

# THE RADICAL MIDDLE CLASS

POPULIST DEMOCRACY  
AND THE QUESTION OF  
CAPITALISM IN  
PROGRESSIVE ERA  
PORTLAND, OREGON



ROBERT D. JOHNSTON

# Radical Middle Class Populist Democracy

**Robert D. Johnston**



## **Radical Middle Class Populist Democracy:**

**The Radical Middle Class** Robert D. Johnston, 2013-10-31 America has a long tradition of middle class radicalism albeit one that intellectual orthodoxy has tended to obscure The Radical Middle Class seeks to uncover the democratic populist and even anticapitalist legacy of the middle class By examining in particular the independent small business sector or petite bourgeoisie using Progressive Era Portland Oregon as a case study Robert Johnston shows that class still matters in America But it matters only if the politics and culture of the leading player in affairs of class the middle class is dramatically reconceived This book is a powerful combination of intellectual business labor medical and above all political history Its author also humanizes the middle class by describing the lives of four small business owners Harry Lane Will Daly William U Ren and Lora Little Lane was Portland s reform mayor before becoming one of only six senators to vote against U S entry into World War I Daly was Oregon s most prominent labor leader and a onetime Socialist U Ren was the national architect of the direct democracy movement Little was a leading antivaccinationist The Radical Middle Class further explores the Portland Ku Klux Klan and concludes with a national overview of the American middle class from the Progressive Era to the present With its engaging narrative conceptual richness and daring argumentation it will be welcomed by all who understand that reexamining the middle class can yield not only better scholarship but firmer grounds for democratic hope *The End of Middle Class Politics?* Sotiris Rizas, 2018-12-17 The response of the middle classes to the financial crisis of 2008 is a central theme in the political systems of most developed Western countries This book approaches middle class politics from a historical perspective looking at its progression since the early 1900s The middle classes contributed significantly and in various ways to the evolution of mass politics in the West with middle class intellectuals oriented to social and political reform such as Leonard Hobhouse Herbert Croly and Leon Bourgeois influencing the setup of politics and the building of institutions in the early 20th century and with lower middle class disaffection fuelling protest politics in the 1890s and 1900s The rise of Fascism in the interwar period owed much to the perception of liquidation permeating the middle classes in the 1920s and the 1930s as a result of post World War I hardship and the Crash of 1929 31 Conversely mass affluence during the trente glorieuses was the result of the post World War II growth strategies adopted by conservatives and social democrats alike The rise of Thatcherism led to the emergence of a more consumerist and market oriented middle class that enjoyed a high living standard but was subjected simultaneously to the turbulences of globalization and the fluctuations of the markets Political realignments that are currently taking shape after the Crash of 2008 are related to the loss of status and purchasing power of the vast middle class formed during the postwar years It is also of historical significance to compare various middle class responses in the 2010s to those to the Crash of the 1920s and 1930s Although authoritarianism and Fascism were the ultimate outcomes of interwar politics there were and still are viable democratic and socially inclusive alternatives **The Sinking Middle Class** David Roediger, 2022-06-21 The Sinking Middle Class challenges the save the middle class rhetoric

that dominates our political imagination The slogan misleads us regarding class nation and race Talk of middle class salvation reinforces myths holding that the US is a providentially middle class nation Implicitly white the middle class becomes viewed as unheard amidst supposed concerns for racial justice and for the poor Roediger shows how little the US has been a middle class nation The term seldom appeared in US writing before 1900 Many white Americans were self employed but this social experience separated them from the contemporary middle class of today overwhelmingly employed and surveilled Today s highly unequal US hardly qualifies as sustaining the middle class The idea of the US as a middle class place required nurturing Those doing that ideological work from the business press to pollsters to intellectuals celebrating the results of free enterprise gained little traction until the Depression and Cold War expanded the middle class brand Much later the book s sections on liberal strategist Stanley Greenberg detail saving the middle class entered presidential politics Both parties soon defined the middle class to include over 90% of the population precluding intelligent attention to the poor and the very rich Resurrecting radical historical critiques of the middle class Roediger argues that middle class identities have so long been shaped by debt anxiety about falling and having to sell one s personality at work that misery defines a middle class existence as much as fulfillment *Latin America's Middle Class* David Stuart Parker, Louise E.

