



Teaching Hard History: The Red Summer of 1919 and the Tulsa Race Massacre of 1921

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This curriculum unit is recommended for:
World History, 9th-12th Grade

Keywords: Tulsa, riot, massacre, WWI, African American, war, New Negro, Red Summer, 1919

Teaching Standards: See [Appendix 1](#) for teaching standards addressed in this unit.

Synopsis: In this unit, students will examine the effects of WWI on African American culture and race relations in the United States. Students will focus on the effects of the New Negro Movement and race relations in the United States after the war through the study of the Red Summer of 1919 and the Tulsa Race Massacre of 1921, also known as the Tulsa Race Riot or Tulsa Race War. This will tell the history of African American progress post Reconstruction, the advancements of the New Negro Movement, to ultimately the Red Summer and race riots after WWI. This allows students to see the Progressive Era in a new light and evaluate the impact of WWI on race relations in the United States. They will have to determine the importance of learning about these forgotten stories and how it has influenced race relations and African American culture today. This unit aligns with the North Carolina World History standards on skills and WWI. The summative assessment requires students to create a monument to those lost in either the Red Summer or Tulsa Race Massacre.

I plan to teach this unit during the coming year to (91) students in (World History and Honors World History to 9th-12th grades).

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Introduction

In our seminar, “WWI and the Shaping of the 20th Century,” we examined how the events of the WWI era helped to mold a new sense of culture and way of life in the United States and throughout the world. It was during this era that a shift took place propelling society and culture into a turning point. Everything from women earning the right to vote to the new ideas of the “New Negro” and Harlem Renaissance. Many groups of people and events have been left out of school curriculum but it is these people and events that have had a profound impact on history.

Rationale

Ever since I started teaching WWI in World History, I have always focused on the European side of the war and more about the countries involved rather than the outcomes or effects of the war on people. There was never really a focus on the culture and people more than just mentioning the home front once or twice. One of the big changes I wanted to make as a teacher was to take the curriculum and make it more inclusive and relatable. I wanted to tell the stories of war through people, especially the effects of war on people. Students tend to relate and gravitate towards those human stories; I wanted to focus on the stories and individuals that are not normally told. Two of those stories are the Red Summer of 1919 and the story of the Tulsa Race Massacre of 1921. Also known as the Tulsa Race Riot or Tulsa Race War, this event tells the story of not only the human side of history but also the race relations in the United States after WWI. The history of Red Summer, Black Wall Street and the Massacre are not always a part of a WWI curriculum, but these stories give a lot of insight about the history and culture of Black Americans after WWI. From the perpetuation and growth of the New Negro Movement, to the devastation of the Red Summer of 1919 and the destruction of “Black Wall Street” in the Tulsa Race Riot of 1921, there is a whole side of history that tends to go untold. However, these stories resonate with the events that are going on today.

I have spent the last few years of teaching trying to diversify the curriculum to help all students feel connect to history and to elevate minority groups that have been left out of textbooks and curriculums. My goal is to create a curriculum that can be more relevant to students and make students more aware of the history of all different groups and cultures. This will make students more knowledgeable and tolerant of many different cultures. When

I was able to incorporate a curriculum where students could see themselves and find relevance, they were more engaged. Students were better able to make the critical connections and understand change over time. I want to give students lessons that would allow them to feel ownership of the past and see how people create change. I want to give students more insight into how we got to movements today, like Black Lives Matter.

In understanding the changes in culture that happened after WWI, it was easy to see that students could use the events of the WWI era to better understand the current state of the world and the different movements that are occurring, including the Black Lives Matter movement. Particularly with this unit, it covers the Red Summer of 1919 and the Tulsa Race Massacre that occurred in 1921. The Tulsa Race Massacre is an incredibly significant event that has become more relevant and more visible in pop culture. HBO created a series called “The Watchmen” that is based off a DC comic of the same name. This gave people a look at the Tulsa Race Massacre and imagined the far-reaching implications of that event through a super-hero lens. Even more so, it gave the history and background of the Tulsa Race Massacre. The series brought a great awareness to the event and I have had more students interested in studying the event and the people who were involved. To better understand the Tulsa Race Massacre, it is important to understand the impact of WWI, especially on Black soldiers to understand how these terrible events came to be. In this curriculum unit, the focus is on the Red Summer of 1919 and the Tulsa Race Massacre. Students are able to see how the war impacted African American culture and the race relations in the United States and make connections to how it is relevant and important today.

School Demographics

I teach at Mallard Creek High School in Charlotte Mecklenburg Schools in northeast Charlotte. It has over 2,400 students- 67% African American, 12% white, 12% Hispanic, 5% Asian and 4% Multi-Racial and serves grades 9-12. The classes I teach tend to be majority African American averaging about 80%. The school has about 40% of students on free or reduced lunches, which reflects the socio-economic status of the students. Mallard Creek is a large mix of wealthy and middle-class students with some students being homeless. I teach two honors courses and one standard that total 91 students. I have students that vary in reading ability from 4th grade to 12th grade. This unit is intended to fit the population of students I teach. As I have mentioned, I want students to see themselves and own their history. Many of my students, most of whom are African American, do not get to see themselves or their history in school. I created these lessons to give those students ownership over their history and make greater connections to what matters to them. It also allows my other students to see the different perspectives. When my students see relevance in the curriculum, they are more engaged and are more curious about exploring more about the topic.

Objectives

For the exact language of the North Carolina Standard Course of Study standards addressed in this unit, please refer to Appendix I. By the end of this unit, students will be able to analyze the impact of WWI on African American culture and race relations in the United States by looking at the Red Summer of 1919 and the Tulsa Race Massacre of 1921. They will use evidence from primary and secondary sources to evaluate the impact of the war, the different views for gaining equality, engage in a discussion about why we shy away from teach hard history and ultimately create either their own monument to the lives lost during the Red Summer of 1919 or the Tulsa Race Massacre of 1921. They will do this through creating their own memorial design along with informing the visitors about the events that took place and their significance in American History.

Students will use many historical thinking skills like analysis, evaluation, corroboration and sourcing to help achieve the objectives of the curriculum unit. They will also be tasked with practicing life skills like collaboration and communication. They will be asked to respect the varied opinions and mature nature of the content. Ultimately, they will use their creativity and emotional reaction to create a monument to the lives lost during this time period.

