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### HIST 360.01: Rural Radicalism in America, 1700-2000

Ken Lockridge

*The University Of Montana*

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## RURAL RADICALISM IN AMERICA 1700-2000

We will discuss together a multitude of readings which will help us understand the history of the rural radicalism and of the wider hostility to government which have been so uniquely strong in our national culture. Readings include five books available for purchase at the bookstore<sup>1</sup>, and a two-volume Faculty Pack available three days after subscription at the bookstore. The same five books, and numerous other relevant books, will be on reserve in single copies at the library. The Faculty Pack includes a list of "Features of Rural Radicalism," "Possible Topics on Rural Radicalism," a copy of the Reserve List, and a full Table of Contents. It will not be on reserve and is a vital adjunct to this syllabus. You should order a copy right away.

Grades will be based first of all on performance in class discussion from October through early December. We'll take September to get warmed up. After September, the frequency of your questions and comments, the closeness and precision with which these are based in a wide variety of our readings (cite exact lines, chapter and verse!), and the relevance and analytical insight of your questions and comments will, along with spot quizzes, determine this 1/3 to 1/2 of your grade. Attendance is part of discussion, and more than three absences of any kind means a full grade reduction for class discussion, with reduction of a full grade more for each subsequent absence. The first three absences are yours to spend as you wish. We're in this together, so be patient with yourselves. Remember that panic is normal if you are not accustomed to discussion-style courses. Come see me when you panic, for we can usually fix whatever is broken and improve the course in the process, and I can reassure you that everyone who is patient makes it through.

Another 1/3 to 1/2 of the grade is made up of a short paper, which is assigned under October 10 in the schedule below. This paper must begin with a full, clear, and accurate statement of its subject or problem or issue, of its thesis or conclusion or bottom-line-what-have-we-learned statement, and of its sub-section by sub-section organization and logic. Exactly the same thesis, order, and logic should be used in the body of the paper in which this logic and quoted supporting evidence from the sources are then developed. This is elementary 100-level, basic expository composition and without it, you will not know what you think nor will anyone else. Papers not presented at this level and/or not proofread for spelling, grammar, and coherence, will receive a zero for this 1/3 to 1/2 of the course grade. (I will sign drop sheets as needed to help avoid penalties.) The reasons for these requirements is that our resources are so limited, that unfortunately we can only offer help in composition to students who can show these basic 100-level skills. But a grader (and I) stand ready to help you to raise these skills above the 100-level toward the 300-level during the term. In fact, papers which meet the 100-level tests described above but need significant further work, will be graded "rewrite" (which is, C or D) and, after help in rewriting, will be graded again, with 1/2 grade deducted from the final resulting grade to encourage care in composition first time around so that you don't have to rewrite. Writing and thinking skills are by far the most valuable skills you can possess. If you've never had a B or above on a paper from Drake, Jabour, Frey, Voekel, Eglin, or Lockridge, I would very strongly recommend that you go make a series of appointments at the Writing Lab in LA as soon as you can. Take this syllabus with you. Also, copies of sample papers will be available in my office. Study them carefully to see how they are constructed, bit by bit. They are not as explicit as I would wish in

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<sup>1</sup>Stock, Young, McLean, Kazin, Dyer

meeting the requirements underlined above, but analyzing one to see how it is constructed is a good way to get the idea. I wish I could do more, but if I did, we wouldn't get to study rural radicals.

To make it all a little easier, you can take this course by being graded only on class discussions, in this case 1/2 your grade, and on your final paper, also 1/2, but if you do so you cannot receive a course grade higher than a B. This will free some time for other courses for some of you who need it. The catch is that a B is not guaranteed, and class discussion and the first short paper will be graded very rigorously in such cases. You will really have to show a close knowledge and active classroom use of a wide variety of our readings, particularly in November and December, and will have to write a solid paper or solid rewrite-minus-1/2 grade to get a full B. But if you do, you can avoid the pressures of the full course load and still do decently. By not turning in a final paper, you can let me know you have chosen this no-higher-than-a-B option. There's nothing wrong with having other fish to fry, as long as you do well on your short paper and well in discussion all term.