Walker, 2013-01-01 Designed for classroom use and nonspecialist readers this collection brings together some of the most influential texts ever written about Latin America s middle class **The American Middle Class** Lawrence

Samuel, 2013-07-18 The middle class is often viewed as the heart of American society the key to the country s democracy and prosperity Most Americans believe they belong to this group and few politicians can hope to be elected without promising to serve the middle class Yet today the American middle class is increasingly seen as under threat In *The American Middle Class A Cultural History* Lawrence R Samuel charts the rise and fall of this most definitive American population from its triumphant emergence in the post World War II years to the struggles of the present day Between the 1920s and the 1950s powerful economic social and political factors worked together in the U S to forge what many historians consider to be the first genuine mass middle class in history But from the cultural convulsions of the 1960s to the stagflation of the 1970s to Reaganomics in the 1980s this segment of the population has been under severe stress Drawing on a rich array of voices from the past half century *The American Middle Class* explores how the middle class and ideas about it have changed over time including the distinct story of the black middle class Placing the current crisis of the middle class in historical perspective Samuel shows how the roots of middle class troubles reach back to the cultural upheaval of the 1960s *The American Middle Class* takes a long look at how the middle class has been winnowed away and reveals how even in the face of this erosion the image of the enduring middle class remains the heart and soul of the United States **Middle Class**

**Union** Mark W. Robbins, 2017-05-19 *Middle Class Union* argues that the period following World War I was a pivotal moment in the development of middle class consumer politics in the 20th century At this time middle class Americans politically

mobilized to define for society what was fair in the growing consumer marketplace They projected themselves as guardians of the producerist values of hard work honesty and thrift and called for greater adherence to them among the working and elite classes In this era and in later periods they flexed their muscles as consumers and claimed to defend the values of the nation Combining social history with interdisciplinary approaches to the study of consumption and symbolic space Middle Class Union illustrates how acts of consumption representations of the middle class in literary journalistic and artistic discourses and ground level organizing combined to enable white collar activists to establish themselves as both the middle class and the backbone of the nation This book contributes to labor history by examining the nexus of class and consumption to show how many white collar workers drew on their consumer identity to express an anti labor politics later facilitating the struggles of unions throughout the post World War I years It also contributes to political history by emphasizing how these middle class activists laid important groundwork for both 1920s business conservatism and New Deal liberalism They exerted their political influence well before the post World War II period when a self interested and powerful middle class consumer identity is more widely acknowledged to have taken hold *Squatter's Republic* Tamara Venit Shelton,2013-11-22 Who should have the right to own land and how much of it A Squatter s Republic follows the rise and fall of the land question in the Gilded Age and the rise and fall of a particularly nineteenth century vision of landed independence More specifically the author considers the land question through the anti monopolist reform movements it inspired in late nineteenth century California The Golden State was a squatter s republic a society of white men who claimed no more land than they could use and who promised to uphold agrarian republican ideals and resist monopoly the nemesis of democracy Their opposition to land monopoly became entwined with public discourse on Mexican land rights industrial labor relations immigration from China and the rise of railroad and other corporate monopolies *How Cities Won the West* Carl Abbott,2011-03-03 Cities rather than individual pioneers have been the driving force in the settlement and economic development of the western half of North America Throughout the seventeenth eighteenth and nineteenth centuries western urban centers served as starting points for conquest and settlement As these frontier cities matured into metropolitan centers they grew from imitators of eastern culture and outposts of eastern capital into independent sources of economic cultural and intellectual change From the Gulf of Alaska to the Mississippi River and from the binational metropolis of San Diego Tijuana to the Prairie Province capitals of Canada Carl Abbott explores the complex urban history of western Canada and the United States The evolution of western cities from stations for exploration and military occupation to contemporary entry points for migration and components of a global economy reminds us that it is cities that won the West And today as cultural change increasingly moves from west to east Abbott argues that the urban West represents a new center from which emerging patterns of behavior and changing customs will help to shape North America in the twenty first century Miss Cutler and the Case of the Resurrected Horse Mark Peel,2011-11-15 Social workers produced thousands of case files about the poor during the

