

APPENDIX A

APPENDIX A

Tulsa Race Massacre Sources

BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION & DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE FILES

Reports of Agents T.F. Weiss & James G. Findlay, Bureau of Investigation (June–July 1921), Department of Justice General Records, Entry 112-B, Straight Numerical Files, #158260. available at <https://www.proquest.com/archival-materials/riots-tulsa-oklahoma/docview/2627199297/se-2?accountid=14740>

Case File BS 202600-2253: The Tulsa Massacre, Federal Bureau of Investigation, Bureau Section Files (1921), available at <https://www.proquest.com/docview/2587282298?sourcetype=Archival%20Materials>

Department of Justice Correspondence File (June 1, 1921–July 31, 1921), Department of Justice Classified Subject Files on Civil Rights (1914–1949), Department of Justice General Records, Entry 112-B, Straight Numerical Files No. 158260, available at <https://www.proquest.com/docview/2627198766?sourcetype=Archival%20Materials>

Letter of Redmond S. Cole to U.S. Department of Justice Official J.G. Findlay (June 6, 1921), M290, Folder 1, Box 12, Redmond S. Cole Collection, Western History Collections, University of Oklahoma¹

COMMISSION REPORT

DANNEY GOBLE ET AL., TULSA RACE RIOT: A REPORT BY THE OKLAHOMA COMMISSION TO STUDY THE TULSA RACE RIOT OF 1921 (Feb. 2001), <https://www.okhistory.org/research/forms/freport.pdf>, including the following scholarly essays in the report:

- *Final Report of the Oklahoma Commission to Study the Tulsa Race Riot of 1921*
- Don Ross, *Prologue*
- John Hope Franklin and Scott Ellsworth, *History Knows No Fences: An Overview*
- Scott Ellsworth, *The Tulsa Race Riot*
- Richard Warner, *Airplanes and the Riot*
- Clyde Snow, *Confirmed Deaths: A Preliminary Report*
- Robert Brooks and Alan H. Witten, *The Investigation of Potential Mass Grave Locations for the Tulsa Race Riot*
- Lesley Rankin-Hill and Phoebe Stubblefield, *History Uncovered: Skeletal Remains as a Vehicle to the Past*

¹ Thanks to Randall Hopkins for providing this letter.

- Larry O'Dell, *Riot Property Loss*
- Alfred Brophy, *Assessing State and City Culpability: The Riot and the Law*
- *Chronological Maps of the Tulsa Race Riot*

PRIMARY SOURCE MATERIALS

A. Report from American Red Cross

AMERICAN RED CROSS, REPORT: TULSA RACE RIOT DISASTER RELIEF (Loula Watkins, comp.), Tulsa Historical Society & Museum, Accession No. 1984.002.060, https://ppolinks.com/tulsa/history/1984_002_060_pdf.pdf

B. National Guard Reports²

Report of Major Jas. A. Bell (July 2, 1921)

Report of Major M.C. Paul R. Brown (July 1, 1921)

Report of Major C. W. Daley (July 6, 1921)

Report of Lieut. Roy R. Dunlap (July 1, 1921)

Report of Major Byron Kirkpatrick (July 1, 1921)

Report of Capt. John W. McCurn B Co 3d Inf. (undated)

Report of L.J.F. Rooney, Lieut. Col. 3rd Infantry and Chas. W. Daley, Inspector General's Dept. (June 3, 1921)

Report of Lt. Col. L.J.F. Rooney (July 29, 1921)

Report of Frank Van Voorhis, Capt. Com. Service (July 30, 1921)

C. Grand Jury Investigation of John A. Gustafson, Tulsa Police Chief

Oklahoma v. Gustafson, No. 10537 (Okla. Dist. 1921), collected by Okla. Dept. of Libraries, Okla. State Archives Division, RG 1-2, Case No. 1062, <https://digitalprairie.ok.gov/digital/collection/race-riot/search/searchterm/1062%20Gustafson>

D. Ku Klux Klan Materials³

Including:

- Form K-115, Application for Citizenship in the Invisible Empire, Knights of the Ku Klux Klan (1920s)
- Constitution of the Women of the Ku Klux Klan (June 2, 1923)
- Form K-114, List of Klan Supplies

² Thanks to Eric Miller, Greta Smith-Wisniewski, and Damario Solomon Simmons for providing this information, some of which was also found in the McFarlin Library Special Collection.

³ Available from the McFarlin Library Special Collections at the University of Tulsa.

