A Pandemic and a Battle for Equality:
The 1918 Influenza and its influence on the conditions that gave rise to the ensuing struggle for racial equality during the Red Summer Riots of 1919 in the United States

Master's Thesis
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Abstract

The present research asks the question*, how did the 1918 pandemic influence the conditions that gave rise to the collective racial violence that occurred in 1919 during the Red Summer riots in America?* It answers it by identifying – through sociological theory - the component variables that impact the probability of collective action and the factors that influence whether this action takes violent form. It briefly looks at some of the factors, other than the pandemic, that influenced the alignment of these components ahead of the collective violence of the Red Summer. Then it examines in detail the influence the pandemic had on these components before the Red Summer to thereby demonstrate its specific impact on the conditions that gave rise to the collective violence. Using two case studies of riots in Washington D.C. and Chicago, it shows how these components interacted during the Red Summer. The research finds that the pandemic had an ancillary influence on the conditions that gave rise to the collective violence of the Red Summer, supplementing other influential factors.

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Introduction

In 2020 the world was thrown into crisis. The COVID-19 pandemic ravaged the globe. Regular patterns of everyday living changed drastically as governments imposed curfews and wearing masks became mandatory. As crises often do, COVID-19 laid bare the social fault lines of society. Almost immediately, disparities in morbidity and mortality rates aligned with pre-existing racial inequalities.[1] Though a new biological disease, it highlighted the continued prevalence of a much older and more sinister social disease: structural racism. Triggered by the murder of George Floyd that summer at the hands of police, Blacks, as part of the Black Lives Matter movement (BLM) took to the streets to express their rage at the continued and evident persistence of racial injustice. Many Whites joined the protests, which in some cases turned into riots, as the movement grew into one of the largest in United States (US) history and spread to other cities around the world.[2] For most, 2020 was an unprecedented year.[3]

Nevertheless, in uncertain times we often turn to history to provide a frame of reference. In 1918, Influenza swept across the globe spreading initially amongst soldiers engaged in World War 1 (WWI). Though the disease was several orders of magnitude more severe than COVID-19 - causing an estimated 50 million deaths in the span of a few months - there were similarities in government responses and public reactions, such as mandatory mask-wearing.[4] As a result, several academics have drawn parallels between COVID-19 and the Influenza pandemic of 1918. Beach et al., for example, review literature on the 1918 pandemic, paying particular attention to its health and economic effects, to derive potential lessons for the COVID-19 context.[5] Krishnan et al., however, focus specifically

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[1] Brea L. Perry, Brian Aronson, and Bernice A. Pescosolido, "Pandemic Precarity: COVID-19 Is Exposing and Exacerbating Inequalities in the American Heartland," *Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences* 118, no. 8 (February 23, 2021): 1, https://doi.org/10.1073/pnas.2020685118.

[2] Larry Buchanan, Quoctrung Bui, and Jugal K. Patel, "Black Lives Matter May Be the Largest Movement in U.S. History," *The New York Times*, July 3, 2020, sec. U.S., https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2020/07/03/us/george-floyd-protests-crowd-size.html.

[3] Sun-Times staff, "2020 in Photos: An Unprecedented Year," Chicago Sun-Times, December 17, 2020, https://chicago.suntimes.com/2020/12/17/22165631/2020-photos-defined-year-protests-pandemic-award-winning-illinois-midwest.

[4] Niall P. A. S. Johnson and Juergen Mueller, "Updating the Accounts: Global Mortality of the 1918-1920 'Spanish' Influenza Pandemic," *Bulletin of the History of Medicine* 76, no. 1 (2002): 114, https://doi.org/10.1353/bhm.2002.0022; Brian Beach, Karen Clay, and Martin Saavedra, "The 1918 Influenza Pandemic and Its Lessons for COVID-19," Working Paper, NBER Working Paper Series (Cambridge, MA: National Bureau of Economic Research, August 2020), 1, https://doi.org/10.3386/w27673.

[5] Beach, Clay, and Saavedra, "The 1918 Influenza Pandemic and Its Lessons for COVID-19."

on how the 1918 Influenza impacted Blacks to gain historical insights that may frame the public health debate surrounding the racial underpinnings of COVID-19.[6]

Few, however, mention the racial violence that occurred during or shortly after the devastation of Influenza. Toronto; Kudus (Indonesia); Jerusalem; and Kiev were all sites of ethnic violence in 1918-1920.[7] In Great Britain, a series of racially motivated riots occurred throughout 1919 in port cities, such as Liverpool and Cardiff.[8] However, the most violent and widespread of the instances of racial violence occurred in the US. During a period known as the Red Summer, over two dozen race riots - mostly concentrated during the summer of 1919 - took the nation by storm, marking a turning point in the history of American race relations.[9]

This is not to say that there is necessarily a relationship between the 1918 Influenza and the racial conflict that happened during and after it. However, in other contexts, academic research has explored how disease can lead to social unrest and sometimes to racial tensions.

In their quantitative study of cholera epidemics and social stability, Morelli and Censolo find that the epidemics were strongly correlated to subsequent periods of social unrest.[10] Hays lists several epidemics around the world, which preceded riots.[11] Indeed, Cohn finds that the Black Death of 1347-1352 unleashed collective ethnic violence throughout Europe. In thousands of communities spread across Rhineland, Spain, France, and eastern Europe the Jews were slaughtered in pogroms and burnt to death. In Sicily, Catalans were singled out to be murdered.[12]

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[6] Lakshmi Krishnan, S. Michelle Ogunwole, and Lisa A. Cooper, "Historical Insights on Coronavirus Disease 2019 (COVID-19), the 1918 Influenza Pandemic, and Racial Disparities: Illuminating a Path Forward," *Annals of Internal Medicine*, June 5, 2020, https://doi.org/10.7326/M20-2223.

[7] See: Elias Heifetz, *The Slaughter of the Jews in the Ukraine in 1919* (New York: Thomas Seltzer, 1921), http://archive.org/details/slaughterjewsin00heifgoog; John Burry, *Violent August: The 1918 Anti-Greek Riots in Toronto*, Documentary (A Burgeoning Communications Inc., 2009); Tom Segev, *One Palestine, Complete : Jews and Arabs under the Mandate* (New York, N.Y.: Metropolitan Books, 2000), 127–44, http://archive.org/details/onepalestinecomp00sege; Siauw Giap The, "Group Conflict in a Plural Society, Anti-Chinese Riots in Indonesia: The Sukabumi (1963) and Kudus (1918) Incidents," *Revue Du Sud-Est Asiatique* 1, no. 3 (1963).

[8] See: Jacqueline Jenkinson, *Black 1919: Riots, Racism and Resistance in Imperial Britain* (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2009), http://www.jstor.org/stable/10.2307/j.ctt5vjd9g.

[9] Cameron McWhirter, *Red Summer: The Summer of 1919 and the Awakening of Black America*, EBook (New York, N.Y.: Henry Holt and Company, 2011), 14, http://rbdigital.oneclickdigital.com.

[10] Roberto Censolo and Massimo Morelli, "COVID-19 and the Potential Consequences for Social Stability," *Peace Economics, Peace Science and Public Policy* 26, no. 3 (September 1, 2020): 4, https://doi.org/10.1515/peps-2020-0045.

[11] J. N. Hays, *Epidemics and Pandemics : Their Impacts on Human History* (Santa Barbara, Calif. : ABC-CLIO, 2005), 164, 197, 215, 308, 338 http://archive.org/details/epidemicspandemi0000hays.

[12] Samuel K. Cohn, "The Black Death and the Burning of Jews," *Past & Present*, no. 196 (2007): 8.

It is curious, then, that the most devastating pandemic in modern times, the 1918 Influenza, has not been analyzed in relation to the racial conflicts that were temporally proximate to it. This gap in the research becomes all the more glaring when considered in light of COVID-19 and the racial unrest that happened during it. It is, therefore, worthwhile assessing the role of the 1918 Influenza in contributing to the conditions in which collective racial violence occurred.

Research Question and Scope

Taking the US as a case study, this paper asks the question: *How did the 1918 pandemic influence the conditions that gave rise to the collective racial violence that occurred in 1919 during the Red Summer riots in America?* Although, as mentioned, race riots occurred in several locations during this period, in the limited space of this paper, a comparative perspective is sacrificed in favor of a detailed and focused analysis of the single case of America. As it is a single case study, the aim of the research is not generalizability, but to interpret the events qualitatively and draw theoretical conclusions. In providing a theoretical basis for the understudied relationship between the 1918 pandemic and the Red Summer riots, the paper opens the door to further research to verify quantitively the hypothesis proposed or to expand the analysis to other contexts.

America was chosen from amongst the nations that experienced racial conflict in this period for two main reasons. The first is thematic: the Red Summer was the most violent and widespread instance of racial violence in 1919, and it was significant in American racial history for being the first time Blacks in large numbers fought back against White supremacy. The second reason is practical: there is a wealth of online resources and academic writing in English about the US context to draw from.

Even in focusing on America, the scope is broad. Both the pandemic and the riots were widespread across the nation. The analysis conveys the impact of the pandemic at a general level, using examples from various locations. Though several riots from the summer of 1919 are mentioned as examples in the discussion, the paper takes two cities where riots occurred as case studies to mine the possible relationship between Influenza and the collective violence that occurred. Washington, D.C. and Chicago were chosen for practical reasons; that is, the availability of information for the period under study.

Across the country the riots involved a certain portion of the White population and a certain portion of the Black population. While the paper does not elaborate on why one portion of the population collectivized and not another, it does attempt to explain why sufficient numbers of Blacks and Whites chose collective action as a viable reaction to their circumstances. For analytical purposes then, 'Blacks' and 'Whites' serve as units of analysis on a general level. These units are evoked to explore the differential impact that the events in question had, depending on whether an individual was a member of the dominant, mainstream White population or the oppressed, marginalized Black population. At a more basic level, the units subdivide into 'White mobs' or 'Black mobs', which are composed of members of the parent units who chose to mobilize in the given situation. These sub-units of analysis are used to discuss the groups involved in the riots. Though both perspectives are incorporated into the discussion, more weight is afforded to the Black perspective than the White one, because the pandemic had a stronger influence on Black collective action.

The paper does not attempt to establish direct causation between the pandemic and the collective violence of the Red Summer. Rather, it argues that the pandemic, along with other factors, influenced the *likelihood* of collective action/violence occurring within and between Black and White networks. This likelihood is assessed by identifying the sociological variables that influence collective action/violence and evaluating the pandemic's influence on them.

The research finds that these variable components of collective action were already aligned for racial collective violence before the pandemic struck. The 1918 Influenza reinforced rather than shifted the configuration of these components, increasing the likelihood of collective violence. Therefore, the pandemic accelerated the development of the conditions that gave rise to the collective violence that occurred during the Red Summer of 1919.

This thesis contributes to academic research in two ways. First, it shines a light on the relationship between the 1918 Influenza and the Red Summer riots, which up until now has scarcely been discussed. There are several academic works about the Red Summer that explore different explanatory factors, yet none of these focuses on the pandemic. This thesis contributes to the literature by reassessing these factors and developing our knowledge on a new perspective that thus far has been overlooked. It is of particular relevance when considering the recent racial unrest in America and elsewhere during the COVID-19

pandemic. Although one should be wary of drawing strong parallels with a context from over a century ago, the theoretical discussion may provide lessons for the present time. Second, it offers an interdisciplinary perspective that mixes history with sociological theory. These two disciplines often come together when discussing historical moments of collective action. However, for writings on the Red Summer, this natural combination of disciplines is lacking. Much of the work takes the form of historical narration. This paper works towards redressing this single-discipline bias in research on the Red Summer.

Structure of the Thesis

Before the main body of the paper, there are three preparatory sections outlining the methodology and sources, the state of the literature and the theoretical framework. In the methodology and sources section, process tracing and ideology analysis are outlined as the main techniques through which to analyze primary and secondary data. The following section reviews literature written about the pandemic and the Red Summer. Two gaps are highlighted, namely the absence of literature bridging the two events, and the deficiencies of the Red Summer literature in theoretical grounding. Next, a theoretical framework is constructed based on collective action literature to create a model that outlines the component variables that impact the probability of collective action and the factors that influence whether this action takes violent form. Three components are described. The individual component, which has to do with the individual feeling required for mobilization; the cognitive component, which concerns the ways individuals interpret social experience in relation to ideologies to decide whether to collectivize; and the collective component, which explores the importance of network ties for collective action. Each of these elements of the framework is operationalized.

The substantive discussion is structured around three questions. The first question attempts to uncover how factors, other than the pandemic, such as the post-Civil War Reconstruction or WWI, influenced the components of collective action ahead of the Red Summer. The chapter finds that these factors influenced the components of collective action in a way that increased the likelihood of collective racial violence. The second question asks how the pandemic influenced these components. Looking at the disruption it caused and the differential impact it had on Whites and Blacks, the chapter finds that the pandemic

reinforced the configuration of components that existed before it hit, thereby increasing the likelihood of collective violence between the two groups. Focusing on two cases, the third question probes how the components aligned during the collective violence that occurred in Washington D.C. and Chicago. It delineates the configuration of the components of collective action as the riots occurred and the factors, including the pandemic, that influenced this alignment. The conclusion gathers these answers to offer a hypothesis regarding the specific influence of the pandemic on the conditions that gave rise to the collective violence of the Red Summer. It finds that the pandemic had an ancillary influence on the configuration of the components of collective action at the time of the Red Summer riots. While it may have accelerated the violent mobilization, other factors, such as WWI and the historical dominance of Whites and oppression of Blacks, were more significant factors. The paper concludes with a discussion of the limitations of the research and suggests directions for future related endeavors in this field.

Methodology and Sources

Methodology

The present paper is a qualitative investigation which applies theories of sociology to a series of historical events. It aims to probe the effect of the 1918 pandemic on the conditions which gave rise to the collective action that occurred during the Red Summer. In the theoretical framework, these conditions are split into three components, which correspond to individual feelings, cognitive interpretation of those feelings and the structure of networks through which individuals collectivize. The pandemic is an independent variable on which each of these components are dependent. It is not, however, the only independent variable as there are other contextual factors to consider such as the concurrent WWI. To isolate the influence of the pandemic on the components of collective action, it is important to be aware of the other influences. To this end, a chapter is dedicated to understanding the impact of the historical context on these variables.

The method through which the relationship between the independent and dependent variables is unearthed is "process tracing". This is the "practice of linking a causal factor

to the phenomenon by tracing its trajectory over time." [13] It is a within-case method that takes defined stages *in* time and charts their connections *over* time. Crucial to this is description: "To characterize a process, we must be able to characterize key steps in the process, which in turn permits good analysis of change and sequence."[14] To ensure the validity of the inferences about the connection between contextual factors and the conditions that gave rise to the collective violence of the Red Summer, the paper describes these factors in detail. The aim is to demonstrate how the pandemic impacted on the conditions of collective mobilization that existed before it hit and determine whether or how this impact affected the conditions in which the collective violence did eventually occur.

It is a deductive practice in which each connection is interpreted in relation to the given theoretical and historical backdrop. The theoretical backdrop in this paper is gained from constructing a framework based on collective action literature. For the historical backdrop, there are two aspects to consider. First, there is the series of events. Then, there is the cultural context in which they occurred. Only through a knowledge of both is it possible to extract their meaning and interpret it through the theoretical framework.

In each case, primary document analysis, supported by secondary sources, is the principal method through which this meaning is gathered. It is used to uncover relevant events and the order in which they happened. For an understanding of the cultural context, primary documents serve as the basis for an analysis of contemporary ideologies focusing specifically on their racial underpinnings.[15] For example, archival documents from the US Congress are used to demonstrate prevalent racist attitudes of some of the country's top politicians.[16] Through this ideology analysis, the paper examines the ideological circumstances in which people of the time interpreted their social experience. Particular

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[13] Daniel P. Ritter, "Comparative Historical Analysis," in *Methodological Practices in Social Movement Research*, ed. Donatella della Porta (Oxford University Press, 2014), 101, https://doi.org/10.1093/acprof:oso/9780198719571.003.0005.

[14] David Collier, "Understanding Process Tracing," *Political Science and Politics* 44, no. 4 (2011): 824.

[15] This is usually called a discourse analysis. However, this paper makes a distinction between discourses and ideologies, where discourses form part of the system of generalized beliefs that are ideologies.

[16] E.g., Hernando Money, "Hernando Money Speaking to the House of Representatives," Pub. L. No. Volume 25 Part 2, § House of Representatives, 2167 (1893), https://www.govinfo.gov/content/pkg/GPO-CRECB-1893-pt2-v25/pdf/GPO-CRECB-1893-pt2-v25-26-2.pdf.

texts are examined to determine how they either reproduce or challenge these established definitions and understandings of social reality.[17]

However, it is not just about understanding how people thought, but it is also about being aware of how particular individuals and groups were attempting to influence how people think. Key to this is the concept of framing i.e., the process by which social actors purposefully attempt mold ideological beliefs so that social events are interpreted in alignment with their goals. Framing helps build consensus around ideological beliefs.[18] Therefore, the ideology analysis incorporates frames and framing into its scope. The Black press, for instance, consistently published articles criticizing dominant modes of thinking about Black inferiority in order to recruit participants into a counter-hegemonic way of thinking about racial equality.[19]

As a single case study, the research does not aim to extract scientific and generalizable conclusions. It is purely qualitative, so the conclusions drawn from the research are necessarily hypothetical. The aim, then, is to shine a light onto the barely discussed relationship between the 1918 Influenza and the 1919 Red Summer, trusting that future research with more resources may be able to verify the present interpretation of events.

In sum, this paper is a qualitative analysis that uses process tracing and ideology analysis to propose a hypothesis about the nature of the relationship between the 1918 Influenza and the collective violence that occurred during the Red Summer.

Sources

Primary sources offer direct knowledge of the events and secondary accounts provide crucial analytical insight into the periods in question. The present research employs both, structuring the search for information around three areas: the history of American race relations, the 1918 Influenza in the US, and the 1919 Red Summer. Due to current health restrictions, the sources are limited to what can be found online. This section briefly presents the sources employed for the ensuing discussion.

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[17] Lasse Lindekilde, "Discourse and Frame Analysis," in *Methodological Practices in Social Movement Research*, ed. Donatella Della Porta, First edition (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014), 198.
[18] D. Snow and R. Benford, "Ideology, Frame Resonance, and Participant Mobilization," in *From Structure to Action: Comparing Social Movement Research across Cultures*, ed. Bert Klandermans, Hanspeter Kriesi, and Sidney G. Tarrow, vol. International social movement research (Greenwich, Conn: JAI Press, 1988), 197–217.
[19] E.g., William Edward Burghardt Du Bois, "Opinion: Returning Soldiers," *The Crisis*, May 1919, Hathi Trust.

There are dedicated online archival collections for both the 1918 Influenza and the Red Summer. *The Influenza Encyclopedia* is a website launched by the University of Michigan that serves as a crowd-sourced digital archive for historical documents on the 1918 pandemic in America.[20] *Visualizing the Red Summer* is an impressive assemblage of primary material collected across the country and curated by historian Karen Sieber.[21] These were useful for finding primary material on the given periods. Nevertheless, in relying only on the curated collections there was a risk of overlooking key information relevant to the research. Exploring archives more generally as well as the collections, therefore, formed another pillar of research.

Newspapers of the time were used as a valuable source of information for all three areas of enquiry, and they are accessible digitally through different archives. ProQuest's *Historical Newspapers* and the Library of Congress's *Chronicling America* are prime examples. Both have powerful search tools for key words. Google News also provides online access to the *Afro-American*, while Hathi Trust has all the issues of the Black activist magazine, *The Crisis.*[22] The paper also draws from online archives for other types of documents, including government documents.[23] These provide further sources through which to paint a picture of race relations and ideological sentiment in the US before, during and after the 1918 Influenza.

Though technically secondary sources, anthologies of writings by key figures transcribed verbatim were also used as if they were primary sources. For example, texts from *The selected writings of James Weldon Jonson* are evoked regularly in the discussion.[24]

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[20] University of Michigan, "The American Influenza Epidemic of 1918: A Digital Encyclopaedia," Influenza Archive, 2020, https://www.influenzaarchive.org/about.html.

[21] Karen Sieber, "Visualizing the Red Summer," *Visualizing the Red Summer* (blog), December 29, 2016, https://visualizingtheredsummer.com/?page_id=6.

[22] "The Crisis Archive," Hathi Trust Digital Library (New York, NY: National Association for the Advancement of Colored People), accessed June 27, 2021, https://catalog.hathitrust.org/Record/000502434; "Google News Archive," Google News, accessed June 27, 2021, https://news.google.com/newspapers?nid=UBnQDr5gPskC; "ProQuest Historical Newspapers™," Proquest, accessed June 27, 2021, https://about.proquest.com/en/products-services/pq-hist-news/; Library of Congress, "Chronicling America," Text, Chronicling America, accessed June 27, 2021, https://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/.

[23] E.g., Reports from the Board of Health or transcriptions of Congressional hearings; letters, like those of soldiers writing home; and diary entries, such as that of a nurse describing gruesome influenza symptoms.Wilmer Board of Health, "Resolutions of the Board of Health," *Monthly Bulletin of The Department of Public Health and Charities of the City of Philadelphia*, November 1, 1918, Influenza Encyclopedia; Shirley Millard, *I Saw Them Die* (New York, N.Y.: Harcourt, Brace & Company, 1936); Llyod M. Staley to Mary B. Gray, "Letter of 29th May 1918, from Llyod Staley to Mary Gray," May 29, 1918, World War I Letters - 1, Letters Home From War, http://www.u.arizona.edu/~rstaley/wwlettr1.htm.

[24] Woodrow Wilson, *The Papers of Woodrow Wilson*, ed. Arthur S. Link, vol. 35, 69 vols. (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1993), http://archive.org/details/papersofwoodroww0040wils; James Weldon

Similarly, Emmet Scott's collection of letters from Black Migrants is used as evidence in the analysis of the history of race relations.[25]

For the 1918 pandemic, PBS's 2010 documentary on the 1918 Influenza includes interviews with survivors.[26] While these have been edited, the words of the interviewees are still considered a source of first-hand experience and are used as evidence to demonstrate the impact of the pandemic on normal life. Unfortunately, no comparable video interviews are available for the Red Summer.

When analyzing these primary sources special attention has been paid to understanding the biases and motivations behind them.

Secondary sources also form a significant part of the research. As well as sources that explore the topics of the Red Summer and the 1918 Influenza directly, monographs about the period in question are also valuable for the present discussion.[27]

In sum, the present research draws on archives for newspapers and other documents, as well as anthologies of writings and documentary interviews to convey a first-hand picture of the events and ideological sentiments under study. The analysis is supplemented by the work of previous academics in related fields.

Johnson and Sondra K. Wilson, *The Selected Writings of James Weldon Johnson*, vol. 1, 2 vols. (New York: Oxford University Press, 1995).

[25] Emmett J. Scott, "Letters of Negro Migrants of 1916-1918," *The Journal of Negro History* 4, no. 3 (1919): 290–340, https://doi.org/10.2307/2713780.

[26] Robert Kenner, "1918 Influenza," *American Experience* (PBS, January 18, 2010), https://www.pbs.org/video/american-experience-influenza-1918/#:~:text=Season%2010%20Episode%205%20%7C%2051m%2032s%20%7C&text=Influenza%201918%20is%20the%20story,deaths%20of%20this%20century%20combined.

[27] E.g., Herbert Shapiro, *White Violence and Black Response : From Reconstruction to Montgomery* (Amherst, Mass.: University of Massachusetts Press, 1988), http://archive.org/details/whiteviolencebla0000shap; Adriane Lentz-Smith, *Freedom Struggles: African Americans and World War I* (Cambridge, United States: Harvard University Press, 2009), http://ebookcentral.proquest.com/lib/gla/detail.action?docID=3300864; William G. Jordan, *Black Newspapers and America's War for Democracy, 1914-1920* (Chapel Hill, United States: The University of North Carolina Press, 2001), http://ebookcentral.proquest.com/lib/gla/detail.action?docID=413323.

State of the Literature

This section briefly reviews some of the relevant literature for this ensuing discussion. One strand on the 1918 Influenza explores several titles published since Alfred Crosby began the academic conversation on the Influenza. It focuses on what authors have said about the social ramifications of the virus. Some have argued that the virus helped unite communities through volunteer work while others argued that it bred distrust between people. Few have approached the topic directly from the Black perspective, but those who have are included in the review to offer an initial understanding of the differential Black experience of the pandemic. A second strand considers three notable contributions to the study of the Red Summer, extracting the main themes that are discussed in relation to the collective violence, including the significance of WWI in setting up the conditions for the riots. The two main gaps in the literature noted are the lack of writings that bridge the two periods, and the insufficient theoretical grounding in the discussion of the Red Summer.