Content Research

A great deal of African American history goes untold in many World and American History curriculums. However, there is a lot of untold history during the WWI era that sheds light on current day issues. It is important to note the origins of these changes to understand how the WWI era influenced African American culture and the race relations of the United States. One of the most significant cultural change that is amplified because of the war is the New Negro Movement. Many historians debate the exact beginning dates of the New Negro Movement for African American culture but all agree that WWI helped to transform the idea of a collective and unified African American culture and the New Negro Movement itself.¹

There have been arguments made that the “New Negro” phrase was referenced as early as 1745.² However, it is disputed when the movement started. Historian Henry Louis Gates Jr. and literary scholar Gene Andrew Jarrett affirm that, “the period 1892-95 remains the earliest starting point to date for studies of the New Negro”.³ This is significant to understanding the extent that the WWI era influenced the movement and culture of African Americans. While the New Negro movement starts in the late 1800s, after the war the movement becomes more widespread. It is what takes place during and after WWI that many African Americans to question their role and identity within the United States. It is also during this time that white Americans had to recognize and grapple with the transformation of the African American role in society.

There were various predominant leaders and many ideas that emerged regarding how African Americans should proceed in a post-slavery country. Historian Gabriel Briggs states, “A number of works provided a window on the earliest political function of a new radical representation, one that sought to replace white-based notions of black inferiority with a racial consciousness that would help reshape the way African Americans perceived themselves”. Both men and women throughout the decades would create various arguments about how African Americans should reshape their identities and perceptions. There were always a question of how to achieve equality and how to gain real citizenship. After WWI, there is a shift, particularly with Black veterans who have to continue fighting at home equality.

The “New Negro” movement was not one, cohesive movement that took place simultaneously across the United States after WWI, but rather a collection of experiences from the 1890s on that transformed what progress should look like for African Americans. There were different voices and experiences involved to create what would become the basis of the Civil Rights movement in the 1950s and 1960s. There were considered to be various types of “New Negroes” political and social ideologies that included: “radical, conservative, black nationalist, socialist, integrationist, or communist”. Moreover, while there were various ideas of the types of progress that should take place, there was one clear belief, “the ‘Old Negro’ was a casualty of World War I and they would not seek to accommodate racial discrimination and oppression but would resist and protest unjust law and treatment at the hands of white racists and white supremacists”.⁴ The “Old Negro” was seen as a product of slavery that was depicted within the United States as ignorant, obedient, and inferior to Whites. However, after the war, the New Negro was seen differently. “He is thinking. And by the power of thought, he will think off those chains and have both hands free to help”.⁵

One of the leaders of the New Negro movement was W.E.B. Du Bois. He had one of the most influential publications, *The Crisis*. His articles described the Black experience during the war, mainly looking at the experience of black soldiers in France. While there were not many black soldiers that went overseas to serve in combat, a few were sent to serve in France. It was here that black soldiers experienced a society that welcomed them as equals. Du Bois writes in his essay that black soldiers had seen and experienced “a vision of a real democracy”.⁶ He wrote sternly about soldiers who had to come home and continue fighting against racial prejudices and the Jim Crow south. His ideas built around the various war experiences caused him to greatly push and influence black Americans to fight for equality and improve their place and status in the United States after WWI.

He was not the only black leader of the movement, however, that would influence the creation of the New Negro and the fight for equality. Although Booker T. Washington had died during WWI, his sentiments echoed in the African American culture after the war. Booker T. Washington had been more outspoken about changing and constructing the image of Black American. His beliefs were more conservative and centered on creating a very respectable image and move away from the stereotypes of the slave narrative.⁷ It was all

about having the public image of respectable and proper citizens. He wanted to focus on the achievements and education of black Americans to help change the minds of racist Americans. This would help African Americans push for greater equality. However, many believed his ideas were an outdated way of thinking. This led to leaders like Du Bois to speak out against those ideas and push for more progressive change.

The New Negro Movement gained significant strength during the WWI era. Author Gerald Early argues, “the war made African Americans a truly modern national community with a more informed international consciousness and this, in turn, helped to make the New Negro movement possible”.⁸ The African American community was changed because of the war. Many African Americans viewed the war as an opportunity to gain real citizenship of equality through service, and earn a true place in American society. However, African Americans did not see much change after the war. Early points out, “it is true that World War I did not change the condition of African Americans in the United States but it did change the way that many blacks thought about their condition if, for no other reasons, than it made them think about the duty and privileges of citizenship and the issue of loyalty to a nation or to a set of communities.” The sentiments of the New Negro would cause an extreme reaction from Whites who did not agree with the New Negro. The build up of racial tensions after the war would lead to deadly lynching and widespread riots, known as the “Red Summer”.

Before the Red Summer of 1919, racial tension between Black and white Americans been growing. The new sentiments of the “New Negro” and the advancement of African Americans after reconstruction threatened the status quo of white Americans. Even more threatening than the status quo was the economic advancement of African Americans. Before and during the war, African Americans were taking part in the Great Migration. It was during the Great Migration that “approximately six million African Americans left the South for the urban industrialized cities in the North”.⁹ African Americans were finding jobs in the industrial North. WWI had opened the opportunity for more factory jobs and helped move African Americans from the South to northern cities. However, this caused tensions to grow in these majority white cities. The increased population of African Americans in the North led to one of the deadliest summers, “In the summer of 1919 (Red Summer), there was a culmination in racial riots across the US where White mobs attacked, lynched, and killed Blacks, and burned Black communities and businesses. For African Americans, the racial tensions in the North proved to be just as tumultuous as in the South”.¹⁰

The summer of 1919 was one of the deadliest on record for African Americans in the United States. Across the North, South, and Midwest racial tensions erupted.¹¹ Author Cameron McWhirter in his book “Red Summer: The Summer of 1919 and the Awakening of Black America” wrote,

“The violence enveloped towns, counties, and large cities from Texas to Nebraska, Connecticut to California. Though no complete and accurate records on the months

of violence were compiled, analysis of newspaper accounts, government documents, court records, and NAACP files, show at least 25 major riots and mob actions erupted and at least 52 black people were lynched. Many victims were burned to death. Riots were often over in hours, but some immobilized cities like Chicago, Washington, Knoxville, and Elaine, Arkansas, for days.”¹²