- Kloran: Knights Kamellia [Primary Order of Knighthood] (1925) (pamphlet)
- Klankraft Card of L.J. Boll (1926)
- Letter to Klansmen from Imperial Wizard (Jan. 18, 1928)
- *KKK Membership Roster, Honorary Members 1928 Dues Issued*, Vols. 1 & 2
- Alvia O. DeRee, *The Bright Fiery Cross: Our Song*
- Why You Should Become a Klansman (pamphlet)

E. **Other Primary Sources**⁴

Including:

- Tulsa, Okla., Ordinance No. 1547 (Aug. 4, 1915)
- Anti-Segregation Petition (Tulsa, 1916)
- W.E.B. Du Bois, *Returning Soldiers*, 18 *CRISIS: A RECORD OF THE DARKER RACES* 7, 13-14 (May 1919)
- Tulsa Board of Commissioners Meeting Minutes (June 7, 1921)
- Tulsa Chamber of Commerce Meeting Minutes (June-July 1921)*
- Letter to the Governor of Oklahoma from T.W. Bell, et al. (June 20, 1921)*
- Letter to Governor J.B.A. Robertson from Chas. F. Barrett (July 2, 1921)*
- *National Association for the Advancement of Colored People*, 22 *CRISIS: A RECORD OF THE DARKER RACES* 113 (July 1921)
- G.A. Gregg, *Tulsa Then and Now*, Oklahoma YMCA (undated; included in letter to Department of Justice dated June 9, 1921)
- Tulsa Chamber of Commerce, *The Riot—Cause and Effect*, 6 *TULSA SPIRIT* 4 (July 1921), https://lib.utulsa.edu/speccoll/collections/1990.002_KennedyScrapbook/1900-002-1p18.pdf
- Brig. General Chas F. Barrett, Field Order No. 4 (June 1921), in ROBERT N. HOWER, 1921 RACE RIOT AND THE AMERICAN RED CROSS: ANGELS OF MERCY 130 (Homestead Press 1993)
- Maurice Williams, *Personal Account of the 1921 Tulsa Race Riot*, reprinted in ROBERT N. HOWER, 1921 RACE RIOT AND THE AMERICAN RED CROSS: ANGELS OF MERCY 115 (Homestead Press 1993)
- Account of J.W. Hughes, collected by the Red Cross and reprinted in ROBERT N. HOWER, 1921 RACE RIOT AND THE AMERICAN RED CROSS: ANGELS OF MERCY 115 (Homestead Press 1993)
- Letter from Edward Stuart, Director, Disaster Relief Service to W. Frank Persons, Vice Chairman, American Red Cross (October 15, 1921)
- Image of Identification Card, Tulsa Historical Society & Museum, <https://tulsaahistory.pastperfectonline.com/media/AD47603E-142D-439B-BCA0-115209300740>

⁴ Documents denoted with an asterisk are available from the McFarlin Library Special Collections at the University of Tulsa.

- TWELFTH ANNUAL REPORT OF THE NATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF COLORED PEOPLE FOR THE YEAR 1921 (Jan. 1922)
- Stanley Frost, *The Night-Riding Reformers: The Regeneration of Oklahoma*, OUTLOOK (Nov. 14, 1923), <https://www.unz.com/PDF/PERIODICAL/Outlook-1923nov14/10-13/>
- Walter White, *I Investigate Lynchings*, 16 AM. MERCURY 77 (Jan. 1929), <https://nationalhumanitiescenter.org/pds/maai3/segregation/text2/investigatelynchings.pdf>
- Tulsa, Okla., Ordinance No. 9708 (July 16, 1963)
- Tate Brady Scrapbook (collection of news articles provided to DOJ by citizen)

LEGAL PROCEEDINGS

A. Recent Legal Proceedings

Randle v. City of Tulsa, 556 P.3d 612, *reh'g denied* (Sept. 9, 2024)

Randle v. City of Tulsa, No. CV-2020-1179, 2022 WL 17819260, at *1 (Okla. Dist. Aug. 3, 2022)

Randle v. City of Tulsa, No. CV-2020-1179, 2022 WL 22861061 (Okla. Dist. Sept. 2, 2022) (Second Amended Petition), https://www.justiceforgreenwood.org/wp-content/uploads/2022/10/2022-09-02_Second_Amended_Petition.pdf

Alexander v. Oklahoma, 382 F.3d 1206 (10th Cir. 2004)

B. Historic Legal Proceedings

1. Published Opinions and Related Documents

Redfearn v. Am. Cent. Ins. Co., 243 P. 929 (Okla. 1926)

Deposition of Green E. Smith, *Redfearn vs. Am. Cent. Ins. Co.*, No. 15,851 (Okla. Sup. Ct. Jan 9, 1925), as appended to Plaintiff's Brief, *Stradford v. Am. Cent. Ins. Co.*, No. 370274 (Sup. Ct. Cook County, Ill.)