Literature about the Pandemic in America

The 1918 Influenza was the most devastating pandemic in modern history. In one year, it killed twice as many people as HIV/AIDS did in 30 years, and over 10 times as many as COVID-19 has in its recent world-shattering two-and-a-half-year tour across the globe.[28] One of the first systematic studies of the impact of this pandemic in America was undertaken by Alfred Crosby in 1976, in his book, *Epidemic and Peace, 1918*.[29] Renamed *America's Forgotten Pandemic* in later editions, the book traces the origins of the pandemic, demonstrating the role of WWI in spreading the pandemic through American and European troops. Trench-warfare provided the ideal cramped and unsanitary conditions in which the virus could thrive.[30] As it swamped into the general population, Crosby lists the effects it had on the US, taking Philadelphia and San Francisco as case studies. WWI continued to have an impact as liberty loan parades, which went ahead despite the

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[28] Hannah Ritchie et al., "Coronavirus Pandemic (COVID-19)," Our World in Data, March 5, 2020, https://ourworldindata.org/covid-deaths; "Global HIV & AIDS Statistics — Fact Sheet," UNAIDS, 2021, https://www.unaids.org/en/resources/fact-sheet.
[29] Alfred W. Crosby, *Epidemic and Peace, 1918* (Westport, Conn: Greenwood Press, 1976).
[30] Alfred W. Crosby, *America's Forgotten Pandemic: The Influenza of 1918*, 2nd ed. (Cambridge University Press, 2003), 3–56, https://doi.org/10.1017/CBO9780511586576.

pandemic, threw the cities into crisis as thousands became infected.[31] Basing himself almost exclusively on primary sources for his chronology of events, Crosby's contribution is a reliable source of knowledge on the 1918 Influenza and its impact on America.

Despite its label as a 'forgotten' pandemic, since Crosby's publication, there has been a wealth academic research into the 1918 Influenza.[32] John Barry, for example, writes an extensive account of the pandemic, *The Great Influenza: The Epic Story of the Deadliest Plague in History*, which focuses on the public health context in which it happened.[33] Although Michael Kenney claimed that *The Great Influenza* was unlikely to be "'a case study' with lessons for the present", reading Barry's recommendations on the ways governments can plan for and act during health crises in light of the current COVID-19 pandemic, this criticism is hardly valid.[34]

While Barry and Crosby align in their descriptions of the impact of the pandemic, they take different stands on its social ramifications. Crosby details how the pandemic united disparate groups. With emergency services on the brink of collapse, citizens came to the aid of those in need by volunteering. In Philadelphia, seemingly every organization, whether political, social, economic, or religious, "directed its energies to helping the sick."[35] Barry, however, finds that people were too scared to help. The nature of the disease meant that trust between people dissolved, and communities broke down.[36]

More recently, Samuel Cohn dedicated several chapters to the 1918 Influenza in his monograph, *Epidemics: Hate and Compassion from the Plague of Athens to AIDS*.[37] He focuses specifically on the point of whether the pandemic served to isolate or unite populations. He challenges Barry's view, and agrees with Crosby, offering more evidence to support the hypothesis that the pandemic engendered a crossing of class, ethnic and racial

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[31] Crosby, 71–120.

[32] John M. Barry, *The Great Influenza: The Epic Story of the Deadliest Plague in History* (New York: Penguin Books, 2005); Kenneth C. Davis, *More Deadly than War: The Hidden History of the Spanish Flu and the First World War*, First edition (New York: Henry Holt and Company, 2018); Nancy K. Bristow, *American Pandemic: The Lost Worlds of the 1918 Influenza Epidemic* (Oxford ; New York: Oxford University Press, 2012); Johnson and Mueller, "Updating the Accounts"; Carol R. Byerly, "The U.S. Military and the Influenza Pandemic of 1918–1919," *Public Health Reports* 125, no. Suppl 3 (2010): 82–91.

[33] Barry, *The Great Influenza*.

[34] Joseph B. Topinka et al., "The Great Influenza: The Epic Story of the Deadliest Plague in History," *Journal of Legal Medicine*, no. 36 (2015): 462; Barry, *The Great Influenza*, 224–29.

[35] Crosby, *America's Forgotten Pandemic*, 81.

[36] Barry, *The Great Influenza*, 170.

[37] Samuel K. Cohn, Jr., *Epidemics: Hate and Compassion from the Plague of Athens to AIDS*, vol. 1 (Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press, 2018), https://doi.org/10.1093/oso/9780198819660.001.0001.

barriers. Cohn gives a detailed depiction of the outpouring of volunteering that occurred during the pandemic, particularly by middle to upper-class women.[38]

None of the authors examines the group-specific impact on Blacks or other minorities. Cohn includes Blacks in his discussion, but only in so far as they contributed to volunteering efforts. Three authors address the gap.

Nancy Bristow, in her book, *American Pandemic: The Lost Worlds of the 1918 Influenza Epidemic*, discusses the impact of the Influenza on minority groups, showing how Blacks were victim of not only class but racial prejudice.[39] Vanessa Northington Gamble's article, *"There Wasn't a Lot of Comforts in Those Days:" Blacks, Public Health, and the 1918 Influenza Epidemic* provides a much-needed overview of the experience of Blacks during the pandemic.[40] Elizabeth Schlabach's *The Influenza Epidemic and Jim Crow Public Health Policies and Practices in Chicago, 1917–1921*, builds on these works to analyze the specific case of Chicago and how the pandemic was used to justify increasing controls on the lives of Blacks.[41]

At the start of the 1918 Influenza, Blacks were already at a disadvantage. Gamble explains the ways racist beliefs about the biological inferiority of Black persons served to perpetuate health discrimination.[42] In Chicago, Schlabach argues, this was compounded by the restrictive housing covenants that forced most Black residents to live in unsanitary conditions. Indeed, the pandemic legitimized a further encroachment on Black liberties by the state as health measures allowed officials to keep a tighter surveillance on their citizens.[43]

However, Black communities attempted to fight this discrimination. Bristow argues that Black communities used the pandemic not only to highlight the health issues Blacks faced but to point out the flaws of a system based on White supremacy.[44] Gamble details how Black communities came together - when left to fend for themselves by Whites - through

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[38] Cohn, Jr., 1:409–530.
[39] Bristow, *American Pandemic*, 81–85.
[40] Vanessa Northington Gamble, "'There Wasn't a Lot of Comforts in Those Days:' African Americans, Public Health, and the 1918 Influenza Epidemic," *Public Health Reports* 125, no. Suppl 3 (2010): 114–22.
[41] Elizabeth Schlabach, "The Influenza Epidemic and Jim Crow Public Health Policies and Practices in Chicago, 1917–1921," *The Journal of African American History* 104, no. 1 (January 1, 2019): 31–58, https://doi.org/10.1086/701105.
[42] Gamble, "'There Wasn't a Lot of Comforts in Those Days," 115–17.
[43] Schlabach, "The Influenza Epidemic and Jim Crow Public Health Policies and Practices in Chicago, 1917–1921," 35–45.
[44] Bristow, *American Pandemic*, 82–85.

local initiatives. While most White Americans did not come to the aid of Blacks, Black nurses and doctors were for the first time asked to help treat White patients. Gamble notes, however, that in the aftermath of the Influenza, pre-pandemic racial hierarchies were re-established, and the aid of Black doctors remained unacknowledged by White America.[45] Despite discussing the aftermath of the pandemic and the impact it had on race, this literature fails to mention the pandemic's possible impact on the Red Summer. As noted in the introduction, several works have explored the social ramifications of pandemics and their capacity to incite social unrest, so it is surprising that this has not been done in the case of the 1918 Influenza and the 1919 race riots, which occurred within months of each other.

Literature about the Red Summer

Labelled the Red Summer because of the scale of the bloodshed, the summer of 1919 was the most violent season of a year that witnessed over two dozen major race riots. With countless injured and conservative estimates putting the death toll at 52, these riots were particularly devastating.[46] According to John Hope Francis, it was "the greatest period of interracial strife the nation has ever witnessed."[47] Yet, for such a tumultuous period in US history, it occupies relatively little space in the collective consciousness. As Metzger points out, people living around 1919 remembered little about the events and those not yet born seem not to have learned of them.[48] A small number of historians have sought to rectify this. Several have published articles about specific riots.[49] In the limited space, these will not be discussed. Instead, this section reviews three monographs that attempt to discuss the riots as part of specific moment in the history of US race relations. Though each tackle the same subject, they go about it in different ways.

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[45] Gamble, ""There Wasn't a Lot of Comforts in Those Days," 119–22.

[46] McWhirter, *Red Summer*, 14.

[47] John Hope Franklin, *From Slavery to Freedom* (New York: Knopf, 1974), 357.

[48] Christian Metzger, "WILLIAM M. TUTTLE, JR. Race Riot: Chicago in the Red Summer of 1919. Pp. v, 305. New York: Atheneum, 1970. $8.95," *The ANNALS of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* 405, no. 1 (January 1, 1973): 215–215, https://doi.org/10.1177/000271627340500168.

[49] Delia Mellis, "'Literally Devoured': Washington, Dc, 1919," *Studies in the Literary Imagination* 40, no. 2 (2007): 1-24,173; Jonathan S. Coit, "'Our Changed Attitude': Armed Defense and the New Negro in the 1919 Chicago Race Riot," *The Journal of the Gilded Age and Progressive Era* 11, no. 2 (2012): 225–56; O. A. Rogers, "The Elaine Race Riots of 1919," *The Arkansas Historical Quarterly* 19, no. 2 (1960): 142–50, https://doi.org/10.2307/40025496; William M. Tuttle, "Violence in a 'Heathen' Land: The Longview Race Riot of 1919," *Phylon (1960-)* 33, no. 4 (1972): 324–33, https://doi.org/10.2307/273678.

The first, *Race Riot: Chicago in the Red Summer of 1919,* was written by William Tuttle in 1972 and it takes Chicago as a case study through which to explain the violence of 1919.[50] Tuttle's monograph was groundbreaking when it was published, and it remains significant. It mixed primary sources with the then-relatively recent oral history approach, recording valuable experiences from a period that is increasingly inaccessible. Furthermore, it applied contemporary sociological theories to the case to offer a theoretical explanation for the violence. Despite Tuttle laying down the groundwork for further research, in the years following *Race Riot*, there were few attempts to build upon his initial contribution. Forty years after *Race Riot*, McWhirter - at the urging of Tuttle himself - endeavored to tell the larger story of the Red Summer in his *Red Summer: The Summer of 1919 and the Awakening of Black America*.[51] In the first comprehensive synthesis of this period, McWhirter mixes his journalistic flare for prose with a wide range of primary sources to deliver a strong narrative that covers over a dozen major riots and intermingles them with the concurrent and dependent development of the civil rights movement. Three years later, Daniel Krugler offered his own version of events in *The Year of Racial Violence: How African Americans Fought Back*.[52] Rather than proceed chronologically, Krugler's account structures the riots thematically to highlight the different ways the Black community began taking a purposeful and collective stand against White oppression, for the first time.

The three authors agree on the contextual factors that precipitated the riots of the Red Summer. Each single out WWI as an important turning point as it provided Blacks with the opportunity to display their worth to the nation and give more weight to claims for racial equality. The *New Negro* movement which flourished following the war, harnessed wartime rhetoric to encourage Blacks to claim their stake in society. This clashed with prewar ideals of White supremacy.[53]

Though Tuttle does not ignore the influence of cultural White supremacy, Krugler and McWhirter provide more detailed overviews of the role of White supremacist beliefs about the inferiority of Blacks in shaping the conditions in which the riots happened. McWhirter

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[50] William M. Tuttle, *Race Riot : Chicago in the Red Summer of 1919* (New York: Atheneum, 1972), http://archive.org/details/raceriotchicagoi0000unse.
[51] McWhirter, *Red Summer*.
[52] David F. Krugler, *1919, the Year of Racial Violence: How African Americans Fought Back* (New York, NY: Cambridge University Press, 2014).
[53] Krugler, 17–31; McWhirter, *Red Summer*, 19–30; Tuttle, *Race Riot*, 208–41.

discusses how ancient forms of racialism entwined with more recent forms biological determinism - each boosted by 'scientific' discourses - to present the improving social standing of Blacks as a danger to the White race.[54] Krugler briefly traces the evolution of White supremacy as a caste system from the Reconstruction Era which was indelibly linked with the collective racial violence practices it encouraged as a method of enforcement of the system.[55] These practices resurfaced in a big way as Blacks' new aspirations following WWI challenged the dominance of White supremacy.

In addition to cultural factors, Tuttle explains in detail how the demographic shift caused by the 'Great Migration' of Black southern workers to industrial northern cities - Chicago in particular - increased labor competition. Although the commission set up to investigate race relations in the aftermath of the Chicago riot in 1922 found that labor disputes played a minor role in the tensions leading up to the riot, Tuttle advances that the Black workers who came in as strike-breakers were pitted by employers against White workers. This fomented racial animus and significantly contributed to the conditions that gave rise to the Chicago riots.[56] McWhirter and Krugler build on Tuttle's argument to show that the situation in Chicago served as a microcosm of labor strife between Blacks and Whites across the North in 1919.[57]

These contextual factors help explain why Whites instigated the violence in 1919, but the authors are just as, if not more, concerned with the reaction of Blacks to this violence. Tuttle roots the reaction of Black Chicagoans in the *New Negro* movement, tracing its evolution from the early years of the century to its blossoming following the participation of Black soldiers in WWI.[58] The militant movement encouraged armed self-defense to protect not only the lives of Blacks but their newfound position in society after WWI. McWhirter singles out the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) as a crucial vehicle through which the *New Negro* movement prospered.[59] Indeed, throughout his narrative McWhirter weaves in developments in the NAACP. By underscoring the importance of the NAACP, a key player in the subsequent civil rights era, McWhirter attempts to showcase the continuity between the two periods.

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[54] McWhirter, *Red Summer*, 69–74.
[55] Krugler, *1919, the Year of Racial Violence*, 7.
[56] Tuttle, *Race Riot*, 128–55.
[57] McWhirter, *Red Summer*, 138; Krugler, *1919, the Year of Racial Violence*, 83–84.
[58] Tuttle, *Race Riot*, 208–41.
[59] McWhirter, *Red Summer*, 35–39.

Krugler goes one step further in his analysis. He demonstrates how the movement of resistance was not confined to armed self-defense; it also involved challenging dominant White cultural narratives and pursuing the enforcement of civil rights through the legal justice system. In this sense, the Red Summer was a "three-front war": in the streets, in the press and in the courts.[60]

Although Krugler and McWhirter's contributions are strong pieces of historical narration, they do not attempt to ground their analysis in sociological theory. A causal chain of events is outlined but the mechanisms through which the various social actors operated to collectivize are not studied in depth. In this regard, Tuttle's original thesis maintains its relevancy relative to the more recent literature. Grounding his analysis in structural functionalist social theory, he argues that the rising expectations of Blacks expressed in the *New Negro* movement in post-war America motivated them to mobilize against the system of oppression that sought to take away their social gains.[61]

Having the benefit of subsequent research into the mechanisms of collective action, however, Tuttle's structural functionalist explanations for the collective violence in Chicago feels simplistic. While rising expectations are certainly one factor, Tuttle does not explain the steps through which these *individual* feelings were translated into *collective* action. Collective action theories in the last decades of the 20th century highlighted the importance of network ties and the cognitive processes involved in bringing about collective action of the sort that happened in Chicago.[62] These newer theories serve as a valuable supplement to Tuttle's conclusions.

Finally, one aspect that does not feature in any of the writing on the Red Summer is the role of the 1918 Influenza. The most devastating wave of the pandemic occurred only a few months prior to the Red Summer and caused nationwide disruption to normal life. Despite the significant effect this had on American society and the well-studied impact epidemics

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[60] Krugler, *1919, the Year of Racial Violence*, 1.

[61] Tuttle, *Race Riot*, 262–63.

[62] Alberto Melucci, "15. Mobilization and Political Participation," in *Challenging Codes: Collective Action in the Information Age*, Cambridge Cultural Social Studies (Cambridge [England] ; New York: Cambridge University Press, 1996), 287–307; Robert D. Benford and David A. Snow, "Framing Processes and Social Movements: An Overview and Assessment," *Annual Review of Sociology* 26, no. 1 (2000): 611–39, https://doi.org/10.1146/annurev.soc.26.1.611; Doug McAdam, John D. McCarthy, and Mayer N. Zald, eds., *Comparative Perspectives on Social Movements: Political Opportunities, Mobilizing Structures, and Cultural Framings*, Cambridge Studies in Comparative Politics (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), https://doi.org/10.1017/CBO9780511803987.

have had on moments of social unrest, in this case, no academic work has included it in an analysis of the Red Summer beyond a mere mention.

Gaps in the Literature

This brief review of the current literature on the 1918 Influenza and the Red Summer has identified two important gaps. The first concerns the current lack of writing that bridges the two temporally proximate events in a way that attempts to verify their relation. Considering the volume of writing that links epidemics to periods of social unrest, it is curious that the most devastating pandemic in modern history and one of the most violent periods of racial conflict in American race relations have not been discussed together. This gap is made more evident when noted in the context of COVID-19 and the riots that occurred during the BLM protests. To be sure, the BLM protests differed from the Red Summer in many respects, not least in that Whites were instigators of the collective violence during the Red Summer, whilst, during the BLM protests, Blacks – and in many cases, Whites - took to the streets to express their outrage. Nevertheless, the co-incidence of a pandemic followed by racial unrest is apparent in the two cases.

The second gap outlined is the current deficiency in theoretical perspectives in the analysis of the Red Summer riots. Though Tuttle laid the foundations for theoretical analyses of the Red Summer, subsequent work has focused more on historical narration than on theoretical analysis.

The present research aims to address these gaps by applying a theoretical framework constructed from collective action literature to uncover the relationship between these two events, the 1918 pandemic and the 1919 Red Summer, which, in the literature so far, have been analyzed separately.

Theoretical Framework: The Three Components of Collective Action

The riots of the Red Summer were instances of violent collective action. To uncover the possible influences the pandemic had on the conditions that gave rise to such action, an understanding of the mechanisms that drive collective action is necessary. This section constructs a theoretical framework based on collective action literature, outlining three variable components that influence the likelihood of collective action. It also explains the factors in each component that impact the probability that a given moment of collective action is violent. The three components are the individual, the cognitive and the collective. The individual component relates to the factors that drive the emotions that make people act. It explains the concepts, *relative deprivation* and *rising expectations*. While these explain why an individual acts, they do not explain why they choose to act in one way and not another. It is through cognitive processes that one type of action is chosen over another. The cognitive component, therefore, relates to the interpretation of emotions and social events. Importantly, it is through this component that one may decide that collective violence is a viable form of action. Key to this component are the concepts, *ideology, discourses* and *framing*. Having explained what motivates an individual to act and what enables them to choose collective action, the third component relates the structures through which this collective action can be carried out. These structures are networks. Here, *close network ties* and the degree of *network segmentation* impacts the likelihood of collective action. The framework singles out exogenous change as one element that affects each component, and the likelihood of collective action. The construction of the framework employs examples that relate to the period under study, including Red Summer riots in Bisbee, Arizona and Longview, Texas.

The Individual Component: Relative Deprivation and Rising Expectations

When people are happy, they smile; when sad, they might cry; when angry, one might lash out. Emotions drive individual action, which in turn drives collective action. But where do emotions come from? Early collective action theorists advanced that emotions are

psychological reactions to an individual's perceived environment.[63] They are dependent on the level of synchronicity between what an individual believes they are entitled to get from their environment and what they actually get from it.[64]

If the standard of their reality is below what they feel they deserve, this engenders what Merton termed "Relative Deprivation".[65] The deprivation is felt relative to this standard of entitlement, which emerges through comparisons of oneself to other social actors.[66] As environmental conditions usually change gradually, relative deprivation is a more or less persistent source of negative emotions, including frustration or anger. For instance, in the period under study, Blacks had inferior access to healthcare than Whites.[67] A Black individual who may have believed they deserved more equal access to healthcare, each time they engaged with the subject of healthcare, they would have felt frustration or anger deriving from the deprivation suffered in relation to what they believed they deserved.

As relative deprivation is dependent on an individual's social environment, the intensity of emotions stemming from the deprivation increases or decrease with changes in the environment. For instance, when the 1918 pandemic hit, forcing many more people than usual to seek treatment, Black care facilities were overrun, negatively impacting the quality of care Black patients had access to.[68] This widened the gap between the healthcare Black individuals believed they were entitled to and the healthcare they received, increasing the intensity of their pre-existing relative deprivation and the emotions associated with it.

It is once this gap is so wide that it is 'intolerable' that action is taken to end the deprivation.[69] Driven by aggressive emotions such as anger and frustration this action can take the form of violence.[70] Indeed, factoring for the other components of collective action,

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[63] See: Ted Gurr, "A Causal Model of Civil Strife: A Comparative Analysis Using New Indices," *The American Political Science Review* 62, no. 4 (1968): 1104–24, https://doi.org/10.2307/1953907; James C. Davies, "Toward a Theory of Revolution," *American Sociological Review* 27, no. 1 (1962): 5–19, https://doi.org/10.2307/2089714; Robert K. Merton, "On Sociological Theories of the Middle Range," in *Social Theory and Social Structure* (New York, N.Y.: Simon & Schuster, 1949), 39–53, http://www.csun.edu/~snk1966/Robert%20K%20Merton%20-%20On%20Sociological%20Theories%20of%20the%20Middle%20Range.pdf.

[64] Gurr, "A Causal Model of Civil Strife," 1104.

[65] Merton, "On Sociological Theories of the Middle Range," 39.

[66] Ronald P. Abeles, "Relative Deprivation, Rising Expectations, and Black Militancy," *Journal of Social Issues* 32, no. 2 (1976): 120, https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1540-4560.1976.tb02498.x.

[67] Gamble, ""There Wasn't a Lot of Comforts in Those Days," 115–17.

[68] Krishnan, Ogunwole, and Cooper, "Historical Insights on Coronavirus Disease 2019 (COVID-19), the 1918 Influenza Pandemic, and Racial Disparities," 1–3.

[69] Davies, "Toward a Theory of Revolution," 6.

[70] Gurr, "A Causal Model of Civil Strife," 1104.

the more intense the emotion, the more likely the reaction to it will be aggressive and violent.

Relative deprivation is the outcome if an individual's conditions are below the standard of what they believe they are entitled to. Conversely, if these conditions are above this standard, an individual may be in a state of fulfillment. However, the longer an individual is fulfilled, the more their standard rises, increasing their expectations of what they deserve from the conditions. This phenomenon of 'rising expectations' is concisely summarized by Blanksten as "the process by which people on a lower standard of living become acquainted with the benefits of a higher standard, and in consequence of this 'demonstration effect' come to desire or demand the goods of the higher level."[71]

If real conditions suddenly deteriorate, however, the gap between the standard of what they expect, and their reality becomes wider than if the expectations had never risen in the first place. In such a situation, the fulfillment is reversed, and in the fear of losing what one has gained, relative deprivation is amplified. As Tocqueville muses, "The evils, patiently endured as inevitable, seem unbearable as soon as the idea of escaping them is conceived."[72] Davies calls this pattern of progress followed by a reversal a "J-curve of rising expectations."[73]
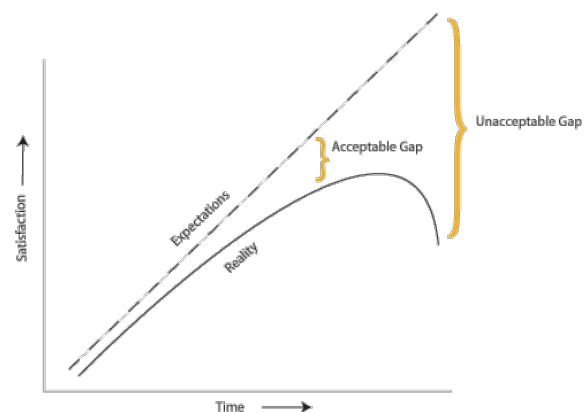
Figure 1: Davies's J-curve of rising expectation and relative deprivation

To take an example from the period in question: During WWI, Blacks who enlisted as soldiers experienced battle and life on a more equal footing to Whites. Although they were still discriminated against, this experience was of higher standard than they expected, raising their expectations.[74] Consequently, when in Bisbee, Arizona, policemen were disarming Black soldiers for no apparent reason other than distrust, this newer standard of expectation was not met. For one soldier, the relative deprivation because of this gap made

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[71] Anthony R. Oberschall, "Rising Expectations and Political Turmoil∗," *Journal of Development Studies* 6, no. 1 (October 1969): 5, https://doi.org/10.1080/00220386908421310.

