AN ANALYSIS OF THE PARTICIPATION
OF AFRICAN-AMERICAN WOMEN
IN THE CHICAGO RACE RIOT OF 1919

A THESIS

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To Larry
Without whose strength
and encouragement
this document could not
have been completed
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CHAPTER I
INTRODUCTION

N. J. Smelser begins his book, Theory of Collective Behavior, by stating "In all civilizations men have thrown themselves into episodes of dramatic behavior, such as the craze, the riot, and the revolution."¹ Lee E. Williams and Lee E. Williams II state in their book, Anatomy of Four Race Riots: Racial Conflict in Knoxville, Elaine (Arkansas), Tulsa, and Chicago, 1919-1921, which by the title would seem to promise to describe and analyze the participants of each riot, that "All women and children stayed off the streets [during the Chicago race riot of 1919]."² The Chicago Commission formed to examine the riot concluded that "Crowds and mobs engaged in rioting were usually composed of a small nucleus of leaders and an acquiescing mass of spectators. The leaders were young men, usually between sixteen and twenty-one."³ Each of these major authors on the subject of riots, in general, and the Chicago race riot of 1919, in particular, claim that the rioters

were male. Yet, one only has to look as far as photographs of the rioters to see both women and children participating in the riotous events of Chicago in 1919. In fact, the photograph included in the Chicago Commission on Race Relations report of the rock throwing incident that occurred Sunday, July 27 on the beach clearly shows four women and one girl participating in the event (see The Chicago Commission on Race Relations' study for this photograph).

Until the 1960's, women were viewed as a passive faction of the slave and the larger African-American resistance movement. However, recently published works examining the role of the African-American female in history reflect the contemporary historical interpretation that the 1960's revolution in the United States gave way to. According to Angela Davis "If the first wave of the women's movement began in the 1840's, and the second wave in the 1960's, then we are approaching the crest of a third wave in the final days of the 1980's."  

4 What this means in terms of an examination of the Chicago race riot of 1919 is that until the revolution of the 1960's, history was largely interpreted within a "victorian" context. That is, men placed a patriarchal societal perspective, one of male dominance, upon history. Studies were performed on the African-American community by Aptheker, Dubois, Gutman, and others, but these remained inconclusive in terms of the total African-American population. These studies failed to include the active role of females in African-American society. The revolution of the 1960's led to not only new historical interpretations of

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African-American society, but also new historical interpretations of African-American women.

Women and African-Americans alike, refusing to accept a patriarchal historical interpretation, forced a raising of awareness of both female and African-American participation in history. The participation of females in both society itself and in resistance and revolt causes a necessary re-interpretation of history in order to allow for an informed understanding of the role of women in society today. We must look back to specific cases in which women were participants in order to both understand the faults of past patriarchal societal perspectives used to interpret history and to develop new and informed perspectives for understanding events, in particular here, events involving resistance. The Chicago race riot of 1919 is relevant in that previous examiners of the riot clearly applied a Euro-American patriarchal perspective to it. The application of this perspective to the Chicago race riot of 1919 had two results: 1) African-American female participation in the riot was omitted; 2) by omitting African-American female participation in the riot, her legitimacy as a political entity was denied. We can gain several things through the re-examination of this riot. First, we can, by showing the foundation for African-American female participation in riots, establish her political legitimacy in both past and present society. Second, we can understand the community orientation of African-American society, thereby providing an informed perspective under which to examine contemporary African-American society. And, third, we can establish the foundation for later African-American female participation in riots. This is why it is important to examine a riot from 1919 as opposed to riots from later periods. In addition, this riot can give us insight into contemporary
collective violence by establishing economic and political indicators that may cause riots. The contemporary growth of collective violence is certainly justification for examination of past riots.

This project seeks to provide proof through an examination of literature on the subject that African-American women were an integral part of the Chicago race riot of 1919. The analysis will show that the foundation of African-American society necessitates that African-American women are a part of any resistance put forth by the African-American community as a whole, that African-American women were a part of the Chicago race riot of 1919, a resistance movement unto itself, and that this case study is an example of the inaccuracy of the patriarchal perspective, leading not only to the omission of African-American women as participants in the Chicago race riot of 1919, but to their exclusion in the larger African-American resistance movement itself.

The publication of contemporary works inclusive of the new awareness of female participation in resistance inform our understanding that female participation in resistance to white oppression has been prominent within the resistance movement itself. Most importantly, however, what we have learned from the contemporary literature is that the African-American community is not based upon a male societal hierarchy, whereas previous literature on the subject of African-American resistance to white oppression, whether in the form of covert resistance, slave revolt, or race riot, have not underscored this leading dynamic of the African-American community:

Black women were equal to their men in the oppression they suffered; they were their men's social equals within the slave community; and they resisted slavery
with a passion equal to their men's. This was one of the
greatest ironies of the slave system, for in subjecting
women to the most ruthless exploitation conceivable,
exploitation which knew no sex distinction, the
groundwork was created not only for Black women to
assert their equality through their social relations,
but also to express it through their acts of resistance.⁵

The previous literature on the subject of African-American females and
society unjustifiably applied the Euro-American male societal dominance
perspective (the patriarchal or "victorian" perspective) to the African-
American resistance movement resulting in an inaccurate historical
interpretation.

Previous literature on the subject of the Chicago race riot of 1919 failed
to use an informed perspective to understand the dynamics of the riot.
What informs us now to correct this perspective is an awareness of the role
of the African-American female during slavery. That is, several conclusive
studies have now been done on the role of the African-American female in
slavery and slave resistance. In addition to this work, there have also been
several conclusive studies done on the role of the African-American female
in the slave family. These two leading roles of the African-American female
during the initial years of African-American society provided the foundation
for the future role of the African-American female in both the family and
resistance. Therefore, the contemporary analyses of the role of the African-
American female in slavery provide a new awareness of her role in future
resistance. The previous studies on the Chicago race riot of 1919 lack the
understanding of the African-American female's role both in slavery and in

later African-American society. This failure, coupled with an uninformed perspective, caused studies such as The Chicago Commission on Race Relations to provide an inaccurate analysis of the riot.

This project will underscore the literature put forth concerning the African-American female's societal role during slavery, providing the foundation for an awareness of female participation in the riot, and analyze the literature put forth on the subject of the Chicago race riot of 1919. And, by so doing, it will suggest a perspective for interpretation of riotous events. It is important to analyze case studies of this nature in order to correctly interpret history and to correctly understand the role of the African-American female in contemporary society.
CHAPTER II
LITERATURE REVIEW

African-American Women in Slavery and Resistance

In order to understand the African-American woman's position in the resistance movement to white oppression, we must begin with an understanding of her role as a female slave. According to Deborah Gray White, the differences between male and female slavery were significant from initial incarceration on the slave ship to death.\(^1\) White states that the policy of free roam on the slave ship for both women and children resulted in two important effects for African women. That is, African women "were more easily accessible to the criminal whims and sexual desires of seamen, and few attempts were made to keep the crew members of slave ships from molesting African women"\(^2\); and, African women were able to assist in insurrections aboard the ships by being free to gain weapons and information.\(^3\) In fact, women took such a pro-active role in the resistance movement aboard slave ships that:


\(^2\)White, p. 63.