This was a devastating time for Black Americans who had been fighting for their rights. They had seen progress since the Civil War and had hoped for a change coming back from WWI. The experiences in the early 1900s only pushed many Black Americans to continue to fight for and create a better life. In a way, it was this point in history that helped establish and transform the Black identity in America, “something amazing happened as the mobs rose up. They encountered black men and women transformed by their experiences during the war, whether in European trenches, on the factory floors of northern cities, or in the cotton fields of the South. The economic, social, and political dynamics of black-white relations were changing”.¹³ This was such a critical time in African American history and a time that sheds light on the history of race relations in the United States. This is time of both progress and regression, “In the first months of 1919, black culture and society radiated a new vitality and hope....Harlem expanded with theaters, cabarets, restaurants and a budding literary scene”.¹⁴ Nothing exemplifies the progress and regression in African American culture and race relations in the United States more than within Black Wall Street and the Tulsa Race Massacre of 1921.

The Tulsa Race Massacre, also known as the Tulsa Race Riot or Tulsa Race War was one of the deadliest massacres in American History. It was originally known as the “Tulsa Race Riot” but many activists pushed for the name to be more significant by changing it from “riot” to “massacre” or “war”. Many textbooks and history curriculums skip over this event as well as the Red Summer even though it is an incredibly important part of American History. Tulsa was not unlike much of the South in the early 1900s. There was still a great deal of racism and segregation.¹⁵ However, Tulsa had become known for its oil, drawing in many people and creating a larger population of both Black and white citizens. The racism and segregation in Tulsa had been an issue for some time, “racism was not a new or unfamiliar problem, ‘Jim Crow’ laws were among Oklahoma’s first legislative acts after statehood. The ‘Grandfather Clause’ was enacted in 1910 and remained until the U.S Supreme Court declared it unconstitutional in 1915. Segregation was more complete in Tulsa than in most American cities”.¹⁶ Segregation was apart of the fabric of the South and the ‘Grandfather Clause’, which stated that if an ancestor had not voted prior to 1867 that you were not able to vote, clearly displayed the rooted racism and oppression that occurred for Black Americans.¹⁷

Among the racially segregated city, a district emerged as a haven for African Americans. It was called the “Greenwood District” that would later be named “Negro Wall Street” by Booker T. Washington and would eventually be known as “Black Wall Street”.¹⁸ It was in 1905 when Greenwood started to transform into a place of refuge for Black

Americans, “black Tulsans began to live along Greenwood Avenue in the northeast section of the city, when a strip of land in that area was sold to a group of blacks”.¹⁹ As the population of the Greenwood district grew, so did the opportunities for African Americans. They were able to see a Black-owned run newspaper, a Black police officer, and the emergence of Black-owned businesses like a movie theater. Historian Henry Witlow argued that the success of the Greenwood District came from the fact that, “while black Tulsans were ‘welcomed’ to work at common labor, domestic, and service jobs in any part of the city, they were ‘not welcome’ to patronize white businesses south of the tracks and in other sections of the city”.²⁰ This caused money to be poured back into the Greenwood community rather than spent in white businesses.

The racial tension in Tulsa would continue to grow. There were multiple incidents that occurred in Tulsa that would build to one of the worst massacres in American History. The event was said to have started on the 30th of May with an incident between a young Black male and a young white female. According to author R. Halliburton Jr., “nineteen-year-old Dick Roland, a Negro bootblack, entered the Drexel Building in downtown Tulsa to deliver a package. Upon entering the elevator to leave the building, Rowland apparently stumbled, brushed against and stepped on the foot of the white operator, Sarah Page”.²¹ Startled, she ran out of the building and told a store clerk what had happened, “Mrs. Page informed a rapidly growing crowd that the Negro had attempted to criminally assault her”.²² The police started to get involved by beginning an investigation into what had happened.

The following day, Roland was arrested by two African American police officers and held in jail. He had maintained that it was just an accident but Page insisted otherwise. By that afternoon, news of the incident had reached the papers. Many well respected residents believed her story to be false but other residence were outraged by the incident. Some took to the streets crying out in anger for Roland to be lynched. Later that night, a crowd of white men started to form in front of the courthouse. The men were warned to disperse but they refused. Soon after, a group of African American men, some of whom were carrying weapons reportedly, arrived in defense of the young man. The crowd grew larger and larger until it boiled over, “an unidentified white attempted to wrest a gun from a Negro. During the altercation the weapon discharged”.²³

There are disputed accounts about this whole incident, questioning who was armed and who fired the first shot. However, after that shot rang out, the African Americans started to retreat to Greenwood as the fight broke out. Several men were wounded as shots were fired. There were ambulances called, by the white men refused to let the Black men get treatment. At this point, “The whites began organizing and planning strategy and tactics for reprisal. Their immediate task was to procure arms.”²⁴ Things got worse from there. The mobs continued and police were called in. It continued, “By 11:00 p.m., the police and ‘deputies’ began bringing in Negro prisoners. The fighting continued to escalate, and by midnight, 250 prisoners had been captured”.²⁵ General Barrett of the Tulsa National guard stated,

“In all my experience I have never witnessed such scenes as prevailed in this city when I arrived at the height of the rioting. Twenty-five thousand whites, armed to the teeth, were ranging the city in utter and ruthless defiance of ever concept of law and righteousness. Motor cars, bristling with guns swept through your city, their occupants firing at will”²⁶

The devastation that occurred was enormous. Many innocent human lives were destroyed along with homes and businesses. There were not complete or accurate records kept, so the totals are unknown, “Tulsa’s black community suffered a catastrophic human loss. The total of casualties will never be known. Hospital and Red Cross records indicate that nearly a thousand were treated”.²⁷ This once radiant Black refuge was left in complete ruins. It took years to clean up and rebuild what was left of Greenwood, but it would never be the same.

Teaching Strategies

In order for students to reach the objectives and master the skills, the teacher should use the various strategies repeatedly. This will give students time to master the skills and content and build a much deeper understanding about WWI and the impact it had on African American culture and race relations in the United States. It helps to incorporate informal assessments along with the activities to gauge student mastery and differentiate the instruction to meet each student.