The final paper is really a researched, articulated prospectus for a research paper on rural radicalism, a paper you will write in final form in my History 300 course next term. For in truth, the present course is also a preview and warm up for those of you who wish to do some serious research on an aspect of rural radicalism in America. Sample topics are in the Fac Pack and will arise constantly in class. Start your research this term, consult the faculty, order what you need on Interlibrary Loan, and by November 25 write up and present to us what you have learned on your topic so far, as a formal ten page paper with public presentation. This makes you eligible for grades up to A in this course, and gains you automatic admission to a section of History 300 Spring Term which is reserved for graduates of History 360 who wish to pursue issues of rural radicalism.

On to our subject. As epigram, let me offer you the reply of the town of Ashfield, in the hills of western Massachusetts, to a query, posed in 1778, as to what sort of revolutionary state constitution the people there wanted: "Resolved," said Ashfield, "that we accept no governair but the Governar of the univarse." From there to Oklahoma City, is but a short trip.

## SCHEDULE

**Tues., Sept. 5:** Syllabus and Introduction. **Order FacPac right away.**

**Prepare for Sept. 7:** **Prepare** (no highlighting; take notes, insert queries and cross references, in margin. **Think.** What more does each reading **tell** us? Why is it **there**?) Katherine Stock, Rural Radicals, ix-14, in the FacPac, v. 1, items 1 and 1a, by Schwartz and Zeskind. Also read "Features of Rural Radicalism" and "Some Topics" at start of FacPac, v. 1. What are we letting ourselves in for?

**Thurs., Sept. 7:** Discuss Stock, ix-14, Schwartz, Zeskind: what are we getting into? On spoon-feeding versus mutual discovery. On patience in learning.

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**Prepare for Sept. 12:** Prepare Stock (see, and follow, instructions on preparing in previous assignment), Rural Radicals, 15-86, and, in the FacPac, "Bombing Federal Buildings is as American as Apple Pie." Ros Davidson interview with Katherine Stock.

**Quiz Due: According to Stock, what was Populism? How did it differ from current rural radicalisms?**

**Quote Stock. 3 pages.**

**Tues., Sept. 12: Quiz Due!** Discuss Stock, 15-86, and Davidson/Stock interview.

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**Prepare for Sept. 14:** Prepare Stock, 87-142, as carefully as usual, with explicit marginal notes, and quotations to use as you ask questions or join in the discussion.

**Thurs., Sept. 14:** Possible quiz. Discuss Stock, 87-142.

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**Prepare for Sept. 19:** Stock, 143-199, and, again, Schwartz, "Angry Rural White Men" in FacPac.

**Tues., Sept. 19: PAPER ASSIGNED.** Discuss Stock, 143-199, and Schwartz.

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**Prepare for Sept. 21:** The pace picks up here for awhile (until October 12 in fact), so ask **why** each article is assigned, and **what** we learn about rural radicalism from it. "Out of the Bounds of the Law: Northern Land Rioters in the Eighteenth Century," by Edward Countryman, Fac-Pac item 3, and Ronald Hoffman, "The 'Disaffected' in the Revolutionary South," FacPac item 4, and "Features of Rural Radicalism" at the very beginning of the FacPac. **Also, those planning to do a research paper and so to continue on into History 300 next term, should see me briefly at the start of the class so we can plan a meeting and a library-research training session in October.**

**Thurs., Sept. 21: Those thinking of doing research papers see me at start of class.** Discuss Countryman, Hoffman, and "Features of Rural Radicalism." **Why are these articles assigned? What do we learn? Good questions for daily quizzes.**

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**Prepare for Sept. 26:** Kornblith and Murrin, "The Making and Unmaking of an American Ruling Class," and Kulikoff, "The American Revolution, Capitalism, and the Formation of the Yeoman Classes," both in Alfred E. Young, ed., Beyond the American Revolution, and Mark Jones, "Herman Husband," 1-6, 261-264, 292-321, in FacPac. item 5.

**Tues., Sept. 26:** Discuss Kornblith and Murrin, Kulikoff, and Jones. **Why are these assigned? What do we learn?**

**Prepare for Sept. 28:** Delfino Susanna, "Genuine Republicans: The Freemen of Frankland and the Demise of Democratic Revolution," FacPac item 6, and Alan Taylor, "Agrarian Independence: Northern Land Rioters After the Revolution," in A. Young, Beyond the American Revolution. **Why assigned? What do we learn?** Always have an answer.

