

# INDEX

- Academic freedom, Populists and, 180-181  
Adams, John, 47  
Agrarian radicalism, 119, 261-267  
    and Alfred Smith election of 1928, 81, 151, 154  
    Catholics and, 122  
    causes of, 187-189  
    decline of, 189-191, 208-210  
    and extremism, 211-215  
    and industrialization, 34-58 *passim*  
    and McCarthyism, 27-31, 131-136, 220-222, 240  
    and the Russian-Germans, 120-124  
    see also Non-Partisan League; Populist movement; Progressive movement  
Alien and Sedition Acts, 47  
America First Committee, 106, 214  
American Civil Liberties Union, 178  
American Farm Bureau Federation, 192  
American Federation of Labor, 192, 278  
American Medical Association, 21  
American Protective Association, 177  
Anti-Saloon League, 21, 181, 208  
Anti-Semitism, Populism and, 173-174  
Arnold, Thurman, 41  
Authoritarian personality, support for McCarthy and, 28, 33, 94-95, 240  
*Authoritarian Personality, The*, by T. W. Adorno *et al.*, 18  
  
Beard, Charles, Populist movement and followers of, 183  
Bell, Daniel, 6, 11, 17, 27-28, 173, 226  
Bennington, Vt., 29, 227-228, 235, 240  
Benton, William, 245, 256  
Bill of Rights, 178  
Blaine, John, 75  
Brandeis, Louis, 37, 41, 197n, 199, 203n  
Britain  
    Langer and, 130-131  
    McCarthy and, 131, 223, 251  
    Populists and, 176  
Bryan, William Jennings, 55, 66, 174, 190  
Bundenz, Louis, 250  
Burdick, Quentin, 133-134, 135, 267  
Burdick, Usher, 106, 128, 133, 134  
Bureaucracy, 28, 265-267  
    and conservatism, 221-222  
    and progressivism, 193-194, 199-202, 205-206  
    Weber on, 12-13  
Businessmen, McCarthy and, 29, 201-204, 222-223, 236, 259  
Calvinism, 38  
Carlson, Frank, 253  
Carnegie, Andrew, 49, 50  
    quoted, 54  
Case, Francis H., 161, 162n, 164  
Catholics, 176, 177, 262  
    and McCarthyism, 238-239, 246  
    in North Dakota, 131  
    in Democratic Party, 109  
    opposition to Non-Partisan League, 122, 123  
    in South Dakota  
    and Smith election of 1928, 151, 156  
    in Wisconsin, 61, 69, 70n  
Chamberlain, John, 250  
Child labor, 53, 196  
China, "loss of," 224, 243  
Choate, Rufus, 51-52  
Class politics, 17, 47, 49, 59-60, 186, 273  
    and Populist movement, 114-115, 182-183  
    and progressive movement, 118-119  
Cleveland, Grover, 176  
Cohn, Roy, 253  
Cold war, 99, 100  
Communism, McCarthy support and, 99, 223-225, 228, 242-244  
Congress of Industrial Organizations, 191, 279, 280  
Consensus, *see* Lockean consensus; Social cohesion  
Conservatism, 49, 207, 210-211, 215  
    agrarian radicalism and, 55-57, 58  
    and attacks on state, 53-54  
    factors influencing character of, 57-58  
    and McCarthyism, 220-226, 229-231, 234-236, 251-253  
    and Populist rhetoric, 50-57 *passim*  
    pseudo versus real, 56-58  
    social legislation and, 53  
    and utopianism, 54  
    *see also* Federalists; Lockean moralism and conservative ideology; Whigs  
Cooperative Commonwealth Federation, 109, 115  
Corn belt, *see* listings under Farmers  
Cornwall, William, quoted, 54-55  
Coughlin, Father, 103, 105, 131, 213  
    *see also* Union Party  
Crawford, Coe, 66, 72, 146, 148  
Croly, Herbert, 197n, 198, 203n  
Cross pressure, 23-24  
Cuba, Populists and, 177  
Cummins, Albert B., 66

