

Protest and Disorder

HIST 615-003. George Mason University. Spring 2017.
Wednesdays, 4:30 – 7:10pm.
West Building 1004

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Office Hours: Wednesdays, 1-3 pm and by appointment. Please sign up for a slot or slots at zschrags.youcanbookme.com, whether you are planning to come on Wednesday afternoons or any other time.

Online resources

- Course Blackboard (Bb) site: <http://mymason.gmu.edu>
- General advice: <http://historyprofessor.org>
- Administrative information: <http://historyprofessor.org/miscellaneous/boilerplate/>
- Chicago-Style Citation Quick Guide:
http://www.chicagomanualofstyle.org/tools_citationguide.html

Course Description

Natan Sharansky defines a free society as a place where “a person [can] walk into the middle of the town square and express his or her views without fear of arrest, imprisonment, or physical harm.” If this is the case, then the United States has never been wholly free. Federal and state governments have dispersed crowds considered riotous, using the threat of arrest, imprisonment, or physical harm against those who disobeyed. They have also punished the expression of views considered seditious. The same Constitution that guarantees the rights of free speech, a free press, and peaceable assembly also guarantees the states protection against “domestic violence,” and many a town square has been forcibly cleared of citizens expressing their views. Moreover, private actors have organized to crush dissent. This seminar will explore this tension between freedom and order from the early republic through the 1960s.

The seminar offers no stable definitions of its central terms: protest and disorder. Rather, it will investigate how Americans have understood those terms over the course of their history, and how historians have used them in their own work.

Goals

In this course, students will:

- Enhance their knowledge of an important pattern in United States history.
- Practice critical reading and analysis of recent scholarship.
- Explore possibilities for original research.
- Consider the challenges of studying a topics whose definitions and boundaries are unclear.

Readings

Required Books

- Andrews, Thomas G. *Killing for Coal: America's Deadliest Labor War*. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2010.
- Capozzola, Christopher. *Uncle Sam Wants You: World War I and the Making of the Modern American Citizen*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010.
- Flamm, Michael W. *In the Heat of the Summer: The New York Riots of 1964 and the War on Crime*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2016.
- Grace, Thomas M. *Kent State: Death and Dissent in the Long Sixties*. Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 2016.
- Lee, Wayne E. *Crowds and Soldiers in Revolutionary North Carolina: The Culture of Violence in Riot and War*. Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2001.
- Moore, Leonard J. *Citizen Klansmen: The Ku Klux Klan in Indiana, 1921-1928*. 1991. Reprint, Chapel Hill. The University of North Carolina Press, 1997.
- Pfeifer, Michael J. *Rough Justice: Lynching and American Society, 1874-1947*. 2004. Reprint, Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2006.

Links to additional readings will be posted on Blackboard.

Administrative

Please read the administrative information about the honor code, university resources, and the like online at <http://historyprofessor.org/miscellaneous/boilerplate/>

As with any spring semester course, there is a reasonable chance that campus will close for **snow** at least once during the term. If this happens, we will use the Blackboard Collaborate function to simulate a class meeting.

Assignments

Reading responses: 1 point each x 10 responses. 10 points total

For each class meeting except the last, you are asked to post responses to the assigned readings. These responses are mainly designed to set the agenda for class discussions. I do not expect to offer detailed feedback, though I may do so if you are having trouble with the format. Please post your responses to the **discussion board** section of Bb by **1pm** on the day of our meetings. Please post these by clicking "Reply" on the relevant thread and pasting plain text; **do not use attachments**. I suggest you compose your response in a plain text editor and then paste it, in case Bb malfunctions.

Thirteen responses are assigned but only ten are needed for full credit, so you may skip three without penalty. These can be the weeks you present a primary source, but they need not be.

Each response should run between 100 and 300 words and achieve three tasks:

1. Present one indisputable fact. This should be something specific, with a who, what, where, and when, not a matter of interpretation. You may paraphrase or quote directly. Please include a page reference. If you are reading an electronic version without page numbers, please use Google Books to look up the page number of the passage.
2. Present the author's interpretation of that fact, and how it relates to a broader claim of the relevant section, article, chapter, or book. Please include page reference or references and quote the author as appropriate.

3. Present another reading of that fact. Is the author's interpretation of the fact persuasive? How might the fact otherwise be interpreted by someone skeptical of the claim?

Your response can be more or less critical of the work. If you find a fact that undermines the author's claim, or does not support in the way that the author asserts, say that. But if you were originally skeptical of the claim and a particular fact won you over to the author's way of thinking, say that.

