

# POLS 4500/6500: Introduction to Southern Politics

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# Overview

- 1 Welcome
- 2 Syllabus
- 3 What is the South?
- 4 Southern Geology
- 5 Southern Political-Economy
- 6 Conclusion



# Welcome to Southern Politics!

- You can access all course material by logging onto your Blackboard account ([bblearn.aum.edu](https://bblearn.aum.edu)), or you can find them on my personal webpage (<https://t.ly/kvTv>).



## Southern Politics (Fall 2020)

### POLS 4500

Department of Political Science and Public Administration  
College of Liberal Arts and Social Science  
Auburn University at Montgomery

Professor:	David A. Hughes, Ph.D.
Meeting Times:	M & W, 12:45 to 2:00 pm (Goodwyn 208)
Office:	Goodwyn Hall 209G
Office Hours:	Fridays from 3:00 to 5:00 pm
Phone:	334-244-3594
Email:	david.hughes@aum.edu

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**Course Description:** This course offers students a broad overview of the politics of the American South. The South has long been recognized as a distinctive region. You will learn about what makes the South unique—from its geology to its culture—and how these factors affect the politics of the region. We will stress the historical evolution of the American South from its origins as a set of authoritarian enclaves to its democratization in the latter half of the twentieth century. Along the way, we will learn about the distinct political cultures of the various states that make up what is colloquially termed “the South.” By the time you complete this course, you should have a rigorous understanding not only of how we got to where we are as a region but also where we are likely to be headed. There are no prerequisites for enrolling in this course aside from standing as an Auburn University at Montgomery undergraduate student.

**Student Learning Objectives:** By the time students complete this course, they should be able to identify some of the more distinctive features of the American South and explain how they have influenced regional and national politics both historically and contemporaneously.

**Class Format:** To reduce the chance for infection for the members of the class, the instructor will offer the class using a virtual-delivery mode while being physically present in the classroom, health and government regulations permitting. That means that students can choose to participate in a class meeting remotely if they have access to an internet-ready device and Zoom. If you plan to avail yourself of this delivery option, you must notify me ahead of time so that I can send you the login credentials. Whether you attend class in-person or remotely, your active participation is required.

**Required Texts:** The following texts are required for every student enrolled in this course:

Bullock, Charles S. III and Mark J. Rozell. 2018. *The New Politics of the Old South: An Introduction to Southern Politics*, 6<sup>th</sup> ed. Rowman and Littlefield. ISBN-13: 978-1538100141.  
Key, V. O. Jr. 1984. First published in 1949. *Southern Politics in State and Nation*. University of Tennessee Press. ISBN-13: 978-0870494352.  
Peltason, J.W. 1971. *Fifty-Eight Lonely Men: Southern Federal Judges and School Desegregation*. University of Illinois Press. ISBN: 978-0-252-00175-8.

**Recommended Texts:** Though not required for this course, the interested student may be keen to acquire some of the following texts on southern politics. This list simply represents some recent and/or seminal scholarship on southern politics and is intended to give you some ideas for your research agenda. This list is hardly meant to be exhaustive and is no substitute for conducting proper research.

- Acharya, Avidit, Matthew Blackwell and Maya Sen. 2018. *Deep Roots: How Slavery Shapes Southern Politics*. Princeton University Press.
- Berlin, Ira. 1998. *Many Thousands Gone: The First Two Centuries of Slavery in North America*. Harvard University Press.
- Black, Earl and Merle Black. 1987. *Politics and Society in the South*. Harvard University Press.
- \_\_\_\_\_. 2002. *The Rise of Southern Republicans*. Harvard University Press.
- Blackmon, Douglas A. 2008. *Slavery by Another Name*. Anchor Books.
- Bullock, Charles S. III, Scott E. Buchanan, and Ronald Keith Gaddie. 2015. *The Three Governors Controversy: Skulduggery, Machinations, and the Decline of Georgia's Progressive Politics*. University of Georgia Press.
- Bullock, Charles S. III and Ronald Keith Gaddie. 2009. *The Triumph of Voting Rights in the South*. University of Oklahoma Press.
- Carmine, Edward G. and James A. Stimson. 1989. *Issue Evolution: Race and the Transformation of American Politics*. Princeton University Press.
- Carter, Dan T. 2000. *The Politics of Rage: George Wallace, the Origins of the New Conservatism, and the Transformation of American Politics*, 2nd ed. Louisiana State University Press.
- Cobb, James C. 1993. *The Selling of the South: The Southern Crusade for Industrial Development, 1936-1990*.
- Cotter, Patrick R. and James Glen Stovall. 2009. *After Wallace: The 1986 Contest for Governor and Political Change in Alabama*. University of Alabama Press.
- Davis, David Brion. 2006. *Inhuman Bondage: The Rise and Fall of Slavery in the New World*. Oxford University Press.
- Du Bois, W.E.B. 1998. First published in 1935. *Black Reconstruction in America, 1860-1880*. Free Press.
- Hahn, Steven. 1983. *The Roots of Southern Populism: Yeoman Farmers and the Transformation of the Georgia Upcountry*. Oxford University Press.
- Heersink, Boris and Jeffery A. Jenkins. 2020. *Republican Party Politics and the American South, 1865-1968*. Cambridge University Press.
- Holt, Michael F. 1999. *The Rise and Fall of the American Whig Party: Jacksonian Politics and the Onset of the Civil War*. Oxford University Press.
- Hood, M.V. III, Quentin Kidd, and Irwin L. Morris. 2012. *The Rational Southerner: Black Mobilization, Republican Growth, and the Partisan Transformation of the American South*. Oxford University Press.
- King, Desmond S. and Rogers M. Smith. 2011. *Still a House Divided: Race and Politics in Obama's America*. Princeton University Press.
- Kousser, J. Morgan. 1974. *The Shaping of Southern Politics: Suffrage Restriction and the Establishment of the One-Party South, 1880-1910*. Yale University Press.
- Mickey, Robert. 2015. *Paths Out of Dixie: The Democratization of Authoritarian Enclaves in America's Deep South, 1944-1972*. Princeton University Press.
- Woodward, C. Vann. 1951. *Origins of the New South, 1877-1913*. Louisiana State University Press.
- Wright, Gavin. 1986. *Old South, New South: Revolutions in the Southern Economy Since the Civil War*. Basic Books.

