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In This Issue

MATTHEW LINDAMAN, who chairs the Department of History at Winona State University, analyzes the *Camp Dodger,* the camp newspaper for Camp Dodge, a regional training center for the U.S. Army during World War I in Johnston, Iowa. He shows how the paper linked the soldiers and their civilian families and fostered the re-establishment of social ties for the soldiers.

NATHANIEL OTJEN, a doctoral student in Environmental Sciences, Studies, and Policy at the University of Oregon, describes the process of creating a barrio in Iowa City for Mexican laborers on the Chicago, Rock Island and Pacific Railroad between 1916 and 1936. He shows how the formation of the barrio reflected the intersecting interests of the railroad company, the Euro-American residents of Iowa City, and the Mexican workers themselves.

Front Cover

Leno Cano cultivates the garden behind his house in Iowa City's Mexican barrio in 1939; the railroad tracks on which the male residents of the barrio worked can be seen in the background. Photo courtesy Vincent Cano. For more on Iowa City's Mexican barrio, see Nathaniel Otjen's article in this issue.

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Book Reviews and Notices

Home Away from Home: The *Camp Dodger* Newspaper and the Promotion of Troop Morale, 1917–1919

MATTHEW LINDAMAN

CAMP DODGE, a military installation in Johnston, Iowa, which was originally conceived in 1907 as a place for National Guard units to train, assumed an iconic status in Iowa's military history as a regional training center, serving both world wars. During World War I, 111,462 soldiers, including 37,111 Iowans, entered the U.S. Army at Camp Dodge. To address the needs of those soldiers, camp leadership organized and published the *Camp Dodger,* a weekly newspaper.[1]

The *Camp Dodger* first appeared on September 21, 1917, as an official publication of the 88th Infantry Division with Laurence R. Fairall, a former newspaperman, serving as editor. The quality and content of the *Camp Dodger* soon earned it a favorable reputation, and it became one of the "proudest boasts" of the 88th Infantry. By the end of the war, the editorial team was publishing two versions of the *Camp Dodger* at once, one out of Camp Dodge and a second version out of Gondrecourt, France; the latter allowed the newspaper to "bring the daily life of these men [the 88th in France] to thousands of homes in every part of America from which they came." The *Infantry Journal* referred to the overseas version of the *Camp Dodger* as the "most unique in the history of American newspapering."[2]

1. *Order of Battle of the United States Land Forces in the World War* (1917–1919), vol. 3, part 1 (Washington, DC, 1949), 405, 870.

2. "By Overseas Camp Dodger News Service," *Infantry Journal* 15 (June 1918–July 1919), 796–98.

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World War I newspapers from individual training camps in the United States have received little scholarly attention, perhaps because of their fleeting nature.[3] Individual camp newspapers were also overshadowed by *The Stars and Stripes*, an official organ of the U.S. military that started in 1861 and is still in existence today, including a modern electronic format. Historian Alfred E. Cornebise writes, "To the social and cultural historian, in particular, the paper is valuable help in conjuring up the spirit of its age in a most interesting and satisfactory fashion."[4] That observation also applies to the *Camp Dodger*, which is worthy of close examination not only because it shows the "spirit of the age," but also for how it promoted and carried out the War Department's goals at a local level, while showing the relation of the camp to the surrounding region.

Historical analysis of the *Camp Dodger* reveals the unique qualities that allowed it to gain rave reviews, shows how it served as a network that linked the soldiers and their civilian families and fostered the re-establishment of social ties for the soldiers, and provides information about mobilization on the home front and, later, the organization of American soldiers on the front in France. Ultimately, such analysis supports the conclusion that America entered World War I slowly and cautiously. That slow and cautious approach is reflected not only in the United States' relatively late entry into the war in April 1917 but also in the meticulous process of mobilization. Despite French and English pleas to send American soldiers straight to the front lines under

3. A literature on trench newspapers exists, including Robert L. Nelson's comparative article "Soldier Newspapers: A Useful Source in the Social and Cultural History of the First World War and Beyond," in *War in History* 17 (2010), 167–91. Nelson has also extensively covered the importance of German soldier newspapers during World War I in *German Soldier Newspapers of the First World War* (Cambridge, 2014).

4. Alfred E. Cornebise, *The Stars and Stripes: Doughboy Journalism in World War I* (Westport, CT, 1984), xii. *The Stars and Stripes* did not have a continuous run between the Civil War and World War I, but rather re-established itself on February 8, 1918, for a 71-week run. Cornebise has also covered the history of Armed Forces newspapers throughout American history in *Ranks and Columns: Armed Forces Newspapers in American War* (Westport, CT, 1993); for his account of a specific paper in the post–World War I German occupation, see *The Aramoc News: The Daily Newspaper of the American Armed Forces in Germany, 1919–1923* (Carbondale, IL, 1981).

foreign command, the United States mobilized slowly and insisted that American soldiers serve under American commanders. Thus, the majority of American soldiers did not see action in the war until 1918.[5]

The unique and thorough quality of the *Camp Dodger* underscores the meticulous nature of American mobilization and sheds light on the values military organizers brought to the mobilization effort and care of American soldiers overseas, with soldier comfort and social engagement at the forefront of the organizers' goals. An analysis of the *Camp Dodger* also highlights the role of the various auxiliary and service organizations, along with private groups and individuals that were part of the process, including the YMCA and the Knights of Columbus, as well as athletes like world wrestling champion Earl Caddock and *Des Moines Register* employees Ruth Stewart and Irving Brant.

WHEN THE UNITED STATES ENTERED THE WAR, the War Department confronted a number of organizational and philosophical questions related to the recruitment and training of American soldiers. With little previous experience in the decades leading up to the war, "the U.S. Army was little prepared for the massive organizational and bureaucratic demands that President Wilson's commitment to an all-out war imposed upon them," according to historian Thomas M. Canfield. As a result, "proposals for improving the morale and fighting efficiency of the armed forces would languish unexamined and unexplored until these more immediate problems had been resolved."[6]

The moral conduct of soldiers received top priority. Although the authors of *Keeping Our Fighters Fit for War,* written with the cooperation of the War and Navy Departments Commissions on Training Camp Activities, argued that "the prevalence of disease that results from personal immorality has been a problem in hygiene as long as history has been recorded," the War Department focused on the lessons learned from two recent episodes. The

5. There were some exceptions. For example, the 1st Infantry Division occupied positions at the front during the fall of 1917, resulting in the first three U.S. combat deaths, including that of Iowan Merle D. Hay on November 3, 1917.

6. Thomas N. Canfield, "'Will to Win'—The U.S. Army Troop Morale Program of World War I," *Military Affairs* 41 (October 1977), 125.

most often cited recent episode was the American mobilization at the Mexican border in 1916, where "an ingrowing staleness and tendency to mental and moral disintegration" was soon apparent. Authorities also drew on action already associated with the European war, noting, "Since 1914 this casually evaded problem has been brought sharply to the front because of its vital bearing upon military efficiency. The devastating influences of venereal disease and alcohol upon the fighting effectiveness of armies in the past has been demonstrated in a pitilessly cold light by the figures of bulletless casualties of both Entente and Teutonic forces." As a result, Secretary of War Newton Baker spoke of the importance not only of arming and clothing the soldiers but also of giving them "invisible armor," namely "a set of social habits replacing those of their homes and communities, a set of social habits and a state of social mind born in the training camps."[7] Home and community were key concepts in Baker's vision. To realize that vision, he would rely on welfare auxiliary groups.

Shortly after the war historian Marcus Lee Hansen, best known for his work on the history of immigration and assimilation, published a book on welfare work in Iowa during World War I. In it, Hansen focused on the welfare agencies associated with Camp Dodge. "The presence of a National Army cantonment within the borders of this state," he argued, "is the great outstanding feature in war-time Iowa. Everything that transpired within the lines of that camp is a vital part of Iowa's war record." "Indeed," he pointed out, "when viewed as a concrete illustration of welfare activities in a typical training camp, the story of the welfare work at Camp Dodge has a national significance." The *Camp Dodger,* he added, played an important role in that story, as it was "the one indispensable storehouse of current happenings at the welfare huts in the cantonment."[8]

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7. Edward Frank Allen and Raymond Fosdick, *Keeping Our Fighters Fit for War and After* (New York, 1918), 91, 191; Raymond Fosdick, "The War and Navy Department Commissions on Training Camp Activities," *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* 79 (1919), 130, 191; Newton D. Baker, *Frontiers of Freedom* (New York, 1918), 94–95.

8. Marcus Lee Hansen, *Welfare Work in Iowa: Iowa Chronicles of the World War* (Iowa City, 1921), x. Hansen established his reputation as a historian of immigration with his book *The Atlantic Migration, 1607–1860,* which won the Pulitzer Prize in history in 1941.

Echoing Baker, Hansen noted that as a result of the welfare work, soldiers "were protected from the evils of idleness and vice by an 'invisible armor' of social relationships and habits." He underscored a key theme vital to the welfare agencies—the concepts of home and comfort. "The men in khaki and blue," he wrote, "did not live by bread alone, nor were rifles and cannon their only implements in warfare. The knowledge that behind them was a nation interested in their comfort sustained them."[9]

Such were the goals not only of the welfare agencies but also of the *Camp Dodger*'s editor Laurence Fairall. Projecting a sense of home and comfort was the primary goal on the agenda of the *Camp Dodger*, which served as an intermediary between the welfare agencies and the soldiers of the camp and between the soldiers of the camp and the greater Des Moines community. As Fairall himself stated, "For those who do not come into the army versed in military things, the *Camp Dodger* hopes to be sort of a Big Brother, to help straighten out the hard knots."[10]

THE *CAMP DODGER* was published weekly, beginning September 21, 1917. The first edition appeared as Camp Dodge was still under construction and housed only a few thousand men. The initial edition had a print run of only 1,000 copies, but soon the paper expanded as it became the official publication of the 88th Infantry Division.[11] Within a year of its initial publication, the *Camp Dodger* was printing 30,000 copies per week and appeared regularly as an eight- to twelve-page paper.

Laurence Fairall served as editor-in-chief. A graduate of the University of Iowa's class of 1917, he had honed his skills while a student working for the *Daily Iowan,* the *Clinton Advertiser*, and the *Hawkeye,* the latter a yearbook-like publication aimed at University of Iowa alumni. He also contributed to a weekly regimental newspaper while serving with an Iowa National Guard regiment in Texas during border trouble.[12] Following the war, Fairall combined his knowledge of the newspaper industry with promotional and

9. Hansen, *Welfare Work,* 1–2.

10. Laurence Fairall, "The Camp Dodger," *Camp Dodger,* 9/21/1917, 2.

11. "How the Dodger Meets the Print Paper Situation," *Camp Dodger,* 10/18/1918, 4.

12. "Camp Dodger Closes a Successful Year," 9/13/1918, 1.

propaganda techniques learned while organizing the *Camp Dodger* to run a successful advertising agency in Des Moines.[13]

Early on, Fairall was aided by staff members who were also soldiers, splitting their time between work on the paper and their military duties. As the *Camp Dodger* expanded, Fairall called on a number of outside civilians, including *Des Moines Register* and *Des Moines Daily Capital* staff members Ruth Stewart, Dorothy Ashby, Irving N. Brant, and Edward S. Howes. Stewart's column, "Little Stories of Camp Dodge," featured the stories of individual men passing through Camp Dodge, such as the soldier who had already fought in four wars. Ashby, a reporter from the sob sister genre, covered masculine camp life from a woman's perspective, authoring articles such as "Building for Lady Visitors at Camp Dodge."[14] The paper also used photographs and cartoons, with Sergeant R. H. Cook of Minneapolis snapping images throughout the camp with his camera. Fairall also relied on the sergeant-majors of regimental units who forwarded news from individual regiments. In addition, he regularly canvassed the offices of the division headquarters, visited the hospital and the various welfare buildings, and culled information from a variety of daily reports.

Within months of its first appearance, the *Camp Dodger* gained national attention and accolades. Writing in the *American Printer and Lithographer* in April 1918, H. Frank Smith referred to the *Camp Dodger* as the "first, biggest, and best of the army camp newspapers," noting that it "compares very favorably with the most efficient metropolitan papers." The *Army-Navy Defense Times* pointed out that "it has kept pace with the growth of the cantonment and today is probably the largest National Army newspaper in the country. In the few months it has been issued its growth has been equal to that requiring forty years in the case of a regular newspaper." While praising the *Camp Dodger* for its pro-

13. Articles related to Fairall's advertising agency are in box 1, Laurence Rankin Fairall Papers, Special Collections, University of Iowa Libraries, Iowa City.

14. Dorothy Ashby, "Building for Lady Visitors at Camp Dodge," *Camp Dodger,* 10/19/1917, 2. For a biographical treatment of the career of Ashby, later Dorothy Ashby Pownall, and the sob sister genre, see Tracy Lucht, "From Sob Sister to Society Editor: The Storied Career of Dorothy Ashby Pownall," *Annals of Iowa* 75 (2016), 406–27.

fessional appearance, the professional journals also underscored its social significance, noting, "The new soldiers, especially some who had been separated from their friends and relatives for the first time on entering the Army, were lonesome, some homesickness prevailed." *The Fourth Estate*, a weekly trade journal aimed at publishers and advertisers, also highlighted one of Fairall's main goals, observing that the *Camp Dodger* "has served to cement more closely together the thousands of men in this big army division who at the start were strangers."[15] In order to reach that goal, Fairall intentionally promoted re-establishing social ties throughout the camp.

ALMOST FROM THE START, the *Camp Dodger*'s staff addressed issues of homesickness. On October 5, 1917, for example, poet E. S. Howes, who contributed poems throughout the paper's existence, wrote,

> Alone in his dark corner
> Rookie Jones did softly cry
> He was longing for his mother
> You remember, you and I
> Scorned him with our lips upturning
> "Be a man, brace up," we said
> "No use pining here neglected,
> Bust around like you expected
> Folks to be your friends," we said
> Still alone in his dark corner
> Rookie Jones did softly cry,
> And our own thoughts turned to mother
> You remember, you and I
> Put your arms around the Rookie
> And we call him our own pal,
> For we knew we too were weaklings,
> And we too had heartache feelings
> For our mothers—you and I.[16]

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15. H. Frank Smith, "Many Army Camp Papers," *American Printer and Lithographer* 66 (April 5, 1918), 44; "The Camp Dodger," *Army-Navy Defense Times* 63 (April 6, 1918), 448; "Camp Journalism Successful," *The Fourth Estate: A Weekly Newspaper for Publishers, Advertisers, Advertising Agents, and Allied Interests*, 7/20/1918, 12.

16. E. S. Howes, "Poem," *Camp Dodger*, 10/5/1917, 2.

Marcus Lee Hansen also picked up on the theme, noting, "There were city boys, and there were country boys, yet none in the first strange days felt at home."[17] Enlisting had severed association between the soldiers and their families and also cut soldiers off from previous leisure activities and familiar institutions and organizations from their hometowns. Fairall and his coworkers used the pages of the *Camp Dodger* to re-knit social ties. First, however, they were cognizant of keeping lines of communication open between Camp Dodge and home.

The *Camp Dodger* published a number of articles highlighting the importance of letters as a point of connection between camp and home. Fairall quoted General Edward H. Plummer, Commander of Camp Dodge, who urged soldiers and families to establish and maintain a two-way communication flow through letters. Well aware that stress and homesickness might easily appear in letters from soldiers, Plummer urged both sides to maintain a positive attitude when putting pen to paper. "The soldier in a momentary fit of homesickness or after an assignment of detail work, will write, exaggerating the awful state of his work . . . leaving his family and friends with the impression that he is always downcast and downtrodden." On the other hand, "The right sort of letters from home will do as much toward making the kind of soldier we want as any other single thing. . . . If those at home could only sense the feeling of pleased anticipation that an unopened letter from the home town brings, they would be more careful of the contents. Many of the soldiers carry a message about with them for several hours in an effort to prolong the surprise."[18]

Plummer's directions suggest that there was an audience for the *Camp Dodger* outside the cantonment. So, too, does an item in the *Bismarck Tribune,* which noted that Thomas H. Jenkins, an accredited representative of the *Camp Dodger,* was quite busy as "a majority of all the Slope's select service men have been sent to Camp Dodge, and Mr. Jenkins' North Dakota subscription list is growing rapidly."[19] The *Daily Gate City and Constitution Democrat*

17. Hansen, *Welfare Work,* 30.

18. Laurence Fairall, "Soldiers at Camp Dodge Enjoy Long Letters That Are Full of Pleasantries," *Camp Dodger*, 11/9/1917, 1.

19. "Slope People Will Read the Camp Dodger," *Bismarck Tribune*, 5/25/1918, 1.

of Keokuk ran a story about a *Camp Dodger* contest to name the 88th Division. Lieutenant G. D. Foster's suggestion of "Hun-Huskers" won the contest, which was wildly popular. "Besides the [hundreds of] names turned into the Dodger by the soldiers at the cantonment, were a number sent by civilians in Iowa, Minnesota, North Dakota, Illinois, the states from which the selected men in the camp are from."[20] Popular civilian suggestions included "North Star Division" and "Vikings," the latter a result of the large Scandinavian representation at the camp.

For those without family members to correspond with, Fairall devised a scheme that was equal parts successful and out of control. On October 19, 1917, a banner headline announced, "Thousands of Girls Are Awaiting to Adopt Soldiers at Camp Dodge." The *Camp Dodger,* working in cooperation with the *Minneapolis Journal* and its Fighter's Bureau, recruited thousands of young women to correspond with Camp Dodge soldiers who had no family members available to boost their morale. According to Fairall, "Tens of thousands of girls are waiting to adopt the soldiers at Camp Dodge this fall—waiting to write letters, send candy, sweaters, and anything that the new national army men want." Fairall followed his enticing offer with instructions. "All a lonesome Camp Dodge soldier need do is drop a line to the editor of the *Camp Dodger* and his name will be sent off to one of these ten thousand girls. He may even specify whether he prefers a blonde or a brunette." Fairall promised, "A reply in the young lady's own handwriting may be expected within a week and, thereafter, just as often as the soldier himself cares to answer the letters." He concluded, "By their pledge, the girls have signified that they will take care of their soldier 'adoptees' as long as the war lasts, whether the 88th be in the trenches, or in some cantonment this side of the water."[21]

Although Fairall was prepared to make the promise, he was not prepared for what followed. Within a week of announcing the program, Fairall reported that the number of willing female participants had increased to more than 15,000, as "letters poured

20. "Hun-Huskers—Name Adopted for 88th Division—Contest Brings Numerous Suggestions," *Keokuk Daily Gate City and Constitution Democrat,* 2/6/1918, 1.

21. Laurence Fairall, "Thousands of Girls Are Awaiting to Adopt Soldiers at Camp Dodge," *Camp Dodger*, 10/19/1917, 2.

in in a constant stream. . . . By Thursday night every mail was bringing in an average of 300 letters seeking to take advantage of the bureau's offer." More than 2,000 men had already signed up for the project, overwhelming supplies of paper and envelopes. In addition, the young women of Des Moines wanted in on the project. The *Des Moines Tribune* stepped up to advertise and help coordinate the recruitment of young, female letter writers.

Immediately, however, caveats appeared in the description of the project, reminding the soldiers and young women that "the true aim . . . is to cheer and help the soldiers of the 88th Division—to drive away the blues, and make life a little more interesting." The organizers warned, "We are particularly anxious to avoid any suggestions of the Matrimonial Agency idea." In the following weeks, Fairall repeatedly added disclaimers while reporting on the overall success of the "adopt-a soldier" program. "Through a misconstruction of the original article relating to the Fighter's Service Bureau in the Camp Dodger several weeks ago, it is necessary that an explanation be published for the camp clearing up several hazy points. Many men to whom the Bureau had no idea of catering have sought to take advantage of the service." Fairall stressed that the program was designed for those who had no friends or relatives. "The women and girls who have been enlisted in its service, numbering over 15,000 are in it for no frivolous purpose. . . . Patriotically they have volunteered to give time from pursuits to make things a little more pleasant for their country's fighting men. The *Camp Dodger* therefore trusts that no man of the 88th Division would seek to take advantage of the generous offer that these patriotic women have made merely for a whim of his own."[22]

The *Camp Dodger* supported another project linked to the theme of "home" during the fall of 1917. In Ruth Stewart's weekly column, "Little Stories from Camp Dodge," she underscored the importance of home to the soldiers. "Of the relations from which these young men in training camps are cut off that of home is perhaps the most important. Frederick Law Olmstead, for instance, reported as his conclusion from his long and active

22. Fairall, "Over Two Thousand Camp Dodge Soldiers Want to Write Minnesota Girls," *Camp Dodger*, 11/2/1917, 1; Fairall, "Camp Dodge Soldiers Take Advantage of Journal Fighter's Bureau," *Camp Dodger,* 11/9/1917, 1.

work on the Sanitary Commission during the Civil War, that the two great influences in keeping men well were singing and letters from home." To address that need, Stewart called on the people of Des Moines to volunteer to adopt soldiers into their homes during weekends or times of leave. "A great many people in Des Moines have cooperated very loyally in trying to do something for the soldier boys and I hope the community will waken to its privilege, for when the soldier is giving his life, nothing else can be compared."[23]

The *Camp Dodger* ran a number of stories promoting Stewart's call. Once again, a civilian stepped to the fore, offering organizational management. Louis Nash, a former military goods salesman, reported more than a hundred responses from Des Moines families one day after putting out a call for home hosts. In the pages of the *Camp Dodger*, Nash wrote, "Since my arrival in your city eight weeks ago, I have been brought into daily, nay, almost hourly contact with officers and enlisted men from Camp Dodge. I have chronicled their expressions of homesickness and loneliness times beyond question. Hundreds of them have left beautiful homes in every meaning of the word; loving mothers, devoted fathers, admiring sisters, and lifelong friends." Underscoring the overwhelming nature of the transition, he continued, "They are here in the midst of strangers—the loneliest place in the word. They parade your streets when they come to town and never see a familiar face. Not one in a hundred has been inside a home since he left his own." Nash predicted great outcomes if soldiers could participate in home visits. "Let each Des Moines home adopt one of these young men during his leisure hours. . . . It would change their whole social aspect in two weeks' time if this suggestion were followed out."[24]

The *Camp Dodger* also worked with welfare organizations to allow the soldiers to meet young women in and around the cantonment. This was a major policy change during World War I. Writing on the importance of the War Camp Community Service organization in 1918, its president, Joseph Lee, noted, "Another normal need of these young men is the society of girls. It has been

23. Ruth Stewart, "Little Stories from Camp Dodge," *Camp Dodger*, 11/23/1917, 2.
24. Louis Nash, "To Entertain Soldier Boys," *Camp Dodger*, 11/2/1917, 1.

assumed in the past that soldiers and sailors, unlike the rest of mankind, can have no relation with women except an immoral one, that there is no choice for them between the life of a libertine and that of an ascetic." Working through the concept of what Lee referred to as "a balanced ration," under the guidance of organized chaperones, proper social meetings could be arranged. In addition, Lee argued, "Besides bringing soldiers and girls together under good influences, a most important activity has been the organizing of girls into clubs, the purpose of which has been the creating of an *esprit de corps* among them with a high social standard and a high ideal of the part that the women of America are called upon to play in their relation to the soldiers."[25]

Fairall endorsed the ideas laid out by Lee and the War Camp Community Service organization. Apparently, however, not everyone in the Des Moines area was on board. As Fairall helped promote what Lee referred to as "a balanced ration" between the sexes, he received a fair amount of criticism from concerned women's organizations. Using his editorial column to push back, he argued, "Several Des Moines women, foolishly have set about to start a movement to prevent Camp Dodge soldiers from meeting Des Moines girls. They claim it is 'dangerous.'" He countered, "If there is anything that will make for dangerous relations between the soldiers and the girls of Des Moines it is just such a movement." According to Fairall, it was natural for Camp Dodge soldiers to want to make the acquaintance of good, wholesome girls. When supported in the right manner, he reasoned, "any organization which will help introduce our soldiers to the right sort of girls is to be encouraged rather than opposed." He concluded, "The *Camp Dodger* is strongly in favor and will heartily support any agencies which work along these lines. With equal firmness it will oppose the foolish idea that men and women are acting properly only so long as they stay away from each other. If there is anything in the world which will bring about a condition of lax morality in this field it is just such a wild-eyed movement as this."[26]

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25. Joseph Lee, "War Camp Community Service," *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* 79 (September 1918), 193.