\(^3\)White, p. 63.
Samuel Waldo, the owner of the slaving ship Africa, which operated out of Boston, wrote to his captain in 1734: 'For your own safety as well as mine, you'll have the needful guard over your slaves, and put not too much confidence in the women not children lest they happen to be instrumental to your being surprised which might be fatal'.

In addition, there are numerous recorded examples of this pro-active role available today. Vincent Harding provides a telling example of this in his book, There is a River, in which an African woman on board the Robert off the shores of Sierra Leone took part in an insurrection with one leader of the resistance struggle, Captain Tomba:

He [Captain Tomba] and several other African men and an unnamed woman had developed a plan to attack the crew, overcome them, and make their way back to the shore. The woman, because she had greater freedom of movement, was chosen to inform the men of the best time for the attack.

One night as she roamed the deck, she noted that the number of sailors in the night watch was small enough to make a surprise move feasible. After she managed to inform Tomba, he prepared to act immediately; but only one of the African men who had promised earlier to assist him was now ready to join Tomba and the woman. Nevertheless, these three moved to strike for their freedom. The smallness of their force and an accidental alarm worked against them, so that after killing two of the crew they were overwhelmed by others, beaten to the deck, and placed in chains...

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And what of the woman... the woman he hoisted up by the Thumbs, whipp'd and slashed her with Knives, before the other Slaves till she dies.\textsuperscript{5}

The role the African woman played on the slave ship carried over into her role in the slave community in the United States. Like on the slave ship, where the female had greater access to weapons, information, and avenues to rebel, the female slave was often not only viewed as less threatening, but also was geographically closer to whites, again giving her access to weapons, information, and avenues of rebellion.\textsuperscript{6} There are again numerous reported incidents of African-American women leading or participating in the resistance movement. One such incident reported by Paula Giddings in \textit{When and Where I Enter} states "In 1766 a slave woman in Maryland was executed for setting fire to her master's home, tobacco house, and outhouse, burning them all to the ground."\textsuperscript{7} The master's house, however, was not the only place or way the African-American woman resisted her enslavement. The Prosser revolt in Virginia that took place in 1800 has most often been credited to Gabriel Presser, however the revolt which included one thousand slaves was led by not only Gabriel, but by his wife Nancy as well.\textsuperscript{8}

\textsuperscript{5}Harding, pp. 12-13.

\textsuperscript{6}White, pp. 77-78.


\textsuperscript{8}Giddings, p. 40.
What is to be understood here then is that the roots of the African-American community lay in slavery where women were an integral and necessary faction of the resistance movement against white oppression. Until the recent publication of the works examining the African-American female's role in history, this has largely been ignored. One only has to look to Stanley Elkin's *Slavery* to see not only the denial of slave resistance, but the denial of women's participation as well:

It is of great interest to note that although the danger of slave revolts (like communist conspiracies in our own day) was much overrated by touchy Southerners; the revolts that actually did occur were in no instance planned by plantation laborers but rather by Negroes whose qualities of leadership were developed well outside the full coercions of the plantation authority-system. Gabriel, who led the revolt of 1800, was a blacksmith who lived a few miles outside of Richmond; Denmark Vessey, leading spirit of the 1822 plot at Charleston, was a freed Negro artisan who had been born in Africa and served several years aboard a slave-trading vessel; and Nat Turner, the Virginia slave who fomented the massacre of 1831, was a literate preacher of recognized intelligence. Of the plots that have been convincingly substantiated (whether they came to anything or not), the majority originated in urban centers.9

Contrary to this, Herbert Aptheker documented over 250 reported slave revolts in his *American Negro Slave Revolts*, with Deborah Gray White, Paula Giddings, and Angela Davis, in particular, documenting, in their works some

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years later, the participation of women in these revolts. This is important to understand because prior to the Chicago race riot of 1919, African-American women participated in resistance for over 250 years.

The equality in the slave community went further than just resistance, however. And, in fact, it was both equality within the resistance movement and within the slave family itself that fueled each other's existence. According to Angela Davis:

The salient theme emerging from domestic life in the slave quarters is one of sexual equality. The labor that slaves performed for their own sake and not for the aggrandizement of their masters was carried out on terms of equality. Within the confines of their family and community life, therefore, Black people managed to accomplish a magnificent feat. They transformed that negative equality which emanated from the equal oppression they suffered as slaves into a positive quality: the egalitarianism characterizing their social relations.

The key concept to understand through the examination of the African-American woman's position in the slave family and in resistance is that African-American women played a key, and equal, role in the organization of and action in slave resistance and revolts at the foundation of African-American society. This position was maintained, thus an examination of African-American female participation in the Chicago race riot of 1919 certainly is justified and required for historical clarity. Furthermore, my

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point here is that it is illogical to determine the African females did not participate in the Chicago Race Riot of 1919, as The Chicago Commission on Race Relations did, because not only has the African-American female maintained an equal position in African-American society throughout her history, but she has also consistently played a role in resistance and rebellion throughout her 350 year history.

During Reconstruction, women continued to resist white oppression by resisting the economic necessity to return to work in the fields, by speaking out against their oppression as Elizabeth Cady Stanton did when she "warned that if black women weren't given the ballot, they would be fated to a 'triple bondage that man never knows';" and by forming movements and organizations to protest such injustices as lynching. Paula Giddings states of this period "whether they [African-American women] stayed in the South of left it, the independence that Black women had internalized in the antebellum years did not dissipate with freedom." 

Clearly, African-American women carried their founding position in society forth with them. So, one would expect that African-American women would play an integral role in race riots, a form of resistance against white oppression. Yet, literature such as Smelser's, Williams and Williams', and The Chicago Commission on Race Relations' as well as others deny the pro-active involvement of African-American women in resistance, the Chicago race riot of 1919.

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13 Giddings, p. 71.
Race Riots

According to Ted Robert Gurr, the basis for riotous behavior is "the desire for limited political change ("reform") and for fundamental revision in the rules of the political game ("revolution")."\(^\text{14}\) And, we must understand that by political, we mean not only the governmental institutionalized structure, but also the cultural and societal structure as well. Although we now know the basis for riotous behavior, we must understand the dynamics of a communal riot itself. According to Morris Janowitz, the communal riots of World War I and its post-era were an attempt "to alter [the African-American's] position of subordination."\(^\text{15}\) Furthermore, according to Janowitz, these riots are termed "communal because they were community in orientation."\(^\text{16}\) The riots of this period were communal because slavery and industrialization resulted in objective deprivation of resources for African-Americans, meaning African-Americans were deprived of resources based on group status rather than on individual status.\(^\text{17}\) The nature of objective deprivation traverses gender, age, and class lines and results in


\(^{16}\) Janowitz, p. 415.

community solidarity, or nationalism. Nationalism, or community orientation, of the African-American community had been consistently denied or portrayed negatively throughout previous status quo literature. The previous literature concerning the Chicago race riot of 1919 denies the community orientation of the African-American community, therefore denying political legitimacy or the right to protest of the African-American community. This, however, is also objective deprivation furthering nationalism among African-Americans. And, the very fact that nationalism is the result requires African-American female participation in the resistance to it.

