



THE CHRISTIAN SOCIALISM OF THOMAS W. WOODROW

“Oklahoma’s First Preacher”

By Roger Horne

For well over thirty years, the Western History Collections at the University of Oklahoma has housed a set of documents that throw special light on the cultural values of Oklahoma during its formative period.¹ Although they have proved useful to scholars from time to time, the papers of socialist minister Thomas W. Woodrow, sometimes referred to as “Oklahoma’s first preacher” because of his association with the boomer movement, have never been thoroughly examined or fully discussed.

Historians have bypassed Woodrow for legitimate enough reasons. His role in the political affairs of the state and in Oklahoma's socialist movement certainly was not decisive. Woodrow's ledger book contains a letter from the Oklahoma chapter of the Bohemian-Slavonic Association asking about his stand on key reform issues of the day: public ownership of monopolies, separation of church and state, temperance, and free public education. The reason given for the inquiry was Woodrow's candidacy for the state insurance commissioner's seat.² Unfortunately Woodrow received only 21 percent of the vote in the 1914 general election.³ When he began publication of the fiery journal *Woodrow's Monthly* out of Hobart, Oklahoma, earlier that year, he had already begun sensing the futility of party politics and he often laced his revolutionary acidity with a base of non-partisan Fabianism. A Socialist Party membership booklet for Kiowa County does not even list Woodrow, so it is difficult to discern the nature and extent of his role in the party.

But Woodrow's life as a frontier minister and spokesman for the post-millennialist wing of the Southwestern socialist movement should not be judged too strictly against traditional criteria. Although by frontier standards an intellectual, he published no major treatise or work of literature. Campaigning strenuously to radicalize the rural classes of southern Oklahoma, Woodrow never led a farmers' or artisans' revolt. Still, the records Woodrow left, mostly sermons, ledgers, and copies of his *Monthly*, are interesting in their own right and significant as cultural documents of the time. Modern historians of Oklahoma's turbulent, grass roots socialist past have noted his importance to the state's deeply religious poor, rural classes and how he often spoke on their behalf, directing his arguments to the scientifically oriented tacticians in Oklahoma City.⁴ A closer examination of Woodrow's thought provides a glimpse not only into the hopes, goals, and fears of his parishioners and followers, most of whom probably had their roots in the frontier and post-frontier working classes, but into Woodrow's career as well. Two distinct phases appear, Woodrow as a proponent of primitive, Christian humanism and Woodrow as a Christian socialist, an "ideologist" of Oklahoma's rural and small-town working classes.⁵

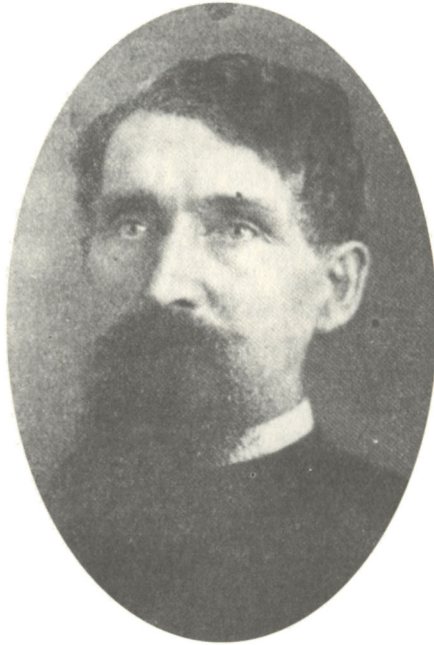
Very little is known about Thomas Woodrow's personal life. A Universalist minister between 1879 and 1891, he served several small-town congregations in Iowa and Kansas. He spoke to as many as 100 people at a time, often relying on the same sermon