26. Fairall, "Dangerous Safety!" *Camp Dodger*, 11/9/1917, 2.

That was not the only time Fairall encountered a difference of opinion. While alcohol was strictly monitored within and surrounding the camp, the same was not true of tobacco. In fact, the *Camp Dodger*, working in conjunction with local welfare groups and the national "Smokes for Soldiers" program, promoted cigarette use as something that could relieve stress while also contributing to what Marcus Lee Hansen referred to as "inducements to conviviality." The Knights of Columbus organization was particularly active in this area, distributing 576 bags of Bull Durham smoking tobacco, 150 bags of Piedmont, 288 tins of Prince Albert, and 500 hundred pounds in bulk—in addition to 864 corn-cob pipes. When local and national women's group took umbrage at the practice, Fairall fired back, "They fail to take cognizance of the fact that relief must be given for the excitable mental state that accompanies the tedium of military life both in the trenches and in training. They do not realize that tobacco is a practically harmless mental sedative and easiest obtainable agent of relaxation that the soldier can appreciate."[27]

The women behind the anti-smoking campaign were the exception rather than the norm as far as cooperation with the camp was concerned. The *Camp Dodger* lauded the women involved in the construction of the resident hostess house at the camp during the fall of 1917. The house was constructed as part of a nationwide movement supported by the government and organized by the Young Women's Christian Association. Historian Nancy K. Bristow cites the government-supported hostess houses at military camps throughout the nation as an example of defining women's wartime roles as traditional "domestic responsibility" and "natural moral superiority." Further stressing their social and cultural importance during the war, Cynthia Brandimarte argues that the hostess houses supported the Victorian notion of "home" that persisted on World War I military bases. As such, they represented the idea of home so important to Fairall and other *Camp Dodger* writers such as Dorothy Ashby, who praised the construction and use of the hostess house at Camp Dodge.[28]

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27. Fairall, "The Makins," *Camp Dodger*, 11/23/1917, 6. The tobacco statistics are found in Hansen, *Welfare Work,* 35.

28. Nancy K. Bristow, *Making Men Moral: Social Engineering during the Great War* (New York, 1996), 49–50; Cynthia Brandimarte, "Women on the Home Front:

After observing the contributions of regional and local women to the soldiers of Camp Dodge throughout the fall of 1917, especially in connection to the concepts of comfort and home, Fairall was full of praise. In an editorial in the *Camp Dodger* he wrote, "A great, invisible force, nationwide in their organization, these women of America have already become a powerful factor in the lives of soldiers. No single element is exerting so much influence today. The only regrettable thing is that there is no way of totaling the immense work already accomplished by these 'home soldiers.'" Once again, he underscored the importance of home and a link to home via correspondence, with women playing a key role. Fairall pointed out that "three-fourths of the letters to which soldiers look forward for daily encouragement in their work come from women. Three-fourths of the letters sent out from the cantonment in which these soldiers unburden their troubles and tell of their achievements go to women. And it is an established fact that these letters form one of the most vital factors in an army man's daily life."[29]

WHILE THE FALL OF 1917 saw the *Camp Dodger* promoting letter-writing campaigns and a number of other projects to support the social atmosphere for new arrivals, the paper also underwent tremendous growth. By the third week of November, it announced that it was expanding from 8 to 16 pages weekly. In reality, the *Camp Dodger* averaged 12 pages over the next few months before returning to 8 as a result of a government-imposed paper rationing. Nevertheless, the increased coverage allowed the paper to add more writers and features. The staff was also able to address the backlog of material awaiting publication.[30] The increased coverage also allowed more room to feature music, entertainment, and athletics—all with the aim of building social connections.

Throughout America's mobilization, a number of commentators pointed to the importance of music, in particular singing. Owen Wister, a member of the War Department's national music

Hostess Houses during World War I," *Winterthur Portfolio* 42 (2008), 202; Ashby, "Building for Lady Visitors."

29. Fairall, "The Women," *Camp Dodger*, 3/2/1918, 4.

30. "Camp Dodger Remarkable Growth," *Camp Dodger*, 11/23/1917, 1.

committee, was quoted in the *Camp Dodger* as arguing, "Music is as necessary to the soldier's heart as bread is to the body. It is often spoken of as a luxury, even in time of peace. It is probable that no battle was ever won by soldiers who did not sing." Fred Haynes, in his summary of welfare work at Camp Dodge itself, noted, "Singing in the army has a distinct military value. Emphasis is not laid upon it in military textbooks; but a good deal is said about morale and esprit de corps, upon both of which singing has a great influence."[31]

In early October the *Camp Dodger* reported that Dean Holmes Cowper, from the Drake University School of Music, led the first class in camp singing, working with Company E of the 350th Infantry.[32] Camp officials later determined that singing classes were most effective when organized along the lines of smaller companies or batteries. The *Camp Dodger* supported adding daily singing drills to the soldiers' schedule. Apparently, there was plenty of talent to draw from. Ruth Stewart observed, "Not silence but music is golden at Camp Dodge, especially when there are so many trained musicians at the cantonment. It is almost impossible to walk past the barracks without hearing the joyous tune or cry 'Goodbye Broadway, Hello France' or a plaintive voice singing 'Dearest, My Heart Is Dreaming, Dreaming of You' or a line cornetist playing 'Farewell to Thee.'"[33]

Marcus Lee Hansen pointed to the importance of both continuity and the construction of new traditions. "Whenever the men of a nation are called into military service," he wrote, "they fall heir to the songs sung by their predecessors in the country's service, but they are not long content with merely adopting the songs of other wars."[34] With that idea in mind, the Commission on Training Camp Activities issued a recommended "best of" *Army Song Book* in the fall of 1917. Still, the *Army Song Book* spoke to national spirit, not to the spirit of the division, regiment, or company, so the *Camp Dodger* sponsored a contest to express the ideals of the

31. "Music Helps Win Battles," *Camp Dodger*, 6/7/1918, 9; Fred Emory Haynes, "The Social Work at Camp Dodge," *Iowa Journal of History and Politics* 16 (1918), 487.

32. "Music," *Camp Dodger*, 10/12/1917, 1.

33. Ruth Stewart, "Little Stories at Camp Dodge," *Camp Dodger*, 9/28/1917, 1.

34. Hansen, *Welfare Work,* 30.

88th Division, offering a well-advertised $50 prize to the author of the best marching song. Dean Holmes Cowper, John Alden Carpenter (a theater critic from Chicago), and Walter R. Spaulding from the Harvard music department served as judges, selecting "Old 88," submitted by L. C. Currier.[35]

Other forms of entertainment were also well represented in the pages of the *Camp Dodger*. Drama expert William W. Kane served as the editor of the entertainment page. He previewed and reviewed motion pictures and live entertainment appearing at the Liberty Theatre, which opened within the camp on December 2, 1917.[36] In addition, he covered a full range of artistic happenings outside the camp and recruited artistic talent to perform within the camp. Various welfare buildings, including the YMCA building and the Knights of Columbus Hall, served as entertainment venues. In June 1918 YMCA camp secretary Fred W. Hansen reported that in the past week more than 80,000 feet of film had been projected in YMCA buildings located in Camp Dodge. He predicted that this would amount to 800 miles of film for the year. He also reported that 101 entertainments were held on the camp grounds during the previous week. "What the soldier needs after being under military discipline all day," he noted, "is relaxation." Hansen included additional cumulative figures for the period through May 1918, underscoring the role of welfare organizations and the *Camp Dodger* in promoting social interaction through entertainment. Hansen reported,

> Estimated attendance at buildings 278,225; 46 lectures with attendance of 7,321; 1,048 educational classes, with attendance of 55,948; 6,845 books circulated; 35 educational clubs, with attendance of 862. 84,665 men participating in sports, 91,247 men spectators at recreative games; 343 religious meetings with attendance of 40,969; 236 Bible classes, with attendance of 5,586; 483,939 letters written and $40,044 worth of money orders sold.[37]

35. *Camp Dodger,* 12/14/1917 and 1/11/1918.

36. Liberty Theatre seated 5,000 and even had its own "soldier orchestra." The venue was located in Camp Dodge, but there was also a Liberty Theater in Dodge City, a small community that popped up just outside the post's eastern border. To avoid confusion, the latter was renamed the Trilby Theater.

37. Fred W. Hansen, "Y.M.C.A. Report," *Camp Dodger*, 6/14/1918, 1.

A photographer captured this baseball game at Camp Dodge. Courtesy Iowa Gold Star Military Museum, Camp Dodge, Iowa.

Hansen's statistics reveal the importance of athletics for both participants and spectators at Camp Dodge. As it did for entertainment and the arts, the *Camp Dodger* ran many stories on athletics at the camp. John L. Griffith, former athletic director at Drake University and founder of the Drake Relays, served as camp athletic director. The army brought in experienced athletic directors to serve as civilian aides in U.S. Army camps and later granted them commissions in the army as "physical training" officers. Griffith, for example, was commissioned as an army captain in January 1918. Months later, he was sent to a number of camps to replicate the program he had started at Camp Dodge for the 30,000 soldiers in training. He finished the war in Washington, D.C., where he was promoted to major and charged with physical education training for the entire U.S. Army.[38]

As reported in the pages of the *Camp Dodger*, Griffith had arrived at Camp Dodge with a clear vision, one supported by both conviction and creativity. The plan involved making the best use of actual physical training, using athletics to support social fellowship and to promote pride in the 88th Division. Griffith

38. "Statement for the Press on Appointment of Commissioner," n.d., box 5, Board of Control of Intercollegiate Athletics, Bentley Archives, University of Michigan.

noted, "The War Department has found out after much experience that athletics is the one thing to keep the mind and bodies of the soldiers in good condition." In contrast to the Germans, who taught the slower arts of gymnastics and wrestling, Griffith looked to involve soldiers in boxing, football, bayonet training, baseball, basketball, track and field, and a number of mass participatory events best described as modified track and field, citing both the scientific movement behind the choices and the opportunities for social networking and morale building. He explained,

> We have recreation hour from 4 to 5 o'clock every day, and all that time all the men in the camp who are not on special duty take part in the prescribed games and sports. When the recruits first come in we give them simple games, such as three deep and center ball. Later we give them the work that they do not get in their physical education period and later give them contests, simulating war conditions—for instance, races and jumping contests in full packs, races through shell holes and through barb wire entanglements. In other words, we give them as much military training in the guise of games as possible.[39]

During the fall of 1917, Griffith, with the help of one officer in charge of each company, organized dozens of camp football teams, promoting intracamp rivalries. Each company also selected a boxing leader who learned directly from Mike Gibbons, a Camp Dodge soldier who had been world lightweight champion. During the winter, Griffith worked closely with the Knights of Columbus, organizing dozens of intracamp basketball tournaments. By June 1918, Camp Dodge fielded more than 160 baseball teams. It was, however, under the catchall phrase of "athletic meets" that Griffith was the most creative. On January 26, 1918, soldiers from Camp Dodge traveled to Kansas City to take on Camp Funston. A rematch occurred at Camp Funston's home base in Omaha. Events included the 50-yard rescue race, bayonet drill exhibitions, stretcher races, a shuttle race, and hand grenade throwing. The *Camp Dodger* enthusiastically reported, "The Camp Dodge athletes showed their superiority over Camp Funston by winning

39. John L. Griffith, "Athletics Have Taken Definite Form at Camp," *Camp Dodger*, 10/26/1917, 4; "John L. Griffith: Former Drake Coach at Camp," *Camp Dodger*, 9/28/1917, 2.

Members of the football team from Supply Company, 350th Infantry Regiment, 88th Division posed for this image in November 1917. Courtesy Iowa Gold Star Military Museum, Camp Dodge, Iowa.

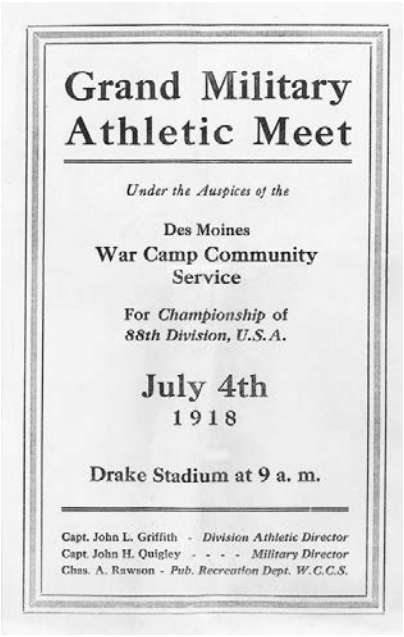
five of seven events and tying with the Funston athletes in two others."[40]

In the spring of 1918, Griffith sent a contingent of Camp Dodge soldiers to the Drake Relays, where he had a hand in adding a heavy equipment march race, rescue races, and wall scaling to the program.[41] In May 1918 he invited a large number of camp athletes to compete in a "telegraph meet" against the University of Illinois track and field team. Events included the 100-yard dash, the high jump, and the grenade throw. Averages were taken for all the events in order to support mass participation, teamwork, and pride in the 88th Division. Although the University of Illinois won the 100-yard dash and the high jump, the *Camp Dodger* reported that the Camp Dodge soldiers dominated the hand grenade throw.[42] On July 4, 1918, thousands of Camp Dodge soldiers either took part in or were spectators in a

40. For reports on the January and February "Athletic Meets," see *Camp Dodger* issues of February 1, 8, and 15, 1918.

41. "Camp Athletes in Drake Relays," *Camp Dodger*, 3/16/1918, 4.

42. "Dual Telegraph Meet," *Camp Dodger*, 5/10/1918, 4.



Cover of the program for the Drake "Grand Military Athletic Meet," July 4, 1918. Courtesy Iowa Gold Star Military Museum, Camp Dodge, Iowa.

massive athletic carnival held at Drake stadium. The event included cavalry displays, multiple racing and field events tailored toward combat training, and even a faux battle complete with smoke.[43]

Although mass participation played a big role in Griffith's vision, he also used the status of elite athletes and teams to build pride in the division, connect the division to the greater Iowa community, and provide an opportunity for social engagement through spectatorship. Shortly after his arrival, he had announced, "Camp Dodge could put one of the strongest football teams in the middle west on the field inside of a few days' notice. . . . There are in camp some of the greatest football players in the country and before Thanksgiving Day rolls around, no doubt a number

43. "Thousands at Stadium See July 4 Show," *Camp Dodger*, 7/5/1918, 1.

of new stars that the sport world has never heard of will have developed."[44] Griffith organized the top talent into a camp all-star team, while the *Camp Dodger* drummed up enthusiasm. The Camp Dodge eleven took to the road, with their biggest triumph a 3-0 win over Camp Funston. The contest took place during the third week in November 1917 after a big buildup of enthusiasm. With the help of the *Camp Dodger*, additional soldiers, including a 43-piece band, were sent to support the "Hun-Huskers" of the 88th.[45] Additional pride from the contest resulted as Camp Funston went on to capture the championship title of the American Expeditionary Forces after going otherwise undefeated both on American soil and abroad.

In addition to the elite gridiron traveling team, Griffith used the reputation of additional professional athletes. World lightweight boxing champion Mike Gibbons enlisted at Camp Dodge, serving as the lead boxing instructor while also putting on a number of well-advertised boxing exhibitions held within the camp as well as in Des Moines and around Iowa.[46] Griffith also hoped to obtain the services of Frank Gotch, former world champion in wrestling. Gotch, however, was sick in the fall of 1917 and never arrived at Camp Dodge (he died on December 16). Instead of Gotch, Earl Caddock, who also laid claim to the world title, served as an elite athlete capable of generating pride through his craft. Caddock, a native of Huron, South Dakota, who had spent his formative years on his uncle's farm in Anita, Iowa, was one of the biggest draws in the wrestling world between 1915 and 1922. Shortly after marrying Grace May Mickel of Walnut, Iowa, on July 21, 1917, Caddock chose to enlist in the U.S. Army. After he incurred an infection during recent tonsil surgery, however, the local draft board denied him for service. In September he visited the Mayo Clinic and, after corrective surgery, received military clearance. He enlisted at Camp Dodge as a private, but also as a world champion, the latter touted in the pages of the *Camp Dodger*.[47]

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44. "Noted Football Players among the Soldiers Here," *Camp Dodger*, 9/21/1917, 3.

45. "CD Football Drums Funston in Hard Contest," *Camp Dodger*, 11/23/1917, 8.

46. See *Camp Dodger*, 10/5/1917, 10/12/1917, 11/23/1917, 12/28/1917, 2/15/1918, 4/5/1918, and 4/20/1918.

47. Nat Fleischer, *From Milos to Londos* (New York, 1936), 188–94.

Officially an enlisted soldier, Caddock was granted special status by the authorities at Camp Dodge. He was the star attraction in a number of matches that received quite a bit of publicity and provided live entertainment for the soldiers who attended the matches. In October he defeated Lorenz Ryder of Minnesota as part of an athletic carnival in Des Moines attended by thousands of Camp Dodge soldiers. Thousands were on hand again in December to form a large cheering section when Caddock defeated Yussif Hussan. Afterward, the *Camp Dodger* announced Caddock's retention of the world wrestling title. On February 8, 1918, Caddock defeated Wladek Zbyszko via referee's decision in a two-hour contest. He was given a leave to take on the giant Pole in a rematch held in Chicago in May, emerging victorious once again. A victory over Ed "Strangler" Lewis in Des Moines in June 1918 completed his string of victories while serving at Camp Dodge. Underscoring the pride Caddock brought to the 88th Division, the *Camp Dodger* remarked, "On the night of Friday, June 21, the Dodge mat marvel proved to the world at large and particularly to Ed 'Strangler' Lewis that any claims to the title Lewis may have put forth were absolutely unfounded."[48]

THE *CAMP DODGER* also covered religious activities. Religiously based organizations such as the YMCA, the Knights of Columbus, and the Lutheran Brotherhood, organized activities in many of the auxiliary buildings. The U.S. Army had handed down strict rules that supported inclusion rather than division. According to the army, when those buildings were used for social gatherings that were not official religious services, the pulpit or altar area must remain concealed by sliding doors. Proselytization during non-religious social gatherings was also forbidden. A handful of religiously based organizations were given the privilege of helping with the welfare work in the camps. Despite the pretense of inclusion, those organizations did not represent the

48. "Many Soldiers Attend Athletic Carnival in Des Moines," *Camp Dodger*, 10/5/1917, 4; "Earl Caddock Retains World Wrestling Title," *Camp Dodger*, 12/14/1917, 1; "Earl Caddock and Wladek Zbyszko, Who Wrestle for World's Championship in Des Moines," *Camp Dodger*, 2/8/1918, 4; "Believe Lewis Has a Chance to Throw Caddock," *Camp Dodger*, 6/21/1918, 11; "Caddock Keeps Mat Title Within the 88th Division," *Camp Dodger*, 6/28/1918, 11.

entire spectrum of religious backgrounds found within Camp Dodge. A *Camp Dodger* census in early February 1918 found that the 12,625 men who answered the survey cited 58 different religious backgrounds in their self-identification.[49] The *Camp Dodger* therefore supported religious gatherings by including notices of religious services both within and outside of the camp.

The coverage of African American soldiers in the pages of the *Camp Dodger* sent mixed messages. Historian Bill Douglas addresses African American soldiers' experiences at Camp Dodge in his article "Wartime Illusions and Disillusionment." Douglas opens with the disturbing story of the hanging of three African American soldiers found guilty of raping a white woman; all white and black soldiers were required to witness the hanging. Douglas argues, "The event was a tragic culmination of an experiment in race relations that had begun with high hopes."[50]

Douglas makes three valid points concerning the white press of Des Moines and the surrounding area. First, he argues that the local press reflected pride in the African American soldiers and the fact that they were treated better in the North than they had been in the South. Second, although there was a sense of pride, paternalism and misunderstanding were also pervasive features of the press coverage of African Americans at Camp Dodge. Third, there was evidence that camp officials cast aside any articulation of dissatisfaction by African American soldiers, leading to the illusion that everyone was satisfied with the existing state of race relations.[51]

Douglas's assessment certainly applies to the *Camp Dodger*. It complimented the new arrivals from the South but often struck a paternalistic tone. Its top-down approach to coverage of African American soldiers meant that news was funneled to the paper from African American officers, thus missing the opportunity to hear from a wider variety of voices. Douglas also highlights the ultimate crux of the matter by pointing out that "segregation limited interracial encounters within and outside the walls of the camp." The welfare organizations and the *Camp Dodger* applied

49. "Census Results," *Camp Dodger*, 2/1/1918, 1.

50. Bill Douglas, "Wartime Illusions and Disillusionment: Camp Dodge and Racial Stereotyping, 1917–1918," *Annals of Iowa* 57 (1990), 112.