African-Americans and poor whites lived "in segregated enclaves in urban centers under conditions in which older patterns of accommodation were not effective."\(^{18}\) This, coupled with intense competition between white immigrants who favored the labor union and black workers who mistrusted the labor union, out of fear of further societal and economic instability by going against the employers wishes, resulted in growing violence and disputes juxtaposed with a growing population of African-American community security and stability, resulted in retaliation by blacks for a political change. By political change, I mean a change in the power structure. This is derived from and understanding of Michael Parenti's definitions of both "politics", "the process of struggle over conflicting interests", and "power", "the ability to get what one wants,\(^{18}\) Janowitz, p. 415.
whether by having one's interest prevail in conflicts with others or by preventing others from raising conflicting demands."^{19}

With this understanding of communal riots in mind, we must now point to the theories of riotous behavior that permeate the literature, particularly the Chicago Commission on Race Relations' report and the literature such as Williams and Williams, which denies the participation of African-American females.

There are a number of theories that have been applied to both communal and commodity riots over the years. According to James Upton, these theories divide into two groups, "pseudo theories", or those theories that are derived from non-empirical sources, and "middle range theories", or those theories that "fall somewhere between every-day working hypotheses used in research and general speculation bound by some grand conceptual scheme."^{20}

"Pseudo theories", again according to Upton, include: 1) the "riff raff" theory, which determines that only a small percentage of the African-American community pro-actively participates in urban riots, that the participants are male, "young, unattached, unskilled, unemployed, criminal (petty thieves, hustlers), and 'outside agitators';" and that the majority of the African-American community oppose the riot^{21}; 2) the "under and lower class" theory, which is based upon a class analysis stating that riots are an


^{21}Upton, pp. 27-28.
outcome of the grievances of the "hard-core poor"22; 3) the "teenage rebellion" theory, which determines that "riots are the result of an overflow of pent-up frustration and youthful exuberance of [male] teenagers in densely populated ghettos"23; 4) the "conspiracy" theories, which are derived from the belief that riots are the result of "premeditated actions of 'outside agitators' who migrate to the ghetto community to arouse an otherwise contented rank and file, and engage in acts of violence against local governmental authorities"24, and; 5) the "recent migrant" theory, which declares that "riots are basically the products of 'culture shock'...riots are rooted in the inability of recent migrants to adjust to the stress and complexity of urban living which results in alienation from, and hostility towards, the economic and political system."25 It is the last theory, the "recent migrant" theory, that we will be most concerned with herein, as it has been consistently used to explain the Chicago race riot of 1919.26 We must note here, however, that this theory has been historically used to explain situations involving any group in resistance, as it relegates them to an inferior status. That is, it is the resistant group who can not accept the surroundings; it is not the oppressiveness of the surroundings that causes revolt and resistance--according to this conception. George Rude examined

22Upton, pp. 30-31.
23Upton, pp. 33-34.
24Upton, pp. 34-35.
25Upton, p. 32.
26Upton, p. 32.
the application of this same theory to Europe in "The Growth of Cities and Popular Revolt, 1750-1850: with particular reference to Paris." He states:

M. Chevalier illustrates the rapid growth of Paris during the first half of the nineteenth century and graphically relates this growth and its attendant overcrowding and loosening of old social ties to a proliferation of crime, impoverishment and prostitution, and to the emergence of a "new" Paris, resentful, depressed, uprooted and proletarian, as a hostile counter to the "old". These are the "dangerous" classes, easily given to criminal violence. 27

Next, for clarity, although they will not be of much use here, a discussion of "middle range" theories is necessary. The first theory is the "social-psychological" theory, meaning that deviation is not an individual occurrence, but a mass occurrence. 28 Secondly, the "historical-economic" theory attempts to explain riotous activity through justification by citing specific historical and economic events that might alienate people in riotous activity. 29 And, lastly, there is the structural-situational" theory which seeks to explain riots by pointing to the particular group's societal location, denoting them a particular situation, in relation to structure. 30


28 Upton, pp. 36-38.

29 Upton, p. 39.

30 Upton, pp. 39-40.
As we return to our discussion of the "recent migrant" theory, however, we must now move to a particular discussion of the literature containing this theory. That is, we must now consider the literature that directly discusses the Chicago race riot of 1919.

The Chicago Race Riot of 1919

A number of books and articles have been written on the subject of the Chicago race riot of 1919. Within this project, however, I will only point to those that have become known as the leading sources on the subject. In my examination of the literature on the Chicago riot, the source cited most often was The Chicago Commission on Race Relations' study. So, I will begin with a discussion of that study.

The Negro in Chicago: A Study of Race Relations and a Race Riot in 1919 was completed and published in 1922 by The Chicago Commission on Race Relations. Their conclusions about the riot itself are as follows:

1) The riot violence was not continuous, hour by hour, but was intermittent.

2) The greatest number of injuries occurred in the district west of Wentworth Avenue, inclusive of Wentworth, and south of the Chicago River to Fifty-fifth Street, or broadly speaking, in the Stock Yards district. The next greatest number occurred in the so-called "Black Belt", Twenty-second to Thirty-ninth Streets, inclusive, Wentworth; Thirty-ninth to Fifty-fifth streets, inclusive, Clark Street to Michigan Avenue, exclusive of Michigan.

3) Organized raids occurred only after a period of sporadic
State, Halsted, Thirty-first, Thirty-fifth, and Forty-seventh. Transfer corners were always centers of trouble (see Appendix A for a map of the area).

5) Most of the rioting occurred after working hours. This was particularly true after the street-car strike started.

6) Gangs, particularly among the young whites, formed definite nuclei for crowd and mob leadership. "Athletic clubs" supplied the leaders of many gangs.

7) Whites usually employed fists and clubs in their attacks upon Negroes; Negroes used firearms and knives in their attacks.

8) Crowds and mobs engaged in rioting were usually composed of a small nucleus of leaders and an acquiescing mass of spectators. The leaders were young men, usually between sixteen and twenty-one. Dispersal was most effectively accomplished by sudden, unexpected gun fire.

9) Rumor kept the crowds in an excited, potential mob state. The press was responsible for wide dissemination of much of the inflammatory matter in spoken rumors, though editorials calculated to allay race hatred and help the forces of order were factors in the restoration of peace.

