

the account of the progress of the seasons; the fall and winter chapters were hardly developed; and by the time Thoreau worked on the fourth version, in 1852, he had to add almost all of "The Ponds," "Brute Neighbors," "House-Warming," "Former Inhabitants; and Winter Visitors," "The Pond in Winter," and the crucial chapter on "Higher Laws." Mr. Shanley does not explain why the first version is essentially a summer book, why the seasons became so important, why Thoreau added "Higher Laws," or how the quantitative changes became qualitative. Why, one wonders, as Mr. Shanley notes, was Thoreau's sense of the significance of his experience not satisfied by the *Walden* of 1849? And if Thoreau wrote on in order to "express more adequately the richness and completeness of his experience," what constituted that richness and completeness?

Mr. Shanley's study does not answer these questions. But by showing what was added at each stage of the composition of *Walden*, it may help others to answer them. To have brought to light the first version of *Walden* is enough: any reader will be able to find the valorous Thoreau in the passage from this version to the final text.

SHERMAN PAUL.

*Revivalism and Social Reform in Mid-Nineteenth-Century America.* By Timothy L. Smith. (New York: Abingdon Press. 1957. Pp. 253. \$4.00.)

*The Decline and Revival of the Social Gospel: Social and Political Liberalism in American Protestant Churches, 1920-1940.* By Paul A. Carter. (Ithaca, New York: Cornell University Press. 1956. Pp. x, 265. \$3.75.)

Though these two analytical, to my reading exciting, books are addressed to the theme of American religious history, their importance for the student of our civilization in every department can hardly be over-stated. Mr. Carter's is in effect a logical sequel to Mr. Smith's, though obviously there was no collusion. But since Mr. Carter's story picks up where the impulse generated in the flames of Mr. Smith's story lost its momentum, we may happily take for granted the intervening period, from the end of Mr. Smith's narrative, 1865, to the opening of Mr. Carter's, 1920.

Of course, that interval has been surveyed in at least two major studies of recent years: Henry F. May, *Protestant Churches and Industrial America* (1949) and Charles H. Hopkins, *The Rise of the Social Gospel in American Protestantism* (1940). Both our younger writers acknowledge their indebtedness to these slightly older ones; but they mark a revolution which has quietly been at work in American historiography: where the works of May and Hopkins have a certain static quality, as though the Protestant mind in this country were a rigid configuration which could be taken apart and reassembled like a piece of machinery, these two books are carried along by a feeling for the *dynamics* of history. The machine may be sociologically a conglomeration, but historically it moved. And indeed, once seen in the light of history, despite the attacks of all sorts of secularists, whether profane or respectful, American Protestantism becomes no machine at all, but a living, suffering organism.

Mr. Smith studies the period before the Civil War, concentrating on the immense revival of 1858. Hitherto, most accounts of religion in this era are either denominational records (stuffed with tedious statistics) or else efforts to translate religious experience into some other terminology than religion (Turner's frontier, Beard's economics, Parrington's progressivism, Schlesinger, Jr.'s political Manicheism). Interest generally centers upon the extremes—*e.g.* Unitarianism and Mormonism—because these alone seem to excite modern curiosity. Mr. Smith's is almost the first book (along with several brilliant articles by Professor Sidney Mead) to plunge into the "heartland" of American Protestantism, to give us a vibrant insight into the forces at work among the massive evangelical churches of the center—Methodist, Baptist, Presbyterian, Congregational, and (to the extent that it was infected by revivalism) Lutheran.

His book is so full of new departures that only a few can here be listed. He demonstrates that with 1858 the revival spirit definitely migrated from the forest camp-meeting to the city. He shows how in the thinking of all sects an activist Arminianism took over from the old-line Calvinism (thus indicating how infinitely more they had in common than the surface appearance of sectarian rivalry leads social historians to appreciate). To me his most valuable contribution is his explaining just how "the quest of personal holi-

ness became in some ways a kind of plain man's transcendentalism." Out of the whole study, derived entirely from original source material, Mr. Smith lets us see how the tremendous energies of American Protestantism, harnessed to the cause of making Christianity "work," were directed into the channels of social action. So he gives us an understanding of precisely how the slavery issue tormented the evangelical churches. In that way he tells us much we constantly forget about the Civil War, which on both sides was mainly fought by the children of a common evangelicalism.

By the novelty of his approach, Mr. Smith jolts the historian of New England into startled realization that the revivalist element of the region played, in historical fact, a much greater part in its behavior than did that of Unitarianism, transcendentalism, or Harvard College. We are all familiar with the names of Garrison, Theodore Parker, Wendell Phillips; but how many of us recognize those of Orange Scott, Joel Parker, or Edward N. Kirk? The merest undergraduate responds to *The Liberator*, but not many graduates have the vaguest connotation for *The Watchman and Reflector*. Yet until we grasp the part played in these tumultuous decades by such names and media we cannot begin to comprehend the rank and file of New England's combatants.

Mr. Carter's study takes the term "Social Gospel" to mean not merely the specific episode associated with Walter Rauschenbush and his colleagues at the turn of the century, but the continuing concern of the churches with social issues. He tells, with sympathy but with rigorous objectivity, the ironic, the often bewildering, the generally heart-breaking patterns of events by which (because of involvement with prohibition, the New Deal, pacifism, ecumenicalism, the labor movement, race relations) the religious conscience was, in these two short decades, ripped to shreds. In these several and contemporaneous ordeals, the mentality solidified in the ordeals of Mr. Smith's period was atomized. I find Mr. Carter's book as perceptive a setting forth of the predicament of American Protestantism today—especially when on the domestic front the challenge of the racial issue has become unbearable, and on the European the challenge to American activism is pressed severely—as any in the rapidly augmenting literature.

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