51. Ibid., 111–34.

the same goals of creating social networks for the African American soldiers within and outside the camp, although they were ultimately limited within the bounds of segregation, resulting in the major juxtaposition of the Fourth of July holiday in 1918: For the white soldiers, the giant carnival at Drake stadium provided a massive event of social engagement through spectacle and entertainment. One day later, as Douglas points out, "The horror of sharing the forced witnessing of a triple hanging created—at least momentarily—a bond of common humanity."[52]

AS THE SUMMER of 1918 progressed, soldiers from the 88th Division, including Laurence Fairall, were sent to France. The original *Camp Dodger* continued under the direction of managing editor Lawrence H. Martin. Under him, the paper struggled as Camp Dodge housed fewer men. In addition, social activities, a vital part of the paper's coverage, were curtailed as a result of the influenza outbreak.[53] The paper reduced its size several times, and the final issue appeared on January 31, 1919. That was not, however, the end of the *Camp Dodger*.

Fulfilling an earlier pledge to connect the soldiers of the 88th at home or abroad, Fairall, still in France, was tasked with reviving the paper. Backed by division command, who worried about a lapse of morals and troop morale following the conclusion of the war, he was placed in a subsection of Division Intelligence and instructed to devote full time to the paper.

Fairall rode horseback around the area near Gondrecourt, recruiting staff members, some from the previous American operation. The editorial offices remained in Gondrecourt, but he located a small print shop at Bar-le-Duc, where the task of printing the paper was impeded by a lack of electricity and a hole in the roof courtesy of previous German bombing. Nevertheless, Fairall supervised three editions—February 3, 10, and 17—before operations were moved to Paris and printing was subcontracted to the Parisian firm *Société Anonyme des Imprimeries Wellhof et Roch*. All profits were funneled back into the 88th Division, adding to

52. Ibid., 113.

53. For the influenza outbreak's impact on training camps, see Carol R. Byerly, "The U.S. Military and the Influenza Pandemic of 1918–1919," *Public Health Reports*, vol. 125, supplement 3 (2010), 82–91.

the Division Athletic Fund and helping to finance the camp variety show "Who Can Tell?" Once in Paris, the overseas version of the *Camp Dodger* extended its reach, adding a Paris Shopping Service, a Soldiers' Service Bureau for postwar employment, and an Overseas News Service for American newspapers. Above all, Fairall continued to underscore the theme of connectedness. "What a city newspaper is to the civilian," he wrote, "the Overseas Camp Dodger is to the soldiers,—and more, for it not only furnishes the main link which ties the thoughts and activities of more than 30,000 men into one, but it reaches even farther and brings the daily life of those men into thousands of homes in every part of America, from which they come."[54]

The overseas version of the *Camp Dodger* came to a close on May 5, 1919, amid plans for demobilization. Fairall eventually returned to Iowa and became a successful advertising executive. With the *Camp Dodger*, he left behind an exemplar for military camp newspapers. He was not necessarily original in honing in on the importance of home to the "homesick" soldiers or the importance of re-establishing social connections for the soldiers who had left their homes behind. He did, however, oversee a newspaper that transmitted those themes to the soldiers of Camp Dodge, serving as a communication network linking the War Department, Camp Dodge administrators, auxiliary welfare groups, the greater Des Moines community, and the soldiers. Lauded throughout its run, the *Camp Dodger* also stayed true to Fairall's goal of establishing a "public forum . . . to mirror the desires, work, and history of the men of the 88th." "As long as this unit of troops carry arms in the present war," he wrote in 1917, "whether it be in some desolate line of trenches or the edge of No Man's Land or across the Rhine itself, the *Camp Dodger* will aim to stay with the men whom it represents."[55]

54. Laurence Rankin Fairall, "Overseas Camp Dodger News Service," box 1, Fairall Papers.

55. Fairall, "The Camp Dodger," *Camp Dodger*, 9/21/1917, 2.

Creating a Barrio in Iowa City, 1916–1936: Mexican Section Laborers and the Chicago, Rock Island and Pacific Railroad Company

NATHANIEL OTJEN

FROM 1907 to 1932, the Chicago, Rock Island and Pacific Railroad Company published a monthly magazine for railroad employees and their families. One of the most popular sections in the *Rock Island Magazine* was written by a shop worker in Silvis, Illinois. The column, "Shop Pomes," featured lyrics about the railroad that were inspired by the Rock Island's shops and yards located in Silvis. In January 1924 the magazine printed a folk

This article developed out of research I conducted for an honors thesis at the University of Iowa. Some of the general information mentioned has appeared in the form of preliminary research on the websites Did You Know… A Demystification of Undergraduate Research and Creative Work and Migration is Beautiful. I would like to acknowledge and thank those who have supported this research. First, I thank Vince Cano for sharing his memories and for teaching me about his childhood neighborhood. I am extremely grateful for all of the archival assistance provided by Mary Bennett, Charles Scott, and Randall Schroeder at the State Historical Society of Iowa in Iowa City. I thank Claire Fox and Janet Weaver at the University of Iowa for supporting this research. I also thank the City of Iowa City's Sarah Walz, Marcia Bollinger, and Bob Miklo for their help telling community members about this history. In addition, I thank the local historians and Iowa City residents who have contributed to this research, including Al Dawson, Judy Nyren, Monica Leo, Mary Buchanan, and Merle Davis. Finally, I thank the *Annals of Iowa*'s two external reviewers for their helpful suggestions.

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ballad titled "*No Sebuyga*" that contemplated a significant labor change occurring within the company. Reminiscent of the Mexican *corridos* popular at the turn of the century, "*No Sebuyga*" describes the work ethic of early Mexican railroaders who were recruited by the Rock Island to work in the Midwest.

Manuel and Tony are Mexican men,
    Short and swarthy and shrewd are they:
Never so happy they seem as when
    They're pushing their truck through the shop all day—
And often, quite often, we hear them say—
    With many a gesture and frown and yawn—
    When another truck blocks the road they're on,
"No sebuyga! Keep moving!"
. . . . . .
"No sebuyga!" Let's do our part
    And make the roads what they ought to be:
Tackle our jobs with an honest heart,
    And give full service ungrudgingly.[1]

This ballad emphasizes the industriousness of Mexican railroad laborers; their worth and value are defined by their hard work, docility, and loyalty to the Rock Island. The refrain, "*No sebuyga*! Keep moving!" serves as a mantra for these workers, reminding every railroader to work as hard as the Mexicans.[2] The song declares that hard work inspires happiness for the Mexican laborers: "Never so happy they seem as when / They're pushing their truck through the shop all day." Indeed, Manuel and Tony's industriousness is linked to the success of the Rock Island itself. Like the conflation of happiness with hard work, this rhetorical move justifies the Rock Island's use of Mexican workers. From the company's point of view, it matters little who completes the work, as long as it gets done.

"*No Sebuyga*" shows why the Chicago, Rock Island and Pacific Railroad Company recruited Mexicans to work in Iowa

1. Leon R. Harris, "*No Sebuyga*," *Rock Island Magazine*, January 1924, 40.

2. The phrase "*No sebuyga*" represents a poor translation of spoken Spanish into written form. It should read: "*No se buiga*" or "*No se bulle*." In English, this translates into "Don't move!" The phrase "*No sebuyga*! Keep moving!" literally means: "Don't move! Keep moving!"

and the Midwest. The ballad portrays Mexicans as "honest" and "shrewd" laborers who give "full service ungrudgingly." In the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, railroad companies often cited these perceived character traits as primary reasons for hiring Mexican workers.[3]

Over the course of a half-century, the Chicago, Rock Island and Pacific Railroad Company hired thousands of Mexican men to work in the shops and on the tracks that criss-cross the Midwest. Following the recruitment strategies of other railroad companies such as the Atchison, Topeka and Santa Fe Railway, the Rock Island turned to Mexican labor in the early 1900s.[4] The Mexican workers described in "*No Sebuyga*" who likely lived and worked in Silvis were among the first to settle in the Midwest. They began working for the Rock Island in 1908.[5] Three years later, the Rock Island recruited its first Mexican *traqueros*, or railroad track workers, to maintain lines in Iowa.[6] As a primary transportation and immigration conduit, the Chicago, Rock Island and Pacific Railroad Company played an instrumental role in dispersing the first Mexicans across Iowa and creating many of the state's earliest Mexican barrios from the early 1910s to the late 1930s.

This article explores how the individual interests of Mexican laborers, the corporate interests of the Chicago, Rock Island and Pacific Railroad Company, and the communal interests of Euro-Americans competed, converged, and compromised to create an early Mexican railroad barrio in Iowa. In particular, it traces the development of the first barrio in Iowa City between 1916 and 1936, examining the processes of "barrioization," or the formation of a residentially and socially segregated place in response to racial conflict and discrimination, that transformed this neighborhood.

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3. Jeffrey Marcos Garcilazo, *Traqueros: Mexican Railroad Workers in the United States, 1870 to 1930* (Denton, TX, 2012), 48; Dorothy Bertrand, "Vacation in a Box Car," *Rock Island Magazine*, December 1931, 25.

4. Garcilazo, *Traqueros*, 114.

5. Marie F. Walsh, "Adjusting Themselves to the American Way," *Rock Island Magazine*, May 1925, 5.

6. Nathaniel Otjen, "Latino Immigrant Gardeners in Iowa: Local Knowledge and the Cultivation of a Twenty-First Century Environmental Consciousness" (honor's thesis, University of Iowa, 2016), 36, accessible at Mujeres Latinas Collection, Iowa Women's Archives, University of Iowa Libraries, Iowa City.

Sharing Latina historian Lilia Fernandez's understanding of place as both "an imagined position in the local social order and a concrete, physical location," I examine how Mexican immigrant struggles over an ideological and physical place intersected with corporate railroad policies and Euro-American communal discrimination in the early twentieth century.[7] By following annual shifts in worker composition and housing, this article traces the ways individuals and their practices of placemaking create history both within and external to dominant systems of power.

This article contributes to scholarship in three ways. First, it highlights the Rock Island's recruitment and treatment of Mexican laborers.[8] Second, it closely examines the lives of section laborers. These men constructed and repaired track and maintained the right-of-way on certain sections of roadbed. Because of the dangerous and physically demanding nature of the work, track labor represented the most unfavorable job in railroad companies. Thus, section laborers composed the "invisible sector of the railroad industry." Although track workers constituted the largest portion of railroad employees in the early twentieth century, their contributions are largely ignored in the existing scholarship.[9] Finally, this article focuses on the development of a railroad barrio in the Midwest, specifically in a small community in Iowa rather than in the western and southwestern regions of the United States.[10] This article examines what I refer to as a "service

7. Lilia Fernandez, *Brown in the Windy City: Mexicans and Puerto Ricans in Postwar Chicago* (Chicago, 2012), 8. For a discussion of the term *barrioization*, see Albert Camarillo, *Chicanos in a Changing Society: From Mexican Pueblos to American Barrios in Santa Barbara and Southern California, 1848–1930* (Dallas, TX, 2005).

8. While labor historians and Latina/o studies scholars have mentioned the Rock Island in passing, most of the existing scholarship has analyzed the Santa Fe Railway. See, for example, Garcilazo, *Traqueros*; Judith Ann Fincher Laird, "Argentine, Kansas: The Evolution of a Mexican-American Community, 1905–1940" (Ph.D. diss., University of Kansas, 1975); Zaragosa Vargas, "Armies in the Fields and Factories: The Mexican Working Classes in the Midwest in the 1920s," *Mexican Studies/Estudios Mexicanos* 7 (1991), 71.

9. Garcilazo, *Traqueros*, 34, 63. I use the terms *traquero, section laborer, section worker,* and *track worker* interchangeably throughout this article. There is some treatment of these workers in Laird, "Argentine"; and Garcilazo, *Traqueros*.

10. The few scholars who have studied the emergence of Mexican barrios in the Midwest have examined larger metropolitan areas such as Kansas City, Missouri, or the Quad Cities in Iowa and Illinois. See Laird, "Argentine"; and Janet

city"—a stop along a main railway where a small number of local workers primarily engaged in track maintenance. As such, this analysis redefines the size, composition, and structure of railroad barrios typically studied.

UNLIKE the other major railroad companies that recruited Mexican laborers to maintain miles of track, the Rock Island both originated and was headquartered in the Midwest. The company emerged in Rock Island, Illinois, in 1847 and officially named itself the Chicago, Rock Island, and Pacific Railroad Company in 1860.[11] Seeking to link the Midwest to the resource-rich Southwest, the Rock Island connected to Fort Worth, Texas, in 1893, El Paso in 1902, and Dallas in 1903.[12]

That expansion provided both transportation and employment for the earliest Mexican immigrants who came to live in the midwestern United States. The first significant movement of Mexicans into the Midwest occurred from the early 1900s to the 1930s as Mexicans emigrated to escape the violence of Porfirio Díaz and the Mexican Revolution, and as thousands of Mexican men and their families traveled northward to replace workers who joined the war effort during and following World War I.[13] The Rock Island served as a conduit for those early immigrants.

Weaver, "From Barrio to '¡Boicoteo!': The Emergence of Mexican American Activism in Davenport, 1917–1970," *Annals of Iowa* 68 (2009), 217. These analyses of "hub cities," or cities that served as immigration centers tasked with disseminating immigrants to rural regions, have made important contributions to the fields of labor history and Latina/o studies, but smaller communities remain unanalyzed.

11. William E. Hayes, "Rock Island's 100 Years: An Outline of the History of the Chicago, Rock Island and Pacific Railroad Company Designed as Background Information for Speakers," 1, typescript, 1952, box 2, B. R. Dew Collection of Railroadiana (hereafter cited as BRDCR), Special Collections, University of Iowa Libraries, Iowa City; Frank P. Donovan Jr., *Iowa Railroads: The Essays of Frank P. Donovan, Jr.,* ed. H. Roger Grant (Iowa City, 2000), 174.

12. Hayes, "Rock Island's 100 Years," 7–9.

13. Rogelio Sáenz, "The Changing Demography of Latinos in the Midwest," in *Latinos in the Midwest*, ed. Rubén O. Martinez (East Lansing, MI, 2011), 35; Dionicio Nodín Valdés, *Barrios Norteños: St. Paul and Midwestern Mexican Communities in the Twentieth Century* (Austin, TX, 2000), 25; Juan R. García, *Mexicans in the Midwest, 1900–1932* (Tucson, AZ, 1996), 6-7.

The Chicago, Rock Island and Pacific Railroad Company began employing Mexicans in the Midwest during the first decade of the twentieth century. The company used a wide variety of recruitment strategies to secure those workers. With lines running to major cities in the Southwest, the railroad posted recruiters, or *enganchistas*, and hired independent agents to locate young Mexican men willing to work in the north.[14] El Paso functioned as the primary recruiting hub for the Rock Island.[15] The railroad company also used informal recruitment methods to acquire Mexican workers. For example, it circulated announcements in Spanish among its Mexican employees.[16]

Among the company's earliest recruits were the men who arrived in West Liberty, Iowa (a small town located approximately 15 miles southeast of Iowa City) in 1911.[17] Five years later, the Rock Island brought the first Mexican workers to Iowa City. By the start of the 1920s, a vibrant barrio had emerged near the Rock Island's rail yards in Davenport, Iowa.[18] This new labor force led a Rock Island locomotive engineer to declare prophetically, "The Mexican is the 'power behind the pick and the shovel' in the Southwest and West and his influence is advancing gradually toward the Mississippi country."[19]

By the start of the 1920s, Mexican workers were a familiar sight among the Rock Island's railroad crews in the Midwest. The ubiquity of these section laborers did not go unnoticed. In 1931 Dorothy Bertrand, the daughter of a railroad carpenter, summarized the standard midwestern experience of working for the Rock Island. "None of the men on our gang [in Kansas] were Mexicans," she wrote in the *Rock Island Magazine*, "but one cannot be a real 'railroader' without associating with Mexicans."[20]

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14. Garcilazo, *Traqueros*, 48.

15. U.S. Congress, *Immigration Commission, Immigrants in Industries,* Part I, *Immigrant Laborers Employed by Steam Railway Companies in the Pacific Coast and Rock Mountain States* (Washington, DC, 1910), 26.

16. For a discussion of this recruitment method, see Vargas, "Armies in the Fields," 59.

17. Otjen, "Latino Immigrant Gardeners," 36.

18. Weaver, "From Barrio to '¡Boicoteo!' " 217.

19. "Peculiarities of Mexican Labor," *Railway Age Gazette*, September 1912, 529.

20. Bertrand, "Vacation in a Box Car," 25–26.

Indeed, it became standard for Mexican immigrants to work alongside Euro-American railroaders (typically Eastern European immigrants) in the Rock Island's midwestern track crews.

THE MEXICAN BARRIO established in Iowa City demonstrates how the ethnic composition of railroad section laborers shifted during the early twentieth century in a small Iowa town. With a population of approximately 11,000 in 1920, Iowa City functioned as a service city for the Chicago, Rock Island and Pacific Railroad Company. During the first half of the twentieth century the Rock Island owned and operated a freight depot, a stockyard, and a passenger depot, all within a six-block area immediately north and south of the main railroad tracks that skirted the southern perimeter of town. The Mexican barrio arose in the area where Page Street and South Dodge Street meet (now Oak Grove Park). By 1936, it grew to encompass several city blocks.

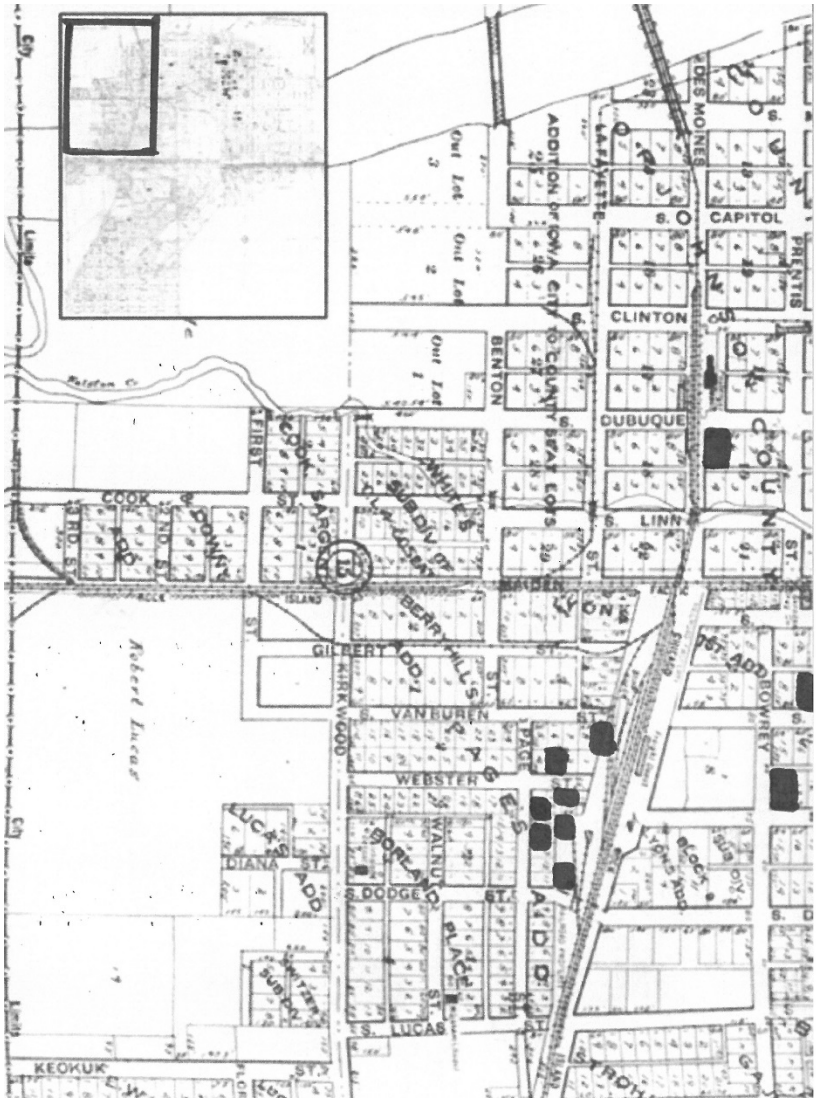
The Mexican immigrants who helped create the barrio worked as section laborers for the Rock Island and lived just several hundred feet from the main tracks. Discriminatory practices prevented them from reaching higher positions within the railroad hierarchy; instead, they worked strictly to maintain the right-of-way along several miles of track that extended east and west out of town.[21]

Before the first Mexicans arrived in Iowa City to work for the Rock Island, the railroad had relied on first- and second-generation Eastern Europeans to maintain the tracks. Those track workers were primarily Czechoslovakian, Austrian, or German, although a first-generation Irishman and several Euro-Americans also worked as section laborers during that time. This type of mixed European nationality workforce had existed in Iowa City since the first train arrived in 1856 and since the Rock Island officially took command of the tracks, stations, and employees in 1866.

A man by the name of Rafael Villafán holds the distinction of being the first Mexican section laborer, and perhaps the first Mexican individual, to live in Iowa City. As a young man in his mid-twenties, Villafán moved from Paracho, Michoacán, to Iowa

21. For the racist employment practices among railroad companies, see Valdés, *Barrios Norteños*, 81.

MAP



Map depicting the locations of boxcars, shanties, and residential homes inhabited by Mexican track workers, 1916–1936 (see darkened rectangles). The base map is derived from Atlas of Johnson County Iowa *(Iowa City, 1917).*

City in 1916 to work for the Rock Island. Once in Iowa City, he rented an apartment just one block north of the freight depot. Villafán worked for the Rock Island until 1918, when he returned to Michoacán to retrieve several family members. On February 17, 1919, he reentered the United States with his family at Laredo, Texas. On the border crossing form Villafán indicated that he was moving directly back to Iowa City, probably to begin track work in the early spring. Villafán stayed in Iowa City through 1919, but he disappeared from all state and federal records after that.[22]

Just one year after Villafán's initial visit, in the spring of 1917, the Rock Island brought at least nine Mexican section laborers to Iowa City to begin maintenance work in *enganches*, or extra gangs. Usually such workers were *solteros*—young bachelors—who signed a contract to work through the spring and summer in exchange for an hourly wage and a return train ticket to Mexico. Once their work contract expired, they rode the Rock Island south to the border and then returned to their homes in Mexico, where they usually stayed with family through the winter. In the early spring they crossed the border into El Paso or Laredo to visit a recruiter's office if they wanted to continue track work.[23]

The majority of the *traqueros* who emigrated to Iowa City were from the Central Plateau region of Mexico.[24] Most were from three states: Guanajuato, Jalisco, and Michoacán. This migration pattern occurred for two reasons: first, those were the most densely populated states in Mexico at that time, and second, the major railways connecting Mexico to the United States ran through the Central Plateau region.[25]

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22. U.S. Selective Service System, "World War I Selective Service System Draft Registration Cards, 1917–1918," National Archives and Records Administration, microfilm publication M1509 roll IA53, Rafael Villafán; NARA, "Manifests of Statistical," Rafael Villafán.