**Internet Materials:** All course materials provided by me (syllabus, lecture slides, etc.) are available on my personal website ([link here](#)) and on Blackboard.

**Office Hours:** I am available to meet with you either in-person or remotely during office hours to address any of your questions or concerns. Amidst the COVID-19 pandemic, I am making efforts to avoid crowding in the Political Science Department's office suite. To meet with me in-person, therefore, you must make an appointment for office hours using the following web application ([link here](#)). When you come to the office,

please ring the doorbell, and someone will let you in. Alternatively, you may schedule a video or voice conference if you would prefer to meet remotely.

**Email:** I encourage you to contact me via [email](#) as needed. Please note, however, that I observe ordinary working hours and will not necessarily respond to your email on a weekend, an AUM-observed holiday, or outside the hours of 9:00 am to 5:00 pm.

**COVID-19:** Under AUM's COVID-19 Campus Health Policy, all students must wear face coverings during most campus activities, including during our in-person class sessions, unless an exemption has been approved by the Dean of Students or the Center for Disability Services.

**Academic Integrity:** Any act of academic dishonesty to include those actions noted below will result in an F for the assignment in which it occurs. Other disciplinary sanctions may follow depending on the severity of the act. Auburn University at Montgomery prohibits cheating on examinations, unauthorized collaboration on assignments, unauthorized access to examinations or course materials, plagiarism (i.e., the use of another's idea(s) or phrase(s) and representing that/those idea(s) as your own, either intentionally or unintentionally), and other unethical activities. For the University policy, students should see pages 65-66 of the AUM Student Handbook. Those pages contain the Student Academic Honesty Code. It is available at: <http://www.aum.edu/current-students/advising-resources/student-handbook>.

**Disability Accommodations:** Auburn University at Montgomery attempts to make reasonable accommodations to meet the special needs of its students with disabilities. Students requiring special services should notify the instructor as soon as possible. Assistance is available from the Center for Disability Services, which is located in 147 Taylor Center and can be reached at 244-3631 or [cds@aum.edu](mailto:cds@aum.edu). It is recommended that those seeking accommodations make arrangements at the beginning of the term.

**Free Academic Support:** All students have the opportunity to receive free academic support at AUM. The LC/ISL offers writing consulting as well as tutoring in almost every class through graduate school. The LC may be reached at 244-3470 (call or walk-in for a session), and the ISL may be reached at 244-3265. ISL information available from: [www.aum.edu/learningcenter](http://www.aum.edu/learningcenter).

**Electronic Services:** Free technology assistance is available from the ITS Help Desk. Students can visit the Help Desk, which is located in the computer lab on the first floor of the Taylor Center, or call 334-244-3500 or email [helpdesk@aum.edu](mailto:helpdesk@aum.edu).

**Course Requirements:** The following assignments are intended to provide students with numerous opportunities to demonstrate achievement of the course objectives. Specific requirements are as follows:

- |                                  |       |
|----------------------------------|-------|
| 1. Midterm Exam:                 | 25%   |
| 2. Final Exam:                   | 25%   |
| 3. Research Paper:               | 40%   |
| a. Draft 1:                      | (10%) |
| b. Draft 2:                      | (30%) |
| 4. Attendance and Participation: | 10%   |

**Description of Course Requirements:** This section provides additional details regarding the course requirements enumerated above. In the event that you fall ill or must quarantine, reasonable accommodations will be made to deliver and receive assignments electronically.

**Examinations:** There are two exams in this course—a midterm and a final. Each exam will consist of three parts. Part I includes 12 multiple choice questions worth 24 percent of your exam grade. These questions

will largely be fact-based. In Part II, you will choose seven out of approximately 10-15 items to identify or define. These could include politicians, public policies, political factions, etc. Your identities/definitions should be approximately one to three sentences and should explain the relevant who/what/when/why/how for each item. This section counts for 28 percent of your exam grade. Part III consists of an essay. I will provide two to three prompts from which you will select one to answer. This section is worth 50 percent of your exam grade. Please note that an essay is not just one long paragraph. An essay is an argument consisting of a central premise (thesis) and is supported by evidence. As such, your essay should include introductory, concluding, and supporting paragraphs as well as a clear thesis statement, topic sentences, and so on. Treat this component seriously. Essay questions will cover big picture ideas discussed in class. The attentive reader will note that weights for Parts I, II, and III add to 102%. Put differently, think of one multiple choice question as a bonus. Please bring a blue book for each exam.