- Czechoslovakians (in Wisconsin), 61  
 map on distribution of, 63  
 support for McCarthy, 94, 100  
 vote for Union Party, 103
- Davis, Glenn, 81, 100-101  
 Day, William R., 53  
 Debs, Eugene V., 215n  
 Democracy  
 direct, 197  
 representative, and Populism, 182  
 Democratic Party  
 and McCarthyism, 233-234, 238-239  
 in North Dakota  
 evolution of modern, 126-128, 133-134  
 and Farmers Union, 133-134  
 in South Dakota, 137  
 modern, and agrarian radical heritage, 157  
 reorientation of, 151, 154, 156-157  
 in Wisconsin, 83  
 election of 1904, 69, 69n  
 as farm-labor party, 84  
 modern, 75, 80-82
- de Tocqueville, Alexis, 35, 186, 275  
 Dewey, Thomas, 24, 162n, 164  
 Donnelly, Ignatius, 173-174  
 Durkheim, Emile, 13-14
- Eastern Rate Case (1910-1911), 199  
 Education, support for McCarthy and, 239  
 Eisenhower, Dwight D., 1, 93, 157, 162, 216, 222, 230, 243, 246, 247, 248, 253, 259  
 Elite autonomy, 20, 25-28, 47-48, 185, 196-198, 218, 232-233, 249-260, 274-278, 281-282  
 Ethnic politics, 97  
 as component of McCarthyism, 125-131  
 and Populist movement, 175-176
- Farm Holiday Movement, 164  
 Farmer, Hallie, 164  
 Farmers, 188, 208-211, 262-263  
 decline of, 189-191  
 and McCarthy, 236-245  
 in North Dakota  
 Farmers Union vote and modern Democratic Party, 133-134  
 support for Langer, 106  
 support for progressive movement, 116  
 in South Dakota  
 corn  
 and McCarthyism, 162-165  
 opposition to Populism, 140-142  
 support for progressive movement, 144, 146  
 support for Taft, 160  
 and the Non-Partisan League, 149-151  
 support for Democratic Party, 156-157  
 wheat, support for Populism, 140-142  
 in Wisconsin  
 corn, support for McCarthy, 97-99  
 German, support for McCarthy, 99, 100  
 Scandinavian, and progressive movement, 99  
 support for McCarthy, 89, 91  
 Farmers' Alliance, 3, 183  
 Farmers Union, 109, 133-134, 164, 213-215, 222  
 Farm Holiday Movement, 164  
 Fascism, 212, 215  
*Federalist No. 10*, 50  
 Federalists  
 on class politics, 47  
 compared to Populists, 47-48  
 defeat of, 48  
 and Lockean tradition, 46, resemblance of to pluralists, 45  
 Ferkiss, Victor, 212  
 Fiedler, Leslie, quoted, 221  
 Foreign policy, McCarthy and, 223-225, 235, 243  
 Frazier, Lynn, 104-105, 120  
 Freud, Sigmund, 18
- Gallup Polls, McCarthy and, 232  
 Germans, 175, 189, 196-197, 239, 262, 269  
 in North Dakota, 131  
 in Democratic Party, 109  
 and World War I, 120  
 in South Dakota  
 corn belt support for Taft, 158-160  
 support for Non-Partisan League, 149-150  
 in Wisconsin, 60-61, 61n  
 and election of 1904, 69  
 and election of 1922, 72-73  
 flight from progressive party in 1930's, 75  
 and La Follette progressivism, 72-73  
 map on distribution of, 62  
 and midwestern isolationism, 79  
 opposition to Wilson in 1916, 73  
 and Populist vote of 1894, 66  
 and Union Party vote, 103  
 and World War I, 149  
 Glazer, Nathan, 5-6, 20  
 Goldman, Eric, 195n  
 Goldwater, Barry, 231, 277  
 Gompers, Samuel, 190, 278  
 Gosnell, Harold F., 75  
 Grangers, 3, 109  
 Greenbackers, 3  
 Gronna, Asle J., 117  
 Group politics, 49-50, 79, 270-271, 277-278, 281  
 and mass movements, 21-23  
 and modern pluralists, 14-15  
 and political moderation, 23-26  
 and progressive movement, 202-204  
 and the public interest, 16-20  
*see also* Elite autonomy  
 Gunther, John, 137  
 Guthrie, William D., 53

