stunning geographical stage. In those three class days while Díaz's eyewitness account is read and discussed, we have four students or small groups of students who have researched Mexican history report to the class on four key "moments" of that history: 1) The Conquest; 2) Independence; 3) The Interventions; and 4) The Revolution. We ask student researchers of Mexico to begin with the overview of Mexican history since 1500 offered by the *Encyclopedia Britannica*, and then move on to two excellent survey textbooks. *The Course of Mexican History*, a classic for university courses but accessible to advanced secondary students as well, focuses heavily on the politics of change among the principal actors in Mexico City from the conquest to the present. MacLachlan and Beezley's *El Gran Pueblo* emphasizes cultural and social change and also provides invaluable timelines with each chapter. Beyond these, we expect students to delve into more specific monographs and articles dealing with their assigned "moments," whenever possible tying their history to the Veracruz to Mexico City road network.[4]

1. THE CONQUEST. We require students assigned to this first "moment" to rough out the Olmec-Aztec heritage that dominated this Veracruz to Mexico City corridor prior to the conquest, as a setting for the conquest itself. The *pochteca* class of long-distance Aztec traders who used the pre-hispanic roads were not only privileged but perhaps the advance guard of possible future Aztec conquest. Their roads to the coast apparently went south of Pico de Orizaba and then angled across the Sierra Madre Oriental slopes to Cempoala and the vicinity of today's Veracruz,

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[3]Bernal Díaz, *The Conquest of New Spain*, translated by J. M. Cohen (New York: Viking Penguin, 1963).

[4]Michael C. Meyer, William L. Sherman, and Susan M. Deeds, *The Course of Mexican History*, sixth edition (New York: Oxford University Press, 1999); Colin M. MacLachlan and William H. Beezley, *El Gran Pueblo: A History of Greater Mexico*, second edition (New Jersey: Prentice Hall, 1999).

blocked from more northern routes around the sierra by the independent Tlaxcalan state.

Students can detail the conquest of the Aztec state by a handful of Spanish conquistadors led by Hernando Cortés, along with their Cempoalan guides from the coastal lowlands and their later Tlaxcalan allies from the altiplano. Student researchers can begin with the survivor testimony *Broken Spears* with its portrayal of indigenous futility and frustration in the fall of Tenochtitlan.[5] Taken together with Díaz, this reading recreates for students the expectations of the Spanish in the search for El Dorado and the historic resentment among the conquered Mexicans. We have students compare Díaz's account with Cortés's letters and Prescott's timeless 1843 *Conquest of Mexico*, trying to work out on the map the initial trip to Tenochtitlán, the path of the retreat, and the trip back to build ships to take the Aztec capital by way of the lake.[6] Cortés, perhaps on the advice of friendly Indians, obviously avoided the major Aztec roads through the Sierra Madre Oriental and later the Sierra de Tláloc. Students in charge of this unit can lead other students in tracing the path on which historians conjecture the conquistadors traveled.

Finally, these students are asked to rough in the first centuries of colonial-style rule. They might examine the Hapsburg crown's reliance on religious institutions in the settlement of Mexico, within this corridor, beginning at an early date. Franciscans established the first convent in the country in Tlaxcala in 1524. The grounds of this first convent served as experimental botanical gardens for what European and South American plants might be grown in Mexico and what taste for Mexican foodstuffs European people might acquire. In 1531 the Spanish founded Puebla, the future "city of churches" that would quickly become the dominant city between the capital and Veracruz. Also in 1531 came recognition of the miraculous appearance of the dark-skinned Virgin of Guadalupe just outside Mexico City. Commercial and governmental patterns can also be seen clearly on this corridor. With Mexico City as the capital and Veracruz exercising a legal monopoly on all imports and exports for the whole east coast, this corridor became instantly the vital traffic artery, even more important than the road south from Mexico City to the Pacific coast port of Acapulco. Virtually all other Spanish colonial capitals were on or near the coast, but here in their attempt to replace the Aztecs in a well-developed trade and tribute system, they inherited the inland Aztec capital as well. The lifeline from Mexico City to the mother country ran along the royal road(s) to Veracruz. For a more detailed focus on the road in these early colonial times, we suggest that our English-speaking students read Thomas

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[5]*The Broken Spears: The Aztec Account of the Conquest of Mexico*, edited and translated by Miguel Leon-Portilla (Boston: Beacon Press, 1992).

[6]William H. Prescott, *The Conquest of Mexico and History of the Conquest of Peru* (New York: Cooper Square Press, 1999).

Gage's *Travels in the New World* for its vivid travelogue of the Veracruz–Xalapa–Tlaxcala–Puebla–Mexico City route in 1625.[7] Even important Mexican developments not occurring on this main road leave their trace on the road by goods carried up and down it. No silver mining, for example, was done anywhere on the length of this corridor, but cinnabar (for mercury, important in the extraction of silver from ore) was a key import from mid-sixteenth century on, and the bullion itself came the other way in heavily guarded convoys, headed for the yearly fleet assembling at Veracruz for the trip back to Spain. During most of the 1700s, goods from the altiplano of Mexico and even from Asia via Acapulco converged at Xalapa's royal trade fairs with commercial products from Spain.

2. INDEPENDENCE. We require students to examine how international events hastened change in eighteenth-century New Spain. The "Bourbon Reforms" of the last colonial decades brought freer trade, strengthening the Veracruz–Xalapa–Perote liberal merchants at the expense of businessmen of the southern road cities of Orizaba and Córdoba who had hitched their wagons to the great commercial concerns of Mexico City. The Bourbon crown replaced reliance on religious institutions with reliance on the military, and a more efficient regional administration in the form of French-style "intendancies" was created. With hindsight, it is clear that these reforms played a role in the upcoming insurgencies. Growing anti-clerical sentiment hints at an eventual attack on the formidable colonial Church. One accessible eyewitness account comes from Alexander von Humboldt, the wide-ranging Prussian scholar who wangled a rare outsider's invitation from the Spanish crown to travel in New Spain. He spent the year 1803–04 in Mexico, entering at Acapulco and leaving by the Mexico City–Xalapa–Veracruz route. His *Political Essay on the Kingdom of New Spain* runs in unedited versions to eight volumes.[8] In his chapter on vegetable productions, Humboldt waxes eloquent about everything from the preparation of pulque ("the plantations of the maguey de pulque extend as far as the Aztec language") to the cultivation of vanilla around Veracruz and the Jalap medicinal root in a narrow altitudinal band from Xalapa to Orizaba. In other chapters he is equally informative on commerce and roads, ethnicity and education.

Events of the radical social revolution that began in 1810 with Hidalgo and Morelos ought to be central to this "moment." It did not begin on the Veracruz to Mexico City corridor, though the somewhat conservative independent government that resulted by 1821 owed a good deal to the political and economic power of that corridor. Ruined stretches of the Camino Real from Veracruz up through Xalapa and

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[7]Thomas Gage, *Thomas Gage's Travels in the New World* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1985).

[8]Alexander von Humboldt, *Political Essay on the Kingdom of New Spain* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1985).

Perote, ten meters wide and magnificently graded and clearly once beautifully surfaced and curbed, still survive from these Bourbon and early Independence decades. The huge old Puente Nacional (before Independence the Puente del Rey) halfway on the road from Veracruz to Xalapa, finished in 1811, still carries heavy traffic today on its ten-meter-wide roadbed supported by seven massive Roman arches.

3. THE INTERVENTIONS. All over the country, but especially in Veracruz and Mexico City, Mexicans have lumped a century's worth of galling foreign invasions together into rooms and whole museums of the *Intervenciones*. Students researching this "moment" ought to reflect on the major foreign intrusions into Mexico from 1823 to 1914. The Spanish bombarded Veracruz proper from the sixteenth-century offshore fort of San Juan de Ulúa off and on from 1823 to 1825, after the mainland declared its independence. We ask our students to look also at the French "pastry war" of 1838, the U.S. invasion under Zachary Taylor and Winfield Scott, the French invasion during the American Civil War, and possibly the 1914 American bombardment and occupation of Veracruz. A mural on the ceiling of a two-story room in the castle of Chapultepec recounts one U.S. intervention in an "in-your-face" way. One of the niños heroes (young cadets defending Chapultepec who jumped to their death rather than surrender to U.S. soldiers) plunges straight down toward the viewer with the Mexican flag wrapped around his leading fist and body while a radiant golden Mexican eagle hovers over him in the central background. Out on the rim of this vision, gaunt and evil horsemen fly the U.S. flag. "Is this most Mexicans' view of us," we encourage our U.S. students working on this moment to ask their fellow students, "or just how the muralist wants them to think?"

U.S. students researching this "moment" and trying when possible to link important historical developments with the Veracruz to Mexico City corridor should probably focus their research on either the U.S.–Mexican War or the French invasion culminating in Maximilian's rule. For the first, independence witnessed the rise of José Antonio López de Santa Anna, born in Xalapa, the son of a mortgage banker in Veracruz. Santa Anna's major estate just downhill from Xalapa—"El Lencero"—straddled the northern road that was primary in his many turns at power through 1855. Starting with a reputation as a frontier Indian killer, at the height of his power he owned almost everything between Veracruz and Xalapa, and also owned huge haciendas on the southern road through Córdoba. Most Mexicans today would rather forget him: "El Lencero" has been beautifully refurbished and made into a museum, but as a museum of nineteenth-century furniture, not of Santa Anna. Although hardly anyone in Mexico mentions Santa Anna, his person makes it easy to talk about Texas and the U.S.–Mexican War and still keep one foot, so to speak, on the Veracruz to Mexico City roads.

The Battle of Cerro Gordo took place in April of 1847 some twenty miles downhill from El Lencero on wonderfully defensible ground. Twin *barrancas*, half a mile apart, defend a commanding "telegraph hill" on the north and three high ridges

on the south, and the main road from Veracruz to Xalapa approaches right up the middle. Santa Anna had fought over and around that land for years, and nobody knew it better; his army outnumbered Scott's; his shoulder arms and artillery were all better. How could he have lost? The Library of Congress has a workmanlike chart of the battlefield prepared by a young officer named McClellan, the first of a "Who's Who" of upcoming American Civil War officers. Another young officer named Lee found a way up the northern *barranca* to flank Santa Anna's position—that same Lee who later reconnoitered the pedregal (a broken lava field or *malpaìs*) near Mexico City where the university stands today. The American capture of Veracruz, Cerro Gordo, and then the altiplano battles of the convent of Churubusco and the castle of Chapultepec, all fit nicely on the Veracruz–Xalapa–Mexico City road. For American students, then, the U.S.–Mexican War is one obvious point of focus. Many accounts in English offer good maps and excellent color plates that reproduce contemporary U.S. military artists' pictures of the major battles, from Veracruz and Cerro Gordo to those in the Valley of Mexico proper. Carol and Thomas Christensen's *The U.S.–Mexican War* produced as part of the PBS series offers a remarkable source for the enterprising student.[9]

An alternative focus might be the French invasion fifteen years later that came along the southern road through Córdoba and Orizaba, probably because the first stretch of railroad from the coast to the capital had been laid towards those cities, from Veracruz as far as the Paso del Macho. The Mexicans celebrate one of their great modern holidays, the anniversary of the 1862 battle on Cinco de Mayo when they drove the French away from Puebla as their first major victory over an invading great power. The French were marked by the war, too. In an 1863 skirmish, four French legionnaires, out of ammunition, in a suicidal gasp, leveled bayonets and charged an overwhelming number of Mexican troops. They survived by the grace of the Mexican commander who was moved by the soldiers' bravery and ordered their capture. The legionnaires' heroic defeat in 1863 at this Battle of Camerone, not far uphill from Veracruz on the road to Orizaba, became a watchword and day of yearly celebration for the entire French Foreign Legion.

As emperor, Maximilian favored the southern route from capital to coast. He even settled Confederate refugees from the U.S. Civil War along and near that road in 1865. The queen of American colonies (named "Carlota" after Maximilian's wife) was situated right beside the railroad, and the Hotel Confederate in the city of Córdoba a few miles away was the main social gathering point of these last diehard rebels. Maximilian's own body, after his 1867 execution by the Juaristas, came down through Xalapa on the northern road, resting awhile in the cathedral he had helped build there

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[9]See also Carol Christensen's companion volume, *The U.S.–Mexican War* (San Francisco: Bay Books, 1998).

in 1864. One advantage of this point of focus is that it requires a student to spend time on Maximilian's important nemesis, Benito Juárez. Not much of Juárez's career was spent on our chosen corridor; he was from Oaxaca in the South and most of his stubborn nationalist resistance to Maximilian took place in the North. The 1864 cathedral in Xalapa, however, can serve as a good link to the conflict between Maximilian's pro-Catholic policies and Juárez's classically Liberal anti-clerical ones. This conflict split Mexican society into warring factions, and from 1867 to his death in 1872 the victor Juárez instituted thorough and lasting anti-church restrictions. His equally Liberal insistence that communal lands become private eventually alienated many Indians who thus lost their communal land holdings and whose grievances would finally emerge with a vengeance in the Mexican Revolution.

Another interesting entry into this period, happening almost exclusively along our chosen corridor, was early railroad construction. One of the few policies shared by the French occupation force, Maximilian, and Juárez was focus on the completion of the first real railroad in Mexico, the Veracruz to Mexico City line (Ferrocarril Mexicano) that got up to the altiplano and Mexico City via Orizaba and Apizaco. Finally opened in 1872, the year of Juárez's death, it was achieved by almost total reliance on foreign (mainly British) capital and expertise. The result was magnificent, but seeds of anti-foreign sentiment were sown by the differential treatment of locals and internationals, and by the heavy foreign debt burden assumed by the government. These seeds would bear fruit in the next "moment."

4. THE REVOLUTION. The Mexican Revolution of the early twentieth century produced the Mexican nation that we know today. We suggest to students focusing on this "moment" that they begin with the nascent middle-class frustration with the Porfiriato dictatorship in Mexico City that unleashed surprisingly powerful social forces in 1910. After the revolutionary winds died down, a single party emerged heralding agrarian reform, nationalization of natural resources, and a secular control over religion. Today's PRI (Institutional Revolutionary Party), which emerged post-revolution as the dominant political power, has only in recent years initiated cultural and economic privatization of many of these revolutionary gains and cultivated a rapprochement with the Catholic Church in a bid to stave off new political challenges. The strength of socialism and even Marxism in twentieth-century Mexico, however, deserves serious study by American students, who are likely to be surprised by it. Peasant land hunger and the ferment among industrial workers in Mexico have some remarkable parallels with events in contemporary Russia: no wonder Trotsky, exiled from Russia, spent his last years in Mexico.