Brief of Plaintiff in Error, *Redfearn vs. Am. Cent. Ins. Co.*, No. 15,851, 243 P. 929 (Okla. 1926)

2. Case Documents Available from Tulsa University Law School⁵ and the Tulsa Historical Society⁶

- *Mabel Allen v. Cont'l Ins. Co.*
- *Amanda Durham v. Aetna Ins. Co. of Hartford*
- *Sarah E. Mann v. Cont'l Ins. Co.*
- *J. D. Mann v. Cont'l Ins. Co.*
- *J. D. Mann ex rel. P. P. Mann v. Cont'l Ins. Co.*
- *J. L. Northington v. Westchester Fire Ins. Co. of New York*

⁵ Thanks to Tulsa University Law School and its Dean Oren Griffin, as well as to author Victor Luckerson, who originally compiled this list.

⁶ Documents collected by the Tulsa Historical Society are denoted with an asterisk and available at <https://tulahistory.pastperfectonline.com/archive/09CDE527-F1C6-4BAC-B895-055162216370>.

- *Mary E. Titus v. Westchester Fire Ins. Co. of New York*
- *(Mrs.) Susie C. Spears v. Cont'l Ins. Co.*
- *Dr. B.A. Waynes & M.C. Waynes v. Nat'l Fire Ins. Co. of Hartford*
- *A. Vernon v. Cont'l Ins. Co.*
- *T. L. Jasper v. Nat'l Union Fire Ins. Co. of Pittsburg*
- *Hope Watson v. Great Am. Ins. Co.*
- *Emma Gurley, Farm & Home Savings & Loan Ass'n v. Hartford Fire Ins. Co.*
- *Emma Gurley v. Commonwealth Ins. Co. of New York*
- *Emma Gurley, Farm & Home Savings & Loan Ass'n v. Orient Ins. Co.*
- *Lillie Shobe v. Westchester Fire Ins. Co.*
- *W. F. Carter v. Nat'l Fire Ins. Co. Columbia Fire Underwriters*
- *W. B. McLeod v. Nat'l Union Fire Ins. Co., of Pittsburg*
- *Osborn Monroe v. The Mercantile Ins. Co. of Am.*
- *Osborn Monroe v. North Am. Assurance Co.*
- *Osborn Monroe v. Mechanics & Traders Ins. Co. of New Orleans*
- *Mary V. Howard v. Glens Falls Ins. Co.*
- *Mary V. Howard v. Columbia Underwriters of the Nat'l Fire Ins. Co. of Hartford*
- *T. J. Elliott & S.D. Hooker v. Fire Ass'n. of Philadelphia*
- *T. J. Elliott & S.D. Hooker v. Union Ins. Co.*
- *T. J. Elliott & S.D. Hooker v. Liverpool & London & Globe Ins. Co.*
- *J. Tyler Smith v. Cont'l Ins. Co.*
- *J. Tyler Smith v. Am. Cent. Ins. Co.*
- *J.J. McKeever & Myrtle McKeever v. Star Ins. Co. of America*
- *Anderson Williams v. Fire Ass'n of Philadelphia*
- *Mrs. M. L. Lynch v. Columbia Underwriters of the Nat'l Fire Ins. Co. of Hartford*
- *Felix Irvin v. Mechanics & Traders Ins. Co. of New Orleans*
- *C. W. Drummond v. Columbia Underwriters of the Nat'l Fire Ins. Co., of Hartford*
- *H. D. Earl v. North River Ins. Co. of New York*
- *Trustees of Brown C. M. E. Church v. Nat'l Fire Ins. Co. of Hartford*
- *W. M. Curry v. Ins. Co. of North America*
- *H. J. Caver v. Columbia Underwriters of the Nat'l Fire Ins. Co., of Hartford*
- *R. D. Holloway v. Westchester Fire Ins. Co. of New York*
- *A. L. Young v. Glens Falls Ins. Co.*
- *Mary & Elmore Hill v. Aetna Ins. Co. of Hartford*
- *E. I. Saddler v. Nat'l Fire Ins. Co. of Hartford*
- *E. I. Saddler v. Glens Falls Ins. Co.*
- *E. A. Loupe v. Nat'l Fire Ins. Co. of Hartford*
- *A. L. Phillips v. Reliance Fire Ins. Co., of Pema*