## INDEX

- Handlin, Oscar, 6, 173  
Hartz, Louis, 35-36, 37  
Haymarket Affair, 173  
Herberg, Will, 6, 44  
Hitler, Adolf, 217  
Hofstadter, Richard, 5, 17, 20, 26, 27, 66, 70, 80, 81, 97, 98, 118, 169, 172, 173, 183-184, 195n, 265-266  
    quoted, 183, 240-241  
Homogeneity  
    and pluralists, 270, 273-274, 280  
    and progressives, 193-196, 199  
Hoover, J. Edgar, 242  
House Un-American Activities  
    Committee, 161  
Howe, Frederic, quoted, 178-179  
Hull, Merlin, 134
- Income tax, 51-52  
Industrialization, 10-15, 32, 169-171, 208-210, 264-267, 269, 272  
Initiative and referendum, 198n  
Iowa, 98, 214  
    Populists in, 175  
Isolationism, 79, 269  
    and McCarthyism, 223  
IWW, 56
- Jackson, Andrew, 48, 51  
Jefferson, Thomas, 36, 41, 42, 47, 48  
Jingoism, Populists and, 176-177  
Johnson, Hiram, 207  
Johnson, Lyndon, 267
- Kansas, 172**  
    Populism in, 114n, 175, 176  
    Kansas State Agricultural College, 181  
    Kennedy, E. E., 213-214  
    Kennedy, John F., 81, 84, 246, 284  
    Kihss, Peter, 255, 256  
    Knights of Labor, 176, 192  
    Kolko, Gabriel, 203n  
    Korean War, 100, 224-225, 243, 247, 259  
    Kornhauser, William, 6, 10, 16-17, 20, 185  
    Ku Klux Klan, 180, 208-209
- Labor, see Working class**  
**Labor unions**  
    membership and McCarthy support, 236  
    progressives and, 200n  
La Follette, Phil, 75, 214  
La Follette, Robert, 6, 65-103 *passim*, 117, 126, 137, 151, 194n, 200n, 204, 213, 215n, 217, 222  
    agricultural wealth and vote for, 70  
    coalition in Wisconsin, 65  
    difference between Roosevelt and, 71n, 71-72  
    difference between Wilson and, 71n, 71-72  
    election of 1904, 68-70  
    election of 1900, 66-67, 69  
    and McCarthy, 4n-5n, 59-60  
    and Republican primary election of 1922, 73  
    support for in South Dakota, 137  
La Follette, Robert, Jr., 86, 134, 208n, 213, 262  
Lamont, Corliss, 130  
Langer, William, 214, 252  
    and agrarian radicalism, 106, 135  
    and McCarthy, 104, 136  
    and the Non-Partisan League, 125-131  
Laski, Harold, 11  
Lease, Mary Ellen, 173  
Lehman, Herbert, 130  
Lemke, William, 102-103, 105, 131-133, 135, 212, 213  
    *see also* Lubell, Samuel, on Lemke (Union Party) vote  
Lenroot, Irving, 73  
Lippman, Walter, 256  
Lipset, Seymour Martin, 5, 17, 29, 97, 98, 173, 226, 233, 234, 240, 251  
    quoted, 218  
Lloyd, Henry Demarest, 172-173  
Locke, John, 40, 178  
Lockean consensus, 35-38, 51, 178, 193  
    and industrialization, 32-58  
Lockean liberalism  
    and class legislation, 49  
    and industrialization, 36  
Lockean moralism and conservative ideology, 32-58  
Lodge, Henry Cabot, quoted, 55  
Long, Huey, 212, 213  
Louis Napoleon, 211  
Lubell, Samuel, 96, 103, 131  
    on Lemke (Union Party) vote, 103, 131  
    on progressivism, 75, 79-84  
Lucas, Scott W., 161  
Luddites, 21
- MacArthur, Douglas, 214  
McCarthy, Charles, 200  
    quoted, 194-195  
McCarthy, Joseph, 1-2, 186, 227-231, 245, 251-252  
    political pattern of, 251-252  
    rhetoric of, 230-231  
    in Wisconsin  
        analysis of relation to progressive tradition, 84-99  
        bases of support, 86, 89  
        Catholic vote for, 91-92, 94, 97  
        and communism issue, 97  
        corn belt vote for, 94, 97-99  
        Czechoslovakian vote for, 91-92, 94  
        as destroyer of group base of politics, 59-60, 97  
        friends-and-neighbors effect in vote for, 91, 94, 99  
        German vote for, 72, 99  
        middle-class vote for, 93-94  
        Polish vote for, 93-94  
        rural support for, 89, 91, 99