Any of the materials in the curriculum unit can be used in a remote learning environment. Given the state of affairs in 2020, this can all be done electronically. However, these activities and strategies can be used and adapted for an in-person lesson.

Anticipatory Guides

At the beginning of each unit, teachers should assess how much prior knowledge a student has on the content and information being taught. This way the teacher is able to not only start to individualize instruction but they can use that information to help build upon the curriculum and instruction fit for their classes. It can also be used as a discussion piece later on when looking at what students have learned throughout the lesson. You can have students analyze what they learned, how they learned it, and reflect on what might have made them successful in the unit or what they want to work on and learn more about.

Close Read

Whenever students are given a reading, it is good to provide strategies and questions along with the text to help students understand what they are reading. This will help guide them in the reading and help them think critically about the content in the passage. It is also good to chunk the reading into sections so it does not become overwhelming for them. Teachers can also provide a vocabulary reference sheet to help lower level readers. You can turn it into a bigger lessons with pairs or small groups. You can model the close read using the reading guide so students can learn how to think about their reading, and think about how they learn when reading a passage. The idea is to have them engage with the text and connect to the material.

Quick Write

This is a formative assessment strategy to use as a warm up or a closure activity. In this activity, teachers give students up to two minutes to write as much as they can about a topic learned that day or the day before. They hold onto the document and continually add to it. Students are able to keep a running note sheet of all they have learned and keep it as a resource to use and study. Students could also get into groups and share what they have written. Teachers can turn it into a cooperative teaching strategy by allowing students to share with each other what they have written or add to theirs based on what the other students have written. If you have lower-level students, provide support like anchor charts, small note sheet, or watch a video before students write. This allows all students to be successful and write about the topic.

Document Analysis

This strategy is a way to combine historical thinking and sourcing skills. This also goes along with the first standards in the World History curriculum. Students can use the skills of critical thinking, corroboration, and context to determine what the source is saying. These skills are some of the most important skills that students learn in social studies. Students are faced with information and sources constantly in today's world and need to be equipped with skills that allow them to determine the best sources of information. They also need to experience the past through authentic sources. Many times, we are too quick to teach the history rather than have students discover what happened. When they explore the various sources themselves, they can learn what happened in history based on those sources.

Socratic Seminar

This strategy allows for deep, open and honest discussions based on readings or information students have learned. It requires academic conversation and engagement with the material. Students form opinions based on the information and want to be able to share what they think about different content and topic. This activity allows them to do that. It allows them to cooperate and listen. It's important to have students develop and share

informed opinions in the content in social students. They should be given a question that makes them think deep and requires them to make connects.

Guides/Organizer

Each time students are given an assignment during this lesson, they are given some sort of guide or organizer to help them organize all of their ideas and information from the source or lesson. Through guides and organizers, the teacher is able to observe student learning and how students are doing with the activities. It also allows students to keep track of the work they have done for each lesson and can reference that work in later lessons.

Lessons/Activities

Activity #1: Introduction and Anticipatory Guide

In the first activity, students will be given an anticipatory introduction that will be used later on in the unit during the Socratic Seminar. They will have a google document guide and a slide deck with 5 images, one per slide. For each image, students need to complete “I see”, “I think” and “I wonder”. This calls for students to first observe the images- what they notice and what stands out. Then they will think critically about the image, making different inferences about what they are looking at. Lastly, they will write down three questions they have about the image. They can do this individually but can discuss their answers with classmates after they have completed the activity.

At the end of the activity, students will have four questions that ask them to think about if they know the material and where they have seen or heard about the material. If students do not know about the events and material, they are asked to infer based on the images provided. Students will come back to this information during the Socratic Seminar when discussing why textbooks and curriculums might leave out this information. They will reflect on if they knew about the events and explain why or why not. This is to get them thinking about why they have not learned about the events. Then they will determine what race relations might be like if there was more of an effort to teach this material.

Activity #2: Close Read

In the second activity, students will close read an article adapted from the Zinn Education Project about the Red Summer of 1919 and complete a close read guide. They can complete this independently, pairs, or groups. In the close read google document, students will analyze each of the different sections starting with the introduction. They will write a short, three-sentence summary, find critical vocabulary, and ask three questions they have about each section they read. It may take students a little longer to read but they have a better opportunity of understanding what they are reading as they go. It can be adapted with

pictures or specific text pulled out the article for lower level readers. The article talks about why the Red Summer is left out of textbooks and why that is significant. Students will be able to reference this information during the Socratic Seminar as well.

Activity #3: Primary Source Analysis

In the third activity, students will compare the primary sources of a speech from Booker T. Washington and an excerpt from W.E.B. Du Bois to analyze and evaluate how each thought about how to achieve racial equality in the United States. They will be given the sources and questions that are adapted from Stanford History Education Group, *Reading Like a Historian*. Then they will read current day sources adapted from speeches given during the Black Lives Matter protests in 2020. Each primary sources is broken down into different sections that are accompanied with questions to help students analyze each source. This can be done as a whole group or small groups. Students are trying to see the conflicting nature of how to achieve equality. You want them to see that during this time period, Black Americans are facing the same struggles experienced today. Students should struggle to answer the question of how equality can be achieved but should start to see the merit in teaching these events and people that are so often left out of history.

Activity #4: Web Investigation/Student Led Research

In the fourth activity, students will be given various readings and websites to research the Red Summer of 1919, Greenwood and Black Wall Street, and the Tulsa Race Massacre of 1921. They will take notes on the information they find in each of the sources and summarize what they have learned from each source. They will do this on a google doc graphic organizer. This will allow students to conduct their own research and use the information they learned in the Socratic Seminar. They will view both primary and secondary sources to draw their own conclusions about what happened and why these events are significant in history. Students can do this individually or it can be done in groups where each group gets a specific topic and can share out what they found during their investigation.

Activity #5: Socratic Seminar

In the fifth activity, students will participate in a whole group, Socratic seminar. They will be given an organizer that will allow them to go back and examine information from the previous activities to discuss, "Why do teachers, history books, and curriculums shy away from teaching 'hard history' like the Red Summer of 1919 and Tulsa Race Massacre of 1921?" Students will take turn giving their points of views based on what they have done so far in this lesson. Students will be encouraged to reference anything from previous activities to use as evidence during their academic conversations. This activity is more open ended and can be conducted in different ways based on the level of the class and preferences of the teacher.