23. There is also evidence that individuals would often move immediately from one short-term contract to another farther down the line. Single Mexican men frequently traversed the Rock Island's line across Iowa to work consecutively in places such as Bettendorf, Davenport, West Liberty, Iowa City, and Des Moines.

24. In fact, the majority of Mexican immigrants who moved to the Midwest in the early twentieth century were from this geographic region. Valdés, *Barrios Norteños*, 25–26.

25. Laird, "Argentine," 80.

These early recruits who worked as extra gang laborers in 1917 were tasked with constructing new track and maintaining the right-of-way on existing sections of road in Iowa City. With the Rock Island's preference for new workers, they were probably all "greenhorns," or inexperienced railroaders. Their daily tasks included replacing work ties and rails, repairing roadbeds, weeding and trimming plant growth, repairing switches, and tightening bolts. They also oiled joints, fixed fences, cut and burned weeds, and cleared drainage ditches.[26] In 1917 these temporary *traqueros* worked alongside European immigrants and Euro-Americans who were employed for the duration of the year.[27] The Mexican men lived together near the freight depot in a camp that was probably composed of one or two bunk cars (boxcars fitted with several sleeping bunks).[28]

Several incidents during 1917 reveal the resistance and hostility that Euro-Americans directed toward these newcomers. At the start of the annual work season in March 1917 the *Iowa City Daily Citizen* published its first account of an encounter with Mexican railroaders: "Two Mexicans, Francisco Aabana [*sic*] and Maximino Rodriguez, were arrested at the stockyards of the Rock Island railroad today by Chief of Police Miller, for fighting." Those names do not appear in federal, state, or local census records, so they were probably single-season workers employed by the Rock Island.[29]

About two weeks later, the *Daily Citizen* ran another article about the young barrio. Late on a Saturday night in early April, two Mexican section laborers—"Jesris Rodsizues and Joseph Bielma [*sic*]"—were robbed by two men on the Rock Island tracks

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26. Garcilazo, *Traqueros*, 37, 170; E. W. Arnold, "How a Section Foreman Plans His Work," *Rock Island Magazine*, November 1924, 21; Marshall M. Kirkman, *Building and Repairing Railways: Supplement to the Science of Railways* (New York, 1901), 324.

27. No city directory was compiled for Iowa City in 1917, but the 1918 directory notes that two Euro-American men—Charles Klomford and William G. Swatchsue—were section laborers for the Rock Island. Those men probably worked year-round, and they may have also been employed in 1917. *Smith's Directory of Iowa City and Johnson County, Iowa for 1918,* vol. 6 (Dorchester, MA, 1918).

28. The 1918 city directory noted a section foreman living in a bunk car by the railroad tracks. A similar bunk car likely housed the nine Mexican laborers who came to work on the tracks in 1917. See *Smith's Directory for 1918*.

29. *Iowa City Daily Citizen,* 3/21/1917.

near the South Dodge Street viaduct. The robbers brutally beat the Mexican men and secured $65 in cash along with an Elgin gold watch that belonged to "Rodsizues." Jesús Rodríguez, one of the men robbed during the scuffle, actually spent several years working for the Rock Island in Iowa. He was born in the mid-1880s in Mexico and emigrated to the United States in 1913. He may have worked intermittently for the Rock Island before arriving in Iowa City in 1917.[30]

Three months later several Mexican *traqueros* were arrested for gambling in the railroad yards. In July 1917 the *Daily Citizen* reported that five men were engaged in a crap game and were subsequently arrested; however, the reporter only listed the names of four individuals: "Louis Hermandes, Salvador Vasquey, Romand Gollardo and Jose Villura [*sic*]." Of these men, only "Salvador Vasquey" spent additional time in the United States. His real name was Salvador Vázquez, and he grew up in the small town of Santa María del Valle in Jalisco, Mexico. He entered the United States through El Paso in 1914 at the age of 18. Like Rodríguez, he was probably directly recruited by the Rock Island.[31]

Taken together, these early news stories reveal the high turnover among extra gang laborers. Of the nine known Mexican men who worked for the Rock Island in Iowa City in 1917, only two stayed in the United States after their contracts expired. The rest probably gave up section work and returned to Mexico because of the difficult and unfavorable work conditions. In addition, and perhaps most obviously, the *Daily Citizen* both discriminated against and exposed the discrimination affecting these individuals. The misspelling of names operated as a form of language violence enacted against the Mexican newcomers. Euro-Americans generally considered early Mexican barrios to be a "health hazard and a nuisance," and the *Daily Citizen* reiterated such opinions.[32]

30. *Iowa City Daily Citizen,* 4/2/1917; U.S. Bureau of the Census, Fifteenth Census of the United States: 1930, Des Moines, Polk, Iowa, Family History Library (hereafter cited as FHL) microfilm publication 2340410 roll 675, 11B.

31. *Iowa City Daily Citizen,* 7/2/1917; Salvador Vázquez, Sr. "U.S., Find a Grave Index, 1600s–Current." *Find a Grave,* findagrave.com; NARA, "Manifests of Statistical and Some Nonstatistical Alien Arrivals at El Paso, Texas, 1905–1927," Records of the Immigration and Naturalization Service, 1787–2004, Record Group 85, microfilm roll 124, Salvador Vázquez.

32. Garcilazo, *Traqueros*, 129.

Reporting on fights, gambling, robberies, and arrests, it portrayed the barrio as a place pervaded by violence and danger.[33]

In many ways 1917 was a watershed year for the Chicago, Rock Island and Pacific Railroad Company. The change was reflected in the sudden recruitment of the nine Mexican laborers in Iowa City. Several factors caused this increase of *traqueros* in 1917. First, after the United States entered World War I in 1917, the nation's railroad tracks quickly became stressed with extra wartime shipments. More trains carrying larger loads required more track upkeep. Unable to locate enough local men to fill track work positions, the Rock Island turned to Mexican labor. Second, the federal government took command of the railways in 1917 and quickly established wage rates, which increased section laborers' pay. The better pay made track work more attractive and subsequently expanded the railroad workforce. Finally, the 1917 Immigration Act curtailed European immigration, thus reducing the number of workers available for hire on the railroads. Mexicans, however, were still allowed to migrate to the United States, so railroads such as the Rock Island filled new positions with Mexicans instead of Europeans.[34] These three changes ensured that *traqueros* would be a constant presence in Iowa City for the next five decades.

ANTICIPATING the future contributions of Mexican laborers to the Iowa City lines, the Rock Island ordered the construction of three single-room homes, or wooden "shanties," in 1919. For nearly two decades those shanties housed only Mexican section laborers.[35] They stood within the city block bordered by Webster and South Dodge streets on the west and east and the railroad tracks and Page Street on the north and south (see map). The buildings—716, 718, and 720 Page Street—were owned and managed by the Rock Island, and they were constructed on railroad property less than a block from the freight depot and main tracks

33. For an account of commonplace gambling and fighting in many barrios, see ibid., 80–81.

34. Ibid., 54, 168; Laird, "Argentine," 136.

35. There is one exception: in 1928, a Euro-American section laborer named William Walker temporarily lived in one of the shanties. See *Smith's Directory of Iowa City and Johnson County, Iowa for 1928,* vol. 11 (Dorchester, MA, 1928).

where the *traqueros* worked. Indeed, "Rule 80" for the Maintenance and Construction Department specifically stated, "Section men will be expected to board at section houses, where they are provided for that purpose. Where section houses are not provided, or where . . . the men are excused from boarding at same, the section foreman must . . . have no difficulty in reaching them if . . . they are wanted . . . outside of regular working hours."[36] Therefore, according to company policy, section laborers were required to live within or near housing provided by the Rock Island. In short, company policy dictated the location and early form of this barrio.

Corporate policies also governed the appearance and use of the shanties. In an attempt to keep costs low, the Rock Island likely instructed Mexican laborers in Iowa City to construct these buildings from railroad scrap material such as discarded sheet metal, tin, and boards.[37] Described by Iowa City historian Irving Weber as "small garage-like structures," the buildings were approximately 14′ x 20′; they lacked electricity and running water; and they contained a kerosene lamp for light and a small stove for heat. A woman who grew up less than a block away from the barrio recalled that vertical-running slat wood boards composed the external walls. Many people in Iowa City found the shanties aesthetically unappealing; in fact, several federal census recorders refused to assign home numbers to the buildings, instead noting the addresses as "CRI and P R.R. and Page Street." The shanties were probably located several blocks east of the passenger train depot to prevent travelers from viewing them.[38]

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36. "Chicago, Rock Island & Pacific Railway Company [CRIPRC] Rules and Regulations: Maintenance and Construction Department," 33, folder "Rock Island Rules and Regulations for the Maintenance of Way Structures 3 (1901, 1940, 1951)," box 2, BRDCR.

37. Garcilazo, *Traqueros*, 76. The Santa Fe, in particular, encouraged workers to construct dwellings from scrap material. Because the Rock Island closely imitated the Santa Fe's housing policies, it is likely the Iowa City shanties were built from railroad scrap. See L. C. Lawton, "Mexican Laborers' Houses on the Santa Fe," *Railway Age Gazette*, August 1911, 344.

38. Irving Weber, "Mexican Community Began Here over 50 Years Ago," *Iowa City Press-Citizen,* 4/30/1983; Vincent Cano, interview with author, 4/4/2016; Mary Buchanan, interview with author, 6/26/2016; U.S. Bureau of the Census, Fifteenth Census of the United States: 1930, Iowa City, Johnson, Iowa, FHL microfilm publication 2340396 roll 661, 30B.

These buildings soon formed the nucleus of the barrio. In 1919 a man named "Antonio Dioh [*sic*]" lived in the 716 Page Street shanty; Trinidad Alvarado lived at 718 Page Street; and Rafael Villafán lived at 720 Page Street. Of these single men, we have already met Villafán, "Dioh" cannot be located in state or federal records, and Alvarado worked temporarily for the Rock Island in Iowa until 1921.[39] As the physical center of the barrio, the shanties represented a permanent form of housing for the Mexican workers. They could not be destroyed easily, and their structural resilience implied that Mexican section laborers would become a permanent fixture of the railroad community. Indeed, when the *Daily Citizen* reported in 1919 that a boxcar home of Mexican track workers located less than a block away had caught fire, the headline accompanying the article proclaimed: "FIRE IN MEXICAN QUARTER SATURDAY."[40] Labeling the neighborhood along the tracks a "Mexican Quarter" suggests that by 1919 this area of Iowa City was already well known and publicly recognized as the Mexican barrio.

With the recognition of the barrio as a uniquely Mexican space came a series of disturbing encounters between *traqueros* and the gatekeepers of Iowa City's public identity. One event in 1920 displays the tensions that permeated and often defined the relationships among the press, police, Euro-American residents, and the Mexican men in the barrio. Quoted in its entirety, this December 1920 news article reads:

> A Mexican, working on the Rock Island Railway company's sections, near the Wright street station, and bunking in a boxcar down that way, may have been robbed of a couple of hundred dollars, the other night, while under the influence of liquor.
>
> He visited a certain amusement place, it is said, and was 'touched' while incapacitated to say 'no' in Mexican, or to translate his objections into 'Inglis' [*sic*].
>
> The swarthy son of the Montezumas, it is reported, then went back to his boxcar palace, and induced a gang of his brother-countrymen to accompany him up town, anticipating a 'roughhouse' attack

39. *Smith's Directory of Iowa City and Johnson County, Iowa for 1919–20,* vol. 7 (Dorchester, MA, 1919), 323. In 1921 the Des Moines city directory listed Alvarado as a laborer for the Rock Island. See *Polk's Des Moines City and Valley Junction Directory, 1921* (Des Moines, 1921).

40. *Iowa City Daily Citizen*, 1/13/1919.

> on the store, in order to wreak havoc, vengeance, or something else, and to recover the money.
>
> Officers, it is said, intervened, and saved the trouble, recovering the cash, perhaps, for the complaining Josef Pedro Sancho Panzo Rodriguez [*sic*].
>
> At the police station, however, the officers deny knowledge of this thrilling tale, evidence concerning which is not at hand, in the shape of the Mexican affidavit.
>
> It is believed, that if anything happened in the way of a hold up, the recovery of the money by the dark-skinned foreigner, and possibly a bit of golden ointment for his bleeding heart, washed away the stain of his indignation, and paved the way to forgiveness and 'quashing' the case.[41]

Again, the *Daily Citizen* enacted language violence by assuming that the man spoke "Mexican" and by pointing out his struggle to speak "Inglis." This reveals both the English-speaking reporter's ignorance of Spanish and the racial and linguistic hegemonic position held over Mexican immigrants. Furthermore, the use of "Sancho Panza"—the famed protagonist of Miguel de Cervantes's *Don Quixote*—in the individual's name cruelly mocks the track worker, associating him with the Spanish name most recognizable to Euro-Americans, a moniker that connotes blind obedience and peasant illiteracy. Indeed, the article teems with derisive language: "complaining Josef" is the "swarthy son of the Montezumas" who lives in a "boxcar palace." He is racialized as a "dark-skinned foreigner" whose identity as an immigrant is wedded to his appearance.[42]

The article also comments on the geographic and social positioning of neighborhoods in Iowa City at that time. The "up town" area of Iowa City where this man reportedly was drinking was associated with amusement and fun. In comparison, the man's "boxcar palace" was geographically and imaginatively positioned opposite the "up town" part of Iowa City. In addition, the article portrays the Mexican men living in the barrio as violent mobsters

41. *Iowa City Daily Citizen,* 12/9/1920. See also "Rodriguez Sancho Panza Pedro Pesetas … ," *Iowa City Daily Citizen,* 7/20/1920.

42. For a detailed discussion of how Mexicans were racialized in Iowa during the first decades of the twentieth century, see Omar Valerio-Jiménez, "Racializing Mexican Immigrants in Iowa's Early Mexican Communities," *Annals of Iowa* 75 (2016), 1–46.

and pits them against the civilized and innocent uptown Iowa Citians. As a group, the Mexican laborers are criminalized and portrayed as dangerous outsiders who came to "wreak havoc, vengeance, or something else" on the good people of Iowa City.

This view starkly differs from the Rock Island's view of Mexican immigrants as docile and obedient. These divergent perspectives reflect the conflicting interests of the Rock Island and the *Daily Citizen*. While the railroad viewed these Mexican laborers as a useful and practical labor source, the local newspaper and Euro-American residents viewed them as a threat to white hegemony. As a medium that crafts an "imagined community" and acts as a gatekeeper of local identity, the *Daily Citizen* did not see these Mexican *traqueros* as contributors to Iowa City.[43]

THE RAILROAD WORKFORCE in Iowa City underwent a major transformation during the 1920s, when the Rock Island introduced several Mexican families to the barrio. Their individual stories about dislocation and settlement reveal how Rock Island policies and recruitment practices shaped the development of this neighborhood.

The Gutiérrezes hold the distinction of being the first Mexican family to settle in Iowa City. They arrived in 1921 and moved into the shanty at 720 Page Street, where they would live for a decade-and-a-half with their five children. "John" and Aurelia Gutiérrez both migrated from the state of Guanajuato in 1917. John worked for a railroad company (probably the Rock Island) in Laredo before coming to the Midwest. In 1918 the Gutiérrezes moved to Des Moines to be near Aurelia's brothers. John briefly worked for the Rock Island in Des Moines and then transferred to Silvis, Illinois, where he worked for three years before moving to Iowa City.[44]

In 1925 Lawrence and Thelma Alcalá moved to Iowa City with their two children and Lawrence's brother Charlie. They lived in the shanty at 716 Page Street, where they raised five children.

43. Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origins and Spread of Nationalism* (London, 1991).

44. Weber, "Mexican Community"; NARA, "World War I Selective Service Draft Registration Cards, 1917–1918," microfilm publication M1509 roll IA52, John Gomez Gutiérrez.

Born in Mexico City in 1890, Lawrence was among the first 150 Mexican men recruited by the Bettendorf Car Company to work in the company's foundry in Bettendorf, Iowa, in 1918. Thelma was born in New Boston, Illinois—a small town located on the Mississippi River—and she was Euro-American. In the mid-1920s, the Rock Island recruited Lawrence to work on a section gang in Iowa City.[45]

Another family joined the barrio three years later. Originally from Rancho Botija, Guanajuato, Magdaleno (Leno) and María Cano arrived in Iowa City with their young family in 1928. The Canos entered the United States through Laredo in 1927 and traveled north to Crookston, Minnesota, where Leno worked in the sugar beet fields. When the beet season concluded, Leno, María, and their three young daughters sought work in Chicago. While awaiting a train in West Liberty, Leno befriended Selso and Guadalupe Ponce—the first Mexicans to settle in that town. Selso, who worked as a section laborer for the Rock Island, encouraged Leno to pursue that work. With Selso's help, Leno secured employment three months later on the Rock Island line in Keokuk. In March 1928 a family friend located a job in Iowa City, so the Canos relocated, settling into an open boxcar along the railroad tracks near the South Dodge Street viaduct. Within a year, the Great Depression struck and the *traqueros* in the barrio struggled to make ends meet. In a tangible show of support, several Mexican railroaders gave up a day of work every week to save Leno's job and enable his family to survive the Depression. That solution to both the failed economy and the Rock Island's inability to generate new jobs reveals the collective autonomy of these immigrants.[46]

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45. Iowa, State Census Collection, 1836–1925, Ancestry.com, Lawrence Alcalá; U.S. Bureau of the Census, Sixteenth Census of the United States: 1940, Iowa City, Johnson, Iowa, NARA microfilm publication T627 roll 1171, 10A; Lawrence Alcalá, "U.S., Find a Grave Index, 1600s-Current," findagrave.com; NARA, "World War I Selective Service Draft Registration Cards, 1917–1918," microfilm publication M1509 roll IA52, Lawrence Alcalá; Certificate of Marriage, Lawrence Alcalá to Thelma Robes, 5/4/1928, Johnson County, Iowa, State Historical Society of Iowa, Des Moines.

46. NARA, "Nonstatistical Manifests and Statistical Index Cards of Aliens Arriving at Laredo, Texas, May 1903–November 1929," Records of the Immigration and Naturalization Service, 1787–2004, Record Group 85, microfilm roll no. 009, Magdaleno Cano; Otjen, "Latino Immigrant Gardeners," 32–34; Weber, "Mexican Community"; Cano interview. Laird, "Argentine," 130, describes similar actions

The final newcomers, the Ramírez and Sánchez families, moved to Iowa City in either 1929 or 1930.[47] Louis and Isabel Ramírez, along with their four children, moved into the vacant shanty at 718 Page Street. Louis was born in the late 1880s in Mexico and emigrated to the United States with his wife and first-born daughters in 1918.[48] José and "Angeleta" Sánchez initially moved into a boxcar in Iowa City, but within a few months they settled into a rented home two blocks north of the freight depot. José was born in Mexico in 1895 and emigrated to the United States in 1910. Eight years later he lived in Des Moines and worked for the Chicago, Rock Island and Pacific Railroad Company as a section laborer. By 1930, José lived and worked in Iowa City.[49]

At some point in 1931 or 1932, the Rock Island disrupted these settled families, removing all of the boxcars because it deemed it unsafe for families with young children to live beside oncoming trains.[50] The Canos abandoned their boxcar home and moved into a temporary structure at 9 Page Street. Charles Alcalá, Lawrence's son, moved into a second temporary building at 15 Page Street—beside the Canos. Charles and the Cano family lived in those structures for approximately one year. In 1933 the Ramírezes moved out of the shanty at 718 Page Street and the Canos moved in behind them.[51] Charles either relocated to another

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taken during the 1921 recession when Mexican section workers in Argentine, Kansas, divided the available work among one another to weather the economic downturn.

47. Both families are recorded in federal census records and in the city directory for 1930; however, they may have moved to Iowa City a year earlier. (Iowa City did not publish a city directory for 1929.)

48. U.S. Bureau of the Census, Fifteenth Census of the United States: 1930, Iowa City, Johnson, Iowa, FHL microfilm publication 2340396 roll 661, 30B.

49. Ibid., 2A; *Smith's Directory of Iowa City and Johnson County, Iowa for 1930,* vol. 12 (Dorchester, MA, 1930); NARA, "World War I Selective Service Draft Registration Cards, 1917–1918," microfilm publication M1509 roll IA52, Joseph Sánchez; "Draft Registration Cards for Fourth Registration for Iowa, 04/27/1942–04/27/1942," NAI no. 598910, Record Group 147, Joe H. Sánchez, National Archives at St. Louis.

50. Weber, "Mexican Community." See also *Polk's Iowa City (Iowa) Directory, 1932, Including Johnson County* (Des Moines, 1932).

51. *Polk's Iowa City (Iowa) Directory, 1932*; Cano interview; *Polk's Iowa City (Iowa) Directory, 1934, Including Johnson County* (Des Moines, 1934).

home or left Iowa City entirely. These five "core" families defined the barrio during the 1920s and '30s, fundamentally altering the composition and dynamics of the neighborhood.

The steady arrival of Mexican families throughout the 1920s signaled a shift in the Rock Island's recruitment practices. During the 1910s, '20s, and '30s, railroad companies actively encouraged *traqueros* to bring their families with them to live rent-free on company property. Companies recruited Mexican families to reduce the regular turnover among *solteros* that cost roads significant money and time. They aimed to "create a stable and permanent work force," and families promoted stability and continuity. Many Mexican workers viewed the new recruitment policy as a boon: "Traqueros considered jobs that required year-round service in the yards to be choice jobs because they could find housing in the nearby barrio and return home on a daily basis."[52]

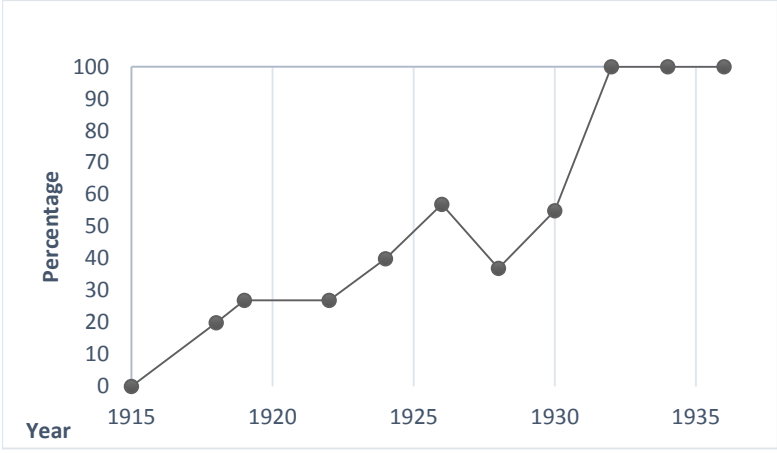
The new policy had a far-reaching effect on the workforce in Iowa City. As Mexican families moved into the barrio, they replaced the *solteros* and the Euro-American workers, reducing the annual number of extra gangs required to maintain the tracks. By 1932, Juan Gutiérrez, Lawrence Alcalá, Leno Cano, Louis Ramírez, and José Sánchez—the husbands from each of the five families—composed the entirety of full-time section laborers employed by the Rock Island in Iowa City. As these individuals replaced much of the Rock Island's transient workforce, they also helped establish a core identity for the barrio. Without annual turnover, the barrio could finally sustain itself as a viable neighborhood.