In terms of getting at twentieth-century Mexican history by looking at the Mexico City–Veracruz corridor, although Mexico City remained the key city of the land, Veracruz declined somewhat in national importance. By World War I Tampico's oil provided much more of Mexico's income than exports from Veracruz, and Tampico outgrew Veracruz and attracted its share of new roads and railroads. There are still

important ways to use the original corridor, however, for this "moment." The U.S. occupation of Veracruz in 1914 proved crucial in the revolutionary overthrow of the Huerta regime and the consolidation of Carranza's power. It was the governor of the state of Veracruz who sent Diego Rivera, just a young art student of promise, to Europe to study, and he came back with a vision of murals and political education through art that became world-famous. The conservative Catholic Cristeros who led a bloody revolt against the anti-clericism of the Revolution in the 1920s were especially strong around Puebla and Tlaxcala. Puebla itself, perhaps the key city on the whole Veracruz to Mexico City corridor other than the capital itself, has been the subject of a growing body of regional studies on the Revolution, most recently Timothy J. Henderson's *The Worm in the Wheat: Rosalie Evans and Agrarian Struggle in the Puebla–Tlaxcala Valley of Mexico, 1906–1927*.[10]

Rosalie Evans provides a nice lens through which U.S. students can first view the Revolution at some understandable human scale. She was an American woman raised in Galveston whose father moved to Puebla in 1896, taking his well-educated daughters with him. Rosalie soon married the son of a British railroad executive there and in 1906 they invested their life savings in a hacienda on one of the main roads from Puebla to Mexico City. It was bad timing; four years later the Revolution broke out, and its agrarian land reform dimension eventually took their estate. Rosalie's husband Harry died in 1917, partly from the strain of trying to reclaim the estate. After his death she continued those efforts, but was herself murdered in 1924 as a direct result of her activities. Her vivid letters to her sister in English include her rhapsodies on the plains and the volcanoes, but also her contempt for the common farmers ("Indians" being her disdainful description). In stark contrast to Evans's privileged life, Henderson pictures the overcrowded and land-poor villages nearby, created around 1600 when the original founders of the great haciendas first herded them into these rural ghettoes. Once these peasant villagers and their counterparts all over Mexico were drawn into the Revolution, no government that neglected serious land reform was liable to survive. And so even though agrarian violence was much more serious in other parts of Mexico, the city and environs of Puebla make a good local example. Emiliano Zapata—emerging as the most famous revolutionary leader from the firestorm of peasant violence in the South and its brutal sugar plantations with their voracious appetite for peasant land and labor—himself circled up onto the altiplano near Puebla during the Revolution. More importantly for our chosen corridor, lesser homegrown "Zapatas" from in and around Puebla itself staged their own revolutionary struggle from guerrilla bases on the slopes of Malinche and Popocatépetl.

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[10]Timothy J. Henderson, *The Worm in the Wheat: Rosalie Evans and Agrarian Struggle in the Puebla–Tlaxcala Valley of Mexico, 1906–1927* (Chapel Hill: Duke University Press, 1998).

Finally, after four thirty-minute student reports to the class on these "moments," we take the last thirty minutes of these three one-hour classes to lead the class in a discussion of the nature of modern Mexican society and its political identity. With all the obvious divisions in Mexican society—from *patria chica* loyalties at the expense of loyalties to Mexico generally, to anti-cleric vs. pious Catholic, Revolutionary vs. Liberal vs. Conservative, criollo vs. mestizo vs. Indio—how can anyone speak of a unified Mexico? Except for a few special occasions (the U.S. occupation of Veracruz in 1914, the nationalization of Mexican oil in 1938, major soccer victories in World Cup or Olympic games are almost all that come to mind) does evidence suggest enough Mexican *fraternité* to make this oil-rich, populous state a major player in world politics? Or is Mexico fated to be forever weakened by internal conflicts? Every country, of course, has its civic mythology. Witness the current civic myth in Mexico made popular with these affirmations: "We are not Spanish or even Aztec but Mexica." "We are not true Catholics but 'Guadalupanos,' creators and believers of a hybrid European–American religion unique in the world." "If we had not lost California and all its gold today Mexico would be the dominant country of the western hemisphere." After a week of map work and reading, and reports from research concluded by small groups in the class, current U.S.–Mexican problems will appear in a new light to your students.

So this is our "great roads" geology-to-political history model. A one-week streamlined version of this serves as introduction to all of modern Latin American history in Jim Brown's world history survey class at Samford; a several-weeks-long beefed-up version serves as introduction to Mexico in Doug Sullivan-González's Latin American regional survey class at Ole Miss. The Samford course has been taught for three semesters now. Student evaluations of this "great roads" approach to the Modern World History survey class with its interdisciplinary geology-to-the-present introductions and interactive 3-D topography models suggest favorable results. The students deposited the anonymous evaluations in the appropriate administrator's office, to be read by the instructor only after grades had been turned in. In a class frankly billed as "experimental" and taken by twenty-three students, the evaluations ranged in general from fairly positive to very positive: "Map incredible. Great tools in this class." "I enjoyed the whole road/map thing; however, I don't think roads could apply to every country (some were a stretch). The Grand Trunk Road and the Japanese Tokaido were definitely essential." "I think I gained just as much appreciation for the topography and its effect on history on maps that I didn't make as on the one I did." Only one student made a sweepingly negative comment to the effect of "ditching" the maps and going back to "real" history. Overall, however, the evaluations were positive enough and the whole process creative enough that we are enthusiastic about trying it again with more classes.

Using two- and three-dimensional maps enabled students to understand the changing patterns of the roads of this corridor. Examining what goods traversed this

road and reflecting on what people traveled it—from politicians and priests to artists and soldiers—gave us a genuinely satisfactory way of teaching some general historical themes of Latin American history while focusing on details at a very human scale.[11]

As a postscript to this article for those teachers interested enough to pursue this Veracruz to Mexico City corridor approach to history in microcosm, one key work answered most of the questions we had left after our initial research and subsequent field trip. This was Peter William Rees's 1971 dissertation, "Route inertia and route competition: an historical geography of transportation between Mexico City and Vera Cruz." Opening and closing chapters pursue geographic arguments that may strike most historians as abstruse, but the heart of the dissertation begins with this corridor's pre-hispanic routes and the exact route of the conquest, goes to the development of the colonial road network, the choice of routes taken by the railroads, and finally discusses the choice of route of the *autopista* that was being laid out as the author was finishing his dissertation. It details what moved up and down the roads and how it moved and who was affected. For one, it answered our question of why the first major Mexican railroad (not surprisingly, from Veracruz to Mexico City) took the slightly longer, higher, and more rugged Córdoba–Orizaba route up to the altiplano instead of the more gradual and traditional Xalapa–Perote route. The wealthy Mexico City businessman who in 1857 won the first substantive railroad contract, it turns out, just happened to have extensive estates in the Orizaba valley, a virtual box canyon, and there products of the altiplano were in closest proximity to products of the tropics and the forces of domestic trade therefore strongest. The dissertation also has excellent maps, from probable Aztec routes ca. 1500 to mid-twentieth century patterns of travel and transport, and the sources of these maps are footnoted as thoroughly as good historians footnote texts. The overall picture is of two general ways to get around the volcanic highlands of the Sierra Madre Oriental (either north of Cofre de Perote or south of Pico de Orizaba), and a couple of ways to get over the Sierra de Tláloc into the Valley of Mexico (the high, hard, fast way over the Río Frío pass or the wide gentle swing to the northwest through the Llanos de Apan floodplain and then back southwest into the capital), and then a basic choice in the middle stretch of the altiplano (whether to go north or south of the volcano La Malinche with its outlying sierras). The slightly easier way for wheeled traffic, from about 1530 to the present, is the Veracruz–Xalapa–Perote way north of the Sierra Madre Oriental, then staying north of Malinche and squeezing between the Llanos de Apan and the northern end of the Sierra de Tláloc. The advantages of this particular road have always been so slim, however, that other pulls and pushes were able to change some of the middle passages

[11]Syllabi for our survey courses can be viewed at the following sites:
http://www.samford.edu/schools/artsci/history/faculty/jsbrown/hist200pbl.htm and
http://www.olemiss.edu/depts/history/faculty/dsg.html.

of the main road. Puebla, established in 1531 perhaps as an experiment by the mendicant fathers in trying to settle and civilize the remaining conquistadors, quickly became a haven of Spanish-style agriculture and culture in general for Spanish travelers. The growth of Puebla as a key altiplano city worked like a magnet to pull human traffic near it, although the export-oriented heavy traffic from Mexico City to Veracruz always went by easier roads north of La Malinche, by mule cart in the early centuries and the Mexican railroad later, which only dropped a spur down to Puebla from Apizaco. The building of the Puente Nacional over the Río Antigua by 1811 doomed the old port of La Antigua down by the left bank of the mouth of the river to insignificance, and determined the route of Scott's army from Veracruz to Cerro Gordo, for example. In a word, all the geography a historian is liable to need with this Veracruz to Mexico City corridor is here, along with much valuable history proper.[12]

[12]See Peter William Rees, "Route inertia and route competition: an historical geography of transportation between Mexico City and Vera Cruz" (University of California at Berkeley: dissertation in the Department of Geography, 1971). Only available on interlibrary loan.

ACTING OUT NAZI GERMANY: A ROLE-PLAY SIMULATION FOR THE HISTORY CLASSROOM

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The scene I confronted when I arrived in the classroom on that third day of the simulation unnerved me. Festooned all over the walls, the blackboard, the backs of chairs, and the door through which I had entered were photocopied political posters, some in full color, most in black and white, all sporting an array of frightening images from Germany in 1932: swastikas, hammers and sickles, pictures of Adolf Hitler and Karl Marx, a Socialist Party poster with a worker crucified upon a devilish swastika, invocations to vote for this candidate or that one, threats of dire consequences should one or the other side prevail. I quickly closed the windowed door and blocked it, fearful that a colleague or a student might happen by, glance in, and wonder what I was teaching these students. Students moved me out of the way and papered the door window with even more posters, and I confronted the unforeseen consequence of an improvisation. On a whim, at the end of the first day of a three-day simulation of the German Reichstag election of 1932, I had promised an extra 300 votes to whichever party put up the most posters on the third day, and my students had responded with ferocious energy! Well, I thought, that idea was obviously going to require a little bit of tweaking.[1]

Introduction

Students can really get involved in simulations. Properly structured, they represent the ultimate in active learning techniques, allowing participants not only to discuss historical events and their sources, but to try to reenact them, to get into the shoes of historical people and move around in them. A simulation comes closer than any other tool to helping students understand the past from the perspective of those who lived it.[2] When I ask students about the simulation in class evaluations at the end

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[1]To avoid rampant photocopying of posters, I created a rule for next time: no more than two copies of any one poster. It prompted more quality than quantity and also made it easier to dispose of them—which I was very careful to do in black bags—once the simulation had ended.

[2]Many articles on student role-playing and simulations have appeared in the pages of this and other journals. On simulations in general, see Linda K. Menton, "The Use of Simulation as a Teaching Strategy for Civic Understanding and Participation," *Teaching History: A Journal of Methods* 19 (Spring 1994): 3–18; Robert S. Feldman, "Historical Role Playing: An Alternative Teaching Strategy," *Teaching History: A Journal of Methods* 5 (Spring 1980): 6–74; and Kathryn N. McDaniel, "Four Elements of Successful Historical Role-Playing in the Classroom," *The History Teacher* 33 (May 2000): 289–416. For another specific example, see Noel C. Eggleston, "Role Playing: The Atomic Bomb and the End of World War II," *Teaching History: A Journal of Methods* 3 (Fall 1978): 52–58.

of the term, the reaction is nearly always enthusiastic. "I loved the simulation!" wrote one. "It was a great experience which helped me understand the actual election and how each group of people in German society was affected." Another wrote simply, "highlight of the course!" Students love simulations so much that they are always quick to offer specific suggestions for how they can be improved, made more challenging, or best of all, more realistic. That reaction demonstrates not only that students enjoy the experience, but that they make a real connection between the experience of the simulation and the history it is supposed to illuminate.[3]

Because simulations require a solid commitment of class time (a minimum of three days in my classes) as well as careful planning, the event or topic to be simulated must illustrate an important course theme. In various classes, I have structured simulations around medieval feudalism, the Terror in the French Revolution, the fall of the Soviet Union, the independence movement in nineteenth-century Latin America, and conflicts among the Italian Renaissance states in the fifteenth century. All of these, including the German election of 1932, are sufficiently detailed and involved to merit a substantial investment of class time and student effort.

Setting up the Simulation

Once a topic is chosen, the simulation itself must be designed. I start with the rule that all roles must be gender-neutral. That is, both men and women must be able to play any role. In the important fifteen- to twenty-minute debriefing that ends every simulation, students can discuss how realistic or unrealistic this is (and thereby learn more about gender roles in different periods), but it is important that students of either gender to be able to play every role. It is also practical, since the balance in the average classroom is usually too unpredictable to plan gender-specific roles in any but a single-gender institution.

Along with gender-neutrality goes the assumption that students will read substantially in the literature of the period before the simulation begins. Without a thorough grounding in the sources, simulations are nothing more than uninformed pretend-games. The German election simulation is part of an upper-division course in modern German history that I teach at Eastern Oregon University. Students have already read the Treaty of Versailles and the Weimar Constitution, taken notes in lectures on the period, seen slides, and watched the famous Nazi propaganda film

[3]Many student suggestions have found their way into revised versions of this and other simulations. In the case of this one, students suggested that roles be assigned specific amounts of campaign money and that posters be required to be larger than standard 8 x11-inch sheets to preclude rampant photocopying. Both suggestions were incorporated into revised versions.