[72] Alexis de Tocqueville, *The ancien régime and the French Revolution*, trans. Gerald E Bevan (London; New York: Penguin, 2008), 413, http://books.google.com/books?id=QEsjAQAAIAAJ.

[73] Davies, "Toward a Theory of Revolution," 14.

[74] Lentz-Smith, *Freedom Struggles*, 9.

him feel frustrated to the point that he refused the request to disarm, telling the officer, "Fuck you, I am a United States soldier and don't have to!" From this outburst the violence escalated culminating in the first major race riot of the 1919 summer.[75]

Sometimes a person's rising expectations can be another's relative deprivation. This is evident in situations where people are competing for resources. This was the case, in Longview, Texas. Influenced by the New Negro movement following WWI and the Influenza epidemic, Dr. Davis, a Black physician in Longview, had higher expectations for himself and his community. He helped set up cooperative stores and encouraged Black cotton farmers to seek better prices than the ones offered by local White brokers. However, in doing so, Davis may have negatively affected White businesses and cotton merchants by increasing competition. This increase in competition for resources traditionally monopolized by Whites likely caused relative deprivation for many of Longview's White merchants. Therefore, the rising expectations of Blacks may have caused corollary feelings of relative deprivation in Whites. Such a situation can lead to violent conflict between the corresponding parties. In Longview, Davis became a target of attack for White mobs, but refusing to submit to the violent attempt at oppression he gathered a group of allies to defend his position.[76]

Relative deprivation and rising expectations are dependent on an individual's conditions and their perception of those conditions. To identify them, this paper qualitatively assesses the conditions of individuals at the time through an analysis of primary and secondary sources. Demographic data from censuses are used to examine population growth and evaluate its impact on social conditions. It attempts to gage perceptions of individuals through interpreting personal accounts taken as much as possible from primary sources.

At the individual level, relative deprivation and rising expectations are sources of emotion to which people react. They are preconditions for action, and by extension violent action, but the concepts on their own do not explain why certain action is chosen over another type

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[75] Special Agent Tinklepaugh, "In Re: Riot between Soldiers, 10th Cavalry & Civil Officers, Bisbee, Arizona, on July 3, 1919," Case File 10218–348– 4, 2, quoted in, Krugler, *1919, the Year of Racial Violence*, 61; "Pistol Shots Exchanged Following Insult," *The Chicago Whip*, July 9, 1919, Chronicling America: Historic American Newspapers, Library of Congress.

[76] "The Riot at Longview, Texas," *The Crisis*, October 1919, Hathi Trust; "Longview, Scene of Riot, Under Martial Law," *The Monitor*, July 17, 1919, Chronicling America: Historic American Newspapers, Library of Congress; Tuttle, "Violence in a 'Heathen' Land," 324–33.

of action. What is it that makes an individual choose a collective form of action, and not a personal one, to resolve their emotions?

The Cognitive Component: Ideology, Discourses and Framing

It is through cognitive interpretation of one's emotions and social events that a certain form of action is chosen over another. Key to this interpretation are the concepts of *Ideologies, Discourses* and *Framing.*

Ideologies are the prisms of symbolic meaning through which the incoherence of life is made to seem coherent and 'common sense'. Ideologies are the overarching systems of ideas which "couple understandings of how the world works and changes with ethical or moral or evaluative or normative principles that say which is good or bad and what people should do."[77] There are, therefore, two interrelated dimensions to ideologies. On the one hand, there is the epistemic dimension: i.e., the dimension relating to ideas on how the world is. This aspect of ideologies forms the grounding for the second, behavioral dimension, which relates to how one should act. Social events are understood in light of ideological beliefs, and adherents "act, feel, and think as a result of the values they link to these understandings."[78] For instance, in Bisbee, the Chief of police's distrust of Black soldiers was informed by the epistemic dimension of his ideology which regarded Blacks as a potential danger. His behavioral dimension approved disarmament of the soldiers as a viable course of action.

Ideology has strong parallels with the concepts of culture, morality and worldview, but in academic literature it has taken on political connotations, wherein ideologies are split between dominant ideologies which dictate the mores of mainstream society and counter-hegemonic ideologies that challenge its domination.[79] While members of society benefitting from dominant ideological practices are less likely to question them, individuals and groups who are oppressed by them would be more open to adhering to ideological challenges. In the period in question, Whites benefitted from their status in dominant

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[77] Pamela Oliver and Hank Johnston, "What a Good Idea! Ideologies and Frames in Social Movement Research," *Mobilization* 5 (March 1, 2000): 7, https://doi.org/10.17813/maiq.5.1.g54k222086346251.

[78] Myra Ferree and David Merrill, "Hot Movements, Cold Cognition: Thinking about Social Movements in Gendered Frames," *Contemporary Sociology-a Journal of Reviews - CONTEMP SOCIOL* 29 (May 1, 2000): 455, https://doi.org/10.2307/2653932.

[79] Oliver and Johnston, "What a Good Idea! Ideologies and Frames in Social Movement Research," 5.

ideologies, while Blacks were oppressed by them and were therefore more inclined to consider counter-hegemonic beliefs. To return to the example in Bisbee: As a representative of the state and part of dominant streams of ideology, the Chief of Police's beliefs and actions as regards the disarming of Black soldiers were not questioned by Whites as it did not affect them. However, Black soldiers - for whom these actions caused deprivation – were more likely to interpret the social event within counter-hegemonic belief-systems. As a result, one soldier refused to submit to the disarming and the behavioral mores dictated by dominant ideologies: instead, choosing a path of counter-hegemonic resistance by insulting an officer.

Spinning off from ideologies are discourses. These are "broad systems of communication that link concepts together in a web of relationships through an underlying logic." Discourses develop the vocabulary and understanding required for communicating within and about ideological categories. Medical discourses, for example, produce the common terms and concepts for discussing health and illness. [80]

Ideologies and discourses inhabit the cognitive and symbolic realm. It is here that emotions and social events are interpreted and given meaning. Crucially, it is in the process of cognitive interpretation that an individual chooses whether to collectivize. It is within the cognitive realm that *individual* relative deprivation and rising expectations can be construed as part of a *collective* issue. It is here that the appropriate reaction to them is chosen.

The implication of this is that violence and collective violence can be prescribed by ideologies as an appropriate form of action in given situations. Collective violence is often seen as a retaliation against dominant systems of oppression and is thus more associated with deviant or counter-hegemonic collective behavior.[81] However, many of the instances of collective violence discussed in this paper derive from the behavioral dimension of *dominant* ideologies, namely White mob violence against Blacks to punish Black deviancy. In the summer of 1919, in Longview, when a newspaper article declared that a White woman loved a Black man, Whites fell into a familiar pattern of behavior, rooted in late-

[80] Shyon Baumann, "A General Theory of Artistic Legitimation: How Art Worlds Are like Social Movements," *Poetics* 35, no. 1 (February 1, 2007): 57–58, https://doi.org/10.1016/j.poetic.2006.06.001.
[81] Roberta Senechal de la Roche, "Collective Violence as Social Control," *Sociological Forum* 11, no. 1 (1996): 98–100.

19th century racial terror, when they gathered to inflict violence on Black residents.[82] The article constituted a challenge to White supremacy, which, according to dominant ideologies was punishable by White mob violence against Blacks.

While this collective violence was enacted *as part of* the dominant system of behavioral mores, social actors can make use of these cognitive processes to convince people to mobilize *against* the system through what collective action theorists call, 'Framing'.[83] Framing works by calling attention to certain aspects of dominant ideologies to highlight the ways in which a given issue contradicts normative values, thereby building consensus around alternative ideologies. Framing, according to Zald, "almost always draw[s] upon the larger societal definitions of relationships, of rights, and of responsibilities to highlight what is wrong with the current social order, and to suggest directions for change."[84] Ideological meaning is, therefore, constructed in relation to dominant ideologies. For instance, in his reflections on the 1918 Influenza, Grimké, a Black political leader, drew on the central position of God in dominant ideologies to frame the pandemic as evidence of the flaws of White supremacy. He argued that the universal impact of the Influenza regardless of skin color demonstrated that God did not discriminate. In doing so, he highlighted the contradictions of a society that worships a God that does not discriminate at the same time as it itself discriminates against Blacks.[85]

Moreover, framing can harness the meanings associated with and created by discourses to emphasize their message.[86] Black activists during the WWI, for instance, appropriated the language of mainstream nationalist discourses to promote their message of racial equality

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[82] During the latter half of the 19th century, White mob violence - through the sustained actions of the Ku Klux Klan and other similar organizations – became engrained in the behavioral dimension of dominant White ideologies as an appropriate form of action to punish Blacks for challenging the supremacy of White hegemony. See: Michael Perman, *Struggle for Mastery: Disfranchisement in the South, 1888-1908* (Chapel Hill, United States: The University of North Carolina Press, 2001), 20–27, http://ebookcentral.proquest.com/lib/gla/detail.action?docID=413387.

[83] See: Snow and Benford, "Ideology, Frame Resonance, and Participant Mobilization"; Benford and Snow, "Framing Processes and Social Movements"; Mayer N Zald, "Culture, Ideology and Strategic Framing," in *Comparative Perspectives on Social Movements: Political Opportunities, Mobilizing Structures, and Cultural Framings*, ed. Doug McAdam, John D. McCarthy, and Mayer N. Zald, Cambridge Studies in Comparative Politics (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), 261–74, https://doi.org/10.1017/CBO9780511803987.

[84] Mayer N Zald, "Culture, Ideology and Strategic Framing," 267.

[85] Francis J. Grimké, "Some Reflections, Growing out of the Recent Epidemic of Influenza That Afflicted Our City," November 1918, Hathi Trust, http://hdl.handle.net/2027/emu.010002585873.

[86] For in depth conceptualization of these processes, see: David A. Snow et al., "Frame Alignment Processes, Micromobilization, and Movement Participation," *American Sociological Review* 51, no. 4 (1986): 464–81, https://doi.org/10.2307/2095581.

and galvanize the New Negro movement.[87] By affirming their nationality through the familiar discourses, the rights of Blacks as participating citizens of the country were further legitimized.

Framing encourages a group of people to see individual relative deprivation or rising expectations as collective sentiments. During the pandemic, for example, Black doctors and nurses had rising expectations because of being able to treat patients regardless of skin color for the first time. These expectations specific to individual medical professionals were framed, by Black leaders, as expectations that all Black professionals should have.[88]

In practice, framing works on the two dimensions of ideologies. It attempts to build consensus around epistemic beliefs, while trying to encourage certain forms of action. In some cases, collective violence is framed as the appropriate action to take. Leaders of the New Negro movement worked hard to build epistemic consensus around the morality of racial equality and the collective rising expectations of Blacks following WWI. They also promoted violent collective action, in the form of self-defense and resistance as viable behaviors to protect those beliefs.

Framing is successful once its frames become embedded in target ideologies so that social events are automatically interpreted by adherents of the ideology in the ways promoted by the frames. In this sense, framing can be seen as one of the processes through which ideologies are constructed and evolve.

While framing influences the development of ideologies from within the symbolic realm, ideologies also evolve as a result of exogenous change. Disruptions to normal patterns of social interaction can change epistemic meaning or behavioral guidance in ideologies.[89] During the pandemic, the scale and horror of death caused a disruption to normal life that desensitized people to violence. Epistemically, violence became a normal part of their environment. This may have impacted likelihood of violent behavior.

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[87] William Edward Burghardt Du Bois, "Editorial: Resolutions of the Washington Conference," *The Crisis*, June 1917, 59, Hathi Trust; Johnson and Wilson, *The Selected Writings of James Weldon Johnson*, 1:226.

[88] E.g., John P. Turner, "Epidemic Influenza and the Negro Physician," *Journal of the National Medical Association* 10, no. 4 (1918): 184.

[89] These large-scale societal disruptions and their impact on collective behavior has been discussed at length in collective action literature, under the concept of 'Breakdown'. There is no space in this paper to conceptualize this, but for more on the topic see: David Snow et al., "Disrupting the 'Quotidian': Reconceptualizing the Relationship Between Breakdown and the Emergence of Collective Action," *Mobilization: An International Quarterly* 3, no. 1 (1998): 1–22, https://doi.org/10.17813/maiq.3.1.n41nv8m267572r30; Bert Useem, "Breakdown Theories of Collective Action," *Annual Review of Sociology* 24, no. 1 (1998): 215–38, https://doi.org/10.1146/annurev.soc.24.1.215.

To examine the cognitive component of collective action, the paper attempts to understand the ideological underpinnings of society. As such, qualitative evaluations of publicly read or heard material of the time, such as newspapers and speeches, are made in the context of an ideology analysis. For framing, the paper uses texts produced by influential leaders or movement groups. Furthermore, as this is a cognitive process, where possible, personal accounts are examined for ideological information.

Ideologies, discourses, and framing are the concepts that enable us to understand the processes by which individual relative deprivation and rising expectation becomes viewed as collective and the decision to take collective action - sometimes in the form of collective violence – is taken. But what are the structures that enable individuals to carry out this collective action once this decision is taken?

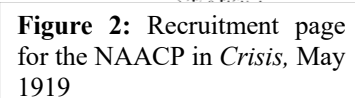## The Collective Component: Networks

Without enough people there cannot be a collective. Detractors of relative deprivation theory take issue with the overly individual explanation for collective action, arguing that resources of movements, such as group solidarity, financial support, knowledge and available bodies to carry out a protest, were what determined the instance of collective action.[90] The common denominator of these resources is networks.

A precondition of collective action is strong networks: the stronger the network ties the more easily they are activated for collective action. McCarthy offers a typology of these networks. They range from formal to informal. Though some of the networks are constructed with political mobilization in mind, they need not be politically oriented to be activated and directed towards collective action. On the formal side, there are recognized institutions or organizations such as social movement organizations (political) or churches (not overtly political). On the informal side, friends and family (not overtly political) as well as affinity groups (political) can be mobilized for collective action.[91] During the

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[90] Mario Diani and Donatella della Porta, *Social Movements: An Introduction* (Hoboken, United Kingdom: John Wiley & Sons, Incorporated, 2006), 14–16,
http://ebookcentral.proquest.com/lib/gla/detail.action?docID=239854.

[91] John D. McCarthy, "Constraints and Opportunities in Adopting, Adapting, and Inventing," in *Comparative Perspectives on Social Movements: Political Opportunities, Mobilizing Structures, and Cultural Framings*, ed. Doug McAdam, John D. McCarthy, and Mayer N. Zald, Cambridge Studies in Comparative Politics (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), 145, https://doi.org/10.1017/CBO9780511803987.008.

pandemic, the outpouring of volunteering mixed formal and informal networks as charity associations worked with communities to increase and strengthen local network ties.

The more politically oriented networks are channels of legitimization, representation and advocacy at the level of governance. For example, the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) provided Blacks with a focal point through which to organize militant activism and legal defenses.[92] As an officially sanctioned organization, it imbued the issue of racial inequality with a degree of legitimacy.

The NAACP also worked to recruit people to their cause at a macro level; however, recruitment also occurs in the less politically oriented informal networks, which are sometimes even more effective. McAdam refers to these as "micromobilization contexts".[93] These networks are often

Figure 2: Recruitment page for the NAACP in *Crisis,* May 1919

based on pre-existing associational or community ties made strong by common interests or group solidarity.[94] The reason for their importance is that close social ties facilitate the sharing of knowledge which, in turn, facilitates invitations to join a cause and increases exposure to its ideals.[95] In reaction to the White mobs forming in Longview, for example, Dr. Davis, who was a prominent member of the Black community, was able to draw on his close ties to recruit a group of community members to help successfully defend him against the mobs.

Strong network ties are only one precondition which affects the probability of a network being mobilized. Oberschall points to another aspect of network mobilization: segmentation. He argues that collective action is more likely to occur when there are not only strong ties *within* a given network, but also when the ties *between* opposing networks are weak. The lack of integration makes it easier to oppose a group that is acting against

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[92] McWhirter, *Red Summer*, 31–39.

[93] Doug McAdam, "Micromobilization Contexts and Recruitment to Activism," in *From Structure to Action: Comparing Social Movement Research across Cultures*, ed. Bert Klandermans, International Social Movement Research 1 (Greenwich, Conn. u.a: JAI, 1989), 125–54.

[94] Melucci, "15. Mobilization and Political Participation," 291.

[95] Thomas V. Maher and Jennifer Earl, "Barrier or Booster? Digital Media, Social Networks, and Youth Micromobilization," *Sociological Perspectives* 62, no. 6 (December 1, 2019): 869–70, https://doi.org/10.1177/0731121419867697.

the network.[96] For instance, during the pandemic medical aid was segregated along racial lines. This meant that although community aid efforts strengthened ties within respective groups, they were weakened between them, engendering network segmentation.

While the original purpose of a network may not matter for the purpose of mobilization for other aims, the original activities of the network may impact the alternative type of collective action that is undertaken. For our discussion this has implications on the likelihood of a network's mobilization being violent. WWI, for example, created numerous networks of soldiers whose activities were disciplined and violent. During the riot in Bisbee, these networks became active for an alternative cause, the defense of their rights, but they fell into a pattern of violent action familiar to them through their time on the battlefield.

Like the individual and cognitive components of collective action, networks are affected by changes in the environment. Large-scale change can completely alter the configuration of networks. A consequence of change brought about by WWI was the so-called, 'Great Migration' of southern Blacks to the north of the US. In many cities, social associations were set up or grew in size to help Blacks find jobs and housing, thereby creating and strengthening network ties.[97]

Uncovering informal network ties from over a century ago are beyond the scope of this paper, which instead focuses on networks that are identified through references to formal organizations. Network ties are assumed between members of the same organization, though these may be segmented, if, for example the organization is segregated. This was the case for volunteering associations, such as the Red Cross. Using primary and secondary sources, evidence of network cooperation or segmentation is found by pinpointing community initiatives, social club activities, and mobilizations related to WWI.

Collective Action Framework

[96] Anthony Oberschall, *Social Conflict and Social Movements*, Prentice-Hall Series in Sociology (Englewood Cliffs., N.J: Prentice-Hall, 1973), 119–21.

[97] Thomas J Sugrue, *Sweet Land of Liberty: The Forgotten Struggle for Civil Rights in the North* (New York: Random House, 2009), 46–47, https://search.ebscohost.com/login.aspx?authtype=ip,sso&custid=s4392798&direct=true&scope=site&db=nlebk&db=nlabk&AN=743858.

Three components of collective action have been outlined. The individual component is characterized by relative deprivation and rising expectations. These are the underlying drivers of emotion, which, if strong enough, can produce action. The cognitive component rationalizes the emotions through the prism of ideology and dictates the appropriate type of action in the given case. Here, individual relative deprivation or rising expectations may be interpreted as collective relative deprivation and rising expectations. This collective view may motivate people to collectivize to resolve individual emotions. This is where the collective component is necessary. It provides the network ties through which mobilization is possible.

The likelihood of violent collective action is dependent on each component. At the individual level, the more intense the relative deprivation, the more likely the action to resolve it is violent. At a cognitive level, the behavioral dimension of ideologies is what prescribes collective violence as an appropriate form of action. Yet, this is influenced by the epistemic dimension. If violence is epistemically viewed as a part of everyday life, then violent behavior is more likely to be chosen. At a collective level, the probability of violence is related to the activities that the network is used to performing. If the activities are usually violent then it is more likely that when mobilizing for other purposes the collective action would take the form of collective violence.

Each component is affected by exogenous change. As relative deprivation and rising expectations are dependent on environmental conditions, they increase and decrease as these conditions change. Disruptions to the everyday routines affect the cognitive component because they shift the meaning of what is deemed as normal. The collective component is affected by changes that alter the composition of networks.

The remainder of the paper applies this theoretical framework to uncover the influence the exogenous change brought on by 1918 pandemic had on the collective violence that occurred the following summer.

Chapter 1: How did factors, other than the pandemic, influence the configuration of the components of Black and White collective action ahead of the Red Summer?

This chapter briefly traces the development of race relations since the end of the American Civil War, isolating some of the main factors that influenced the likelihood of Black and White collective action ahead of the Red Summer.[98] The main factors discussed are the effect of sustained southern racial terror on the normalization of collective violence against Blacks and the subsequent oppression of Blacks through legal segregation and disenfranchisement; ideological racism maintained by scientific discourse and the impact on Black health; Black activism and the creation of counter-hegemonic ideologies that challenge White supremacy; and the effect modernization had on spreading collective racial violence outside the south. Then WWI, its framing by Black leaders and the demographic shifts it generated is addressed.[99] The section ends with a concise answer to the title-question.

Pre-1914 Factors

After the American Civil War of 1861-1865, approximately 90% of Blacks lived in southern, ex-confederate states.[100] In the so-called 'Reconstruction' years immediately following the war and the abolition of slavery, southern Blacks gained legal citizenship and voting rights. Indeed, the federal government promoted Black integration by funding large-scale infrastructural projects, establishing public schools, universities and hospitals accessible to newly freed Blacks.[101] Nevertheless, their newfound enfranchisement was gradually but completely stripped from them by the end of the century.

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[98] There is limited space to do an extensive historical overview so this paper only looks at a few of the many possible explanatory factor for the red summer riots.

[99] See Appendix, Timeline of Events for a timeline of relevant events.

[100] Author's own calculation with figures from Joseph C. G. Kennedy, "Population of the United States in 1860; Compiled from the Original Returns of the Eighth Census Under the Direction of the Secretary of the Interior," Census (Washington, D.C.: Bureau of the Census, 1864), 9, https://www.census.gov/library/publications/1864/dec/1860a.html.

[101] W. Michael Byrd and Linda A. Clayton, *An American Health Dilemma: A Medical History of African Americans and the Problem of Race: Beginnings To 1900* (London, United Kingdom: Taylor & Francis Group, 2000), 324, http://ebookcentral.proquest.com/lib/gla/detail.action?docID=171559.

Though laws had changed, epistemic ideological notions about the inferiority of Blacks remained dominant. Southern White relative deprivation at having to share political power and pay their workers when before they did not have to was easily blamed on Black enfranchisement. This interpretation of their relative deprivation coalesced with behavioral norms - rooted in the decentralized nature of criminal justice - that condoned collective violence as a form of punishment for deviancy.[102] This ideological interaction provided the moral justification for routinizing racial collective violence as a legitimate form of action in a campaign to 'redeem the south'.[103] Carried out through reformed confederate army networks, groups such as the Ku Klux Klan, helped eliminate Black suffrage and impose 'Jim Crow' segregation laws in the South.[104]

Adding to this, scientific discourses of the time - expanding Darwinian logic onto sociology - distinguished between different categories of human and assumed hierarchical rankings for them. Invariably, Blacks were assigned to the lower classes.[105] In this ideological context, health discrimination was rampant, and among many White doctors, "the thinking was that it was futile even to try to rescue Black health."[106] Consequently, under the gradual imposition of Jim Crow oppression in the later decades of the 19th century, health racism readily became institutionalized.[107]

In this context, Blacks were disproportionately affected by disease.[108] In his statistical survey of Black health, commissioned by the Prudential Life Insurance Company, Frederick Hoffman argued that it was the immoral behavior and inferior race traits of

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[102] This behavior was rooted in the lack of centralized justice systems that existed in America following their independence, meaning that crime was often dealt with at a local level with justice administered by residents and characterized by opinion, self-help and ad hoc law enforcement practices, and the toleration of extralegal violence. Michael J. Pfeifer, *The Roots of Rough Justice: Origins of American Lynching* (Baltimore, United States: University of Illinois Press, 2011), 5, http://ebookcentral.proquest.com/lib/gla/detail.action?docID=3413885.

[103] Perman, *Struggle for Mastery*, 20–27.

[104] Perman, 316–22.

[105] See: Herbert Spencer, *The Study of Sociology* (London, United Kingdom: Henry S. King, 1873); Michael Hawkins and Mike Hawkins, *Social Darwinism in European and American Thought, 1860-1945: Nature as Model and Nature as Threat* (Cambridge University Press, 1997), 82–115.

[106] Edward H. Beardsley, *A History of Neglect: Health Care for Blacks and Mill Workers in the Twentieth-Century South* (Univ. of Tennessee Press, 1990), 12.

[107] Byrd and Clayton, *An American Health Dilemma*, 330.