The recruitment of families had an additional effect on the process of barrioization in rural midwestern communities that scholars often overlook. In short, the Rock Island's housing and recruitment practices promoted docility among the workforce. As historian Omar Valerio-Jiménez argues, Mexican *traqueros* had to maintain good relationships with their employers when they lived on company property.[53] If workers did not cultivate positive relationships with their superiors, they risked losing their "free" housing. Marie F. Walsh, the author of a 1925 article in the *Rock Island Magazine* that describes the company's attempts to

52. Garcilazo, *Traqueros*, 116, 75.

53. Valerio-Jiménez, "Racializing Mexican Immigrants," 24.

PERCENTAGE OF MEXICANS IN TRACK WORK GANGS, IOWA CITY, 1915–1936



Note: Data collected from Iowa City directories. The data for 1928 is an anomaly. City directory recorders counted 16 section laborers in 1928; the average was 6. The count may have occurred in the early spring when extra gangs were employed on the tracks.

transform the Mexican colony in Silvis into a "livable place," captures this passive form of control. "The Mexicans at this point in return for the co-operation of the railroad, are expressing their gratitude [for 'free' housing] by a strict obedience to the law." This constant, oppressive control of the Mexican workforce promoted a culture of servitude in the Iowa City barrio, a state of domestic subjugation intended to bring Mexican laborers under the railroad's command. In fact, in places such as Silvis, the Rock Island performed periodic inspections of the shanties to ensure that Mexican workers did not vandalize their homes.[54] Such inspections may have also been performed in Iowa City throughout the 1920s. The constant regulation of housing stripped away illusions of privacy and corporatized the household, thereby forcing Mexican laborers and their families to adopt a culture of servitude. Securing housing and raising families were activities negotiated between Mexican residents and railroad companies.

54. Walsh, "Adjusting to the American Way," 5–6.

FROM 1932 TO 1936 the barrio in Iowa City flourished. Recollections from Leno and María Cano's children underline the individual and communal agency practiced by these Mexican residents in their daily lives in the face of corporate control. By 1932, the stockyards had moved one block east from 810 to 824 Page Street.[55] That relocation placed the stockyards on the perimeter of the barrio and subsequently improved the health of the neighborhood's residents. At that time the section gangs were composed exclusively of Mexican men from the five families, and each family lived within a block of each other.[56] That close housing arrangement facilitated regular gatherings. For example, in 1933, the Canos sought help from their neighbors to construct an addition onto their shanty because they were tired of the difficulties associated with daily life in their inefficient, company-sanctioned home. Barrio residents built a kitchen to give the family enough space to prepare meals. Elena Cano, Leno and María's daughter, recounted, "Once the word spread of their project, nearby Mexican neighbors showed up with hammers and nails and began to nail boards together to form their new kitchen."[57] The very act of constructing an addition onto their inadequate home displayed individual agency and choice. That deliberate action by the barrio's residents demonstrates that Mexican workers and their families were far from passive victims of the Rock Island.

Throughout the early and mid-1930s, physical labor characterized much of the daily lives of the Canos and other Mexican families living in the barrio. Vincent remembers his mother being "very talented in sewing and knitting. . . . [She] would make and patch all our clothes." María also spent several hours each week

55. *Citizen's Ptg. and W. H. Hoffman's City Directory of Iowa City, Iowa 1914* (Quincy, IL, 1914); *Polk's Iowa City Directory, 1932*. Throughout the 1930s, the Farmers Livestock Marketing Association and the Armour & Co. Hog Buyers occupied 822 and 824 Page Street, respectively. Sanborn Map Company, "Sheet 15: Iowa City, Iowa," *Insurance Maps of Iowa City, Iowa, Johnson County* (New York, 1933); *Polk's Iowa City Directory, 1934*.

56. *Polk's Iowa City Directory, 1934 County*; *Economy Advertising Co's Iowa City (Johnson County, IA) Directory, 1936, Including Johnson County* (Des Moines, 1936).

57. Elena Cano, quoted in Mona Morley, "The Journey That Built New Generations: 85 Years in the United States of America 1927–2012—In Memory of Magdaleno and María Rodríguez Cano," typescript, 2013, privately held by the Cano family.

washing laundry by hand in a tub set up in their yard.[58] By performing such domestic tasks, women "represented an informal and unpaid labor force."[59] Omar Valerio-Jiménez adds that Mexican women, as wives and daughters, "participated in a gendered division of domestic labor," doing work that was "essential for Mexican communities to flourish."[60]

Leno was in charge of bringing water home every day from the stockyards. Elena recalled that during the early 1930s, "Dad had to carry two buckets of fresh water daily from three blocks away from the stockyards' faucets by attaching each one to the end of a large pole that he balanced on the back of his shoulders. This water would have to last . . . for the entire day as it was used not only for laundering but for bathing, drinking and cooking. If more was needed, he would make another trip in the afternoon when he returned from work." Sharing a communal faucet was common in railroad barrios at that time. In addition to carrying water, Leno also helped fuel the tall cast-iron woodstove that kept the family warm during the winter. He collected used railroad ties and cut them into pieces that were then burned to heat their home. According to the official Rock Island rules and regulations, workers had to get permission from the roadmaster to use old ties. Therefore, Leno and his coworkers must have established a positive relationship with the roadmaster in Iowa City. Also, during the 1940s the Cano children would walk along the railroad tracks, pulling a wagon loaded with buckets. As they walked along, they filled the buckets with coal that had spilled from the trains, which they used for heating and to fuel the cook stove. The Cano family's resourcefulness helped to mitigate their poverty.[61]

For food, Mexican families raised small animals and grew their own vegetables and fruits in gardens behind their homes.[62]

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58. Cano interview.

59. Garcilazo, *Traqueros*, 118.

60. Valerio-Jiménez, "Racializing Mexican Immigrants," 19.

61. Elena Cano, quoted in Morley, "The Journey"; "CRIPRC Rules and Regulations: Maintenance and Construction Department," 30; Cano interview. See also Garcilazo, *Traqueros*, 44.

62. Garcilazo, *Traqueros*, 127–28; Laird, "Argentine," 96, 167–68; and Valerio-Jiménez, "Racializing Mexican Immigrants," 18, all mention the ubiquity of gardens among Mexican immigrants in the early twentieth century. For a more detailed analysis of Mexican gardens in Iowa, see Otjen, "Latino Immigrant Gardeners."

Leno Cano cultivates his garden at 1300 South Linn Street in 1939. Today this location is just south of Gilbert Street and Second Street. The fairgrounds were located on the other side of the secondary tracks seen in the background of this photograph. Leno's son Vincent still has his father's wheel hoe. Photo courtesy Vincent Cano.

The Canos, for example, planted a large garden to help reduce the cost of food. They grew sweet corn, onions, squash, potatoes, tomatoes, and *verdolagas* (purslane). They also raised chickens and pigs in their backyard.[63] Other Mexican families raised goats; José Sánchez took care of two goats in 1941, for example.[64]

Mexican families also obtained food at Means Grocery, a small grocery store located at 219 South Dubuque Street. The store had a decades-long relationship with railroaders. In the 1920s *traqueros* "would come to the store, order their needs, and have them delivered to their box car homes." During the 1920s and '30s Mexican section laborers traded with the storeowners and opened charge accounts. According to Irving Weber, the section laborers "received their pay every two weeks and as soon as it arrived, they would come to the store and pay their bill."[65] This system of

63. Cano interview.

64. *Iowa City Press-Citizen*, 9/1/1941.

65. Weber, "Mexican Community"; Cano interview.

borrowing and repaying indicates that while *traqueros* had little disposable income, they found ways to negotiate their poverty. Unlike railroad barrios in hub cities, the Iowa City barrio lacked Mexican-run stores and shops, probably because, with such a small population, Mexicans in Iowa City were unable to develop the clientele necessary to support formal businesses.

While carrying water, cutting wood, and procuring food were three primary responsibilities associated with daily life in the barrio, Leno spent most of his time during the week working for the Rock Island. Vincent, who worked as a section laborer during the summer, distinctly remembers his father's job. "It was during my first time on the railroad gang did I get knowledge of how hard Dad worked to support us," he recalled. He outlined the *traqueros*' daily work schedule.

> There was a geographic territory of track for which each section gang was responsible. During the summer, a gang of about nine men including boys would load up on a flatbed cart called a 'put-put' by eight o'clock with a lunch pail and a large can of ice water.
>
> The foreman knew ahead of time what tracks needed maintenance. If you put your face down on a track and looked down at it, you could see where the tracks had become crooked from the ground shifting—a defective railroad tie or from a defective track. Ideally, you want the tracks to be as parallel to each other and level as possible.
>
> Where the foreman marked a spot, the worker would go to that spot, sit a jack under it, and jack it up while another worker would machine tap small stones [also known as 'riff-raff'] under the railroad tie supporting that track. This was part of my job too. This process could go on for miles. If the foreman marked a railroad tie that was spent, the spikes would have to be pulled from the railroad tie, [the tie] slid out, and a new one slid in. The railroad ties could weigh as much as 90 pounds.
>
> At this point, the more experienced workers, like Dad, would pound the spikes into the tie with a sledgehammer with rhythm and accuracy you would not believe. There were two workers on each side of the tie so you had to be in sync with each other lest lose a finger or get a broken hand or forearm. In some cases a complete section of a rail needed to be replaced and once again only the veterans could do that.[66]

66. Cano interview.

The work was grueling, especially during the summer and winter. "During the winter," Vincent recounted, "Dad would get calls [at] all hours of the night to report to the depot to remove the snow and ice from the tracks for trains scheduled to come in." Leno's hard work, dependability, and skill made him a valuable employee for the Rock Island. According to Vincent, "Dad was very respected by all of the workers."[67]

The *traqueros* on the Iowa City lines worked Monday through Friday, every week of the year, averaging just over 40 hours per week.[68] They received modest salaries in return for their work; in 1928, for example, the Rock Island paid Leno $35 every two weeks, or $840 annually.[69]

The barrio dissolved in 1936 when the Rock Island compelled the Alcalás, Canos, and Gutiérrezes to relocate. Aiming to rid the area of visible signs of poverty, the railroad demolished the three wooden shanties. According to Vincent, "The railroad . . . clear[ed] out the living quarter . . . due to eminent domain and . . . the complaints of the Iowa City citizens."[70] Lacking other options, the families were obliged to rent houses nearby. Through careful budgeting, the Gutiérrez family was able to purchase a home on the northwest corner of Kirkwood Avenue and Maiden Lane.[71] The Alcalá family moved into a house located at 309 Maiden Lane, which they rented.[72] The Canos, by then a family of nine, moved just a few blocks away to the 600 block of Dubuque Street, where they shared a home with the Ramírezes, by then a family of six, for half a year.[73] Leno searched for places to rent immediately following the move, but Iowa City homeowners

67. Ibid.

68. In 1940, for example, Lawrence Alcalá reported working an average of 48 hours per week for 52 weeks. U.S. Bureau of the Census, Sixteenth Census of the United States: 1940, 10A.

69. Vincent P. Cano, "Leno and María: A Success Story," typescript, 1985, 44, Mujeres Latinas Collection, Iowa Women's Archives, University of Iowa Libraries, Iowa City. In today's currency, Leno's annual income amounts to about $12,033. See www.usinflationcalculator.com.

70. Cano interview.

71. Ibid.; Weber, "Mexican Community."

72. U.S. Bureau of the Census, Sixteenth Census of the United States: 1940, 10A; Cano interview.

73. Cano interview.

refused to rent to him. As Elena recalled, "He faced closed doors . . . due to his race and the fact of having seven children. The owners were not confident that he'd pay the rent and they feared the wear and tear that seven children might have." Local Euro-American residents discriminated against Leno by racializing him, questioning his class position, and casting doubt on the behavior of his children. Finally, Charlie Miller, one of Leno's coworkers, convinced a man named Harry Abbott to rent one of his properties on Walnut Street to the Canos. Abbott agreed to rent the property on the condition that he could enter the house at any time to check on its wear.[74] Perhaps accustomed to the Rock Island's inspections and culture of servitude, the Canos accepted the terms.

The 1936 moves destroyed the barrio, pushing the Canos, Gutiérrezes, and Alcalás into the Euro-American working-class neighborhood that bordered the tracks on the southern part of town. While a loosely defined Mexican community still existed in the immediate area south of the freight depot, families were no longer next-door neighbors to one another.

SEVERAL INTERSECTING FORCES and interests contributed to the processes of barrioization in Iowa City and in smaller towns across Iowa and the Midwest during the first decades of the twentieth century. The railroad barrio in Iowa City resulted primarily from the cooperating and competing relationships of the Chicago, Rock Island and Pacific Railroad Company, the Euro-American community, and the Mexican immigrants. In their study of "Latino urbanism" in contemporary Iowa, Gerardo Sandoval and Marta Maldonado argue that "placemaking is a relational and contested process." They point out that "efforts to understand and engage Latina/o placemaking must also attend to the rural realm, and to the interconnections between urban, suburban and rural spaces."[75] The multiscalar tracing and untangling of these complex intersections practiced in this article should encourage scholars to theorize and conceptualize barrioization in

74. Elena Cano, quoted in Morley, "The Journey"; Cano interview.

75. Gerardo Sandoval and Marta Maldonado, "Latino Urbanism Revisited: Placemaking in New Gateways and the Urban-Rural Interface," *Journal of Urbanism* 5 (2012), 216, 193.

Iowa and the Midwest in both generalizable and site-specific ways. The barrio in the service town of Iowa City, for example, uniquely featured permanent housing several years before families began to settle in the area. And, as in other railroad barrios during that time, this neighborhood changed as company policy dictated the replacement of *solteros* with Mexican men who had families.

Analysis of the Mexican neighborhood that formed in Iowa City between 1916 and 1936 offers valuable insights into the processes of barrioization that occurred across the Midwest. Ultimately, the Rock Island was responsible for both the creation and destruction of Iowa City's first Mexican barrio. As Vincent Cano points out, "It was the railroad that gave [Dad] . . . employment to raise his family and that gave us the opportunities to better ourselves."[76]

It also must be remembered, however, that the railroad often mistreated these families, subjecting them to challenging living situations while making use of their labor. In addition, the local press and Euro-American residents discriminated against the community by criminalizing the barrio. When confronted by mistreatment, *traqueros* asserted agency through support networks.

The processes of barrio formation created, sustained, and buttressed ties among familial and friend networks. As Jeffrey Garcilazo argues, "The common experiences of immigration, track work, racial ethnic discrimination, and segregation in housing reinforced Mexican cultural and linguistic boundaries" in railroad barrios.[77] The pattern of migration, settlement, and placemaking facilitated by railroad companies in the early twentieth century created spaces of belonging for thousands of Mexican immigrants across Iowa and the Midwest.

76. Cano interview.

77. Garcilazo, *Traqueros*, 170.

Book Reviews and Notices

Dictionary of Midwestern Literature, volume 2, *Dimensions of the Midwestern Literary Imagination,* general editor Philip A. Greasley. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2016. xiv, 1,057 pp. Maps, illustrations, bibliography, index. $85.00 hardcover.

Reviewer Elizabeth Raymond holds the Grace A. Griffen Chair in History at the University of Nevada, Reno. She is the author, most recently, of "Creating the Heartland: The Midwest Emerges in American Culture," in *The Midwestern Moment*, edited by Jon Lauck (Hastings College Press, 2017).

The Midwest, it seems, is currently enjoying something of a moment. Ascribed a consequential role in recent electoral politics, it is also experiencing an academic publishing renaissance. The present volume, a behemoth of almost five pounds, is only the second in a projected three-volume series covering midwestern literature. It succeeds volume one from 2001, which included biographical information for approximately 400 individual midwestern authors, and will be followed by a projected third volume that will present the region's literary history. If readers hunger for even more information, they can consult a 1,890-page cousin from 2007, *The American Midwest: An Interpretive Encyclopedia* (also published by Indiana University Press). It treated the 12 states of the region individually and then discussed topics common to all of them. Volume two of the *Dictionary of Midwestern Literature* covers similar ground, but concentrates on literary aspects of the region. It was sponsored by the Society for the Study of Midwestern Literature and prepared by scores of its members. The resulting publication is clearly a labor of love.

Dimensions of the Midwestern Literary Imagination covers an eclectic series of topics, some expected and others surprising. In addition to articles on 35 "pivotal texts" selected by the editorial board, there are entries for literary genres such as poetry and drama but also subgenres such as mystery and detective fiction and Arab American and Scandinavian American literature. Topics include popular culture texts, the historical development of midwestern states, important social movements, eminent regional periodicals, and cities with a significant literary heritage. This last category includes obvious candidates like Chicago and Detroit but also less apparent choices like Kansas City and Minneapolis–Saint Paul, the latter joined together into a single entry that will likely annoy some. Both Iowa and the Iowa Writers' Workshop have extensive entries, but no Iowa city has a separate entry. There is

an ample and detailed index that will greatly assist users who want to find all references to a particular text or writer.

According to the general editor's introduction, the *Dictionary* volumes are designed to serve a broad audience, including students at the high school and college levels but also literary scholars and casual readers. Students will find full and detailed introductions to myriad movements, publications, places, and themes in regional literature. Perhaps most useful for literary scholars will be the carefully selected bibliography of secondary works on midwestern culture. It's difficult to envision the casual reader who might sit down to browse a literary dictionary, but *Dimensions of the Midwestern Literary Imagination* rewards casual curiosity. Iowa's entry, for example covers almost 20 pages and includes comprehensive coverage of published texts relating to the state. It distinguishes carefully between the first fictional work physically published in the state (*A Home in the West; or, Emigration and Its Consequences*, published in 1858 by M. Emilia Rockwell) and the first novel with Iowa as its setting (*The Pet of the Settlement: A Story of Prairie-Land*, by Caroline A. Soule in 1860). Popular literature is separated from more ambitious novels by writers such as Ruth Suckow or Marilynne Robinson, but both types are given serious coverage. Children's literature, detective fiction, horror and fantasy, romantic fiction, and religious fiction are all discussed along with poetry and drama. The state's entry includes coverage of printing and journalism history as well as notable periodicals, the Iowa Federal Writers' Project of the Depression years, and various state literary awards. If this comprehensive coverage stimulates further questions in the casual reader's mind, there's also a compilation of bibliographies of Iowa literature. Other dictionary entries are similarly expansive in scope. In this reference work, *The Great Gatsby* appears along with *Black Elk Speaks* and *The Wonderful Wizard of Oz* on the list of pivotal midwestern literary texts.

This expansiveness is both a strength and a weakness. Although much territory is covered (Who knew there was so much midwestern literature centered on technology and industry, or on rivers?), there are also glaring omissions. While texts originally written in Scandinavian languages are allotted 12 pages, there is no entry at all for similar works in German. More fundamentally, there is no clear operating definition of what constitutes midwestern literature, whether writing about the region, writing from the region, or writing by people who have passed through the region. This massive reference work tends to concentrate on literature produced by long-term residents but also incorporates works about the region produced by writers living elsewhere, especially if they are native to the 12 states that constitute the Midwest.

In the end, it seems churlish to quibble about definitions in such a comprehensive volume. Better to sit back and take it all in. In future decades, the *Dictionary of Middle Western Literature* is likely to play the same authoritative role in regional literary definition as the earlier anthologies edited by John T. Frederick *(Out of the Midwest* in 1944) and John T. Flanagan *(America Is West* in 1945) did for the regionalist literary flowering of the Great Depression. The Society for the Study of Midwestern Literature can be proud of the herculean effort that produced this comprehensive survey of regional literature. They set out to demonstrate that the Midwest is neither homogeneous nor static nor culturally backward. With *Dimensions of the Midwestern Literary Imagination*, they have undoubtedly succeeded.

The Borderland of Fear: Vincennes, Prophetstown, and the Invasion of the Miami Homeland, by Patrick Bottiger. Borderlands and Transcultural Studies Series. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2016. xix, 244 pp. Illustrations, maps, tables, notes, bibliography, index. $50.00 hardcover.

Reviewer George Ironstrack is assistant director/program director of the Education and Outreach Office at the Myaamia Center, Miami University (Ohio). His research has focused on the history of the Miami Indians.

In a quickly paced and engaging narrative history, Patrick Bottiger lays out his case for "pervasive lying among Indian, French, and American communities" in the early eighteenth century. Bottiger focuses on what he identifies as widespread falsehoods about the village of Prophetstown within the "Miami-American borderland" of the Wabash River valley in what later became the state of Indiana (8, 12). The village, which existed from 1808 to 1813, was led by the Shawnee Prophet Tenskwatawa and inhabited by members of multiple tribal communities who shared his vision of a Pan-Indian nativist revitalization movement.

Bottiger begins his narrative by outlining what he calls the "longue durée of Miami history" and attempts to assume the perspective of Miami Indian people prior to the creation of Prophetstown. By the 1800s, Bottiger argues, American aggression had transformed this Miami homeland into a Miami-American borderland (8). In that space, Miami Indians, French fur traders, and American settlers often focused on the needs of their villages and towns over the interests of their respective nations (5, 113). Violence in this period arose not out of intercommunal hostility but instead out of intracommunal competition among factions seeking control of their respective towns and villages. The narrative of these intracommunal disputes spins off the four battles of Tippecanoe: the conflict of words to "determine the intentions of the Prophet's community at

Tippecanoe" (1808–1811); the actual Battle of Tippecanoe on November 7, 1811; the immediate aftermath of the battle in which "local factions used the fight to their advantage"; and, finally, the decades-long struggle across the nineteenth century to "rework" the memory of the battle in order to explain and excuse the regional changes that followed the War of 1812 (136–37).

It is within this arena of intracommunal factional conflicts centered around Prophetstown that Bottiger highlights the endemic lying that he identifies as obscuring the true intentions of the residents of that village. Those lies led all of the residents of the Wabash River valley down the road to war. Bottiger argues that it was in the interests of one faction of the Americans, led by William Henry Harrison, and one faction of the Miami, led by Little Turtle, to lie about the militancy of the movement led by the Shawnee brothers Tenskwatawa and Tecumseh. For Harrison, this lie was used against tribal leaders—like the Miami leader Pacanne, who resisted land cession treaties—to paint them with the same "militant" brush. The lie was also used against Harrison's American opponents in Vincennes, especially against those who perceived Harrison as a proslavery elitist. For Little Turtle, those lies were an attempt to secure his influence over the Miami Nation as a whole, over his nation's relationship with the Americans, and over the economic and social changes engendered by the large-scale cession of Miami lands between 1795 and 1809. Given the centrality of the analysis of the factional division between Little Turtle and Pacanne, it is unfortunate that Bottiger fails to note that the two men were kin. They each shared one parent in common with the important female Miami leader Tahkamwa.