10) The police lacked insufficient forces for handling the riot; they were hampered by the Negroes; distrust of them; routing orders and records were not handled with proper care; certain officers were undoubtedly unsuited to police of riot duty.

11) The personnel of the militia employed in this riot was of an unusually high type. This unquestionably accounts for the confidence placed in them by both races. Riot training, definite orders, and good staff work contributed to their efficiency.

12) The machinery of justice was affected by prejudices and
confidence placed in them by both races. Riot training, definite orders, and good staff work contributed to their efficiency.

12) The machinery of justice was affected by prejudices and political rivalries. 31

According to the commission, the African-American population of Chicago increased from 44,103 in 1910 to 109,594 in 1920. 32 From this, the commission determined a number of things including that Chicago had been one of the most affected areas by the migration. 33 They declared that to the African-American, Chicago had become "the top of the world." 34 Yet, when the African-American arrived, no new housing had been built and the black community took over what had once been a white neighborhood. 35 This caused resentment towards blacks by the white community. This effect, coupled with increasing Republican political power, the party African-American favored, resulted in violence by whites towards blacks. 36 And, this violence, in turn, resulted in retaliation by blacks based upon their alienation as migrants from the larger Chicago community. 37 Therefore,


32 The Chicago Commission on Race Relations, p. 2.

33 The Chicago Commission on Race Relations, p. 2.

34 The Chicago Commission on Race Relations, p. 2.

35 The Chicago Commission on Race Relations, p. 3.

36 The Chicago Commission on Race Relations, p. 3.

37 The Chicago Commission on Race Relations, p. 51.
according to the commission, the underlying basis for the riot was the recent migration of African-Americans to Chicago. My analysis here finds fault with two points of the commission's findings, although there are other faults. These two points include: 1) that the commission denies the participation of women, and; 2) that the commission interprets the above to be a result of recent migration by African-Americans to the Chicago area.

This theory has largely been followed by other authors on the subject, including Williams and Williams in their *Anatomy of Four Race Riots* in which they state "considerable unrest had been occasioned in industry by increasing competition between white and black laborers following the sudden increase in the black population."38 There are two other books on the subject, however, that do provide a more factual representation of the riot. These two books are Allan Spear's *Black Chicago: The Making of a Negro Ghetto 1890-1920* and William Tuttle's *Race Riot: Chicago in the Red Summer of 1919*.

Spear's explanation of the riot is based upon the development of racial strife between the two races due to increasing competition for housing and jobs. His explanation is further informed not by violence on the side of the African-American, but on the side of the white community. And, he bases the retaliation of the blacks upon a political foundation as opposed to a foundation of migrant alienation. Furthermore, Spear determines that the riot was the result of white violence and aggression.39 However, Spear fails

38 The Chicago Commission on Race Relations, pp. 89-90.

to fully recognize each fulfilling dynamic precipitating the riot, in particular
the dynamic of labor disputes. 40

William Tuttle, however in Race Riot presents a much more in depth
analysis of the causes of the riot. He explains in detail the leading dynamic
of the precipitating events, labor conflict. 41 Tuttle explains that African-
Americans, who were recent migrants, were often used as strike breakers.
Black workers were willing to do this for two reasons: 1) they had been
brought north by the employer with the promise of more money and a
better life, or; 2) they had migrated to Chicago in hopes of higher paying
employment than that of the South. There can be no doubt that African-
American workers who travelled north did so because the employment
would be more beneficial than what they had in the South. This led to a
distrust of labor unions, which were dominated by whites, by the African-
American workers because the labor unions challenged any economic
stability s/he may have found in Chicago. 42 And, because the pay the
African-American received was an improvement over what he had
previously received, s/he was not prepared to ask for more, such as the
union members did through striking.

This dynamic, coupled with the take over of housing by blacks and the
politics in Chicago, caused the poor white community to become irate over
the conflicting societal power structure (again meaning "the ability to get

40 William M. Tuttle, Race Riot: Chicago in the Red Summer of 1919 (New York: 

41 Tuttle, p. 109.

42 Tuttle, p. 111.
what one wants, whether by having one's interests prevail in conflicts with
others or by preventing others from raising conflicting demands"). Thus, white violence toward blacks ensued with over twenty-six house bombings
in the "black belt" and blacks being both physically injured and murdered.
In response, the African-American community continued along its historical
societal basis, one of resistance. When the two societies clashed over the
object of power, the riot ensued. What has not been acknowledged, however,
has been the joint role that African-American females played in the riot.
This project acknowledges their participation.

43Parenti, p. 6; Tuttle, p. 159.

44Tuttle, p. 159.
CHAPTER III
RESEARCH DESIGN

Method

This project is both descriptive and explanatory in nature. It employs both the technique of content analysis and comparative analysis in examining the foundation for African-American female participation in the Chicago race riot of 1919. The purpose is to show through analysis that African-American females did, in fact, participate in the Chicago race riot of 1919 which is contrary to the recognized literature on the subject. By juxtaposing two types of literature, the literature on the riot itself and literature documenting African-American female participation in resistance and revolt, the foundation for this proposal is achieved. This method is preferred because a juxtaposition of this literature presents a clear view into the inadequacy of literature previously produced documenting resistance, revolt, and riot in the African-American community.

However, it is necessary to understand that the literature on the subject of the Chicago race riot of 1919 applied an uninformed perspective in order to examine the riot. The perspective applied by The Chicago Commission on Race Relations, the leading source on the subject, employed a patriarchal perspective based on knowledge of the subjugation of the female within the
Euro-American community the examiners were a part of. These examiners had no access to the information that became available in the 1960’s with the revolution led by women and African-Americans. That is, we now understand the dynamics of the African-American community that caused it to be non-patriarchal in nature. Therefore, we must now go back to particular situations in history where this different perspective was applied to the African-American community in order to inform history and to develop a correct perspective for examining other events within the African-American community, both past and contemporary. The case of Chicago is preferable as there have been a number of studies produced on the case of the Chicago race riot of 1919 that use this patriarchal perspective.

Sample and Unit of Analysis

Historically, literature concerning communal riots has followed the "recent migrant" theory.¹ This literature, however, serves two purposes within the study. This first purpose is that the literature in itself, through critical analysis, provides the basis for its inadequacy. And, second, the literature provides the historical overview of the riot. The second facet of the sample is the literature documenting African-American women’s participation in resistance and revolt. Through the juxtaposition of these two facets, along with the theoretical literature examined, the purpose of this study is achieved: that is, to show that African-American women were an integral part of the Chicago race riot of 1919. This must be shown in

contrast to previous literature which denies African-American female participation in the riot.

