

American courts of law. The book is dense but readable, and its primary strength lies in Lakomäki's keen understanding of many aspects of Shawnee culture.

Lakomäki is well aware of how the Shawnee, and Indigenous peoples overall, are presented as artifacts in Euro-American writings about them, and he intentionally writes to dismantle Eurocentric perspectives. One important example is his wise interrogation of the anthropological notion of "cultural evolution" that demotes Native peoples to the bottom rung of human civilization, as signaled by use of the academic misnomer "tribes" (226–27). Overall, Lakomäki dismantles outdated views of the Shawnee quite well, and he offers significant primary source evidence to demonstrate his arguments. *Gathering Together* also includes terminology that reflects important Indigenous cultural concepts, such as reciprocal obligations, ceremonial kinship relations, and spiritual power that holds Native nations together.

A criticism of the work is that it is written in the "great history tradition" of western culture that uses chronological ordering of events and compilations of dates, names, and military battles, concluding in theoretical analysis. This style is the bulwark of texts for academics and public historians, but it is an entirely western-academic method that asserts by default that this is the Indigenous way of recording history as well. To the contrary, Native American nations originating in the Eastern Woodlands use Epochs as their concept of time, and their historic records include far more than information about military events. But as the back-cover endorsements of non-Indigenous academics signal, Lakomäki is thinking and writing within a specific tradition: Euro-American academic culture.

In *Gathering Together*, Lakomäki has significantly raised the bar of historic reporting and analysis about Native Americans. Regrettably, there are no endorsements or contributions by contemporary Eastern Woodland Indigenous scholars or Shawnee Tribal Councils. He notes in the acknowledgements section that he had conversations with four Shawnee people. With an American public that still strongly believes in the Vanished Indian trope and is overrun with films, books, and images that reinforce this belief, these omissions are significant.

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The Ku Klux Klan in Western Pennsylvania, 1921–1928. By JOHN CRAIG. (Bethlehem, PA: Lehigh University Press, 2014. 246 pp. Notes, bibliography, index. \$80.)

John Craig's *The Ku Klux Klan in Western Pennsylvania, 1921–1928* is an important contribution to the history of the 1920s Klan. Between 1921 and the group's collapse at mid-decade, as many as 200,000 Pennsylvanians in the twenty-five counties west of the Allegheny Mountains joined the resurgent Invisible Empire. Violence broke

out in the region between belligerent hooded knights and determined, mainly Catholic, opponents of the nativist order, most notably at Carnegie (1923) and the small railroad town of Lilly (1924). Yet, prior to Craig's work, the most thorough examination of the 1920s Pennsylvania Klan during its most dynamic phase was Emerson H. Loucks's *The Ku Klux Klan in Pennsylvania* (1936), a work based on interviews with former Klan members. Craig, by contrast, consulted dozens of local newspapers, testimony from court cases arising from Klan-provoked riots and internal Klan disputes, and Klan material from the state police archives to uncover more details of Klan activities in western Pennsylvania.

More deeply researched than older studies, Craig's book also challenges newer interpretations of the 1920s Klan. Recent scholarship has downplayed violence as a defining theme of the 1920s Invisible Empire. Prominent studies have examined the associational network of klaverns; emphasized civic engagement among activist Klansmen; and documented Klan efforts to reinforce white Protestant domination by controlling public schools, enforcing prohibition, and influencing local, state, and national politics. Craig boldly asserts that action, not ideology (hostility to Catholics, Jews, and African Americans), attracted prospective knights to western Pennsylvania klaverns. As he puts it, "violent conflict and vigilantism" were "central" to the Klan movement in the region (xiv). Grand Dragon Sam Rich promised "theater and thrills" with dramatic parades, church visitations, cross burnings, and vigilante missions (33). Klan recruiter D. C. Stephenson promoted massive open-air rallies that advertised the strength of the Invisible Empire. At the urging of both Rich and Imperial Wizard Hiram Evans, Klansmen armed themselves at some gatherings and confronted Catholic and immigrant communities in provocative nighttime marches that exploded into violence. Many historians recognize Klan provocations, but emphasize instead anti-Klan violence in the North. Craig uses court records to argue that western Pennsylvania Kluxers not only courted violence, but also used firearms to inflict most of the casualties at Carnegie and Lilly. Moreover, he contends that violence did not reduce Klan membership, which grew until administrative changes, higher membership costs, and a national political agenda led Evans to curtail provocative displays. As Rich stated, "it takes riots to swell the ranks of the Ku Klux Klan" (104). In their absence, Craig argues, western Pennsylvanians abandoned the Klan.

Craig sometimes overstates his case. Whereas Loucks concluded that each klavern harbored a minority of violence-minded hotheads, Craig contends that such thrill seekers constituted the majority of Klansmen. He suggests that the Pennsylvania State Police protected the Klan because the two groups worked together in prohibition enforcement, but evidence of this cooperation is slender. Yet, even when Craig's reading of the evidence is speculative, one cannot deny the unusual fixation on confrontation in western Pennsylvania's Klan movement.