"In the end," Bottiger concludes, "Euroamericans laid claim to an American borderland and secured their sovereignty not simply by occupying space but by lying together with the Miamis about their past" (179). Unfortunately, Bottiger's analysis of the Miami Indian culture and politics of the early 1800s suffers from a lack of depth. He ascribes false meanings and folk etymologies to words like *minjipi* (*miincipi*/maize) and *Sahg-wah-se-pe* (*saakiiweesiipi*/Saint Joseph River). He also struggles to capture the diversity of Miami-speaking communities in the early 1800s and to accurately represent the underlying village-centered economy that sustained these diverse villages prior to the treaty period (16, 87). Additionally, the top-down focus on a few male leaders obscures the lack of a singular or even dual Miami community that could give a voice to a focused set of political policies or coordinate a series of false statements made with the intent to deceive.

For those working with the histories of indigenous nations, Bottiger leaves some challenging questions unanswered. How do we go about

separating rumors, exaggerations, and honest misunderstandings from lies? And what is the value of talking to contemporary indigenous community leaders and scholars about the reliability of the historical record? Indigenous scholars have unique perspectives and knowledge about their histories, ancestors, languages, and homelands, as well as about the archival record and secondary literature. Collaborative engagement between indigenous and nonindigenous scholars can only enrich our collective understanding of the past.

Free Spirits: Spiritualism, Republicanism, and Radicalism in the Civil War Era, by Mark A. Lause. Urbana, Chicago, and Springfield: University of Illinois Press, 2016. viii, 223 pp. Illustrations, notes, index. $95 hardcover, $30 paperback.

Reviewer Mark S. Schantz is professor of history at Birmingham-Southern College. He is the author of *Awaiting the Heavenly Country: The Civil War and America's Culture of Death* (2008).

Spiritualists in nineteenth-century America were more than a fringe group of sketchy characters obsessed with mysterious rappings on floor boards and the exciting lure of communicating with the dead around the séance table. Mark A. Lause argues that spiritualists numbered as many as 5 to 6 million Americans when the Civil War broke out and not only could be found in New England but also maintained a strong presence in the Midwest, from Michigan to Wisconsin and Iowa (14). Students of Iowa's history will be particularly interested to learn that spiritualists there included Chief Justice Joseph Williams of the Iowa Supreme Court and that they published their own newspaper, the *Rising Tide* (33, 50–51). More broadly, Lause contends that spiritualists pushed a robust earthly agenda, including support for abolitionism, women's rights, free love, Fourierism, and the protection of Native American rights. Key in this agenda of individual freedom was support for the Republican Party, particularly in its most radical expressions. Indeed, Lause counts the spiritualists as among the Republicans' most ardent supporters. "Spiritualism," he writes, "exploded onto the scene simultaneously with a mass Republican Party and in the same regions" (43). For Lause, the emergence of the Republican Party and the rise of the spiritualist movement in America are inextricably intertwined.

The cornerstone of Lause's contention that spiritualism and Republicanism formed part of the same intellectual current is his treatment of Abraham Lincoln. His chapter on Lincoln demonstrates beyond doubt that the president was more than a dabbler in the spiritual arts; he made multiple personal connections with those in the spiritualist community.

One does not have to buy the story of Lincoln being levitated on a grand piano to grasp why spiritualists saw in the president a kindred spirit. "Lincoln actually retained a vast residue of folk beliefs," Lause concludes, "sharing many of the fundamental assumptions of spiritualism" (146). Spiritualists viewed Lincoln himself as a mediator—a medium in the political sphere—positioned between the founders of the nation and the struggle of the Civil War. When Lincoln invoked "the mystic chords of memory" in his First Inaugural Address, spiritualists perceived a friend. As he faced the election of 1864, "Spiritualists pulled out all the stops in campaigning for Lincoln's reelection" (83). Whether he fully understood it or not, Abraham Lincoln became the avatar for the political interests of American spiritualists.

After the war, spiritualists pursued an ambitious political agenda of "Liberty"—an emancipation for all people; "Equality"—freedom for women, children, and Native Americans; and "Fraternity"—a communitarian impulse that would unite all Americans in the face of capitalist greed. "War," writes Lause, "had pointed spiritualists to the possibility that a Radical Republican government could serve to abolish institutional injustices of all sorts" (130). Despite such lofty ambitions, "the war's end proved to be the unmaking of spiritualism as a mass, pervasive preoccupation of people in the North, as it had of the kind of Republicanism that had seen the country through to victory" (148). As the flame of Radical Republicanism flickered out, spirit voices became whispers. Still, in his final chapter Lause traces the subterranean survival of elements of the spiritualist impulse in the organization of the "Order of Eternal Progress," in the Theosophical Society, in Victoria Woodhull's following, and even in Edward Bellamy's novel *Looking Backward, 2000–1887*.

The chief contribution of Lause's volume is its rehabilitation of the spiritualists as a pervasive and dynamic force during the Civil War era. Yet the strength of the book is also its weakness. Lause sees the imprint of spiritualism in so many places that one wonders about the depth and dedication of its various adherents. Moreover, in identifying the spiritualists with the Republican Party, Lause does not address how the strong free-labor ideology it espoused could be reconciled with the cooperative Fourierism that many spiritualists followed. As Carl Guarneri reminded us in his still splendid volume, *The Utopian Alternative* (1994), cooperative labor was a clear alternative to the free-labor ideology of Abraham Lincoln, the rail-splitter and ultimate self-made man. It may well be that Republicans differed with spiritualists in profound ways that Lause's rendering does not acknowledge. Whatever its limits, Lause's book resurrects nineteenth-century spiritualists as historical and political actors we have not adequately recognized.

Lincoln and Congress, by William C. Harris. Concise Lincoln Library. Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press, 2017. ix, 165 pp. Illustrations, notes, essay on sources, index. $24.95 hardcover and e-book.

Reviewer Charles M. Hubbard is professor of history and Lincoln Historian at Lincoln Memorial University. He is the author of *Lincoln and His Contemporaries (*1999) and edited *Lincoln, the Law, and Presidential Leadership* (2016); *In His Words: Readings from the Life of Abraham Lincoln* (2014); and *The Many Faces of Lincoln* (1997).

William C. Harris contributes significantly to our understanding of the political environment surrounding Lincoln throughout his presidency. He provides perceptive insights into the unique relationship between Lincoln and the congressional leadership as both sought to provide supporting legislation to prosecute the war and reconstruct the Union. Harris quotes extensively from the *Congressional Globe* and depends on the words of members of the House of Representatives and the Senate to express their personal views and those of their respective constituents on a variety of critical legislative issues, including habeas corpus, conscription, the two controversial Confiscation Acts, and ultimately the Thirteenth Amendment.

Lincoln and Congress is organized chronologically, beginning with the secession crisis of 1860–1861 when Lincoln demanded Republican support against the expansion of slavery. The concise narrative evolves into an insightful and thoughtful assessment of potential threats to the U.S. Constitution, civil rights, and institutions of the government. During the fall and winter of 1862, Lincoln and Republicans suffered from disappointing war news and the frustrating results of the off-year elections. Harris emphasizes Lincoln's extraordinary leadership in this difficult political environment to unify an otherwise divided Congress to support his policies and the war effort.

The final section of the book is devoted to a discussion of Lincoln's final address to Congress on December 6, 1864. In that address (an underutilized source), Lincoln lobbied for quick adoption of the Thirteenth Amendment. He also made specific references to the impact of the war on the western states. Summarizing the Secretary of the Interior's report on western affairs, Lincoln noted that the "great enterprise of connecting the Atlantic with the Pacific states by railroad and telegraph lines has been entered upon with a vigor that gives assurance of success" (117). Possibly of as much interest to James Harlan of Iowa and other western representatives was his call that the "Indian system should be remodeled." Lincoln said that the reforms should provide for "the welfare of the Indian and the protection of the advancing settler" (117). Here Harris calls attention to the domestic agenda that Lincoln, ever faithful to his Whiggish principles, endorsed. Lincoln respected Congress

as the voice of the people and cooperated with sensitivity and understanding whenever possible.

In *Lincoln and the Radicals* (1941), T. Harry Williams established the view that Lincoln and the Radical Republicans engaged in an ongoing confrontation. Harris argues persuasively that Lincoln and the radicals cooperated on a complex domestic agenda while enacting supportive legislation for the war effort. However, Harris, possibly to be concise, often drifts into oversimplifying his conclusions. Nonetheless, despite occasional lapses, he contributes to a fuller understanding of the most complex, pragmatic, and idealistic political leader in American history, particularly Lincoln's amazing ability to work with Congress.

Lincoln and the Democrats: The Politics of Opposition in the Civil War, by Mark E. Neely Jr. Cambridge Essential Histories. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2017. ix, 211 pp. Illustrations, notes, index. $24.99 paperback.

Reviewer Jennifer Weber is associate professor of history at the University of Kansas. She is the author of *Copperheads: The Rise and Fall of Lincoln's Opponents in the North* (2006).

About halfway through *Lincoln and the Democrats*, author Mark E. Neely Jr. notes that, "for the most part," historians have "simply neglected" the Democratic Party during the Civil War years (85). For the most part that is true. In the past decade or so, however, the Peace Democrats, or Copperheads, have received considerable attention. War Democrats, though, have remained largely in the shadows. Although Neely does not say so directly, this slim volume attempts to shed light on that less flashy group while making some (rather limited) efforts to knit their story together with that of their more cantankerous political brethren. The result is a collection of thought-provoking essays that is easily accessible for advanced undergraduates and the interested public as well as more scholarly types.

Neely is one of the leading political historians of the period, so one should always pay attention to what he has to say. In this, which he says is his last book on the Civil War, he does not disappoint. He argues, for instance, that the Civil War era was far less partisan and divided than other scholars have suggested; that the main reason Democrats performed so well in the 1862 elections was that Lincoln did not campaign, even indirectly, for his party; and that Lincoln helped bring the country into a "new era of human rights" (204). Each of these arguments is likely to make Civil War historians sit up and pay attention, for each is new and innovative—and compelling.

In this volume, however, Neely's arguments can also be a bit frustrating. In perhaps the most important scholarly contribution, the essay on the election of 1862, Neely's evidence often feels thin. While he references other states, including Iowa, on occasion, Neely draws most of his evidence from his home state of Pennsylvania. He acknowledges this, arguing that it was a "crucial state in all national electoral calculations," but that is an unsatisfying justification given the wide variety of state-level experiences during the war, especially between the eastern and western states. An ambitious graduate student would do well to follow up on Neely's argument with a more national approach.

The other element missing from the book is the war itself. One would scarcely realize from these pages that battles were being fought and thousands of men were losing their lives. Granted, Neely is a political historian, and the focus of this work is politics. Still, one cannot write about wartime politics without acknowledging what is happening on the battlefield. Those events help shape politics, after all, just as political calculations help shape what happens in the field. This oversight becomes glaringly apparent in the chapter on the Democratic Party and racism. Most of the chapter is a fascinating study based on the attitudes of the Democratic press (though not political pamphlets, which seems like a relevant oversight). The latter part of the chapter, though, is dedicated to the 1864 election. Precious little attention is paid to the sagging morale of northern civilians in the summer of that year because of the real and perceived failures of the Union armies. The fall of Atlanta goes entirely unremarked upon, even though it was a major victory that re-energized support for the war and revived Lincoln's political fortunes.

This book, then, is a mixed bag. Neely's arguments are stimulating and, as always, worth taking seriously, but he leaves enough unaddressed that he doesn't make his cases airtight. On the other hand, what Neely has done, at the very least, is to lay a trail of bread crumbs for his intellectual heirs to follow. And, really, what many scholars want to do is start a discussion. Neely has succeeded wildly in that regard.

The Guerrilla Hunters: Irregular Conflicts during the Civil War, edited by Brian D. McKnight and Barton A. Myers. Conflicting Worlds: New Dimensions of the American Civil War. Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 2017. xx, 399 pp. Maps, illustrations, notes, bibliography, index. $49.95 hardcover.

Reviewer Kathleen Gorman is professor of history at Minnesota State University, Mankato. Her research has focused on Reconstruction in the New South.

This collection of 15 essays offers a wide variety of approaches to the study of irregular or guerrilla warfare during the Civil War. Kenneth

Noe's foreword lays out the three themes most of the essays address: guerrilla warfare was not a sideshow but rather a central aspect of the war; it is not easily categorized or defined, and its practitioners had diverse motivations; and ultimately there was no clear line between irregular and regular soldiers or between guerrillas and those who hunted them. Together, these essays offer Civil War historians new approaches not only to the study of guerrilla warfare but to the war as a whole and provide local historians new ways to examine the impact of irregular warfare on local communities and new ways to study those who supported and opposed the guerrilla fighters.

Most of the essays deal with irregular warfare on the local or regional level, including topics such as alcohol and the guerrilla war in Missouri and the impact of the environment on both guerrillas and guerrilla hunters in the trans-Mississippi region. One of the local essays that has the potential to help local historians with a new approach to their work is Aaron Astor's "Who is 'Tinker Dave' Beaty?'" Astor uses traditional historical sources such as maps, census documents, and military records, as well as the newer approach of social network analysis, to identify the members of Beaty's Independent Scouts, a combination of approaches that could be applied to study local communities.

An exception to the local studies is Barton Myers's excellent essay "Partisan Ranger Petitions," which examines the Confederate government's attempt to recruit men for partisan ranger units beginning in 1862. While a number of such petitions were approved, the effort ultimately proved to be unsatisfying to both the government and the regular army, although not to the men who formed and joined such units. The units proved to be too hard to control and hurt the overall recruiting effort for the regular Confederate army and were thus ended in February 1864.

Several of the essays focus on individual guerrillas or those who have been called guerrillas. Brian Steel Willis successfully refutes the myth that Nathaniel Bedford Forrest was in any way associated with irregular warriors. John Gatewood, northern Georgia's warlord (not a true Confederate guerrilla), and the fate of Lawrence massacre participant Larkin Skaggs are also the subject of individual essays.

One of the standout essays in the collection is Laura Davis's "Irregular Naval Warfare along the Lower Mississippi," which discusses naval guerrilla attacks throughout the war. More than 40 Union warships were destroyed in organized attacks by Confederate sympathizers who usually had previous naval experience and were closely tied to the local community. They were so successful that Union authorities reacted harshly and local shipowners increased their own patrols but were still unable to stop the attacks.

Most of the essays focus on the Confederate side, but a few do concern the behavior of Union soldiers and Union irregulars. The Union's treatment of Southern women during its occupation of the South and how that treatment crossed the line of acceptable behavior is the topic of Lisa Frank's "The Union War on Women." In "Challenging the Union Citizen-Soldier Ideal," Andrew Lang examines how the activities of Confederate guerrillas changed the behavior and ideals of Union soldiers. The Lieber Code may have technically governed their activities, but they were forced (not always unwillingly) to adapt to the different ways the war was being fought in different areas. The concept of hard war ultimately meant that in some areas there were no rules, and it became all but impossible to differentiate between regular and irregular soldiers.

The broadest essay is Earl Hess's "Civil War Guerrillas in a Global, Comparative Context," which largely discusses Spanish guerrillas in the Napoleonic Wars and their Confederate counterparts along with a discussion of guerrilla warfare since the Civil War. His overview along with Daniel Sutherland's afterword and the selected bibliography provide excellent ways to put Civil War guerrillas into a larger context and suggest avenues for further study.

The work would have been strengthened by a clearer organization, but overall the essays represent a wealth of topics for scholars interested in any aspect of Civil War military history and make a strong case for including the study of guerrilla warfare in more mainstream Civil War military history.

This Storied River: Legend & Lore of the Upper Mississippi, by Dennis McCann. Madison: Wisconsin Historical Society Press, 2017. 192 pp. Map, illustrations, bibliography, index. $20.00 paperback.

Reviewer Patrick Nunnally is coordinator of the River Life Program, part of the Institute for Advanced Study at the University of Minnesota. His Ph.D. dissertation (University of Iowa, 1990) was "Visions of Sustainable Place: Voice, Land, and Culture in Rural America."

There are many books about the history as well as the "legend and lore" of the Mississippi River, so it's fair to ask why another one is needed. Dennis McCann's slim volume holds its own, for the most part, in this literature. Although he does not offer new insights or a sharply distinctive perspective on the events, places, and people he describes, he does reliably point his readers in the direction of further information. As befits a retired travel writer, McCann also liberally suggests places to visit to learn more about the river's history and points the way to websites and other sources.

McCann's stretch of the Mississippi lies between Dubuque, Iowa, and Saint Paul, Minnesota. This is neither the much-storied Delta nor the middle stretch of the river around Hannibal and Saint Louis, Missouri, that can justly claim to be "Mark Twain's Mississippi." Nevertheless, this less well-known stretch is replete with stories of regional and national significance, most of which McCann tells well in graceful, accessible prose. Relying on published sources and the versions of history told at the historic sites themselves, McCann sticks fairly closely to well-established themes and events in the region.

As McCann details, this stretch of the Mississippi is deeply historical. Well-known stories, such as the incursion of colonial settlers and the eradication of native people, have important chapters that play out here. That icon of the Mississippi, the steamboat, makes its appearance, tragically through the *Sea Wing* disaster and as part of a discussion of regional transportation, through an account of how the Diamond Jo line got its name (or didn't—the stories are unclear). By focusing on specific spots such as Guttenberg, Iowa, location of Corps of Engineers Lock #10, McCann illustrates how the very river itself has been altered over time, becoming as much a historical artifact of its times as any of the communities that line its banks.

Ultimately, though, McCann's coverage of the sites and themes he discusses is distressingly uneven. There's plenty of good stuff here, such as the account of the Battle of Bad Axe, a massacre that ended the Black Hawk War. Here McCann offers insights and perspectives beyond the "celebration history" of roadside markers and makes necessary observations about the painful aspects of the region's history.

But there are also unfortunate lapses. It would not have been hard to learn that *Winona* is a Dakota term for "first-born female child" and is not generically "Indian," or to dig a little deeper for a more nuanced account of fur trading among multiple nations at Prairie du Chien. The many images in the book really should be cited better for readers who want to explore further. These lapses matter, because it is important to learn the complexity of our history, not just the triumphalist view that the past is merely a "natural" prologue to our present or the too-familiar "critique" that focuses exclusively on "correcting the story."

For readers who want to understand how the past of the Mississippi has created opportunities and dilemmas facing the river and its communities, McCann's book is a start, but only a start. His citations and references are potentially important "next steps" as would be an in-depth discussion with any of the staff at the historic sites he points us to. As Faulkner wrote, "The past isn't even past." That is true in the upper Mississippi valley, and McCann opens the door to more rich exploration.

The News from Lone Rock: Observations and Witticisms of a Small-Town Newsman, by Freeland Dexter, edited by Deanna R. Haney. Madison: Wisconsin Historical Society Press, 2016. xi, 227 pp. Illustrations. $18.95 paperback.

Reviewer Robert B. Mitchell is an editor with the Washington Post News Service. He is the author of *Skirmisher: The Life, Times, and Political Career of James B. Weaver* (2008) and " 'Get Ready for '96': The Decatur County Press, Partisanship, and the Presidential Campaign of 1896" (*Iowa Heritage Illustrated,* 2003).

From 1884 to 1912 Freeland Dexter reported on the news of Lone Rock, Wisconsin, for readers of the *Weekly Home News* of nearby Spring Green. Deanna R. Heaney's affectionate anthology of her great-grandfather's work offers a vivid, if sometimes disjointed and random, anecdotal portrait of the small Richland County community and insights into the editorial conventions of the small-town newspapers of the period.

The News from Lone Rock presents a thorough chronicle of municipal evolution in the little Wisconsin town. Dexter criticized foes of incorporation in 1886, applauded the formation of a local volunteer fire department, and heralded the construction of a high school. Throughout, he remained an unabashed cheerleader for efforts to improve local civic and economic life. "Don't be a block under the wheel of progress," he urged in 1905 as he endorsed bridge construction (160).

In this way, Dexter conformed to the style of journalism appearing in Leon, Bloomfield, and countless other market-town and county-seat newspapers published across Iowa at the time. He was a hometown booster who celebrated Lone Rock's virtues. Instead of acting as a neutral observer of events or an adversarial watchdog, he rejoiced when his neighbors wed and grieved when their children died.

Dexter differed from his colleagues in one regard. Unlike editors and correspondents who freely mingled partisan commentary with news, he kept his political opinions largely to himself. Not until 1908, when William Howard Taft defeated William Jennings Bryan, did he become explicitly partisan. "Well, the country is saved once more and Taft is elected," he observed on November 5. "It seems curious how so many people have prosperity forced on them every four years, but such is the case" (192).

The arrival of new technology figures prominently in *The News from Lone Rock*, often as a way of touting the town's advancement. Dexter enthused about the development of a new light bulb and the arrival of the telephone (94). In 1898, after having seen a depiction of the Battle of San Juan Hill, Dexter urged readers who have not seen "moving pictures" to do so (104).

Dexter, a Civil War veteran, brought an appropriately sober voice to the prospect of war with Spain, simultaneously rejoicing in the U.S.

victory while urging his readers to "stop for a minute and look at the other side. Yes, we feel sorry for the Spaniards. They fought bravely, and think of their homecoming" (102).

Such observations help make *The News from Lone Rock* an interesting, occasionally moving, work, but readers may well find themselves longing for background about the events of the period. The deluge of anecdotes and observations, offered without any context, is frequently overwhelming and, except perhaps for students of Richland County history, occasionally tiresome. Even so, this volume represents a fascinating compilation of small-town journalism that sheds light on attitudes about progress, economic development, and journalism that prevailed at the turn of the twentieth century.

From America to Norway: Norwegian-American Immigrant Letters, 1838–1914, volume 3, *1893–1914*, edited and translated by Orm Øverland. Northfield, MN: Norwegian-American Historical Association, 2016. 630 pp. References. $60.00 hardcover.

Reviewer Daron W. Olson is associate professor of European and world history at Indiana University East. He is associate editor of the *Swedish-American Historical Quarterly* and author of *Vikings across the Atlantic: Emigration and the Building of a Greater Norway, 1860–1945* (2013).