*Research Paper:* You will write a research paper on a topic of your choosing so long as it pertains to some theme related to southern politics. Possible topics could include partisan realignments, voting rights, slavery, desegregation, economic developments, and so on. There's really just a ton to choose from. What's important is that you (a) settle on a topic with relative speed, and (b) that your topic be adequately tailored so that you can give it the depth of analysis it deserves. For example, you might examine the following research question: "What effect did the U.S. Supreme Court's decision in *Brown v. Board of Education* (1954) have upon segregation in American public schools?"

To these ends, students must submit a written research proposal no later than 11:59:59 pm on September 14, 2020. Your proposal should identify your research topic, the central issues you plan to study, and at least five academic sources relevant to your topic.<sup>1</sup> In the event I ask you to revise and resubmit your proposal, your revisions are due within two business days. Failure to adhere to these pre-submission guidelines will result in your final grade on this component being reduced by 20 percentage points.

You will submit your research paper in two drafts. The first is due by 11:59:59 pm on October 28, 2020 and the final draft is due by 11:59:59 pm on November 30, 2020. The first draft is worth 10 percent of your final grade, and the second draft is worth 30 percent of your final grade. Don't let the word, "draft" throw you off, here. Regardless of whichever submission you're turning in, I expect polished work. What does this look like? First, you need to have a clearly identifiable introduction that explains the nature and importance of your topic along with your central thesis. Second, you need to include evidence that supports your argument. This might include citations to peer-reviewed literature or secondary or primary source materials/data. Finally, you'll need a conclusion that recapitulates your argument. Examine the grading rubric below to see how I'll assess your written work.

Your research paper should adhere to some accepted citation style such as the *Chicago Manual of Style*. I'm agnostic about which one you pick. Just pick one and stick with it. Regardless of style, your paper should be between 3,000 and 5,000 words, excluding the title page and references. Your paper should be formatted with 11 point, Times New Roman font, one-inch margins, and double-spacing throughout. You need to include a title page and a bibliography. Your paper should be coherently organized and formatted, its pages should be numbered, and it should be free of grammatical or citation errors. Any assertion that is not common knowledge needs to be supported by citations to relevant primary or secondary source materials. Failure to format your paper correctly will result in a 10 point reduction in your grade, and plagiarism (including but not limited to failure to cite relevant materials) will be disciplined in accordance with the section on "Academic Integrity" above.

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<sup>1</sup> By "academic source," I mean peer-reviewed journal articles or books. If you are unsure whether a source is academic, by all means run it by me.

*Attendance & Participation:* Your attendance is required. This is a small class, and we will be getting to know one another. Simply showing up is insufficient for you to receive full credit on this component. You are expected also to contribute to classroom discussion, to ask questions during lectures or during office hours, and to thoughtfully and respectfully engage with your peers or professor when they are speaking. Effective participation in this course means completing your assigned readings before class begins and preparing questions for me that help to fill the gaps in your knowledge.

**Grading Rubric:** To help you better understand how I grade your written assignments, I provide the following grading rubric. Failure to adhere to academic standards of excellence are grounds for penalization as outlined in the above section on "Academic Integrity."

- a) Grammar and Mechanics (33.33%): Writing earning full credit on this component of the rubric will exhibit no grammatical errors whatsoever. Sentence fragments, missing punctuation, or improper punctuation are all grounds for penalization as are improper citation formats.
- b) Organization and Flow (33.33%): Writing earning full credit on this component of the rubric will exhibit a clear and logical progression of ideas. Wandering writing styles with minimal attention to transitions in ideas are grounds for penalization.
- c) Clarity and Persuasiveness (33.33%): Writing earning full credit on this component of the rubric will exhibit a clearly identifiable and plausible argument supported appropriately by evidence. Vague or incoherent arguments that misrepresent or fail to cite appropriate evidence are grounds for penalization.

**Make-Up and Late Assignments:** I permit late submissions with the caveat that materials turned in after their due date are penalized by 10 percentage points for every 24 hours that elapse between the due date and the date they are submitted. I will permit make-up assignments for full credit if they are accompanied by a doctor's note or for some other properly documented, University-sanctioned event, religious observance, or family emergency. These must be completed within one week (seven days) of the date you resume attendance at Auburn University at Montgomery.

**Final Grades:** Your final grade will be assessed according to the following scale:

A	90 to 100
B+	87 to 89
B	80 to 86
C+	77 to 79
C	70 to 76
D+	67 to 69
D	60 to 66
F	Below 60

**Key Semester Dates:** Please keep the following important AUM dates in mind:

Last day to add classes:	August 20
Registration cancellation:	August 21
Last day for 100% refund:	August 24
Last day to apply for fall graduation:	August 28
Labor Day holidays:	September 7-8
Last day for 50% refund:	September 9
Last day to drop classes:	October 23
Complete course evaluations:	November 18
Thanksgiving holiday:	November 23-27 (Classes move online)



Final exam:

December 9 (10:45 am to 1:15 pm)

