

# RELIGION

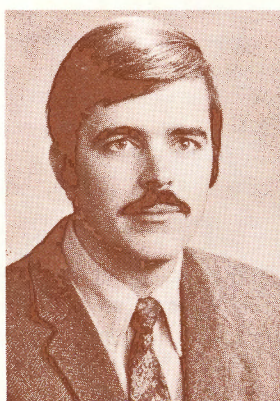
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### RELIGION AND POPULISM: A Reassessment

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Political and economic concerns have long been understood to have been the main content of the Populist uprising. It has, however, become increasingly clear that that nineteenth-century agrarian reform movement in fact had broad cultural underpinnings. One part of its cultural appeal was religious; thus despite the frequent Populist denunciations of organized Christianity, Populism should be understood, in part, in religious terms.

It should be made clear at the outset that the Populist denunciations of religious America were actually puritanical denunciations. The great majority of the Populists felt that the churches had, by and large, lost sight of their mission and that they therefore needed cleansing and renewal. This drive for institutional purification was an important one; thus Mary Elizabeth Lease was able to say that Populist principles were

“religious as well as political.”<sup>1</sup> And thus a contemporary student of Populism is able to say that Populism was “not only a movement of religious people, but a religious movement of people.”<sup>2</sup> Herein it is intended to re-examine the role of religion in the Populist uprising; the thesis is that this role was indeed a substantial one, and that therefore Populism may not be understood correctly as a wholly secular or anti-church movement. The religious characteristics and functions of Populism were many, and they deserve close examination.

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Since Populism was a rural movement, perhaps the best place to begin this study is with a brief look at the religion of the farmer, and particularly that of the late nineteenth-century Midwestern farmer.

Religion, in both its institutionalized and individualistic manifestations, has traditionally been strong among farmers in America as elsewhere, for reasons that are too complex to discuss here. Several studies have shown strong patterns of conventional religious commitment among farmers, judging by such factors as church attendance, incidence of personal Bible reading, incidence of use of prayer and table grace, and other normal features of traditional religiosity. When rural areas are compared to urban ones, the former emerge the more “religious” of the two.<sup>3</sup>

That is not to say that the Populist farmers enjoyed an especially high degree of formal religious affiliation; one survey showed only 22 of 89 to be church members. But this low rate of formal affiliation was probably not abnormal for its time.<sup>4</sup> What is important is that the Populists by and large considered themselves to be religious persons.

A certain denominational diversity marked the Populists, especially among the rank and file. They commonly included in their ranks Methodists, Quakers, Baptists, Presbyterians, Congregationalists, Lutherans, Disciples of Christ, and Unitarians, as well as cultists of various sorts, not the least of which were Spiritualists.<sup>5</sup> No one seems to have attempted a formal description of the precise lineup of the Populists denominationally, but Peter Argersinger, who has studied religion and Populism in some depth, has said, “I suspect their mass support came from those identifying with the more evangelical churches.”<sup>6</sup> This estimate would square with the testimony of Percy Daniels, who in his Populist tract inveighed at great length against both skeptics and liberal or humanistic Christians.<sup>7</sup>

On the other hand, the leadership of the Populists, and the Populist intelligentsia, tended toward more liberal religious views. Annie Diggs was a Unitarian.<sup>8</sup> Jerry Simpson's "religious creed" was simple but very liberal: "Life is good; Church creeds are a misfit; I love my fellow men."<sup>9</sup> J.M. Dunsmore's "last message" was a rambling speculative rationalist-humanist treatise on religion.<sup>10</sup> Frank Doster has been described as not believing in Hell, but in the Ten Commandments and the Golden Rule.<sup>11</sup> S.H. Allen, who was not a church member, spoke vaguely of "immutable divine law" and seems to have worked out a philosophy of religion that was an amalgamation of rationalism, evolutionary thought, and traditional Christianity.<sup>12</sup> Such a list could be continued at great length, but from this evidence a single generalization seems to be warranted: the Populists as a whole subscribed to orthodox (evangelical) Protestantism, while their leaders were rather more liberally inclined, reflecting, perhaps, a sort of frontier Emersonianism.

