Degrees of Allegiance: Harassment and Loyalty in Missouri's German-American Community during World War I.

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Ojibwe men to join women in rice collecting as all sought to survive the Depression economy.

Norrgard’s *Seasons of Change* is deeply researched, tightly written, highly analytical, and packed with fresh and useful information. But the work is best suited for academic specialists. It also bears a surprising number of typographical errors, which at times distract from the arguments at hand. This is, of course, a minor critique; the mere fact that some shaky copyediting is perhaps the work’s greatest downfall stands as a testament to its quality as a piece of scholarship. Child’s *Knocking Sticks* matches Norrgard in analytical strength but is more accessibly written. Indeed, Child’s fluid prose and moving narrative will entice and engage scholars and general readers alike. Of particular significance is Child’s direct incorporation of entire primary sources, transcribed and typed onto her pages. In these instances, she lets the documents tell their own stories. Such passages are followed by in-depth discussions of how Child approached her sources, what questions they raised, and what research avenues they either opened or closed, thus making her work especially well suited to any college classroom.

Taken together, these two books reaffirm some important points about the history of the Native Midwest. While neither deals directly with Iowa, *Annals of Iowa* readers interested in the recent scholarly energy surrounding the study of the midwestern past will find in these works a compelling rebuttal to recent calls for a return to master narratives once prescribed—and now, in some circles, revived—by influential thinkers like Frederick Jackson Turner. Indeed, *Seasons of Change* and *Knocking Sticks* remind us that long after removal, the creation of the reservation system, and the closure of the frontier, progress for some continued to be built upon the dispossession of land and resources belonging to others. Ojibwes and other Native peoples were left with little to depend upon aside from each other and the intricate labor systems they built and adapted to in their struggle to survive. Well into the twentieth century, state and federal governments took aim at Ojibwe lands and livelihoods. That Native peoples persevered in such conditions should be noted and celebrated. But, as Child so poignantly reminds us, “survival” in the American heartland—as elsewhere—“rarely felt like freedom or sovereignty to Indigenous people” (3).

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*Degrees of Allegiance* makes a number of interventions into the extensive literature on the decimation of German American communities during World War I. Most importantly, DeWitt argues that the fates of German Americans in Missouri unsettle our general narratives about the fate of German Americans in the United States—especially in the Midwest. There was, for example, much less violence against German Americans in Missouri than in other midwestern states. The reactions to state and federal mandates as well as the reception of anti-German propaganda were also quite varied within the state. Indeed, broader discourses about Germans and Germanness circulating in the United States before and during the war were refracted by multiple local contexts (even within counties). That produced a variety of results when it came to federal and state efforts to promote anti-German sentiment and to limit the use of the German language in churches, schools, other civil institutions, and many public places. In part, this was because German communities in Missouri were themselves highly varied: many were rural, some were quite isolated, and some were united by religious beliefs that were steeped in German culture and language and thus resisted their eradication. Yet that resistance was also facilitated by a more general characteristic within the state. Because German and non-German Missourians shared a pointed opposition to any local intervention from the state and federal governments, many local communities in Missouri often failed to implement governmental decrees and ignored more than a few laws. Consequently, there was less persecution of German Americans in Missouri than in other states and much less in rural communities than in St. Louis. Many of Missouri’s German American communities “were able to preserve aspects of their ethnic culture despite the war”—and despite the failure of similar communities to do the same in other parts of the United States (3).

DeWitt argues that because much of the scholarship on German Americans during the war has been based on urban studies, it has reified the histories of rural areas. That insight, based on her willingness to work closely with local records across the state, is one of DeWitt’s most important contributions. Her research at the local level, for example, makes it clear that *German* and *German American* were hardly unitary categories in Missouri. There was great variation stemming from these German Americans’ places of origin, their respective German dialects, and their confessional differences. Significant differences also developed between the communities that took shape in urban settings, in individual towns, and even within many counties. Understanding the
conglomerate character of Missouri’s German Americans proved quite useful. It has helped DeWitt explain why German culture was so easily undermined in some parts of the state and preserved in others.