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over a period of several years. Universalism, rooted in the same eighteenth century political and doctrinal ferment that gave rise to its cousin Unitarianism, tended to be Arminian; the responsibility for salvation rested upon men's activities as much as God's grace. Unlike Unitarianism and with an optimism characteristic of a man such as Woodrow, Universalism believed not only in the human responsibility for salvation but also in the inevitability of all mankind's salvation.⁶ In contrast to the Unitarian movement, Universalism sprang from the American working classes, drawing much of its support from ex-Baptists and Quakers disillusioned with the pessimism and doctrinal inconsistencies of Calvinism. Universalism had strong roots in the problems and aspiration of the less educated classes while "Unitarian leaders . . . whose theology would have to be classified as liberal, seemed satisfied that the environs of Boston approximated the conditions of the Kingdom of Heaven . . . and were often among the economic and political standpatters of the mid-nineteenth century."⁷

Woodrow, who later spoke in his *Monthly* of his Quaker childhood, fit well into this social mold. His sermons are rough-hewn, occasionally ungrammatical, often syrupy, but well-reasoned and highly allusive. They betray a fascination with ideas and doctrines, their historical origins and practical consequences. Quite often after a sermon, parishioners congratulated him on a talk that had exposed the historical and ecclesiastical evolution of the doctrine of eternal retribution or the textual inconsistencies within the doctrine of Christ's deityship. He was very meticulous in noting on the front of each sermon comments from the congregation such as "that was a daisy" or "Too much politics."⁸ His personal evaluations of his success in delivering a sermon indicate an exuberant, slightly narcissistic man who derived a genuine sense of altruistic satisfaction from presenting his ideas to an audience. A letter from Woodrow to the socialist newspaper, *Appeal To Reason*, many years and political developments later, on the "Rules of Debate," tells his readers: "Keep Cool . . . Don't be led off the track . . . [and] Follow logic." Woodrow concluded with these words to his readers, "These rules I have followed without deviation in many debates in the last 35 years and I find they are easily followed and work like a charm. In following them one feels better and one does better."⁹ For Woodrow, as for many Christians since Calvin's day, a person's sense of salvation and happiness often depended on "the disposition . . . to adopt certain types of practical and rational conduct."¹⁰ This sense never left him, although he radically altered its tone.

WOODROW'S
MONTHLY
On The Right Track



Thomas W. Woodrow used the pages of his publication, Woodrow's Monthly, to promote the ideological and religious agenda of the Christian Socialists (All photos courtesy Western History Collections, University of Oklahoma Library).

Woodrow's sermons, written and delivered between 1879 and 1891, reveal themes and arguments common to nineteenth century liberal Christianity. His belief in the absurdity and cruelty of the doctrine of Hell is demonstrated in sermons such as, "The Judgment After Death," "Faith and Doubt," and "Partialism to Universalism." Woodrow's belief in the essential humanity of Christ and

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the Universalist reliance upon reason as much as faith appear in discussions of Origen's fights with Celsius over the question of universal salvation, in reasoned acceptance of Voltaire's contributions to Western thought, and in quotations from Spinoza.¹¹ Many of these insights certainly had to come from secondary sources, just as a generation of rural radicals in the twentieth century acquired a knowledge of Plato, Tom Paine, and Marxian dialectics through popular sources such as *The Little Blue Books*.¹² Woodrow often advertised himself as a Universalist evangelist. But the substance of his ideas and the modestly large size of his predominantly rural audiences, as James Green argues, offers a rationalistic balance to the usual emotionalistic image of the frontier religious experience.¹³

Woodrow's sermons are the unmistakable product of the nineteenth century, America's "Age of Boundlessness." An indefatigable optimism permeates them from beginning to end. "In discovering the Laws of human progress," he told audiences in Seneca, Kansas, and Marshalltown, Iowa, in 1888 and 1889, "we must look upon the past and present of man's history and experience, and by the phases and steps [*sic*] unfold the Law of Progress and by understanding this law we shall know man's possible and probable future."¹⁴ A typically American blend of rationalism, pragmatism, organicism, and mysticism usually led him to the inescapable conclusion that the universe is at root good. Humans, with the help of God, act as dynamic participants in and creators of the universe. He echoed Emerson when he told his appreciative audience:

The progress of the human mind manifests a conglomerate mass of conflicting conditions. It is not a dead monotony. Heterogeneous conditions work toward a homogenous end. The conflicts and agitations of the human mind are the travail which pierced the birth of a new truth and a higher civilization. The conflict of ideas is like the conflict of vegetables [*sic*] or products of the soil for existence in a field sowed with a variety of seeds.¹⁵