Triumph of the Will.[4] For this particular simulation, they must read and write brief abstracts on a variety of reading selections, including Rosa Luxemburg's "Theses in the Tasks of International Social Democracy," and a selection on the KPD (German Communist Party) under the Republic. On Hitler and the Nazis, they read selections of *Mein Kampf*, an interesting piece on Nazi election methods, and a short selection from William Sheridan Allen's brilliant book, *The Nazi Seizure of Power*, which first inspired this particular simulation of a crucial election in a semi-fictional German town.[5]

The importance of a thorough grounding in the sources cannot be exaggerated. The purpose of any history class is to turn students into good historians, and that means helping them see how historians interpret the past through the documentary record. In a sense, a simulation is only a really grand strategy for helping students to understand, internalize, and analyze the readings. Requiring abstracts from each student on each reading allows the instructor to make sure they have read the material and processed it. After all, if something is worth reading, it is worth writing about. In addition, these short writing assignments provide another opportunity for students to practice writing. That said, these abstracts should be limited to no more than one typed page per selection so that they can be scanned fairly quickly by instructors already overloaded with work.

Despite the variety in topics, most of the simulations that I use in my classes are similarly structured. All have two kinds of roles: characters who seek action and those who carry that action through. In the German election simulation, the first group is made up of party leaders, strategists, and activists assigned specific amounts of campaign money they can use to "buy" votes and fictional numbers of paramilitary forces they can use to pressure others. The second group is made up of faction leaders, also assigned money amounts and numbers of men they can lend to make party gangs bigger. Unlike the first group, however, the second also possesses specific numbers of votes that can be pledged to one party or another. The dynamic of the simulation is fairly simple. The first group acts upon the second group to get what it wants. In this case, party leaders attempt to persuade or pressure faction leaders to commit

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[4]*Triumph of the Will* [videorecording] (Mamaroneck, NY: Images Film Archive, Inc., 1974).

[5]Rosa Luxemburg, "Theses in the Tasks of International Social Democracy" in her own *The Mass Strike: The Political Party and the Trade Unions* (New York: Harper and Row, 1971), 218–22; and on the KPD, Ossip K. Flechtheim, "The Role of the Communist Party" in *The Path to Dictatorship: Ten Essays by German Scholars* (New York: Doubleday, 1966), 89–112. The selection of *Mein Kampf* is taken from George H. Stein, ed., *Hitler* (Englewood Cliffs: Prentice–Hall, 1968), 21–44, and students read a collection of documents on Nazi electioneering: Merry Wiesner, Julius R. Ruff, William B. Wheeler, "Selling a Totalitarian System" in *Discovering the Western Past: A Look at the Evidence* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin), 358–74. Finally, they read selections from William Sheridan Allen, *The Nazi Seizure of Power* (New York: Franklin Watts, 1984).

sufficient votes to carry the fictional city of Rastenheim during the German Reichstag election of 1932. The role descriptions for the various faction leaders are fairly detailed, and some are intentionally slanted to favor one party over another. Thus, the farm faction leader is an anti-Semite who fears communism and once fought in the right-wing paramilitary Freikorps. The Nazis did, in fact, draw a great deal of support from rural farmers fearful of communism and of the threats posed to them by the economic depression. By contrast, the coal union leader is designed to be more attracted to the Communist Party, since that too was the case in the actual event. Others, such as a Jewish retail trade association leader, find themselves stuck, as many Germans were in 1932, between two unhappy extremes. Small shop owners were ardently anti-Communist, but Jewish shop owners were just as ardently anti-Nazi. This character usually tries to support the SPD (German Socialist Party). I assign a fair amount of detail to the roles in order to focus students more clearly and get the simulation off and running more quickly, and I distribute the simulation packet several days before the unit itself begins so that students can start to think about characters in advance. Other instructors might wish to design less detailed roles to give students more time to research and "create" those roles for themselves. Such an approach would allow instructors to build research tools and skills into the exercise, but would also require more time.

Anti-Semitism is, of course, a dangerous force to play with, and some might object to the idea of turning students into Nazis, however temporarily. I have struggled with this issue over the years. I always follow this particular simulation with a week specifically focused on the Holocaust. Students watch the riveting film *The Wannsee Conference*, read Elie Wiesel's *Night*, and get a detailed—and grim—slide lecture on the camps, many of which (including Auschwitz) I have visited.[6] In a very real sense, this simulation is part of that unit, since I find that our discussions of the Holocaust are far more compelling and deeply felt after students have themselves experienced at least a shadow of what Germans endured in this tumultuous period. Including the theme of anti-Semitism in the simulation enriches the learning experience by making the horrors that followed all the more real.

Simulation of the German Reichstag Election of 1932

As the unit begins, it is important to make sure that students understand what they are supposed to do each day of the simulation. That is, the overall goal (winning the election) needs to be broken down into smaller goals. Thus, on the first day, each party meets and prepares its positions. Faction leaders begin to form coalitions, to meet

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[6]*The Wannsee Conference*, co-production of Infafilm GMBH Munich, Austrian Television-O.R.F. and Bavarian Broadcasting Corp. [videorecording] (Chicago, IL: Home Vision, 1987); Elie Wiesel, *Night* (New York: Bantam Books, 1982).

and find out about the others, to decide where they stand on certain issues and whom they might support. Each gives a brief speech outlining his/her goals and positions. Each party must then select a candidate from among the faction leaders by the end of that first day. On the second day, they bargain, politick, and cajole. I usually give the SS officer inside knowledge of a past crime committed by one of the faction leaders, since the Nazis were more likely than any other party to use such ill-gotten knowledge to their advantage. One year, the student playing this role ingeniously prepared two posters for the second day. One showed him shaking the hand of the blackmailed faction leader and welcoming his support for the party. The other showed the same faction leader on a wanted poster, his past crime plastered all over it. The student playing the SS officer asked the faction leader at the beginning of the period which poster he wanted published. The faction leader supported the Nazis. The election of 1932 was often ugly, and this particular bit of improvisation showed the extent to which the students involved understood that unhappy fact. On the third day come the various party meetings, one of which is invariably broken up by simulated violence, the less brutal party losing votes thereby.[7] That too happened a great deal in 1932. Once the meetings are over, we count votes and figure out who won and why.

Once the simulation ends, I always have students write a brief one-page summary of what happened to them and what they learned. Then we take some additional time to discuss the experience. This discussion offers the opportunity to point to actions that were or were not realistic, and to talk about the event itself. It also offers a crucial opportunity for personal perspective, so that students who have blackmailed others, who have employed racism as a tool of politics, or who have simulated violence against others can talk about what they did and what they learned from their actions. The discussion is usually spirited because students have invested so much of themselves in this experience, and the opportunity to show them how their own frustrations, fears, and triumphs mirror those of Germans in 1932 offers one of the most satisfying experiences a teacher of history can have.

The instructor must be alert and active in the classroom throughout the simulation, making sure the rules are followed, answering questions as they come up, taking notes on what kinds of changes to make so it can be revised to work better next time. This particular simulation is structured for a class of twenty-two, but it could be expanded or contracted depending on how many students are actually present. I have run it with a class of sixteen by dropping some roles (the Junker, one of the retail representatives, one of the steel union leaders, and the university student) and reducing

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[7]Teachers will have to decide for themselves whether to include simulated violence in the simulation. Most of the students taking part in this exercise are upper-division history majors who can handle this experience with some measure of maturity. Younger students, especially in high school, might not do so well, and I would not include it if I believed it might disrupt the class so as to undermine the entire learning experience.

and/or combining party roles. Attendance is required as part of a separate discussion grade for the class, and students who begin the simulation but do not show up (without a really good excuse) for either or both of the other two days are doubly penalized. The absence of a participant can cause real problems in a simulation, and it is crucial that students understand the importance of constant attendance.

To give a better understanding of the simulation, the following "simulation packet" sets up the activity:

Simulation Packet

For three days in this class, we will try to simulate, as realistically as possible, the desperate German Reichstag elections of 1932. A great deal was at stake in these elections, and all sides knew it. For the Nazis, these elections represented their best—perhaps last—chance at power. For the Communists, this worst year of the Depression also represented their best chance at last to achieve the long-promised dictatorship of the Proletariat. Both sides knew that if their enemies won, their own physical survival would be doubtful. The country was increasingly polarized, the republican/moderate Socialist center crumbling between the increasing power of the extreme left and right. People who might not otherwise have wished to choose between the KPD and NSDAP were increasingly forced to do so. That choice was agonizingly complex, built upon all kinds of ideas, attitudes, and prejudices built up over the years. Germans in 1932 were intimately involved in their own history, thinking constantly about the glories and humiliations of the past, of the Great War, the Empire, the Republic, the Treaty of Versailles, of rights and privileges gained and lost, of their economic position, their social status, and their cultural heritage. Neither the Nazis nor the Communists could permit any voter to forget the past, but each had a very different view of it.

There will be two kinds of roles in this exercise. On the one side will be representatives of the parties. Some of you will be Communists, others Nazis, and a few will be Socialists and Monarchists. On the other side, some of you will represent voting blocks that all parties will try "by any means" to hold, to win, to ruin. Politics in this era was neither clean nor decent, and often gruesomely violent. We will build violence into our simulation, but we will ONLY simulate it! The danger is relatively small, but do not get TOO carried away with your role! Enjoy it, take it seriously, but keep a small part of yourself outside of it, so we can all be friends afterwards. That said, take it as seriously as Germans did in 1932. Only if you do, will you then be successful in learning why Germans did what they did in this, perhaps the most crucial year in their entire history. REMEMBER TO READ THROUGH THE ENTIRE HANDOUT CAREFULLY!

Setting

Rastenheim is our fictional industrial town in the Ruhr of northwestern Germany. It has a fairly large body of factory workers whose union has traditionally supported the SPD, but whose loyalties are now up for grabs. The factories are steel works supported by coal mines nearby. The town is surrounded by farmlands on hillsides whose relatively poor farmers eke out a living growing grapes for wine. Rastenheim has a small university and is a regional administrative center of the Republic. It therefore also has a fair number of students and civil servants. Placed as it is in the Ruhr, memories of the French occupation of 1923 are strong, and there is a lingering nationalism here. That said, the Depression has hit the town hard, and its workers have suffered, while the local factory owners, one of whom is Jewish, seem to be living in the same grand style as always. It lies near the demilitarized Rhineland, and while many of its men were once in the Freikorps, there are no army units stationed here. In a town this size, most people in leadership positions know each other.

Roles

Nazis

1. Political Strategist/Propagandist: You are in charge of general party strategy for this region but must work in conjunction with the others because they have their own independent avenues to the party leadership. Your party sponsor, however, is Hermann Goering, the Nazi Reichstag leader, and he has the ear of the Führer. You need a candidate for the election who will be pliant but able. You are especially good at organizing meetings, making posters, and formulating slogans. Party dues give you a beginning war chest of 50,000 marks.

2. SS Leader, this district: You are in charge of local party leader security and report directly to Heinrich Himmler. Though not an ideologue, you are an ardent anti-Semite and a fanatical follower of Hitler. You distrust anyone in the party who expresses the slightest lack of confidence in the world-historical inevitability of Nazi victory. You are also willing to do anything—anything—to insure that victory.

3. SA Leader, this district: You are in charge of the local SA group. You oversee security at party meetings and also plot acts of violence and sabotage against the party's enemies. You report to the SA leader Ernst Roehm who is the only Nazi capable, and willing, of challenging Hitler for the leadership of the party. You're a thug, and you hate the superior attitudes of the SS. You command a paramilitary gang of around 170.

4. Racial Theorist and Ideologue: You write the speeches and help to plot strategy. You are an even more ardent anti-Semite than the SS leader. You are an expert on the writings of the Führer and help to ensure that the national party line is followed at the local level.

Communists

1. Comintern Liaison: You report on party activities to the Communist International controlled by Moscow. Your primary target has always been the SPD and the Republic. The Nazis can be dealt with later. You are especially intolerant of any deviations from the party line but sufficiently flexible in your methods to bend in winning what you believe in your heart will be the true victory of the Proletariat. Party dues and Soviet contributions give you a starting war chest of 60,000 marks.

2. Party Strategist/Propagandist: You are Jewish. You came to the KPD after the failure of the Spartacist Uprising. You were a supporter of Rosa Luxemburg, and your job now is to win a victory for the KPD no matter what. It is German workers who matter to you—no one else. You need a candidate for the Reichstag elections who will support the Communist Revolution when it comes.

3. Labor Union Liaison: You also are Jewish. You came to the party out of the steel unions after the Depression convinced you that the SPD had failed. You have contacts in the unions that are valuable to the party, but your recent arrival makes your devotion and ideology suspect to older party leaders.

4. Red Fighter's League Leader: You are the opposite number to the Nazi SA leader. You are in charge of security at KPD meetings and also in charge of covert operations and violence against other parties. You have a long police record stretching back to your work protecting strikers during the Great War. You're a thug. You command a paramilitary gang of around 120.

SPD

1. Party Strategist/Propagandist: You've been in the SPD all your life. Friedrich Ebert was your hero, and you believe in the survival of the Republic. You are trying to save it even as support falls away from your party. You are also Jewish. Dues and national contributions give you a starting war chest of 100,000 marks, more than any other party.

2. Reichsbanner Leader: You are the SPD equivalent to the Red Fighter's League leader of the KPD and the SA leader of the Nazis. You've been around a long time, protecting meetings, attacking the meetings of others. Your forces are now outnumbered two to one by both the SA and the Red Fighter's League. You're slightly less of a thug than your counterparts. You have some ethics, and you command a seasoned gang of around 70.

3. SPD Union Liaison: You've held the steel unions of the town in your pocket for a long time, but they're beginning to move away. You need to try to hold them for the Republic, but you yourself are beginning to have doubts about your own party.

Faction Leaders

1. Local Monarchist/Nationalist: You are a Junker, former officer in the Great War who served under von Hindenburg on the eastern front and was awarded the Iron

Cross. You find the Republic distasteful and believe it will fall. Your dream is to restore the monarchy, and you support the presidential candidacy of Hindenburg because you believe he shares that goal. You feel you can use the parties opposing the Republic to bring the Kaiser back and restore proper order to Germany. You are wealthy and have considerable influence, especially over the civil service and with the industrialists. You are a local magistrate who is willing to use his authority against the Republic he represents. You technically command the local police commandant whom you despise. You have a war chest to contribute of 75,000 marks.