[108] For example, at the turn of the century, tuberculosis was one of the top three causes of death in the African American population. While it was a disease that affected the poor generally, Black mortality was almost always higher than White. Samuel Kelton Roberts, *Infectious Fear: Politics, Disease, and the Health Effects of Segregation* (Chapel Hill, United States: University of North Carolina Press, 2009), 4, http://ebookcentral.proquest.com/lib/gla/detail.action?docID=454830.

Blacks that resulted in their poor health.[109] Bolstered by Hoffman's use of scientific discourse, Prudential was able to argue for the un-insurability of Blacks and successfully lobby for the dismissal of state bills forbidding insurance prejudice. This continued the vicious cycle of health discrimination and reinforced the ideological viability of segregation.[110]

In this state of physical and ideological oppression, Blacks in the south felt deprived. However, in the decades following the Reconstruction, having just been freed from slavery, they did not have the networks nor the cognitive grounding to mobilize against the oppression collectively. In the last decade of the 19th century, influential Black leaders - many graduating from colleges established during the Reconstruction - began constructing new counter-hegemonic frameworks around collective Black identities and the moral principal of racial equality.[111] Ida B. Wells, Booker T. Washington, and W.E.B. Du Bois provided new cognitive frames with to challenge White supremacy, though each varied in their degree of confrontation.

Using familiar journalistic discourses, Wells challenged the legitimacy of prevailing ideological views about the danger and criminality of Blacks through her investigations on lynching, which found that Blacks were lynched more because of their skin color than their alleged crimes.[112] Wells was an early proponent of Black armed self-defense, arguing "a Winchester rifle should have a place of honor in every Black home, and it should be used for that protection which the law refuses to give."[113]

Washington was more restrained in his challenge to White supremacy arguing that while Black and White should eventually be equal, Blacks need to take steps to reach that level, starting at the bottom and not permitting their grievances to overshadow opportunities.[114]

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[109] Frederick L. Hoffman, "The Race Traits and Tendencies of the American Negro," *Publications of the American Economic Association* 11, no. 1/3 (1896): 95.

[110] Gamble, ""There Wasn't a Lot of Comforts in Those Days."

[111] Ida B. Wells went to Rust College and Booker T. Washington attended Hampton Institute. Both higher education institutions were set up to service freed Blacks during the Reconstruction. Paula Giddings, *Ida: A Sword among Lions*, Ebook (Harper-Collins, 2009), 37, https://www.overdrive.com/search?q=BA418E3D-3FCC-4745-A637-880D7D81011F; Kenneth Marvin Hamilton, *Booker T. Washington in American Memory*, The New Black Studies Series (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2017), 4–5.

[112] Ida B. Wells-Barnett, *Southern Horrors: Lynch Law in All Its Phases*, EBook (The Project Gutenburg, 2005), https://www.gutenberg.org/files/14975/14975-h/14975-h.htm#SELF_HELP; Ida B. Wells-Barnett, *The Red Record: Tabulated Statistics and Alleged Causes of Lynching in the United States*, EBook (The Project Gutenburg, 2005), https://www.gutenberg.org/files/14977/14977-h/14977-h.htm#chap6.

[113] Wells-Barnett, *Southern Horrors: Lynch Law in All Its Phases*.

[114] Booker T. Washington, "Address of Booker T. Washington, Principal of the Tuskegee Normal and Industrial Institute, Tuskegee, Alabama: Delivered at the Opening of the Cotton States and International Exposition, at

Du Bois, for his part, set out to challenge Hoffman's theories about 'race traits' being the explanatory factor in the disparity in Black health. He argued that that, while there was a measurable tendency of Blacks to contract illness more regularly than Whites, this was due to their social conditions (cramped living; poor healthcare; malnutrition etc.) and not due to any inherent biological predisposition: it "is not a Negro affair, but an index of social condition."[115] Employing the same scientific discourses used to legitimize the biological inferiority of Blacks, Du Bois built consensus around an alternative way of thinking about Black health.

PROF. W. E. B. DUBOIS,
Sociologist and Writer, Atlanta, Ga.

Figure 3: A young W.E.B. Du Bois featuring in *A New Negro for an New Century* by Booker T. Washington

Racial uplift was not only advocated by Blacks. General Oliver Howard and Dr. George Hubbard were key not only to keeping medical training facilities for Blacks open, but to helping establish new ones. Reading the lack of interest in southern governance to address Black welfare, they and other Black physicians advocated for a "self-help" approach, which assumed, given the appropriate medical training, that Blacks would be responsible for their own social healthcare. By 1900, there were seven functioning Black medical schools and over 40 Black hospitals dotted around the country.[116] Within this context, Black doctors and nurses worked locally to organize Black healthcare and research through the establishment of Black oriented associations, such as the National Medical Association and the National Association for Graduate Nurses. Through the development of these structures, National Negro Health Week, became an annual event that had the purpose of educating the Black community on health.[117] These local efforts helped build stronger ties within the Black community. However, while these facilities were vital for the health of Black communities and the integration of Black

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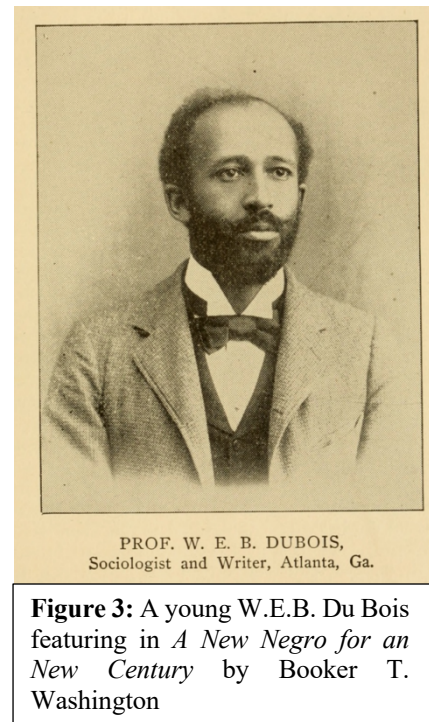
Atlanta, Ga.,; with a Letter of Congratulation from the President of the United States.," 1895, 8, Library of Congress, https://www.loc.gov/resource/lcrbmrp.t0c15/?sp=9.

[115] W. E. B. (William Edward Burghardt) Du Bois, *The Health and Physique of the Negro American. Report of a Social Study Made under the Direction of Atlanta University; Together with the Proceedings of the Eleventh Conference for the Study of the Negro Problems Held at Atlanta University, on May the 29th, 1906* (Atlanta, Ga.: Atlanta University Press, 1906), 89, http://archive.org/details/healthphysiqueof1906dubo.

[116] Byrd and Clayton, *An American Health Dilemma*, 331.

[117] Gamble, ""There Wasn't a Lot of Comforts in Those Days," 117–19.

networks, by separating from White involvement, they cemented racial segregation and increased network segmentation.

In the first decade of the century, as people left the countryside for urban centers, major riots occurred in cities in the north as well as south. Up until then racial violence happened mostly in rural south but Goldsby argues that the "cultural logic" of lynching infused itself with the new ways of understanding the world through experience that was increasingly organized through serial processes and events.[118] The ideologies that condoned racial violence, which were traditionally confined to the south, were, during a period of mass cultural production, replicated across the country and became part of the fabric of dominant American belief-systems. In other words, modernization did not end the antiquated mode of social control usually associated with the rural south, it actually reproduced it into the thinking patterns of modern urban citizens around the nation, resulting in riots in New York City, N.Y.; Atlanta, Ga.; Springfield, Ill.; Houston and Dallas, Tex.[119]

This spreading racial violence, which aggravated Black relative deprivation, motivated Du Bois, Wells and other equal rights activists to establish the NAACP in 1910. The organization adopted resolutions demanding the strict enforcement of civil rights, equal education opportunities and equal voting systems.[120] The official nature of the institution helped legitimize the problem of equal rights in both White and Black ideologies and began the creation of specifically Black-resistance networks. As WWI broke out in Europe, the NAACP became one of the foremost vehicles for Black militant protest in the US.[121]

Post-1914 Factors

Even before the US joined WWI, it was already having a major demographic impact. At the same time as the industrial requirements of sustaining modern warfare in Europe engendered a dramatic increase in demand for industrial production, the war also

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[118] Jacqueline Denise Goldsby, *A Spectacular Secret : Lynching in American Life and Literature* (Chicago, Illinois: University of Chicago Press, 2006), 22, http://archive.org/details/spectacularsecre0000gold.
[119] Shapiro, *White Violence and Black Response*, 93–118.
[120] NAACP, "Platform Adopted by the National Negro Committee" (National Negro Committee, New York, 1909), 1, www.loc.gov/exhibits/naacp/founding-and-early-years.html#obj10.
[121] Gilbert Jonas, *Freedom's Sword: The NAACP and the Struggle Against Racism in America, 1909-1969* (London, United Kingdom: Taylor & Francis Group, 2004), 13–14, http://ebookcentral.proquest.com/lib/gla/detail.action?docID=241879.

precipitated a drastic decline in the number of European immigrants coming to work in the US.[122] For the manufacturing cities of the North, this simultaneous supply shock and labor shortage spurred employers to send recruiters or "labor agents" to the south to encourage Black laborers to move to northern cities.[123] This initiated a mass exodus of the Black population from the south to northern industrial centers.[124] In total, the 1914-1918 period saw over 400,000 Blacks moving from the south to north, kickstarting what has come to be known as the first Great Migration.[125]

Figure 4: Advertisements in the *Chicago Defender* for jobs in the north

In many northern cities, social associations were set up or grew in size to help Blacks find jobs and housing.[126] The Urban League, for example, helped 55,000 Blacks get in touch with employers and landlords.[127] Southern migrants would write to the Urban League to get information.[128] These associations, thus, helped cultivate tight communities in the north and formalize Black cooperation across the country.

While these developments helped strengthen the country's Black communities, the influx of Black workers created competition on the labor and housing market in northern cities. Though the North was often credited as being more progressive in terms of race relations; as evidenced in the northern race riots of the early 20th century, racist ideologies still abounded. Therefore, relative deprivation among the White working class resulting from the increased competition was blamed on Blacks and responses to the migration were

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[122] For scale, in 1914, 1 million Europeans migrated to the US, but by 1918 the yearly number was only 110,000. Carole Marks, "Lines of Communication, Recruitment Mechanisms, and the Great Migration of 1916-1918," *Social Problems* 31, no. 1 (1983): 75, https://doi.org/10.2307/800410.

[123] Emmett J. Scott, *Negro Migration during the War*, Ebook (Project Gutenberg, 2009 (1919)), 37, https://www.gutenberg.org/files/29501/29501-h/29501-h.htm#page13.

[124] Marks, "Lines of Communication, Recruitment Mechanisms, and the Great Migration of 1916-1918," 76.

[125] Marks, 73.

[126] Sugrue, *Sweet Land of Liberty*, 46–47.

[127] Marks, "Lines of Communication, Recruitment Mechanisms, and the Great Migration of 1916-1918," 78.

[128] For example, one man asked if they would be able to direct him to a firm in need of brick layers, while another, on the behalf on a large group, inquired about desirable locations for "industrious workers". Scott, "Letters of Negro Migrants of 1916-1918," 301–2.

discriminatory.[129] As the *Chicago Tribune* stated, "One result of the war in Europe is that the Negro problem has moved north with a vengeance."[130]

In East St. Louis, where the percentage of the Black population almost doubled between 1900 and 1920,[131] these tensions reached a boiling point in 1917 in a riot that resulted in the deaths of at least 39 Blacks; several hundred more wounded and over 7000 displaced from their homes.[132]

As the debate around the possibility of America joining WWI erupted, Black voices emphasized the contradictions that spawned from such action.[133] In 1915, James Weldon Johnson pointed out the hypocrisy of Americans lamenting the loss of European heritage in the Reims bombing, while lynching in the south remained unacknowledged.[134] For him, the US was "preaching one thing and practicing another."[135] This framing challenged the legitimacy of the oppression of dominant ideologies by pointing out its flaws and built consensus around the counter-hegemonic morality of racial equality.

In spite of this criticism, as the apparent likelihood of the US joining the war effort increased, Black activists were, by and large, enthusiastic about Black men fighting in the war and contributing to American patriotism. The *Afro-American* stated that Black soldiers fighting in the war was the "biggest chance for the colored man since his emancipation from slavery."[136] In this vein, Black leaders embraced nationalist discourses. Johnson argued that, while many of the rights and privileges afforded to Blacks were denied, "America is the American Negro's country" and as a citizen of the country, he had a duty

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[129] Stewart E. Tolnay, "The African American 'Great Migration' and Beyond," *Annual Review of Sociology* 29 (2003): 221.

[130] Henry M. Hyde, "Half a Million Darkies from Dixie Swarm the North to Better Themselves," *Chicago Tribune*, July 8, 1917, Newspapers.com.

[131] In 1900, there were 1,799 Blacks in St. Louis composing 6.1% of the city's population; In 1920, there were 7,437 composing 11.1%. E. Dana Durand and WM. J. Harris, "Thirteenth Census of the United States Taken in the Year 1910," Census (Wahington D.C.: Bureau of the Census, 1913), 504, https://www2.census.gov/library/publications/decennial/1920/volume-3/41084484v3ch03.pdf; Sam. L. Rogers and W. M. Steuart, "Fourteenth Census of the United States Taken in the Year 1920," Census (Wahington D.C.: Bureau of the Census, 1922), 261, https://www.census.gov/library/publications/1922/dec/vol-03-population.html.

[132] Some estimates of the unofficial death count does as high as 500. Charles Lumpkins, Paul Finkelman, and L. Diane Barnes, *American Pogrom: The East St. Louis Race Riot and Black Politics* (Athens, United States: Ohio University Press, 2008), 126–27, http://ebookcentral.proquest.com/lib/gla/detail.action?docID=3026970.

[133] The Chicago Defender found that the US should not interfere in the affairs of other countries when it failed to keep law and order within its own borders. In this vein, the Savannah Tribune questioned how the US could pretend to know how to solve issues in Europe when its own issues remain unresolved. Jordan, *Black Newspapers and America's War for Democracy, 1914-1920*, 47.

[134] Jordan, 47.

[135] Johnson and Wilson, *The Selected Writings of James Weldon Johnson*, 1:226.

[136] "War Secretary Approves Negro Officers Camp," *Afro-American*, May 19, 1917, Google News.

to perform. Du Bois made a similar affirmation of loyalty arguing that "this country belongs to us even more than to those who lynch, disfranchise, and segregate."[137] These Black leaders appropriated the nationalistic discourse which would have been familiar with most Americans to build epistemic consensus around the idea of a Black person being an American citizen, who is thus deserving of the full rights that should be accorded to all American citizens.

Although Black soldiers were segregated and discriminated against during WWI, they were important for the equal rights movement for two reasons. First, they symbolized the equal capabilities of Blacks who were able to fight for their country just as proficiently as Whites. Second, trained Black soldiers provided strong network ties of disciplined veterans who would be prepared to use violence should a situation warrant it. In the words of Lentz-Smith, Black soldiers were at once "emblems and agents in this struggle."[138]

For these reasons, Senator Vardaman feared returning Black soldiers would have "their untutored minds inflated with military airs and impressed with the fact that since they had offered their lives in the defense of the Nation's flag, it will be but a short step to the conclusion that it is a freeman's duty to give his life in defense of his political rights."[139] In this Vardaman identified the possibility of Black soldiers having rising expectations. As WWI ended, Black leaders also recognized this possibility and sought to diffuse these expectations throughout the Black population. Anthony Josey for example, declared, "[the Black man] expects to be treated as a man in Mississippi as well as in Wisconsin...he expects for himself and his dear ones absolutely the same treatment accorded every other citizen."[140]

Though it had roots in pre-war Black discourse, it was through wartime and nationalist rhetoric and the return of Black soldiers that the 'New Negro' movement began to gain momentum.[141] As part of this movement, Black leaders prepared their followers cognitively to act on rising expectations and resist White pressure to return to pre-war racial hierarchies. Using familiar wartime discourse, *The Crisis* told its readers, the new year was going to be

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[137] Du Bois, "Editorial: Resolutions of the Washington Conference," 59.
[138] Lentz-Smith, *Freedom Struggles*, 4.
[139] "The Looking Glass: Women and Lynching," *The Crisis*, September 1919, 79, Hathi Trust.
[140] Krugler, *1919, the Year of Racial Violence*, 27.
[141] Anna Pochmara, *The Making of the New Negro: Black Authorship, Masculinity, and Sexuality in the Harlem Renaissance*, American Studies (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2011), 50–54; Krugler, *1919, the Year of Racial Violence*, 23.

one of reconstruction in which Black Americans would need to fight on their own western front and push forward with steadier hearts than ever before.[142]

For adherents of mainstream White supremacist ideologies, Blacks acting on their aspirations of being more equal in society contradicted their views of what was appropriate behavior for Blacks. Furthermore, relative deprivation was growing in the working population as abruptly discharged troops flooded the labor market just as demand for wartime industrial production waned, engendering fierce competition.[143] Consequently, Whites across the North and South began taking collective action and sometimes violence to assert the continued dominance of White hegemony. In Pittsburg, the Klan placarded Black houses with signs saying, "The war is over, Negroes. Stay in your place. If you don't, we'll put you there."[144] In Alabama, the governor hosted a secret meeting to discuss how to deal with returning Black soldiers.[145] In Chicago, bombs were hurled at the homes of Blacks.[146]

These types of White supremacist actions at the start of the year confirmed the suspicions of Black leaders that their rights were not going to be handed to them. In response, Du Bois published his famous call to arms, "Returning Soldiers", in which he wrote, "We return. / We return from fighting. / We return fighting. / Make way for Democracy! We saved it in France, and by the Great Jehovah, we will save it in the United States of America, or know the reason why."[147] In this way, Du Bois - one of the foremost New Negroes - built on past counter-hegemonic frames legitimizing armed self-defense and framed violent resistance as a necessity not only to protect Black lives, but to defend democracy and the social gains Black Americans had made in since WWI.

How did factors, other than the pandemic, influence the configuration of the components of Black and White collective action ahead of the Red Summer?

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[142] "Editorial: Old Desires," *The Crisis*, January 1919, 111, Hathi Trust.
[143] Albert T. Lauterbach, "Economic Demobilization in the United States after the First World War," *Political Science Quarterly* 57, no. 4 (1942): 514–15, https://doi.org/10.2307/2144754.
[144] "Klu Klux Klan in Pennsylvania," *Phoenix Tribune*, March 22, 1919, Chronicling America: Historic American Newspapers, Library of Congress.
[145] Captain F. Sullens to Major Brown, Office of the Chief of Staff, November 30, 1918, Case File 10218–289–1, RG 165, copy in box 1, reel 5, Kornweibel Papers, cited in, Krugler, *1919, the Year of Racial Violence*, 48.
[146] "Negro Homes Are Bombarded," *The Lake County Times*, March 20, 1919, Chronicling America: Historic American Newspapers, Library of Congress.
[147] Du Bois, "Opinion: Returning Soldiers."

Starting with the probability of White collective action: the individual component was influenced by demographic shifts. In a first instance, during the Great Migration, the influx of Black workers into working places previously dominated by Whites caused relative deprivation in White workers in northern cities. In East St. Louis these tensions resulted in a violent race riot. In a second instance this relative deprivation was aggravated - increasing the probability of violence - as discharged veterans flooded the already competitive job market at a time when industrial demand was diminishing.

The cognitive component of White collective action was molded by a tradition of racism in which Blacks were epistemically inferior. The behavioral dimension was influenced by the evolution of racial mob violence during the so-called 'Southern Redemption' from a reaction to changes in the system appropriated from traditional vigilante justice practices to an embedded and normalized pattern of action against the slightest deviant behavior on the part of a Black person.[148] In the first decade of the new century, this cultural racial violence expanded to urban centers, north and south.

Confederate networks from the Civil War, trained to be violent, developed and matured resurfacing during the Southern Redemption in the form of the Ku Klux Klan. Many of these ties persisted into the first decades of the new century. The collective component was also impacted by the creation of networks of WWI soldiers who were used to violence.

These factors influenced the components of White collective action in a way that aggravated relative deprivation, made violent collective action against Blacks seem ideologically appropriate behavior, and strengthened violent network ties. As such, the probability of violent collective action, particularly against Blacks, was increased by these factors.

Now, for the likelihood of Black collective action: Having been freed from slavery following the American Civil War, Blacks may have had rising expectations during the Reconstruction. These were wiped away by the White campaign of racial violence following the Reconstruction, which resulted in the removal of Black voting rights and legal segregation. This return to oppression contrasted with their rising expectations, making the relative deprivation more acute. Ahead of the Red Summer, WWI had provided Blacks with another reason to raise expectations: Black soldiers were being sent to war to

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[148] The 'Southern Redemption' is the term used by some historians to refer to the period of targeted racial violence in the South following the Reconstruction. It is taken from White supremacists political slogans from the time. Perman, *Struggle for Mastery*.

fight at more equal footing with Whites. However, the continued racial violence following WWI contrasted with these expectations, engendering acute relative deprivation, and increasing the likelihood of violent action.

Since the end of 19th century, Black leaders had been constructing counter-hegemonic ideologies through which to challenge the domination of White supremacy. These leaders appropriated nationalist discourses during WWI to infuse these ideologies with more legitimacy. Indeed, Black leaders built consensus around the collective nature of Black wartime rising expectations. Through New Negro narratives, Black leaders motivated Blacks to act on these rising expectations. Furthermore, these narratives worked to normalize violent resistance in the behavioral dimension of these ideologies.

The collective component of Black collective action was influenced by societal segregation. Notably in the health sector, Black communities were responsible for their own welfare. Reliance on their own community increased and strengthened Black network ties, but the separation with White networks engendered network segmentation. These ties were supplemented by returning Black veteran networks used to being disciplined and violent.

The components of Black collective action were influenced so that Blacks' rising expectations contrasted with their reality, creating strong relative deprivation and possibly violent reactions to it. Cognitively, Black leaders and the New Negro movement were preparing Blacks for violent collective action to defend their social gains. Local Black networks were strengthened and made more violent by returning veterans as they separated from White networks. The probability of collective violence, particularly in defense of Black social gains, was increased by these factors.

Chapter 2: How did the pandemic impact the configuration of the components of collective action for Black and White Americans before the Red Summer?

This section investigates in detail how the 1918 Influenza affected the configuration of the components of collective action in American race relations. In the overview of the 1918 Influenza, after briefly describing the pandemic's spread across the US and Europe, the section investigates the general impact it had on American society and the influence this had on people's cognitive relationship to violence. Focusing on the second and most devastating wave of the pandemic, the investigation goes on to show how the large-scale disruption it caused had a significant impact on race relations.[149] In particular, it explores the consequences of the apparent disparity in infection rates between Blacks, who were less affected, and Whites; it shows how the health crisis was used to justify restrictions which disproportionately affected Blacks; it discusses the outpouring of volunteerism and how it was differentiated between racial groups; it looks at how Blacks had to rely ever more on their community structures to get through the crisis; and lastly, it explores the rising expectations of Black medical professionals who were allowed to work side-by-side with White medics. Following the overview is an analysis which reads the impact of the pandemic through the theoretical framework, isolating its effect on each component of collective action. The section concludes with a concise answer to the question of the chapter.

Overview of the 1918 Influenza

Though the origins of the Influenza pandemic have been debated over the years, it probably first passed through the in the US in the spring of 1918. While the spring wave infected people in significant numbers, the impact was relatively mild at that stage, and with America's fresh involvement in WWI, there was much more to occupy the minds of the public.[150] Nevertheless, as soldiers from infected camps made their way across the sea,

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[149] There were at least three discernable waves of the Influenza, the most devastating of which between September and November in the US. Crosby, *America's Forgotten Pandemic*.