Whatever the precise composition of Populist religious denominational and intellectual identity, Christian precepts certainly undergirded Populist thinking to a high degree. For example, Populist writings abound with religious terminology and imagery which would testify, at the very least, to the basic Christian education of the most popular writers. Comparisons between Populist spokesmen and Old Testament prophets are common; Biblical illustrations and analogies are endemic to Populist literature. Moreover, Populism itself was often described by its adherents in terms that were borrowed from contemporary religious patterns: many spoke of the "Gospel" of Populism; they issued a "call" or "invitation" to the movement that was not unlike the invitation that their churches issued to prospective members. Perhaps the modern writer Walter T.K. Nugent best captures this spirit of religious terminology when he speaks of the Populists' "messianic call to redemption."<sup>13</sup> This "call" was certainly political and economic in nature, but it was also moral and religious.

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As has been mentioned above, one of the main reasons that Populism has not been widely studied as a religious movement is that the Populists were in most cases vocal opponents of the churches of their day and of the prevailing religious establishment. The churches, they said, distorted the Christ and his message; the religious quality of prophecy or social criticism had been lost.<sup>14</sup> Thus many Populists found themselves censuring the churches and refusing to support them.

The distinction that needs to be drawn carefully here is that between what the Populists considered to be the churches and what they considered to be "genuine" Christianity, for they saw a vast difference between the two. In many cases Populists proclaimed their absolute adherence to Christianity but their unswerving opposition to "churchianity,"<sup>15</sup> a distinction that differs little from that which many critics of the churches make today. In general, the Populists felt that the prevailing social order was betraying Christian principles, and that the churches were, by and large, cooperating in this betrayal. Therefore many of the Populists wanted the People's Party to be the grand instrument of the restoration of purified Christianity.<sup>16</sup> They sought to promote a Christian ethical humanitarianism, to engage in political agitation in the name of God.

Much of the anti-church rhetoric of the Populists was non-specific in nature, but where clear analysis and exposition were used, two primary ingredients of anti-church feeling seem

to have emerged, ingredients which were related to each other: the corruption of the churches; and their willingness to desert their people in the crisis that precipitated the Populist movement. From the Populist standpoint, there would seem to be considerable validity to both charges.

Of these two accusations, the former (and variations of it) is by far the more common in the Populist literature. The Populists saw the churches of America as guilty of idolatry; they saw the churches as institutions interested primarily in self-aggrandizement, eager to bow to the monied interests. Populists were outraged by statements on the part of ecclesiastical officials that condemned the Populists as anti-Christian anarchists; they assumed that the churches had almost totally lost contact with the masses in favor of collaborating with the rich. This argument was made in many different variations, but it was generally well summed up by Mary Elizabeth Lease, a Catholic by upbringing, who said that injustice prevailed "because avaricious Ecclesiasticism has looked more to its own aggrandizement than to the splendid teachings and virtues of Christ."<sup>17</sup> Percy Daniels noted a

growing willingness to evade [Christianity's] commands, to reject its instruction and to discard its responsibilities on the part of those whose injustice has given the mass of our people, and especially the agriculturist, a reasonable cause for complaint.<sup>18</sup>

During the Populist years the Gospel of Wealth was riding high; the Populists saw that gospel as a perversion of Christianity, but a perversion that was endorsed by the majority of the churches.<sup>19</sup> Social Darwinism was in vogue in certain theological circles, and that theory was rejected as vigorously by the Populists as it was by many other religious reformers. Naturally the central premise of social Darwinism ran directly counter to Populist convictions, the Darwinists saying that the weak should perish, the Populists that they should be helped. Ignatius Donnelly quoted a hypothetical minister who, in social Darwinist fashion, disclaimed responsibility for having to care about others as follows: "Nature involves cruelty, suffering... death... If nature... pours forth millions of human beings for whom there is no place on earth... what affair is that of ours, my brethren?"<sup>20</sup>

In sum, the Populists saw the churches as supporters of dubious theologies and of the outright crimes of usury and unconcern for human miseries; they saw the ministers (of city churches, at least) as hypocrites and fellow-travellers with the rich, captives of the wealthy who blessed the lust for riches, and—this may have been the most damning indictment of all—as avowed Republicans.<sup>21</sup> Again the words of Mrs. Lease well summarize widespread feelings:

Religion remains blind and mute, while giant Wrong builds up the grandeur of the state on the sufferings of individuals... [Sins] are condoned with approving silence by a hypocritical Church, that in giving to the usurer and the bondholder the best pew, and a place at the sacred board, is eternally false to the teaching of the Divine Master.<sup>22</sup>

The second principal charge of the Populists against the churches, that of the churches deserting the faithful in times of crisis, was an accusation well founded in the farmers' experience. The fact is that many churches met the financial crisis of the 1880's and 1890's by closing; in particular rural churches often closed, since they were among the most marginal of churches. Frequently rural churches in the Midwest were missionary ventures of the denominations supported by outside money, and many of the mission boards withdrew this vital support during the crisis. Therefore, since

the churches and denominations did not meet the test, but rather allowed rural parishes to decline with rural economic fortunes, it is not hard to understand that the farmers saw themselves as being deserted. Thus they turned elsewhere for the emotional support and social services they had been accustomed to seeking in churches; it was Populism that for many filled the vacuum, becoming, essentially, the religion of the socially disinherited.

The preponderance of the available evidence supports the Populist contention that America's religious establishment was essentially anti-Populist. Late nineteenth-century churches and denominations were generally culture-bound, just as they are today; they were a part of that "establishment" that the Populists opposed. Prominent churchmen greatly outraged Populists by denouncing the agrarian rebels and the reforms for which they stood.

Many churchmen broadly denounced the Populists and their leaders in moralistic terms. Orthodox Protestants saw the rural crusaders as apostate and even sacrilegious individuals; their wayward habits could only be corrected through their acceptance of main-line Protestantism (or, in a few cases, Catholicism). On the other hand, sometimes criticism of the Populists took on a more specific and partisan nature. Ed Waterbury, for example, devoted several pages of his *The Legislative Conspiracy in Kansas* to a refutation of an Emporia minister, the Reverend Pearse Pinch, whom he quoted as having said, "The Republicans should have the credit of standing for law against revolution and anarchy."<sup>23</sup> Waterbury called that statement "cheap bandinage," and proceeded to answer that bandinage at great length.<sup>24</sup>

This tension between church and farmer reached its high point during the election campaign of 1896. The farmers of the West and South, of course, strongly supported Bryan, while principal spokesmen of both Catholic and Protestant persuasions took highly partisan stands in favor of McKinley. Robert F. Durden, for example, quotes an unnamed Baptist divine of New York as saying, "The present political discussion is moral, rather than political, and no pulpit can keep silent when this country is threatened and the political situation casts a dark cloud over this great Republic."<sup>25</sup> Of course that precise statement could have come from a Populist mouth or pen; but this particular man of God concluded that the choice was between "Americanism and [Populist] Anarchism," between the two parties which were the "patriots and traitors."<sup>26</sup> Similarly the highly respected Archbishop John Ireland entered the fray, pronouncing the Democrats a menace to the social order, especially since there was a "spirit of socialism that permeates the whole movement."<sup>27</sup> The religious leaders of the day saw the issues of the election in moral terms, as did the Populists; but since the two groups were on opposite sides of the fence, the conflict between the Populists and the churches was inevitable. As far as the Populists were concerned, the churches had abdicated their ideal role as champions of the oppressed.<sup>28</sup>

While the Populist-ecclesiastical antipathy was great, it would be incorrect to believe that all churchmen opposed the Populists, or that the Populists were hostile toward all churchmen. One prominent pro-Populist religious leader, for example, was the Right Reverend Thomas M. Clark, Episcopal Bishop of Rhode Island, who congratulated Percy Daniels for writing a tract which "expresses to a great extent views which I had already penned."<sup>29</sup> Also, of course, the parish ministers who served the Populists appreciated their grievances, and probably were for the most part sympathetic to the movement. John D. Hicks gives evidence of this basic understanding when he says of the (Populist) Farmers' and

Laborers' Union of America, "Much care was exercised to restrict membership to farmers and their natural allies—country ministers, country teachers, and the editors of farm journals."<sup>30</sup> A manuscript in the archives of the Kansas State Historical Society probably represents a position not uncommon among rural ministers; it is a prayer offered at a Populist gathering:

In the midst of plenty, thousands go down to death of starvation!! Whilest Thou hast in infinite mercy, provided most abundant natural opportunities . . . still this accumulated wealth has by class laws, been wrested from the people and piled up in the hands of the oppressor . . . with seventy billions of wealth, ninety per cent. of which is now in the hands of two per cent. of the people, fifteen millions of our people are destitute and without a bread-winner . . . The morals of our people waning, the pulpit and the press prostituted to the base ends of plutocratic greed; free speech and free assembly denied, a slavery coming upon us, unsurpassed by America's former chattel system, and all this sought to be made perpetual!! In view of all this, we, in unspeakable grief, lift our hearts to Thee O God of Ages!! . . . May this convention today act wisely in selecting men to carry the battle-flag of the people's party in the great struggle soon to be inaugurated in our state. May Heaven's blessing attend the efforts of the people to utterly overthrow all oppression, cruelty and organized tyranny; and may this young giant, the people's party of Kansas and of the nation, trusting in the Everlasting God of Hosts, come out of the fray next November, complete victors . . .<sup>31</sup>

Nevertheless, despite such ringing local support, the Populists by and large felt that they had been ignored and opposed by organized Christianity in general; is it any wonder that they denounced the churches with considerable vehemence?

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So the Populists saw themselves opposed not to Christianity so much as to "churchianity." The fact is that many saw Populism as, in part, a movement to restore "true" or "uncontaminated" Christianity to America. Populism itself was seen to be rooted in Christian principles; one Populist writer characterized Populist discussions as being "based upon the fundamental idea which angels sang to the shepherds when the Babe of Bethlehem was born."<sup>32</sup>

In many cases the reformers adopted an Old Testamental concept of themselves as a chosen people, with their leaders playing the role of Moses, urging Pharaoh to "let my people go."<sup>33</sup> They entered politics in the name of God, with the Bible as their ethical guide. W. Scott Morgan urged his readers to strike out against all manner of evils "for your God";<sup>34</sup> James H. Davis contended that the Populists sought to establish in law rights that were in fact God-given, such as the right to till the soil, "free and unencumbered" of the various monopolies seen to be oppressing the farmer.<sup>35</sup> These men and many others encouraged the vision of the Populists as God's people, following God's laws, seeking God-given rights. As Argersinger puts it, there was an implicit assumption in the Gospel of Populism that the reformers followed the will of God.<sup>36</sup>

The Populists, however, were not interested in following the will of God as an abstract principle somehow unrelated to life, as many nominal Christians were and are; rather their concern, given their distinct vision of the will of God (a vision that was so sure it was not even questioned in many cases),

was its implementation in concrete activities, usually activities that were political or economic in nature. The Populists were desirous of propagating the will of God not through preaching or contemplation but through halting injustice and working to alleviate suffering. It might be noted that Populism in this sense closely approximated its urban cousin, the social gospel movement. Some Populists, in fact, declared themselves to be proponents of the social gospel or of Christian socialism (a fairly distinctive social gospel term at that time);<sup>37</sup> on the other hand, such a prominent urban figure as Washington Gladden expressed his sympathy for the activism of the farmers, asking, "Why should his burdens be 'heavier every year and his gains . . . more meager?'"<sup>38</sup> And perhaps it was not coincidental that Charles Sheldon's social gospel novel *In His Steps* sold well among the Populists.<sup>39</sup> Sheldon, in fact, was affiliated with Populism for a time. This connection between Populism and the social gospel seems to have been substantial, if not formal; it is a question that seems deserving of further exploration.

The Populists, then, broadly appealed to those ethical portions of the Christian scriptures which they considered essential or especially meaningful and which they saw the nation ignoring. Their ideal was the Jesus who advocated feeding the hungry, healing the sick, and clothing the naked. The Populist congressman Milford W. Howard recalled the man who said, "Go, sell all thou hast and give it to the poor, and then follow me," and concluded that it would go dreadfully for the rich on Judgment Day.<sup>40</sup> (This is, of course, precisely the sort of passage usually cited by social reformers, who choose to ignore such other passages as "the poor you will always have with you." Proof texting is always dangerous, but the Populists seemed not to mind that danger.)