Example (A response to Adam Rome, The Bulldozer in the Countryside: Suburban Sprawl and the Rise of American Environmentalism, 2001.)

1. "In 1966 . . . a presidential task force headed by Gilbert White recommended a more comprehensive program to control flood losses, with land-use regulation as a vital tool." (181)
2. Adam Rome presents the task force as a milestone, which led directly to "a series of executive orders and legislative acts [that] turned the task-force recommendations into national policy" as well as hundreds of local initiatives. "By 1970," he writes, "almost a sixth of the nation's cities and suburbs had taken action. After the federal government made floodplain zoning a requirement for participation in the subsidized flood-insurance program, the number of communities with floodplain regulations increased dramatically. Though analysts disagreed about the effectiveness of the local floodplain-management effort, the basic principle was widely accepted: Builders should avoid floodplains."
3. A skeptic might ask whether the task force was so influential. Without details of the task force's recommendations and the subsequent policies, we cannot know how closely policy followed the recommendations. Moreover, if only a sixth of cities and suburbs took action, that means that more than five-sixths did not. The passive phrasing of "was widely accepted" leaves the reader to wonder who exactly cared about White's expert opinion and who did not.

More examples of this kind of analysis can be found at "How to Use Examples to Evaluate Scholarship," <http://historyprofessor.org/how-to-use-examples-to-evaluate-scholarship/>.

Goals

- Help you distinguish between the claims a historian makes and the evidence she uses to support those claims.
- Help you practice evaluating a work by its ability to make sense of the evidence it offers.
- Prepare you for class discussions by focusing your attention on the arguments and facts presented by the readings.
- Prepare the instructor and your classmates by giving them an advance idea of what you and other students think are the key questions raised by the readings.

Rapportage: 2 sessions, not graded

At the start of the course, students will be assigned two weeks for which they will be responsible for taking notes on the discussion of the assigned readings and summing up the discussion at the end of the allotted time. Within a few days of the discussion, please post a few key points to the Discussion notes blog on Blackboard. Just a few bullet points is fine. These students should also be prepared the following week to remind the class of key issues that were covered and of questions left unresolved.

Comparison essays: 3 essays, 10 percent each, 30 percent total

For each unit of the course, you are asked to write a review essay comparing and contrasting the assigned texts. Each paper should run roughly 750-1000 words (3-4 pages). It should present a thesis that explains what we learn from reading the works in combination. You are welcome to elaborate on points raised in your own reading responses or, with proper citation, those of your classmates. References to readings done for other courses may be helpful. Please footnote as needed. **Please post**

your response on the Assignments section of Blackboard by 11pm on the dates indicated on the schedule below. Please save these essays in **.docx or .rtf format** and post them as attachments.

The essays should not summarize the reading, nor attempt to address every claim by every author. Rather, each essay should present one bold, original thesis about how the works address an important theme in the history of disorder. Look for debates and dialogues among the readings, and critical readings of primary sources by the scholars. In other words, aim to say something that would interest a reader already familiar with the works under review. You need not address all of the readings in a unit, but do look for conversations among multiple works.

Please pay attention to essay form. The introduction should present a question, a thesis, and key terms, and subsequent topic sentences should support the thesis and use the key terms.

For more instructions on reading and reacting, please see “How to Read a History Book,” “How to Write a Review,” “How to Write a Reading Response,” and “Reverse Engineering for Historians” at <http://historyprofessor.org/reading/>.

The best published models for these essays are likely the reviews of multiple books in the journal *Reviews in American History*, available online through the university library. See also Alex Elkins, “Stand Our Ground The Street Justice of Urban American Riots, 1900 to 1968,” *Journal of Urban History* 42, no. 2 (March 2016): 419–37, doi:10.1177/0096144215623490.

These essays explore the choices of scholars about scope, timeframe, sources, agency, and the like, and use them to develop findings about broader topics.

This assignment is designed to:

- Keep you engaged as active readers.
- Encourage you to consider the largest implications of the individual stories told by each work.
- Give you practice in writing critically yet respectfully about other scholars’ work.

Lesson plans: 2 presentations, 10 percent each, 20 percent total

At the start of the course, each student will be assigned two weeks for which they and one or two other students will be responsible for leading an hour-long discussion of primary sources related to the assigned readings for that week.

For each presentation, find a primary source for discussion. Imagine that you want to convey some of the major insights of our reading for the week to an audience (high school students, undergraduates, museum visitors, Smithsonian cruise ship passengers) who have not read and never will read the scholarly works that we are discussing that week. But they are willing to read a short, primary source, or absorb its sound or video equivalent. How will you translate your scholarly understanding to a non-scholarly audience?