The two facets of the sample, literature concerning the riot itself and literature concerning African-American female participation in resistance and revolt, meet the following criteria:

--an established work within academia recognized as analytical in nature;

--a work available with the university library system, including inter-library loan. The Ohio State University Libraries, Columbus, Ohio

Limitations in Research

The major limitation of this research project is the unavailability, within the established criteria, of primary information on the subject of the Chicago race riot of 1919. This primary information includes police reports/arrest records, medical reports, additional photographs, and, above all, interviews with actual participants. Concerning the last source, it must be noted that this is a difficult undertaking due to the time period that has elapsed since the riot, 71 years. In addition, this last source poses problems because there was little interviewing done of female riot participants.
CHAPTER IV
HISTORICAL OVERVIEW

The Chicago Race Riot of 1919

According to Spear, Williams and Williams, and The Chicago Commission on Race Relations, the race riot began on July 27, 1919 when Eugene Williams, an African-American youth, drowned at the Twenty-ninth Street Beach, an all white beach, after stones were thrown at him by a white man. William Tuttle, however, acknowledges that it was not, in fact, a young African-American male that invaded the waters of the white beach that initiated the riot. It was two African-American females and two African-American males who had gone to the Twenty-ninth Street Beach determined to enter the water in order to protest the "unwritten law which designated that beach as exclusively white." The protesters were scared away by "curses, threatening gestures and rocks" initially, but they soon returned after increasing their numbers with both men and women. They retaliated by throwing rocks at the whites who soon dispersed. Their dispersal,

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2 Tuttle, p. 5.
however, was only brief. They too increased their numbers and soon 
returned, resulting in a volleying match with rocks.

At this point, Eugene Williams and his four young friends entered the 
white beach waters on their home made raft. As they approached, a white 
male began to assault them with rocks. Eugene Williams was "struck... on 
the... forehead" by the white male who was standing approximately seventy-
five feet away from the raft.3 Williams fell into the water and drowned. 
The Chicago Commission on Race Relations, in contrast, reported that "the 
coroner's jury rendered a verdict that he [Eugene Williams] had drowned 
because of fear of stone-throwing that kept him from shore. His body 
showed no stone bruises, but rumor had it that he had actually been hit by 
one of the stones and drowned as a result."4 The commission reported this 
 despite the fact that John Harris, one of the young African-American males 
with Eugene Williams, reported that when Williams' attention was diverted 
that "And just as he turned his head this fellow threw [the rock] and it 
struck him... on the... forehead."5 Williams then fell back into the water. 
According to Harris, "he just sort of relaxed."6

The four other boys returned to the all black beach, the Twenty-fifth 
Street beach, to alert both the community and police. Having done this, the 
boys, along with a black police officer returned to the Twenty-ninth Street

3Tuttle, p. 6.

4The Chicago Commission on Race Relations, The Negro in Chicago: A Study of Race 

5Tuttle, p. 6.

6Tuttle, p. 6.
Beach to find the man who killed Eugene. The boys identified the man for both the black police officer and the white police officer on duty, Daniel Callahan. Callahan, however, refused to arrest the white man and would not allow the black police officer to do so either. The officers proceeded to argue; the boys, however, returned to the Twenty-fifth Street Beach to again alert the community. This time, their alert resulted in the outraged African-Americans travelling to the Twenty-ninth Street Beach.

The boys, now quite scared, left the scene. The crowd, however, both black and white, had no intention of leaving the scene. The officers continued to argue. Callahan refused to arrest the "alleged murderer," and "arrested a black man on the complaint of a white." Meanwhile, rumors began to spread in both the white and black communities as to what had happened. In the white community, the report was that "a white swimmer had drowned after being struck with a rock thrown by a black." The report in the black community was that "Officer Callahan had not only caused Williams' death by preventing expert swimmers from rescuing him, but that he had even held [his] gun on [the] colored crowd and permitted white rioters to throw bricks and stones at [the] 'colored'." The communities responded by travelling to the Twenty-ninth Street Beach. Heated tempers again resulted in brick and rock throwing. This began the war. According to Tuttle:

7Tuttle, p. 8.
8Tuttle, p. 8.
9Tuttle, p. 8.
10Tuttle, p. 8.
...a black man, James Crawford, drew a revolver and fired into a cluster of policemen, wounding one of them. A black officer returned the fire, fatally injuring Crawford. Suddenly other pistol shots reverberated. The restless onlookers, many of them armed, had their cue. The gunfire had signaled the start of a race war. 11

Although heinous acts of violence occurred on both sides of the conflict, most historians agree that it was white mob violence that dominated the riot. Whites tended to use "stones, fists, baseball bats, iron bars, and hammers," while blacks tended to retaliate with "firearms and knives." 12 This occurred because white violence was mob oriented, resulting in a need for the above particular weapons, and black violence was individualistic, mostly in the form of sniping, oriented. The evening of July 27 brought relief from the day's events; The calm continued throughout the morning of July 28. However, when African-American workers, which included women, were dismissed from work for the day, white mobs waiting near the stockyards attacked viciously. 13 These mob attacks by the whites were carried on throughout the night. African-Americans retaliated by sniping as the mobs entered the "black belt." Black workers, come Tuesday, did not report for work from fear of white mob violence. 14 According to Tuttle, "only nineteen of the 1,500 employed at Armour punched in for work, and only twenty-

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11Tuttle, p. 8.
12Tuttle, p. 34.
13Tuttle, p. 35.
14Tuttle, p. 44.
three of the 2,500 at Swift.\textsuperscript{15} Rumors of exaggerated death counts on both sides continued to abet the violence.\textsuperscript{16} In reality, however, only 38 persons were killed and 537 persons were injured.\textsuperscript{17}

As a result of the type of violence practiced on the African-American community by the white mobs, African-Americans did not go to the white areas in retaliation. Most of the violence occurred in the "black belt" or in the downtown business area.\textsuperscript{18} And, African-Americans did not frequently leave their homes, although 1,000 were left homeless by white bombings.\textsuperscript{19} This resulted in two specific problems for Chicago: 1) African-American workers could not safely report to work, thereby economically harming not only themselves, but industry, landlords, and utility companies; 2) African-Americans could not safely travel to the store to obtain food, again hurting business owners.\textsuperscript{20}

As a result, it became imperative for the riot to end. At this point, the mayor called in the militia-- not because of the physical harm that was coming to the black community, but because of the economic harm that was coming to the white business owners, or the status quo. This factor, coupled with rain and cooler temperatures, calmed violent activity.\textsuperscript{21} This occurred

\textsuperscript{15}Tuttle, p. 44.

\textsuperscript{16}Tuttle, p. 47.

\textsuperscript{17}The Chicago Commission on Race Relations, p. 1.

\textsuperscript{18}The Chicago Commission on Race Relations, p. 8.

\textsuperscript{19}The Chicago Commission on Race Relations, p. 1.

\textsuperscript{20}Tuttle, p. 54.