2. Industrialist #1: You own the steel works of Rastenheim. They have been in your family for three generations. Before that, your family was a merchant dynasty. You are not a member of the nobility, but you are at heart a monarchist. You fear, however, that the monarchists cannot stand against the Communists, and you are especially afraid of them. You represent many other large businessmen in the town and have access to a great deal of cash in the amount of around 100,000 marks. You can scrounge up a gang of 20. You are persuadable.

3. Industrialist #2: You own the coal mines around Rastenheim. You come from a very old Jewish family that has operated in this region for centuries. You are sensitive to anti-Semitism but believe your wealth and connections can protect you. You are linked to several large banking families in Berlin and Hamburg and have access to large amounts of cash that you are willing to lend to the right cause (around 150,000 marks). You have always allied yourself very closely to the SPD. You can call together a gang of 25 ruffians.

4. Retail Trader's Association representative #1: You represent the local shopkeepers and smaller artisans. The depression has been particularly hard on your group, and the political climate frightens you very much. You fought as a soldier towards the end of the War and did not see much action. You are a German nationalist. You control a voting block of around 1000 and a gang of around 15.

5. Retail Trader's Association representative #2: Like #1 you represent local retailers. You're Jewish and operate a pawnshop on the main street of the town. Unfortunately, business has been a little too good. You need to protect your interests and those of others in your community. You committed a crime years ago and managed to cover it up. You're afraid someone will find out about it. [NOTE: I will decide who finds out and when!] You control a voting block of around 500 and a gang of 10.

6. Steel Union Leader #1: You've been around the unions for a long time, and you've seen parties come and go. You want what's best for your workers, and you're not at all sure the SPD can deliver the goods anymore. You've held your men out of the Reichsbanner but haven't committed them yet to any other group. You're persuadable, but you're also ethical. You hold the union purse strings, but you can't count on as many men as your younger colleague. You control a voting block of around 1,500 and a gang of 25.

7. Steel Union Leader #2: You're a younger union leader and don't much like taking orders from the old timers even though you cooperate with them. You think the old SPD has sold the unions a bill of goods and want to change to another party. Everyone is trying to pull you to their side. You're a little anti-Semitic because you've had to sell some things at the pawn shop, but you're not a rabid anti-Semite. You're persuadable. You control a voting block of around 2,500 and a gang of 30.

8. Coal Mine Union Leader: You've worked in the pits most of your life, and you hate the owners with a passion unmatched by any other union leader. You believe fervently that the owners are a class that has oppressed the workers for years. You want back at them. Whoever will fulfill that wish has your support and that of your miners, who can be very valuable in a fight at a party meeting. You control a voting block of around 1,000 and a gang of 35 rough coal miners.

9. Farm Leader: You represent the farmers, mostly vintners, around Rastenheim. Your farmers are terrified of the Communists and the Depression. You want stability and order. You were a member of the Freikorps in the early 20s. You hate Jews. You command a voting block of around 500 and a gang of 15.

10. Civil Service/Police Leader: You represent Rastenheim's civil servants and, more importantly, its police commanders. Your men can decide whose meetings get protected and whose don't. You've never liked the Republic, and you've never liked the SPD, but you can be bought. You are hopelessly corrupt, and there's not an ethical bone in your body. You resent the local magistrate because he has something on you. You'd like him out of the way. On Day Three, you will have the power to cancel one of the three meetings, assuming you're alive to do it and also assuming that your squad of 150 loyal, corrupt, armed police is not hopelessly outnumbered. Remember, though, that allying with the wrong side could mean your job and everything you've worked for.

11. Student Leadership: You represent the student fraternities of the University. It's a widely varied group, but you are a good speaker with a lot of influence. Students are wavering between Communists and Nazis, concerned with which one truly represents the wave of the future. Your support is crucial, because you can call your supporters to demonstrate in the heart of the town at almost any time. You believe that Germany desperately needs a change, but you haven't yet decided which direction that change should take. You're persuadable and many of your students are fairly wealthy. You control a voting block of around 500 and a cash fund of 25,000 marks. If need be, you can add 35 angry students to any gang-related activity.

The Process

Votes can be obtained in the following way: First, faction leaders with voting blocks can, at any time, commit those blocks to one of the candidates. Second, additional votes are available at a cost of 50 marks each in campaign expenses. Third,

that party that has the most election posters placed in the room at the beginning of Day Three gets 1,000 extra votes (note: there can be no more than two copies of any one poster, and all must be larger than a standard 8x11-inch sheet of paper), and that party with the most gang members under its control at the end of Day Three gets 500 extra votes. The party with the highest quality poster, both in workmanship and in realism for the period, gets an extra 200 votes. Campaign money can also be used to buy extra gang members, at a cost of 20 marks per thug, but keep in mind that money used to buy thugs cannot then be used to buy votes.

DAY ONE: On the first day, the Nazis, KPD, SPD, and Faction Leaders will meet for 15 minutes to work out their initial positions and relationships. During the second 20 minutes, each of the Faction Leaders will make a brief speech of only TWO MINUTES outlining his/her position. During the last 15 minutes, each of the parties will try to secure a candidate from among the faction leaders. It will be assumed, unless he/she is won over by one of the other parties, that the Junker will stand as a nationalist candidate.

DAY TWO: Campaigning will commence. Each party will plan a public meeting for Day Three, and it will be up to the representatives of each to plot how they want to deal with the other. Most importantly, they will try to win over those faction leaders whose support is still available. Faction leaders who commit to a party must do so because that party appeals to them for a historically defensible reason. Remember that money is important for fighting a campaign. After thirty minutes on this day, all faction leaders must publicly commit either their gang members or their money to one of the three parties. Parties will then announce how much money has been amassed. The party with the most money might win. They can amass no more than the total amount allocated to the various positions. Towards the end of class, the parties will publish their positions by making brief five-minute speeches. Extemporaneous debates and demonstrations may also take place, but there can be no organized violence against candidates until Day Three.

DAY THREE: First, it will be determined which group has been awarded votes for the number of posters and for the highest quality poster. After an initial few minutes to organize, 10-minute party meetings will be held. The SPD will hold its meeting beginning with a speech by its candidate. Then the KPD will hold a similar meeting, followed by the Nazis. Demonstrations and interruptions are permitted. Physical violence, if planned, will be simulated by the use of individual sheets of notebook paper rolled up to resemble clubs. A meeting can only be successfully broken up if the number of thugs attacking the meeting outnumber those who defend it. Any party whose meeting is successfully broken up will lose 500 votes in the election. Once the meetings are over, a vote will be held among the Faction Leaders tallying their voting blocks and adding votes purchased or coerced with gang members to see who wins the election of 1932 in Rastenheim. On this day (and not before), the Nazis and the KPD can each assassinate ONE person, but it cannot be a candidate. If

the assassinated person is a faction leader, the voting block assigned to that leader no longer counts in the general voting. If it is a member of one of the parties, that party automatically loses 200 votes.

Some Possible Outcomes

The simulation is structured to favor the Nazis, just as were conditions in 1932. Thus the Nazis usually win the election in Rastenheim. The extent of their victory has varied, however, and as in all student role-plays, the abilities and motivations of individual students playing specific roles have had a substantial impact on the exercise as a whole. Where particularly able students have taken other party roles, especially in the Communist KPD, the Nazi victory has occasionally been fairly close. In one case, the Communists were so desperate to win that they defied the readings and formed an unlikely coalition with the Socialists. Once the exercise was over, we discussed why such an alliance was unlikely in 1932, reviewing the enmity between Communists and Socialists, but we also noted that such a coalition became more likely later on in other countries when Hitler's Germany became an increasing threat to the Soviet Union.

It is always interesting to see which students want to play specific roles. The Nazi roles always go quickly (especially that of the SS officer), simply because students like to play roles they perceive as villainous. Yet I have seen no set pattern to indicate that a certain "type" of student will always take a certain role. I am often surprised at their choices, and that surprise helps to make the simulation continuously new and exciting for me as well as for the students.

Even long after it has ended, a simulation can continue to have an impact. Last fall, I had a visit from a student who had taken this particular class eight years ago. She asked what I was teaching, and upon learning it was German history, began to wax enthusiastic about that simulation. "That was really fun. I think I learned more in those three days in that class than I did in all of some of the other classes I took." I was happy to have the compliment, but kept thinking to myself how much better that simulation was now than it had been the first time we played it! Simulations can and should be revised and improved each time they are used. They require a fair amount of work, both for students and for teachers, but if they are structured well, they can be a highlight not only of one course, but of a student's entire learning experience, and the lessons learned can easily last a lifetime.

LOCAL STUDIES AND LARGER ISSUES: THE CASE OF SARA BAGBY

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Historians, especially American historians, increasingly bemoan the discipline's overspecialization and lack of relevance to the wider discipline, which they contend has caused a decline in synthetic history and a rise of specialized history.[1] A 1993 survey of American historians revealed that 86 percent of the respondents agreed that "[h]istory should help us identify diverse cultural experience," but 83 percent concurred that "[h]istory should help us identify common patterns of experience." Clearly many historians believed that "specialized history" was important, but that it still must be placed within a framework. In this same survey historians complained about the loss of narrative history, that is the failure of historians to tell a good story.[2] Historians are rewarded with tenure and prestigious professorships on the basis of specialized research and writing. Some of these works connect local issues to larger issues and events, but broad syntheses analyzing major themes over extended time periods are often derided as trite or oversimplified. Only established historians, those who already hold distinguished professorships or are professors emeriti, can write synthetic works and have them widely read and criticized.[3]

The trend toward overspecialization is reinforced by the way most historians teach historical research and writing. They encourage students to undertake narrowly focused projects. Yet, to develop synthetic skills a specialized project must be placed in a larger context that clarifies larger events or issues. The project then becomes more relevant and the student less narrowly focused and more accustomed to writing a generalized, synthetic study.

In helping students to develop local studies that address larger issues, instructors have two tasks. One is to help them identify topics that can be researched with existing materials. Second, instructors must assist students with a series of questions that will lead them to develop a thesis and argument that not only answers a question but also connects the findings from local to national or international events or issues. Usually

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[1]The author would like to thank three anonymous readers for their comments and suggestions, and give an especial thanks to Linda and Marsha Frey for their very able assistance in improving every aspect of this work. An earlier version of this article was presented before the Alpha Epsilon Mu chapter of Phi Alpha Theta at the United States Military Academy, West Point, New York in 1998.

[2]David Thelen, "The Practice of American History," *Journal of American History* 81 (1994): 937–38, 942.

[3]Ibid., 939–40.

the availability of primary sources immediately limits what topics can be adequately researched. Instructors should identify the available sources, then suggest general topics, perhaps related to one group or a specific time period or event. Ideally, the instructor should select a period or event that is related to well-known national or international events or themes. For example, students may seek to study a major issue such as "How did the Civil War alter American society"? These students could be steered toward local sources that create a portrait of their county or town in the five or ten years immediately following the war. Instructors may accept a local study as the final product, which would satisfy the goal of exposing students to primary sources, but accepting this product would not encourage students to stretch their analytical thinking skills to synthesize information and make connections between local and larger issues. Instructors should require students to take their local studies and compare/contrast them with secondary sources that analyze the same period and/or theme. Students should not only develop a thesis and argument about their local study, but also must ask questions about how it relates to national or international events. Instructors can help this process by posing a series of questions: does this town reflect the general trend? Why or why not? Do the town's various groups (racial, ethnic, gender) all experience similar changes within the town, and does this reflect national change? Again, why or why not? Can we view changes in the United States in isolation or are other nations in the 1860s and 1870s experiencing similar phenomena?

There are many excellent works by noted historians that demonstrate how various local materials can illuminate larger issues. Early local studies relied on diaries, census data, letters, and memoirs. More recently, historians influenced by anthropologists and the fine arts have used more creative cultural sources such as tombstones, architecture, art, inheritance inventories, posters, banners, and literature. One of the first studies to evaluate election returns to discover how ethnicity affected elections was Lee Benson's *The Concept of Jacksonian Democracy*. A classic study that uses a diary supplemented with medical literature, town records, account books, and tax rolls, to paint a picture of early national life is Laurel Thatcher Ulrich's *A Midwife's Tale: The Life of Martha Ballard, Based on Her Diary, 1785–1812*. For a study that shows how newspapers, literature, and broadsides can be employed, Mary Ryan's *A Cradle of the Middle Class: The Family in Oneida County, New York, 1790–1865*, should be consulted. Ryan studies one New York town to explain how the middle class formed in antebellum America, and what role the family played in that formation. More recently, Walter Johnson's *Soul by Soul: Life Inside the Antebellum Slave Market* weaves together letters, plantation records, newspapers, legal transcripts,

census data, and journals from New Orleans to create a richly textured analysis of slaves, slavery, the slave trade, and slave masters in America.[4]

Researching and writing a local study connected to larger issues requires a significant commitment of time. Instructors should not expect students to prepare such a paper in a six- or nine-week period. Instructors will need to orchestrate this project in segments, perhaps requiring the information for the local study as a first phase, with the final larger paper being completed by the end of the semester or academic year. The dividends from connecting local to larger issues are many. First, students become familiar with both primary and secondary sources. Second, students become more analytical by using their local material and then connecting it to a larger theme and/or period. Third, they must synthesize their ideas and support them with historical evidence. By implementing this approach, we may train young historians to comprehend events as part of a larger process.

Identifying local events that can serve as a springboard to larger issues is often a matter of studying newspapers at an auspicious time and selecting a seemingly isolated event to study. In January, 1861, the nation witnessed a steady stream of secession conventions in the southern states. Cleveland, Ohio, seemed far removed from the secession frenzy, yet the case of Sara Lucy Bagby, which captured headlines in all the Cleveland papers, illuminates key aspects of gender, racial relations, nineteenth-century politics, and the origins of the Civil War. Bagby was a fugitive slave captured in Cleveland in January 1861 and returned to her master, William A. Goshorn, in Wheeling, Virginia. Without context this incident is one of many antebellum fugitive slave stories in which a slave is returned to her owners through the federal court system as required by the Fugitive Slave Law of 1850. But Bagby's saga can tell us much more if placed in the context of time, place, politics, gender, and race.