[150] The 1919 annual report of the US Navy lists 18 outbreaks that occurred in their US locations from February until March. The largest was at Mare Island, California, where 450 men – two thirds of the ship's company –

outbreaks occurred with increasing frequency in the armies of Europe and then in the rest of the population.[151] The pandemic spread across Europe in the summer of 1918 and acquired the name, 'Spanish Flu'.[152]

In the US, however, the spring wave of the flu had subsided, and the summer months passed with little attention paid to the epidemic that was spreading and mutating overseas.[153] Then at the end of August at the Commonwealth Pier in Boston, three Navy men fell ill. Within a week the disease spread outside the city to the troops of Camp Devens.[154] Over the course of America's participation in WWI, one in five soldiers contracted Influenza and over 40,000 of them would die of pneumonic complications - over a third of total deaths.[155] In total, the published death tolls in the US would be 675,000 while the worldwide fatalities are estimated to be between 50 and 100 million.[156] Taking deathrate for the year 2020 as the rate of annual fatalities, COVID-19 would have to continue for at least 25 years to reach the levels Influenza reached in a few months.[157]
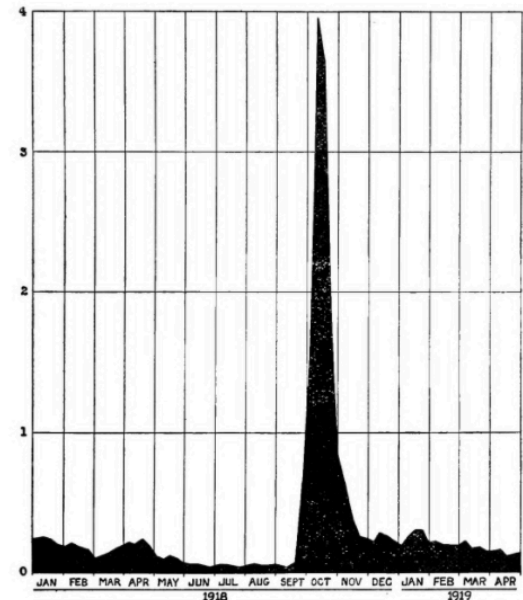

Diagram 56.—Deaths per 1,000 soldiers each week in the United States, showing effect of influenza epidemic.

Figure 5: Graph taken from Ayers's statistical summary of America's experience in the war, showing the spike of death in the army between September and December 1918.

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were infected. Even more remarkable, in March alone, over a thousand employees of the Ford Motor Company, in Detroit, were sent home from the factory with influenza. It was estimated that those sent home represented half of the total cases in the factory. Epidemics also broke out in small towns, in San Quentin prison and, consequentially, in at least 14 army camps around the country. US Navy, *Annual Reports of the Navy Department for the Fiscal Year 1919* (Washington DC: Govt. Print. Off., 1920), 2423–25, https://babel.hathitrust.org/cgi/pt?id=coo.31924065924502&view=1up&seq=2822; Crosby, *America's Forgotten Pandemic*, 18–19.

[151] Crosby, *America's Forgotten Pandemic*, 25–32.

[152] As a neutral bystander in WWI, news reporting was less censored in Spain than in belligerent nations: Because Spanish newspapers were some of the first to report on the disease, people thought it originated from there. Barry, *The Great Influenza*, 75.

[153] Crosby, *America's Forgotten Pandemic*, 17.

[154] Crosby, 4; Byerly, "The U.S. Military and the Influenza Pandemic of 1918–1919," 86.

[155] Leonard P. Ayers, *The War with Germany;a Statistical Summary,* 2d. ed., (Washington DC.: Govt. Print. Off., 1919), 123-125, http://hdl.handle.net/2027/yale.39002041811218; Lieutenant Colonel Joseph F. Siler, *The Medical Department during the World War: Communicable and Other Diseases*, ed. Major General M. W. Ireland, vol. 9 (Washington DC.: Govt. Print. Off., 1928), 67, https://collections.nlm.nih.gov/ext/kirtasbse/14120390RX9/PDF/14120390RX9.pdf.

[156] Johnson and Mueller, "Updating the Accounts," 114.

[157] Author's calculation from figures in, "Coronavirus Death Toll and Trends," Worldometer, 2021, https://www.worldometers.info/coronavirus/coronavirus-death-toll/.

Influenza was not a new disease. In fact, it was and still is one of the most common illnesses affecting 3%-11% of the US population every year.[158] The usual symptoms include a fever and a cough with patients mostly recovering within 10 days. A minute number of cases, principally in old or young patients, result in respiratory complications which can be fatal. The 1918 Influenza was different in at least three ways from the more common forms. First, it was multiple orders of magnitude more contagious, meaning that even if the death rate was not much higher than past bouts of the disease, the aggregate death toll was correlatively greater. Second, mortality rates were highest in the working-age population – normally the healthiest group. Third, the complications resulting from infection were, in many cases, more severe, leading to faster and more gruesome, disturbing deaths. These characteristics of the virus caused enormous disruption to American life and society.

The pandemic exacerbated changes brought on by the societal breakdown of WWI and produced its own brand of disruption. It affected all aspects of societal infrastructure and caused a collapse of public and emergency services. The highly elevated morbidity of the disease meant that medical facilities and hospitals were overwhelmed by the flow of patients.[159]

The Influenza incapacitated large portions of the population all at once as people quarantined and recovered. Considering many of these people were of working age, there were large numbers of work absentees. This meant that essential services such as phone operating and the running of home utilities were not carried out properly.[160] Thus, at the same time as there was a spike in demand for functioning social and medical infrastructure, there was a drop in the availability of working age people who could supply it.

The vicious cycle was exacerbated by America's participation in WWI. The country and its leaders had to balance the requirements of managing a pandemic at home alongside the

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[158] "Key Facts About Influenza (Flu) | CDC," Centre for Disease Control and Prevention, December 10, 2020, https://www.cdc.gov/flu/about/keyfacts.htm.

[159] Some hospitals did not have the staff to deal with the number of patients, so in many locations, urgent appeals were made in newspapers asking for nurses and doctors. Other hospitals were simply too full and had to send patients away. "Albany Hospital in Need of Nurses," *Albany Evening Journal*, October 28, 1918, Influenza Encyclopedia; "Must Have More Nurses At City Flu Hospital," *Spokane Daily Chronicle*, December 3, 1918, Influenza Encyclopedia, https://quod.lib.umich.edu/f/flu/1010flu.0011.101/1/--must-have-more-nurses-at-city-flu-hospital?rgn=title;view=image;q1=hospital; "With City Hospital Unable To Care For More Influenza, Situation Is Alarming," *Worcester Daily Telegram*, September 24, 1918, Influenza Encyclopedia; "City Hospital Full; 50 Calls Turned Down," *Nashville Tennessean*, October 2, 1918, Influenza Encyclopedia.

[160] Wilmer Krusen, "Director Krusen Orders Curtailment of Telephone Service," *Monthly Bulletin of The Department of Public Health and Charities of the City of Philadelphia*, November 1, 1918, Influenza Encyclopedia; "About Gas Bill Errors," *The Broad Ax.*, November 30, 1918, Chronicling America: Historic American Newspapers, Library of Congress.

interests of their campaign on the western front, which often clashed.[161] Indeed, the most devasting wave of the Influenza coincided precisely with America's largest battle in WWI, the Meuse-Argonne offensive, which started on September 26th, 1918 and lasted up to capitulation of the Germans on 11th November.[162] With a significant portion of medical staff sent overseas to aid the wounded of WWI, in many cities there were not enough physicians or nurses to provide adequate care to the sick.[163]

In attempts to curb the spread of the virus, states imposed varying restrictions on social activity. In most cities, bars, saloons, theatre venues were forcibly shut. Schools closed, and churches were no longer allowed to congregate.[164] This extreme stress on societal infrastructure and emergency services, exacerbated by WWI and the intensified government restrictions disrupted routinized patterns action and forced changes in social behavior, which impacted each component of collective action.

In addition to changing behavior, the pandemic impacted the way people thought. Because of the high infection rate, deaths soared. There were over 700 times more deaths during the weeks of the pandemic than average.[165] While the idea of death of otherwise healthy members of the community might have been something the average American mind would have grown accustomed to during America's participation in WWI, it had not been experienced within the safety of the country. As a result, when the pandemic hit and people were faced with death on an unprecedented scale, in particularly horrific circumstances and within the confines of their homes or neighborhoods, it was a shock.

The fact that people were dying faster than they could be buried was not forgotten by survivors. Army Doctor, Victor Vaughan wrote in his memoir, "In the morning the dead

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[161] For instance, one of the main ways of financing the war was selling bonds or liberty loans. To promote these bonds, cities hosted massive parades. Cities such as Boston and Philadelphia went on with the parades, despite the epidemic and were punished with severe spikes in cases. In other locations, the loan drives were put on hold, limiting the amount of bonds bought. Davis, *More Deadly than War*, 59; "Disorganize Women's Work," *The Topeka State Journal*, October 11, 1918, 5, Chronicling America: Historic American Newspapers, Library of Congress.

[162] Russell Freedman, *The War to End All Wars*, Ebook (New York: Houghton Mifflin Harcourt, 2013), 242, https://api.overdrive.com/v1/collections/v1L1BigAAAA2t/products/a395beaf-8bb2-4336-8eee-4008bbe04d85.

[163] "Red Cross Makes Urgent Appeal for Ottawa Nurses," *Free Trader-Journal*, October 30, 1918, Chronicling America: Historic American Newspapers, Library of Congress.

[164] "City Schools Close On Account Of Epidemic," *Nashville Tennessean*, October 9, 1918, Influenza Encyclopediacity; "Schools Close in Boston Because of Grip Situation," *Newark Evening News*, September 24, 1918, Influenza Encyclopedia; "To Be No Let Up In Restrictions," *Fall River Evening Herald*, October 17, 1918, Influenza Encyclopedia; "Kern Health Board Orders Restrictions," *Los Angeles Times*, October 27, 1918, Influenza Encyclopedia; Crosby, *America's Forgotten Pandemic*, 74.

[165] PBS, "American Experience: Influenza 1918," 2018, https://www.pbs.org/wgbh/americanexperience/films/influenza/.

bodies are stacked about the morgue like cord wood."[166] William Sardo remembers how the living and dining area of his family-run funeral home was occupied by caskets, "it was all very eerie."[167] This complete shift in circumstances was summed up by one correspondent, "The whole world seems up-side-down. So many people around here have died, and so many are sick."[168]

It was not just the scale of death that was shocking; the sudden, painful and visually disturbing manner in which Influenza victims passed left a distinct impression on witnesses. Sardo claims that one could be healthy in the morning and dead by nightfall.[169] During the rapid death, patients would turn different shades of blue and grey as they attempted to breath, asphyxiated by fluid-filled lungs. Nurse Millard wrote in her diary "When they die, as about half of them do, they turn a ghastly dark grey and are taken out at once and cremated."[170] The gruesome manner of death ingrained itself into the mind of observers. One doctor recounted his experience, "After gasping for several hours they became delirious and incontinent, and many died struggling to clear their airways of a blood-tinged froth that sometimes gushed from their nose and mouth. It was a dreadful business."[171] Doctor Vaughan remembered the distressing cough bringing up bloodstained sputum - "the picture painted on my memory cells."[172] As Johnson argues, "To see someone turn blue or even a dark purple and die is not an image easily lost, even in a world where death may have been much more part of life than is the case now."[173] These disturbing images imprinting themselves in the cognitive realm would have changed ideological notions of death, making it much more prominent as a fixture of a society in which death of soldiers across the sea was already familiar. Rev. Grimké, a Black leader in Washington, explained

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[166] Victor C. Vaughan, *A Doctor's Memories* (United States: The Bobbs Merrill Company, 1926), 384, https://archive.org/details/doctorsmemories013852mbp/page/n7/mode/2up.

[167] Appearing in Kenner, "1918 Influenza."

[168] Letter from Sam to Clara [no date]. Army Experiences Questionnaire Collection, World War One Research Project, Herbert Greenfelder Collection, 84th Division, 325th Field Artillery, HQ Company, U.S. Army Military History Institute, Carlisle Barracks, Carlisle, Pennsylvania, quoted in Nancy K. Bristow, "'It's as Bad as Anything Can Be': Patients, Identity, and the Influenza Pandemic," *Public Health Reports* 125, no. Suppl 3 (2010): 134–44.

[169] Kenner, "1918 Influenza."

[170] Millard, *I Saw Them Die*, 30.

[171] Isaac Starr, "Influenza in 1918: Recollections of the Epidemic in Philadelphia," *Annals of Internal Medicine* 145, no. 2 (2006): 139.

[172] Vaughan, *A Doctor's Memories*, 384.

[173] Niall Johnson, *Britain and the 1918-19 Influenza Pandemic: A Dark Epilogue.* (Routledge, 2015), 117.

how while the pandemic lasted "it kept the thought of death and of eternity constantly before the people."[174]

The repeated and accelerated exposure to death and the corporeal gore of the disease further desensitized individuals who were already numbed to the concepts of mortality and violence because of WWI. Anna Milani remembers how households would put crapes at their doors indicating that someone from the household had died. As a child she and other children would play games guessing who had passed away- "We were excited to find out who died." Similarly, John De Lano and his friends did not seem to mind that the caskets piled on the streets, which they climbed on as children, had dead bodies inside them.[175] Cognitively, the pandemic changed people's relationship to death and violence. While these may have been removed from everyday experience before the pandemic, confined to the fight across the seas, they became a familiar part of everyday experience when people died in large numbers within American borders. Such desensitization to violence in the epistemic dimension of ideologies, may have impacted the behavioral dimension in a way that made violent behavior seem more normal.

The pandemic, therefore, caused a disruption to quotidian life, which changed the patterns of routinized action and thought.[176] This had a devastating impact on societal infrastructure and the social psyche. These general structural changes, however, were experienced differently by different social groups.

Impact on Race Relations

Historically, Blacks suffered disproportionately during epidemics. This was true of the yellow fever epidemic of 1792 and the smallpox epidemic during and after the civil war 1862-1867, as it was true of the more recent tuberculosis epidemics of 1900.[177] This disparity in Black health fed into mainstream ideological beliefs that Blacks were biologically inferior.[178]

[174] Grimké, "Some Reflections, Growing out of the Recent Epidemic of Influenza That Afflicted Our City," 9.
[175] Kenner, "1918 Influenza."
[176] Snow et al., "Disrupting the 'Quotidian,'" 5.
[177] Roberts, *Infectious Fear*, 4; Krishnan, Ogunwole, and Cooper, "Historical Insights on Coronavirus Disease 2019 (COVID-19), the 1918 Influenza Pandemic, and Racial Disparities," 3.
[178] Hoffman, "The Race Traits and Tendencies of the American Negro."

Ostensibly contradicting these views, however, during the 1918 pandemic, there was a perception that Blacks were being less affected by the disease. *The Philadelphia Tribune*, for example, noticed that "There seems to be more influenza and deaths among White people than the colored people."[179] The Black press also picked up on this: *The Cleveland Advocate* published the headline, "Flu Shuns Us, says Health Doctor."[180]

Though recording of Black health statistics was sparse, from the figures available, Økland and Mamelund find that the morbidity rates for Blacks during the most severe wave of the 1918 flu were indeed lower than for Whites.[181] Current explanations suggest that Black populations had been exposed to the earlier and milder waves of the disease giving them immunity for the autumn wave.[182] The 1919 annual report from the Navy supports such a hypothesis which states, "many of the men of the navy who had influenza in the spring or summer of 1918 (…) escaped during the more fatal epidemics in October, November, and December."[183]

Contemporary authorities, however, ignored such theories regarding Blacks, instead viewing the difference as something inherent to race. Newspapers formulated the disparity in racial terms: "colored people seemed to be almost immune."[184] Despite the fact that this positive disparity seemed to counter hegemonic beliefs about the inferior health of Blacks, within the engrained system of White supremacy, this only served to highlight racial differences. As the *Afro-American* complained, when a lady from Maryland heard of the difference in infection rate between Whites and Blacks, she was reported as opining, "Well that proves they are not human like the rest of us."[185] Thus, the probability that Blacks were

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[179] Philadelphia Tribune. 1918 Oct 12, as quoted in, Gamble, ""There Wasn't a Lot of Comforts in Those Days," 119.

[180] ""'Flu Shuns Us,'bristow Says Health Doctor," *Cleveland Advocate*, November 2, 1918.

[181] The by-case mortality rate, though, remained higher for Blacks. Helene Økland and Svenn-Erik Mamelund, "Race and 1918 Influenza Pandemic in the United States: A Review of the Literature," *International Journal of Environmental Research and Public Health* 16, no. 14 (January 2019): 1, https://doi.org/10.3390/ijerph16142487.

[182] Other hypoteses argue that segregation might have acted as a physical cordon sanitaire, limiting Black exposure or simply that the incidence of infection was underreported. Krishnan, Ogunwole, and Cooper, "Historical Insights on Coronavirus Disease 2019 (COVID-19), the 1918 Influenza Pandemic, and Racial Disparities," 3; Økland and Mamelund, "Race and 1918 Influenza Pandemic in the United States," 1.

[183] US Navy, *Annual Reports of the Navy Department for the Fiscal Year 1919*, 2414.

[184] "The Situation Improving," *The Daily Times*, October 17, 1918, Chronicling America: Historic American Newspapers, Library of Congress; "The Flu," *The News Scimitar*, December 11, 1918, Chronicling America: Historic American Newspapers, Library of Congress.

[185] "God's a Nigger," *The Afro American*, December 20, 1918.

more immune to the disease than Whites exacerbated racial tensions at a time when people of color were already marginalized by segregation and inferior access to healthcare.[186]

These racial biases undergirded the enforcement and intensified segregation of Black communities in the context of health restrictions to combat the spread of the virus. Even though they were less susceptible to the virus, Blacks were "metaphorical vessels of transmission, and, therefore, in the eyes of Whites, Blacks were worthy of punishment and physical acts of violence and unworthy of adequate medical treatment."[187] Thus, drawn from the ideological narrative of Black biological inferiority, the prevailing views of Blacks as carriers of disease justified disproportionate levels of controls inflicted upon Black communities during the pandemic. It was not that these extra measures applied only to Blacks. Rather, in a society where, by default, the participation of Blacks was regulated, these extra measures and the more vigorous enforcement of pre-existing ones in the context of the health crisis provided an expanded toolbox through which to exercise further control over the Black resident. The placarding of houses provides an illustration of this.

Many cities designated Influenza as a 'placardable' disease.[188] During the pandemic, this authorized health workers to enter people's homes and punish non-compliance with quarantine measures by putting up a sign on infected houses. The placard designated the house for isolation and carried with it a degree of social stigma.[189] Similar to the mandatory reporting and disinfection of housing during tuberculosis crises, this practice operated in a distinctly racist prism so that Blacks were disproportionately impacted by the increased state surveillance.[190] Indeed, unlike their White counterparts, Blacks lived in settings where most aspects of their life were already restricted by law and ideology. Such measures, then, invaded the one space where they were usually free of these constraints: their home. In effect, the fear of the illness combined with racialized ideas about Black biological inferiority legitimized the imposition of further restrictions on the liberty of Blacks. While

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[186] Schlabach, "The Influenza Epidemic and Jim Crow Public Health Policies and Practices in Chicago, 1917–1921," 42.

[187] Schlabach, 42.

[188] "Will Not Close Institutions," *The Daily Times*, December 4, 1918, Chronicling America: Historic American Newspapers, Library of Congress; "More Homes Placarded," *Evening Times-Republican*, January 11, 1919, Chronicling America: Historic American Newspapers, Library of Congress; "Why Not Quarantine," *Mount Vernon Signal*, October 18, 1918, Chronicling America: Historic American Newspapers, Library of Congress; Schlabach, "The Influenza Epidemic and Jim Crow Public Health Policies and Practices in Chicago, 1917–1921," 43.

[189] Schlabach, "The Influenza Epidemic and Jim Crow Public Health Policies and Practices in Chicago, 1917–1921," 43–46.

[190] Roberts, *Infectious Fear*, 139–69.

not necessarily made explicit by policymakers, the pandemic facilitated the further segmentation of American cities along racial lines through the materialization of an "elaborate but unnamed system of Jim Crow laws."[191] Such measures therefore, accentuated feelings of deprivation in Blacks as they aggravated their already unequal conditions in society.

Despite this heightening of racial tension, Cohn argues the 1918 pandemic united populations and brought about an unprecedented level of compassion - seen in the outpour of volunteerism and aid - in which actors from diverse social backgrounds crossed class and racial divides.[192] There certainly was this outburst, but, as we shall see, it happened within a racialized context. So, while network ties were increased and there were crossings between networks, the outcome was a tightening of intra-network ties in White middle-class communities and Black communities, but a reinforcement of the inter-network distance between the two.

As Cohn identified, one of the outcomes of the pandemic was the increase in volunteerism and humanitarian actions. A large part of these initiatives was undertaken by White middle to upper class women with leisure time.[193] In El Paso, for example, "society girls" set up soup kitchens, in their "luxurious homes" for the benefit of the sick.[194] These women often were members of associations that helped organize aid work. The most prominent of these was the American Red Cross. During WWI it had grown massively as the country's principal organization for charitable aid and medical personnel recruitment,[195] deploying its vast network of members to provide relief. In its various chapters around the country, 'Influenza committees' were set up to gather information, collect donations, manufacture essential goods, such as facemasks and pneumonia jackets, and if needed, to set up emergency Influenza-only hospitals.[196] In conjunction with these activities, the Red Cross

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[191] Schlabach, "The Influenza Epidemic and Jim Crow Public Health Policies and Practices in Chicago, 1917–1921," 44.

[192] Cohn, Jr., *Epidemics: Hate and Compassion from the Plague of Athens to AIDS*, 1:447–72.

[193] Marian Moser Jones, "The American Red Cross and Local Response to the 1918 Influenza Pandemic: A Four-City Case Study," *Public Health Reports* 125, no. Suppl 3 (2010): 94.

[194] Cohn, Jr., *Epidemics: Hate and Compassion from the Plague of Athens to AIDS*, 1:452–66; Ollie P. Landsden, "While Society Girls Nurse Poor Mexican Great Kettles of Soup Steam on Ranges of Wealthy Homes for the Benefit of the Sick," *El Paso Herald*, October 22, 1918, Chronicling America: Historic American Newspapers, Library of Congress.

[195] See: Henry Pomeroy Davison, *The American Red Cross in the Great War* (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1919), https://library.si.edu/digital-library/book/americanredcros00davi.

[196] "Red Cross Opens Influenza Hospital," *The Colville Examiner*, November 9, 1918, Chronicling America: Historic American Newspapers, Library of Congress; "Red Cross News and Notes: Influenza Emergency Work Under Red Cross," *The West Virginian*, October 19, 1918, Chronicling America: Historic American

Motor Corps utilized its fleet of cars as ambulances or supply vehicles in Influenza emergencies.[197] The *Omaha Daily Bee* praised its work during the pandemic stating "Words are inadequate to estimate the amount of good done by the faithful workers who wear the uniform of the Red Cross motor corps."[198]

While the Red Cross was the largest, other charitable associations offered their help to the cause.[199] These associations helped build ties in the community and increase cooperation within networks. Many of these associations, especially the Red Cross, were involved in gathering donations and support for the war effort.[200] This facilitated the linkages between charity networks of the pandemic and those of WWI, including veteran networks.

Figure 6: Red Cross Workers in Chicago making masks. Notice the upper-class hats

Although a lot of the work involved aiding those in poorer circumstances, as Bristow argues, aid workers were conditioned by their middle-class biases.[201] The reaching out of the middle-class networks to lower classes may have increased linkages across class but it also served to confirm mainstream ideological notions of the poor. In this way, the pandemic did not blur the lines separating the classes, it emboldened them, clearly demarcating who belongs where in society.[202]

Newspapers, Library of Congress, https://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn86072054/1918-10-19/ed-1/seq-5/; "Sweet Charity Calls," *Webster City Freeman*, November 25, 1918, Chronicling America: Historic American Newspapers, Library of Congress; "Red Cross News and Notes: Influenza Emergency Work Under Red Cross."

[197] "Red Cross Motor Corps an Aid During the Influenza Epidemic," *Evening Star*, October 6, 1918, Chronicling America: Historic American Newspapers, Library of Congress.

[198] "Charming Hostess Becomes War Worker And Wears Silver Bars," *Omaha Daily Bee*, January 5, 1919, Chronicling America: Historic American Newspapers, Library of Congress.

[199] The Women's Benefit Association, having a membership of almost 200 thousand women across the country joined with authorities to pool resources towards checking the flu. The New Britain Charity Organization undertook an extensive survey of the local area to ascertain the number of influenza orphans requiring immediate care. They collected gifts and gave them to the children during Thanksgiving. Associated Charities, Salvation Army, Gospel Mission, Central Union Mission and many others worked to supply food medicine, clothing, fuel and medical care to those affected by the flu. "Benefit Association to Assist in Work of Checkin the Flu," *Mt. Vernon, Ohio*, October 22, 1918, Chronicling America: Historic American Newspapers, Library of Congress; "200 Homes Made Sad During Epidemic," *New Britain Herald*, November 23, 1918, Chronicling America: Historic American Newspapers, Library of Congress; "63 Died of Scourge Unseen by Doctor," *Evening Star*, October 22, 1918, Chronicling America: Historic American Newspapers, Library of Congress.