\textsuperscript{21}Tuttle, p. 55.
on Wednesday, July 30. After this, although violence remained intermittent, the riot was over for all intent and purposes.\textsuperscript{22} This was clarified by the workers return to work the following week under governmental protection.\textsuperscript{23}

According to most sources, active rioting persisted for approximately one week. It is, however, what occurred during this time period over which sources differ. The Chicago Commission on Race Relations' account is similar in orientation to the historical account afore stated, however, it not only discounts the four African-American women and men who invaded the beach previous to Eugene Williams' death, but also gives an altered account of Eugene Williams' death when juxtaposed with John Harris' eyewitness account. The commission not only stated that it was the drowning that marked the beginning of the riot, but that:

Williams, who had entered the water at the part used by Negroes, swam and drifted south into the part, used by the whites. Immediately before his appearance there, white men, women, and children had been bathing in the vicinity and were on the beach in considerable numbers. Four Negroes walked through the group and into the water. White men summarily ordered them off. The Negroes left, and the white people resumed their sport. But it was not long before the Negroes were back, coming from the north with others of their race. Then began a series of attacks and retreats, counter-attacks, and stone-throwing. Women and children hid behind debris and rocks. The stone-throwing continued, first one side gaining the advantage, then the other.

\textsuperscript{22}Tuttle, pp. 61-63.

\textsuperscript{23}Tuttle, pp. 61-63.
Williams, who had remained in the water during the fracas, found a railroad tie and clung to it, stones meanwhile frequently striking the water near him. A white boy of about the same age swam toward him. As the white boy neared, Williams let go of the tie, took a few strokes, and went down. The coroner’s jury rendered a verdict that he had drowned because fear of stone-throwing kept him from shore. His body showed no stone bruises, but rumor had it that he had actually been hit by one of the stones and drowned as a result.

On shore guilt was placed upon a certain white man by several Negro witnesses who demanded that he be arrested by a white policeman who was on the spot.24

This report, although similar in orientation, is certainly dissimilar in fact with the historical account previously presented. Yet, this is the account that prevails in every work used for this study except for Tuttle’s, which relies not only on literature but on interviews with both Eugene Williams’ cohort, John Harris, and other participants of the riot.

Spear’s interpretation of the riot is similar in fact to that of The Chicago Commission on Race Relations’, although it is much more simplistic in nature. Spear states of the riot:

On a blisteringly hot Sunday afternoon, July 27, 1919, Eugene Williams drowned at the Twenty-ninth Street beach, touching off the calamity that had so long been feared. The rioting began on the beach when the police, ignoring charges the Williams had been stoned by whites, refused to make any arrests. The Negro crowd attacked several white men, and impassioned accounts of a general race war quickly flashed through the South Side. After dark, the white gangs west of Wentworth Avenue retaliated by

24The Chicago Commission on Race Relations, p. 4.
beating, stabbing, or shooting thirty-eight Negroes who had accidently wandered into white districts. Two people died the first day and over fifty were injured, but the South Side was calm on Monday morning, and most Chicagoans were able to view Sunday's disorders that had plagued the city all year. The Tribune did not even give the riot a banner headline.25

Spear states in his footnote that his account is based upon the findings of The Chicago Commission on Race Relations, thus causing his account to be equally inaccurate.26 The last body of literature we are concerned with herein is the work of Williams and Williams. These authors document Spear as the basis for their historical account of the riot:

...on a blisteringly hot Sunday afternoon, July 29, 1919, Eugene Williams, black, drowned at the Twenty-ninth Street beach, touching off the calamity that had so long been feared. The refusal of Police man Daniel Callahan, white, of the Cottage Grove Station to arrest George Stauber, white, 2904 Cottage Grove Avenue, after he allegedly threw a brick and knocked Williams, age eighteen, 3921 Prairie Avenue, from a raft as it floated down Lake Michigan at Twenty-ninth Street, fanned into action one of the worst racial riots in the history of Illinois. Many witnesses stated that Officer Callahan not only refused to make an arrest but also kept swimmers from reaching Williams. The news of Callahan's malicious negligence reached black bathers at the Twenty-sixth Street beach, and fifty men marched to Twenty-ninth Street to avenge the death of young Williams. The patrolman's action so enraged the bathers that they pounced upon him and "commenced to pommel him." They chased him to a drugstore, where he summoned help. Whites and blacks on the beach clashed, and a "battle royal" raged. Policeman John F.


26 Spear, p. 214.
O'Brien, 7121 Michigan Avenue, received a bullet wound in his left arm. During the general melee, detective sergeants Middleton and Scott appeared on the scene and placed Stauber under arrest. Whites attempted to take Stauber form the detectives, but the officers held them off at gun point.27

What is to be understood here is that the works of The Chicago Commission on Race Relations, Spear, and Williams and Williams rely not only on an inaccurate historical basis to make their analyses of the riot, but also on an inaccurate perspective and theory-- the patriarchal perspective and the "recent migrant" theory. In addition, due to this incorrect basis, perspective, and theory, they exclude the participation of African-American women in the riot. This will be examined more closely in juxtaposition with literature detailing African-American women in resistance and revolt in this study's analysis. We must now consider the precipitating factors of the riot.

Precipitating Factors

The underlying precipitating factor of the Chicago race riot of 1919 clearly was the mass influx of African-Americans into Chicago from the South during the 1910's. To clarify, however, this factor is not the same as the "recent migrant" theory. To restate, the "recent migrant" theory asserts that migrants are unable to adapt to their new surroundings, and as such, they violently rebel out of frustration.28 The decade of 1910 saw the

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African-American population of Chicago increase by 50,000.\textsuperscript{29} We must understand two things about this increase in order to understand the Chicago race riot of 1919. That is, first we must understand why migration occurred among southern African-Americans, and second, we must understand what effect the migration had on Chicago's society.

The advent of World War I in 1914 saw both the great advancement in industrialization in the United States and the great need for advancement in industrialization. And, the U.S. entrance into the war in 1917 increased industrialization's rapid growth. Two things occurred during this period to cause a need for additional laborers in northern industrial areas: 1) new jobs were created by the war; 2) white men were removed from the labor force in large numbers due to their enlistment in the military.\textsuperscript{30} Meanwhile, the share cropping system and white violence were on the increase in the South. The southern African-American faced both social and economic devastation. in the North, however, white labor unions were on the rise demanding better pay and better working conditions. Northern industrial employers discovered the one significant attribute of African-Americans in the North that would cause the employer's predominance in a strike situation: African-American migrants conceived the North to be the promised land while at the same time being dependent on the northern employer for pay such as he had not received in the South. This single attribute, the instability of migration coupled with a promising conception of the North, prevented the

\textsuperscript{29}The Chicago Commission on Race Relations, p. 358.