First, consider gender, for Bagby experienced both strong support, and possibly betrayal, from other women. At the time of her capture, Bagby was twenty-four years old and pregnant; she claimed to have secretly married another fugitive slave, William

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[4]Lee Benson, *The Concept of Jacksonian Democracy* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1961); Laurel Thatcher Ulrich, *A Midwife's Tale: The Life of Martha Ballard, Based on Her Diary, 1785–1812* (New York: Knopf, 1990); Mary P. Ryan, *Cradle of the Middle Class: The Family in Oneida County, New York, 1790–1865* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1981); Walter Johnson, *Soul by Soul: Life Inside the Antebellum Slave Market* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2000).

Washington of Wheeling, who had escaped to Cleveland and then to Canada.[5] Arriving in Cleveland in October, 1860, Bagby became acquainted with William E. Ambush, the African-American chairman of Cleveland's Fugitive Aid Society. Over the next three months, Ambush found Bagby employment as a domestic in three homes, including that of A.G. Riddle, a Republican congressman-elect.[6] Undoubtedly, through Ambush she became acquainted with other members of Cleveland's black community as her subsequent arrest and confinement in jail triggered a significant response from that community. As she waited in the county jail before a writ of *habeas corpus* hearing, a large crowd, including many women, gathered in the yard to protest her trial and perhaps rescue her from captivity.[7] A reporter characterized these women as "loud in their threats and [they] expressed great contempt for the black men folk for their masterly inactivity."[8] Moved by Bagby's youth, pregnancy, and plight, black women struggled to free her. One woman carried several flatirons secreted in her skirts, prepared to use force or create a diversion to allow Bagby to escape.[9] Because of the large unruly crowd, Bagby did not appear at this first hearing, when mostly women filled the courtroom. The judge deferred ruling on the writ for two more days.[10]

At the second writ hearing, again large crowds gathered. Because authorities anticipated difficulties, extra deputies kept the onlookers away from the jail and courthouse. Nevertheless, when the judge ruled that Bagby could not be confined to a state jail and the United States marshal took her to appear before a United States

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[5]William Cheek and Aimee Cheek, *John Mercer Langston and the Fight for Black Freedom, 1829–1865* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1989), 373; *Liberator* (Boston), March 8, 1861; *Anti-Slavery Bugle* (Salem, Ohio), February 23, 1861; *Cleveland Morning Leader*, January 21, 1861; *Cleveland Plain Dealer*, January 24, 1861 in *Cincinnati Daily Commercial*, January 26, 1861; *Anti-Slavery Bugle*, February 23, 1861; *National Anti-Slavery Standard* (New York), February 16, 1861. Some early newspaper accounts such as the *Leader*'s account on January 21, 1861 identified Bagby as unmarried. A later report from the January 24, 1861 *Plain Dealer* states she was married in secret to William Washington, another slave in Wheeling.

[6]Cheek and Cheek, 373; *Cleveland Morning Leader*, January 21, 1861; John E. Vacha, "The Case of Sara Lucy Bagby: A Late Gesture," *Ohio History* 76 (1967): 224; *Cleveland Herald*, January 19, 1861 in *Cincinnati Daily Commercial*, January 21, 1861.

[7]*Cleveland Plain Dealer*, January 21, 1861; *Cleveland Herald*, January 21, 1861 in *Cincinnati Daily Commercial*, January 23, 1861.

[8]Ibid.

[9]Ibid.

[10]*Cleveland Herald*, January 21, 1861 in *Cincinnati Daily Commercial*, January 23, 1861.

Commissioner, the crowd rushed the marshal and his deputies.[11] African-American women led the charge, but deputies pushed them back. At the courthouse, one black woman grabbed Bagby's dress and tried to pull her away from her captors.[12] Other African-American women attempted to divert the United States marshal by throwing snuff into his face, and still another black woman threw red pepper into the eyes of deputies. Authorities arrested these women.[13] These acts demonstrate the strength of black women's bonds, the link between slave and free, and the willingness of black women, who could expect no deference to their sex from white officials, to politicize their actions. Women moved into the public sphere at great personal risk.

Other black women took a less forceful path either to support Bagby or possibly to betray her. In the courtroom, few blacks attended the second writ of *habeas corpus* hearing, but one reporter noted the presence of only two African Americans–Mr. and Mrs. William E. Ambush. Ambush had not only given Bagby shelter in his home, and found her employment, but had also rushed to her aid after her capture by requesting the writ to free her.[14] His presence in the courtroom is understandable, but his wife's presence suggests her attachment to Bagby, her desire to ensure fair treatment of another woman, or perhaps a gesture of support for her husband. Eventually, when the court ruled that Bagby was a fugitive and remanded her to the custody of her master, other women, including at least one African American, and possibly many white women, criticized the Republicans and the *Cleveland Leader* for failing to secure her freedom. These "thirty women of Ohio" wrote to the *Leader's* editor enclosing thirty pieces of silver, referring to them as "Judas's Reward." They included two poems, one, perhaps both, written by Frances Ellen Watkins Harper, a well-known African-American abolitionist speaker.[15] In her closing stanza she condemned the unholy trade of preserving the Union at the expense of a human soul:

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[11]Ibid.; *National Anti-Slavery Standard*, February 16, 1861; *Cleveland Leader*, January 22, 1861.

[12]*Cleveland Plain Dealer*, January 21, 1861. Other papers, the *Cleveland Leader*, January 22, 1861, the *National Anti-Slavery Standard*, February 16, 1861 and the *Cleveland Herald*, January 21, 1861 in *Cincinnati Daily Commercial* of January 23, 1861, note the rushes were made by a black mob, but do not specifically identify the participants as women.

[13]*Cleveland Herald*, January 21, 1861 in *Cincinnati Daily Commercial*, January 23, 1861; *Cleveland Leader*, January 22, 1861; *Cleveland Plain Dealer*, January 21, 1861.

[14]*Cleveland Leader*, January 21 and 22, 1861; *Anti-Slavery Bugle*, February 23, 1861; *Cleveland Herald*, January 21, 1861 in *Cincinnati Daily Commercial*, January 23, 1861.

[15]The poem and "almoner" to the *Cleveland Leader's* editors are in the *Anti-Slavery Bugle*, February 23, 1861.

And your guilty, sin-cursed Union,
Shall be shaken to the base,
Till ye learn that simple Justice
Is the right of every race.[16]

Yet while women chastised the politicians, something black men did not do, accusations arose that a black woman had notified William Goshorn of Bagby's location. Soon after Bagby's capture rumors circulated that African Americans, possibly George or Frances Graves, relatives of Bagby, had written Goshorn about Bagby.[17] William Goshorn, however, publicly refuted such allegations in the *Cleveland Plain Dealer*.[18] More likely, someone (possibly white) who met Bagby at one of her places of employment informed Goshorn of her presence.

Second, the incident reveals a complex interplay of intra- and inter-racial relations. Two groups of blacks and whites emerge. On the one hand are those law-abiding citizens of both colors who urged moderation. During the writ of *habeas corpus* hearing, presiding Judge D.R. Tilden pleaded, "I enjoin it upon all, and especially upon these colored persons, that they wait for the sure and certain relief which law can afford and I hope that they will do their duty and remain quiet."[19] In fact, William Ambush, African-American activist and Fugitive Aid Society chairman, Bagby's ardent supporter, published a notice in the Cleveland papers pledging the loyalty of Cleveland's African-American population to the law and promising that no attempts to rescue her would be made.[20] This action by Ambush is at odds with the account written years later by African-American John Malvin, an alleged eyewitness, who claims that Ambush had an altercation with Bagby's master in the courtroom.[21] This encounter is probably fabricated, as no newspaper correspondent reported this meeting, a lurid detail that the nineteenth-century press would hardly omit. While Ambush and leading whites pleaded for restraint and obedience to the law, other

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[16]Ibid.

[17]*Cleveland Herald*, January 19, 1861 in *Cincinnati Daily Commercial*, January 21, 1861; *Cleveland Leader*, January 21, 1861; *Cleveland Plain Dealer*, January 22, 1861.

[18]*Cleveland Plain Dealer*, January 22, 1861.

[19]*Cleveland Leader*, January 21, 1861; paraphrase of this quote is also in the *Cleveland Plain Dealer* January 21, 1861.

[20]*Cleveland Leader*, January 22, 1861.

[21]John Malvin, *North Into Freedom*, edited with an introduction by Allan Peskin (Cleveland: Western Reserve University, 1966; Cleveland: The Western Reserve Historical Society, 1996), 81; Vacha, 227.

African Americans took a more militant stance. Blacks dominated the crowds gathered outside the court during Bagby's hearings and tried to grab her away from the authorities each time she moved between the court and jail.[22] Some whites, believing that most blacks would uphold the law, downplayed this African-American behavior by claiming that those blacks arrested during the melee were "strangers in Cleveland," and that none of them could be considered "respectable colored people."[23] In fact a number of blacks, perhaps as many as sixty, came from Oberlin, thirty miles away, to attend the hearings and possibly attempt a rescue. Several of the agitators were arrested for attempting to impede the movement of Bagby from jail to court.[24] According to newspaper accounts, some whites showed sympathy for the black populace by characterizing the white deputies as "roughs" and stating that "many of these [deputies] seemed only to consider the complexion before striking [blows]."[25] Still other evidence of whites' sympathy came from Bagby's jailer, who suggested that Cleveland's citizens purchase her freedom. He offered $100 to that end.[26]

While some whites expressed sympathy for Bagby and both blacks and whites pleaded for obedience to the law, others of both races responded more aggressively to Bagby's impending return. A large biracial crowd gathered to protest Bagby's departure, but authorities foiled this protest by taking Bagby to a different station.[27] Some blacks, however, assembled elsewhere to attempt a rescue. A Cleveland African-American doctor, R.B. Leach, and Charles Langston, an African American and leading member of the Ohio Anti-Slavery Society, joined together to plan Bagby's rescue.[28] Under the leadership of John Langston, Charles's brother, a group of blacks,

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[22]*Cleveland Leader*, January 22, 1861; *Cleveland Herald* January 19, 1861 in *Cincinnati Daily Commercial*, January 21, 1861; *Cleveland Herald*, January 21, 1861 in *Cincinnati Daily Commercial*, January 23, 1861; *Cleveland Plain Dealer*, January 21, 1861; *Anti-Slavery Bugle*, February 23, 1861.

[23]*Cleveland Leader*, January 22, 1861.

[24]*Cleveland Herald*, January 21, 1861 in *Cincinnati Daily Commercial*, January 23, 1861; *Cleveland Plain Dealer*, January 21 and 22, 1861; *Anti-Slavery Bugle*, February 23, 1861; Cheek and Cheek, 373.

[25]*Cleveland Leader*, January 22, 1861. The same sentiment, although not the identical quote, can also be found in the *Liberator*, March 8, 1861 and the *Anti-Slavery Bugle*, February 23, 1861.

[26]*Cleveland Herald*, January 23, 1861 in *Cincinnati Daily Commercial*, January 25, 1861; *Cleveland Leader*, January 24, 1861; *Anti-Slavery Bugle*, February 2, 1861.

[27]*Cleveland Leader*, January 25, 1861; *Anti-Slavery Bugle*, February 2, 1861; *Cleveland Plain Dealer*, January 24, 1861 in *Cincinnati Daily Commercial*, January 26, 1861.

[28]*Cleveland Democrat*, date unknown, and *Cleveland Plain Dealer*, date unknown in *National Anti-Slavery Standard*, February 16, 1861.

variously estimated from forty to "over a hundred," gathered at Lima, probably present-day Limaville, a remote railway station on the line between Cleveland and Wheeling.[29] Armed with clubs, knives, pistols, and other weapons, these men lined either side of the rails awaiting Bagby's train.[30] At an earlier stop, William J. Whipper (black) and W.A. Tyler (white), boarded Bagby's train. Tyler carried concealed pistols and Whipper possessed a long iron bar, the perfect instrument for uncoupling rail cars. The train's conductor aborted this attempted rescue by failing to stop at Lima, and the authorities arrested Tyler and Whipper.[31] African Americans, not whites, initiated these attempts, with Tyler the exception. African Americans, including the Langston brothers, risked both their liberty and their lives as they sought to free Bagby from armed deputies. This endeavor reflected blacks' group militancy, but blacks also protested as individuals. A lone black waiter at Cleveland's Weddell House refused to serve Bagby's master—a gesture that cost him his job.[32] Bagby's case demonstrates the complexity of racial relations—sympathy from whites in their effort to purchase her freedom, condemnation of the deputy "roughs," and even the willingness to allow black crowds to gather and demonstrate during the trial. Yet the case also reveals complex relations among African Americans. Clearly the black community was not monolithic.

Bagby's case also sheds light on nineteenth-century politics and the coming of the Civil War. The setting and timing make this fugitive slave case a particularly crucial one. Antebellum Cleveland and the Western Reserve, especially Oberlin, were

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[29]*Cleveland Plain Dealer*, January 25, 1861; *Cleveland Plain Dealer*, January 24, 1861 in *Cincinnati Daily Commercial*, January 26, 1861; *Cleveland Leader*, January 25, 1861; the *Leader* article is reprinted in the *Anti-Slavery Bugle*, February 2, 1861; *Wheeling Daily Intelligencer*, January 25, 1861. The *Cleveland Plain Dealer* puts the "mob" at forty, the *Leader* at over 100. The attempted rescue took place at Lima, Ohio. This, however, is not present-day Lima. The articles trace the route, which indicates that the Lima referred to is probably present-day Limaville.

[30]*National Anti-Slavery Standard*, February 16, 1861; *Cleveland Leader*, January 25, 1861; the *Leader* article is reprinted in the *Anti-Slavery Bugle*, February 2, 1861; *Cleveland Plain Dealer*, January 24, 1861 in *Cincinnati Daily Commercial, January 26, 1861.*

[31]*Cleveland Plain Dealer,* January 24, 1861 in *Cincinnati Daily Commercial*, January 26, 1861; *Cleveland Plain Dealer*, January 25, 1861; *National Anti-Slavery Standard*, February 16, 1861; *Cleveland Leader*, January 25, 1861; the *Leader* article is reprinted in the *Anti-Slavery Bugle*, February 2, 1861; Cheek and Cheek, 374.