[200] See: Davison, *The American Red Cross in the Great War*.

[201] Bristow, *American Pandemic*, 73.

[202] Bristow, 56–57.

Often coming from a status of economic disadvantage, Blacks might have suffered much of the class prejudice of White social workers, but with racial biases compounding class biases, "people of color were more commonly stamped by the White majority as beyond redemption."[203] Indeed, in 1918, even aid was segregated. The Red Cross, for instance, regularly rebuffed Black volunteers, and those that were accepted into the organization were segregated into their own chapters, usually assigned services limited to Blacks.[204] Nevertheless, used to this type of discrimination, Blacks had established community networks of Black humanitarian aid they could rely on.[205]

Gamble lists the many ways Black citizens mobilized to help their communities. In Kentucky, volunteers visited the homes of victims and provided care and cleaning services. In Philadelphia, Black teachers made food for those in need of it. In Ohio, the Urban League chapter hired a trained nurse so that patients might have free access to care. Blacks in their segregated Red Cross chapter were particularly active in North Carolina, where they rendered a "great aid to [their] race".[206] The continued lack of involvement of Whites in the affairs of Blacks, and the increased reliance of Black citizens on their community structures during the crisis, served to strengthen ties in the Black community as the already negligible ties with White networks diminished.

While segregation of aid limited the work of White volunteers in Black communities, the scale of the crisis meant that the rest of society was forced to accept the help of the Black community. Blacks were generally eager to help as it was a chance to integrate and demonstrate their worth as deserving citizens. In New Orleans, where, exceptionally, there seemed to be a lack of volunteers, the Red Cross published appeals for help. For a long time, the only people who responded to the call were Black women. They not only aided physicians with medical care, but also replaced men in factories and lumber yards doing essential manual labor for the city.[207] In this way, Black volunteers were being treated more equally than before both in terms of racial and gender relations, potentially improving their perception of their social standing and contributing to rising expectations.

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[203] Bristow, 79.

[204] Floris Loretta Barnett, *African American Women and Social Action : The Clubwomen and Volunteerism from Jim Crow to the New Deal, 1896-1936* (Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 2001), 57, http://archive.org/details/africanamericanw0000cash.

[205] Barnett, 5–12.

[206] Gamble, ""There Wasn't a Lot of Comforts in Those Days," 119; "Two Deaths Reported Due To Influenza," *The Columbus Evening Dispatch*, January 1, 1919, Influenza Encyclopedia.

[207] Cohn, Jr., *Epidemics: Hate and Compassion from the Plague of Athens to AIDS*, 1:471.

The racial dynamics of American volunteerism were mirrored in the related medical sector. During WWI, despite the demand for medical personnel, pleas for Black nurses to be sent overseas to care for soldiers at the front lines were rejected. Instead, trained Black nurses were only enrolled in the home defense program.[208] Disappointed at not having the chance to show their value to the nation in the Great War, Black nurses were advised by Adah Belle Thoms, a cofounder of the National Association of Colored Graduate Nurses, to nonetheless answer the nation's call and contribute their "bit" by alleviating suffering within the country. She presciently speculated in late 1917, "Perhaps there remains for us a greater work at home."[209]

As it turned out, these reserve nurses proved to be indispensable when the pandemic hit. With the unprecedented demand for medical care as cases of Influenza mounted and much of America's medical staff was occupied overseas in WWI, Black nurses were for the first time asked to treat and care for White patients. Aileen Cole Stewart recalled her time as a nurse when she was sent to a mining town and an army camp to help deal with outbreaks of the flu. Despite having segregated living quarters, "there apparently was no bias or discrimination" in her nursing assignments.[210]

For Black doctors as well: although 104 had enlisted to treat Black soldiers at the front lines,[211] over 3000 were called to service at home to treat patients "of every race in all parts of the country."[212] For the first time in modern America, the medical profession crossed racial lines on a grand scale, raising expectations for the Black medical community. However, as with volunteerism, this crossing was only one-way.

While a White person with symptoms might have had a visit from a Black doctor, for Blacks requiring urgent medical attention, they had to navigate a complex system of oppression. In Virginia, for example, a school was converted into a hospital for Influenza patients; Black patients were relegated to the basement until a completely separate hospital was set up for them in a Black school.[213] Even when dead, Blacks were discriminated against. During the pandemic, Baltimore's sanitation departments refused to bury Black

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[208] Jones, "The American Red Cross and Local Response to the 1918 Influenza Pandemic," 94–95.

[209] Mary F. Clark, "Of Interest to Nurses," *Journal of the National Medical Association* 9, no. 4 (1917): 210.

[210] Aileen Cole Stewart, "Ready to Serve," *Journal of Nursing* 63, no. 9 (September 1963): 87.

[211] See: W. Douglas Fisher and Joann H. Buckley, *African American Doctors of World War I: The Lives of 104 Volunteers*, Illustrated edition (Jefferson, North Carolina: McFarland & Company, 2015).

[212] Turner, "Epidemic Influenza and the Negro Physician," 184.

[213] Jones, "The American Red Cross and Local Response to the 1918 Influenza Pandemic," 101.

bodies, so Black soldiers were enlisted to dig graves.[214] In Philadelphia, though the Board of Health had established several emergency clinics, Blacks were not treated in these.[215] Without space in the two already overcrowded Black city hospitals, the head physician Dr. Mossell, set up an emergency wing in a nearby school.[216]

Despite the severity of the crisis, Black people in America were left to fend for themselves and had to continue to rely on their own community structures. Even though the incidence of Influenza was lower among Blacks, without outside help, the pandemic still overwhelmed Black caring facilities and these community structures were tested to their limits. In Baltimore, the only Black hospital, Provident, was so over capacity that it had to turn people away. Outraged at the inability of Blacks to seek treatment in Baltimore, the *Afro-American* declared, "This is one of the extremely sad cases that are the pitiable result of the jim crow policy practiced in White hospitals of the city."[217] The continued segregation of medical care, even during a crisis, made the secondary status of Blacks more perceivable, heightening the chance of feeling relative deprivation. The deprivation was framed as a collective problem and part of the larger issue of "jim crow policy" and racial inequality.[218]

Thus, while Black volunteers, nurses, and physicians all made tremendous efforts to come to the aid of their White counterparts during the pandemic, their efforts were not reciprocated, and the Black community assumed the primary responsibility for providing care to their own members.[219] The White governor of Virginia at the time summed up this divide, "It is an excellent thing to have our colored people so well able to work out their own problems and without any mixing of activities."[220]

Even though, overall, the health of Black Americans was disregarded by Whites and American society in general, there was hope among Black leaders that the pandemic might help bring about social change. Following the abating of the Influenza in Washington D.C.,

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[214] Soraya Nadia McDonald, "In 1918 and 2020, Race Colors America's Response to Epidemics," *The Undefeated* (blog), April 1, 2020, https://theundefeated.com/features/in-1918-and-2020-race-colors-americas-response-to-epidemics/.
[215] Bristow, *American Pandemic*, 83.
[216] Gamble, ""There Wasn't a Lot of Comforts in Those Days," 119.
[217] "Influenza and Neumonia Claims Many Victims," *Afro-American*, October 18, 1918, Google News; Bristow, *American Pandemic*, 85.
[218] "Influenza and Neumonia Claims Many Victims."
[219] Gamble, ""There Wasn't a Lot of Comforts in Those Days," 119.
[220] "Inspects Negro Hospital," *Richmond Times-Dispatch*, October 20, 1918, Chronicling America: Historic American Newspapers, Library of Congress.

Reverend Francis Grimké delivered a sermon offering his reflections which was then published by request in a pamphlet. He was impressed by how the pandemic shattered the White delusion of superiority based on skin color. The epidemic affected everyone regardless of race or social class. He argued that it is in natural happenings that God reveals his truths: "What does the lightning, the thunderbolt, the burning lava, the sea, care about color or race? White and Black are alike are dealt with indiscriminately." This lesson he hoped, for the sake of all races, would not be lost upon society.[221]

In the medical sector as well, there was an expectation that the significant participation of Black nurses and physicians in the country's battle against Influenza might erode some of the barriers existing between the races. Their role in dealing with the pandemic clearly demonstrated their capabilities and their worth to the American medical community, and by extension the worth of Blacks to the country in general. John Turner M.D. asserted that the "Negro physicians of this country have made a new and excellent history for the race," and have brought about "a new brand of professional democracy."[222]

Unfortunately, Turner may have been premature in his statements. Indeed, for nurses the epidemic "afforded excellent opportunity to come to the front as never before," but when the Armistice was signed and Black nurses were advised to be ready to go overseas, the call did not come.[223] Shortly after the pandemic abated, Black physicians and nurses gradually assumed their previous segregated roles and received little acknowledgement of their work from the wider medical community. In Philadelphia, for instance, in December 1918, the

DOCTORS WANTED!

There are four vacancies for assistant physicians at the Philadelphia Hospital for the Insane, Thirty-fourth and Pine Streets, two at a salary of $900 per annum and two at $720 per annum, including board, lodging and laundry.

Applicants must be white, twenty-one years of age, residents of Philadelphia, and licensed to practice in the State of Pennsylvania. These positions are open to both sexes. Successful candidates must reside at the hospital.

Applicants should apply to Dr. Wilmer Krusen, Director, Department of Public Health and Charities, 584 City Hall.

Figure 7: Advert from the Philadelphia Department of Public Health in December 1918

department of health ran for an advertisement for doctors seeking only White candidates.[224] The open discrimination signaled that race relations in the medical community had not changed. Later in 1919, the Mayor of Memphis made it clear to White physicians that Black

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[221] Grimké, "Some Reflections, Growing out of the Recent Epidemic of Influenza That Afflicted Our City."
[222] Turner, "Epidemic Influenza and the Negro Physician."
[223] Adah Bell Thoms, "Of Interest to Nurses," *Journal of the National Medical Association* 11, no. 2 (1919): 86.
[224] "Advert For Doctors," *Monthly Bulletin of The Department of Public Health and Charities of the City of Philadelphia*, December 1918, Influenza Encyclopedia.

doctors would in no way have equal privileges.[225] During WWI, nurses who had worked in the war were granted several benefits, including free treatment in veterans' hospitals, inexpensive insurance, and Red Cross scholarships for postgraduate degrees. Black nurses' exclusion from the war and, by extension, from these benefits, cemented the racial hierarchy within the American nursing sector.[226]

The return to prior hierarchies revealed that the crossing of racial divides during the pandemic happened out of necessity and did not constitute an opening up of race relations. As Schlabach maintains, "African Americans were a welcome presence only in their support of and abidance by these measures, not in moves to protest the segregation of medical training facilities or medical care facilities to treat victims of Influenza or other diseases."[227] The pandemic did not prompt any sweeping health initiatives for Blacks, nor did it change prevailing views concerning Black biological inferiority: "African Americans continued to live under the specter of poor health, legalized discrimination, socioeconomic inequities, disenfranchisement and growing white supremacy."[228] For Grimké, Turner, and Blacks across the country, the racial violence of 1919, would demonstrate that even in the face of a world war and a global pandemic, the force of racial prejudice remained ever-constant.

Analysis

Individual Component

The pandemic caused an exogenous shift in people's conditions in society. This affected the gap between what people expected of society and what they got. In a society where White individuals, because of their higher societal status, could expect to be healthy, the pandemic, which affected much of the population, regardless of skin color, did not align with their expectation. In addition, Blacks were perceivably more immune to the disease.

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[225] "The Half Truth Is More Subtle Than a Lie," *The News Scimitar*, October 25, 1919, Chronicling America: Historic American Newspapers, Library of Congress.

[226] Marian Moser Jones and Matilda Saines, "The Eighteen of 1918–1919: Black Nurses and the Great Flu Pandemic in the United States," *American Journal of Public Health* 109, no. 6 (June 2019): 882, https://doi.org/10.2105/AJPH.2019.305003.

[227] Schlabach, "The Influenza Epidemic and Jim Crow Public Health Policies and Practices in Chicago, 1917–1921," 41.

[228] Gamble, ""There Wasn't a Lot of Comforts in Those Days," 121.

This countered White expectations of usually faring better than Black during a health crisis. Both factors increased the gap between what White individuals expected out of society and what they got, heightening their relative deprivation.

Despite the perception of Black immunity, the spread of the pandemic was used to justify the implementation of more stringent state restrictions on the lives of citizens. These disproportionately affected Blacks. As well as providing further ways to enforce the control over their lives in the public space, they encroached upon the one space where Blacks were usually free of such restriction: the home. In strengthening the clamp the state had on Black freedoms, these restrictions exacerbated the already festering detestation of the unequal living conditions. Consequently, the pandemic made it more likely that pre-existing or new deprivation among Blacks relative to Whites' position in society was exacerbated.

Further feeding into this detestation of Jim Crow was the segregation of Black patients in health care. Though predating the pandemic, the health crisis it brought on reinforced, rather than eroded, this segregation. Due to limited availability of resources, the healthcare received by Black patients - if any - was often inferior to what non-Blacks had access to. In making the disparities in healthcare more evident, and therefore more perceptible, the pandemic heightened the probability of Blacks feeling deprivation relative to White patients.

This potential relative deprivation was felt in the context of WWI, in which Black leaders had worked to raise expectations. Using the symbol of soldiers fighting for their country on an equal footing to Whites, Black leaders framed this equality as something that should be expected for all Blacks. Nevertheless, the continued oppression through increased government controls and reinforced segregation of healthcare may have dampened these expectations. As Davies argues, it is in these moments when the standard of what people want has been raised, while the standard of what they get remains the same or lowered, that relative deprivation is most keenly felt.[229]

From another angle though, the 1918 Influenza also worked to create rising expectations in the Black community as regards their unequal position. Due to the depletion of resources it caused, White citizens were forced to change their patterns of behavior and accept help from the Black community. Both in terms of volunteering and offering medical aid, Blacks were, for this period, working side-by-side with their White counterparts. Their position in

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[229] Davies, "Toward a Theory of Revolution," 6.

society was changed, Black volunteers and doctors became "acquainted with the benefits of a higher standard" in more equal relationships to their peers. As a result of this "demonstration effect", individual expectations about Blacks' relative position within society rose accordingly.[230]

As the pandemic dissipated though, these racial relationships returned to their previous configuration. Therefore, the pandemic created a situation in which the circumstances of Black doctors, nurses and volunteers were improved, thereby raising expectations about Blacks' position in society in general, which was shortly followed by a reversal of those circumstances. This is a textbook J-curve of rising expectation and relative deprivation.[231] Once again, this dampening of expectations may have led to more acute relative deprivation for Black individuals. The more acute the deprivation the more likely the reaction to it is violent. This deprivation was interpreted against an ideological backdrop.

Cognitive Component

The pandemic destabilized dominant patterns of thought and behavior, creating new cognitive meaning at the same time as it reinforced pre-existing ideological narratives. The deprivation engendered by the pandemic was interpreted differently depending on whether an individual was White and an adherent of dominant racist ideologies, or Black and more open to counter-hegemonic thinking.

For many Whites, dominant ideologies provided a source of normalized meaning through which experience could be interpreted. The difference in infection rates between Whites and Blacks might have been interpreted by members of the White hegemony in a way that reinforced their biologically deterministic beliefs. Even though the apparent good health of Blacks in this particular crisis countered narratives that Black 'race traits' were inferior,[232] against strongly held beliefs, this positive disparity in infection served as proof that "they are not human like the rest of us."[233] Thus, the racial disparity in infection rates gave dominant White ideologies more cognitive ammunition to intensify animus towards Blacks. However, in this case, the behavioral dimension of ideology did not prescribe

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[230] Oberschall, "Rising Expectations and Political Turmoil∗," 5.
[231] Davies, "Toward a Theory of Revolution," 6.
[232] Hoffman, "The Race Traits and Tendencies of the American Negro."
[233] "God's a Nigger."

collective violence as an appropriate reaction to these feelings. Instead, as witnessed in the expanding of disproportionate levels of government controls in the context of the pandemic, it legitimized the further encroaching of the state on the remaining liberties of Blacks.

For White supremacists, the pandemic reinforced their ideological beliefs; for Blacks, it helped expose the flawed nature of dominant ideologies, and legitimize counter-hegemonic framing. Grimké drew attention to the way in which the pandemic's indiscriminate spread contradicted notions of White supremacy. He identified the contradiction of a society that both worships a God who does not discriminate and sanctions the oppression of a whole race. Borrowing vocabulary from theological discourses Grimké employed ideologically defined concepts such as 'God' and 'nature' and related them to the counter-hegemonic ideal of racial equality. In so doing, he infused the idea with some of the legitimacy of normalized patterns of communication. This type of framing fed on group feelings of relative deprivation and built epistemic consensus around the counter-hegemonic way of thinking about racial equality.

Feelings of relative deprivation from Black individuals who suffered during the pandemic were framed as a collective issue facing Blacks in general that was part of the broader issue a racial inequality. The *Afro-American* showed that the inability of finding adequate healthcare for an individual Black person was due to "jim crow policy".[234] In this way, it identified the source of the deprivation as one that is collective. This framing attempted to harness negative emotions and target them at the opposition. Both Grimké and the *Afro Americans'* framing uses the pandemic to build epistemic consensus around the flaws of the dominant system and convince Blacks that their treatment in society is a collective issue.

Framing during and after the pandemic also attempted to exploit the rising expectations in the Black medical community. The pandemic changed what was 'normal' behavior as Whites were forced, for the first time, to accept the help of the Black medical professionals. As a result of working in a crisis in which the color of one's skin mattered less than the job that needed to be done, Black doctors and nurses likely had rising expectations of what they could get out of society. Black leaders used the rising expectations of Black medical professionals who were working on level footing with Whites to emphasize their equal capabilities and by extension the equal capabilities of Blacks in general.

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[234] "Influenza and Neumonia Claims Many Victims."

Turner, for example, praised the work of Black physicians during the pandemic and declared that it signaled a new era of professional democracy.[235] On the one hand, he highlighted the skill of Black doctors, but on the other hand, he elaborated on what this meant for professionals in general. The framing took the new relationships of Black doctors and nurses working alongside Whites that was specific to the medical profession and highlighted how this could be indicative of incoming changes in racial relationships in other sectors in general. Such framing during and after the pandemic molded individual rising expectations in the Black medical community as expectations that should be felt by the whole Black population.

Framing of the counter-hegemonic perspective of racial equality worked to collectivize both feelings of relative deprivation and rising expectations. Nevertheless, while the frames of the pandemic worked on the epistemic dimension building consensus around the problem of racial inequality as a collective one, they did not promote any specific behaviors. Crucially, collective action was not directly offered as a form of appropriate behavior by framing related to the pandemic.

Although, collective violence, in this situation, was not ideologically warranted, neither in dominant nor counter-hegemonic ideologies, at an epistemic level, the pandemic changed people's relation to violence. With the scale as well as the horrific circumstance in which people died during the pandemic, White or Black, the populace became desensitized to violence. It became a 'normal' part of everyday routine both in dominant ideologies and counter-hegemonic ones. In other words, the pandemic changed the meaning of violence for people. Though it did not cause people to immediately mobilize for violent purposes, this new epistemic meaning of violence may have - at a behavioral level – contributed to the normalizing the conditions in which violence was more likely.

Collective Component

As Cohn demonstrates, the crisis of the pandemic generated an outburst of charity and volunteering.[236] This was delivered through formal associations and informal interactions. These strengthened associational and community ties and developed networks of civic

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[235] Turner, "Epidemic Influenza and the Negro Physician," 184.

[236] Cohn, Jr., *Epidemics: Hate and Compassion from the Plague of Athens to AIDS*, 1:447–72.

engagement throughout the US. New relationships between people and between people and associations were created. At the formal level, associations increased their presence in public life and exhibited their value to society. In their organizational capacity they provided communities with leadership, assigning volunteers tasks, and sharing knowledge on how to help. Through the Red Cross, for example, Influenza committees were set up to gather information, collect donations, manufacture essential goods.[237]

They worked to construct new systems of relationships built around mutual aid at the local and informal level. Through soup kitchens and gift-giving at thanksgiving, these association help bring communities together.[238] Though not overtly political, these local networks of solidarity were "micro mobilization contexts",[239] through which individuals might have been exposed to the ideals of a cause and invited to join.[240]

Furthermore, these network links might have merged with other networks such as veteran. The Red Cross, for example, was just as involved in the war effort as it was in the pandemic, heightening the chances that networks spawning from the two merged.

Nevertheless, this aid occurred within the racialized structure of American society. Black communities, who were mostly ignored by Whites, had to come together to provide members with aid, medical care and reliable information. The Urban League, for example, played a crucial role in stemming the impact of the pandemic by providing aid programs across the country.[241] This increased Blacks' reliance on their own networks, whilst decreasing their already negligible involvement in White networks.

Therefore, on the one hand, the pandemic contributed to a strengthening of ties within White middle-class and Black community networks, while, on the other hand, it drove a segmentation between the two societal networks. The twin combination of intra-network strength and inter-network weakness may have made future collective action for both White and Black communities more likely. However, as these networks were formed for aid, when forming for alternative collective action, the likelihood of this action being violent was diminished.

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[237] "Red Cross Opens Influenza Hospital"; "Red Cross News and Notes: Influenza Emergency Work Under Red Cross"; "Sweet Charity Calls"; "Red Cross News and Notes: Influenza Emergency Work Under Red Cross."

[238] Landsden, "While Society Girls Nurse Poor Mexican Great Kettles of Soup Steam on Ranges of Wealthy Homes for the Benefit of the Sick"; "Charity Workers Doing Much Good," *New Britain Herald*, December 12, 1918, Chronicling America: Historic American Newspapers, Library of Congress.

[239] McAdam, "Micromobilization Contexts and Recruitment to Activism."

[240] Melucci, "15. Mobilization and Political Participation," 291.

[241] Gamble, ""There Wasn't a Lot of Comforts in Those Days," 119.

How did the pandemic impact the configuration of the components of collective action for Black and White Americans before the Red Summer?

The pandemic influenced these components in such a way as to reinforce the likelihood of collective action that existed before it swept across the country. It influenced the individual and the cognitive component in such a way as to make violence more likely, while the collective component was affected in such a way as to make violence less likely.

Looking at White groups: The new deprivation felt by Whites who may have expected to enjoy better health - particularly in relation to Blacks - supplemented the pre-existing deprivation resulting from higher competition in the housing and job markets in northern cities. This compounding deprivation would have made whites more likely to act violently. Cognitively, disparities in infection rates were interpreted against pre-existing, pseudo-scientific, narratives about the biological inferiority of Blacks, and served to fortify epistemic consensus around racial difference in these dominant White ideologies. In a reinforced racist ideology where collective violence against Blacks was embedded, such action may have seemed an increasingly legitimate reaction to the growing relative deprivation.

The pandemic also strengthened network ties in White middle to upper class communities. These ties may have crossed to other White networks, such as those of White veterans and more mature and embedded networks that had been developing at least since the civil war. In strengthening these ties, the pandemic increased the capacity of these networks to carry out collective action.

Now, to examine the impact the pandemic had on the likelihood of Black collective action: In highlighting the continued segregation and the second-class status of Blacks in healthcare and American society, the pandemic may have aggravated pre-existing relative deprivation in oppressed Black individuals. Considering that Blacks may have had rising expectations from their more equal participation in WWI, this renewed confirmation of their lower status may have dampened expectations and engendered more acute relative deprivation than usual. However, within the medical profession there was reason to have rising expectations. With the pandemic disruption enabling a more equal work environment

for Black doctors and nurses, they may have expected to get more out of their future in society.

In the cognitive processes of Blacks, the pandemic exposed some of the ideological contradictions of dominant ideologies, which, for example, promoted discrimination against Blacks, but preached to a God who apparently did not. This criticism of dominant ways of thinking supplemented Black wartime framing which drew attention to the contradiction of America fighting for democracy when, within its own borders, large parts of its population were oppressed.

Furthermore, Black leaders attempted to frame the rising expectations specific to the medical sector as collective rising expectations, which should be experienced by all Black professionals. This framing ran parallel to that of Black soldiers fighting on the same footing as White soldiers. These frames compounded ideological consensus around what all Black should expect from society. In doing so, these leaders challenged dominant epistemic beliefs about Blacks and offered more cognitive support for the morality of racial equality. It is on this increasing consensus around counter-hegemonic thinking and rising expectations of Blacks that the Negro Movement was able to build and flourish after WWI and the pandemic.