- *A. L. Phillips v. Security Fire Ins. Co. of New Haven*
- *W. A. Baker & Sarah Baker v. Fire Ass'n of Philadelphia*
- *W. A. Baker v. Fire Ass'n of Philadelphia*
- *J. L. Donohoe v. London Assurance Co.*
- *J. L. Donohoe v. Patriotic Assurance Co.*
- *Augustus Hicks v. Nat'l Fire Ins. Co. of Hartford*
- *Mrs. J. H. Wells v. Nat'l Fire Ins. Co., Columbia Fire Underwriters*
- *Mazie Singleton v. Palatine Ins. Co. of London*
- *Emma Washington v. Nat'l Fire Ins. Co. of Hartford*
- *J. H. White v. Nat'l Fire Ins. Co. of Hartford & Columbia Underwriter Agcy. of Omaha*
- *Polly Curtis & Elmira Woods v. Mechanics & Traders Ins. Co. of New Orleans*
- *A. C. Brooks v. Nat'l Fire Ins. Co. of Hartford*
- *Lillie Shobe v. Continental Ins. Co.*
- *Virgil Rowe v. Westchester Fire Ins. Co. of New York*
- *Virgil Rowe v. American Eagle Ins. Co.*
- *Virgil Rowe v. New York Underwriters*
- *William Redfearn v. American Cent. Ins Co.*
- *W. T. Brady v. Nat'l Fire Ins Co.*
- *A. W. Brown v. Ins. Co. of North America, Fire Ass'n of Philadelphia, Oklahoma Savings & Loan Co.*
- *I. J. Buck v. Ins. Co. of Pennsylvania*
- *I. J. Buck v. Scottish Union and Nat'l Ins. Co. of Edinburg*
- *I. J. Buck v. Phoenix Assurance Co.*
- *T. J. Elliott & S. D. Hooker v. Star Ins. Co. of America*
- *William Kyle v. Palatine Ins. Co. of London*
- *Dr. P. S. Thompson v. Imperial Assurance Co.*
- *Dr. P. S. Thompson v. Palatine Ins. Co. of London*
- *W. M. Garrison & Sophia Garrison v. Nat'l Fire Ins. Co. of Hartford*
- *D. L. Whitlow v. Nat'l Fire Ins. Co. & Columbia Fire Underwriters*
- *S. M. Jackson v. Camden Fire Ins. Ass'n*
- *Ransom Burk v. Nat'l Fire Ins. Co. of Hartford*
- *J. H. Goodwin & C. M. Goodwin v. Camden Fire Ins. Ass'n*
- *C. M. Goodwin v. Camden Fire Ins. Ass'n*
- *J. H. Goodwin v. Ins. Co. of North America Fire Ass'n of Philadelphia*
- *Link Hollingsworth v. Nat'l Fire Ins. Co.*
- *J. S. Gist & Mary A. Gist v. California Ins. Co.*
- *Caroline Lollis v. Westchester Fire Ins. Co. of New York*
- *J. M. Keys v. Star Ins. Co.*

- *J. H. Rollerson v. Nat'l Union Fire Ins. Co.*
- *Frank Payne v. Nat'l Fire Ins. Co.*
- *S. F. Smart v. Glens Falls Ins. Co.*
- *A. F. Bryant v. Columbia Ins. Co.*
- *A. F. Bryant v. Fire Ass'n of Pennsylvania*
- *C. L. Netherland v. Hartford Fire Ins. Co.*
- *Loula T. Williams v. Central States Fire Ins. Co.*
- *Loula T. Williams v. London, Liverpool & Globe Ins. Co.*
- *Loula T. Williams v. Fire Ass'n of Philadelphia*
- *Jennie M. Wilson v. Aetna Ins. Co. of Hartford*
- *Jennie M. Wilson v. Star Ins. Co. of America*
- *Jennie M. Wilson v. Fire Ass'n of Philadelphia*
- *C. R. Earl v. North River Ins. Co. of New York*
- *Sam Mackley v. Mechanics & Traders Ins. Co. of New Orleans*
- *C. D. Brown v. City of Tulsa*
- *C. L. Netherland v. City of Tulsa*
- *S. F. Smart v. City of Tulsa*
- *J. E. Hardy v. City of Tulsa*
- *Will Robertson v. City of Tulsa*
- *John R. Bell v. City of Tulsa*
- *Virgil Rowe v. City of Tulsa, Oklahoma*
- *William Redfearn v. City of Tulsa*
- *E. J. H. Bryant v. City of Tulsa, et al.*
- *A. L. Stovall v. City of Tulsa*
- *T. E. Hughes v. City of Tulsa*
- *King Ingram v. City of Tulsa*
- *George Hardy v. City of Tulsa*
- *J. Tyler Smith v. City of Tulsa*
- *Elliott and Hooker v. City of Tulsa*
- *Ruth Calhoun v. City of Tulsa*
- *Stalie Webb v. City of Tulsa*
- *Mary E. Titus v. T. D. Evans*
- *Emmett Johnson v. City of Tulsa*
- *Rev. J.R. McClain v. City of Tulsa*
- *E. I. Saddler v. City of Tulsa.*
- *B. A. Waynes v. City of Tulsa*
- *Jack Scott v. City of Tulsa*
- *Caroline Lollis v. City of Tulsa*