[32]*Anti-Slavery Bugle*, February 23, 1861; *Liberator*, March 8, 1861; *Wheeling Daily Intelligencer*, January 26, 1861.

well known nationally as centers of abolitionist and Republican party sentiment.[33] By January 1861, when Bagby's case came to trial, five states had seceded from the Union.[34] Southern border states, especially those adjoining the seceded states, waited anxiously to see if others would join the secessionist movement. Bagby's case then became a test of the respect of Northerners, Republicans, and abolitionists for the Fugitive Slave Law and loyalty to the union despite their hatred of slavery.

That the proceeding was viewed as a test case is unquestioned. Bagby's master, William Goshorn, through his lawyer acknowledged that the trial would "test whether our [Cleveland's] declamations of being law-abiding citizens are true, and are really meant."[35] Furthermore, when Ohio's citizens offered to purchase Bagby's freedom, the judge noted that the masters, William and his father John Goshorn, would not take money: "These men want to know if the people will enforce the laws—they care nothing about the $600 or $800 [Bagby's value]."[36] Later the Goshorns said they would accept money for Bagby's purchase, $1200, but only after they won the case and she was returned to slavery.[37]

After the judge declared Bagby a fugitive slave and ordered her return to Virginia, John Goshorn exclaimed: "The South has been looking for such a case as this. I have no office to gain—I want to save the Union." He thanked Cleveland's residents for their hospitality and unstinting support.[38] At the trial's end, Bagby's Republican attorneys proposed and passed a resolution that no one interfere with

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[33]Vacha, 222–23; Eric Foner, *Free Soil, Free Labor, Free Men: The Ideology of the Republican Party Before the Civil War* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1970), 109; *Liberator*, March 8, 1861; *Anti-Slavery Bugle*, February 2 and 23, 1861; *National Anti-Slavery Standard*, February 16, 1861. The U.S. Commissioner, Bushnell White, at Bagby's trial characterized the area as a "'hot bed' of abolitionism," *Cleveland Leader*, January 22, 1861; *Cleveland Leader*, January 21, 1861 in *Anti-Slavery Bugle*, February 2, 1861. The Western Reserve is the northeast quarter of Ohio claimed by Connecticut during the colonial period.

[34]James M. McPherson, *Battle Cry of Freedom* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1988), 235.

[35]*Cleveland Leader*, January 24, 1861; *Anti-Slavery Bugle*, February 23, 1861; *Liberator*, March 8, 1861.

[36]*Liberator*, March 8, 1861; *Anti-Slavery Bugle*, February 23, 1861.

[37]*Cleveland Herald*, January 21, 1861 in *Cincinnati Daily Commercial*, January 23, 1861; *Cleveland Leader*, January 21, 1861 in *Anti-Slavery Bugle*, February 2, 1861.

[38]*Anti-Slavery Bugle*, February 23, 1861; *Liberator*, March 8, 1861; *Cleveland Leader*, January 24, 1861 (this version writes "*serve* the Union" rather than "*save* the Union"); *Cleveland Herald*, January 21, 1861 in *Cincinnati Daily Commercial*, January 23, 1861; *Wheeling Daily Intelligencer*, January 26, 1861.

Bagby's return.[39] The radical Republican paper, Cleveland's *Leader*, praised the city's citizens for their forbearance and noted that "[t]he test question has been tried and the law has been submitted to. We have done our share."[40] In contrast, abolitionist papers such as Ohio's *Anti-Slavery Bugle* and national weeklies, *The Liberator* and the *National Anti-Slavery Standard*, denounced the actions of Ohio's Republicans, excoriating them for not making a more vigorous defense challenging the Fugitive Slave Law's validity.[41] Other national papers, including the New York *Tribune* (Republican) and the Boston *Congregationalist* presented different viewpoints. The *Tribune* praised Bagby's expected return to slavery, whereas the *Congregationalist* printed a letter from a Cleveland resident who condemned the entire affair.[42] The Wheeling *Intelligencer* characterized the incident as a demonstration of the North's commitment to continue slavery where it then existed. The paper reprinted all the remarks by Bagby's lawyers promising strict adherence to the law, and the Goshorns' thanks to Cleveland's citizens and the United States marshal.[43] Subsequently, Wheeling's mayor, on behalf of the town council, wrote the United States marshal on February 15, 1861 thanking him and noting "[t]he firm support given you by the citizens of Cleveland ... in the enforcement of a law objected to by many of the people of the North, is an evidence of a determination to secure to their Southern brethren their just rights under the Constitution ... and will not, [sic] fail to go far towards procuring a speedy ... settlement of the questions now ... threatening the destruction of the Union."[44]

Of course, Bagby's case, while a microcosm of antebellum political, racial, and gender issues, did not halt the steady march of southern states to secession. But perhaps Bagby's return south did at least temporarily dissuade Virginia from

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[39]*Cleveland Herald*, January 23, 1861; *Cincinnati Daily Commercial*, January 25, 1861; *Cleveland Leader*, January 24, 1861; *Anti-Slavery Bugle*, February 23, 1861; *Liberator*, March 8, 1861.

[40]*Cleveland Leader*, January 24, 1861 in *Anti-Slavery Bugle*, February 2, 1861.

[41]*Liberator*, March 8, 1861; *National Anti-Slavery Standard*, February 16, 1861; *Anti-Slavery Bugle*, February 2 and 23, 1861.

[42]Correspondence to the *New York Tribune*, date unknown, correspondence to *Boston Congregationalist*, date unknown, in *National Anti-Slavery Standard*, February 16, 1861.

[43]*Wheeling Daily Intelligencer*, January 23, 25 and 26, 1861.

[44]Vacha, 230; *Liberator*, March 15, 1861.

seceding.[45] Most important, the case demonstrates how a minor local event can shed light on a major national issue. For six days in January Cleveland played host to a dramatic event—an effort to prove the North's and South's commitment to the Union. Here local citizens were striving to resolve national problems by respecting the law, even if it meant compromise with the slaveholding system they detested. Simultaneously, the incident showed the resistance of African Americans, especially women, to a law that buttressed slavery, a system that degraded blacks, free and slave.

If a student had put together these basic facts, the instructor should have the student explore one of the questions described. For example, the political issue, while easily connected to national events, requires more study. Nineteenth-century newspapers are excellent sources of political sentiment because editorial comment abounds. Students must recognize, however, that most nineteenth-century newspapers supported a specific political party so editorials frequently reflected party positions or the views of specific candidates. Papers often stated their political preference on the masthead or revealed their positions in their editorials. Secondary works will aid students in determining the political slants of nineteenth-century papers. To tie the Bagby incident to regional or national concerns, the student must look at multiple papers from other cities and states. Students should seek out papers in each city that represent different political viewpoints.

At the undergraduate level, students are quite capable of connecting local issues to larger concepts. For example, the United States Military Academy requires its history majors to complete a senior thesis. In the first semester of their senior year they read specialized secondary works to acquire context for a thesis. During the second semester they research and write their project. One of my students began a study of women wage-earners in the late nineteenth-century. She posited that women, as members of the Knights of Labor auxiliaries, had as much of a labor consciousness as their male counterparts. As she examined the topic, it became apparent that she needed a specific case study to prove or disprove her hypothesis. She chose to examine her home town, Rochester, New York. By using Rochester newspapers, the Terrance Powderly Papers, and the Proceedings of the General Assembly of the Knights of Labor, she demonstrated a nascent labor-consciousness among women that closely paralleled men's demands and concerns. The local study enabled her to grasp the major issues and concerns of laboring women and contrast them with the national and men's labor movement. What remains to be done is to study how this consciousness evolved, whether there is a distinct difference between women's and

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[45]The case's role in delaying Virginia's decision for secession must be tentative until further research is completed. As the Goshorns lived in Virginia's western counties, the state's most pro-Union area, it seems possible that the Bagby case reinforced this sentiment. Increased Union support complicated efforts to rally secessionist sentiment, perhaps contributing to the state's delay in seceding until President Abraham Lincoln issued his call for troops after batteries fired on Fort Sumter.

men's interests, and whether Rochester is typical or atypical of the nineteenth-century women's labor movement. Using her senior thesis as a writing sample for her application, the student is now pursuing the answers to these questions as part of her graduate program.

Only by setting local studies within a macro-framework can historians encourage the next generation to write synthetic history, or at least write history connected to a greater whole. By training undergraduates and graduates to find the major themes that underlie local studies and by teaching students to cast those themes within a narrative framework, teachers will inspire neophyte historians to ask and answer important questions that illuminate and connect the discipline's multiple fields. Perhaps as a by-product the historical discipline will once again value synthesis and reward those scholars who undertake such work.

As for Sara Lucy Bagby, undoubtedly from her perspective, her return to slavery was not an ideal resolution of her case, nor did her re-enslavement persuade Southerners or Northerners that both sides would respect the Fugitive Slave Law. The Civil War began despite the efforts of Cleveland's and Wheeling's citizens. Ultimately the war, partially precipitated by the North's and South's conflicting views of fugitive slave law enforcement, resulted in slavery's end. In Bagby's case, she fled to Union lines and in 1863, with the aid of the ever-supporting W.E. Ambush, she returned to Cleveland and was honored with a "Grand Jubilee."[46]

[46]Cheek and Cheek, 375; *Cleveland Plain Dealer*, May 4, 1863.

TEACHING THE HOLOCAUST AS A LESSON IN REMEMBERING AND SAYING "NO" TO HATE: A TESTIMONIAL

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Museum Professional
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"If I was not here to write it, there would be no
trace of this unknown person's presence."
—Dora Bruder

After age twelve, I could never eat pizza from Pizza Hut again. Let me explain. My mother regularly volunteered to accompany elderly people in our community on errands or to doctor appointments or on visits to similarly aged friends. I tagged along on one of these journeys and met a woman whose name I do not remember, despite the impression she left on my life. She was old, ancient looking to a twelve-year-old, and she talked slowly and with an accent. We were picking her up from a doctor's office and taking her home to her small apartment.

I do not know how the conversation began or how I determined that this was an adult conversation I did not want to miss, but I began to listen carefully as we drove down the suburban tree-lined streets. They were talking about death, about someone the old lady knew who had died. The death had taken place a long time ago, but by the way she spoke of it, it was as if it had happened yesterday. The conversation moved along and the old woman pushed up the sleeve of her sweater to show my mother a tattoo on her forearm.

I knew what this meant, knew just enough about the events of World War II to know that I did not want to hear more. But I kept listening and she kept talking—we were still a few minutes from her home. As we passed a Pizza Hut, she was explaining how in the camps she was forced to haul the bodies of the dead and stack them in preparation for a mass cremation. She gestured towards the Pizza Hut: "They were piled as high as that."

I will never forget the impression her words left on me or how I felt, sitting in the back seat of our station wagon, learning a lesson I had not expected but one that shaped my emerging views on social justice. I would remember.

Six million! Counting only the Jews who perished in the Holocaust, the number is an astonishing six million. That is 375 times the number of people who lived in the suburb of Chicago where I grew up. The number overwhelms and horrifies. Then consider those who died for other inane reasons—some were homosexuals or they were mentally or physically challenged. Nazi Germany reveled in its "final solution." Anti-Semitism had existed for centuries, but why this tsunami-sized wave of hate at this particular point in history?

The questions surrounding the Holocaust are many. In a way, the events that together make up the Holocaust are so mind-numbingly horrible that we can easily

choose not to talk or think about it. But to forget the Holocaust would mean that the Nazis won. Forgetting would dishonor those who were lost and those who survived. Although the tragedy of the Holocaust is unique and is central to Jewish identity, one need not be Jewish to realize the impact this period had on the history of all humankind. It made us question our morality and motivations. It made us wonder who we are and how this could have ever happened.

We could put the Holocaust in a box and shelve it next to other incomprehensibles. But hate did not leave the world with the fall of Hitler's Nazi regime. It still haunts us today, in a world that is drowning in a general climate of hate. As editors Andrew Leak and George Paizis write in the introduction to *The Holocaust and the Text*, "The present historical moment is one in which racism and xenophobia are back on the agenda not only of the lunatic fringe, but also of the mainstream."[1]

Teaching the Holocaust is important. There are many ways to begin, but one of the most accessible is through Holocaust texts written in the past few decades. The Holocaust inspired a generation of authors, both Jewish and not, to write prolifically. Hundreds of authors have documented their personal experiences, written accounts of historical fiction, or published diaries of people who perished. There are literally thousands of works educators can use with their students to build understanding. Many common elements unite these authors and their works, but most obvious are the paired themes of what Sara Horowitz calls "muteness and memory."[2]

Muteness. The Holocaust might have been nearly unspeakable for decades while we absorbed what had happened. But if we chose to forget, to remain mute, the result would be a loss of history and a willingness to pass on untruths to the next generation. Berel Lang writes that "the price of silence about the Holocaust—that cost of inviting the vacuum of forgetfulness—is too high."[3]

But the challenges of speaking about the Holocaust are not limited to merely forgetting or working to prevent the world from forgetting. There are technical difficulties as well. Horowitz writes of author Charlotte Delbo, who "complains that she has at her disposal only clichés—that she must use ordinary words such as fear, hunger, and fatigue to describe extraordinary conditions. Thus, these works embody a deep skepticism that they cannot deliver the testimony they promise."[4] There simply

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[1]Andrew Leak and George Paizis, eds., *The Holocaust and the Text* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 2000), 6.

[2]Sara Horowitz, *Voicing the Void: Muteness and Memory in Holocaust Fiction* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1997).

[3]Leak and Paizis, 18.

[4]Horowitz, 42.

are not words available in any language to describe adequately what authors experienced or are trying to document. To speak the unspeakable risks trivialization. This muteness is coupled with the related issue of memory. Memory is flawed and can be confused with what one has experienced since a given event. Survivors of the Holocaust, in some ways, are muted by these constraints of the written or spoken word.

The theme of memory, or remembering, is crucial to understanding the Holocaust and knowing why we should teach it. Some survivors, even immediately after their liberation, felt a sense that none of this was real, that it had not happened at all. Survivors talk about struggling to keep it in their memories, to make it real and to act as liaisons between those who had perished and those who did not experience the Holocaust at all. "To talk about their experiences in the camps has at one and the same time a psychological necessity and a way of bearing witness for others."[5] To teach the Holocaust is to pay tribute, to provide testimonial, to try to make what seems unreal more believable.