African-American from both wanting to unionize and strike. The African-American thus became the northern employers' strike-breaker and the white laborers scab. Northern employers either brought African-Americans from the South, usually via train, or employed ones who arrived on their own.31

The effect of this specific type of migration, migration with a large economic impact on the already existent stable community, was devastating both to the migrant who was faced with hostility and violence and to the white laborer whose efforts to achieve a better life were undermined. The specific effect and most telling factor in initiating the riot was the confrontation of competition within the labor market. According to Tuttle, in his article "Labor Conflict and Racial Violence: The Black Worker in Chicago":

...the first seeds of discord between white and Negro job competition in the Chicago labor market had been planted in the stockyards in 1894, when masses of packing and slaughterhouse workers had conducted a sympathetic strike with Eugene V. Debs' American Railway Union. Violence marked this strike; and, in the midst of it, Negro strike-breakers were hired for the first time in the history of the meat packing industry. Although packers initially disclaimed any intention of adopting this practice, less than a week later Negro strike-breakers were working, eating, and sleeping in the stockyards, and their presence fired racial animosities.32

31 For a more detailed description of African-American migration during the 1910's see E. Scott's *Negro Migration During the War*.

Chicago industry, as mentioned previously, continued to employ this tactic building racial hatred among white laborers. There were continuing attempts to unionize both African-American males and females. These attempts often failed, however. Tuttle, in his article, reports of one example of this. He explains that there was often a "personal relationship between employer and employee." Furthermore, when the union campaigned the stockyards for membership they approached a "newly-arrived" Negro and explained to him the advantages of union membership. "It all sounds pretty good to me," the Negro replied, "but what does Mr. Armour think about it?"

In addition, there were other constraints barring African-Americans from joining the unions besides a reasoning based on not wanting the challenge their situation. There was the already existing prejudices towards blacks among the white workers already in the unions. And, some African-American's "insurance policies were voided if they did [join]." The continued use of the African-American as the employers' ally spiralled into mob violence among white workers.

The secondary effect of large scale migration was housing disputes. With 50,000 additional persons and no new housing, once white neighborhoods were overcome by African-American workers and their children. There was a growing atmosphere of desired segregation among the whites due largely

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33Tuttle, pp. 412-412.
34Tuttle, pp. 427-428.
35Tuttle, pp. 427-428.
36Tuttle, p. 429.
37Tuttle, p. 426.
to their animosity towards African-Americans over labor conflicts. Whites began to feel even more threatened by blacks, now not only taking over their jobs, but their neighborhoods as well. This resulted in the growth of violence as well. There were fifty-eight house bombings between July 1, 1917 and March 1, 1921. Thirty-eight of these occurred before the riot.

As white violence escalated, so did resistance in the black community. Although blacks did not resist with mob violence, they protested in other ways such as the two men and two women did the day they entered the Twenty-ninth Street Beach. Certainly, this was a form of resistance and a political statement as well. The year of 1919 saw the publication of "If We Must Die" by Claude McKay and the development of a consciousness ready to receive Marcus Garvey and the UNIA.

With the atmosphere for violence and resistance developed on both sides, the events that took place on July 27, 1919 were only the final breaking point. And, these events included participation of the African-American community as a whole, meaning men and women alike participated as had been their history. The riot culminated a decade of labor, housing, and thus, racial strife.

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38 The Chicago Commission on Race Relations, p. 122.

39 Tuttle, p. 159.
CHAPTER V
ANALYSIS

In analyzing the case of the Chicago race riot of 1919, the discussion is two pronged. First, we must detail the historical analysis of the race riot as put forth by The Chicago Commission on Race Relations, Spear and Williams and Williams; or, that is, we must understand the implications of a historical analysis based upon the theoretical assumption of the "recent migrant" theory. And, second, we must detail the participation of the African-American female in the race riot through an understanding of the implications of both the afore stated and the conception of the foundation of African-American society. This is important because the inaccuracy of the "recent migrant" theory and the integral position of women in African-American society provide the basis of the analysis here.

Analyzes of the Chicago race riot of 1919 have largely been based on the notion that the recent migration of African-Americans to that area and the migrant's inability to cope with their surroundings led to the riot of 1919. We have already seen, however, that it was not the migrant's inability to cope, but the poor white laborers who already lived in Chicago who could not cope. In fact, migrants historically were brought into northern areas because
migrants, in any situation, tend not to rebel. Employers realized that both instability juxtaposed with more pay than the migrants had previously received would prevent them from joining unions, strikes, and the violence strikers participated in at that time. White laborers had an increased tendency to revolt because their entrenchment in Chicago resulted in a feeling of stability providing a certain level of security in revolt.

Paramount, of course, in the riot then was white mob violence with African-American retaliation as response. The mob violence perpetuated by whites before and during the riot was largely aimed at African-American laborers due to the animosities created between the laborers by the status quo, or the employers. After all, to the white laborer "the words "Negro" and "scab" were... synonymous."¹ What we must understand about the primary function of labor disputes as a cause of the riot and the attacks by white mobs on African-American workers is that in 1918, for example, 40 per cent of 28,520 plant workers in New York, Pennsylvania, Ohio Illinois, Michigan, Indiana, Virginia, West Virginia, and North Carolina were black females.² And, in 1920, 104,983 industrial workers were African-American females.³ So, on Monday, July 28, 1919, when white mobs attacked African-American workers, women were certainly involved. Paula Giddings tells us that African-American females viewed unionization largely the same way African-American men did, as "for the first time, significant numbers of


³Giddings, p. 143.
Black women were earning decent wages in the mainstream of the American labor force."4

Another claimed dynamic of the riot by other studies has been that the majority of participants were young males between the ages of 16 and 21,5 yet according to Tuttle:

Although black people comprised 4.1 per cent of the city’s total population, they accounted not only for over 6 per cent of the adult population but for an even higher percentage of the productive portion of the population between the ages of twenty and forty-four.6

Furthermore, in a study performed by Irene Graham, a sociologist, she determined “that almost half of the Black couples were childless, compared to less than 25 percent of the whites.”7 So, of most participants were young males between the ages of 16 and 21, the riot would certainly not have been one of the most massive race riots in history. Furthermore, empirical studies from other riots do not support the youth rebellion theory.8

4Giddings, p. 143.


7Giddings, pp. 149-150.

In addition, we must address the notion put forth by Williams and Williams, Spear, and The Chicago Commission on Race Relations that women were of a subservient status within the African-American community. As previously addressed in the Literature Review, African-American females were of equal status in resistance and revolt at the founding of the African-American community. They also played an equal role in the family. This carried over not only in the attitudes of women, but in the attitudes of men as well. In fact, Jacqueline Jones tells us that "black men mentioned the degraded status of their womenfolk as one of the prime incentives to migrate." And, Paula Giddings tells us that "...the overwhelming majority of Black men supported woman suffrage and female participation in the political arena...." What can be determined from this is that first, African-American men wanted societal equality for women as had existed in the slave community, and, second, that because the resistance of African-Americans during the riot was political in nature, women participated.