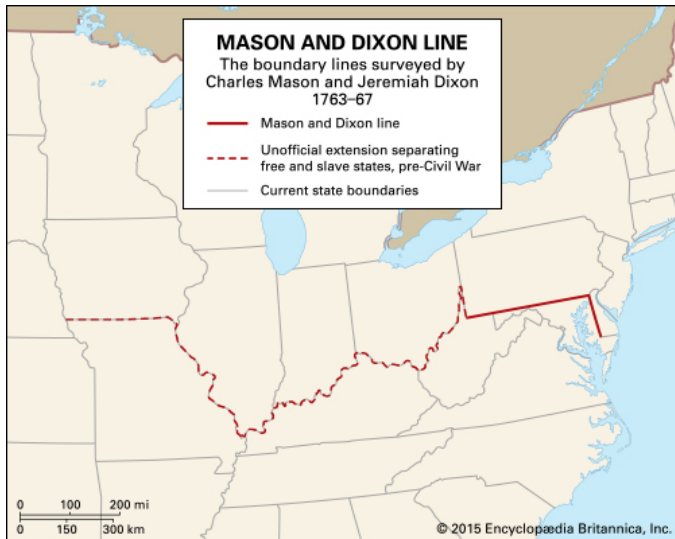
**Tentative Schedule:** A tentative schedule appears below. Please refer to the assigned readings and due dates often. Electronic readings are available online and are denoted by an asterisk (\*).

Date	Topic	Reading	Due
August 17	Syllabus What is "The South"?	Required Key, pp. 3-18	
August 19	Southern geology, culture, and slavery Party realignment leading to secession and war	Required Watson*  Recommended Crofts, <i>Reluctant Confederates</i> * Holt, <i>Rise and Fall of the American Whig Party</i> * Esposito*	
August 24-31	The Civil War, Reconstruction, and post-bellum Republicanism, populism, and redemption	Required Key, Chs. 13-14  Recommended Woodward, <i>Origins of the New South</i> , Chs. 7-10*	
September 2	The emergence of Jim Crow and one-party politics	Required Key, Chs. 25-29  Recommended Key, Chs. 18-22	
September 7	<b>No class in observance of Labor Day</b>		
September 9	The "New South" economy and social order	Required Blackmon, <i>Slavery by Another Name</i> , Chs. 1-3*  Recommended Woodward, <i>Origins of the New South</i> , Chs. 11-14*	Research topic
September 14-16	Rim South "Mountain" Republicans, political machines and progressivism: Virginia, Tennessee, North Carolina	Required Key, Chs. 2, 4, & 10  Recommended Link*	
September 21-30	Deep South Bourbon Democrats, Big Mules, factionalism, sectionalism, populism, and the threat hypothesis: Alabama, South Carolina, Georgia, Louisiana, and Mississippi	Required Key, Chs. 3, 6, 7, 8, & 11  Recommended Black* Canon* Giles and Buckner* Carsey* Acharya, et al.*	

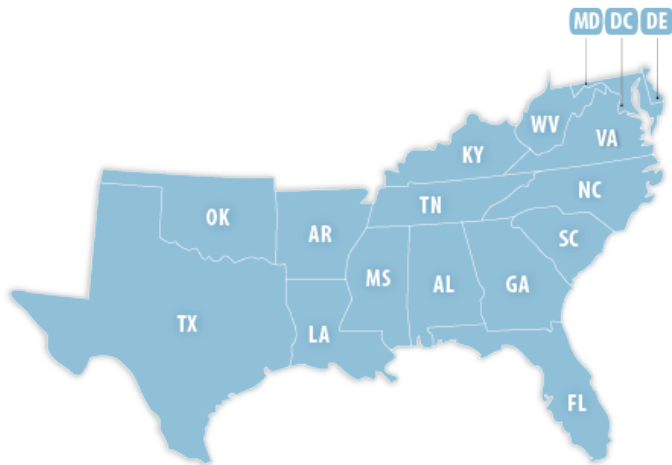
October 5	Rim South factionalism and sectionalism: Arkansas, Florida, and Texas	Required Key, Chs. 5, 9, & 12  Recommended Echols*	
October 7	<b>Midterm Exam</b>		
October 12	Southern Democracy during the New Deal Era	Required Key, Chs. 15-17  Recommended Mickey, <i>Paths Out of Dixie</i> *	
October 14-21	The Civil Rights Movement and massive resistance	Required Peltason, <i>58 Lonely Men</i> (all chapters)  Recommended Rosenberg, <i>The Hollow Hope</i> *	
October 26	Deep South politics in the black belt, hill counties, and cities: Alabama and Mississippi	Required Bullock & Rozell, Chs. 3-4  Recommended Hood et al., <i>Rational Southerner</i> *	
Oct. 28- Nov. 2	Deep South low country politics, culture, and economics: Louisiana and South Carolina	Required Bullock & Rozell, Chs. 1 & 5  Recommended Black & Black, <i>Rise of the Southern Republicans</i> (I)*	Draft 1 research paper (28a)
November 9	New South economics, white in-migration, education, (sub)urbanism, and partisanship: Virginia, Georgia, and North Carolina	Required Bullock & Rozell, Chs. 2, 6, & 7  Recommended Black & Black, <i>Rise of the Southern Republicans</i> (II)*	
November 16	Latino in-migration, voting, culture, and partisanship: Florida and Texas	Required Bullock & Rozell, Chs. 11 & 12  Recommended Rocha and Matsubayashi* Hood and Bullock*	
November 18	Modern Rim South politics: Oklahoma, Arkansas, and Tennessee	Required Bullock & Rozell, Chs. 8-10  Recommended Valentino and Neuner* Biggers*	
November 23-25	<b>No class in observance of Thanksgiving holiday</b>		