During the health crisis, Blacks received little aid from their White counterparts and needed to rely on their community structures. These structures, which had been evolving since the Reconstruction Era, were cemented during the pandemic as Black aid associations provided much needed healthcare and advice. The increased reliance of Blacks on the collective community networks coupled with the lack of interaction with White networks, strengthened community ties while weakening links with White networks. This reinforced the network segmentation that was already occurring as a result of wartime segregation in the military.

For both White and Black populations, the pandemic had an influence on the cognitive meaning of violence so that it became a 'normal' part of everyday routine both in dominant ideologies and counter-hegemonic ones. This new epistemic meaning of violence may have at, a practical level, increased the normalization of violent behavior.

Nevertheless, for both the White and Black collective components. the networks that the pandemic helped create were created for aid purposes reducing the likelihood of these specific ties being used for collective violence.

Therefore, to answer the question of the chapter concisely: for both White and Black individuals and groups, the pandemic accelerated the development of each component of collective action in the direction they had been headed before the pandemic hit. Rather than incite immediate collective action, the pandemic served to build consensus around opposing values and contributed to creating the preconditions in which collective action was probable. Its influence on the probability of collective violence was mixed, however. The following chapter takes these findings and applies it to two specific riots of the Red Summer to demonstrate how the components of collective action aligned during these moments of collective violence.

Chapter 3: How did the components of Black and White collective action align during the Red Summer in the specific cases of Washington and Chicago?

This section takes events in Washington D.C. and Chicago, respectively, as case studies to examine how the components of collective action aligned violently during the Red Summer. It investigates the specific impact the pandemic had on each city and explores how its influence intertwined with other factors, such as the WW1 and the Great Migration. Isolating the influence these factors had on Black and White collective action, it demonstrates how they aligned during the respective riots. The section ends with a detailed answer to the chapter's question.

Washington, D.C.

Comprising a quarter of the city's population, Blacks in Washington D.C., formed a strong community. With the largest NAACP chapter in the country and Howard University, the country's foremost Black education institution, Black Washingtonians – as well as owning businesses - were able to secure steady jobs in government positions as clerks or servants to officials.[242] With comparatively light Jim Crow laws, the level of social cohesion in race relations was stable compared to other locations in the US.

However, this normalized order was disrupted by the 1918 pandemic. Despite being the nation's capital, between October 1918 and February 1919, almost 3,000 residents of Washington died of Influenza, making it one of the worst hit cities in America.[243] The normal patterns of everyday living were completely disrupted. All public gatherings were made illegal, schools were closed, and churches were barred from congregating. Even the US Congress shut down.[244] Essential Services such as the post failed.[245]

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[242] McWhirter, *Red Summer*, 111.
[243] District of Columbia Health Officer, "Annual Report Of The Commissioners Of The District of Columbia Year Ended June 30, 1919, Vol. III, Report Of The Health Officer" (Washington, D.C.: Michigan Publishing, University Library, University of Michigan, 1919), 18, Influenza Encyclopedia, https://quod.lib.umich.edu/f/flu/1430flu.0014.341/1/--annual-report-of-the-commissioners-of-the-district?view=image.
[244] "Drastic Measures to Fight Epidemic," *Washington Post*, October 3, 1918, Influenza Encyclopedia.
[245] "Washington, DC and the 1918-1919 Influenza Epidemic," in *Influenza Encyclopedia*, Influenza Encyclopedia, accessed June 29, 2021, https://www.influenzaarchive.org/cities/city-washingtondc.html#endnote6.

Middle class White volunteers gathered to help make masks, send out warning cards and most importantly, set up emergency hospitals.[246] The Red Cross deployed their motor corps, which was used during WWI, to help the sick.[247] This likely strengthened ties between members of the volunteer networks.

However, Black Washingtonians were left out of these efforts. Four centers for patient relief were set up, but not one allowed Black patients.[248] This confirmation of their second-class status might have fed into Black individuals' relative deprivation. Consequently, Blacks were left to fend for themselves. The Black Armstrong Manual Training School acted as a health center through which doctors and nurses organized visits around town. [249] Howard University offered a delegation of medical students to help the community. The offer was extended to the whole city, but the health commissioner assigned them only to Black patients.[250] These cooperation initiatives were likely to have increased and strengthened community ties. Indeed, the lack of involvement of Whites in these initiatives contributed to the segmentation between White networks and Black ones.

Home to influential Black leaders, such as Rev. Francis Grimke and his brother Archibald, Black Washingtonians were exposed to counter-hegemonic ideologies that framed the pandemic as evidence of the injustice of a system based on White supremacy. As Grimké argued in Washington in the weeks following the worst of the pandemic, the Influenza showed the White man the "folly of the empty conceit of his vaunted race superiority, by dealing with him just as he dealt with the peoples of darker hue."[251]

As the pandemic abated, the racial tensions it contributed to were fueled further by increasing competition in the city's labor market. Since America's entry into WWI, the population of the nation's capital had increased by almost 100,000 residents by the summer of 1919. The already crowded housing and labor markets were further stressed by discharged Black and White veterans who were either returning home or wandered into the city from nearby camps looking for work.[252] The fact that some Black residents had jobs

[246] "Fight on Epidemic Brings Many Aids," *Evening Star*, October 11, 1918, Chronicling America: Historic American Newspapers, Library of Congress.
[247] "Red Cross Motor Corps an Aid During the Influenza Epidemic."
[248] "Washington, DC and the 1918-1919 Influenza Epidemic."
[249] "No Patients at Armstrong," *Evening Star.*, November 5, 1918, Chronicling America: Historic American Newspapers, Library of Congress.
[250] "41 Influenza Deaths in D.C. in 24 Hours," *The Washington Herald*, October 8, 1918, Chronicling America: Historic American Newspapers, Library of Congress.
[251] Grimké, "Some Reflections, Growing out of the Recent Epidemic of Influenza That Afflicted Our City."
[252] Krugler, *1919, the Year of Racial Violence*, 83.

while White veterans were unemployed was a flashpoint for some. One correspondent complained in the *Baltimore Sun*, "the capital is being run by Negroes (…) Why are White men being discharged from positions in various departments in Washington and Negroes put in their places?" [253] This comment highlighted the deprivation of White workers in the competitive job market and the way it was interpreted through White ideologies as unjust. As these tensions brewed, a manhunt started in mid-June to capture a Black serial assaulter. The police deputized 1000 members of the Home Defense League, a typical civilian wartime surveillance association, to assist with the investigation.[254] Affluent neighborhood associations also joined the efforts offering men and a reward for the capture of the assailant. Over 100 Black men were interrogated.[255] This collective action, officially sanctioned by the police, which evidently encroached on the rights of Blacks, demonstrated the state authority was in line with White interests and against those of Blacks, thereby causing relative deprivation in Black citizens who desired better treatment. It also reinforced the legitimacy of White supremacy in the ideologies of Whites. Furthermore, this collectivization brought together White individuals in a network of cooperation, increasing network ties.

The mainstream newspapers covered the developing story in racial terms. Headlines read, "White Woman is Attacked by Negro"; "Search for Negro Fiend" and "Posses Keep Up Hunt for Negro".[256] Such headlines fueled White fears of Blacks. In at least one case, a woman grew hysterical at the mere sight of a Black man.[257] This framing fed into familiar narratives about Black criminality and reinforced White beliefs about the dangers of Blacks.

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[253] "The Looking Glass: Women and Lynching," 248.
[254] Krugler, *1919, the Year of Racial Violence*, 84.
[255] "New Description of Assailant of Women," *The Washington Times*, July 9, 1919, Chronicling America: Historic American Newspapers, Library of Congress, https://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn84026749/1919-07-09/ed-1/seq-1/; "Subdued Only After Fierce Struggle in the City Streets," *The Washington Times*, July 9, 1919, Chronicling America: Historic American Newspapers, Library of Congress, https://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn84026749/1919-07-09/ed-1/seq-1/; "Home Defense League Call," *Evening Star*, July 7, 1919, Chronicling America: Historic American Newspapers, Library of Congress; "Posses Keep Up Hunt For Negro," *Evening Star*, July 9, 1919, Chronicling America: Historic American Newspapers, Library of Congress.
[256] "White Woman Is Attacked by Negro," *The Washington Times*, June 30, 1919, Chronicling America: Historic American Newspapers, Library of Congress; "Posses Keep Up Hunt For Negro"; "Search for Negro Fiend," *Alexandria Gazette*, July 8, 1919, Chronicling America: Historic American Newspapers, Library of Congress.
[257] "Subdued Only After Fierce Struggle in the City Streets."

Black voices worried that the manhunt and the coverage of it would unnecessarily foment racial tensions. The local Black newspaper, *The Washington Bee*, for example, feared that the current charges against the lone Black man would, as was already evidenced by the wholesale roundup of Black civilians, "cast suspicions on other innocent colored citizens."[258] The NAACP even warned that such "inflammatory headlines" would sow the seeds of a race riot.[259] These fears were not unfounded.

On July 19th, 1919, when Elsie Stephnick, White wife of a Navy aviator, escaped an attempted assault by two Black men, news of the incident rapidly spread through her husband's military circles; by the next evening, a White mob of sailors, marines, soldiers and discharged veterans had formed in the city center. It recruited White civilians with ease and carried out sporadic attacks on Blacks.[260] The attempted assault constituted not only an illegal transgression, but a confirmation of smoldering racial biases about the dangers of Blacks. In ideologies that condone collective violence against Blacks to punish deviancy, forming a mob to inflict violence on the Black residents of Washington may have seemed like a natural course of action. In fact, it seemed so legitimate a reaction that on the morning after the first night of violence, rather than attempting to diffuse the situation, one of the biggest newspapers in the city decided it was appropriate to call on even more White servicemen to assemble against Blacks for the purposes of a "clean-up".[261]

Through Stephnik's military connection, strong network ties made it relatively straightforward to gather the personnel required for mob action. That the original military networks were created for the violent purposes of attacking an enemy facilitated their reformation for the alternative purposes of inflicting violence on a Black enemy. Furthermore, over the past weeks, networks of civilians had formed repeatedly to catch the serial assaulter, strengthening ties and fueling animosity towards Black deviancy. This may have influenced the ease with which mobs were able to attract civilian recruits.

Undaunted by the violence of the first night and the *Washington Post*'s inflammatory publication the next morning, Black Washingtonians refused to submit to these attempts at oppression. After being asked by the Chief of Police and Mayor not to retaliate against the

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[258] Quoted in, "Posses Keep Up Hunt For Negro."

[259] McWhirter, *Red Summer*, 116.

[260] Krugler, *1919, the Year of Racial Violence*, 86; "Screams Save Girl From 2 Negro Thugs," *The Washington Times*, July 19, 1919, Chronicling America: Historic American Newspapers, Library of Congress.

[261] "Charge Washington Newspaper with Inciting to Riot," *The Monitor*, July 31, 1919, Chronicling America: Historic American Newspapers, Library of Congress.

mobs, a leader of an NAACP delegation announced that Black citizens would not allow themselves to be "shot down like dogs"; they would be "prepared to protect their families and themselves and would do so at all hazard."[262] This sentiment reflected the sanctioning of defensive violence promoted by the New Negro movement and demonstrated its growing presence in Black ideologies.

Accordingly, Blacks armed themselves too. By the estimate of the incumbent leader of the Black teachers' union, Black community groups collected around $14000 to spend on guns and ammunition. Dealers sold so many guns and ammunition that the police enforced a temporary ban on weapons trading. Undeterred, Washington's Black community organized a weapons-run to nearby Baltimore.[263] Black veterans drew on their military training to help organize approximately 2000 Black civilians into patrols of Black neighborhoods.[264] During the rioting, though there were both White and Black casualties, Whites were unable to penetrate Black neighborhoods as Blacks mounted successful collectivized defenses. They did not hesitate to meet the White mobs with their own mobs. Around the city, Blacks and Whites engaged in skirmishes, shooting, punching, bludgeoning, and cutting each other.[265] These moments of collective action would not have been possible without the strong network ties of Black Washingtonians. The violence subsided over the next day as troops were brought in to diffuse the situation.

Some Whites praised the action of the White mobs for taking the law into their own hands, but warned that with the resistance of Black citizens, it did not suffice: the folk in Washington "will have to find some other way to teach [Blacks] their place."[266]

Black voices, on the other hand, praised the defense of Black Washingtonians. W.W. Asby, executive chairman of the Urban League stated, "I deplore mob violence. The spirit of vandalism should be changed to other channels but when one crowd has always been kicked around, I can't help endorsing it."[267] The defense of Blacks in the capital demonstrated to the whole nation that Blacks were no longer going to submit to mob violence without a

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[262] Neval Thomas to Archibald Grimké, July 28, 1919, box 39–28, folder "July 1919," Archibald Grimké Papers, quoted in, Krugler, *1919, the Year of Racial Violence*, 92.
[263] Michael Schaffer, "Lost Riot," *Washington City Paper*, April 3, 1998, https://washingtoncitypaper.com/article/278507/lost-riot/.
[264] Krugler, *1919, the Year of Racial Violence*, 93.
[265] Krugler, 100.
[266] Joseph C. Manning, "Inside Facts of the Washington Riots," Cleveland Gazette, August 23, 1919, quoted in, Krugler, 106.
[267] "A Woman's Plan to Put a Stop to Mob Violence," *Phoenix Tribune*, August 9, 1919, Chronicling America: Historic American Newspapers, Library of Congress.

fight. In the July issue of *The Liberator*, Claude McKay published a poem that would reflect this sentiment. Starting with the lines, "If we must die, let it not be like hogs" and ended with, "Like men we'll face the murderous, cowardly pack, /Pressed to the wall, dying, but – fighting back!", it would serve as an anthem for the New Negro movement.[268] If the riots in Washington introduced the nation to Blacks who were prepared to fight for their equal place in society, the riots that shortly followed in Chicago confirmed that they were there to stay.

Chicago, Ill.

Chicago was the central node of the Great Migration. Home to the *Chicago Defender,* an avid promoter of Black migration to the north, the city was the first port-of-call for southern migrants looking to better their lives as the increase in industrial demand opened up working opportunities.[269] In the decade starting in 1910, Chicago's Black population almost tripled, becoming the most populous in the country after Washington D.C.[270] Vaunted as "The Promised Land" by the *Defender*, Black migrants may have dreamed that they were arriving to tolerant city full of opportunity.[271] However, the opportunities came with a catch, and the residents were far from tolerant.

As an industrial powerhouse, particularly in the meatpacking sector, the city's labor market was heavily unionized. Traditionally, workers' unions barred membership to Blacks. Therefore, in case of strikes, Blacks were hired to weaken union efforts.[272] Blacks got the job, but at the cost of enraging White workers whose efforts at improving their working conditions were regularly thwarted. This threat to White individuals' livelihood was a source of deprivation, easily blamed on the arrival of Blacks.

Fueling White animosity towards Blacks were narratives in the mainstream press drawing on ideological biases about Black biological inferiority and the health dangers this posed

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[268] Claude McKay, "If We Must Die," *The Liberator*, July 1919, NYU Libraries.

[269] While many migrants carried on to other industrial cities, a large proportion stayed.McWhirter, *Red Summer*, 137.

[270] In 1910, the Black population numbered 44,103, composing 2% of the city's population; In 1920, this number was 109,458 composing 4.1% of the population. Rogers and Steuart, "Fourteenth Census of the United States Taken in the Year 1920," 261.

[271] Ethan Michaeli, *The Defender: How the Legendary Black Newspaper Changed America: From the Age of the Pullman Porters to the Age of Obama*, Ebook (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Harcourt, 2016), 183–84.

[272] Chicago Commission on Race Relations, *The Negro in Chicago; a Study of Race Relations and a Race Riot* (Chicago, Ill.: The University of Chicago Press, 1922), 430, http://archive.org/details/negroinchicagost00chic.

to Whites. Dr. Evans's health column in the *Chicago Tribune* regularly broached the topic. Evans found that the traits of Blacks meant that they had a "tendency to dry rot" which would eventually lead to their extinction. As a result, to maintain the purity of the White race, miscegenation was strongly discouraged.[273] Before the pandemic, then, there was already an alarm that the immigrating southern Blacks would bring disease with them. *The Daily Tribune,* for instance, ran an article entitled, "Rush of Negroes to City Starts Health Inquiry", which warned of the "peril" the influx of Blacks would create.[274]

Within this racially hostile context, 90% of Blacks in Chicago were forced to live in the south side of the city in what was known as the 'Black Belt'.[275] Even though rent here was overpriced, Blacks had trouble finding accommodation elsewhere because housing associations organized by White residents and landlords made covenants to not sell or rent to Blacks.[276] The area was characterized by "the presence of mud and stagnant water, the absence of drainage systems, sidewalks, sewerage systems, gas and electric lights."[277] This not only was a source of frustration for Blacks willing to improve their conditions in Chicago, but it heightened the likelihood they would be exposed to illness, fueling the vicious cycle of health discrimination justified by biological determinism.

When the Influenza passed through Chicago in October 1918, the Chicago health department found that "the colored race was more immune than White."[278] This might have countered prevailing beliefs about the biological inferiority of Blacks, but within the engrained system of White supremacy, this only served to highlight racial differences. Consequently, Chicago's Influenza Committee – of which Dr. Evans from the *Chicago Tribune* was a member – imposed measures such as, placarding and the banning of public gatherings.[279] This increased the control the city had on the lives of its residents and in the racialized context, gave authorities more power to deprive Black Chicagoans of their already-limited liberties, both in public and in the sanctity of their home.

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[273] William A. Evans, "How to Keep Well," Chicago Daily Tribune, September 19, 1917, quoted in Schlabach, "The Influenza Epidemic and Jim Crow Public Health Policies and Practices in Chicago, 1917–1921," 37.
[274] "Rush of Negroes to City Starts Health Inquiry," Chicago Daily Tribune, March 5, 1917, as quoted in, Schlabach, 36.
[275] Chicago Commission on Race Relations, *The Negro in Chicago; a Study of Race Relations and a Race Riot*, 8.
[276] Tuttle, *Race Riot*, 173.
[277] "City Negroes and Sanitation," *The Broad Ax*, April 5, 1919, Chronicling America: Historic American Newspapers, Library of Congress.
[278] John Dill Robertson, *A Report on an Epidemic of Influenza in the City of Chicago in the Fall of 1918* (Chicago, Illinois: Chicago, Dept. of Health, 1918), 100, http://archive.org/details/reportonepidemic00robe.
[279] Robertson, *A Report on an Epidemic of Influenza in the City of Chicago in the Fall of 1918*, 50, 60-63.

Despite their apparent resistance to the disease, many Black Chicagoans were infected and required medical attention. Even though it was a major health crisis, healthcare remained segregated, stressing pre-existing sources of Black deprivation. There was only one hospital open to Blacks in the metropolitan area. Provident Hospital was established in 1891, when Blacks in Chicago numbered 14,271.[280] With the influx of migrants during WWI, bringing that number up to 109,458, it was not equipped to deal with so many patients.[281] Dr. Bentley, secretary of the hospital, lamented, "because of wartime conditions and the migration of throngs of colored people to Chicago to work in our local plants, the Hospital cannot do its work on a proper plane without help."[282]

Without the aid of their White counterparts, Blacks drew from their community to address the crisis. The Urban League, which had been crucial in settling Black migrants during WWI, was called upon once again. It established an open clinic at its branch and found willing Blacks to open their homes for Influenza patients. Black Red Cross workers also used the headquarters as a distribution point for

Figure 8: The Chicago Urban League Building, 3032 Wabash Avenue.

food and medicine for Blacks suffering due to the disease.[283] The Red Cross and other volunteer associations were as active in Chicago as elsewhere, making masks and helping run emergency Influenza hospitals.[284] Though they remained segregated, middle class volunteers crossed class divides to help the poor. These racially separate aid efforts contributed to the strengthening of social ties in Black and White networks.

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[280] Durand and Harris, "Thirteenth Census of the United States Taken in the Year 1910," 504.

[281] Rogers and Steuart, "Fourteenth Census of the United States Taken in the Year 1920," 261.

[282] Charles E. Bentley to Julius Rosenwald, October 16, 1917, Julius Rosenwald Papers, box 59A, folder 1, Special Collections Research Center, University of Chicago Library, quoted in Schlabach, "The Influenza Epidemic and Jim Crow Public Health Policies and Practices in Chicago, 1917–1921," 53.

[283] "Influenza workers doing good," *Chicago Defender,* November, 9, 1918, 5; "Open clinic at Urban League," *Chicago Defender,* November, 23, 1918, 5, both cited in, Gamble, ""There Wasn't a Lot of Comforts in Those Days," 119.

[284] "'Flu' Board May Close Chicago Theaters Today," *The Chicago Tribune*, October 14, 1918, Influenza Encyclopedia; "Red Cross Volunteers during Flu Epidemic, 1919," in *Encyclopedia of Chicago* (Chicago, Ill.: Chicago Historical Society, 2005), http://www.encyclopedia.chicagohistory.org/pages/6348.html.

While these medical aid networks remained relatively segregated, the health crisis was an opportunity for Black medical professionals in Chicago, particularly nurses. In the time of crisis, Whites had to abandon their racist social norms and accept medical aid from Black medical professionals. Provident was the first and one of the few hospitals in the country that trained Black nurses.[285] During the epidemic 17 Black nurses were sent to nearby military camps in Illinois to treat White soldiers, feeding into rising expectations of Black nurses, and Black professionals in general.[286]

Another effect of the disease evidenced in Chicago was its desensitization of violence. The scale of death and gruesomeness of the disease impacted people so that they were more likely to be violent. This violence was already in evidence during the pandemic as one man, "crazed by influenza" killed himself and his whole family.[287]

However, as the pandemic dissipated and WWI ended, this expectation dampened somewhat as racial tensions rose in Chicago. Working-age soldiers, Black and White, returned to the city as wartime industrial demand diminished.[288] This served to heighten competition in a labor market already fraught with racial animosity, contributing to further deprivation of working-class individuals. Violence at the workplace became a regular occurrence by the summer of 1919.[289]

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[285] Vanessa Northington Gamble, "The Provident Hospital Project: An Experiment in Race Relations and Medical Education," *Bulletin of the History of Medicine* 65, no. 4 (Winter 1991): 457.

[286] Jones and Saines, "The Eighteen of 1918–1919," 880.

[287] "Crazed by Influenza," *The Dermott News*, October 31, 1918, Chronicling America: Historic American Newspapers, Library of Congress.

[288] McWhirter, *Red Summer*, 141.

[289] During a strike at a corn refinery on the 8th of July 1919, for example, three strikers were killed by armed guards. Tuttle, *Race Riot*, 137.

This animosity spilled over into housing. As more Blacks moved to Chicago and the Black Belt began overflowing into adjacent White working-class neighborhoods, White groups resorted to collective violence, bombarding Black homes and Black real estate agents.[290] When buildings were not being destroyed, Blacks that happened to cross into adjacent districts were attacked. Much of this violence was carried out by youths from so-called 'athletic clubs'; while retaining the label 'athletic', these clubs had developed into violent gangs that were often hired for criminal purposes by corrupt politicians.[291] These clubs were networks of close ties that were readily activated towards racist and violent forms of collective action.

Figure 9: Damage done by a bomb in a house owned by Black Chicagoans

On the one hand, White working-class Chicagoans were fearful of the competition in labor and housing markets that the Blacks engendered. On the other, Blacks, who had arrived in the hope of a better life, found themselves facing more oppression. Attempts to attenuate relative deprivation on the part of either Blacks or Whites resulted in increasing deprivation of the opposite group, in an accumulating cycle of racial animosity.

As tensions escalated in Chicago, riots in Bisbee, Longview and most recently in Washington displayed the continued legitimacy of mob action in the ideologies of Whites, but it also showed Blacks' resolve to resist White pressure to return to a pre-war configuration of racial relations.

Racial tensions came to a boil on the one the hottest days of the year as Chicagoans made for the beaches on July 27th, 1919. On 29th street there was the 'White' beach, which was larger and better equipped than the 'Black' beach on 25th street. With the display of Black

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[290] From July 1917 to March 1921, there were at least 58 bombings in relation to Black housing tensions in Chicago, killing two Black and injuring many more. Chicago Commission on Race Relations, *The Negro in Chicago; a Study of Race Relations and a Race Riot*, 122–24.