Steps

1. Review the sample lesson plan on Bb.
2. As you read the assigned book, think about what themes or questions you would like to communicate.
3. Choose one or more primary sources that addresses those themes or questions. It should be brief enough that your classmates can read, listen to, or watch it in no more than 5 minutes. You are welcome to choose a source that is cited in the assigned text, though preferably not one that the author addresses at great length. Sources that advance a claim (editorials, speeches, advertisements) or present a specific perspective (specialized periodicals, court testimony) are often more useful than news accounts that seek to be neutral.

Please limit your sources to two pages or five minutes of audio or video, excerpting long sources as necessary. Please format texts so they can be printed on a single sheet (double

sided if needed), which can be distributed in class. Please take care to make these handouts legible. Please bring handouts or let me know by 1pm to make copies.

4. Prepare a lesson plan (500-1000 words) for the discussion with the following sections:
 - Claims. Summarize one or more (not all) of the major claims of the seminar text, quoting as appropriate.
 - Primary source: Please provide full bibliographic information for the source you will use. Explain your choice of primary source and its relation to the assigned readings. Imagine you were teaching undergraduates, preparing a museum or website exhibit, or scripting a documentary film, and you wanted to convey some of the insights from the assigned scholarly book without requiring people to read that text. What concepts would the primary source introduce on its own?
 - Goals: what are the most important facts and concepts that students should take away from the readings.
 - Questions: List questions about both the assigned readings and primary source. Aim for open-ended, interpretive questions, rather than specific factual questions.
5. Coordinate with your fellow presenters about how you will order the discussion.

Please post your lesson plans and sources to the Assignments section of class Blackboard site by 1pm.

Your classmates will not be able to see items posted to the Assignments section. If you want them to be able to download the sources, please post them to the class blog as well.

Evaluation

The lesson plans and discussion leading will be evaluated based on three criteria:

1. Choice of source or sources. The source or sources should be relevant to assigned texts, relevant to your goals for discussion, and sufficiently nuanced to generate discussion.
2. Presentation of source. Sources should be clearly cited, formatted for legibility, and excerpted as appropriate. Take time to craft your handouts. You should be able to explain the context in which your source was created, though you may want to ask the class to deduce it rather than announcing it.
3. Discussion leading. Along with your classmates, you should ask open-ended, interpretive questions; solicit multiple answers; point out areas of disagreement, sparking constructive debate; and relate new material to previous readings.

You will have several weeks between your first and second lesson plan assignments, so you should have time to incorporate feedback from the first assignment into your work on the second.

Individual Paper (40 percent)

The major assignment of this course is an original essay of roughly 3000 to 5000 words (12 to 20 pages), not including notes. I expect most students to write historiographical papers, using secondary sources to trace the scholarly debate over some aspect of the history of protest and disorder. However, students who feel they would benefit more from writing a paper based on primary sources may do so.

You are expected to work on the paper throughout the term, and to complete it in stages.

Topics

The readings in the seminar focus on the United States between 1770 and 1970, but the themes are applicable to other nations and eras, so any topic concerning protest and disorder is acceptable. You may want to focus on one event or set of events (e.g., the coal wars of the 1920s), or a theme present throughout many events (e.g., the role of women in riots). Papers based on primary sources should

address narrower topics (e.g., the role of women in the coal wars of the 1920s). Whatever the topic, I expect the papers to be informed by the assigned readings and our discussions.

Prospectus and bibliography

For **March 8**, please post a one- or two-page prospectus explaining your research question and your selection of sources, as well as an annotated bibliography explaining what you hope to learn from each source. For historiographical papers, I expect you to use ten to twenty sources, though in many cases you will address only the portion of each source relevant to your particular question. For papers based on primary sources, a single source may be sufficient, if it is sufficiently juicy (e.g., a post-riot report with hundreds of witnesses).

Presentations

Our last meeting will give you a chance to present your work to the class. Please plan a presentation of your findings; time limit will be determined by the size of the seminar. If you wish to use a Powerpoint file, please send it to me in advance.

Final paper

The final version of your paper will be due on Blackboard during exam week. Please submit this as a .docx or .rtf file.

Schedule

The instructor thanks Alex Elkins and Dan Horner for their suggestions for readings.