**Thurs., Sept. 28:** Discuss Delfino, and Taylor

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**Prepare for Oct. 3:** Bellesiles, Michael, "The Origins of Gun Culture in the United States;" John Hughes, "The Jacksonians, the Populists, and the Governmental Habit;" and Ronald Formisano and W. Shade. "The Concept of Agrarian Radicalism." items 6.5, 7, and 8 in the FacPac. **Also, go to the Reserve Desk and get the American Promise, a textbook, and read the section on Populism (circa 1880-1910) in it. You will need this support.**

**Tues., Oct. 3: Time Travel: How do we get from Jefferson to the Populists?** Discuss Bellesiles: What happened 1800-1860? Discuss Hughes: What happened 1800-1860? Discuss Westward movement in the settlement of Texas! Nativism 1850's. Discuss Formisano and American Promise: What happened 1865-1910? **In sum: What happened to rural radicalism 1800-1880, what is Populism (ca 1880-1910) and is Populism the same tradition? Thesis: rural radicals captured the country, 1800-1860! Then lost it.**

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**Prepare for Oct. 5:** Review Stock 54-71, and Hughes (see above), and read: James Turner, "Understanding the Populists;" Robert Worth Miller, "Review of American Populism;" and Robert McMath, American Populism, 3-18. These include FacPac items 7, 11, 14.

**Thurs., Oct. 5:** Discuss Stock, 54-71, Hughes, Turner, Miller, McMath.

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**Prepare for Oct. 10:** Lawrence Goodwyn, "Populism," in Main Problems in American History, 54-85; Steven Hahn, "The 'Unmaking' of the Southern Yeomanry, 1860-1890;" Robert Argersinger, "Pentecostal Politics in Kansas," which is Chapter 3 in his Limits of Agrarian Radicalism. These are items 15, 9, and 13 in the FacPac, vol. 1. **Short paper due: What was Populism? How did it differ from current rural radicalism? Quote from the readings for today. Six (6) pages. Papers must fulfill the standards specified in the third paragraph of this syllabus. Papers which do not will receive a zero. Think it through. Say it all clearly on page one. No late papers accepted.**

**Tues., Oct. 10: PAPERS DUE. NO LATE PAPERS ACCEPTED.** Discuss Goodwyn, Hahn, Argersinger, The Kaleidoscope of Populism completed: Is this movement American rural radicalism gone sour? Gone wise? Would it win or lose? What would be its future?

**Prepare for Oct. 12:** Julie Roy Jeffrie, "Women and the Southern Farmer's Alliance," FacPac, v. 1, item 12.

**Thurs., Oct. 12:** Discuss Jeffrie, the whole issue of gender and rural radicalism. **DISCUSS PAPERS.** Also, you should have selected research topics (see list at start of FacPac, v. 1 or find your own), have begun to discuss these with me, and have begun ordering items you need via ILL by this date.

**Students must order initial needed items via ILL by October 20 to be allowed to continue research this term and next. See me during office hours before that date re: topics and ILL.**

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**Prepare for October 17:** Note: **Major Transition to the Twentieth Century.** End of FacPac, v. 1, beginning of v. 2 soon to arrive. What happens to the rural dream, and to rural radicals, after 1900?

Skim over Stock, Rural Radicals, 87-142, and read The Party of Fear, Nativist Movements, David H. Bennett, 39-47, 100-104; Robert Neymeyer, "The Ku Klux Klan of the 1920's...A Review essay;" Shawn Lay, "Hooded Populism;" (FacPac, v. 1, items 16, 17, 18) and begin Nancy MacLean. Behind the Mask of Chivalry, read xi-xvii.

**Tues., Oct. 17:** **REWRITES DUE.** Discuss the Klan! Bennett, Neymeyer, Lay, MacLean. Populism gone sour?

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**Prepare for Oct. 19:** MacLean, Mask of Chivalry, 77-173, also Roxanne Dunbar-Ortiz, Red Dirt, (item 3 in **volume 2** of the FacPac.)

**Thurs., Oct. 19:** Discuss MacLean, Mask, and Red Dirt.

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**Prepare for Oct. 24:** David Emmons, "Constructed Province;" Michael Moore, "Downsize This," 50-63; Red Dirt, Growing Up Okie, Dunbar-Ortiz, 9-19; "White Trash Religion" by Matt Wray; all in FacPac, v. 2, items 1,2,3,4.