Activity #6: Memorial Choice Project

For the last activity in the unit, students will create a memorial for the remembrance of either the Red Summer of 1919 or the Tulsa Race Massacre of 1921. Students will either draw, create a digital rendering, or create a 3D model of their memorial. They will write a paragraph that would go on a memorial plaque somewhere within their monument to briefly explain the even and significance. Then they will create a handout or pamphlet that would be available to the visitors of the memorial. The handout or pamphlet would include images, more information about the event, and resources where visitors can find out more information. Students will be given a google document with all the directions along with a rubric to follow.

Assessments

Formative Assessment(s):

For the formative assessment, students should do a quick write daily to review information they learned that day or the day prior. They can keep the quick write as a reference and support for lessons.

Teachers can also view the guides provided for each lesson to gauge how the students are doing and that they are learning for each activity. If students are put into groups, the teacher can observe the conversations.

The teacher can also use the Socratic Seminar to gauge what students have learned in all the past lessons and what students include with their organizers. They could grade based on participation in the seminar.

Summative Assessment:

The summative assessment would be the last activity of the memorial project. This would require students to have a great deal of background knowledge to complete the activity in a proficient manner.

Appendix I: Teaching Standards for North Carolina Course of Study

NCES WH.H.1.2: Use Historical Comprehension to:

1. Reconstruct the literal meaning of a historical passage
2. Differentiate between historical facts and historical interpretations
3. Analyze data in historical maps
4. Analyze visual, literacy, and musical sources
 - Students will be asked to look at various sources and determine their meaning. They will also look at various sources to research information about the events as well as analyze various images.

NCES WH.H.1.3: Use Historical Analysis and Interpretation to:

1. Identify issues and problems in the past
2. Consider multiple perspectives of various peoples in the past
3. Analyze cause-and-effect relationships and multiple causations
4. Evaluate the influence of the past on contemporary issues
 - Students will have a discussion about the issue in America post WWI and make a connection to today.

NCES WH.H.1.4: Use Historical Research to:

1. Formulate historical questions
2. Obtain historical data from various resources
3. Support interpretations with historical events
4. Construct analytical essays using historical evidence to support arguments
 - Students will conduct their own research to interpret the past and better understand the historical events taking place.

NCES WH.H.7: Understand how national, regional, and ethnic interests have contributed to conflict among groups and nations in the modern era.

- Students will use the events of the Red Summer and Tulsa Race Massacre to determine race relations in the United States.

NCES WH.H.7.1: Evaluate key turning points of the modern era in terms of their lasting impact.

- Students will use WWI as a key turning point with culture and the impact on American History.

NCES WH.H 8.1: Evaluate global wars in terms of how they challenge political and economic power structures and give rise to new balances of power

- Students will look at how WWI challenged race relations in the United States.

NCES WH.H.8.6: Explain how liberal democracy, private enterprise, and human rights movements have reshaped political, economic, and social life in Africa, Asia, Latin America, Europe, the Soviet Union, and the United States.

- Student will look at the Red Summer and Tulsa Race Massacre and make connections to today's Black Lives Matter movement

Appendix II: Teacher Resources

Google Classroom or online platform to post materials

- a. Google Classroom requires a free account
- b. Google Sides for anticipatory activity #1
- c. Google Documents for activities #2-#6

SHEG (Stanford History Education Group)

This requires a free account. It offers many different lesson that have primary and secondary source analysis and guiding questions. It includes teacher materials and students' materials.

<https://sheg.stanford.edu/history-lessons/booker-t-washington-and-w-e-b-du-bois>

Newsela

This requires a free account using a teacher email. It has various articles adapted for students and available at different reading levels. The article used in the lesson linked below is "Explaining the Red Summer of 1919"

https://newsela.com/read/lib-red-summer-1919/id/56539/?search_id=e84aa63b-21f8-4172-8897-60e17172f3a9

Zinn Education Project

This is a website filled with lessons, resources, and reading for various topics but focuses on highlighting history for People of Color. You can sign up for a free account to have more access but can still access articles and readings without an account. These articles reference the Red Summer and Tulsa Race Massacre. They also offer many more articles on the topics.

<https://www.zinnedproject.org/if-we-knew-our-history/remembering-red-summer>

Library of Congress

This is a website filled with primary and secondary sources. Images of the Tulsa Race Massacre that were used in activity one were found using this resource.

<http://www.loc.gov/pictures/search/?q=Tulsa%20Race%20Riot>

Readwritethink.org

This is an educational website directed at helping teachers create lessons or activities for their students. This article in particular discusses how to conduct a Socratic seminar. This can help guide you with activity #5.

<http://www.readwritethink.org/professional-development/strategy-guides/socraticseminars30600.html#:~:text=The%20Socratic%20seminar%20is%20a,to%20the%20thoughts%20of%20others>

Websites:

<https://eji.org/wp-content/uploads/2019/10/lynching-in-america-targeting-black-veterans-web.pdf>

Looking at mostly pages 22-30, this is a website used on the Web Investigation activity and can give more background on the Red Summer of 1919

<https://thevictoryofgreenwood.com/>

This is another website used for the Web Investigation activity that gives more background on Greenwood, Oklahoma.

<https://blackfreedom.proquest.com/category/jim-crow-era/racial-intimidation-and-violence/tulsa-massacre/>

This is on the Web Investigation that gives students access to primary sources about the massacre.

<https://www.theatlantic.com/sponsored/hbo-2019/the-massacre-of-black-wall-street/3217/>

This is on the Web Investigation and is an interactive comic strip about Black Wall Street and the Tulsa Race Massacre.

<https://www.tulsahistory.org/exhibit/1921-tulsa-race-massacre/resources/>

This is on the last site on the Web Investigation. It gives primary source material on the Tulsa Race Massacre from the Tulsa Historical Society.

<https://www.worldwar1centennial.org/honor/national-wwi-memorial.html>

This is used for the Memorial Choice Project. It is an example of the memorial being built for WWI.

<https://museumandmemorial.eji.org/memorial>

This is used for the Memorial Choice Project. It is an example of the memorial for Peace and Justice for Black Americans.

<https://www.nps.gov/wamo/learn/historyculture/index.htm>

This is used for the Memorial Choice Project. It is an example of the memorial for George Washington.