In a different vein, Thomas L. Nugent saw the Jesus of history as a "man of the people," who came to cure human ills and who founded Christian socialism.<sup>41</sup> Populist truth, he said, was simply the contemporary expression of timeless Christian truth.<sup>42</sup> Thus Christian Populism was a strong ethical movement, based, as other Christian ethical movements have been, on the concept of the fatherhood of God and the brotherhood of man, which concept led them to social reform activity.

It should be noted that there were clear lapses in the ethics of Populism, although they were not unusual lapses in their day. Probably the clearest of these lapses was that of racism: in several substantial cases, Populists harbored strong anti-Negro feelings, as did many of their contemporaries. Hand in hand with racial prejudice went other strains of intolerance; thus many Populists condemned not only Negroes, but Catholics, Jews, and foreigners as well. C. Vann Woodward documents these traits well in his biography of Tom Watson, who, at least in his later days, was guilty of all of these bigotries and more.<sup>43</sup> (Of course such prejudices might well have been more pronounced in Watson, a southerner, than they would have been in a northern Populist, if stereotypical southern racism may be assumed; but it seems that it may be said reasonably that many of the Populists harbored substantial racial and religious prejudices.)

One final way in which Populists appropriated a Christian outlook was in their millennial vision. Christianity has always had a millennial streak; some see salvation not in this world but in an order yet to come. So was there a millennial expectation among many Populists. Annie Diggs clearly attested to this vision, although in a typically secularized form, when she described Jerry Simpson as looking toward "a new order and a new time when equity and righteousness among all people would prevail."<sup>44</sup> Undoubtedly the Populists thought that the

bulk of their efforts had to be aimed toward making evolutionary changes in this current existence and environment, just as some social gospel reformers sought an evolutionary this-worldly Kingdom of God; yet many also retained the hope that there would come a time when righteousness would come to rule the universe once for all. And perhaps this expectation contributed to the downfall of Populism, for those who have lived in anticipation of the eschaton have always had that dream shattered. "They expect to reform the world immediately," said William Allen White, speaking through a fictional character, "but they will find that the human nature which is at the bottom of our ills can't be changed at the next meeting of the legislature."<sup>45</sup> White may have been selling the Populists short; some of them realized that the obstacles to this-worldly change were great, and so they held out a hope of a change more dramatic, more remarkable than any normally imagined by men.

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The Populists maintained their allegiance to their churches, at least formally, in many cases; but insofar as they departed from their churches, Populism itself filled the gap in the farmers' religious sensibilities not only as the giver of hope, but also as the organization that fulfilled such traditional functions of religion as fellowship, education, and the provision of community.

Argersinger reports that Populism performed such normally religious functions as interpretation of events, reinforcement of values, and the integration of the individual with his fellows.<sup>46</sup> The interpretation of events (i.e., the approximate equivalent of a sermon) and the reinforcement of values came primarily through public speeches and publications; fellowship and community were encouraged in the meetings and public activities of the Populists, particularly in local groups.

Annie Diggs felt that "the [Farmers'] Alliance had a religious tone"; she noted that the Alliance officers included a Chaplain, that prayer was a regular part of the meetings, and that the organization took responsibility for caring for the sick and the needy.<sup>47</sup> Argersinger, moreover, points out other activities akin to church activities, including the "Juvenile Alliances," which were similar to Sunday Schools, and women's groups.<sup>48</sup>

Singing was popular among the Populists, the songs reflecting both the background of the people and the issues and positions to which the movement was devoted. Here again the influence of Protestant Christianity is evident: most of the songs were set to familiar gospel melodies. S.M. Scott, in his account of his activities among the Populists, devoted ten pages to the lyrics of these songs.<sup>49</sup> An interesting document of Populism is *The Alliance Nightingale*, a 30-page booklet of Populist songs, almost all of which were adapted from gospel hymns.<sup>50</sup>

Thus it came about that Senator Peffer was able to note that "the atmosphere is so much tinged with religious feeling that the meetings take the place of religious worship in the churches."<sup>51</sup> For the fundamentally religious farmer, the Populist movement was indeed virtually a church. Annie Diggs well captured the overall religious spirit of the gatherings of the Populists:

Throughout that historic summer and fall of 1890, the great mass meetings of the party were held in "God's first temples." The solemn prayers, the fervid exhortations full of stories of the distressed, the homeless and the helpless everywhere, made the majority of the meetings more like religious revivals than like unto any

ever before known in the realm of politics. Emerson was being verified: "Every reform is at heart religious."<sup>52</sup>

In a few cases this specifically religious spirit in Populism became so strong that efforts were actually made to found Populist churches. Argersinger reports that a "People's Church" was founded in Topeka in opposition to the regular churches, and that Populist congressmen also founded a People's Church in Washington, D.C., and alternated in delivering sermons there.<sup>53</sup>

Loomis and Beegle have said,

Since the processes of . . . growth, the dependence upon . . . uncontrollable elements plays such a major role among agricultural people, the dependence upon tradition reinforced by rituals and symbols makes rural people relatively dependent on religion.<sup>54</sup>

Similarly, Charles Galpin has stated, "If there are religious instincts in men and women, those instincts are to be found preeminently in the farm population."<sup>55</sup>

Here we have the heart of the appeal of Populism to the farmers; it was a religious appeal. The farmer follows the oldest calling of mankind; yet throughout history he has been the weakest member of society, a member of a perpetually downtrodden class. Populism offered farmers a rare opportunity to fight for dignity and self-respect; it affirmed the basic worth of the agricultural enterprise. Since the provision of self-respect and of value systems is a basic function of religion, Populism, whatever else it may have been, was also—and very deeply—a religious movement. It spoke to needs that have confronted men for hundreds of centuries. It offered fulfillment, redemption, the Kingdom of God.

## NOTES

1. Mary Elizabeth Lease, *The Problem of Civilization Solved* (Chicago, 1895), p. 322.
2. Peter H. Argersinger, "Pentecostal Politics in Kansas," *Kansas Quarterly*, Fall, 1969, p. 24. This entire paper owes a great debt to Argersinger's work and thought.
3. C.P. Loomis and J.A. Beegle, *Rural Social Systems* (New York, 1950), p. 413.
4. O.Gene Clanton, *Kansas Populism* (Lawrence, 1969), p. 65.
5. *Ibid.*, p. 65.
6. Peter Argersinger, personal letter, November 3, 1969.
7. Percy Daniels, *A Crisis for the Husbandman* (1889), pp. 58-73. This passage is a running tirade against liberal Christianity.
8. Clanton, p. 79.
9. Annie Diggs, *The Story of Jerry Simpson* (Wichita, 1908), p. 17.
10. J. M. Dunsmore, untitled manuscript, Kansas State Historical Society, Topeka.
11. Clanton, p. 69.
12. Described in Michael J. Brodhead, "Populism and the Law," *Kansas Quarterly*, Fall, 1969, p. 84.
13. Walter T.K. Nugent, *The Tolerant Populists* (Chicago, 1963), p. 58.
14. Argersinger, pp. 33-34.
15. See, for example, Argersinger, p. 33; Clanton, p. 66.
16. Argersinger, p. 31.
17. Lease, p. 20.
18. Daniels, p. 58.
19. Clanton, p. 67.
20. Ignatius Donnelly, "There Is Nothing Sacred on Earth But Man," in Norman Pollack, editor, *The Populist Mind* (Indianapolis, 1967), pp. 484-485.
21. Argersinger, pp. 34-35.
22. Lease, pp. 13-14.
23. Ed. S. Waterbury, *The Legislative Conspiracy in Kansas* (Aurora, Kansas, 1893), p. 1.
24. *Ibid.*, p. 4.
25. Robert F. Durden, *The Climax of Populism* (Lexington, Kentucky, 1965), pp. 148-149.
26. *Ibid.*, pp. 148-149.
27. *Ibid.*, p. 149.
28. Donnelly, p. 474.
29. Daniels, unnumbered introductory page.
30. John D. Hicks, *The Populist Revolt* (Lincoln, Nebraska, 1961), p. 112.
31. "Rev. Mr. Goodner's Prayer," manuscript by W.M. Goodner, June 22, 1894, Kansas State Historical Society, Topeka.
32. Quoted by Argersinger, p. 28.
33. This sort of language was often used by Mrs. Lease.
34. W. Scott Morgan, "On Agrarian Discontent," in Pollack, p. 283.
35. James H. Davis, "A Political Revelation," in Pollack, pp. 218-219.
36. Argersinger, p. 32.
37. Clanton, p. 67.
38. Quoted by Hicks, p. 55.
39. Clanton, p. 218.
40. Milford W. Howard, "The American Plutocracy," in Pollack, p. 235.
41. Thomas L. Nugent, "The Proper Distribution of Wealth," in Pollack, pp. 303-304.
42. *Ibid.*, p. 304.
43. See C. Vann Woodward, *Tom Watson* (New York, 1938), pp. 417-419, 431-450.
44. Diggs, p. 81.
45. William Allen White, *Strategems and Spoils* (New York, 1901), p. 214.
46. Argersinger, p. 28.
47. Diggs, p. 64.
48. Argersinger, p. 28.
49. S.M. Scott, *The Champion Organizer of the Northwest* (McPherson, Kansas, 1890), pp. 181-190.
50. Florence Holcomb Olmstead, *The Alliance Nightingale* (Douglass, Kansas, 1890).
51. W.A. Peffer, *The Farmer's Side* (New York, 1891), pp. 149-150.
52. Diggs, pp. 83-84.
53. Argersinger, p. 32.
54. Loomis and Beegle, p. 413.
55. Charles J. Galpin, *Rural Social Problems* (New York, 1924), p. 123.