It is also important to remember, not only to serve as a witness for those who did not survive, but also to remind all of humankind what darkness we are capable of. This might sound pessimistic. But by striving to remember the lives and the stories of the Holocaust, we are also being optimistic. Why would we think it was so important to remember if we did not think it would do any good? As Alvin Rosenfeld has suggested, "Holocaust literature is our record of that dying ... and, at the same time, our hope for what might still live on or be newly born."[6]

The Holocaust so deserves remembrance that a special day on the Jewish calendar has been set aside specifically for that purpose: Yom Hashoah. This academic year it falls on April 23, 2003. This is a time to teach students that the Holocaust was not a side-effect of World War II but a primary goal of the Nazi party. In this way it is a unique atrocity. Comparing the Holocaust to Hiroshima or to genocide in other countries hides the true cause of the Holocaust. Comparisons might make it easier to swallow, but true understanding will be lost.

The Holocaust Memorial and Research Center in Jerusalem echoes these sentiments. The plaque outside the building reads, "Redemption Lies in Remembering."[7] We remember because it is right to do so, because we psychologically need to struggle with its meaning, and because within all the tragedy lies hope for what we can learn from it.

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[5]Leak and Paizis, 2.

[6]Alvin Rosenfeld, *A Double Dying: Reflections on Holocaust Literature* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1980), 5.

[7]Rosenfeld, 185.

As educators we should continue to ask ourselves why we keep going to work every day. Through the education of our students, "What sort of world are we working to create?"[8] How we answer this question has much to do with our morality and how we hope to see the world in the hands of the next generation. Teaching the Holocaust is teaching in a culturally responsive way. It is emancipating. We reveal truths. We empower. When we provide this type of educational environment for students, we see many areas of improved achievement. They learn to think clearly and insightfully. They become aware of others' perspectives and show more caring attitudes and well-developed interpersonal skills. They learn to understand the connections between individuals.[9] They learn empathy. But it really is much simpler than that. Despite the theme of muteness in the Holocaust and its writings, it continues to be a topic that is studied intensely. By teaching the Holocaust we are opening a dialogue. H. Svi Shapiro has noted: "I have come to believe that people engaged in dialogues are optimists; they are acting on their belief that there exists the possibility of being understood and understanding self and others."[10] We can come closer to understanding and social justice if we work optimistically to try to pass on the knowledge of the Holocaust to our students. We can teach the Holocaust to try to end hate, persecution, and injustice. We can teach it in remembrance and as a testimonial. And most importantly, we need to teach the Holocaust because it happened.

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[8]H. Svi Shapiro, ed., *Strangers in the Land: Pedagogy, Modernity and Jewish Identity* (New York: Peter Lang Publishing, 1999), 134.

[9]Geneva Gay, *Culturally Responsive Teaching: Theory, Research and Practice* (New York: Teachers College Press, 2000), 35.

[10]Shapiro, 136.

REVIEWS

Nancy Mitford. *Madame de Pompadour*. New York: New York Review Books, 2001. Pp. xix, 292. Paper, $12.95; ISBN 0-940322-65-X.

Madame de Pompadour by Nancy Mitford is as much a cultural icon as a work of history. Mitford, a British aristocrat born in 1904, was known for writing historical biographies as well as several novels, such as *The Pursuit of Love* (1945) and *Don't Tell Alfred* (1960). This particular text is a reprint of the 1953 original with an introduction by Amanda Foreman, author of the recent *Georgiana, Duchess of Devonshire*. Foreman attempted to resuscitate Mitford's reputation by emphasizing her love of learning, her vulnerability, and the popular success of her books. Denied an education by their father, Mitford and her sisters gathered whatever information they could from the family library. Her first foray into literature was the essay "The English Aristocracy," which gave a witty and critical overview of the ways and speech of the aristocracy. Her station seemed to have dominated her writing, as she gravitated toward descriptions, either fictional or historical, of upper-class life.

The difficulty with Mitford as historian is that she was not one. This small fact should not interfere with the reader's enjoyment of her work, but to call her works historical in the traditional sense would be mistaken. Mitford herself strove for a wide audience that could see the aristocracy as she did, with all their glories and failings; thus her works were mainly anecdotal. The writing is witty at times, and certainly appropriate for a general audience, but historians should not accept the work as a scholarly endeavor. There is no documentation of sources in the text, although she does provide a bibliography (albeit with publishers and places of publication omitted). The lack of footnoting, however, is not the main problem with the text. Her treatment of the material is questionable from a scholarly point of view. She made generalizations and assumptions about her topics that a professor would not accept from a freshman survey student, such as: "The French loved their kings as the English never have, with an unreasoning love which was later to turn to an unreasoning hatred." Perhaps most troubling is the casual way in which she treated her subjects, such as in this example that deals with Louis XV:

> He was tall and handsome, he had a most caressing look, a curious husky voice which nobody ever forgot who had once heard it, and a sexy moodiness of manner irresistible to women; the haughty air, which came in reality from shyness, in no way detracted from his charm.

Her language is perfect for an historical novel, but less acceptable for the serious student of history. Mitford clearly felt drawn to Madame de Pompadour, which caused her to gloss over her negative points to recreate a more perfect mistress for the king.

That having been said, this text would make for a wonderful summer read; it would be more dangerous, however, in the classroom.

Floyd College Laura Musselwhite

Margaret C. Jacob. *The Enlightenment: A Brief History with Documents.* Boston & New York: Bedford/St. Martin's, 2001. Pp. xiii, 237. Cloth, $45.00; ISBN 0-312-23701-4. Paper, $10.00; ISBN 0-312-17997-9.
Roy Porter. *The Enlightenment.* New York: Palgrave, 2001. Second edition. Pp. x, 90. Paper, $12.95; ISBN 0-333-94505-0.
Thomas Munck. *The Enlightenment: A Comparative Social History 1721–1794.* New York: Oxford University Press, 2000. Pp. xii, 249. Cloth, $65.00; ISBN 0-340-66326-X. Paper, $25.95; ISBN 0-340-66325-1.

"Dare to reason!" wrote Immanuel Kant in 1784, echoing the words of the ancient Roman poet Horace. "Have the courage to use your own mind! That is the motto of enlightenment." As historians have noted, that is truly the motto of the Enlightenment itself. The three works under review remind us that we are heirs of the Enlightenment in both its positive and less salutary aspects. They also demonstrate how complex it has become to attempt analysis of this seminal movement. All three reflect the current trend to focus less on the great writers of the period and more on secondary figures, the transmitters of ideas however diluted or transformed, and on the intended audiences for what are today often almost forgotten publications. The result is as many questions as resolutions. Even though none of these three books represent theoretical breakthroughs, they do provide useful overviews of the current state of Enlightenment scholarship.

Margaret Jacob has been for more than two decades a distinguished and sometimes controversial authority on the attributes and diffusion of the Enlightenment. Her book, an introduction valuable for more advanced students, is highly readable and far-ranging. She begins with a summary of her view, explicated in her earlier works, of the Enlightenment's radical nature. This radicalism originated as a Protestant protest against Catholic intolerance and absolutism as reflected in the regimes of James II of England and Louis XIV of France; it rapidly expanded into a crusade against a variety of social abuses. Such was the result of the general application of images drawn from science: God envisioned as a benevolent, constitutional monarch and nature understood as a machine governed by universal, general laws intelligible to all men. By the mid-eighteenth century free-thinkers had advanced to touting such outrageous concepts as philosophic materialism and political republicanism. Jacob traces how the desire for liberation ultimately extended to women and slaves. Students

will doubtless be delighted by her comments concerning the role played by pornography in undermining religious orthodoxy and Old Regime authorities.

Two-thirds of Jacob's volume is devoted to excerpts from a select group of documents illustrating her basic themes. There are such standards as Kant's treatise on enlightenment, a bit of Rousseau's *Social Contract*, and selections from Voltaire. There are also some unusual choices, including an anonymous and scandalous attack on revealed religion; Lady Mary Wortley Montague's perceptive observations as she traveled from England to the Ottoman Empire; Diderot's celebration of free love in his fictional Tahitian utopia; and Locke's precepts on education, which Jacob finds basic to the Enlightenment presumption of the need to exercise free will in a rational fashion. *The Enlightenment: A Brief History with Documents* is an expert's carefully crafted recipe, providing a generous taste of Enlightenment thought.

Jacob's study is concise. Even more so is Roy Porter's book, as much a historiographical essay as an analysis of the character of the Enlightenment. Indeed, it is in large part a critique of Peter Gay's classic *The Enlightenment: An Interpretation*, published in two volumes in the late 1960s. Gay described the Enlightenment in terms of its major participants. He found the *philosophes* to be united in spirit, members of a post-Christian "family" of critics, opposed to fanaticism, superstition, oppression, metaphysical speculation, and suffocating tradition. Here was the "party of humanity," agreeing with Locke that while reason could not answer all questions, it was the most effective tool we had. Porter, on the contrary, emphasizes the regional and individual diversity of the Enlightenment, its appeal to the literate public, its illusions, and its failures. He comments upon the paradoxes it presented; for instance, here was a movement advocating liberty that served the purposes of absolute monarchs. Christian activists did more than Enlightenment rhetoric to emancipate the slaves in the British Empire.

Porter agrees with Gay in stressing the secularization of western civilization as the major achievement of the Enlightenment, although both men overestimate the extent to which belief in the supernatural, hobgoblins, and religion has been vanquished as a motivating force in our culture. Gay saw continuity between Renaissance humanists and Enlightenment *philosophes*; Porter sees a chasm separating them. With Carl Becker, Porter argues that the Enlightenment substituted nature for God, science for Scripture, earthly progress for eternal salvation, and, in general, new myths for old ones. The result has not been necessarily pleasant. The *philosophes* were a novel breed, independent intellectuals freed from conventional patrons and traditional outlooks. Their achievements, Porter asserts, however noble in intent, were often less illuminating than problematic. Porter's book is a thought-provoking introduction to the subject, as is Jacob's. Like hers it will be of particular value to the sophisticated student already generally aware of the perimeters of the Enlightenment, the individual prepared to handle the ambiguities sketched and the numerous historians

mentioned. Porter includes a short but excellent annotated bibliography of reference works, anthologies, and key secondary works.

Like Porter's volume, Thomas Munck's social history dwells on the enigmas and contradictions of the Age of Reason, although he focuses on the communication of enlightened attitudes rather than the genesis of Enlightenment ideas. Munck deals with northern Europe, where literacy was widespread, and the period between the publication of the Enlightenment's first great satire, Montesquieu's *Persian Letters*, and the abandonment of Rousseauian principles in the French Revolution after the fall of the Jacobins.

As the eighteenth century progressed, modes of expression grew in number and diversity; Munck discusses a range from newspapers, pamphlets, and books through prints, debate societies, theater, and street entertainments. He convincingly demonstrates the interpenetration of elite and popular cultures, and he shows how the public and private spheres overlapped considerably. Even the dividing line between enlightened and traditional perspectives was vague. The era played host to prejudiced *philosophes* and open-minded religious establishments both. Less clear is what audiences made of the Enlightenment mindset. Change was glacial in this society dominated by the past, and the reforms that were instituted came late in the century. Typically such measures came not through the bold actions of enlightened rulers but as a result of hesitant princes striking compromises with bureaucrats, intellectuals, and sundry vocal constituencies to meet the growing demand for some governmental accountability. The excesses of the French Revolution indicated the limits of such alliances.

Munck's book is an excellent investigation of what we can presently say about the impact of the Enlightenment beyond its prominent spokesmen. As is true of the works by Jacob and Porter, it would have merit for those already familiar with the outlines of the Enlightenment. All three studies indicate the distance we have yet to travel before we can arrive at a fresh and comprehensive understanding of this era, the progenitor of modernity.

Fort Hays State University Robert B. Luehrs

Michael A. Morrison. *Slavery and the American West: The Eclipse of Manifest Destiny and the Coming of the Civil War.* Chapel Hill & London: University of North Carolina Press, 1999. Pp. xii, 396. Cloth, $49.95; ISBN 0-8078-2319-8. Paper, $19.95; ISBN 0-8078-4796-8.

Secession remains a vexing problem to understand and an even more troublesome issue to explain. Undergraduates often seem to seize upon the issue of states' rights for the South and are less certain why northerners tended to oppose the

extension of slavery. In *Slavery and the American West*, Michael A. Morrison seeks to clear away some of the mystery behind why the American political system failed in 1860 and 1861.

Morrison focuses his attention on the future disposition of federal territory, primarily after the Mexican War. He argues persuasively that both sides in the expansion debate drew upon the same set of principles. The notion of republicanism as filtered through the lens of the Jacksonian political culture was the primary paradigm in the debate. Whigs, who generally opposed expansion, tended to think that slavery undermined morality because it limited human freedom. Democrats, who normally favored expansion, believed slavery's expansion held out the promise of regeneration, individual liberty, and freedom. Both sides in the debate, then, harkened back to a shared set of beliefs that they interpreted in different manners. In this sense, Morrison is arguing that the North and South were more similar than different because of their common heritage. He is at his best in describing the different and shifting factions as they groped their way through the 1850s.

The author believes in the paramount importance of the territorial issue to the Civil War, but also notes that the expansion of slavery had little practical importance. "If access to the territories was the principal demand of the South, why did the slave states secede from the Union? If, however, the primary object of the Republican party and the North was to keep slavery out of the territories, why did it not acquiesce in secession?" Morrison sees expansion as a powerful symbol rather than a practical reality. Indeed, the book deals mainly with symbolism, perception, and political rhetoric; it treats what politicians had to say in a serious fashion. In this vein, it is reminiscent of Lawrence Kohl's *The Politics of Individualism: Parties and the American Character in the Jacksonian Era.*

While this is a useful and interesting book, it is not without its flaws. Early in his narrative, Morrison describes the issue of whether or not slavery would expand into newly acquired territory as a "new" one. He is certainly mindful of the Missouri Debates, which he dismisses as a red herring when it comes to the issue of territorial restriction. Morrison paints the debates of 1819–1820 as primarily touching on the power of the federal government and the nature of federalism rather than on the expansion or restriction of slavery. His portrayal here is not persuasive. Perhaps a more important issue that Morrison could have considered is not why territorial expansion was so problematic but why the 1850s compounded the difficulties.