<https://www.jhfcenter.org/reconciliation-park>

This is used for the Memorial Choice Project. It is an example of the memorial build for the Tulsa Race Massacre.

Appendix III: Lesson Materials

Activity #1: Anticipatory Guide *Student Google Document*

Use [THIS](#) slide deck to complete the table below.

Image	I see.... (3 observations)	I think.... (3 inferences)	I wonder.... (3 questions)
#1			
#2			
#3			
#4			
#5			

Questions:

1. Explain the Red Summer of 1919. If you do not know anything, take a guess based on image #4.
2. Explain the Tulsa Race Massacre. If you are not sure, use images #1-3.
3. Have you heard or been taught anything about the Tulsa Race Massacre? If so, where did you hear it or when was it taught to you?
4. What do you think is being referenced in image #5?

Image #1



Source: Library of Congress

Image #2



Source: Library of Congress

Image #3



Source: Tulsa Historical Society

Image #4



Source: Author: Cameron McWhiter

Image #5

The death toll of about 300 seems to be a more reasonable figure. Mr. Ed Wheeler in a conversation with Dr. Scott Ellsworth gave this number and supposedly came up with it from sources not used by Mr. Willows. For example, Mr. Wheeler interviews five men in the early 1970s who saw bodies lying on a sandbar in the Arkansas River near the railway bridge. One of these men even went down to the sandbar and saw that there were both white and African-American bodies. These bodies were being guarded by men in uniform. The man counted 67 and stopped counting because of the condition of the bodies, but reported that there were many more bodies.

Source: Tulsa Historical Society

Activity #2: Close Read

Student Google Document Guide

Directions: Use [THIS](#) link and read the document. For each section, write a 3-sentence summary, key vocabulary words, and any questions you have.

Section	Summary
Introduction (first 2 paragraph)	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Three Sentence Summary:<ul style="list-style-type: none">○• Key Vocabulary Words:<ul style="list-style-type: none">○• Questions:<ul style="list-style-type: none">○

White Rage, Black Self-Defense	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Three Sentence Summary: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ • Key Vocabulary Words: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ • Questions: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○
"Dying, But Fighting Back!"	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Three Sentence Summary: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ • Key Vocabulary Words: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ • Questions: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○
"Race Riots" In Textbooks	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Three Sentence Summary: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ • Key Vocabulary Words: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ • Questions: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○
"Race Riots" In Textbooks (Last 2 paragraphs)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Three Sentence Summary: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ • Key Vocabulary Words: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ • Questions: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○

Close Read Article

- 1) Original on Zinn Education Project: <https://www.zinnproject.org/if-we-knew-our-history/remembering-red-summer>
- 2) Adapted Newsela Article: https://newsela.com/read/lib-red-summer-1919/id/56539/?search_id=e84aa63b-21f8-4172-8897-60e17172f3a9

Directions: Read the following primary sources about how African Americans should achieve equality after Reconstruction. Answer the questions next to the text. Be prepared to discuss.

<p style="text-align: center;">Speech: Source: <i>Excerpt from Booker T. Washington's 'Atlanta Compromise' speech, 1895. (Adapted)</i></p>	<p style="text-align: center;">Questions</p>
<p>To those of my race who want to move to a foreign land or who underestimate the importance of cultivating friendly relations with the Southern white man, who is their next-door neighbor, I would say: "Cast down your bucket where you are"— cast it down in making friends of the people of all races by whom we are surrounded.</p>	<p>1.What does he mean when he says "cultivating friendly relations with the Southern white man"?</p> <p>2.When he asks African Americans to "cast down your bucket" what is he asking them to do?</p> <p>3.Why do you think he is asking this?</p>
<p>Cast it down in agriculture, mechanics, in commerce, in domestic service, and in the professions. Our greatest danger is that in the great leap from slavery to freedom we may overlook the fact that the masses of us are to live by the productions of our hands, and fail to keep in mind that we shall prosper if we learn to dignify and glorify common labor. . . . No race can prosper till it learns that there is as much dignity in tilling a field as in writing a poem. It is at the bottom of life we must begin, and not at the top. Nor should we permit our grievances to overshadow our opportunities.</p>	<p>1. What is Washington encouraging Africans to do for work? Why?</p>
<p>To those of the white race who look to immigrants for the prosperity of the South, were I permitted I would repeat what I say to my own race, "Cast down your bucket where you are." Cast it down among the eight millions of Negroes whose habits you know. . . . Cast down your bucket among these people who have, without strikes and labor wars, tilled your fields, cleared your forests, and built your railroads and cities. . . . While doing this, you can be sure in the future, as in the past, that you and your families will be surrounded by the most patient, faithful, law-abiding, and unresentful people that the world has seen.</p>	<p>1.Explain what Washington is asking white Southerners to do.</p> <p>2.Why would he ask them to do that?</p>
<p>As we have proved our loyalty to you in the past, in nursing your children, watching by the sick-bed of your mothers and fathers, and often following them with tear-dimmed eyes to their graves, so in the future, in our humble way, we shall stand by you with a devotion that no foreigner can approach, ready to lay down our lives, if need be, in defense of yours, interlacing our industrial,</p>	<p>1.What should African Americans do, according to Washington in this speech?</p> <p>2.Why would he encourage this after all that has happened?</p>

<p>commercial, civil, and religious life with yours in a way that shall make the interests of both races one. In all things that are purely social we can be as separate as the fingers, yet one as the hand in all things essential to mutual progress.</p>	
<p>The wisest among my race understand that the agitation of questions of social equality is the extremest folly, and that progress in the enjoyment of all the privileges that will come to us must be the result of severe and constant struggle rather than of artificial forcing. No race that has anything to contribute to the markets of the world is long in any degree ostracized. It is important and right that all privileges of the law be ours, but it is vastly more important that we be prepared for the exercise of these privileges. The opportunity to earn a dollar in a factory just now is worth infinitely more than the opportunity to spend a dollar in an opera-house.</p>	<p>1. Washinton argued that African Americans should appease white Southerners to achieve equality. Why?</p> <p>2. The end of the speech is highlighted. Explain in your own words what he is saying.</p>