interwar years Analyzing almost two thousand such case files and traveling from Boston Minneapolis and Portland to London and Melbourne Miss Cutler and the Case of the Resurrected Horse is a pioneering comparative study that examines how these stories of poverty were narrated and reshaped by ethnic diversity economic crisis and war Probing the similarities and differences in the ways Americans Australians and Britons understood and responded to poverty Mark Peel draws a picture of social work that is based in the sometimes fraught encounters between the poor and their interpreters He uses dramatization to bring these encounters to life joining Miss Cutler and that resurrected horse are Miss Lindstrom and the fried potatoes and Mr O Neil and the seductive client and to give these people a voice Adding new dimensions to the study of charity and social work this book is essential to understanding and tackling poverty in the twenty first century Vaccine Nation Elena Conis,2014-10-20 A strikingly honest fair minded and informed chronicle of the vaccine controversy in the United States Age of Autism By setting the complex story of American vaccination within the country s broader history Vaccine Nation goes beyond the simple story of the triumph of science over disease and provides a new and perceptive account of the role of politics and social forces in medicine Vaccine Nation opens in the 1960s when government scientists triumphant following successes combating polio and smallpox considered how the country might deploy new vaccines against what they called the milder diseases including measles mumps and rubella In the years that followed Conis reveals vaccines fundamentally changed how medical professionals policy administrators and ordinary Americans came to perceive the diseases they were designed to prevent She brings this history up to the present with an insightful look at the past decade s controversy over the implementation of the Gardasil vaccine for HPV which sparked extensive debate because of its focus on adolescent girls and young women Through this and other examples Conis demonstrates how the acceptance of vaccines and vaccination policies has been as contingent on political and social concerns as on scientific findings In Vaccine Nation Conis delivers a fascinating account of how routine childhood immunization came to be both a public health success story and a source of bitter controversy James Colgrove author of Epidemic City and State of Immunity At a moment when as Conis says children s participation in public life depends on their immunization status she favors a nuanced view of our complicated relationship with the jab Los Angeles Times **The Politics of Healing** Robert D. Johnston,2004 Maurice Ravel A Research and Information Guide is an annotated bibliography concerning both the nature of primary sources related to the composer and the scope and significance of the secondary sources which deal with him his compositions and his influence as a composer and theorist Cross Purposes Paula Abrams,2009-12-14 A definitive study of an extremely important though curiously neglected Supreme Court decision Pierce v Society of Sisters Robert O Neil Professor of Law Emeritus University of Virginia School of Law A careful and captivating examination of a dramatic and instructive clash between nationalism and religious pluralism and of the ancient but ongoing struggle for control over the education of children and the formation of citizens Richard W Garnett Professor of Law and Associate Dean Notre Dame Law School A well written well researched

blend of law politics and history Joan DelFattore Professor of English and Legal Studies University of Delaware In 1922 the people of Oregon passed legislation requiring all children to attend public schools For the nativists and progressives who had campaigned for the Oregon School Bill it marked the first victory in a national campaign to homogenize education and ultimately the populace Private schools both secular and religious vowed to challenge the law The Catholic Church the largest provider of private education in the country and the primary target of the Ku Klux Klan campaign stepped forward to lead the fight all the way to the U S Supreme Court In *Pierce v Society of Sisters* 1925 the court declared the Oregon School Bill unconstitutional and ruled that parents have the right to determine how their children should be educated Since then *Pierce* has provided a precedent in many cases pitting parents against the state Paula Abrams is Professor of Constitutional Law at Lewis Clark Law School