## INDEX

- and weakness in urban centers, 89, 93-94, 95  
 working-class vote for, 93-94
- McCarthyism, 171, 215, 216-217, 219-220, 227-228, 264-265
- and agrarian radicalism  
 bases of compared by pluralists, 4n-5n, 27-29  
 differences between, 30-31  
 pluralists' hypotheses concerning, 59-60
- and authoritarianism, pluralist view, 33
- and communism, 216, 223-225, 242-244, 247-248, 251-253, 258
- historical roots of, 221-223
- and moderate elites, 248-260
- newspapers and, 221-222, 255-256
- in North Dakota  
 agrarian radicalism and, 131-136  
 ethnic component of, 125-131  
 Republican Party and, 135-136  
 occupation and attitude toward, 237-238  
 and the petit bourgeois, 29-30  
 and pluralism, 217, 219, 221-222, 225, 227, 228, 240-241, 255-260  
 and populism, 217-219, 229-231, 232-233, 243, 256-260  
 and Populist movement, 210-212, 221-222, 262, 264-267  
 and rural values, 34-35  
 in South Dakota, 137, 157  
 relation to 1920's progressive movement, 164  
 relation to pre-W.W.I progressive movement, 162, 164  
 roots in traditional Republican Party, 160-165  
 support for, 232-241, 243-248, 281
- McClellan, John, 230, 254-255
- McGovern, George, 134n, 267
- McKinley, William, 177
- McMaster, William H., 150-151
- McNary-Haugen bill, 208
- Madison, James, 45n, 46
- March on Washington (1963), 280
- Marshall, George, 253
- Marx, Karl, 38, 115, 169, 263
- Marxism, Populism and, 187
- Mass movements, 168-169, 177-186, 212-215, 264-265, 267-268, 271-273, 274, 278-282  
*see also* Moralism; Social cohesion
- Michels, Robert, 25
- Michelson, George, 162n, 164
- Middle class, 29, 36
- Mill, John Stuart, 200
- Moralism, 32-35, 264-267  
 defined, 34  
 and McCarthyism, 227-228  
 mass politics and, 21, 27  
 and progressive movement, 194-196, 199n, 205-206  
 and reform movements, 6, 34-35
- Mowry, George E., 66, 70
- Mundt, Karl E., 161, 162n, 164, 251
- National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, 279
- Nebraska, 172
- Populist movement in, 114n, 175, 176
- New American Right, The*, (ed.) Daniel Bell, 96, 225, 227
- New Deal, 2, 3, 9, 32, 37, 71, 95, 165-166, 191, 204, 220, 222, 250, 254, 256, 263
- New Nationalism 71
- Noble, David, 169
- Non-Partisan League, 56, 187, 222, 262  
 in North Dakota, 104, 109, 116, 119  
 Catholic opposition to, 122, 123  
 preoccupation with foreign policy, 106  
 Scandinavian support for, 122, 123  
 and Senator Langer, 125-131  
 in South Dakota, 137, 144, 148-150  
 defeat of, 150  
 cattle farmers opposition to, 150  
 corn and wheat farmers support for, 150  
 German and Russian-German support for, 149
- Norbeck, Peter, 148, 149-150, 208n
- Norris, George W., 66, 208n
- North Dakota  
 demography of, 107  
 economic character of, 107-108  
*see also* (under North Dakota) Catholics; Democratic Party; Farmers; Langer, William; McCarthyism; Non-Partisan League; Populism; Progressivism; Russian-Germans; Scandinavians; Smith, Alfred, election of 1928
- Nye, Gerald, 104, 105, 106, 128, 129, 133
- Olson, Governor, 213
- Ortega y Gasset, José, 11-12
- Parsons, Talcott, 5, 44, 95, 222, 225, quoted, 218-219
- Peffer, William, 170n
- Philippines, Populists and, 177
- Pluralism, theory of, 71-72, 105, 261, 268-282  
 and the authoritarian personality, 18  
 defined, 10-11  
 and Democratic resurgence in Wisconsin, 80-84  
 on industrialization, 10-15  
 and agrarian radicalism, 26-30, 32  
 and McCarthyism, 217-219, 221-222, 225-227, 228, 232-233, 234, 240-241, 248-249, 251-253, 255, 256-260, 261-262, 264-268  
 and Populist movement, 170-186, 262-267, 269  
 and progressive movement, 193-194, 195n  
 and "status politics" in North Dakota, 117-120