With an understanding of the participation of the African-American women in the Chicago race riot of 1919 based on the afore stated analysis, we must understand this final dynamic. That is, why, given the above information, were only ten women injured during the riot. There is a singular explanation for this: Euro-American society is based upon male domination of females, or patriarchy. One only has to examine white justifications for violence towards blacks during the riot:


10Giddings, p. 120.
...white newspapers asserted that there had been frequent attacks by black men on white women, with the Chicago Daily News even reporting one murder of a white female.\textsuperscript{11}

Thus, it is likely that although African-American females were integral in labor disputes, the societal conception of the white person came into play when seeking out African-American individuals to attack. After all, it is this largely uninformed societal conception place within studies of the African-American community that have resulted in such blatantly inaccurate studies such as that of The Chicago Commission on Race Relations', Spear's, and Williams and Williams'. The very fact that ten women were injured underscores the involvement of African-American women in the Chicago race riot of 1919.

\textsuperscript{11}Tuttle, p. 48.
CHAPTER VI
SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

Summary

The three dynamics developed in this study define the role of the African-American woman within the Chicago race riot of 1919. These three dynamics also define the political complexity of the African-American female in the history of the African-American community. In order to understand this complexity, this study performed a positioning of the African-American woman within the African-American community, an analysis of the migration of African-Americans to the North, and an analysis of the relationship between communal riots and African-American women. The task here is to review why these three dynamics were examined and what insight the examination of each dynamic gives us in light of this study.

First, it was necessary to understand the link between the African-American female’s role in slavery and in the slave family. By examining literature detailing her position in resistance during slavery, her position of equality within the resistance movement, and literature detailing her role in slavery and in the slave family, a relationship was drawn to show the African-American female’s necessary participation in later resistance struggles. That is, the community based nature of African-American slave
society leads to a continued community struggle, including revolt, resistance, and riot, inherently involving women. Examination of this relationship was necessary in order to inform our understanding of African-American societal structure, which dictates that both African-American men and women be a part of whatever struggle the community is involved in.

Second, this study presented an analysis of the migration of African-Americans to the North. This analysis was performed for two reasons: 1) to show the implications of migration for Chicago's society; 2) to examine the basis for earlier studies concerning the Chicago race riot of 1919. Concerning the first reason, i.e. to show the implications for Chicago's society, it was necessary to examine how friction developed between blacks and whites in Chicago. Friction developed because of labor disputes between the two races, the whites felt undermined by the blacks (used as strike-breakers by the employers) and because of limited housing. Yet, concerning this second reason for this examination, other examiners of this riot determined that it was not, in fact, the above factors that resulted in the riot, but the inability of the African-Americans to acclimate to Chicago's society—thus, the African-Americans resorted to violence to express their dissatisfaction. As previously stated, however, this view fails to make its conclusions with an understanding of African-American society, which the first part of this study accounts for. So, this particular examination provides insight not only into what occurred within Chicago's society to precipitate the riot, but also what informed other examiners of this riot.

Third, this study shows the necessary relationship between African-American female resistance and communal riots, or the Chicago race riot of 1919. By understanding the community, or equal, basis of African-American
society, and, thus, protest, and by understanding the precipitating factors of the Chicago race riot of 1919, the necessary relationship is shown. The nature of African-American society, consistent participation of African-American females in resistance, and the precipitating factors of the riot, severe labor disputes (of which African-American females accounted for a large percentage of labor) and limited housing (which females were certainly involved with based upon their equal standing within the African-American family) informs us that African-American females participated in the riot. This is the conclusive analysis.

What is fundamental to the total analysis provided herein, however, is that a logical relationship is shown between the three dynamics examined here.

Conclusion

“You must never forget that people marched and organized, were arrested and lost their jobs—some even lost their lives—in order to clear the way for the victorious moment.”

-Angela Davis, 1985

Angela Davis' words hold the highest meaning for what this study is about. It is a study about understanding where African-American women, and men, come from culturally and where they are headed culturally. It is about understanding how an uninformed societal perspective has been consistently placed upon the political activities of African-Americans, thereby belittling political agitation and resistance. The history of the
African-American is dominated by political activity, activity to gain power.\footnote{Aldon D. Morris, \textit{The Origins of the Civil Rights Movement: Black Communities Organizing for Change} (New York: The Free Press, 1984), p. ix.} We must follow those who fought for our right to study these events by exposing the true political nature of African-American society and by preparing new perspectives for examination. What is most clear in this study is that examiners can not use one culture's societal perspective to examine another culture.\footnote{Morris, p. 282.}

Three dynamics were developed within this study to provide a clear analysis of the participation of African-American females in the Chicago race riot of 1919. First, on the basis of works detailing the role of the African-American woman in slavery and the slave family, the study set the position of the African-American woman within the African-American community. Second, it presents an analysis of the migration of African-Americans to the North and the implications of this migration for Chicago's society. Third, it shows the necessary relationship between communal riots and the participation of African-American women. It is conclusive in that it shows the necessary relationship between these three prongs.

Furthermore, this study exposes the inconclusiveness of the "recent migrant" theory and, in doing so, exposes the inconclusiveness of the works of The Chicago Commission on Race Relations, Allan Spear, and Lee E. Williams and Lee E. Williams II. Not only were these studies found to be inconclusive, they were found to be historically inaccurate as well. This was found in contrast with Tuttle's work whose historical account is based on eyewitness testimony by John Harris, one of Eugene Williams' cohorts. This
study provides an accurate representation of both the precipitating factors and the actual riot itself. In effect, this study bars the ignorance of the "recent migrant" theory and the study of The Chicago Commission on Race Relations and, thereby, allows for a realistic interpretation of the politicization of African-American women.

The Implications for Future Research

This study prepares us for future research concerning political activity for power through riots by the African-American community. It is designed to set a perspective based on community, the basis of African-American society, in order to examine political events within that society. Within this case study, the problem was defined, the literature was reviewed, and a theory was formulated. That is, the analysis shows that not only have African-American females consistently played a prominent, and equal role in resistance and political agitation, but the patriarchal perspective historically used to examine these events produced false data.

In terms of a formal research proposal, this study has set the foundation for the formation of a hypothesis concerning riots inclusive of African-American participation. The case study herein is illustrated in such a way as to suggest that African-American females participate in all riots inclusive of African-American participation. The relationship between the African-American female's position in African-American society and her participation in political protest, or riots, provides the hypothesis for future research.
The formulation of this hypothesis leads to data collection, other than the secondary data analysis provided here. The suggestion here is to collect the following data: police reports/arrest records, medical reports, additional photographs, and, if possible, interviews with female riot participants or their descendents. The major objective of this future study will be to further the reinterpretation of African-American history based upon its own cultural foundation, community, and to continue the struggle for recognized political participation of females.
APPENDIX A
BIBLIOGRAPHY

Articles


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