[291] Tuttle, *Race Riot*, 199–201; Chicago Commission on Race Relations, *The Negro in Chicago; a Study of Race Relations and a Race Riot*, 16.

autonomy in Washington fresh on the minds of Blacks around the nation, a group of Black men and women decided to make a stand and use the supposedly White-only beach.[292] This was an expression of the rising expectation of what Blacks were entitled to in society, echoing New Negro rhetoric. Angered White beachgoers began throwing rocks at the group, who retaliated and brought in reinforcements. A large-scale battle for the beach ensued. However, it was interrupted as news that a Black child had drowned dispersed the crowd.[293]

Eugene Williams was swimming with two friends unaware of the violence occurring on the beach. They had drifted into the White zone of the water when a man at the shore began throwing rocks at them. One hit Eugene in the head who fell underwater to be pulled out half an hour later by police, dead. Crowds of Black and White Chicagoans gathered as Eugene's friends identified the killer to a policeman. Black onlookers became frustrated when the White officer refused to arrest the perpetrator. Instead, to their outrage, the officer arrested a Black man on the advice of a White bystander. At this, bricks and rocks were hurled at the patrol car brought in to take the Black man into custody. One Black man took a shot at the police injuring one of them but was killed in retaliatory shots. The starting shots signaled the riot was underway.[294]

Unlike in Washington where the riots began as White mobs were triggered in action by a perceived challenge to White supremacy, the Chicago riots began as Black mobs formed in reaction to the perceived injustice of the system, embodied by the racist actions of the authorities. The evidence of the continued oppression of Blacks by a dominant system based on racial difference contrasted with individual Black expectations of what they believed they deserved from society. Their expectations contrasted with the reality with which they were faced to such a degree that violence became an attractive way of resolving their intense deprivation. Cognitively aligning with New Negro frames, Black Chicagoan mobs acted violently not in self-defense but in retaliation against the system.

Streaming out of the beach, groups of Black men attacked Whites, who were pulled from streetcars and motor vehicles and beaten or stabbed. Upon hearing of the racial violence, athletic clubs - armed with an array of weapons - began targeting any Black unlucky enough to be crossing into hostile White neighborhoods. They also took the opportunity to continue

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[292] Tuttle, *Race Riot*, 5.
[293] Krugler, *1919, the Year of Racial Violence*, 129.
[294] Tuttle, *Race Riot*, 8.

the work of chasing Blacks out of White neighborhoods, looting and destroying their houses.[295] Here, athletic club networks of close ties fell into familiar violent roles and provided the initial personnel for White mobs which snowballed in size as they attracted recruits from across the city.[296]

Black Chicagoans, for their part, mounted defenses. At the Y.M.C.A. groups of Black students shot at cars marauding through the Black neighborhood.[297] Black residents gathered at the bank to discuss defense tactics and plans.[298] Leading phalanxes of men, thousands-strong, who patrolled the contours of the Black Belt, veterans were key players in resistance efforts.[299] Community landmarks and the organizing capacity of veterans demonstrate the strength of Black network ties and how they were activated for collective action.

With political leaders failing to act rapidly, the violence would rage on, unabated, over the next 5 days. Succumbing to mounting pressure as the death toll reach 31, the mayor called in military reinforcements. These were efficient in quelling the unrest, dispersing mobs, and restoring order. By July 31st, Blacks were able to return to work, and normal societal operations resumed.[300]

Though Black leaders initially told Blacks not to participate in the riots, following the events, their actions were praised. The defense and retaliation of the Black residents of Chicago aligned with the New Negro narrative.[301] *The Messenger* published an article justifying Black resistance during the riots saying, "The lesson of force can be taught when no other will be heeded." It claimed that the riot was "helpful" for Whites and Blacks across the country as it exhibited for them the extent Blacks were now willing to go for their rights.[302] Unlike the riot in Washington, started by a White mob in support of the racial caste system, the riot in Chicago was started by a Black refusal to abide by this system. It signaled that the violence inflicted by White supremacy would be met with equal violence on the part of those of whom it oppresses.

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[295] Chicago Commission on Race Relations, *The Negro in Chicago; a Study of Race Relations and a Race Riot*, 5–7.
[296] Tuttle, *Race Riot*, 41–42.
[297] Tuttle, 40.
[298] Krugler, *1919, the Year of Racial Violence*, 139.
[299] Coit, "Our Changed Attitude," 247–48.
[300] McWhirter, *Red Summer*, 168–71.
[301] Coit, "Our Changed Attitude," 239–42.
[302] "Immediate Program," *The Messenger*, September 1919, 21, Hathi Trust.

How did the components of Black and White collective action align during the Red Summer in the specific cases of Washington and Chicago?

Washington, D.C.

Leading up to the riots, White Washingtonian had growing feelings of relative deprivation. However, the pandemic did not have a visibly significant role in this. The deprivation of White individuals was seemingly more due to heightened competition for jobs following WWI. Upon noticing some Black Washingtonians working, this deprivation was likely to have been interpreted cognitively by unemployed Whites as unjust according to racist mainstream ideologies. To add to the deprivation felt by the White residents, there was a Black serial assaulter on the loose. Where Whites, particularly White women, might have expected to feel safe, they were now looking over their shoulder. [303]

The mainstream press framed the incidents in racial terms, feeding into familiar racist narratives about danger of Blacks and their tendency towards crime. In this way, the epistemic dimension of dominant racist ideologies was boosted, on the one hand, by frames lamenting the injustice of Blacks having work while veterans remain unemployed, and, on the other, by the fortification of beliefs about the prevalence of Black crime evidenced in the incendiary reporting by the mainstream press.

During the pandemic, volunteering and aid initiatives strengthened network ties in Washington, increasing the likelihood that they could be activated for further collective action. Many of the volunteer associations that were working during the pandemic, such as the Red Cross Motor corps, were also involved in the war effort.[304] There was thus a degree of overlap between the volunteering during the pandemic and the veteran networks that arrived in Washington following WWI. Supplementing these was the Home Defense League, whose members were recently engaged in the manhunt and ideologically cognizant of threat Blacks posed.

Each component of White collective action aligned as deprivation - building over previous weeks in relation to the danger of the serial assaulter and interpreted within racist ideologies

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[303] "Subdued Only After Fierce Struggle in the City Streets."
[304] "Red Cross Motor Corps an Aid During the Influenza Epidemic."

- reached a peak. Though the attack on Stephnik was carried out by two men, and not the lone assaulter, it fed into ideological beliefs about the threat posed by Blacks. It was not only a criminal transgression but a challenge to White supremacy which required punishing. Ideologically, collective violence was a familiar reaction to such Black deviancy. Thus, within the close ties of the military networks White mobs formed to attack Black residents. Civilians were quick to join, highlighting the overlap of the networks.

Looking at Black Washingtonians: In the lead up to the riots, the above evidence from Washington suggests that Blacks' deprivation relative to Whites was also growing. During the pandemic they were left out of aid efforts, and, in the frenzied manhunt, Black men were part of a wholesale roundup by White volunteers and municipal authorities. These events confirmed their lower status in Washington mainstream society and contrasted with Black rising expectations - diffused throughout the Black population by movement leaders - deriving from the more equal participation of soldiers in the war effort and medical professionals in the fight against the pandemic. This contrast may have made the deprivation even more acute, increasing the likelihood of violent reaction.

At a cognitive level, the pandemic was framed by Grimké in a way that highlighted the issue of the current dominant system, building consensus around already established Black counter-hegemonic beliefs about the morality of racial equality. Within this ideological system an individual's relative deprivation was likely to have been interpreted as part of the issue of racial inequality and considered unjust.

Nevertheless, to temper the impact of the pandemic on their communities, Black Washingtonians - through Howard University and Armstrong Manual Training School - came together to deliver aid to those in need. The cooperation of the communities created and strengthened Black network ties, which could potentially be re-activated for resistance purposes in the future. With the return of Black veterans, new types of network ties were created in Washington: these networks of strong ties were based on discipline and violence, increasing the chances of their being more organized and violent when forming. Both were segregated from White networks, thereby contributing to network segmentation.

For Black Washingtonians the components of collective action aligned when relative deprivation due to the repeated confirmation of second-class citizenship - neglected by society during the pandemic and persecuted as an enemy during the manhunt - reached its peak as their lives were threatened by White mobs. This deprivation, interpreted against

counter-hegemonic ideologies, clashed with their expectations. These ideologies had recently gained legitimacy as the pandemic helped point out flaws in the dominant system of belief, and the war helped the New Negro movement promote violence as a viable form of civil rights protection. With strong networks of cooperation strengthened further during the pandemic and boosted by veteran networks, Black Washingtonians were able to successfully collectivize in defense of not only their lives but their houses, their neighborhoods, and their rights.

Chicago, Ill.

In the lead up to the Chicago riots, Black residents would have had reason to feel deprived. In the first instance, as most of them arrived from the south they were forced by the restrictive covenants of White realtors and landlords to live in the Black Belt. This area was not only cramped, unsanitary and lacking infrastructure, it was more expensive than adjacent White neighborhoods.[305] This evidence of the continuity of Black oppression in the north contrasted with the image Blacks might have had of the city being "A Promised Land", potential dashing rising expectations and magnifying their relative deprivation. [306] The pandemic added to this deprivation by justifying further municipal measures that restricted the lives of Blacks, such as placarding. It also made the disparities in healthcare, and by extension in society in general, more perceivable. It highlighted the lack of interest Whites had in helping Blacks. With only one hospital serving Blacks, however, the community had to come together to offer help to suffering Black citizens. Black networks ties were strengthened as Black residents cooperated to run the Urban League health clinic, help Black Red Cross workers deliver essentials or to offer their homes for recovering patients.

While the pandemic fueled relative deprivation, some Blacks may have viewed Black nurses from Chicago being sent to treat soldiers, regardless of the color of their skin, for the first time, as evidence of a "new brand of professional democracy."[307] This contributed to rising expectations derived from the more equal participation of Black soldiers during WWI. These expectations fed into the New Negro philosophy of Black militant activism,

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[305] Krugler, *1919, the Year of Racial Violence*, 124.
[306] Michaeli, *The Defender*, 183–84.
[307] Turner, "Epidemic Influenza and the Negro Physician," 184.

which was gathering steam in 1919, evidenced concretely by the collective resistance of Black communities in riots in Bisbee, Longview, and Washington.

As these counter-hegemonic modes of thinking gained legitimacy in the ideologies of Blacks in the US, Black Chicago residents were faced with increasingly violent attempts on the part of Whites to subjugate them. This is clear in the destruction of their property and the racial assaults carried out by White athletic clubs. In this way, Black Chicagoans' expectations were peaking at the same time as the standard of their actual conditions plummeted, creating an "intolerable gap" in which restitutive violent action was likely to occur.[308] Frames of the growing New Negro movement, legitimized by the actions of Blacks in other cities during race riots, combined with the desensitization of violence from the pandemic to make collective violence seem like an appropriate form of action to remedy this intolerable situation. As disciplined and violent networks of Black veterans returned from war compounded the networks strengthened during the pandemic, each component of collective action for Black Chicagoans was primed for collective violence.

Thus, when authorities refused to arrest the White murderer of a Black child, opting instead to arrest a Black man who had complained about the situation, the components of Black collective action aligned. The series of events contrasted with Blacks' expectations, heightened by the professional democracy witnessed in WWI and the pandemic as Black soldiers, doctors and nurses fought and worked alongside their White counterparts at more equal level. The contrast made the deprivation more acute, priming violent reactions. Therefore, Black Chicagoans influenced by New Negro narratives and the success of Black collective violence during the recent Washington riots, proactively formed mobs in retaliation to the apparent injustice of the current system. This relationship to violence may also have been impacted by the pandemic's desensitization effect. Moreover, veteran networks overlapped with community networks, which were strengthened during the pandemic, as Black Chicagoans defended their right to equality.

For White Chicagoans, the arrival of Blacks caused relative deprivation among White workers, particularly unionized workers who formed most of the labor market. Used as strikebreakers, Black workers threatened White efforts at ameliorating their conditions and their job security. The threat to White workers' livelihood may have been inconsistent with what they believed they were entitled to. Interpreting this inconsistency alongside epistemic

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[308] Davies, "Toward a Theory of Revolution," 6.

beliefs about the inferiority of Blacks, the problem would have been identified as a racial one, increasing White animosity towards Blacks. This racist mainstream ideological grounding was bolstered by scientific discourses about the biological inferiority of Blacks, evidenced in the heath columns of Dr. Evans. [309]

Indeed, it is through this racist ideological prism that Blacks moving into predominately White working-class neighborhoods became a source relative deprivation. Simply the fact of having Blacks nearby frustrated Whites who feared incoming Blacks would taint the neighborhood. Creating and strengthening White community ties, landlords and realtors joined forces in housing associations to prevent Blacks from moving in. This was done through housing covenants which limited Black housing option to the Black Belt.[310] These covenants enforced the physical separation of White networks from Black ones, contributing to network segmentation.

As the pandemic hit Chicago, Whites were more affected than Blacks. Blind to social theories explaining the disparities, the Chicago health department viewed it in biological terms, arguing that it was the 'colored race' that was more immune.[311] In White supremacist ideologies this served to cement racial differences and feed into biologically deterministic beliefs. It also may have been a source of relative deprivation for White patients who were used to faring better than Blacks during a health crisis.

Like elsewhere in the country, the pandemic served to strengthen White networks through the efforts of volunteering associations such as the Red Cross. Through crossing of middle-class volunteers' cooperation between poorer classes – though class biases remained entrenched - White social cohesion was bolstered. However, this crossing did not extend to Black residents.

With racial lines underscored by the pandemic, returning war veterans and an economic recession contributed to increased feelings of relative deprivation for Whites. In a labor market in which unionized workers already viewed Blacks as 'scabs' who stood in the way of their better working conditions, the heightened competition served to accentuate this

[309] William A. Evans, "How to Keep Well," Chicago Daily Tribune, September 19, 1917, quoted in Schlabach, "The Influenza Epidemic and Jim Crow Public Health Policies and Practices in Chicago, 1917–1921," 37.

[310] Chicago Commission on Race Relations, *The Negro in Chicago; a Study of Race Relations and a Race Riot*, 113–14.

[311] Robertson, *A Report on an Epidemic of Influenza in the City of Chicago in the Fall of 1918*, 100.

hostility.[312] Furthermore, with the overcrowding of the Black Belt, more Blacks overflowed into White neighborhoods, compounding the deprivation felt in the workplace. With the housing covenants failing to keep Blacks away, in the ideologies that regarded Blacks as inferior and condoned violence against Black deviancy, Blacks deviating from their assigned 'place' in the city was viewed as a transgression warranting correction through collective violence. This was carried out principally by networks of youths in athletic clubs who destroyed Black property and attacked Blacks who strayed into White working-class neighborhoods. In doing so these networks strengthened their ties while the purposes of their formation synchronized with mob violence against Blacks.

During the riots in Chicago, the components of White collective racial violence aligned in reaction to Black mobs, but they were already in operation to a lesser degree before the riot began. Informed by the behavioral dimension of ideologies that condoned collective violence against Blacks impinging on White resources, Whites drew on network ties, namely those of athletic clubs to attack Blacks and destroy their property in groups. Fueled by growing relative deprivation and already primed for collective violence against Blacks, augmenting the intensity of their actions was a straightforward step once Blacks began forming mobs. With athletic clubs providing the initial bodies for mob action, White network ties came into play as the mobs grew.

In both the Black and White collective violence in Washington and Chicago, individual relative deprivation had been building. For Blacks this contrasted with their rising expectations in society making the deprivation more acute. Interpreted in dominant White ideologies, this deprivation was blamed on Blacks, increasing racial animosity. In Black counter-hegemonic ideologies, the deprivation was blamed on the unequal system, which oppressed them. While collective violence against Blacks was engrained in dominant White ideologies, it also became part of Black ideologies after WWI with the increasing legitimacy of the new Negro Movement. Triggering events which reflected this interpretation of White and Black respective deprivation motivated networks to come together to carry out mob violence. In Washington it was the confirmation of the danger of Blacks to White women in dominant ideologies that sparked military networks to form mobs and attack Blacks. Blacks collectivized in reaction to this. In Chicago, the explicit

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[312] 'Scab' was a pejorative term for 'strikebreaker'. Chicago Commission on Race Relations, *The Negro in Chicago; a Study of Race Relations and a Race Riot*.

manifestation of continued oppression in combination with new cognitive guides on reacting violently to protect one's rights was what motivated Blacks to draw on their networks and gather into mobs.

Conclusion: How did the pandemic influence the conditions that gave rise to the collective violence of the Red Summer?

The pandemic intermingled with various other factors to influence the conditions that gave rise to the collective violence of the summer of 1919. Though it increased the likelihood of White and Black collective action, it had a mixed influence on their probability of collective violence. Furthermore, its specific impact on each component was different for each group. For Blacks, it contributed to feelings of relative deprivation by making their second-class status in mainstream society more salient. In Washington they were not considered in aid efforts and in Chicago there was only one overcrowded hospital that was open to them. Furthermore, government health measures, such as placarding, disproportionately restricted the already limited freedoms Blacks had in society.

Some of this relative deprivation may have been offset by the temporary acceptance of Black doctors and nurses in the medical sector, who were, for the first time, treating White patients and working alongside White medical professionals. Black leaders used this to diffuse rising expectations cognitively as something that should be felt collectively. However, these rising expectations were short-lived as racial hierarchies were reinstated in the medical sector after the pandemic. This sudden return to a subordinate role accentuated relative deprivation. The framing of the pandemic contributed to the cognitive component of Black collective action as it was used to expose the contradictions of White supremacy and build ideological consensus around counter-hegemonic belief-systems which viewed racial inequality as a collective issue. The pandemic also strengthened Black community ties. Being left by Whites to fend for themselves, Black communities came together to provide aid during the crisis, increasing intra-network cooperation. Indeed, the lack of involvement with White networks contributed to network segmentation.

For Whites, the disparities in infection rates noted in Chicago and elsewhere may have been a source of relative deprivation because Whites were more affected by the disease. This disparity fed into and reinforced ideological beliefs about the biological difference and inferiority of Blacks, which were prevalent in mainstream discourse. Dr. Evans, who was on Chicago's Influenza Committee, was a prominent proponent of these racist narratives. Furthermore, the pandemic crisis increased cooperation in White networks as aid-

volunteering strengthened community ties. This volunteering was segregated, however. The little interaction between White and Black networks increased network segmentation. One aspect of the pandemic that affected the probability of collective violence occurring in both White and Black networks was the pandemic's cognitive desensitization of violence. In Chicago, instances of violence due to the Influenza showed the effect it had on people's relationship with violence. While the acuteness of the relative deprivation for both groups may have increased this likelihood, the non-violent nature of aid networks for both groups may have mitigated the probability that those networks ties were used for violence.

The pandemic's influence on each component of collective action supplemented other influential factors.

Demographic shifts as a consequence of WWI created tension in the labor and housing market. In Washington, White veterans returned to a fiercely competitive job market, in which some Blacks held government positions. Deprivation felt at being unemployed after fighting in a war while Blacks apparently had jobs may have been interpreted in racist dominant ideologies as unjust. In Chicago, racial hostilities were brewing before the war ended as Black workers were brought in from the south and weakened union efforts. This may have engendered deprivation in Whites, which, interpreted in dominant ideologies that consider Blacks as less deserving of the work than Whites, was readily blamed on Black workers. Similar thinking fueled housing discrimination. In Chicago, for example, White landlords and realtors forced Blacks to live in the Black Belt where there was poor infrastructure and unsanitary conditions. This would have been a source of deprivation for migrating Blacks who had high expectations of the potential to improve their lives in the north.

WWI played a significant role in the demographic shifts, but it also destabilized the cognitive realm. Through the more equal participation of Black soldiers in the war and the rising expectations this brought about, Black leaders drew on nationalistic discourses to frame racial equality as a battle worth resorting to violence for. The legitimacy of this framing was evidenced in the gaining of momentum of the New Negro movement after the war. With this cognitive grounding Blacks in Chicago laid claim to their right to the beach and went so far as to engage in a rock-throwing battle to defend it.

WWI did not have as strong an influence on White beliefs about race, and unchanged epistemic and behavioral dimensions of White supremacy remained strong factors in the

eventual racial violence. In Washington, for example, these racist ideologies underpinned the coverage of the serial assaulter. White beliefs about the dangers of Blacks and their tendency towards crime justified wholesale roundups of innocent Black men. Contrasting with their rising expectations and interpreted against New Negro narratives, however, Black Washingtonians would have found this unjust.

War also provided Blacks and Whites with networks of close ties in the form of veteran networks. These were formed for violent purposes, which meant that when forming for other moments of collective action, the likelihood that these networks applied violent practices increased. While there was an overlap between the aid networks and veteran networks because of aid efforts during the war, violent veteran network ties played a more active role during the violence of the Red Summer.

Taking the pandemic and the rest of the factors together, this research posits that the pandemic had an ancillary influence on the conditions that gave rise to the collective violence of the Red Summer. The pandemic did not have inherent qualities that sparked racial tension, rather it occurred within a racialized context to accentuate the pre-existing divisions and connections of society. The components of racial collective violence were aligning before the pandemic hit. The pandemic, therefore, nudged them in the direction they were already going.

The present research shines a light on the understudied relationship between the 1918 Influenza and the collective violence that occurred shortly after it in the US. Using qualitative judgment, a hypothesis on the nature of this relationship has been advanced. Nevertheless, the quasi-infinite complexity of the social mechanisms involved means that in the limited space of this paper, the conclusions reached are necessarily incomplete. Excluded from the analysis, for example, was the interaction of the pandemic with the anti-socialist paranoia that was growing in the US at that time. With Blacks often lumped ideologically in a 'non-conformist' category, an investigation into how this interaction impacted the conditions that gave rise to the Red Summer's collective violence may hold analytic value. Furthermore, only two riots are discussed in detail and another three are touched on. Considering 1919 witnessed over two dozen race riots, there remain many cases to analyze.

The upside to this incompleteness, however, is the opportunity it offers for further research. While the content of what has been analyzed is specific to the 1918-1919 US context, the

paper has constructed a theoretical framework through which different pandemics can be analyzed in different contexts. Most relevant for the current time period, subsequent research might examine how the three components of collective action were influenced by COVID-19 and how they aligned during the Black Lives Matter protests. Such research might follow the present paper in offering a qualitative assessment of the relationship between the events. Quantitative methods, however, may offer avenues through which to test this framework and extract generalizable truths that may be applied to a variety of similar cases. In either case, the aim of this contribution is to ignite and fuel the conversation on the historical and sociological significance of pandemics and their influence on ethnic and racial collective action. To end, let us ponder the words of Albert Camus:

"What's true of all the evils in the world is true of plague as well. It helps men to rise above themselves."[313]

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[313] Albert Camus, *The Plague*, trans. Stuart Gilbert (New York, N.Y.: Vintage Books, 1972), 119, http://archive.org/details/plague00camu_khb.

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Appendix

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Timeline of Events
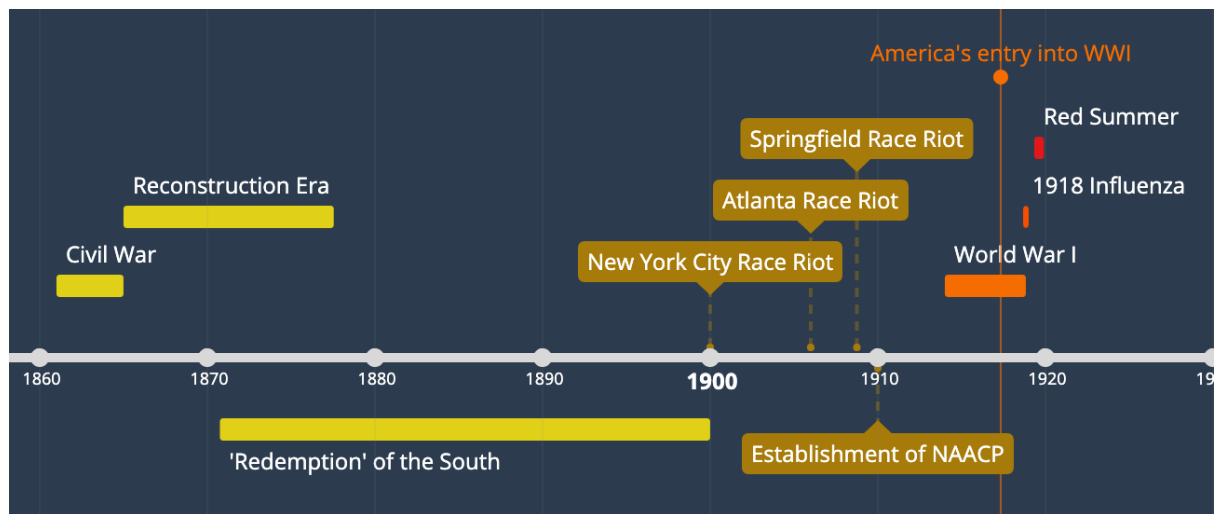
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