November 30	Conclusion and review		Draft 2 research paper
December 9	Final Exam (10:45 am to 1:15 pm)		

## What is the South?: Mason-Dixon Line



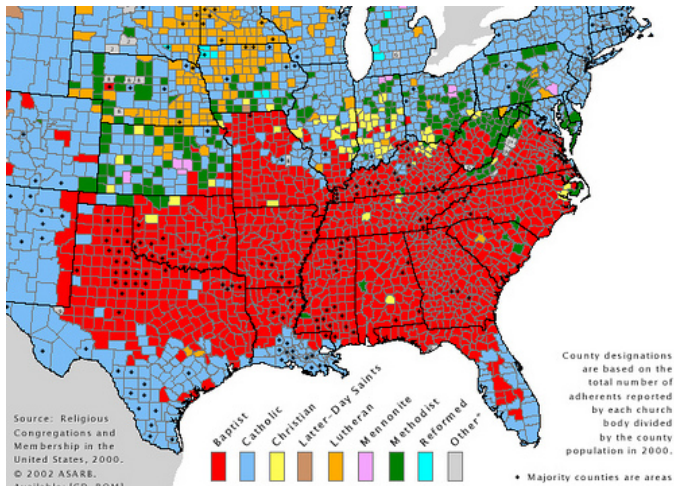
## What is the South?: US Census Bureau



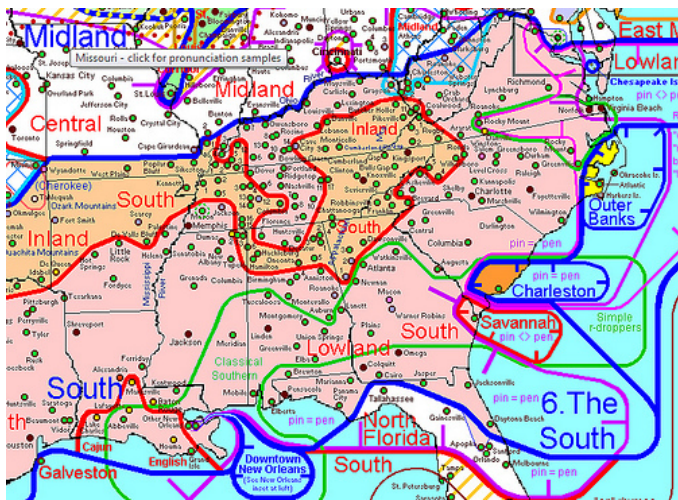
## What is the South?: College Football



## What is the South?: Religious Identity

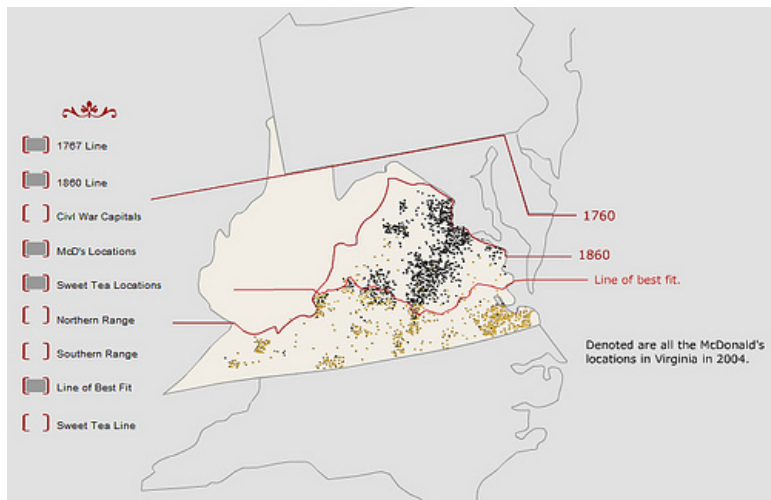


## What is the South?: Language Patterns

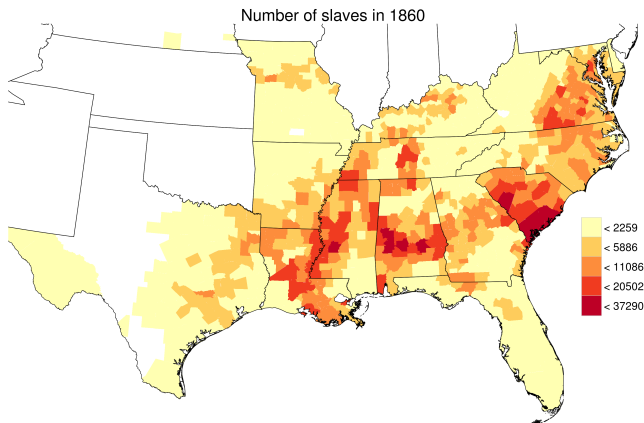




## What is the South?: Taste in Tea

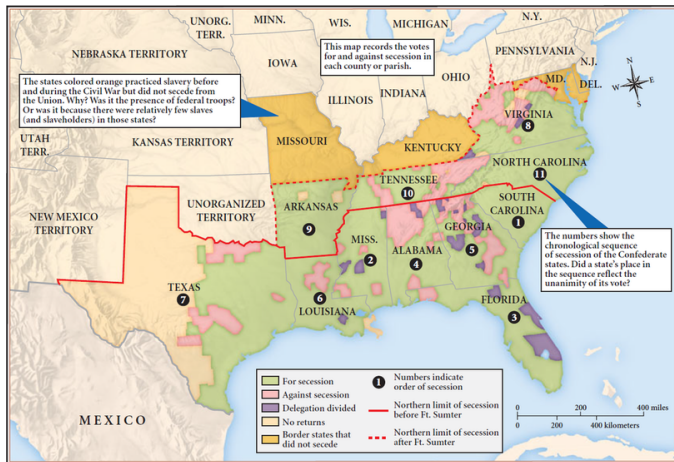