- *G. W. Walker v. City of Tulsa*
- *Emma Ramsey v. City of Tulsa*
- *Harrison Magill v. City of Tulsa*
- *Barney Cleaver v. City of Tulsa*
- *Cora M. Leamus v. City of Tulsa*
- *S. P. McCormick v. Margaret E. Sykes, Penn Mutual Life Ins. Co., Gum Brothers Co. & City of Tulsa*
- *Thomas R. Gentry v. City of Tulsa*
- *Julia A. Jackson Ferguson v. City of Tulsa*
- *Lula T. Williams & J. W. Williams v. City of Tulsa*
- *W. P. Carter v. City of Tulsa*
- *William Walker v. City of Tulsa*
- *O. C. Mann v. City of Tulsa*
- *James A. & Fannie Johnson v. City of Tulsa*
- *A. L. Ferguson v. City of Tulsa*
- *Dr. J. M. Keys v. City of Tulsa*
- *Hosea Vaden v. City of Tulsa*
- *Ploto Travis v. City of Tulsa*
- *F. C. Smith v. City of Tulsa*
- *R. B. Holloway v. City of Tulsa*
- *Lucy Williams v. City of Tulsa*
- *Albert Vernon v. City of Tulsa*
- *Lula T. Williams v. City of Tulsa*
- *Lacy Little, ex rel. C. S. Little v. Nowata Oil & Refining Co., Seidenback's Inc., H. J. Lichtenstein*
- *Mrs. B. J. Sandredge v. City of Tulsa*
- *Sarah Andrews v. City of Tulsa*
- *Dave Wren v. City of Tulsa.*
- *D. L. Whitlow v. City of Tulsa*
- *Sam Mackey & Lucy Mackey v. City of Tulsa*
- *Henry T. Wilson v. City of Tulsa*
- *J. D. Mann v. City of Tulsa*
- *Robt. A. Bobo v. City of Tulsa*
- *Dr. A. F. Bryant v. City of Tulsa*
- *Ed White v. City of Tulsa*
- *Louis Newman v. City of Tulsa*
- *William Kyle v. City of Tulsa*
- *Dora Wells Jones v. City of Tulsa*

- *B. R. Swinger v. City of Tulsa*
- *M. J. Lathon & Ellie Lathon v. T. D. Evans*
- *Horace Green v. City of Tulsa*
- *Shakespeare Johnson v. City of Tulsa*
- *P. J. Eldridge v. City of Tulsa*
- *Osborn Monroe v. City of Tulsa*
- *Mittie Robinson v. T. D. Evans*
- *Della Smith v. City of Tulsa*
- *E. W. Woods v. City of Tulsa*
- *J. L. Mosley v. City of Tulsa*
- *J. C. Stovall v. City of Tulsa*
- *R. W. Motley v. City of Tulsa*
- *Josh McDonald v. City of Tulsa*
- *Georgia Brown v. City of Tulsa*
- *Garfield Miles v. City of Tulsa*
- *Joan Watson v. City of Tulsa*
- *H. J. Caver v. City of Tulsa*
- *A. Williams v. City of Tulsa*
- *E. R. Brown v. T. D. Evans.*
- *E. W. Williams v. City of Tulsa*
- *Mrs. J. H. Goodwin [Carlie M. Goodwin] v. City of Tulsa,**
<https://www.tulsaohistory.org/wp-content/uploads/2018/11/Goodwin-Mrs.-J.H.-23368-Reduced-size.pdf>
- *Annie Talley v. City of Tulsa,** <https://www.tulsaohistory.org/wp-content/uploads/2018/11/Tally-Annie-23374-Reduced-size-1.pdf>
- *Jackson Undertaking Co. v. City of Tulsa,** <https://www.tulsaohistory.org/wp-content/uploads/2018/11/Jackson-Undertaking-Co-23371-Reduced-size.pdf>
- *Birdie Lynch Farmer v. City of Tulsa,** <https://www.tulsaohistory.org/wp-content/uploads/2018/11/Farmer-Birdie-Lynch-23367-Reduced-size.pdf>
- *W. S. Holloway v. City of Tulsa,** <https://www.tulsaohistory.org/wp-content/uploads/2018/11/Halloway-W.S.-23372-Reduced-size.pdf>
- *P. S. Thompson v. T.D. Evans,** <https://www.tulsaohistory.org/wp-content/uploads/2018/11/Thompson-P.S.-23375-Reduced-size.pdf>
- *J. S. Gish v. T.D. Evans,** <https://www.tulsaohistory.org/wp-content/uploads/2018/11/Gish-J.S.-23315-Reduced-size.pdf>
- *Daisy Williams v. City of Tulsa,** <https://www.tulsaohistory.org/wp-content/uploads/2018/11/Williams-Daisy-23360-Reduced-size.pdf>
- *Jack Wren v. City of Tulsa,** <https://www.tulsaohistory.org/wp-content/uploads/2018/11/Wren-Jack-23365-Reduced-size.pdf>