The letters in this third volume of *From America to Norway* focus on the years of the last great exodus of Norwegians to the United States, providing translations of more than 300 immigrant letters. Orm Øverland's superb introduction places these letters in appropriate context by noting what the letters often do not say or speak to. He notes how Norwegian immigrants played their role in the long struggle between defenders of land (Native Americans) and takers of land (who were often immigrants). The evidence is loud in its silence. As Øverland succinctly puts it, "The most important point to be made about the attention paid to Native Americans in immigrant letters is that they were rarely paid any attention at all" (28).

Yet it is certain that Norwegian immigrants had encounters with indigenous people, so why are the writers so silent on the topic? According to Øverland, there were several reasons, among them the high cost of postage that limited the amount of information the immigrants could provide. As such, Norwegian immigrants tended to focus on practical information, such as family holidays, weather, or steamship ticket prices. In addition, the Norwegian immigrants possessed little formal education and had poor writing skills. He also concedes that for the Norwegian immigrants Native Americans often had no practical

importance in their lives: "Native Americans were reminders of the past; immigrant Americans looked to the future" (33). The most important reason, however, may have been that for the Norwegian immigrants it "was best not to think much about them [Native Americans] or even not to notice them in order to live with an untroubled conscience in the land that had once been theirs" (33). In this regard, Norwegian immigrants were partners in the larger American effort of what Jean O'Brien has termed "writing Indians out of existence."

Concepts of race and whiteness also affected how Norwegian immigrants came to view themselves. Øverland uses the example of Jacob Hilton, who emigrated in 1877, first living among relatives in Iowa and then moving westward until he finally settled in present-day New Mexico in the spring of 1881. In a letter to his father, Jacob mentions that he lives among Indians, Mexicans, and Spaniards. Later, he acknowledges that "these mountains and valleys, that once were inhabited by these lazy and useless people that live like wild animals, are now filling up with white people" (41). As Øverland observes about Hilton, "In Iowa he had been a Norwegian in the land of Americans; now he is a white man in a white man's land. He feels a sense of belonging as he had once belonged in Norway" (41).

Placed in appropriate historical context, the letters in this volume offer valuable material for researchers as well as for a broader audience interested in the world of Norwegian immigrants. It is not surprising that the majority of the letters are from Norwegians who lived in the upper midwestern states of Wisconsin, Minnesota, and North Dakota as well as South Dakota and Iowa (with a scattering of letters from the Northwest, including Alaska, as well as New York and even Florida). One also finds familiar topics, such as talk of holidays, the weather, visits to relatives (including some back to Norway), and nostalgia for Norway. A surprising number of letters visit political themes, both in America and Norway. One of the most enduring topics is illness, perhaps a reminder of the precarious nature of immigrant life at the time. Certain authors contribute multiple letters to the volume; that perspective is valuable, allowing us to see how life changed over time for Norwegian immigrants.

Orm Øverland has once again been of great service to the scholarship on Norwegian American history. This volume of *From America to Norway* reveals an immigrant landscape that is coming of age in an America that is transforming into a powerful nation. At the same time, the numerous references to Norway indicate that Norwegian immigrants still held a place in their hearts and minds for the Old Country. The letters also benefit from Øverland's numerous editorial comments

that help clarify things for readers. This impressive volume makes a significant contribution to furthering our understanding of the Norwegian American experience.

Lost Buxton, by Rachelle Chase. Images of America Series. Charleston: Arcadia Publishing, 2017. 127 pp. Illustrations, bibliography, index. $21.99 paperback.

Reviewer Pam Stek recently received her Ph.D. in history from the University of Iowa. Her publications include "Muchakinock: African Americans and the Making of an Iowa Coal Town" (*Annals of Iowa*, 2009).

Imagining a community that no longer exists is a difficult task, especially when that community was, in many ways, unlike any that had come before or followed after. The coal-mining town of Buxton, Iowa, is one such place, but one that is made more accessible by the photographs and oral histories presented in Rachelle Chase's *Lost Buxton.* Chase's work sheds light on the lost world of Buxton, with its integrated workplaces, schools, and neighborhoods, and on the hope it offered to its residents.

Much has been written about Buxton, a south-central Iowa coal town that was home to a large number of African American miners and their families. In 1900 the Consolidation Coal Company moved its mining operations from nearby Muchakinock to the new community of Buxton. The town offered black residents, many of whom had migrated from Virginia, the chance to work and live relatively free from discrimination and segregation, a rare opportunity in the early twentieth century. In Buxton black and white residents resided next to each other, black and white miners earned the same wages, and black and white children attended the same schools. In addition to coal miners and their families, numerous African American business owners and professionals, including doctors, dentists, lawyers, teachers, and pharmacists, made the town their home. As with many coal-mining communities, Buxton's star rose and fell rapidly. The mines were almost completely played out by 1918, and Buxton soon became a ghost town.

Lost Buxton contributes to the existing literature on Buxton by presenting a visual representation of the community and its residents. A number of the images in *Lost Buxton* have been previously published in other works. Many, however, have not. Chase provides an original and compelling grouping of the photographs and matches them with excerpts from former residents' memories of the community, in the process illuminating topics such as daily life in Buxton, the backgrounds and accomplishments of local leaders, and race relations in the town. The photographs in *Lost Buxton* convey the dignity, sense of hope, and

aspirations of the town's residents in ways that words alone cannot, and Chase's pairing of photographs with quotations from former residents' oral histories serves to further elucidate the images' meanings.

Chase provides a balanced assessment of Buxton as "utopia" versus a "dangerous" coal town. She acknowledges that Buxton experienced its share of gambling, drinking, and violent crime but points out that its legacy was shaped in large part by the politics of racial identity. Both black and white residents of the town described Buxton as a good place to live and work, but for African Americans its demise represented a much greater blow, the loss of one place where they could work, live, shop, and learn free from extreme racism and oppression. *Lost Buxton* provides a window onto the promise of racial harmony that Buxton represented, albeit fleetingly, and asks its readers to contemplate the lessons that it might continue to offer today.

A New Deal for South Dakota: Drought, Depression, and Relief, 1920–1941, by R. Alton Lee. Pierre: South Dakota Historical Society Press, 2016. xii, 269 pp. Illustrations, notes, bibliography, index. $24.95 paperback.

Reviewer Catherine McNicol Stock is professor of history and director of the American Studies program at Connecticut College. She is the author of *Rural Radicals: Righteous Rage in the American Grain* (1996) and *Main Street in Crisis: The Great Depression and the Old Middle Class on the Northern Plains* (1992).

Nearly two decades have passed since a full-length treatment of the experience of the people of South Dakota in the "Dirty Thirties" has been published; the library shelf of recent monographs considering the Great Depression years in nearby midwestern states is similarly strikingly bare. But that is only one reason to welcome University of South Dakota professor emeritus of history R. Alton Lee's book, *A New Deal for South Dakota*. Lee does not just put a new gloss on familiar—if still heart-wrenching—stories of grasshopper plagues, dust storms, starving cattle, itinerant men and women riding the rails, abandoned farms, "penny auctions," and utterly overwhelmed local charity organizations. Lee dives deeper and explains how local people responded to the crisis politically. Given the recent "discovery" of white conservatism in rural America by journalists and pundits, it is high time for a scholar based in a rural state to put this political heritage in full historical context.

Although it might have been better placed in the introduction, Lee waits until the conclusion to ask the big question about South Dakota politics during the Great Depression: How could the people of South Dakota have accepted relief from the New Deal and then "[bit] the hand that fed them" by voting against state Democrats in 1936 and 1938 and

even against Roosevelt himself in 1940 (216)? After all, the situation in South Dakota was so desperate that in 1932 Lorena Hickok told Eleanor Roosevelt that the state was the "Siberia of the United States. . . . A more hopeless place I never saw" (26). In a different letter to Roosevelt, she said of the state: "What a country—to keep out of" (3). The New Deal did in many respects come to the rescue of farmers, ranchers, and townspeople on the northern plains. Between 1932 and 1938, South Dakota received funds from the federal government far in excess of the proportion of their population. At the height of the Depression, 39 percent of South Dakota's population was on relief, compared to an average of 13 percent in the United States as a whole (x). Why then weren't South Dakotans more grateful to the government? Why didn't they, like poor whites in Appalachia or the cotton South, help to form the backbone of the Democratic Party for a generation to come?

Lee answers these questions, demonstrating that, however much the people of South Dakota needed federal relief, they nevertheless neither liked New Deal programs nor the eastern bureaucrats who designed them. They didn't just resent the programs. They were not just ashamed of their need. They believed the programs were poorly organized, poorly conceived, and poorly administered. Lee provides example after example: South Dakotans argued that FERA stock-buying programs instituted limits so low that they made it impossible for beneficiaries to continue ranching; FERA and WPA salaries for men on relief were too low while for men selected to be in charge of the programs, they were too high; CCC men's families could not live on 20 dollars per month, and as a result they sometimes became wards of the state; Social Security payments for the elderly sometimes did not go to people who were old. In other words, while people in South Dakota may have needed temporary relief (mostly, they also believed, due to circumstances beyond their control), they never thought the federal government did a competent job of providing it. Like Kim Phillips-Fein's *Invisible Hands: The Businessmen's Crusade against the New Deal* (2009), Lee's study suggests that the beginning of the antigovernment movement on the right and the belief that government was "part of the problem" go back many decades before the so-called Reagan Revolution.

Lee also compiles information on relief programs for local indigenous people, a topic that has also seen little ink in recent years. For the many bands of Sioux in South Dakota, deciding whether or not to comply with the "Indian New Deal" was politically complicated. Why should Indians trust the government this time, when in the past federal authorities had proven themselves to be untrustworthy time and again? Unfortunately, Lee does not discuss the ways the splits that developed

in several bands over the Indian New Deal controversy continued through the late twentieth century, contributing to the rise of the American Indian movement, the occupation of Wounded Knee, and the violence on the Pine Ridge reservation that followed. Furthermore, Lee should have let this important chapter stand on its own, rather than combining it with material about programs for youth.

Overall, this important book reminds us of the long-lasting nature of the reforms brought during the New Deal years—as well as the long-lasting nature of American resistance to them.

American Guides: The Federal Writers' Project and the Casting of American Culture, by Wendy Griswold. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2016. xiv, 361 pp. Maps, tables, illustrations, appendixes, notes, references, indexes. $35.00 paperback.

Reviewer Michael Edmonds is director of programs and outreach at the Wisconsin Historical Society. He is the author of "The Federal Writers' Project in Wisconsin, 1935–1942" (*Wisconsin Magazine of History*, 2011).

The Federal Writers' Project of the 1930s and 1940s has always been infused with a romantic glow. Poet W. H. Auden called it "one of the noblest and most absurd undertakings ever attempted" because it tried to use unemployed lay people to research, write, and edit books. It also nurtured young authors, including Saul Bellow, Zora Neale Hurston, John Cheever, and Richard Wright, whose later work would shape how Americans saw themselves during the second half of the twentieth century. Between 1935 and 1943, the project's 6,500 staff produced more than 600 books about local American life and culture, the most famous of which are the American Guides discussed in this book. It was a utopian dream conceived behind rose-colored glasses, led by visionary idealists, and carried out during a political maelstrom. The sheer optimism of it has spawned a small industry of memoirs, histories, and literary criticism.

Sociologist Wendy Griswold takes a different and much more pragmatic approach. She simply asks, what did the Writers' Project try to do, was it successful, and how did it affect American culture? To find answers she not only exploited all of the relevant documentary sources but collated and analyzed reams of raw data. Her previous work includes books on Renaissance London and post-colonial Nigeria, with a focus on how material objects of culture influence the transmission of ideas and values. Applying that perspective here, she has given us by far the best book on the Federal Writers' Project and why it mattered.

In 1935, two years into Franklin D. Roosevelt's New Deal, nearly ten million Americans were out of work, so Congress funded the Works

Progress Administration (WPA) to create jobs, many of them doing things like building roads and bridges. But WPA director Harry Hopkins also set up programs to employ artists and writers. "Hell," he told critics, "they've got to eat like other people." Federal Writers' Projects sprang up in every state. Their main assignment was to publish a travel guide "for tours, sight-seeing and investigation of local landmarks, objects of interest, fictional associations, or other data of value to citizens." Sections of automobile tours were to be accompanied by essays giving "an inclusive picture of the scenic, historical, cultural, recreational, economic, aesthetic, and commercial and industrial resources" of each state.

In her first 200 pages Griswold uses archival sources to explain how the project was conceived, established, and managed. Besides detailing New Deal politics in Washington, she scrutinizes a handful of state offices to show the day-to-day challenges of wrangling dozens of literary neophytes to produce high-quality books. This ground has been covered by previous writers, though never so thoroughly. As a sociologist, Griswold extracted massive amounts of raw data from her sources. This yields a series of tables and charts showing, for example, who ran each of the 48 projects, with their age, gender, ethnicity, education, vocation, and political inclinations. Seventy pages of statistical data fill appendixes at the end of the book. She presents conclusions based on this data clearly and boldly and relates enough colorful anecdotes to lighten the weight of analysis.

In the second half of the book Griswold examines the effect that the Writers' Project had on American culture. Here her evidence comes from the content of the guides themselves, data on the reading habits of the American public, citation analysis, and the process of canon creation before, during, and after the Writers' Project. She indulges in no vapid literary generalizations but scrupulously shows how the content of the guides compares to that of other widely accepted accounts of American literature and makes deductions based on hard data.

Her conclusions? "Before the Guides, the American literary canon was white, male, Northeastern, and traditional in terms of genre; after the Guides, it was less of all of these. The Guides marked a shift in literary definition that took place three decades before civil rights, second-wave feminism, and identity politics blew the canon wide open. . . . The Guides unobtrusively normalized conceptions of diverse literary voices and distinctive state cultures" (12).

Griswold's cross-cultural perspective, comprehensive research, use of statistical data, and engaging prose style make *American Guides* likely to be the standard work on its subject for decades to come.

Crusading Iowa Journalist Verne Marshall: Exposing Graft and the 1936 Pulitzer Prize, by Jerry Harrington. Charleston, SC: History Press, 2017. 141 pp. Photographs, notes, index. $21.99 paperback.

Reviewer Jeff Nichols is a doctoral candidate in history at the University of Illinois at Chicago. His research has included investigating the role of newspapers in wartime Chicago.

On December 12, 1934, police raided a Cedar Rapids canning factory that housed an illegal bar. In addition to a slot machine, a punch board, and a stash of liquor valued at $2,000, more than 200 Iowa state liquor seals were discovered. A letter from the chair of the Iowa Liquor Control Commission to J. Leroy Farmer, the owner of the cannery, explained that the seals were for Farmer's personal stock of alcohol. Farmer begged not be taken in, as it would "blow the lid off the state."

Jerry Harrington traces how Verne Marshall, the editor of the *Cedar Rapids Gazette*, subsequently uncovered a statewide protection racket in which public officials facilitated the illegal sale of hard liquor and shielded gambling and other forms of vice in exchange for campaign contributions and bribes. Marshall's exposés, which won the 1936 Pulitzer Prize, "ripped off the gentle fabric of Iowa life and exposed an undercurrent of graft and corruption few in the state knew existed" (49).

Well before he set out to investigate how J. Leroy Farmer could clear $45,000 to $70,000 per month running an illegal bar, Marshall had developed a statewide reputation as an implacable watchdog against graft, most notably breaking stories involving corruption at the Iowa State Dairy and Food Commission and the University of Iowa. At the time of Farmer's arrest, only beer could be sold by the glass in taverns. State-managed stores held a monopoly on bottled liquor. On paper a judicious compromise between wet and dry forces after the passage of the Twenty-first Amendment, in practice the state monopoly invited the sort of graft associated with Chicago or Kansas City, not Iowa.

Rather than limit his paper's reporting to Linn County, Marshall took his investigation to Sioux City. Then the state's second-largest city, Sioux City was a wide-open cattle town with a long history of indifference to dry laws. Hiring a private investigator, Marshall found which dozens of tavern owners paid local officials to turn a blind eye to gambling, prostitution, and the sale of hard liquor. Even the Sioux City press seemed to be on the take.

For all the recent talk about objective journalism, Verne Marshall was willing not only to throw the resources of his paper into building public pressure for prosecutions but also into reimbursing prosecutors for witness expenses. As Marshall testified before a Sioux City grand jury, it was a journalist's job "to go after any dishonest public official who is

pretending to serve the public, regardless of who it is. And when he gets the news he should print it, regardless of how much it costs" (7). Over a year of exposés in the *Gazette* led to 49 indictments, including that of State Attorney General Edward O'Connor.

But on the same day as the *Gazette* carried the story that it had won the Pulitzer Prize, it also shared the news that the Iowa Supreme Court had struck down the dozens of Sioux City indictments, based on an Iowa statute that prohibited prosecutors from accepting outside funding. Although many of Marshall's targets escaped prosecution, their political careers were destroyed and the political establishment of the state subsequently took greater care to enforce liquor and gambling laws.

The book ends with Marshall's involvement with the No Foreign Wars Committee, a disaster that pushed Marshall into a nervous breakdown, forcing his retirement. Harrington contends that the same combativeness that served Marshall well in rallying Iowans against compromised state officials backfired in building a mass movement against American intervention in the Second World War.

Skillfully weaving research from the *Cedar Rapids Gazette,* the *Des Moines Register*, and the Verne Marshall Papers at the Herbert Hoover Presidential Library, Harrington avoids the sorts of pulpy clichés that usually accompany popular histories of 1930s crime and journalism. *Crusading Iowa Journalist Verne Marshall* is a welcome addition to the study of Iowa during the Great Depression. Readers accustomed to conceiving of the New Deal in Iowa entirely in terms of thoughtful technocrats, beleaguered farmers, and empowered workers will be in for a surprise. Harrington's study shows that the politics of alcohol did not disappear with the repeal of Prohibition. As a work of journalism history, the book also serves as a case study of the perils of checkbook journalism.

Wisconsin on the Air: 100 Years of Public Broadcasting in the State That Invented It, by Jack Mitchell. Madison: Wisconsin State Historical Society Press, 2016. xi, 226 pp. Illustrations, notes, index. $24.95 hardcover.

Reviewer Stephen C. Coon is emeritus associate professor, Greenlee School of Journalism and Mass Communication, Iowa State University. He has written extensively about broadcast journalism.

Jack Mitchell, the first producer for National Public Radio's (NPR) *All Things Considered,* has compiled an informative and entertaining chronology of Wisconsin Public Broadcasting, an institution he helped shape as director of Wisconsin Public Radio for more than two decades from 1976 to 1997. He mixes material from the Wisconsin State Historical Society Archives, public radio files at the University of Wisconsin, and

documents from the Rockefeller Foundation. However, the bulk of *Wisconsin on the Air* relies on numerous interviews Mitchell conducted with key figures instrumental to the growth of Wisconsin's public radio and television, including contemporary personalities such as Michael Feldman of *Whad'Ya Know?* Mitchell also describes his own imprint on the institution in what is a half-historical and half-autobiographical account —a potential bias he concedes in the introduction.

The book is divided into two sections. The first half treats the first 50 years of what the author labels educational broadcasting. The second part covers the era of public broadcasting made possible with the creation of the Corporation for Public Broadcasting (CPB) and financial support for noncommercial stations. It is a story of personalities and politics arising from competing historical, economic, and technological forces that affected the institution during a century of operation.

The tale begins with a nearly inaudible piano melody flowing from a receiver speaker in the living room of University of Wisconsin physicist Earle Terry in 1917. By all accounts, the guests listening in Terry's home were not impressed. Certainly they had no reason to believe they had witnessed the historic origin of what would become one of the nation's foremost public broadcasting operations.

The University of Wisconsin saw the new medium as a vehicle for spreading the institution's Wisconsin Idea, a commitment to its educational mission to extend progressive ideas from the campus to homes across the state. Mitchell argues that the academic origin of radio continues to influence contemporary public broadcasting. Just as universities "sift and winnow" for truth among competing ideas, so, too, do broadcasters in their commitment to objectivity, fairness, and balance in verifying facts. "Public broadcasting was born in and nurtured by universities, and public broadcasters think like academics" (22).

Although there is no specific reference to Iowa, avid public broadcasting listeners and viewers will recognize a comparable history in the Hawkeye State. Terry's experiments with wireless transmissions, for example, mirror similar experiments at Iowa State College in Ames between 1911 and 1921—a chronology that is detailed in separate histories written by Dwight W. Smith, Charles Black, and longtime WOI radio host Don Forsling. Of interest to some Iowa readers will be descriptions of the tension between private and public interests in Wisconsin about the proper role of noncommercial radio and later television. These are reminiscent of the controversy in Iowa that forced the eventual sale of commercial television station WOI by Iowa State University. Neil Harl documented that tale in *Arrogance and Power: The Saga of WOI-TV* (2001). Finally, Iowa public radio listeners will relate to Wisconsin broadcasts of classical music, horticulture tips, and readings from popular books.

Wisconsin on the Air is a welcome contribution to the extant literature about American broadcasting, which is disproportionately devoted to descriptions of commercial pioneers. It is a history full of interesting personalities, political conflict, and struggles to recognize and adapt to changing competition, radio listeners' habits, and technological change. The methodology is an effective and credible approach for similar institutional histories in Iowa.

Harvest of Hazards: Family Farming, Accidents, and Expertise in the Corn Belt, 1940–1975, by Derek S. Oden. Iowa and the Midwest Experience Series. Iowa City: University of Iowa Press, 2017. xi, 251 pp. Illustrations, notes, index. $65 paperback.

Reviewer Katherine Jellison is professor of history at Ohio University. She is the author of *Entitled to Power: Farm Women and Technology, 1913–1963* (1993).

In this long overdue history of the farm safety movement, Derek S. Oden provides a thorough accounting of how midwestern farm families, agricultural organizations, government agencies, safety experts, and farm implement manufacturers made mid–twentieth-century farming a less dangerous occupation. Although the various players in the campaign to improve farm safety did not always seamlessly coordinate their efforts, their common crusade produced results: The Corn Belt farm was a safer place to live and work in 1975 than it had been in 1940.