This was an eloquent statement of a vigorous, thoughtful optimism. Fully cognizant of the struggle and tragedy life encompassed, he could cautiously advance to an affirmative of hope and progress. Ultimately, he would say, all of us—pagan, Christian, atheist, believer, infidel, saint—are "good seed." But in a manner so characteristic of that society's upwardly mobile poor, he felt compelled to end in excessively rhapsodic tones:

The future is hopeful: the path of progress grows brighter as we march along. As we assend [*sic*] the mountain, the horizon widens, revealing

more of glory and beauty, while the future is unknown to us and belongs to the realm of speculation and faith. But by the past and present we judge the future: by the seen we judge the unseen. Our theory of the future should not contradict what the past has unfolded. As human life has grown brighter and more hopeful, as step by step he has marched onward in the forenoon of the progress of man it is reasonable that the extension of human knowledge and the widening of the horizon of his observation will bring at some future though far off time the perfect day of light, liberty and joy.¹⁶

The American clergy shortly before this time experienced a movement away from a rigorous understanding of the imperfectability of this world into what Ann Douglass calls a "feminized" abdication of the working premises of a consumer-oriented, industrial system.¹⁷ Although Woodrow never totally succumbed to the effete style of most eastern Unitarians, he still felt unconsciously the pull of the prevailing nineteenth century *Zeitgeist*. As a minister financially dependent on the good will and satisfaction of his congregation he, like most members of America's disestablished clergy, often "took cues" from the secular culture.¹⁸ For most members of a relatively expanding society, most of the time at least, "Progress" characterized everything. For Woodrow this meant the future was always bright. The perfect day was at hand. We were all good seed.

Woodrow's ideas developed in a denominational context which placed great emphasis on individual experience in the assessment of truth and falsity. Accordingly, his thought was largely an eclectic blend of the major ideas of Western philosophy, theology, and political science. In a sermon later published in a Universalist journal he echoed America's pragmatic spirit in his radical empiricism:

Truth's credentials are not historical but constitutional and the demonstration of the truth is not the dicta of persons canonized in the sacred chronicles of remote history, but experience is truth's infallible demonstration. Personal experience is prior in the mind to all outside testimony. We should not allow the proclamation of an angel to set aside our own judgement and experience, much less the hearsay or documentary evidence that an angel did so proclaim in the past.¹⁹

Christianity developed as a series of conflicts between the divine inspiration and men's preoccupation with the dead letter of the past. Only personal understanding could clearly distinguish between the two. God's universal love and the "law" of past progress guaranteed that such clear distinctions would always occur among human beings.

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In basing his philosophy on this form of radical empiricism he touched the humanistic core of the Social Gospel movement of the day. Yet even here he betrayed his grass-roots understanding of Christian Humanism. God and Man created life together but God was not just a figurative urge of the human heart. In his sermons he often carried on a love-hate affair with Robert Ingersoll, whose humanism he saw as overly agnostic.²⁰ His later sermons point to a pronounced shift of emphasis as he grew more concerned with social improvement. A sermon dated 1890 shows the role current labor and agrarian turmoil played in shaping his ideas as well as foreshadowing the Christian Marxist who would issue blazing pronouncements from his final home in Hobart:



Hobart, Oklahoma, in 1912 seemed the unlikely headquarters for the Socialist minister who spoke for many of the nation's distressed farmers and working class.