Introduction

1. January 25

- Alex Elkins, "Why Do People Riot*?," *Get-Tough: A History Blog about Rioting and Policing*, April 27, 2015, <https://alexbelkins.com/2015/04/27/why-do-people-riot/>
- Heather Cox Richardson, "Rioting: An American Tradition," *We're History*, April 30, 2015, <http://werehistory.org/riots/>.
- Max Weber, "Politics as a Vocation," excerpts
- Charles Tilly, "Contentious Conversation," *Social Research* 65, no. 3 (1998): 491–510.
- Martha Hodes, "Knowledge and Indifference in the New York City Race Riot of 1900: An Argument in Search of a Story," *Rethinking History* 15, no. 1 (March 2011): 61–89, doi:10.1080/13642529.2011.546129.
- Richard Hofstadter, "Reflections on Violence in the United States," in *American Violence: A Documentary History*, ed. Richard Hofstadter and Michael Wallace (1970; repr. New York: Vintage, 1971), 3-28.
- Paul A. Gilje, "The Crowd in American History," *ATQ* 17, no. 3 (September 2003): 135–59.

Unit 1. Revolution to Civil War

Early America

2. February 1.

- Pauline Maier, "Popular Uprisings and Civil Authority in Eighteenth-Century America," *William and Mary Quarterly* 27, no. 1 (1970): 4–35, doi:10.2307/1923837.
- Barbara Clark Smith, "Food Rioters and the American Revolution," *William and Mary Quarterly* 51 (Jan., 1994): 3-38
- John K. Alexander, "The Fort Wilson Incident of 1779: A Case Study of the Revolutionary Crowd," *William and Mary Quarterly* 31, no. 4 (1974): 589–612, doi:10.2307/1921605
- Saul Cornell, "Mobs, Militias, and Magistrates: Popular Constitutionalism and the Whiskey Rebellion," *Chicago-Kent Law Review* 81, no. 3 (June 2006): 883–903
- Terry Bouton, "A Road Closed: Rural Insurgency in Post-Independence Pennsylvania," *Journal of American History* 87, no. 3 (2000): 855–87, doi:10.2307/2675275.
- Paul A. Gilje, "The Baltimore Riots of 1812 and the Breakdown of the Anglo-American Mob Tradition," *Journal of Social History* 13 (Summer 1980): 547-564.

3. February 8.

- Lee, *Crowds and Soldiers in Revolutionary North Carolina*

Antebellum

4. February 15. Rising disorder

- Alexis de Tocqueville, *Democracy in America*, volume 1, chapter XV: Unlimited Power of the Majority in the United States, and Its Consequences. (Please read the footnotes too.) http://xroads.virginia.edu/~hyper/detoc/1_ch15.htm.

- Susan G. Davis, "Strike Parades and the Politics of Representing Class in Antebellum Philadelphia," *The Drama Review: TDR* 29, no. 3 (1985): 106–16, doi:10.2307/1145657.
- Carl E. Prince, "The Great 'Riot Year': Jacksonian Democracy and Patterns of Violence in 1834," *Journal of the Early Republic* 5 (Spring 1985): 1-19
- Daniel A. Cohen, "Passing the Torch: Boston Firemen, 'Tea Party' Patriots, and the Burning of the Charlestown Convent," *Journal of the Early Republic* 24, no. 4 (2004): 527–86.
- Amy S. Greenberg, *Cause for Alarm: The Volunteer Fire Department in the Nineteenth-Century City* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1998). Chapter Three Fights/Fires: A Glance at Violent Firemen.
- Timothy J. Gilfoyle, "Strumpets and Misogynists: Brothel 'Riots' and the Transformation of Prostitution in Antebellum New York City," *New York History* 68, no. 1 (1987): 44–65.
- Joshua D. Rothman, "The Hazards of the Flush Times: Gambling, Mob Violence, and the Anxieties of America's Market Revolution," *Journal of American History* 95, no. 3 (2008): 651–77.
- Dan Horner, "'Shame upon You as Men!': Contesting Authority in the Aftermath of Montreal's Gavazzi Riot," *Histoire Sociale/Social History* 44 (2011): 29–52.