Politics on a Human Scale Jeff Taylor, 2013-09-27 Featuring a foreword by Congressman Glen Browder *Politics on a Human Scale* examines political decentralization in the United States from the founding of the republic to the present Part of the desirable equilibrium is a sense of proportionality Some sizes some amounts some levels are more appropriate than others Decentralism is the best political tool to ensure equilibrium to promote proportionality and to obtain appropriate scale Power distribution should be as wide as possible Government functions should be as close to the people as practicable In this way individual human beings are not swallowed by a monstrous Leviathan Persons are not at the mercy of an impersonal bureaucracy led by the far away few Decentralism gives us politics on a human scale It gives us more democracy within the framework of a republic The longest chapters in the book deal with crucial turning points in U S history specifically when decentralists lost the upper hand in the two major political parties Decentralism in our nation runs deep both intellectually and historically It also has considerable popular support Yet today it is a virtual political orphan In Washington neither major political party is serious about dispersing power to lower levels of government or to the people themselves Still there are dissident politicians and political movements that remain committed to the decentralist principle Power needs to be held in check partly through decentralization because power holds a great and dangerous attraction for humans Recognition of this human tendency is the first step in guarding against it and getting back on a better path

**Vaccine Epidemic** Louise Kuo Habakus, Mary Holland, Kim Mack Rosenberg, 2011-02-09 Public health officials state that vaccines are safe and effective but the truth is far more complicated Vaccination is a serious medical intervention that always carries the potential to injure and cause death as well as to prevent disease Coercive vaccination policies deprive people of free and informed consent the hallmark of ethical medicine Americans are increasingly concerned about vaccine safety and the right to make individual informed choices together with their healthcare practitioners *Vaccine Epidemic* focuses on the searing debate surrounding individual and parental vaccination choice in the United States Habakus Holland and Rosenberg edit and introduce a diverse array of interrelated topics concerning the explosive vaccine controversy including the ethics of vaccination mandates corrupting conflicts of interest in the national vaccine program and personal narratives of parents

children and soldiers who have suffered vaccine injury Newly updated with additional chapters focusing on institutional scientific misconduct mandates for healthcare workers concerns about HPV vaccine development and the story behind the Supreme Court's recent vaccine decision *Vaccine Epidemic* remains the essential handbook for the vaccination choice movement and required reading for all people contemplating vaccination for themselves and their children **Politics, Labor, and the War on Big Business** David R. Berman, 2012-07-15 *Politics Labor and the War on Big Business* details the rise fall and impact of the anticorporate reform effort in Arizona during the Progressive reform era roughly 1890 1920 Drawing on previously unexamined archival files and building on research presented in his previous books author David R. Berman offers a fresh look at Progressive heritage and the history of industrial relations during Arizona's formative period In the 1890s once heavily courted corporations had become in the eyes of many outside money interests or beasts that exploited the wealth of the sparsely settled area Arizona's anticorporate reformers condemned the giant corporations for mistreating workers farmers ranchers and small business people and for corrupting the political system During a thirty year struggle Arizona reformers called for changes to ward off corporate control of the political system increase corporate taxation and regulation and protect and promote the interests of working people Led by George W. P. Hunt and progressive Democrats Arizona's brand of progressivism was heavily influenced by organized labor third parties and Socialist activists As highly powerful railroad and mining corporations retaliated conflict took place on both political levels and industrial backgrounds sometimes in violent form *Politics Labor and the War on Big Business* places Arizona's experience in the larger historical discussion of reform activity of the period considering issues involving the role of government in the economy and the possibility of reform topics highly relevant to current debates *The War on Illahee* Marc James Carpenter, 2025-09-30 How a generation of pioneers and their historians knowingly hid the violent history of Indigenous dispossession in the Pacific Northwest The small mostly forgotten wars of the 1850s in the American Pacific Northwest were part of a broader genocidal war the War on Illahee to seize Native land for Euro Americans Illahee a term for homeland in Chinook was turned into the states of Oregon and Washington through the violence of invading soldiers settlers and serial killers Clashes over the brutality of invasion should it be celebrated isolated or erased left behind accidental archives of atrocity as history writers disagreed over which stories they should tell and which stories they could sell By the 1920s the War on Illahee had been disappeared Drawing on records from the perpetrators themselves the papers of historians and previously suppressed evidence from Indigenous survivors Marc James Carpenter has written both a new history of pioneer atrocities within and beyond the wars on Native people in the American Pacific Northwest and a new history of how these wars were remembered commemorated and forgotten The overlapping distortions have embedded inaccuracies in our histories and textbooks all the way to the present Beyond reshaping the history of the Pacific Northwest this searing book opens broader conversations about settler colonialism historical memory problematic monuments and the historical profession *Nature's Northwest*