In this invention of machinery which does the work once done by the labor of the hands this age stands preeminent; but if labor saving machinery does not enable the laborer to get along with less labor in proportion to the amount of labor the machine saves, what does it amount to? . . . Benevolence and universal good must be the end of knowledge and invention or they fail to constitute true civilization.²¹

The sermons break off in 1891. No further thoughts of his are recorded until after he settled in Hobart in 1903, by that time drawing ideas from the *Appeal to Reason* and giving sermons openly socialistic in content. In a discussion of the "Sermon on the Mount" dated 1904, he delivered a witty, updated version of the

Lord's Prayer. This political parody had circulated in various forms among Populists in the 1880s and 1890s:

Our Father which are in Washington
 Plutocracy be thy name
 Thy kingdom come, Thy will is done
 In the United State as it is in Europe
 (specifically in Russia)
 Give us this day our daily plunder:
 And forgive us our tricks
 As we forgive those that trick us
 And lead us not into cooperation
 But deliver us from Socialism;
 For thine is the Land, the Machinery and the Capital
 forever. Ah-men.²²

In the course of twelve years he had moved beyond the humanitarian Christianity of reformers such as Horace Bushnell, Washington Gladden, and Charles M. Sheldon, to a firm, native conviction that the interests of wage-earners and their employers were fundamentally irreconcilable.²³ One or the other must predominate. He saw with increasing clarity that the dead weight of the past was artificially propped up by the growing capitalist plutocracy. In order that the divine force imminent in all human beings might blossom forth, capitalism would have to go. Yet even at this point he could optimistically assume that socialism would come with a "voluntary act of the rich," whom he felt sure would give up their riches for redistribution.²⁴ He still reflected a flattering image back to his audience, many of whom no doubt were small businessmen. Yet whatever changes had occurred within his own life and thinking, he seemed less intent upon telling his audience precisely what it wanted to hear.

It is not known how or why Woodrow came to settle permanently in Hobart, Oklahoma. A letter from the Kansas State Historical Society states that he had spent time in David Payne's Boomer colony, presiding over the opening ceremonies for the colony. His wife, Dr. Emma Woodrow, told an interviewer that by 1905 she had generated enough financial security from her practice to become one of three car owners in Hobart.²⁵ A socialist, a frontier humanist, a small-town intellectual of sorts, Woodrow seemed ambiguously linked to the "respectable" entrepreneurial and professional elements within Boomer society.

The election of 1912 represented the climax of the "golden age" of Socialism in America. The movement by this time had taken hold most strongly in the rural counties of Oklahoma, Texas, and

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Louisiana, where the experience of a highly proletarianized farming class had “proved the agricultural ladder hypothesis false.”²⁶ Hobart, the seat of Kiowa County, sat squarely in the heart of the depressed southwestern part of Oklahoma. In the early days the Hobart business establishment had promoted itself in the near Utopian tones of most middle class booster groups. By 1912 Kiowa County had given over 30 percent of its support to the Socialist presidential candidate, Eugene V. Debs. By 1914, however, socialist sentiment had leveled off, with avowed socialists often supporting progressive Democrats such as William “Alfalfa Bill” Murray. In fact, a fully accurate gauge of Socialist Party strength is probably not possible. The Democratic Party, with relative ease, had adopted much of the Socialist Party’s platform—graduated tax reform, state enterprise, compulsory education, and the eight-hour day on public works—in the 1906 Constitutional Convention.²⁷ By 1914 Woodrow had immersed himself thoroughly in a primitive version of “Marxist Christianity.” He devoted part of his time to stump speaking and debating the Christian basis of socialism to audiences of poor and financially insecure farmers and workers.²⁸

Woodrow felt compelled to reach a wider audience. Believing the time ripe for apocalyptic change, he published the first issue of his own left-wing journal, *Woodrow’s Monthly*, in May, 1914. Reasonably priced at fifteen cents, he billed it as a “Journal of Radical Thought on Political, Social, and Religious Lines.” The first words of the magazine’s bold pronouncement were “Socialism from the standpoint of Christianity. Christianity from the standpoint of Socialism.”²⁹ At some point during his younger days on the Iowa and Kansas frontier he must have pondered the relationship between Universalism and the relatively new doctrines of Marx and Engels. Still his social ties, the sectarian nature of American Socialism in the 1880s, and his unvanquishable rural conservatism had no doubt caused him to hold back, to avoid commitment. He still saw possibilities for “true civilization” emerging on the back of American industrialism despite its shortcomings.