Oden begins his study of the farm safety movement with the World War II–era effort to reduce farm accidents as part of the national campaign to increase overall agricultural production. During that time of national unity, midwestern farmers, industrial safety experts, and government agencies shared a common premise: safer farming would maximize production of food, fiber, and fats for military use. Following the wartime emergency, interest in improving farm safety continued as increased mechanization and greater reliance on the use of chemicals raised new concerns about the hazards of postwar farming. Agricultural colleges, farm implement manufacturers, and 4-H clubs were just a few of the institutions that raised awareness of farm safety issues by providing equipment demonstrations, tractor driving courses, farm safety contests, advice literature, and other prescriptive measures to lessen the dangers of farm work. During this educational phase of the safety movement, farm families largely embraced its principles and goals. Only when employee and consumer protection activists of the 1960s and 1970s called for greater government regulation of the conditions, equipment, and products of the American workplace—including the family-owned farm—did midwesterners begin to question the efficacy of the farm safety movement. Farm operators began to view safety

experts as intruders who were attempting to disrupt traditional patriarchal control over the farm family's maintenance and use of agricultural equipment. When the credentialed experts called for stricter state regulation of farm machinery—such as proposed legislation mandating installation of rollover protective systems on all farm tractors—Corn Belt farmers and implement manufacturers balked. The era of cooperation among farmers, educators, industrial safety experts, manufacturers, and the government thus came to an end. Oden appropriately concludes his study with this collapse of the original farm safety coalition. Examination of the movement beyond the mid-1970s, he states, is better left to "a separate work focusing on that period's unique aspects" (4).

Oden recounts his story of mid–twentieth-century farm safety in thorough, workmanlike fashion. His numerous sources include oral histories with midwestern farmers, local newspaper accounts, farm safety periodicals, extension service and 4-H publications, and the papers of Iowa-based farm safety specialist Norval Wardle. Although his study deals with the entire midwestern Corn Belt, most of his evidence is centered in Iowa, and the book's photographs of mid-century farm life are all from collections housed at the State Historical Society of Iowa. Oden neglects to provide any dates or specific locations for these Iowa farm scenes, however, and he does not identify the men, women, and children portrayed in these rich visual sources. These omissions are particularly puzzling given the exhaustive detail with which the author otherwise covers his subject.

Harvest of Hazards is nevertheless an important study of a topic that historians have largely ignored. It provides necessary context and background information for anyone wanting a better understanding of contemporary farm safety debates, as well as those interested in the history of mid-century Corn Belt farming more generally. Historians of both U.S. public policy and U.S. agriculture will find it useful reading.

Invisible Hawkeyes: African Americans at the University of Iowa during the Long Civil Rights Era, edited by Lena M. Hill and Michael D. Hill. Iowa City: University of Iowa Press, 2016. x, 230 pp. Illustrations, notes, index. $20.00 paperback.

Reviewer Patrick Naick is associate professor of English at Coe College, where he also coordinates the American studies and African American studies programs. His research interests include twentieth-century African American literature and American urban studies.

In the summer of 2016, just a few months prior to this book's release, author James Alan McPherson died in Iowa City. McPherson, the first African American to win the Pulitzer Prize for fiction, was alumnus and

professor emeritus in the Iowa Writers' Workshop, having joined the faculty in 1981, a decade after earning his own MFA there. In the fall of 2017, roughly a year after McPherson's death, the University of Iowa opened the doors to a new dormitory, its largest to date: Catlett Hall, named for famed artist Elizabeth Catlett. When Catlett earned an MFA degree from the University of Iowa in 1940, she was one of the first three recipients—and the first African American—of that degree in the United States. These events may not seem particularly monumental, but they are important. The broader historical context of their midwestern significance and possibility is explored in *Invisible Hawkeyes: African Americans at the University of Iowa during the Long Civil Rights Era*.

Invisible Hawkeyes uses the conception of invisibility from Ralph Ellison's 1952 novel *Invisible Man* as an analytical frame for the experiences of several African Americans at the University of Iowa during the long civil rights era (1930s–1960s). That lens provides an additional layer of complexity to the work, particularly for those with an interest in Ellison. Readers less familiar with the novel will still benefit from the strength of the book's content independent of that device.

Ellison's tale begins with a prologue in which the anonymous narrator describes his predicament: "I am an invisible man. No, I am not a spook like those who haunted Edgar Allen Poe; nor am I one of your Hollywood-movie ectoplasms. I am a man of substance, of flesh and bone, fiber and liquids—and I might even be said to possess a mind. I am invisible, understand, simply because people refuse to see me." That refusal to see characterizes the climate of the University of Iowa in regard to race relations during the early years of the Hills' temporal scope, and the text demonstrates the persistent, although often unacknowledged, presence and contributions of African Americans at the university and in the Iowa City community more broadly. However, the university and its environs did evolve in this respect, and many of those African American students moved to a state of visibility. *Invisible Hawkeyes* examines the University of Iowa's changing stance from tolerance to more deliberately progressive. It seeks to explain how a predominately white university in a predominately white state became host and home to one of the most renowned voices of contemporary American literature and has further secured the legacy of an honored alumna with a towering structure of glass, brick, and steel nestled on the east bank of the Iowa River.

The overarching thesis of the work is that during the decades under study, the University of Iowa became a leader in creating a space for African American students to pursue higher education amid the national struggle for civil rights. As the contributors to the book discuss, this can be best observed in the areas of creative arts and athletics, where

several white, male professors and coaches, including Philip G. Clapp, Grant Wood, and Francis Cretzmeyer, created opportunities for a larger black presence on campus. Lena Hill notes in the introduction, "*Invisible Hawkeyes* . . . not only reinforces Iowa's leadership in educating creative artists and athletes but also illustrates how local cases of black faces in white spaces anticipated and echoed national scenes of interracial striving and accomplishment. . . . By looking at UI and a smaller college town like Iowa City, we unearth how fraught moments of interracial collaboration, meritocratic advancement, and institutional insensitivity deepen our understanding of the painful conversion of the United States into a diverse republic committed to racial equality" (2).

These moments are collected in five essays about the arts and athletics interspersed with five testimonials from former University of Iowa students. Through these essays, the book reminds us of the quotidian experiences of the civil rights struggle—those with a regional resonance spearheaded by local players. The chapters also serve as informative local history. The testimonials contribute to our understanding of daily, lived experience. Personal testimonials that were more directly related to the subjects of the other essays would have facilitated a greater comprehension of the "painful conversion" at this precise locale.

This is but a small critique. Overall, Invisible Hawkeyes is a valuable addition to midwestern cultural studies. It is also an asset to scholarship about the role of the Midwest in the civil rights movement. Each contributor has a connection to the University of Iowa, thereby ensuring an investment in illuminating aspects of its history and continuing conversations about race and the community.

Never Curse the Rain: A Farm Boy's Reflections on Water, by Jerry Apps. Madison: Wisconsin Historical Society Press, 2017. xii, 141 pp. $22.95 hardcover and e-book.

Reviewer Joseph Otto is a doctoral candidate in history at the University of Oklahoma. His dissertation is an environmental history of drainage in Iowa.

Jerry Apps's *Never Curse the Rain* is a memoir about rural life in Wisconsin, but with a twist—it is all about water and how water shaped not only his life, but the lives of his parents, his children, and his grandchildren. From his earliest memories of baptisms and drought on the farm to his days as a young man sitting by the lake with his sweetheart, to middle age and canoe trips in the north woods, Apps reminds readers that water is a precious resource shared and cared for by all. "Those things we take for granted are often in the most danger. I grew up

understanding water's importance in the lives of my family and neighbors and learning to conserve it" (138–39).

Apps is known for his many works on Wisconsin history and culture, but his stories have relevance beyond the places he so artfully describes. Each chapter is a quick, stand-alone story that will stir kindred memories of water use in readers' minds. With prose appealing to local historians and weekend warriors alike, *Never Curse the Rain* will resonate with any rural Iowan who ever fished from a truss bridge, camped on a sand bar, floated a river, or took their family to the lake.

The Baseball Whisperer: A Small-Town Coach Who Shaped Big League Dreams, by Michael Tackett. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Harcourt, 2016. xvi, 255 pp. Illustrations, index. $26.00 hardcover.

Reviewer Corey Seeman is the director of Kresge Library Services at the Ross School of Business of the University of Michigan. He previously was the director of technical services of the National Baseball Library of the National Baseball Hall of Fame and Museum in Cooperstown and has focused his sports research on minor league baseball.

When you tune into a Cardinals or Cubs game over the summer, you see the best baseball has to offer. Yet the participants in those games represent only a tiny percentage of those who pick up a bat, ball, and glove over the summer. So many players dream of being a Royal or Yankee as they toil in the minor leagues, independent leagues, semipro baseball, collegiate summer leagues, and youth summer traveling teams year in and year out. The dreams of playing in the Major Leagues has led many players to Clarinda, a city of just over 5,000 in southwestern Iowa. You didn't go to Clarinda just to play baseball. You went to change your life, though not all of the players knew that at the time.

In 1969 Merl Eberly, a 35-year-old former minor league ballplayer, took over the Clarinda A's as field manager. Under his guidance, the community team became a collegiate league team. Collegiate leagues enable athletes with college eligibility left to continue playing over the summer and enhance their skills to get a better shot at the minor leagues. Eberly could not have known how successful his endeavor would be. He rallied the Clarinda community to support this summer league baseball team that won a championship and produced scores of Major League baseball players in what might be the least likely of stops. Clarinda alumni who made it to the Major Leagues include Bud Black, José Álvarez, Von Hayes, Scott Brosius, and many others. Clarinda had one special alumna in Ozzie Smith, the great shortstop from the San Diego Padres and Saint Louis Cardinals who was inducted into the National

Baseball Hall of Fame in 2002. During the 1981 season, when Major League baseball endured its first major strike, the Clarinda A's won the championship of the National Baseball Congress, a major tournament of amateur and semiprofessional teams held each year in Wichita.

The unlikely path to the Major Leagues that many ballplayers have taken through Clarinda is the subject of *New York Times* Washington Bureau editor Michael Tackett in his first book. Tackett, whose son Lee played for one season in Clarinda, takes us on a tremendous journey to see the special aspects of summer baseball in that city. Although Lee never played Major League baseball, the lessons he learned from his season with the Clarinda team inspired Michael Tackett to tell a different story of baseball. Students and fans of the game are regularly presented with new works on the greats of the game. Tackett gives us a story we have not heard before, and that is what makes it fascinating.

Through this beautiful, well-written book, we see the three passions in Merl Eberly's life: his community, his family, and his game. Eberly, along with his wife, Pat, who played a prominent role with the team, share the story with community members who saw the A's as an important element in the city's cultural life. Readers are transported to Clarinda and can visualize the community and the changes that took place over the 50-plus years that Merl was connected with the A's. Tackett introduces readers to the people who invested their time and energy to make this baseball team a source of civic pride.

A minor quibble: there may be too much emphasis on the Major League ball players who came through Clarinda. That may give the story broader appeal, but perhaps at the cost of squeezing out some of the stories from the ballplayers who became better people in their stop along the way to adulthood but not to the Major Leagues.

The title implies that Eberly had some mystical skill that allowed him to communicate with those others cannot connect with. His "whisperer" skills seem to be more straightforward, however. He instilled in his players, family, and community a work ethic that comes through clearly. Through these stories, we understand that his work ethic not only connected these players to the Major Leagues but also showed how anyone may grow and prosper in their chosen profession or avocation. That might be the finest aspect of this work. Tackett weaves a story that addresses the changes in middle America in the second half of the twentieth century. It should be on the bookshelf of anyone who is passionate about Iowa history, even if baseball is not a topic of interest.

The Senator Next Door: A Memoir from the Heartland, by Amy Klobuchar. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2016 (originally published by Henry Holt in 2015). 355 pp. Illustrations, notes, index. $19.95 paperback.

Reviewer Jennifer Delton is professor of history at Skidmore College. She is the author of *Making Minnesota Liberal: Civil Rights and the Transformation of the Democratic Party* (2002) .

If, in these polarized times, you need to boost your faith in democratic politics, this is the book for you. Senator Klobuchar writes not as a Democrat or a liberal, but as a midwestern woman, a Minnesotan, whose everyday life was and is imbricated with the history and politics of her region and nation. This highly readable, good-natured, and often funny memoir recounts Klobuchar's childhood in Plymouth, Minnesota, college and law school, legal career, stint as Hennepin County Prosecutor, motherhood, eight years in the U.S. Senate, and at least three election campaigns. Of course, one can't help but be aware that a politician's memoir usually signals an attempt to reach a larger audience, to set the stage for the next campaign. Yet this memoir is so engaging and so genuine that the reader hardly minds, especially if said reader grew up in the Twin Cities in the 1970s and ever went ice fishing, anguished over Vikings Super Bowl losses, or dined at Poppin' Fresh Pies—or, more seriously, had divorced parents, an alcoholic father, or a disabled child. At its heart, this book is about Minnesota, as anyone who appreciates a good Spam joke will recognize.

That said, there are at least two other stories of note here. The first is about being a woman in politics. Klobuchar never played up gender in her campaigns, nor does she dwell on it in the book. But she doesn't have to. It comes out in the anecdotes. There is a story about her three-year-old daughter throwing up on her right before a victory speech, another about her travails rearranging furniture in a new office, and another about explaining girls' swimsuits to her husband on the cell as she is walking into a vote. It is not that these things couldn't happen to men; it is that they wouldn't likely make it into a male politician's memoir. Once in Washington, Klobuchar found comfort and aid in the women's congressional caucus and clearly enjoys the comradery of her female peers; their gender shapes their experiences but does not define them.

The second story is about winning in the so-called heartland and making America bipartisan again. She clearly sees herself as carrying on the legacy of Hubert Humphrey and Paul Wellstone in that regard. Fought on a shoestring budget, Klobuchar's campaigns were family affairs that were about getting out, knocking on doors, and seeking out the optimal lawn sign location. These are some of the best stories in the book

and remind readers how much democracy is still about your neighbors, which is connected to Klobuchar's zeal for bipartisanship. Despite all we hear about polarization, there has been bipartisan cooperation among lawmakers, especially among those from the same region. As Klobuchar shows, midwesterners have stuck together on a variety of regional and other kinds of issues despite party differences. They are neighbors. But so, too, are those seeking to help veterans, to lower medical costs, or to combat sex trafficking. So, too, are those people you get to know by working with them. So, too, are our global trading partners. Throughout the book, Klobuchar pauses to let readers know what she learned from her many experiences, but the overall lesson is the need for cooperation and compromise if lawmakers hope to do their jobs and serve the public.

Wish You Were Here: Love & Longing in an American Heartland, by Zachary Michael Jack. American Midwest Series. Kirksville, MO: Truman State University Press, 2016. xi, 256 pp. Illustrations, bibliography. $15.96 paperback, $9.99 e-book.

Reviewer Julianne Couch is an adjunct faculty member at Upper Iowa University and the University of Wyoming. She is the author of *The Small-Town Midwest: Resilience and Hope in the Twenty-First Century* (2016).

For Zachary Michael Jack, rural Iowa is a place not just to live and work, but a place to fall in love and to fall in love with. In these collected essays, Jack considers his professional and personal situation as a seventh-generation Iowa farmer who must commute out of state for professional work. He sees his life as an extension of the practices and choices of his ancestors. In turn, readers can see Jack as a proxy for generations of Iowans, and midwesterners, in rural America.

In part one, Jack describes his youth in a small town singled out in the national conversation as an example of how far rural America had fallen. Jack, who has spent time living and studying in distant locations, consciously defied the brain drain trend and as a result feels that he has been viewed as a quaint but mystifying artifact of times past.

Jack considers his Iowa ancestors and their youthful options for courtship and marriage as he reflects on his own. With few young unmarried women nearby in rural Iowa, he says he finds it hard to forge long-lasting romantic relationships. In "Digital Divides," Jack visits online dating sites with mixed results. Even the Internet, with its possibilities for forging human connection across the globe, cannot span rural and urban social divides.

In part two, Jack looks at courtship and other circumstances of his farm-family parents in the 1960s. We learn about their options for meeting

mates through social customs of the era, such as corn-picking contests, country dances, and church events. We see men who had choices for off-farm work, such as his own father's work in the aviation industry. Tradition and family necessity forced Jack's father to return to the farm, setting the stage for Jack's perception of his life choices. He writes, "In the end, I live here because I love here. It is too easy . . . to be a simple eulogist, the regionally bereaved" (5).

In part three, Jack considers his grandparents, who graduated from high school in 1935. He unpacks the easy myth that limited choices mean quicker decisions. He regards his grandmother's suitors as if he is the parent greeting these young men at the farm lane gate, weighing whether they are worth the young lady's time. He presents his relatives not as exceptional but as typical. He shows the nuance in farm families in which the men are competent but the women broadly capable and, in his view, the "Wonder Women," as one essay is titled.

Within families, adherence to gender roles can exclude and even inhibit storytelling. After Jack's grandmother's death, female relatives took charge of her home and its contents, disposing of items they felt she would not want anyone to see. He protested. He wanted to know his grandmother as a full person. Historians, however, work with incomplete artifacts to find patterns in the knowable past. Readers treated to Jack's gifts as a storyteller will appreciate the quilt he has constructed from his own narrative, sewn into coherence with fabric from the past.

Everyday Life: How the Ordinary Became Extraordinary, by Joseph A. Amato. London: Reaktion Books, 2016. 256 pp. Notes, index. $25.00 hardcover.

Reviewer Tom Morain is a former administrator of the State Historical Society of Iowa and recently semiretired Director of Government Relations at Graceland University. He is the author of *Prairie Grass Roots: An Iowa Small Town in the Early Twentieth Century* (1988).

Joseph Amato has written a thoughtful, theoretical approach to the study of everyday history. "Everyday history" needs explanation to avoid two possibilities for misunderstanding. In this context, "everyday" is by no means to be confused with the mundane or insignificant. It has more to do with daily activity and how daily activities have evolved over time. Second, Amato specifically differentiates everyday history from the broader social science approaches of social and cultural history. While the latter describe how particular groups respond to events or situations, everyday history focuses on individuals and how they interpret their environment through the lens of their unique culture. "Daily life," Amato writes, "receives its definition around what first

arises in mind—what surfaces, notion, forms, colours and flesh present and insist upon reaction" (79).

With this perspective, Amato fashions the "ordinary" and "extraordinary" in the title. The former, I take it, focuses primarily on material culture, the things that surround a particular individual. The "extraordinary" is the unique way people give meaning to their surroundings. In that process, individuals are unique (extraordinary) and not just a part of a group to which the social, economic, or political historian might want to ascribe them. Amato recognizes the challenge of such an approach and its inherent internal tension, "the abiding paradox of seeking to research and represent the singular and unique, on the one hand, while relying on the framing powers of generalizations and overarching narrative" (197).

In the first part of the book, Amato provides a summary view of the evolution of European social life from the Middle Ages to the present, with particular attention to rural life. He does, however, pay attention to many different levels of society, from peasant to noble. Unfortunately, while the book preaches its devotion to the ultimate uniqueness of the individual, it very rarely provides an example of such an individual or illustrates the discipline of everyday history in action.

Amato's major focus begins with the 1800s in Europe with the impact of the French Revolution and the Industrial Revolution. His scope expands to include the American experience as he illustrates three major themes that have radically altered daily life: the movement from rural to urban as the city has become the locus of change and the magnet for population growth; the explosion of things in our lives that industry, science, and technology have produced; and the inability of rural culture to protect itself from the invasion of urban values, resulting in the destruction of stable and self-sustaining rural culture. It is clear that, while he views the last trend as immutable, he harbors an affection for the sense of community and cultural texture that the small town provided.

In a departure from the historical norm, Amato's final chapter invokes the poet along with the historian as co-interpreter of the "extraordinary." The historian must have the transcendentalist poet's eye and ear for meaning encapsulated in a common object or daily routine to capture the "irreducibility of the singular and the elusiveness of the ephemeral" (206).

Amato's book is not an easy read. Nor is this text—a theory for the writing of everyday history—likely to become a bestseller. Those willing to drink deeply from his narrative, however, may develop new perspectives on the historian's craft and vision.

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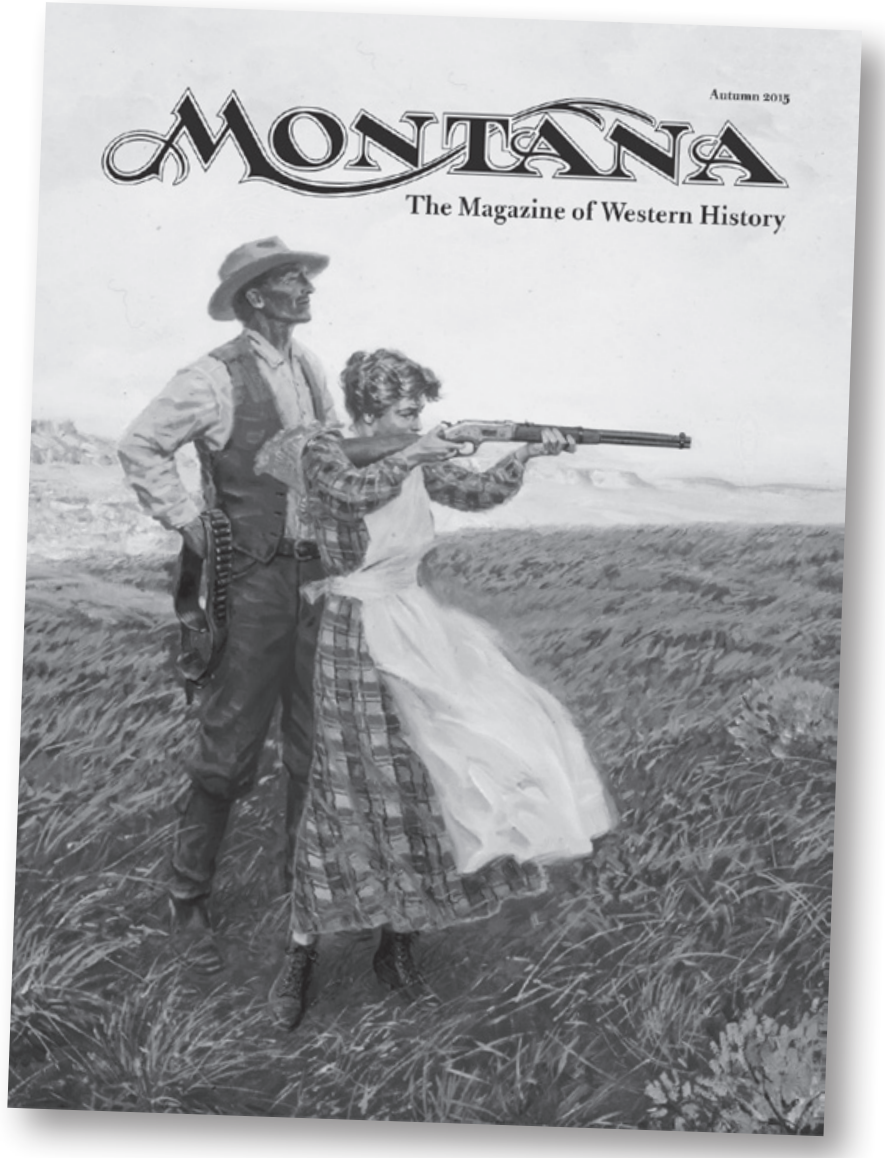

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The State Historical Society of Iowa

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