- *J. W. Williams v. City of Tulsa*,* <https://www.tulsa-history.org/wp-content/uploads/2018/11/Williams-J.W.-23370-Reduced-size.pdf>
- *Belle Harrison v. City of Tulsa*,* <https://www.tulsa-history.org/wp-content/uploads/2018/11/Harrison-Belle-23373-Reduced-size.pdf>
- *N. L. Gilliam v. T.D. Evans*,* <https://www.tulsa-history.org/wp-content/uploads/2018/11/Gilliam-N.L.-23312-Reduced-size.pdf>
- *Edith Patterson v. City of Tulsa*,* <https://www.tulsa-history.org/wp-content/uploads/2018/11/Patterson-Edith-23363-Reduced-size.pdf>
- *P.W. Ross v. City of Tulsa*,* <https://www.tulsa-history.org/wp-content/uploads/2018/11/Ross-P.W.-23362-Reduced-size.pdf>
- *Esther Henry v. City of Tulsa*,* <https://www.tulsa-history.org/wp-content/uploads/2018/11/Henry-Esther-23366-Reduced-size.pdf>
- *Joe Lockard v. T.D. Evans*,* <https://www.tulsa-history.org/wp-content/uploads/2018/11/Lockard-Joe-15730-Reduced-size.pdf>
- *Jennie M. Wilson v. City of Tulsa*,* <https://www.tulsa-history.org/wp-content/uploads/2018/11/Wilson-Jennie-M.-23364-Reduced-size.pdf>
- *H. Watson v. City of Tulsa*,* <https://www.tulsa-history.org/wp-content/uploads/2018/11/Watson-H.-23361-Reduced-size.pdf>

SECONDARY SOURCES

A. Books

CHIEF EGUNWALE AMUSAN, *AMERICA’S BLACK WALL STREET (The Real Black Wall Street Tour*, 2023)

ALFRED L. BROPHY, *RECONSTRUCTING THE DREAMLAND: THE TULSA RIOT OF 1921—RACE, REPARATIONS, AND RECONCILIATION* (Oxford University Press, 2002)

SCOTT ELLSWORTH, *DEATH IN A PROMISED LAND: THE TULSA RACE RIOT OF 1921* (LSU Press, 1982)

SCOTT ELLSWORTH, *THE GROUND BREAKING: THE TULSA RACE MASSACRE AND AN AMERICAN CITY’S SEARCH FOR JUSTICE* (Dutton, 2022)

BUCK COLBERT FRANKLIN, *MY LIFE AND AN ERA: THE AUTOBIOGRAPHY OF BUCK COLBERT FRANKLIN* (John Hope Franklin & John Whittington Franklin, eds., LSU Press, 1997)

EDDIE FAYE GATES, *RIOT ON GREENWOOD: THE TOTAL DESTRUCTION OF BLACK WALL STREET* (Eakin Press, 2003)

RUDIA M. HALLIBURTON, JR., *THE TULSA RACE WAR OF 1921* (R & E Research Associates, 1975)

KARLOS K. HILL, *THE 1921 TULSA RACE MASSACRE: A PHOTOGRAPHIC HISTORY* (University of

Oklahoma Press, 2021)

JAMES S. HIRSCH, RIOT AND REMEMBRANCE: THE TULSA RACE MASSACRE AND ITS LEGACY (Second Mariner Books, 2021)

ROBERT N. HOWER, 1921 RACE RIOT AND THE AMERICAN RED CROSS: ANGELS OF MERCY (Homestead Press 1993)

HANNIBAL B. JOHNSON, TULSA'S HISTORIC GREENWOOD DISTRICT (Arcadia, 2014)

HANNIBAL B. JOHNSON, BLACK WALL STREET 100 (Eakin, 2020)

RANDY KREHBIEL, TULSA 1921: REPORTING A MASSACRE (U. Okla. Press, 2021)

VICTOR LUCKERSON, BUILT FROM THE FIRE (Random House, 2023)

TIM MADIGAN, THE BURNING (St. Martin's Griffin, 100th Anniversary Ed., 2021)

WILLIAM M. O'BRIEN, WHO SPEAKS FOR US? (2002)

WILLIAM "CHOC" PHILLIPS, MURDER IN THE STREETS: A WHITE CHOCTAW WITNESS TO THE 1921 TULSA RACE MASSACRE (Eakin Press, 2021)

THOMAS E. WRIGHT, ET AL., REPORT OF THE 1898 WILMINGTON RACE RIOT COMMISSION (May 31, 2006)

DAVID ZUCCHINO, WILMINGTON'S LIE: THE MURDEROUS COUP OF 1898 AND THE RISE OF WHITE SUPREMACY (Atlantic Monthly Press, 2020)

B. Articles

Alex Albright et al., *After the Burning: The Economic Effects of the 1921 Tulsa Race Massacre*, NAT'L BUREAU OF ECON. RSCH. (July 2021), <https://www.nber.org/papers/w28985>

Alina Ball, *Lost in the Fire: Reflections on the Tulsa Race Massacre Centennial*, 49 HASTINGS CONST. L.Q. 216, 231 (2022)

Biography of Redmond S. Cole - Redmond Selecman Cole Collection, University Libraries of the University of Oklahoma, <https://archives.libraries.ou.edu/repositories/2/resources/7969> (last visited Dec. 20, 2024)