Now he no longer minced words. Veering closer to a primitive millennialism, he confidently proclaimed, “The program of Social Democracy, viz, Cooperation in living, with Economic Mutuality and Equality; Government in the hands of the workers, IS THE PLAN OF SALVATION OF PRIMITIVE CHRISTIANITY.”³⁰ Although he stoutly denied any plan of “salvation” or “damnation” in another world, he still felt convinced “that immortality (continuity of conscious life after physical cessation) is a fact mature,

capable of human knowledge and Scientific Demonstration.³¹ He embraced, like many writers and intellectuals rebelling against the doctrinal rigidities of the day, a kind of Arminian Spiritualism. In this regard he was in the company of many contemporary philosophers, reformers, and writers. Like many then and now with faith in a higher spiritual reality, he accepted vague often contradictory phenomena (“automatic” poems, Christian Science healing, personal visions, etc.) as “Scientific Demonstration” of the existence of such a higher reality. He approached accounts of these experiences pragmatically, to be integrated into each individual’s personal experience as he or she saw fit.

The importance of Woodrow’s spiritualism, however, derives not from its “primitiveness” but from its logical place in a broader, ideological schema grounded in specific historical and cultural circumstances. An intellectual of the “common” people, he often seemed to base his dislike of capitalism on a vision of the interplay of the two “realities” which would liberate mankind from fear and dependence in both worlds. Woodrow’s God cared not at all by what external forms He was worshipped as long as the Christian spirit found “releasement” from artificial images of perfection.³² As he told his readers:

This climax is the culmination of historic evolution, the “millennium” when want and worry will no more ruffle the pathway of human life and doubts and fears no more darken the horizon of eternal destiny; when wailing want will no more interrupt the mother’s lullaby, and cries of grief no more make discord, with one’s song of hope and joy . . . when trick and fraud will no more attend minister and medium, preacher and prophet; when THE SACRED SENTIMENTS OF RELIGION WILL NO MORE BE COMMERCIALIZED AND PERVERTED INTO SELFISH HOPES AND GROUNDLESS FEARS BY ROBED IMPOSTERS FOR GREED AND GAIN.³³

Considering the unprofessional quality of its printing, the esoteric nature of its themes, and the isolated location from which Woodrow wrote, *Woodrow’s Monthly* attracted a wide range of readers. The subscription ledger shows sample requests from England, Greece, and even Egypt. No doubt many readers were linked to the rising spiritualistic establishment. Yet Woodrow was no insular guru, duping anomic children of the lower and middle classes while poverty went ignored as worldly illusion.³⁴ The ledger shows a readership composed primarily of rural and small town folk, including high school superintendents, a hardware store manager, workers, and artisans. Even the poorest could find in his writing the ideas around which to organize their real, but poorly defined,

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economic and spiritual interests. A letter from Dallas, Texas, dated February 22, 1915, is touching in its simplicity and refusal to give up the struggle:

Dear friend and comrade: I enclose a silver dime for which please send no. 4 of Woodrow's Monthly. Times are so very hard I cannot spare more at present. I am having a hard struggle to live but must have the monthly anyhow even if I have to miss a meal to pay for it. I live in hope of better times and do all I can to bring them by spreading the Light of Socialism any back numbers of the monthly you may send me for the [illegible] I will try to use to best advantage both to make socialists and to get subs. for the greatest Monthly on Earth, Woodrow's monthly that truly bring Glad Tidings of gret [*sic*] Joy shall be to all people.

Yours till Victory Perches on our Banner
John W. Grigsby
2521 Highland Street.³⁵

A letter from W.A. Nelson of Clifton, Texas, "the Clifton Shoe Cobbler," congratulated Woodrow on "the most remarkable magazine that I ever read. It filled my hearth [*sic*]," he said, "with Joy." He requested further issues, "so I can make a book of it."³⁶

By 1915 Woodrow had shifted his energies away from the political wing of the socialist movement, focusing more and more on industrial reorganization as a more natural method of producing a positive, psychic transformation in humanity. He began to moderate his political tactics while intensifying his rhetorical attacks on capitalism. He voted a split-ticket, supported Fabian measures such as the Federal Farm Loan Law, the Dague Industrial Bill, and populist trends such as the newly formed Non-Partisan League. Although a Christian radical, he had made his peace with the idea of state action in hopes of softening the blows to the heart a violent revolution would deliver. An editorial headed "Futility of Politics as Means of Human Emancipation" illustrated his reluctant acceptance of political reality and his refusal to abdicate his role as a prophet:

Wayland, the Great Apostle of Socialism in the political field, committed suicide; Fred D. Warren, the greatest editor of *Appeal to Reason*, has quit politics. Phifer the next best old editor of the same paper has quit; Job Harriman, associate with Debs in 1912 on the ticket for President of the United States has quit; we quit before they quit. Why? Why? Why?