<p style="text-align: center;">Excerpt: <i>Source: W. E. B. DuBois, The Souls of Black Folk (Chicago, 1903). (Adapted)</i></p>	<p style="text-align: center;">Questions</p>
<p>Mr. Washington asks that black people give up, at least for the present, three things— First, political power; Second, insistence on civil rights; Third, higher education of Negro youth—and concentrate all their energies on industrial education, the accumulation of wealth, and the conciliation of the South. . . . What has been the return? . . .</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. The disfranchisement of the Negro. 2. The legal creation of a distinct status of civil inferiority for the Negro. 3. The steady withdrawal of aid from institutions for the higher training of the Negro 	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. What is DuBois saying about Washington's approach to equality? 2. What is his counter argument?
<p>These movements are not . . . direct results of Mr. Washington's teachings; but his propaganda has, without a shadow of doubt, helped their speedier accomplishment. Is it possible . . . that [African Americans] can make economic progress if they are deprived of political rights and allowed only the most meager chance for developing their exceptional men? . . . [The] answer. . . is an emphatic No. . . .</p>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Explain the highlighted section.

<p>So far as Mr. Washington apologizes for injustice, . . . does not value the privilege and duty of voting, . . . and opposes the higher training and ambition of our brighter minds, we must firmly oppose them. . . . We must strive for the rights . . . which the sons of the Fathers would fain forget: "We hold these truths to be self-evident: That all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness."</p>	<p>1. Du Bois advocated a different approach to education for African Americans than did Washington. Explain how Du Bois wants to achieve equality.</p> <p>2. What document is he quoting at the end? Why do you think he is quoting that?</p>
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*Sources and Lesson adapted from *Thinking Like a Historian*, Stanford History Education Group

<p style="text-align: center;">Speech: <i>Source: Excerpt from Rapper Killer Mike speech, May 29, 2020. (Adapted)</i></p>	<p style="text-align: center;">Questions</p>
<p>I didn't want to come, and I don't want to be here. I'm the son of an Atlanta City Police Officer. My cousin is an Atlanta City Police Officer, and my other cousin, [inaudible 00:00:19] police officer. I got a lot of love and respect for police officers down to the original eight police officers in Atlanta that, even after becoming police, had to dress in a YMCA because white officers didn't want to get dressed with n*****s.</p>	<p>1. Why is Killer Mike giving this speech?</p>
<p>And, here we are, 80 years later. I watched a white officer assassinate a black man, and I know that tore your heart out. I know it's crippling, and I have nothing positive to say in this moment because I don't want to be here. But, I'm responsible to be here because it wasn't just Doctor King and people dressed nicely who marched and protested to progress this city and so many other cities. It was people like my grandmother, people like my aunts and uncles, who are members of the SCLC and NAACP.</p>	<p>1. Who does he reference as the people who fought 80 years ago?</p> <p>2. Thinking back to the notable people like Martin Luther King Jr., what did he do to fight for justice in America?</p>
<p>So, I'm duty bound to be here to simply say that it is your duty not to burn your own house down for anger with an enemy. It is your duty to fortify your own house so that you may be a house of refuge in times of organization. Now is the time to plot, plan, strategize, organize, and mobilize. It is time to beat up prosecutors you don't like at the voting booth. It is time to hold mayoral offices accountable, chiefs and deputy chiefs. Atlanta is not perfect, we're a lot better than we ever were, and we're a lot better than cities are.</p>	<p>1. What is he asking people to do?</p> <p>2. What is his suggestion about how people should fight for justice?</p>

<p style="text-align: center;">Speech:</p> <p><i>Source: Excerpt from Young Adult Author Kimberly Jones speech, "How We Win" 2020. (Adapted)</i></p>	<p style="text-align: center;">Questions</p>
<p>So I've been seeing a lot of things, talking, people making commentary. Interestingly enough, the ones I've noticed that have been making the commentary are wealthy black people, making the commentary about we should not be rioting. We should not be looting. We should not be tearing up our own communities. And then there's been an argument of the other side of, we should be hitting them in the pocket. We should be focusing on the blackout days where we don't spend money. But I feel like we should do both. And I feel like I support both.</p>	<p>1. What is Kimberly Jones saying about the protests?</p> <p>2. What does she support?</p>
<p>You can't win. The game is fixed. So when they say, "Why do you burn down the community? Why do you burn down your own neighborhood?" It's not ours. We don't own anything. We don't own anything. Trevor Noah said it so beautifully last night. There's a social contract that we all have, that if you steal, or if I steal, then the person who is the authority comes in and they fix the situation. But the person who fixes the situation is killing us. So the social contract is broken.</p>	<p>1. Why does she think this approach is okay?</p> <p>2. How are few views different from Killer Mike?</p>
<p>You broke the contract when for 400 years, we played your game and built your wealth. You broke the contract when we built our wealth again on our own by our bootstraps in Tulsa and you dropped bombs on us, when we built it in Rosewood and you came in and you slaughtered us. You broke the contract.</p>	<p>1. What is she referencing with the highlighted line?</p>

Activity #4: Web Investigation
Student Google Document Guide

Directions: Use the following websites and pages to determine the post WWI events of the Red Summer and Tulsa Race Massacre.

Website Link/Page	Research Notes	Summary of what you learned from your research
Red Summer 1919 <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Red Summer and WWI Veterans 		
Greenwood, Oklahoma <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The people and city of Greenwood 		
Tulsa Race Massacret 1921 <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Primary Source Articles of the Race Riot • Massacre of Black Wall Street Comic • History of Tulsa 		

Activity #5: Socratic Seminar
Students Google Document Guide

Directions BEFORE Socratic Seminar:

Past Activity	Questions to think about/answer to prepare
Anticipatory Guide	1. Review your answers. Did you know much about the events? Why or Why not?
Close Reading: Red Summer of 1919	1. What surprised you in that article?

	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 2. What did you learn from that reading? <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. 3. What questions did you have? <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. 4. Does the article mention why it might not be taught?
Primary Source Analysis: Booker T. Washington vs. Du Bois	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Did you know who they were before the activity? Why or why not? 2. What did they say about achieving equality? <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. 3. How can you relate what they said back to today's movements and issues? <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. 4. What role do you think education should play in helping advance equality and equity in the United States? <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1.
Web Investigation	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. What did you learn about the events from the different websites and reading? 2. Do you feel you have a better understanding of the events and why they are significant? Explain what you found. <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1.