Aldrich Blake, *The Ku Klux Kraze: A Lecture* (1924), <https://archive.org/details/1924BlakeKKK/mode/2up>

Alfred L. Brophy, *The Tulsa Race Riot of 1921 in the Oklahoma Supreme Court*, 54 OKLA. L. REV. 67 (2001)

Archiebald Browne, *Oklahoma's historic all-black towns: Built on hope, survived by pride*, NONDOC.COM (July 25, 2019), <https://nondoc.com/2019/07/25/oklahoma-historic-all-black-towns/>

Elizabeth M. Burton, *Tulsa Wealth Disparity: The Political Legacy of the 1921 Race Massacre* (2021) (Political Science Honors Projects, Macalester College), https://digitalcommons.macalester.edu/poli_honors/91

DeNeen L. Brown, *Red Summer: When Racist Mobs Ruled*, PBS: AM. EXPERIENCE (Feb. 4, 2021), <https://www.pbs.org/wgbh/americanexperience/features/t-town-red-summer-racist-mobs/>

DeNeen L. Brown, *They Was Killing Black People*, WASH. POST (Sept. 28, 2018), <https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/local/wp/2018/09/28/feature/they-was-killing-black-people/>

Jami L. Bryan, *Fighting For Respect: African-American Soldiers in WWI*, ARMY HIST. FOUND., <https://armyhistory.org/fighting-for-respect-african-american-soldiers-in-wwi/>

Kweku Larry Crowe & Thabiti Lewis, *The 1921 Tulsa Massacre: What Happened to Black Wall Street*, MAG. OF THE NAT. ENDOWMENT FOR THE HUMANITIES (Winter 2021), <https://www.neh.gov/article/1921-tulsa-massacre>

Natalie Chang, *The Massacre of Black Wall Street*, ATLANTIC.COM (Nov. 23, 2019), <https://www.theatlantic.com/sponsored/hbo-2019/the-massacre-of-black-wall-street/3217/>

Lee Roy Chapman, *The Nightmare of Dreamland*, THIS LAND PRESS (April 18, 2012), <https://thislandpress.com/2012/04/18/tate-brady-battle-greenwood/>

Nicole Chavez, *Rosewood, Florida, marks 100 years since race massacre. Here's what happened*, CNN (Jan. 8, 2023), <https://www.cnn.com/2023/01/08/us/rosewood-massacre-florida-what-happened-reaj/index.html>

Russell Cobb, *'No apology': Richard Lloyd Jones and the 1921 Race Massacre*, TULSAPEOPLE (Feb. 20, 2019), https://www.tulsapeople.com/no-apology/article_d76c97dd-6154-56bc-8d92-4c8a9139a7a4.html

Russell Cobb, *Shifting Collective Memory in Tulsa*, N.Y. TIMES (Feb. 11, 2020), <https://www.nytimes.com/2020/02/11/opinion/tulsa-race-massacre.html>

Connie Crowley, *That Ugly Day in May*, OKLA. MONTHLY, Aug. 1976, at 30

William A. Darity, Jr. et al., *Racial Disparities in Family Income, Assets, and Liabilities: A Century After the 1921 Tulsa Massacre*, J. FAM. & ECON. ISSUES 45:256–275 (2024)

William A. Darity, Jr. et al., *The Cumulative Costs of Racism and the Bill for Black Reparations*, 36:2 J. ECON. PERSP. 99 (Spring 2022)

Sarah Dewberry, *Victim of 1921 Tulsa Race Massacre identified through DNA genealogy as WWI veteran*, CNN (July 12, 2024), <https://edition.cnn.com/2024/07/12/us/tulsa-race-massacre-victim-identified-reaj/index.html>

Pete Earley, *The Untold Story of One of America's Worst Race Riots*, WASH. POST (Sept. 12, 1982), <https://www.washingtonpost.com/archive/opinions/1982/09/12/the-untold-story-of-one-of-americas-worst-race-riots/e37fc963-71dd-45cc-8cb0-04ab8032bcd2/>

The East St. Louis Riot, PBS: AM. EXPERIENCE, <https://www.pbs.org/wgbh/americanexperience/features/garvey-riot/> (last visited Dec. 4, 2024)

Kimberly C. Ellis, *We Look Like Men of War: Africana Male Narratives and the Tulsa Race Riot, War and Massacre of 1921* (2002) (Ph.D. dissertation, Purdue University) (ProQuest)

Nicquel Terry Ellis, *A Tulsa Race Massacre victim was recently ID'd as a World War I veteran*, CNN (Nov. 17, 2024), <https://edition.cnn.com/2024/11/17/us/cl-daniel-tulsa-memorial/index.html>

Scott Ellsworth, et. al., *The Long Shadow: The Tulsa Race Massacre a Century Later (An Interview with Scott Ellsworth)*, 54 CONN. L. REV. 907 (2022)