Working for socialism, exclusively in the political field, proves disastrous to the individual and time will prove it a hinderance to the

cause of socialism itself. Thus said the Lord: "Come out of her, my people, that ye receive not her plague."³⁷

As the war in Europe loomed larger in the public mind, Woodrow grew more pessimistic. The violence and austerity the war had brought on could grow totally unbearable and 1917 might prove to be the year of "Armageddon." The capitalists, he had come to believe, could still see their moral duty and begin lessening tensions between the master class and labor or they could grow increasingly strong and exploitative, disrupting organized labor, finally spawning violent revolution and the complete destruction of the economic and state apparatus. "I hope," he wrote, "for the former but I fear the latter." The old optimist had shed much of his bourgeois femininity.³⁸

The last extant copy of the *Monthly* was issued in 1917. On the first page Woodrow reprinted Bryan's appeal for peace. The issue contained a sympathetic look at the Non-Partisan League and a charge that the party opposed the growing agrarian cooperative movement and consumer cooperativism in England. How true was this? Although the party leaders steered clear of total support for cooperativism, they still saw a hopeful sign in the Non-Partisan Movement. They did not actively oppose cooperativism but hoped to harness its energy to political activity.

Woodrow discontinued the monthly after America's entrance into the war. His file links the paper's death to the arrest and imprisonment of Debs in 1917. Where this last bit of information came from and whether or not Woodrow remained true to his Socialist-Universalist principles for the remaining two years of his life are not recorded. On January 16, 1919, the Boomer minister and radical activist died at his home. The chief periodical of the Universalist church, *The Universalist Leader*, gave few details about him in its obituary but added, "The funeral services were attended by a goodly number of the old friends of Mrs. Woodrow and those of her husband whose ministrations in years gone by had endeared him to them."³⁹

During his career, Woodrow had strong ties to Oklahoma's small professional and middle classes. This accounts, in part, for the thread of naive sentimentalism which ran through his writings. But he also had an equally firm structural grounding in the needs and aspirations of the farming and working classes of the Southwest. Consequently, Woodrow, like other Social Gospel ministers, served to illustrate the partial collapse of Douglass's feminized clergy. Because of his class origin, the logic of his Universalist

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faith, and a growing sense of his role as leader of the common people, Woodrow never fully embraced the modern clerical establishment. He never fully escaped it either. The split between identification with the poor on the one hand and the middle classes on the other helps to explain Woodrow's ambivalence toward revolution and his preference for socialism on a non-partisan basis.

This status ambiguity gave Woodrow's millennialism (as well as rural radicalism in the United States) a positive and ironic twist. In contrast to the millennialists of Europe—the Anabaptists, the Lazarotti, and the Spanish Anarchists—Woodrow and his followers functioned in post frontier society as genuine rebels simultaneously repelled by the existing system and drawn into it.⁴⁰ If, in the end, as Garin Burbank observes, the farmers “went home to America,” it was not just oil prosperity or post war suppression alone that made this possible. With the adoption of modest structural modifications such as the income tax, the abolition of child labor, and the Federal Farm Loan Law, a change began to take place in American society. Through the grass-roots efforts of Thomas Woodrow and countless other Populist and Socialist agitators of the time, America became more aware of the humanity involved in building an industrial system, and began gradually to come home to its people.

ENDNOTES

*Roger D. Horne received his Ph.D. in history from the University of Oklahoma in 1989. He currently is on the faculty of Tulsa Junior College. This article is based on a paper Dr. Horne submitted to the 1982 Phi Alpha Theta National Essay Contest for which he received second place.