## What is the South?: A Legacy of Slavery



Lincoln Mullen <<http://lincolnmullen.com>>; Data: NHGIS

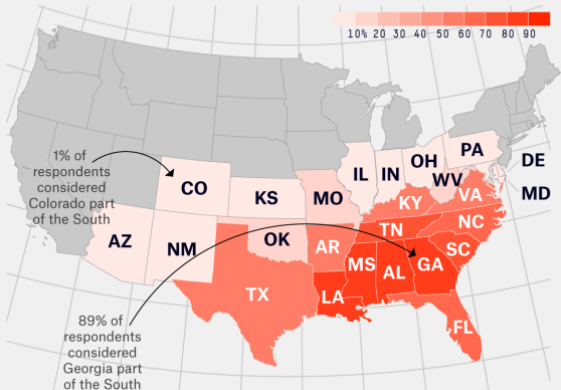
## What is the South?: Secession



## What is the South?: Survey Says!

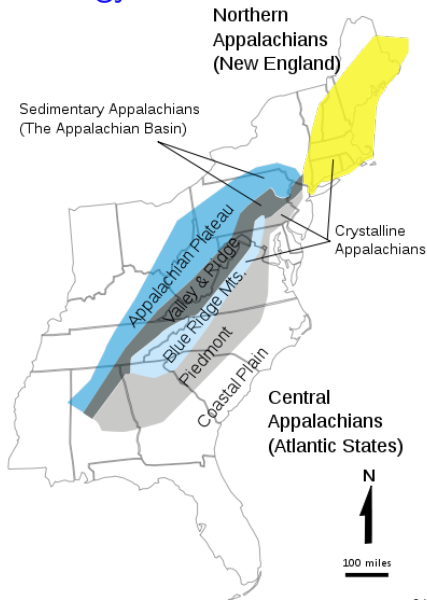
### 'Which States Do You Consider Part of the South?'

Percentage classifying each state as part of the South, from a survey of 1,135 people identifying "some" or "a lot" as a Southerner

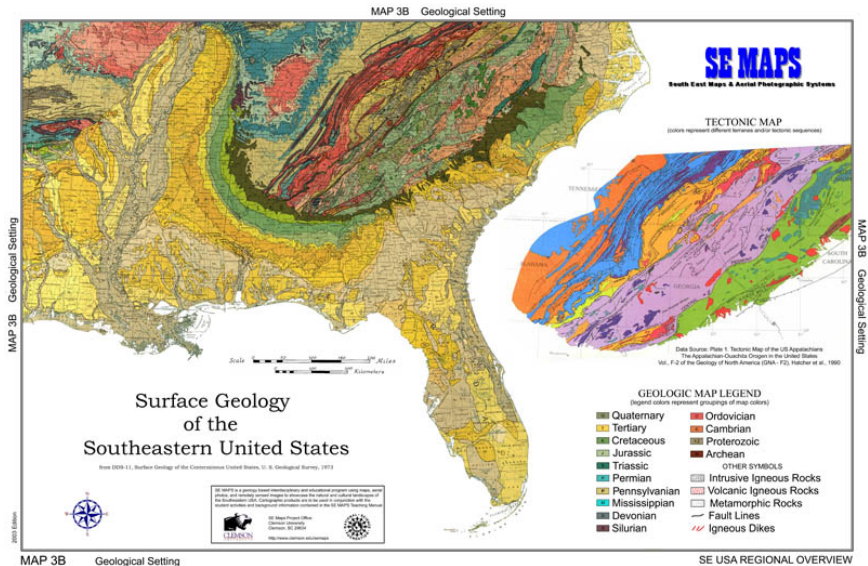


## Southern Geology

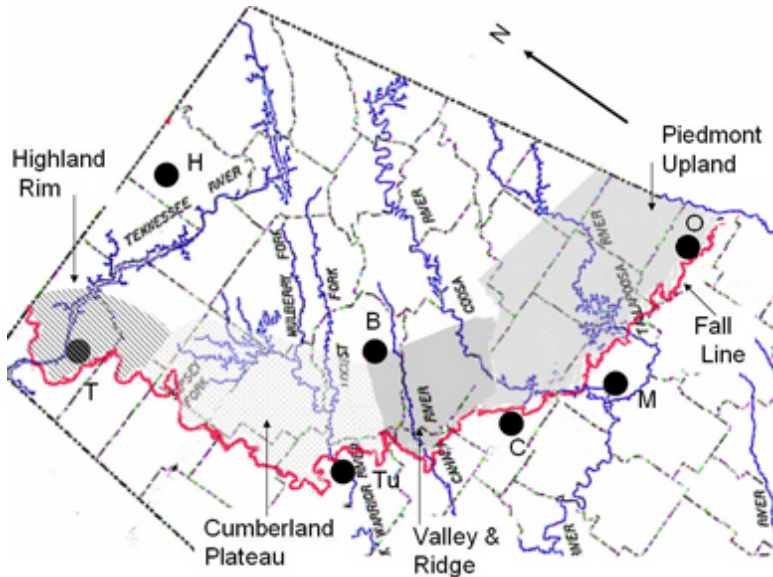
- Appalachian orogenies
- Sea deposits
- Fall line