There is much in this book to interest historians of Missouri and the Midwest. DeWitt does an excellent job of detailing the state’s appeal to German immigrants during the nineteenth century and tracing the different chains of migration that led to the tapestry of Germanophone communities across the state. She also offers a compelling portrait of German communities in St. Louis, where German immigrants made up 20 percent of the city’s population by 1910. Here, too, she explains, there were concentrations of German speakers in particular wards, as there were in particular counties or within areas of different counties across the state.

Indeed, one of her most compelling insights is that political boundaries within the state, not just those between the states, can easily obscure the diversification of German American communities. They can also obscure the ways German American families gained land, expanded their holdings, drew other Germanophone families to them, and developed communities that often shared regional origins, dialects, and faiths. Many of those rural German American communities constructed distinct German identities that did not conflict with being American. They also often created a kind of institutional completeness that made it unnecessary for them to go outside their communities for essential services. That gave them great independence and helps account for their resilience during the war.

There is also much in this book that will interest historians focused on Germanophone settlements in other parts of the United States and in other parts of the world. Despite all the distinctions and differences DeWitt identifies in Missouri’s hinterlands, many consistencies ran across these German American communities that they shared with similar communities in other states: the important role of drinking in German culture (especially on Sundays); the many conflicts they had with temperance movements; the lack of a clear political block for German voters; the importance of German Americans in labor movements; the ubiquitous German social organizations; the many German-language newspapers, which covered the political spectrum; the ways those papers preserved Germanness even as they promoted assimilation. Even the fractured character of Missouri’s German American communities and the lack of class solidarity within them are consistent across many of the German communities that developed outside of Europe during the nineteenth century. So, too, were the many tensions that could exist under the surface of peaceful integration, which accounted for many of
the most radical actions against German Americans and the German language during the war.

What will most interest scholars focused on other parts of the United States, however, is DeWitt’s success in reading widely across the state’s records. That has allowed her to demonstrate, for example, that not all English-language newspapers were equally opposed to these communities. Nor did the English- or German-language papers react consistently to events leading up to and during the war. While there were general trends in the attacks and condemnations, not everyone followed suit; thus one finds denouncements of British aggressions in many of Missouri’s English-language newspapers, calls for loyalty in many of the German-language ones, and a striking absence of much war coverage and anti-German propaganda in both. Those observations provide us with valuable insights into the complexities behind the rather pat narratives about the rise and fall of German America. It is safe to assume that scholars could easily build upon them if they took up DeWitt’s call to pursue similar rural studies in other states.

Rows of Memory: Journeys of a Migrant Sugar-Beet Worker, by Saúl Sánchez. Iowa City: University of Iowa Press, 2014. xxviii, 210 pp. Illustrations, notes, glossary, bibliography, index. $21.00 paperback.

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For generations Mexican and Mexican American agricultural workers cyclically traversed the United States to perform a variety of functions on American farms. Much has been written on states such as California and Texas, but the role of the Mexican farm worker in the Northwest and Midwest is less well understood. Saúl Sánchez’s Rows of Memory expands our knowledge of Mexican Americans in the Northwest and Midwest, and Iowa in particular. Complementing scholarly accounts such as Juan Garcia’s Mexicans in the Midwest, Kathleen Mapes’s Sweet Tyranny, and Jim Norris’s North for the Harvest as well as autobiographical accounts such as Elva Treviño Hart’s Barefoot Heart, it provides a complex and deeply inspiring story of one man’s journey from migrant worker to college professor. Rows of Memory also includes an excellent introductory essay by University of Iowa history professor Omar Valerio-Jiménez.

Like other migrant workers, the Sánchez family began work in the spinach fields of Texas’s winter garden region, their home base in many ways. When young Saúl was a child, his parents decided to travel for