## INDEX

- and utilitarians, 18-19  
*see also* Group politics, and the modern pluralists; Group politics, and the public interest
- Poles, 61  
 in Wisconsin, 103  
 map on distribution of, 63  
 working-class vote for McCarthy and Eisenhower, 93, 100
- Political elites. *see* Elite autonomy
- Political party  
 affiliation and McCarthy support, 233-234  
*see also* Democratic Party; Republican Party
- Politics, *see* Democratic Party; Elite autonomy; Group politics; Mass movements; Republican Party; Status politics
- Polsby, Nelson, 228, 234
- Populist movement, 10-15  
 academic freedom and, 180-181  
 anti-Semitism and, 173-174  
 Catholics and, 177  
 and conspiracy theories, 172-173  
 Federalists and, 47-48  
 and industrialization, 169-170, 265, 271  
 in Iowa, 175  
 and jingoism, 176-177  
 in Kansas, 114n  
 and McCarthyism, 210-212, 221-222, 262, 264-267, 276  
 as a mass movement, 179-186, 264-265, 273, 278-279  
 and nativism, 175-176, 176n  
 in Nebraska, 114n  
 and neofascism, 211-213  
 in North Dakota, as a class movement, 109-115, 131, 133, 135-136  
 and organized labor, 173, 176  
 and prohibition, 181-182  
 and racism, 175  
 and representative democracy, 182  
 in South Dakota, 137  
 and farm vote, 140-143  
 and impact on parties, 138-144  
 and modern party vote, 167  
 and wealth, 140  
 support for, 4, 175-176, 262  
*see also* Populist movement, in North Dakota; Populist movement, in South Dakota; Populist movement, in Wisconsin  
 in Wisconsin, 64-72 *passim*  
 weakness of, 66
- Populism, 264, 274-276  
 and conservative tradition, 47-52  
 and McCarthyism, 6, 217-218, 229-231, 232-233, 248, 256-260  
 and Populist movement, 181-182  
 and progressivism, 196-198, 202  
*see also* Agrarian radicalism
- Pragmatism, 32-35, 277-278  
 defined, 34  
 and McCarthyism, 228-229, 258  
 and progressivism, 194-196, 201-202, 205-206
- Progressive movement, 169, 183, 193-208, 213-214  
 in North Dakota  
 farm support for, 116  
 similarity of to Wisconsin movement, 117  
 and status politics, 116-120  
 World War I and, 120
- reforms by, 201  
 in South Dakota  
 and modern party vote, 166-167  
 as movement of the rich, 144, 146  
 and the Non-Partisan League, 144-151  
 and the Smith-Roosevelt votes, 151-154  
 World War I and, 149  
 in Wisconsin, 64-91 *passim*  
 and agricultural wealth, 70  
 economic base of, 72  
 ethnic appeal of, 72-73  
 in elections of 1920's, 72-74  
 in elections of 1930's, 75-79  
 German shift in support of, 72-73, 79  
 influence of, 65, 82  
 World War I and, 72-73  
 World War I and, 120, 149, 206-207
- Prohibition, 81, 126, 144n, 181-182, 208
- Protestantism  
 and McCarthyism, 238-239  
 and Populism, 178-180
- Proxmire, William, 86, 88, 97
- Pullman Boycott, 173
- Racism, 196, 196n  
 Populism and, 175
- Radicalism, *see* Agrarian radicalism
- Religion  
 and attitude toward McCarthy, 238-239  
*see also* Catholics, Protestantism
- Reno, Milo, quoted, 214
- Republican Party, 277  
 and McCarthyism, 218, 220-221, 223-224, 233-234, 238-239, 247, 250-254, 281  
 in North Dakota  
 and McCarthy, 135-136  
 Russian-Germans and, 128  
 in South Dakota, 137-138, 155  
 in Wisconsin, 69, 69n  
 and McCarthy, 99, 103
- Riesman, David, 5, 20
- Roosevelt, Franklin D., 37-38, 81, 82, 95, 126, 127, 151, 154, 160, 204, 215n, 283
- Roosevelt, Theodore, 71, 116n-117n, 137, 146n, 148, 197
- Rothman, Stanley, 24