¹ Inventory Sheet, Thomas W. Woodrow Collection, Division of Manuscripts, Western History Collections, University of Oklahoma, Norman, Oklahoma. (hereafter cited as Woodrow Collection, WHC)

² Scrapbook, Woodrow Collection, WHC.

³ *Directory of Oklahoma, 1981*, 682.

⁴ Garin Burbank, *When Farmers Voted Red* (Westport, Connecticut: Greenwood Press, 1976), and James Green, *Grass Roots Socialism: Radical Movements in the Southwest, 1895–1943* (Baton Rouge, Louisiana State University Press, 1978), have excellent discussions of the urban and rural division within the Oklahoma socialist movement.

⁵ Antonio Gramsci, *Prison Notebooks* (London: Lawrence and Wishart, 1971). Gramsci first refined the notion, implicit in Marx's thought, that intellectuals, rather than acting as free, autonomous agents, in varying degrees express a class outlook. James Green also places other southwestern radicals, such as Oscar Ameringer, J.A. Wayland, and Kate Richards O'Hara, in the paradigm Gramsci helped establish.

⁶ Ernest Cassara, *Universalism in America: A Documentary History* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1971), 1–44.

⁷ Paul A. Carter, *The Decline and Revival of the Social Gospel* (Ithaca, New York: Cornell University Press, 1954), 12.

- ⁸ Sermons, Woodrow Collection, WHC.
- ⁹ Scrapbook, Woodrow Collection, WHC.
- ¹⁰ Max Weber, *The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1959), 26.
- ¹¹ Sermons, Woodrow Collection, WHC.
- ¹² See H.L. Mitchell, *Mean Things Happening in This Land* (Montclair, New Jersey: Allanhead, Osmun & Co., 1979) for a personal account of the transference of radical ideas among poor people in the Southwest during the 1920s and 1930s.
- ¹³ Green, *Grass Roots Socialism*, 133.
- ¹⁴ Sermons, Woodrow Collection, WHC.
- ¹⁵ *Ibid.*
- ¹⁶ *Ibid.*
- ¹⁷ Ann Douglass, *The Feminization of American Culture* (New York: Avon Books, 1977), 1–49.
- ¹⁸ *Ibid.*, 25.
- ¹⁹ Sermons, Woodrow Collection, WHC.
- ²⁰ Charles Howard Hopkins, *The Rise of the Social Gospel in American Protestantism* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1940) discusses Ingersoll's role as a proponent of humanistic Christianity.
- ²¹ Scrapbook, Woodrow Collection, WHC.
- ²² *Ibid.*
- ²³ Samuel P. Hays, *The Response to Industrialism* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1957), 76–82.
- ²⁴ Sermons, Woodrow Collection, WHC.
- ²⁵ Inventory, Woodrow Collection, WHC.
- ²⁶ Green, *Grass Roots Socialism*, Chapter IV; David A. Shannon *The Socialist Party of America*, (New York: Macmillan Co., 1955), Chapter III.
- ²⁷ Danney Goble, *Progressive Oklahoma: The Making of a New Kind of State* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1980), 112–114.
- ²⁸ Burbank, *When Farmers Voted Red*, Chapter II.
- ²⁹ *Woodrow's Monthly* (Hobart, Oklahoma), May, 1914, Phillips Collection, WHC.
- ³⁰ The emphasis is the author's.
- ³¹ *Ibid.*
- ³² Reiner Schumann, *Meister Eckhart* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press 1972), 3–47.
- ³³ *Woodrow's Monthly*, May, 1914.
- ³⁴ *Ibid.*, August, 1914.
- ³⁵ Ledger, Woodrow Collection, WHC.
- ³⁶ *Ibid.*
- ³⁷ *Woodrow's Monthly*, November–December, 1916.
- ³⁸ *Ibid.*, August, 1914.
- ³⁹ *The Universalist Leader*, February 1, 1919.
- ⁴⁰ E.J. Hobsbawm's *Primitive Rebels* (Manchester: University of Manchester Press, 1959), provides a useful analysis of pre-industrial forms of social protest.