**Tues., Oct. 24:** Discuss Emmons, Moore, Dunbar-Ortiz, Wray: background to the 20<sup>th</sup> Century West.

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**Prepare for Oct. 26:** Barkun, Religion and the Racist Right, 103-119, 268-270, and "Elohim City...Christian Identity Community," by Shook, Delone, Balch, from Nova Religio, 245-265, FacPac, v. 2, items 6,7.

**Thurs., Oct. 26:** Discuss Barkun, and Shook. et al.

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**Prepare for Oct. 31:** Michael Kazin, Populist Persuasion, 1-24, 221-266. The most important background we could have, to the re-emergence of rural radicals in our own time.

**Tues., Oct. 31:** Discuss Kazin, Persuasion, 2-24, 221-266.

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**Prepare for Nov. 2:** Kazin, Persuasion, 266-292.

**Thurs., Nov. 2:** Discuss Kazin, Persuasion, 266-292.

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**Prepare for Nov. 9:** Joel Dyer, Harvest of Rage, 1-7, 11-26, 107-213, 263-66, 272-380, and read on and on as much as you wish. This book has momentum.

**Thurs., Nov. 9:** Discuss Dyer.

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**Prepare for Nov. 14:** William Chaloupka, "The County Supremacy and Militia Movements," from Publius, 1996, 161-175; Kenneth S. Stern, A Force Upon the Plain, 9-16, 50-55, 107-154, 274-280; and "Militia-History and Law FAQ" downloads. FacPac, v. 2, items 8, 10, 11.

**Tues., Nov. 14:** Discuss Chaloupka and Stern. **ILL orders must be here and topics have been discussed with me by this date.**

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**Prepare for Nov. 16:** The culmination of the term's readings: Review of Stock, Rural Radicals, by Susan P. Koniak in Michigan Law Review, 1997, pp. 1761-1798 (FacPac, v. 2, item 13). Read roughly the first half, stopping wherever: around pages 1778-1783 you find a natural break. This is the most important thing you will read this term, so read patiently and, if you get it, read it all.

**Thurs., Nov. 16:** **DO NOT MISS THIS OR THE CLASS OF NOV. 21.** Discuss Koniak, etc., first half, etc.

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**Prepare for Nov. 21:** **You must attend this class (see below).** Finish Koniak, a brilliant piece of deduction. Pay especial attention to her delineation of their history and world view. Read also FacPac, v. 2, items 15, 16, 17, to wit "Exhibit A...One of the Sovereign Body." "It is the duty of the government...Sheriff's Posse Comitatus:" and "America's Angry White Males," by Martin Walker.

**Tues., Nov. 21:** **DO NOT MISS THIS CLASS. Students who miss this class will receive a grade off for overall class discussion.** (I apologize, but there was no other place to schedule this most important reading/class.) Finish Koniak and related items.

**Prepare for Nov. 28:** Let's go back and test Koniak's implied history of rural radicalism, by remembering some of its actual characteristics in the distant American past. Review Koniak on the implied world view of rural radicals as found **behind** their various legal inventions, and then prepare John Winthrop. "A Modell of Christian Charity," 75-88, 90-93; Christopher Jedrey, The World of John Cleaveland, 1-16, 95-109, 116-135; and Isaac Kramnick, "The Great National Discussion," from the William and Mary Quarterly, 1988, 3-32. These challenging readings hold the key to the historical origins and historical legitimacy of some aspects of modern rural radicalism. the key to the sense in which a genuine American tradition is making its last stand, albeit in tragically altered form, today. Since Koniak suggests exactly this, let's examine the issue. This will be a great final quiz.

**Tues., Nov. 28:** Discuss above readings and issue. Usual possible quiz.

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**Classes of Nov. 30, Dec. 5,7,12,14:** We will schedule these with research presentations by students doing special topics. Students delivering papers **must submit the papers one meeting in advance, copies to all, and all students in the class must bring (and turn in) a one full-page printed critique of the clarity, logic, conclusions, and evidence/sources of each paper to the class in which the papers are actually presented.** We may use one of these meetings to hear representatives of the groups we study, or of the Montana Human Rights Network, but that depends on your contacts and ideas.

**Thurs., Nov. 30:**

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**Tues., Dec. 5:**

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**Thurs., Dec. 7:**

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**Tues., Dec. 12:**

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**Thurs., Dec. 14:**

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Voluntary assembly at the Press Box for those so inclined. Nachos and non-alcoholic drinks on me. December 14?