William G. Robbins, Katrine Barber, 2011-04-15 At the beginning of the twentieth century the greater Northwest was ablaze with change and seemingly obsessed with progress The promotional literature of the time praising railroads population increases and the growing sophistication of urban living however ignored the reality of poverty and ethnic and gender discrimination During the course of the next century even with dramatic changes in the region one constant remained inequality With an emphasis on the region's political economy its environmental history and its cultural and social heritage this lively and colorful history of the Pacific Northwest defined here as Oregon Washington Idaho Montana and southern British Columbia places the narrative of this dynamic region within a national and international context Embracing both Canadian and American stories in looking at the larger region renowned historian William Robbins and Katrine Barber offer us a fascinating regional history through the lens of both the environment and society Understanding the physical landscape of the greater Pacific Northwest and the watersheds of the Columbia Fraser Snake and Klamath rivers sets the stage for understanding the development of the area Examining how this landscape spawned sawmills fish canneries railroads logging camps agriculture and shared immigrant and ethnic traditions reveals an intricate portrait of the twentieth century Northwest Impressive in its synthesis of myriad historical facts this first rate regional history will be of interest to historians studying the region from a variety of perspectives and an informative read for anyone fascinated by the story of a landscape rich in diversity natural resources and Native culture *Fractured Modernity* Thomas Welskopp, Alan Lessoff, 2016-07-11

The ten essays in this volume deal with the debates and conflicts about modernity in a period of American history when the tensions and strains caused by seemingly unrestrained change and the reactions to it were particularly severe and tangible Partly concentrating on the margins or dark underworlds of modernity such as racism and violence partly focusing on the allegedly unlimited space to negotiate and create social order from scratch the contributions to this volume show that and discuss why modernity was an issue in contemporary United States which seemed to have been even more hotly contested than in Europe at the same time albeit sometimes in terms of Americanism rather than modernism In this book European scholars of the United States apply variations on the transnational discourse on modernity to unexpected dimensions of U S history making this volume a fascinating example of the present day enterprise of internationalizing American studies

*American Dreamers* Michael Kazin, 2012-09-04 ONE OF THE BEST BOOKS OF THE YEAR NEWSWEEK THE DAILY BEAST THE NEW REPUBLIC THE PROGRESSIVE The definitive history of the reformers radicals and idealists who fought for a different America from the abolitionists to Michael Moore and Noam Chomsky While the history of the left is a long story of idealism and determination it has also been a story of movements that failed to gain support from mainstream America In *American Dreamers* Michael Kazin one of the most respected historians of the American left working today tells a new history of the movements that while not fully succeeding on their own terms nonetheless made lasting contributions to American society Among these culture shaping events are the fight for equal opportunity for women racial minorities and

homosexuals the celebration of sexual pleasure the inclusion of multiculturalism in the media and school curricula and the creation of books and films with altruistic and anti authoritarian messages Deeply informed judicious and impassioned and superbly written this is an essential book for our times and for anyone seeking to understand our political history and the people who made it

**The Paradox of Power** Ballard C. Campbell, 2021-11-22 America's political history is a fascinating paradox The United States was born with the admonition that government posed a threat to liberty This apprehension became the foundation of the nation's civic ideology and was embedded in its constitutional structure Yet the history of public life in the United States records the emergence of an enormously powerful national state during the nineteenth century By 1920 the United States was arguably the most powerful country in the world In *The Paradox of Power* Ballard C Campbell traces this evolution and offers an explanation for how it occurred Campbell argues that the state in America is rooted in the country's colonial experience and analyzes the evidence for this by reviewing governance at all levels of the American polity local state and national between 1754 and 1920 Campbell poses five critical causal references war geography economic development culture and identity including citizenship and nationalism and political capacity This last factor embraces law and constitutionalism administration and political parties *The Paradox of Power* makes a major contribution to our understanding of American statebuilding by emphasizing the fundamental role of local and state governance to successfully integrate urban state and national governments to create a composite and comprehensive portrait of how governance evolved in America

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