Directions DURING Socratic Seminar:

Notes	Interesting points/quotes from classmates

Directions AFTER Socratic Seminar:

Debrief and Summary Questions
<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Why do teachers, schools, and textbooks shy away from teaching difficult events, especially those involving race relations? <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. 2. What do you think will happen if we start teaching "hard history"? <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. 3. What is the most significant thing you think you learned during this unit so far?

- 1.
4. Why might it be important to have difficult conversations?
 - 1.
5. What questions do you have?
 - 1.
6. What might you want to learn more about?

Activity #6: Memorial Choice Project

Student Google Document Guide

Memorial Choice Project: Overview and Directions

During this unit, you have focused on learning about the impacts of WWI on African American culture and race relations of the United States. You have learned about the Red Summer lynching across America, the different points of views of how equality should be obtained for Black Americans, the background of events starting in Greenwood and seeing the Tulsa Race Massacre. We have discussed why textbooks and teachers shy away from teaching “hard history”. Now, you are going to create a memorial and give more information and recognition to the events and ultimately the fighting that continued on the home front after WWI. Use the information below to help you complete your project.

Choose One Event to Create Your Project On

Directions for the project:

1. Create a memorial for one of the two events listed below. This memorial must include:
2. A drawing, digital rendering, or 3D model of the building, plaque, or reflective area. Here are some monuments to give you some ideas

- [Washington Monument](#)
- [National Memorial for Peace and Justice](#)
- [National WWI Memorial](#) (still in progress)
- [John Hope Franklin Reconciliation Park](#) (includes Tula Race Massacre)

1.

A paragraph that would be included on an informational plaque located at the entrance of your memorial.

A pamphlet or handout that would be available to visitors that would include:

- History of the event (who, what, where, when)

- Why it was significant and should be remembered
- Pictures, images, drawing, excerpts as primary sources
- Websites, books, articles they could reference to learn

Red Summer 1919

Tulsa Race Massacre

Rubric

	Proficient	Emerging	Not Yet
Drawing/ Digital Rendering/ 3D model	-A complete and creative memorial -Includes various colors -Creative and unique	-A partially complete memorial -Includes limited color and creativity	-Incomplete memorial -No color or added information -Not turned in
Informational Plaque Paragraph	-Accurate information -5-7 sentences -Includes specific information like people and dates	-Mostly accurate information -3-5 sentences -Includes vague information and no date or people	-Very little accurate information -Not turned in
Informational Pamphlet/ Handout	-Accurate information -Images -Color -References to find more information about the topic -Statement on why it is important to remember and learn about the event	-Mostly accurate information -No color -No References or few references -Limited statement on importance	-No accurate information provided -Not turned in
Spelling/Grammar	-Minimal Spelling or grammar errors	-A few spelling or grammar errors	-Extensive grammar errors -Not turned in

Notes

¹Gabriel A. Briggs, *New Negro in the Old South* (Rutgers University Press, 2015), 8.

² Briggs, *New Negro in the Old South*, 9.

³ Briggs, *New Negro in the Old South*, 9.

- ⁴ V. P. Franklin, "The Power To Define: African American Scholars, Activism, and Social Change, 1916–2015," *The Journal of African American History* 100, no. 1 (2015): pp. 1-25, <https://doi.org/10.5323/jafriamerhist.100.1.0001.3>.
- ⁵ Briggs, *New Negro in the Old South*, 10.
- ⁶ Jennifer Keene. "The Memory of the Great War in the African American Community." In *Unknown Soldiers: The American Expeditionary Forces in Memory and Remembrance*, edited by Mark A. Snell, 207-240. Kent, OH: Kent State UP, 2008. 61.
- ⁷ Lee D. Baker, "Anthropology in American Popular Culture," in *From Savage to Negro: Anthropology and the Construction of Race, 1896-1954* (Berkeley, Calif: University of California Press, 2007), pp. 54-80. 62.
- ⁸ Gerald Early, "The New Negro Era and the Great African American Transformation," *American Studies* 49, no. 1-2 (2010): pp. 9-19, <https://doi.org/10.1353/ams.2010.0010>. 10.
- ⁹ Alicia Davis and Greg Wiggan, "Black Education and the Great Migration," *Black History Bulletin* 81, no. 2 (2018): pp. 12-16, <https://doi.org/10.5323/blachistbull.81.2.0012>.
- ¹⁰ Alicia Davis and Greg Wiggan, "Black Education and the Great Migration," 13.
- ¹¹ Cameron McWhirter, *Red Summer: the Summer of 1919 and the Awakening of Black America* (New York: St. Martin's Griffin, 2012), 11.
- ¹² Cameron Mcwhiter, *Red Summer*, 13.
- ¹³ Cameron Mcwhiter, *Red Summer*, 13.
- ¹⁴ Cameron Mcwhiter, *Red Summer*, 14.
- ¹⁵ R. Halliburton, *The Tulsa Race War of 1921* (San Francisco: R and E Research Associates, 1975), 333.
- ¹⁶ R. Halliburton, *The Tulsa Race War of 1921*, 334.
- ¹⁷ Alan Greenblatt, "The Racial History of the 'Grandfather Clause'". NPR. www.npr.org/sections/codeswitch/2013/10/21/239081586/the-racial-history-of-the-grandfather-clause
- ¹⁸ Hannibal B. Johnson, *Tulsa's Historic Greenwood District* (Charleston, SC: Arcadia Publishing, 2014), 9.
- ¹⁹ Scott Ellsworth, *Death in a Promised Land: the Tulsa Race Riot of 1921* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State Univ. Press, 2001), 14.
- ²⁰ Scott Ellsworth, *Death in a Promised Land*, 14.
- ²¹ R. Halliburton, *The Tulsa Race War of 1921*, 335.
- ²² R. Halliburton, *The Tulsa Race War of 1921*, 335.
- ²³ R. Halliburton, *The Tulsa Race War of 1921*, 336-38.
- ²⁴ R. Halliburton, *The Tulsa Race War of 1921*, 338.
- ²⁵ R. Halliburton, *The Tulsa Race War of 1921*, 341.
- ²⁶ R. Halliburton, *The Tulsa Race War of 1921*, 346.
- ²⁷ R. Halliburton, *The Tulsa Race War of 1921*, 346.

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