# INDEX

- Rovere, Richard, 1  
 Rural world, 34-35, 91, 178-179, 183-184, 187-190, 208-210, 262-267
- Russian-Germans  
 in North Dakota  
 and agrarian radicalism, 133-136  
 and elections 1932-1952, 126-131  
 and the Non-Partisan League, 128  
 and status politics, 119-120  
 and support for Langer, 106, 125-126  
 in World War I, 120  
 in South Dakota  
 and anti-Populism, 140  
 and corn belt support for Taft, 158-160  
 and desertion of Democratic Party, 156  
 and opposition to progressive movement, 146
- Scandinavians, 69n, 119, 175, 189, 262  
 in North Dakota, 109  
 and Non-Partisan League, 122, 123  
 in South Dakota  
 and support for Populism, 140  
 and support for progressive movement, 146  
 in Wisconsin, 60, 61  
 Democratic vote of, 84  
 and election of 1904, 69  
 map on distribution of, 62  
 and Populist vote of 1894, 66  
 and support for Wilson, 73  
 and vote for Union Party, 103
- Schine, David, 253  
 Schmitt, Len, 86  
 Schumpeter, Josef, 20  
 Scopes trial, 180  
 Shlis, Edward, 5, 10, 11, 27, 28, 44, 257  
 Shipstead, Hendrik, 105, 106  
 Smith, Adam, 16, 18, 19  
 Smith, Alfred, election of 1928, 269, 284  
 and agrarian radicalism, 80-81  
 in North Dakota, 126-127  
 in South Dakota, 151, 154, 156  
 in Wisconsin, 81  
 Smith, J. Allen, 195n  
 Smith, Margaret Chase, 245  
 Social cohesion, 14, 16, 17, 19, 27, 28  
 Social Darwinism, 52, 200  
 South Dakota  
 economic areas of, 152  
 see also (under South Dakota) Catholics;  
 Democratic Party; Farmers; McCarthyism; Non-Partisan League; Populist movement; Progressive movement; Russian-Germans; Scandinavians; Smith, Alfred, election of 1928
- Spanish American War, Populists and, 177  
 Stalinism, 170  
 Stassen, Harold, 253  
 Status politics, 17, 20, 59, 97-99, 186  
 and agrarian radicalism, 119-120  
 and McCarthyism, 122, 226  
 and Populist and progressive movements, 146, 182-184  
 see also Elite autonomy
- Stevenson, Adlai, 157, 283  
 Stouffer, Samuel, 232, 242
- Taft, Robert, 97, 162, 166, 222, 250  
 in South Dakota, 157, 158, 160  
 Tennessee Valley Authority, 50  
 Texas People's Party, 179  
 Thompson, James, 73  
 Tocqueville, Alexis, de, see de Tocqueville, Alexis
- Trow, Martin, 29, 95, 227-228, 235, 241  
 Truman, David, 16  
 Truman, Harry S., 1, 223  
 Turner, Frederick, J., 35  
 Tydings, Millard, 161, 256
- Ulam, Adam, 169  
 Union Party, 103, 105, 131, 213-215  
 see also Germans, in Wisconsin; Czechoslovakians, in Wisconsin; Scandinavians, in Wisconsin
- Utilitarians, 18-19
- Veblen, Thorstein, 181  
 Viereck, Peter, 6, 60, 173, 252  
 quoted, 105  
 Vietnam war, 267
- Wallace, George, 258  
 Watkins, Arthur V., 252, 253  
 Watson, Tom, 266, 267  
 Weaver, James B., 4n, 104, 143n, 176  
 Weber, Max, 11, 14, 38, 39, 42  
 and demystification, 12-13  
 Wheat farming, see listings under Farmers
- Wheeler, Burton, 105, 106, 250, 267  
 Wherry, Kenneth S., 251  
 Whigs, 48, 51  
 Wilcox, Benton, 114n  
 Wiley, Alexander, 92, 100  
 Wilson, Woodrow, 71, 73, 224  
 vote for in North Dakota, 116n-117n
- Wisconsin  
 demographic background of, 60-64  
 see also (under Wisconsin) Catholics;  
 Democratic Party; Farmers; McCarthy, Joseph; Non-Partisan League; Populist movement; Progressive movement; Scandinavians; Smith, Alfred, election of 1928
- Woodward, C. Vann, 184  
 Working class, 78, 84, 190-191, 192, 200, 200n, 203n, 236, 243-245, 263, 278-279, 280-281  
 World War I, 72, 120, 149, 206-207  
 Worldly asceticism, 38-40
- Zaritsky, Max, quoted, 200-201  
 Zwicker, Ralph, 161