# Relief Map of the South



## Alabama's Fall Line



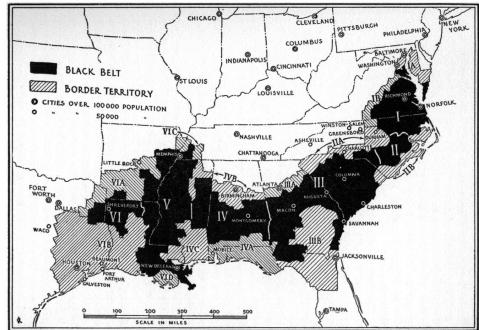
## Broader Fall Line





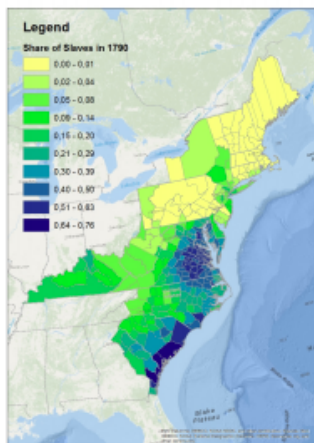
## The Black Belt Region

- Rich soil led to development of plantation economies
- Focus on cash crops, chattel slavery, access to credit and markets
- Dominated by the planter class

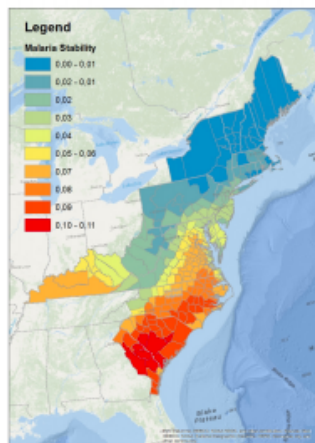


BLACK BELT AND BORDER TERRITORY

# African Slavery as a Response to Environmental Pathogens (1790)



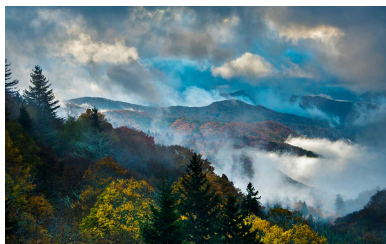
(a) Share of Slaves



(b) Malaria Stability

## The Highlands

- White yeomanry with focus on subsistence farming
- Little slavery compared to black belt
- Relied on close-knit social/family networks and barter trade
- Reluctant defense of slavery



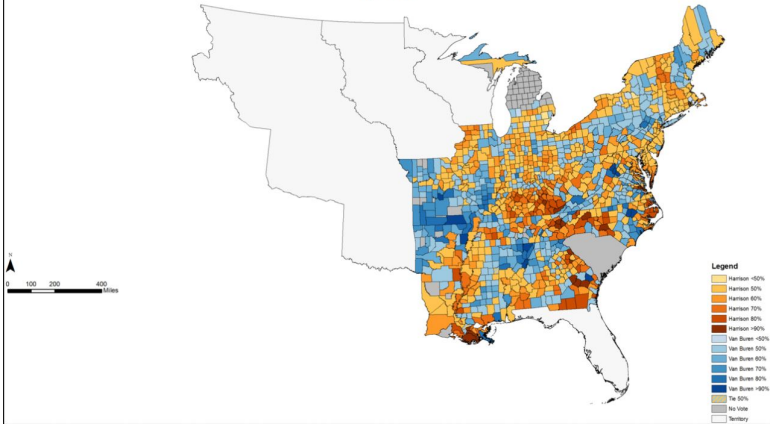
## Antebellum Factionalism

- (Anti-) Jacksonianism
- Whigism
- No  
Nothingism/American  
Party
- Republicanism,  
Radicalism, and  
Free-Soilism