The book, nonetheless, is useful in understanding the interrelation of slavery and territorial expansion. Morrison lays out the issues in a clear manner that makes the book highly readable and understandable. It could be used effectively in an upper-division course that deals with the issues of the 1850s and secession. If assigned, however, it would be prudent to pair it with a book that balances the wholly political viewpoint.

Southwest Baptist University Robert H. Gudmestad

Hugh Tulloch. *The Debate on the American Civil War Era.* Manchester & New York: Manchester University Press, 1999. Pp. 255. Paper, $29.95; ISBN 0-7190-4938-5.

While one may not find much new in the way of interpretation in Hugh Tulloch's collection of historiographical essays, it is nonetheless a useful and valuable work. Many of the interpretive elements of the historiography that he presents have been seen before, but two factors set this work apart. First, Tulloch aspires to create a comprehensive examination of the major interpretations of the era from antebellum America to Reconstruction, and he focuses the discussion on the centrality of what he calls the "attempt to adjust the racial question in America to conform to the principle of the Declaration of Independence that all men are created equal."

Keeping the centrality of race in mind, Tulloch breaks the historiographical discussion into five chapters dealing, in order, with slavery, abolitionism, the causes of the Civil War, the war itself, and Reconstruction. He begins the work with an introduction and a chapter on the "American historical profession," which nicely prepares the reader for the following chapters, by centering the discussion on race and clearly linking the historiography to contemporary trends from the 1860s through the 1990s. Tulloch provides a good accounting of social trends and their impact on historians and their interpretation of the past. On the whole, he paints a picture of progression in the American historical profession from "collusion" in writing a "false history" that eliminated African Americans from a meaningful role in shaping American history, to "atonement" through the shift in historical writing on the period, particularly after the mid-twentieth century.

On the whole, this is a balanced account that is as much a study in how contemporary events affect the writing of history as it is a study of the era itself. Tulloch demonstrates a solid knowledge of the literature in this area, and he provides endnotes and a selective bibliography at the end of each chapter. Tulloch is not shy about engaging the interpretations of the various historians he discusses, and he keeps the narrative focused on the theme of the "racial question." As a whole, the work comes together well in support of his thesis. The writing style is engaging and is presented at a level appropriate for both undergraduate and graduate students.

There are certainly areas with which some will take issue, particularly in the amount of coverage Tulloch gives to various works in each of his essays. For example, some of the classic names that have become associated with the history of this era, such as U.B. Phillips, Charles Beard, and William Dunning, receive a considerable amount of coverage, while more recent works receive less rigorous attention.

What is most useful about this book is the fact that it does provide a comprehensive discussion of the historical trends in each of the above-mentioned areas in one volume. It would serve as a good resource for upper-level history courses that deal with the antebellum and Civil War eras, and would be particularly useful for classes at the undergraduate or graduate level that focus on historiography. The book

is versatile in that individual chapters can be used for a particular focus area, such as slavery. Tulloch's style is lively enough to encourage student discussion of the key issues raised in this work.

Floyd College — Robert Page

Gerald L. Sittser. *A Cautious Patriotism: The American Churches and the Second World War.* Chapel Hill & London: University of North Carolina Press, 1997. Pp. x, 317. Cloth, $39.95; ISBN 0-8078-2333-3.

Many histories mention briefly the role of churches in feeding the pacifistic isolationism of Americans as World War II first spread across Europe. In *A Cautious Patriotism*, Gerald Sittser presents us with the first comprehensive overview of the American churches' reactions and responses to World War II from the late 1930s to 1945. Using religious periodicals and denominational meeting minutes as his main primary sources, he surveys the thoughts and actions of Christian churches as wide ranging as fundamentalists and liberals, Protestants and Catholics, pacifists and internationalists. He concludes that with few exceptions the churches approached World War II with "a cautious patriotism." By this he means that the churches resisted transforming it into a "holy war." Rather they worked consciously to ensure that they were not swept up by patriotic fever even as they did all they could to serve the Allied cause. The churches' restraint after Pearl Harbor is surprising given the fact that the Second World War was labeled a "good war" by many, with a clear moral mission to defeat oppressive totalitarian foes. But Sittser explains the churches' cautious patriotism by emphasizing the disillusionment, naiveté, and shame that most churches felt after having fed the jingoism surrounding World War I. During World War II, the churches sought to synthesize their Christian ideals of peace and justice with a newly cultivated understanding of political realism. They supported the nation in its noble and necessary fight, yet condemned fueling hatred of the enemy, and emphasized primary loyalty to God and church which transcended national interests. They worked devotedly to fulfill their "priestly" roles through meeting the needs of servicemen and their families in multifarious ways (which Sittser describes thoroughly), yet also exercised their "prophetic" voices by criticizing the nation when necessary, such as the violation of civil liberties during the war and bombing civilians. Sittser is careful to note the differences between Christian churches in World War II as they wrestled with its meaning for America. But he also proves his thesis convincingly, that, in spite of diverging theologies, the majority of churches approached this war with a measured ambivalence that sought to keep the church politically independent, publicly influential, and loyal first to their spiritual missions. Sittser admires the careful balance that the churches struck and recommends it as a model. He also suggests that the work of the churches during World War II helped influence the post-war era in several ways,

including laying the groundwork for the United Nations, for a return to traditional gender roles, and for a religious boom in the 1950s.

This well-researched, lucidly written book would be a good addition to a graduate or seminary course reading list on twentieth-century American religious history. It reads easily, but the author uses terms like "dispensationalist" and "neo-orthodoxy" with an expectation that readers will be familiar with them. For instructors teaching courses on World War II, this book is a valuable resource on the significant wide-ranging roles and impact of America's churches on the home front largely absent from other historical works. I also recommend it as an important addition to any university library.

Boise State University Jill K. Gill

Maggi M. Morehouse. *Fighting in the Jim Crow Army: Black Men and Women Remember World War II.* Latham, MD: Rowman and Littlefield Publishers, 2000. Pp. xviii, 247. Cloth, $24.95; ISBN 0-8476-9193-4.

Most historians who study World War II have focused on Tom Brokaw's "Greatest Generation." This was especially true with the popular HBO series, *Band of Brothers*. Anyone watching the program should have noticed the absence of African Americans in the film, but many might not realize that the U.S. Army was segregated. Few historians have come forward to correct that historical injustice; however, Maggi Morehouse has done her part to rectify that glaring deficiency in the historiography of World War II with her book *Fighting in the Jim Crow Army*, an account of the two all African-American combat divisions, the 92nd and 93rd, during the war.

Morehouse, whose father was an officer with the 93rd, writes with passion as she recounts the stereotypes and racial prejudices that the men of the 92nd and 93rd had to endure. Many of the troops believed that they were being prepared for combat. However, because of preconceived notions of racial inferiority, many white officers did not believe that African Americans could be trusted at the front. Consequently, many of the proud black warriors were reassigned to jobs in the rear. Although Morehouse might lack an understanding of army terminology and a feel for military operations, she makes up for it with an enthusiasm for her subject. In places, she ventures beyond her topic to describe the state of race relations in wartime America that influenced perceptions of African Americans in the military.

Still, Morehouse covers a field of inquiry that has been overlooked for far too long as she chronicles the combat record of the 93rd Division, which was sent to the Pacific and conducted mop-up operations against the Japanese on Moratai, Biak, and Mindanao. On the other hand, the 92nd was sent to the European theater and fought in Italy. Stemming from poor leadership on the part of the division's white officers, partially driven by General Ned Almond's own racial aversion, the 92nd never

performed as well as many African Americans had expected. Still, by drawing upon personal correspondence, interviews, and official documents from the army and the National Archives, Morehouse presents the reader with a rare glimpse into the African-American experience during the war.

But *Fighting in the Jim Crow Army* is more than a simple military history, since the author also focuses her attention upon how the conflict altered future racial relations at home. Never again, the author believes, could African-American GIs accept a return to their previous status after their arrival at Fort Huachuca, Arizona. Harry Truman, perhaps better than many others, realized the changing circumstances and began the process that ended segregation of the armed forces in 1947. *Fighting in the Jim Crow Army* helps readers discover, for those who forgot, when the first steps were made along the long road to racial equality.

The book is an important source for those teaching African-American history, World War II (particularly if the instructor seeks to offer a component concerning race relations), and ethnic studies. High school students and undergraduates will find this a worthy source for research papers or in a junior or senior seminar. Unfortunately, the book is only available in a cloth edition; however, it will be a valuable addition to any college or public school library.

Emporia State University Christopher C. Lovett

Paul W. Winters, ed. *The Civil Rights Movement.* San Diego: Greenhaven Press, Inc., 2000. Pp. 287. Paper, $14.96; ISBN 0-7377-0216-8.
Thomas Siebold, ed. *Martin Luther King, Jr.* San Diego: Greenhaven Press, Inc., 2000. Pp. 224. Paper, $14.96; ISBN 0-7377-0226-5.

These two anthologies from Greenhaven Press focus on the modern civil rights movement. *The Civil Rights Movement* focuses on the period from 1954 to the present, and *Martin Luther King, Jr.* on the impact of Martin Luther King, Jr. on that movement. Both anthologies work to provide some useful information on civil rights for a high school or introductory-level college audience.

The Civil Rights Movement is part of Greenhaven Press's "Turning Points in World History" series that analyzes pivotal past events. In this anthology, editor Paul Winters has sought to show the evolution of the United States's civil rights movement through the present day. To this end, he provides an introductory chapter to the anthology entitled "A Brief History of the Civil Rights Movement" that places the modern movement in the larger context of Reconstruction, Jim Crow, Homer Plessy's case against segregation, the founding of the NAACP, and the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, as well as other seminal events and legal battles. Following Winters's brief history, the book is broken down into four chapters, each containing a set of easy-to-read secondary source essays that fit within the theme of the chapter. The four

chapters are "The Fight for Rights Begins," "Peaceful Demonstrations and Radical Tactics," "From Protest to Politics," and "The Fight for Rights Continues." Each chapter is preceded with a summary of the author's main points and has accompanying discussion questions listed near the end of the anthology in a separate section. An appendix of excerpted primary source documents, a chronology, and a bibliography to aid in further research follow the chapters.

Martin Luther King, Jr. is similarly organized and fits within Greenhaven Press's "People Who Made History" series. Like *The Civil Rights Movement*, this book contains an introductory essay by its editor, Thomas Siebold, and then is broken into four chapters with accompanying essays: "The Shaping of King's Activism," "King's Social and Political Ideology," "King's Role in the Civil Rights Movement," and "King's Legacy." As in *The Civil Rights Movement*, these chapters are followed by discussion questions, primary source documents, a chronology, and a bibliography.

The Civil Rights Movement is the more useful of the two anthologies. The introduction is succinct but excellent, providing students with needed background information. Each of the essays fits nicely into the chapter theme, and most date from the 1990s. The anthology also includes a few essays written in the 1960s by people with firsthand experience in the movement. Although these are presented like any other secondary source essay, it would be useful to use them as primary source documents in the classroom. These include Jan Howard's "The Ineffectiveness of Nonviolence," originally published in 1966. In this essay she examined the way in which the civil rights movement used the tactic of provoking segregationists to violence. This essay would provide a useful starting point for a classroom discussion about the various tactics of the civil rights movement and the meaning of nonviolent protest. The other essay that fits into the category of a primary source document and could be similarly used is Murray Kempton's "The March on Washington," reprinted from his 1963 *New Republic* article. The more recent essays, however, would be equally useful in provoking classroom discussion, and the discussion questions near the end of the book, although few, are excellent starting points.

Martin Luther King, Jr. is useful in some of the same ways as it also provides accessible secondary source essays. Despite the usefulness of these essays, overall this anthology is weaker. The introduction was pedestrian and contained some inconsistencies, including one factual error that stated the 11-month Montgomery bus boycott lasted 381 days. In what was perhaps an attempt to humanize these figures, who might seem to a high school or college audience to come out of the distant past, Siebold sometimes referred to them by their last names ("Dr. King" or "Mrs. Parks") and sometimes by their first names ("Martin" or "Rosa"). This was more confusing than humanizing and worked to make the writing in the introduction too simplistic. If students can understand essays such as the first one by Aldon Morris in which he instructs the reader to situate King's leadership "within [the] social context of domination," they can also understand a more complex and sophisticated introduction.

Most alarmingly, the introduction ignores much of the real history of the Montgomery Bus Boycott and the equally important people who organized it and worked to keep it successful. At one place Siebold states, "The city's black leadership asked King and other ministers to organize a bus boycott." In another he states that King was initially reluctant to participate and follows this with the statement, "But Martin acquiesced and initiated the boycott by distributing forty thousand leaflets encouraging blacks to avoid the buses starting on Monday, December 5." Both of these statements do injustice to those who worked on civil rights in Montgomery for years, laying the groundwork for a bus boycott, and to those people—mostly women—who distributed the leaflets and did so with amazing speed and efficiency. King, obviously, became vitally important to the boycott and the movement, but he could not have done it without the backbreaking, ground-breaking work of others. He helped provide vision; others distributed the leaflets.

The introduction aside, the essays provide insight into King's leadership of the civil rights movement and the many ways he worked to shape it. The essays vary in publication date from 1959 to 1997, and like *The Civil Rights Movement* contain some that could function also as primary source documents. In fact, Samuel DuBois Cook's 1971 essay, originally titled, "Is Martin Luther King Jr. Irrelevant?" is retitled, "King's Relevance Today," an inappropriate title for a 1971 essay. Although King does remain relevant, our world has changed drastically since 1971. Therefore this essay needed to be set into the proper historical context of the early 1970s so that it could be used to start discussion about the subsequent changes in our society rather than passed off as current debate.

Both of these anthologies could be used to good effect in both the high school and college classroom, although *Martin Luther King, Jr.* would need to be used with more caution by teachers and students. The essays in both anthologies provide needed background for students for whom the modern civil rights movement is part of a distant past.

Mesa State College Sarah L. Swedberg