5. February 22. Restoring order

- Alexander Elkins, "'At Once Judge, Jury, and Executioner': Rioting and Policing in Philadelphia, 1838-1964," *Bulletin of the German Historical Institute* 54 (Spring 2014): 67-90. http://www.ghi-dc.org/fileadmin/user_upload/GHI_Washington/Publications/Bulletin54/bu54_067.pdf
- Mary Ryan, *Civic Wars*, chapter 4: Civil Wars in the Cities.
- John C. Schneider, "Public Order and the Geography of the City," *Journal of Urban History* 4, no. 2 (February 1, 1978): 183–208, doi:10.1177/009614427800400203.
- Philip J. Ethington, "Vigilantes and the Police: The Creation of a Professional Police Bureaucracy in San Francisco, 1847-1900," *Journal of Social History* 21 (Winter 1987): 197-227
- Ross Barrett, "On Forgetting: Thomas Nast, the Middle Class, and the Visual Culture of the Draft Riots," *Prospects* 29 (October 2005): 25–55, doi:10.1017/S036123330000168X.
- Stephen Kantrowitz, "One Man's Mob is Another Man's Militia: Violence, Manhood, and Authority in Reconstruction South Carolina" in Jane Dailey, Glenda Gilmore, and Bryant Simon, eds., *Jumpin' Jim Crow: Southern Politics from Civil War to Civil Rights* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2000), 67-87.

Unit 2. Labor and Lynching

Labor War

6. March 1.

○ Unit 1 essay due

- Gregory W. Bush, "Heroes and the 'Dead Line' Against Riots: The Romantic Nationalist Conception of Crowd Behavior, 1840-1914," *Hayes Historical Journal* 8 (June 1989): 34–57. <http://www.rhayes.org/research/hayes-historical-journal-heroes-and-the-dead-line-against-riots/>
- Troy Rondinone, "'History Repeats Itself': The Civil War and the Meaning of Labor Conflict in the Late Nineteenth Century," *American Quarterly* 59, no. 2 (2007): 397–419.
- Sam Mitrani, "Reforming Repression: Labor, Anarchy, and Reform in the Shaping of the Chicago Police Department, 1879-1888," *Labor* 6, no. 2 (June 20, 2009): 73–96.
- Robert P. Weiss, "Private Detective Agencies and Labour Discipline in the United States, 1855-1946," *Historical Journal* 29, no. 1 (1986): 87–107.

- Robert Reinders, "Militia and Public Order in Nineteenth-Century America," *Journal of American Studies* 11 (April 1977): 81-101
 - Eugene E. Leach, "The Literature of Riot Duty: Managing Class Conflict in the Streets, 1877-1927," *Radical History Review* 56 (1993): 23-50
 - Edward Slavishak, "Working-Class Muscle: Homestead and Bodily Disorder in the Gilded Age," *Journal of the Gilded Age and Progressive Era* 3, no. 4 (2004): 339–68.
 - Robert D. Sampson, "Incident at Grape Creek: The Illinois National Guard and the Use of Deadly Force in the 1894 Pullman Strike," *Journal of Illinois History* 9 (2006): 2-22
7. March 8. Andrews, *Killing for Coal*.
- **Prospectus and bibliography due**
- March 15. NO CLASS (SPRING BREAK)

Lynching and the Red Summers

8. March 22. Pfeifer, *Rough Justice*
9. March 29. Race, class, and gender riots
- Andrea Meryl Kirshenbaum, "The Vampire That Hovers Over North Carolina": Gender, White Supremacy, and the Wilmington Race Riot of 1898," *Southern Cultures* 4, no. 3 (Fall 1998): 6–30.
 - Gregory Mixon, "'Good Negro—Bad Negro': The Dynamics of Race and Class in Atlanta During the Era of the 1906 Riot," *Georgia Historical Quarterly* 81, no. 3 (1997): 593–621.
 - Delia Mellis, "'Literally Devoured': Washington, DC, 1919," *Studies in the Literary Imagination* 40, no. 2 (Fall 2007): 1-24.
 - Jonathan S. Coit, "'Our Changed Attitude': Armed Defense and the New Negro in the 1919 Chicago Race Riot," *Journal of the Gilded Age and Progressive Era* 11, no. 2 (April 2012): 225–56, doi:<http://dx.doi.org/mutex.gmu.edu/10.1017/S1537781412000035>.
 - Cheryl Greenberg, "The Politics of Disorder Reexamining Harlem's Riots of 1935 and 1943," *Journal of Urban History* 18, no. 4 (August 1992): 395–441, doi:10.1177/009614429201800402.
 - Marilyn S Johnson, "Gender, Race, and Rumours: Re-examining the 1943 Race Riots," *Gender & History* 10, no. 2 (July 1998): 252–77, doi:10.1111/1468-0424.00099.

Unit 3. The Modern State

Vigilantes

10. April 5. Capozzola. *Uncle Sam Wants You*
- **Unit 2 essay due**
11. April 12. Moore, *Citizen Klansmen*

Postwar

12. April 19. Flamm, *In the Heat of Summer*
13. April 26. Grace, *Kent State*

Presentations

14. May 3. Presentations
- **Unit 3 essay due**
- TBA . Final paper due on Blackboard, 5pm.**