### THEOLOGY CONSULTATION COMING IN 1971!

"Styles of Theological Reflection For the Future" is the theme of a consultation in Lawrence set for August 1-6, 1971. Sponsored jointly by the School of Religion and the United Ministries Center, the seminar will bring to Kansas internationally recognized contemporary theologians. Open to the religion reading public, both professional and general, the week is planned to be a rare opportunity in America, certainly in the midwest.

Participants will live in KU dormitories and eat at the Kansas Union. Sessions will be held in the School of Religion building.

Leaders will be Rubem Alves, James Cone, Gregory Baum and Sam Keen.

Dr. Alves is a Brazilian theologian. A Presbyterian, he holds degrees from Campinas Theological Seminary (B.D.); Union Theological Seminary (S.T.M.); and Princeton Theological Seminary (Th.D.). He is the author of *A THEOLOGY OF HUMAN HOPE*, and *RELIGION: OPIATE OF THE PEOPLE OR INSTRUMENT OF LIBERATION?* (In Portuguese), as well as numerous articles.

Dr. Cone is visiting professor of religion at Union Theological Seminary and Barnard College. He has degrees from Philander Smith College (B.A.), Garret Seminary (B.C.) and Northwestern University (Ph.D.). He is the author of *BLACK THEOLOGY AND BLACK POWER*, and *A BLACK THEOLOGY OF LIBERATION*.

Father Baum, professor of theology at St. Michael's College in Toronto, is a well known Roman Catholic. His degrees are from McMaster University (B.A.); Ohio State University (M.A.); and the University of Fribourg (Th.D.); He is the author of *MAN BECOMING, FAITH AND DOCTRINE*, *ECUMENICAL THEOLOGY*, and *THE JEWS AND THE GOSPEL*.

Dr. Keen is professor of Philosophy of the Person at Prescott College, and a consulting editor of *Psychology Today*. He has degrees from Ursinus College (B.A.), Harvard Divinity School (S.T.B., Th.M.), and Princeton University (M.A., Ph.D.). He has written *TO A DANCING GOD*, *APOLOGY FOR WONDER*, and *GABRIEL MARCEL*.

The assumption of the consultation is that Christian theology is as contextual as it is historical, as ethical as it is systematic, as related to the events of our time as it is transcendent to those events, as much anticipation as it is memory. The important task for theologians today is to clarify those guidelines by which we can reflect theologically on the specific events and general trends in political, economic, and social arena. The four major resource people will be speaking out of different perspectives regarding the future of theological reflection: the black experience, the third world, the human potential movement, and the aggiornamento movement within the Roman Catholic community. They will address themselves to those questions and insights which are at the growing edge of their thinking. Several special "reactors" representing other perspectives for theological reflection (inner city, psychology, women, etc.) will also participate in the process.

Further announcements will follow. Interested persons may write in for registration forms.

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