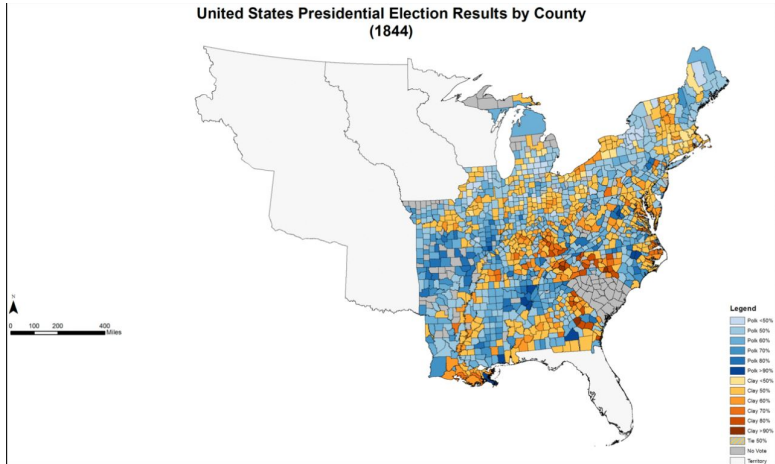


# Demise of Whigism

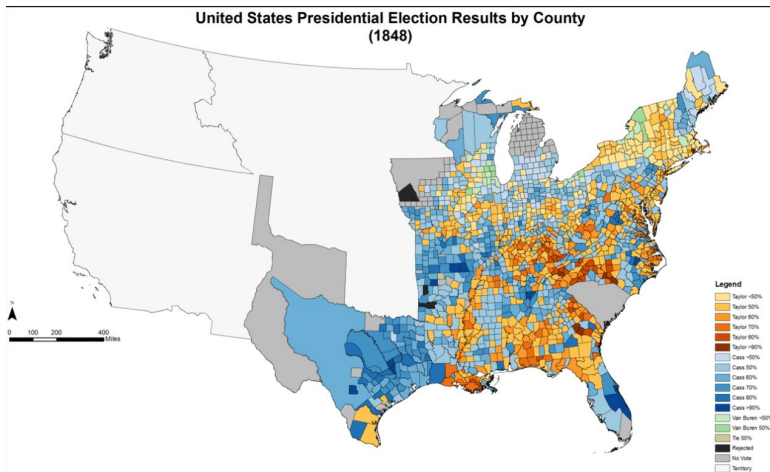
**United States Presidential Election Results by County (1840)**



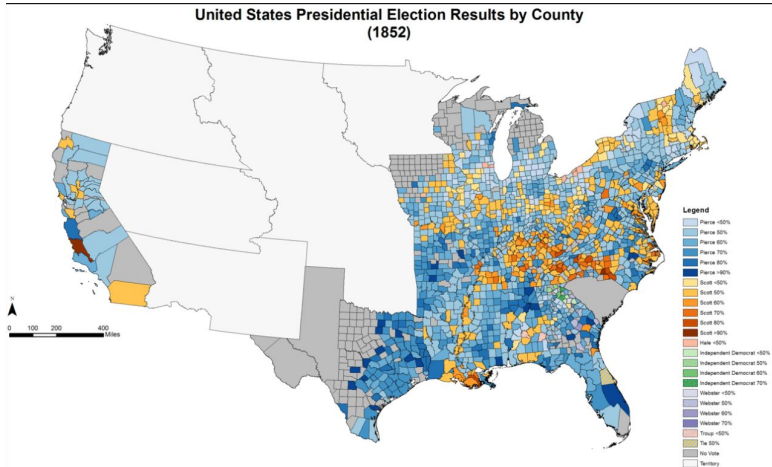
## Demise of Whigism



# Demise of Whigism

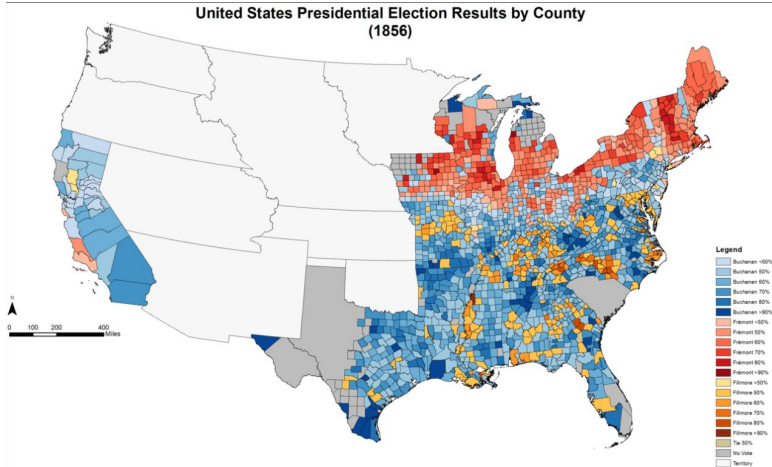


# Demise of Whigism

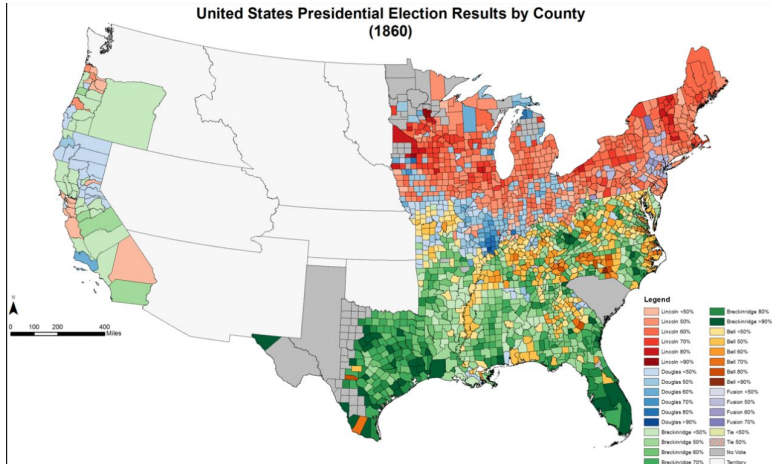




# Demise of Whigism



# Demise of Whigism



## The Road to Secession and War

- Missouri Compromise (1820)
- Compromise of 1850
- Kansas-Nebraska Act (1854)
- Scott v. Sandford (1857)
- Harper's Ferry (1859)
- Election of 1860
- Shots on Fort Sumter (1861)



## Conclusion

- To study southern politics, we need some shared idea about what makes the South unique in the first place.
- In this class, we'll focus heavily upon the legacy of slavery in helping to set the agenda in southern politics.
- As such, we'll follow the lead of V.O. Key and largely restrict our analysis to the 11 states that seceded in the 1860s.