

of historians of technology and of regional economic development as well. Gregory Heller's treatment of Bacon is even-handed, offering perspective and analysis on both Bacon's achievement and flaws. In undertaking this review I was skeptical that the two books had much in common, but in fact they complement each other in surprising ways. It is not just that they were all planners; the Sellers family industrialists and Ed Bacon all believed in Philadelphia and believed it could take charge of its future.

ROGER D. SIMON

Lehigh University

Brian Joseph Gilley. *A Longhouse Fragmented: Ohio Iroquois Autonomy in the Nineteenth Century* (Albany: State University of New York Press 2014). Pp. 167. Illustrations, notes, works cited. Cloth, \$70.00.

Brian Joseph Gilley's *A Longhouse Fragmented* is a study of the Iroquois movements from their ancestral home, called the "Six Nations" in New York State, to Ohio where they became the Seneca of Sandusky, through migration to their eventual home in Oklahoma where they became the Seneca-Cayuga of Oklahoma. An ancillary theme of this text is an effort to establish that the Seneca-Cayuga were true Iroquois and not a fragmented assimilated people. Gilley disagrees with the conclusions of most Iroquois scholars on this topic, who say, "Those Western people are not Iroquois as we think of the Six Nations. They have kinship, a longhouse, but they're not actually Iroquois." Gilley's thesis is that they are true Iroquois just like the people of the Six Nations because of their contiguous customs and traditions. He further believes that, tragically, these Western people are ignored by Iroquois scholars.

The intended audience for this book is those scholars whose special interest is Iroquois studies. The author forcefully challenges the claims of the scholars who disagree with him and implies that current Iroquois studies are flawed. He is so confidently adamant in his position that he suggests the possibility of a conspiracy by Iroquois scholars to keep his position from being published.

Gilley may have been better served if he had started this book with a chapter on what made the Six Nations special among Native Americans. He does tell us that their form of democracy was a precursor of the American model, and their innovations in agriculture were highly successful, and their ability

to govern helped in creating the Iroquois empire that covered most of the eastern United States. This may be a topic for another book, yet expansion of this topic by Gilley would have made the picture of fragmentation clearer.

By chapter 2, the style of writing takes a narrative form as the author defines and explains the longhouse tradition. The longhouse is his primary weapon in defense of his thesis for continuity. He uses it in the book's title, the longhouse is pictured on the cover, and he repeatedly points to its importance to the Iroquois as a democratic tool employed in each crisis as they were pushed west. The longhouse is a connecting custom between Six Nation people through the Seneca of Sandusky and finally the Seneca-Cayuga of Oklahoma.

The narrative style flows and is connected by time frame, location, and historical context. The chapters capture the flow of the Iroquois migration through American history and the historical time frame by referencing the period of the French and Indian War, the British occupation, American independence, the Civil War, and American "Manifest Destiny." This approach is quite good and answers the following questions: why was the migration necessary, how and when the move took place, and who benefited and who suffered because of the migration.

As Gilley presents his case for the continuity of political and socioreligious practices and community values, he paints a very interesting picture of the various common ceremonies, such as the Midwinter ceremony, also called the Dog Dance, and even the game of lacrosse. The discussions of customs and traditions are the strength of this book.

Gilley presents a balanced argument for his belief in continuity, yet, the argument for multicultural fragmentation is more compelling. The original migrants to Ohio were Six Nations people, yet the case cannot be sustained when other factors are considered that change individuals and cultures from their historical roots. Even the authors Gilley cites don't embrace the continuity principle. For instance, in the text Lewis Henry Morgan is quoted as saying, "Can the residue of the Iroquois be reclaimed?" Gilley's answer is yes, while the evidence says no. On page 5, Gilley quotes Chatterjee and then Gilley concludes, "Thus the communities who Trans located to the western frontier (Ohio Territory) in the late eighteenth century away from the Iroquois proper represent the primordial non-nationalized and thus illegitimate embodiment of Iroquois culture. These trans located people are more difficult to 'order' within epistemological particularities and thus occupy a secondary historical and intellectual space." I believe when Gilley says this he is making the case for fragmentation.

History has provided many examples of the impact of forced migration that are similar to what was experienced by the Iroquois. The trauma of migration alone creates change; the generations who never actually experienced the Six Nation culture are different people; assimilation through marriages and interaction with other native cultures changes people. The changes brought by the struggles that a new environment brings in living conditions, and the close comingling with other native peoples and Europeans, all add up to fragmentation. The unreliable leadership of the people in migration, and a political system guided by self-interested chiefs, alcoholism, and lethargy, as discussed in chapters 4 and 5, are the sad result of the forced migration and the erosion of community values. The scholarship on these points is large and it all points to the resulting fragmentation, multiculturalism, and varying degrees of assimilation. So the weight of evidence refutes Gilley's position that because the same or similar customs and traditions in some form are contiguous, it should be concluded that the Seneca of Sandusky and the Seneca-Cayuga of Oklahoma should be included in Iroquois studies.

In the preface, Gilley says, "The book is short on purpose but intended to begin a conversation." When it is read in this context, the book becomes an interesting addition to Iroquois study. Whatever the outcome of this debate we are still left with the New York Iroquois and the Seneca-Cayuga of Oklahoma. The migration west is a piece of American history and whether or not it is a separate story of Indian western migration or an Iroquois story with an asterisk will be unimportant to most readers.

Gilley's presentation regarding the story of removal in chapters 2 and 3 and the migration west in chapter 4 is very well done. His storytelling is at its best in the narrative describing the hardships, betrayal, and traumas experienced along this trail of tears.

This book is well documented with quotations, notes, and works cited. This scholarly effort with its cited source material should be a welcome addition to the library of the student of Indian studies.

WILLIAM S. TRESS