have done an impressive job in tackling a complex and difficult task.

It is clear that in compiling a bibliography of materials on so many different groups that there would be an occasional omission. Yet, from an examination of the listings for two ethnic groups with which this reviewer is familiar, there appeared to be no omissions of importance. On the contrary, there were works included with which this writer was unfamiliar. Unfortunately, Georges and Stern chose to omit materials they were unable to obtain and read themselves. Although the reasons for this procedure are understandable, it would have been preferable to include such references, perhaps marking them with an asterisk; they might then be obtained and used by researchers who would be able to find them.

Each item in the bibliography is listed under the ethnic group it discusses. When two or more groups are included in a work, that work is crosslisted under both groups. A short description of each work follows the listing, providing pertinent and precise information on its content and value. The only shortcomings this reviewer found in the bibliography were minor. For example, within each ethnic category, works are listed by author's last name. When there is more than one work by a single author, however, the listing of works by that author appears to follow no discernible pattern (such as date of publication).

For the beginning folklore student, the veteran researcher, or scholar from another discipline, this bibliography is a tool which will aid in finding and evaluating materials from diverse sources. It is a valuable time-saver and guide in the investigation of North American ethnic groups and their folklore.

Folklorists have not often turned their attention to the Shakers for any sort of studious appraisal. Likewise, those involved in Shaker studies have rarely utilized folkloristic approaches, theory, or methodology in their endeavors to explore Shaker culture. This lack of interaction is unfortunate, since each field could benefit from the material, examples, and insights that each one could afford the other. By reviewing these two recent books on Shaker material, I hope to accomplish three objectives: 1) to present Shaker studies to folklore as a viable field of study, 2) to assess the direction and nature of Shaker studies, as revealed in these publications, and 3) to reveal the applicability of folkloristics to Shaker studies.

In terms of content and focus these two books are different. Gordon focuses on an industry common to all nineteen major communities of the Shakers and examines it in its various forms and processes. Thus she encompasses all of Shakerdom by concentrating on a common activity. Horgan, on the other hand, concentrates his attention on one community, providing the reader with a specific study on the development and decline of the bishopric of Shirley and Harvard, Massachusetts. Although these are different foci, they nonetheless reveal a trend toward taking a more particularized focus than has been usual in Shaker studies, Gordon isolating textile industries out of all of the many Shaker industries for her study, Horgan isolating just one community (which actually comprises the two villages of Shirley and Harvard) for his study. This trend toward the specific is laudable, for from such studies an ethnography of Shakerism could develop. Rather than trying to comprehend Shakerism only in terms of its broad historical outlines, Shaker studies can begin to assess Shaker material in its mélange of variations, differences, and specificities.
Both books are similar not only in terms of their approach but also in terms of the obvious breadth of research into their respective topics. They both have examined the usual published works on Shakerism, and have also searched out the esoteric manuscripts, diaries, workbooks, ledgers, and other primary material generated by the Shakers. The historical and descriptive aspects of these books are thorough and well-documented. The authors are fortunate that the Shakers were so meticulous in keeping records, and the readers are fortunate that the authors took the scholarly pains to locate and use those records. The aspect of thorough research is probably the most significant legacy of the Shaker scholar, Edward Deming Andrews, and it is a legacy that both authors have developed from Andrews' more usual general scope to the more specified concentration noted above.

In Shaker Textile Arts, Gordon is strong in her technical and historical descriptions. The first chapter, although very short, is an excellent summary of the main outlines and structures of Shaker history, political life, and very basic tenets. The next two chapters are quite thorough in listing and describing details of the Shaker textile industries and processes of production. In Chapters 4 and 5 Gordon identifies and describes the items and industries of the household textiles and of the textiles used for personal wear; and in the last chapter she lists and describes the items the Shakers made commercially—"fancy work." To cap off the descriptive nature of the book, she includes appendices, which indicate the locations and dates of the nineteen major Shaker communities, the Shaker political structure, weaving patterns, recipes and instructions for dyeing, and a fancy goods store's inventory. All of the extras in this book—the copious illustrations, the notes, the bibliography, the glossary, the appendices—are useful for the researcher, and their inclusion indicates Gordon's sensitivity to scholarly detail and need.

Unfortunately, Gordon does not deal with the material in a critical way. Although she designates that her book "is written for a general audience" (xiii), she includes such a plenitude of technical and cultural information that it is obviously intended for a more sophisticated audience as well. Thus her failings in a critical
appraisal of the material are blameworthy. While she does occasionally make attempts to view her subject matter critically, the attempts only point out the need for a greater depth of analysis than she actually provides. She therefore relies on the descriptive nature of the book in order to present insights, an approach that produces unsubstantiated, superficial appraisals. Instead of merely noting that certain Shaker braided rugs, for instance, are nearly indistinguishable from those of the World (p. 107), she could have referred to basic theories and assumptions of the folklorist and explored the influence of folk culture on Shaker culture. She then could have examined regional, social, cultural, and personal patterns for any Shaker community she would refer to, thereby providing a depth of explanation that is generally lacking in the volume. Drawing on folkloristic insights and methods, she would not have made the mistake of comparing the Pennsylvania folk cultural custom of using thorns to pin neckerchiefs with the identical Shaker custom (p. 170), because in folklore one knows not to draw examples from a region that has no documented connection with the culture under study (not one of the nineteen major Shaker villages was in Pennsylvania). If Gordon had conducted her theoretical research as extensively as she had her technical and historical research, she would not have made misleading assumptions. Furthermore she could have made a significant contribution to Shaker studies by providing not only an excellent descriptive survey of Shaker textile arts, but also a pioneering work of analysis. Other than a few exceptions, this standard of non-critical analysis is the rule in modern Shaker studies.

Even lacking the analytical approach to her work, Beverly Gordon has made a worthwhile contribution to Shaker studies by providing a focused study of a major Shaker industry. Edward R. Horgan likewise has made a worthwhile contribution with _The Shaker Holy Land_, for his is a focused study of a single community. This type of study has generally been neglected in favor of general studies lumping all the communities together, thereby disregarding the significant variations arising from regional, local, personal, and sociocultural dynamics. Studies of individual communities, such as Horgan's, hopefully will eliminate the generalizing "Shaker" characterization and will illuminate the
specific characteristics of each Shaker village, and further, of each Shaker family within each village.

Horgan creates a personal account of the bishopric of Harvard-Shirley (a bishopric consisted of any two or three Shaker villages that were within immediate proximity of one another; there were three other Shaker bishoprics), by drawing from the primary and secondary sources the details of the individual Shakers' lives, their troubles, conflicts, and setbacks as well as their achievements. He also presents eyewitness accounts from neighbors and visitors, some notables being William Dean Howells and Charles Lane. He delineates the community's history from its beginning as a "church" within the towns of Harvard and Shirley to its development as two religious communitarian villages to its eventual decline and closing in the early twentieth century, with its members either joining other Shaker villages or going back to the World. By drawing on the Shakers' journals and on contemporary accounts of them, Horgan vividly depicts the Shaker processes and thought that contributed to their growth and decline. After reading the volume, the reader feels familiar, and perhaps sympathetic, with the people and behavior of Shirley and Harvard.

Horgan's work is thus very important, for it ventures into the new direction of Shaker studies; that which examines the individual communities. Unfortunately, the weakness of Horgan's work parallels the weakness of Gordon's and of the vast majority of works on Shakerism—a lack of critical analysis. Again, as in Gordon's work, there is a wonderful listing of historical detail, but it is a listing without any insights, a listing whose only apparent purpose is to present the history of the Shaker community under study. As such it serves well. But it would, with only a little bit more work, have provided so much more in terms of analysis, speculation, and explanation. Horgan simply does not try to provide explanations. For instance, when he notes that the Americans around New Lebanon were expecting the Second Coming and thus were ripe for the Shakers, he does not even try to make a suggestion as to why they had this expectation (p. 17). For this he could have at least made a reference to some of the available literature, such as Arthur Bestor's Backwoods Utopias. A problem with an uncritical exposition
of a subject is that the researcher can become overly fond of the topic, unable to see it objectively, with the depth that comes with both the positive and negative qualities. This has been a persistent problem with twentieth century Shaker studies. Although Horgan does try to keep a balanced perspective, he occasionally lapses. When he talks about the Shakers having as much fun as the rest of the world, for example, on page 138, he tries to normalize Shaker behavior in terms of World values. But Shaker values were different from World values; that is one reason they separated themselves from the World. Horgan is trying to make the reader like the Shakers, an affective response that is neither important nor relevant. The critical approach, using not only folkloristic but also other disciplinary approaches, would curtail this tendency. The critical attitude would discern the depth and breadth of the Shirley and Harvard Shaker character and would obviate the perceived need to make the Shakers more likable.

Both the Horgan and Gordon works are highly commendable for their ease of reading, their extensive use of primary as well as secondary sources, their accomplishment of incorporating diverse and esoteric information into one compact reference, and their focus on the specific rather than the general. They each can be faulted on other grounds, however, such as being imprecise with facts occasionally, not delving into explication of their material, and relying on simple description rather than on the more complex means of analysis to present their material. Shaker culture, society, and people were and are so rich in their expression and character that they deserve a broad and deep analytical critique. This requires, of course, not only more of the solid historical and technical descriptive scholarship of the type Horgan and Gordon have provided, especially with their sharp foci, but also a correspondingly solid analytical scholarship that would meld with the descriptive. This would demand more work on the part of Shaker scholars. However, considering the amount of work that either Horgan or Gordon has already put into his or her work, and considering the landmark proportions that such an expansion would produce, the extra work would be small compared to its results. The Shakers will continue to be seen both popularly and academically as simple and
quaint people as long as simple, non-reflective, non-analytical books and articles on them are produced. The Shaker Holy Land and Shaker Textile Arts are fine descriptive accounts of their respective topics; they even go beyond description in tentative or implicit analysis. But the potential that is brimming within them is never fulfilled. With knowledge and appropriate use of folkloristic theory and method—as well as the theories and methods of other relevant disciplines, such as American Studies, anthropology, sociology, semiotics, and others—the Shaker scholar can make significant inroads into a fuller understanding of Shakerism. Horgan and Gordon have provided references that are rich with material that is waiting for the analyst. Had they themselves made substantial attempts at analysis, these volumes would mark a turning point in Shaker studies.

**NOTE**

1. The two exceptions to this statement should be acknowledged: Don Yoder, "The Spiritual Lineage of Shakerism" (*Pennsylvania Folklife* 28: 3, Spring 1978, pp. 2—14); and Daniel W. Patterson, *The Shaker Spiritual* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1979). Yoder's article helps to clear up simplistic notions of the sources of Shaker doctrine and practice, and Patterson's book is significant in Shaker studies for not only exploring the material of Shaker song, but also exploring the Shaker and World contexts from which the songs arose. These works then provide both broader and deeper analyses of Shaker material than is the norm in Shaker studies.

Traditional Craftsmanship in America: A Diagnostic Report.

Reviewed by Tina Bucuvalas.

Scholarship on crafts and craftsmanship in the United States has long played the ugly stepsister to the more immediately attractive material culture genres of