Julia Forrester-Sellers, *The 1921 Tulsa Race Riot and the Politics of Memory* (2000) (Master's Thesis, Oklahoma University of Tulsa) (ProQuest)

Trevion Freeman, *For Freedmens Sake: The Story of the Native Blacks of the Muscogee Nation and Their Fight for Citizenship Post-McGirt*, 57 TULSA L. REV. 513, 525–26 (2022)

Megan Gannon, *Unearthing the True Toll of the Tulsa Race Massacre*, SAPIENS (May 22, 2020), <https://www.sapiens.org/archaeology/tulsa-race-massacre/>

Loren Gill, *The Tulsa Race Riot* (Master's Thesis, University of Tulsa) (1946) (ProQuest)

Nellie Gilles & Mycah Hazel, *Radio Diaries: Harry Pace and the Rise and Fall of Black Swan Records*, NPR: ALL THINGS CONSIDERED (July 1, 2021), <https://www.npr.org/2021/06/30/1011901555/radio-diaries-harry-pace-and-the-rise-and-fall-of-black-swan-records>

Roger Guillemette, *Stinton Aircraft Corporation*, U.S. CENTENNIAL OF FLIGHT COMM., https://www.centennialofflight.net/essay/GENERAL_AVIATION/stinson/GA2.htm (last visited Dec. 9, 2020)

David Hedrick, *Early American Fire Alarm Systems*, FFAM (Sept. 17, 2022), <https://www.ffam.org/early-american-fire-alarm-systems/?hilite=early+american+fire+alarm+systems>

Karlos K. Hill, *Where Did Images of the Tulsa Race Massacre Come From?*, PBS: AM. EXPERIENCE (May 27, 2021), <https://www.pbs.org/wgbh/americanexperience/features/t-town-tulsa-race-massacre-photographs/>

A History of Racial Injustice Calendar, EQUAL JUST. INITIATIVE, <https://calendar.eji.org/racial-injustice/may/24> (entry for May 24, 1911) (last visited Dec. 8, 2024)

Jesse J. Holland, *Hundreds of black deaths during 1919's Red Summer are being remembered*, PBS NEWS (July 23, 2019), <https://www.pbs.org/newshour/nation/hundreds-of-black-deaths-during-1919s-red-summer-are-being-remembered>

Randy Hopkins, *The Plot to Kill "Diamond Dick" Rowland and the Tulsa Race Riot*, 99 CHRON. OF OKLA. 4, 4-49 (Spring 2021)

Joseph E. Howell, *Noted, Notorious—Tulsan Recalls Sooners*, TULSA TRIB., Nov. 26, 1960, at 11

Robert M. Jarvis, *Remembering Isaiah: Attorney I.H. Spears and the 1921 Tulsa Race Massacre*, 57 TULSA L. REV. 429, 442 (2022)

The JN-4 Jenny: The Plane that Taught America to Fly, NAT. PARK SERV. (Feb. 2020), <https://www.nps.gov/articles/jn-4.htm>

Hannibal B. Johnson, *As 1921's Centennial Nears, There Is a Reason for Hope in Tulsa's Effort to Face its Painful History Positively*, TULSA DAILY WORLD (July 14, 2019), https://tulsaworld.com/opinion/columnists/hannibal-b-johnson-as-1921s-centennial-nears-there-is-a-reason-for-hope-in-tulas/article_cd12f4bb-a14a-588d-a971-0a3844dda530.html

Allison Keyes, *A Long-Lost Manuscript Contains a Searing Eyewitness Account of the Tulsa Race Massacre of 1921*, SMITHSONIAN MAG. (May 2016), <https://www.smithsonianmag.com/smithsonian-institution/long-lost-manuscript-contains-searing-eyewitness-account-tulsa-race-massacre-1921-180959251/>

Allison Keyes, *The East St. Louis Race Riot Left Dozens Dead, Devastating a Community on the Rise*, SMITHSONIAN MAG. (June 30, 2017), <https://www.smithsonianmag.com/smithsonian-institution/east-st-louis-race-riot-left-dozens-dead-devastating-community-on-the-rise-180963885/>

Randy Krehbiel, *1921 Race Riot: Tribune Mystery Unsolved*, TULSA DAILY WORLD (May 31, 2002), https://tulsaworld.com/archives/race-riot-tribune-mystery-unsolved/article_81f8ac0b-01bd-56a8-97ba-851961c400be.html

Victor Luckerson, *The Promise of Oklahoma*, SMITHSONIAN MAG. (April 2021), <https://www.smithsonianmag.com/history/unrealized-promise-oklahoma-180977174/>

Lynchings: By State and Race, 1882-1968, ARCHIVES AT TUSKEGEE INSTITUTE (Nov. 2020), <https://archive.tuskegee.edu/repository/wp-content/uploads/2020/11/Lynchings-Stats-Year-Dates-Causes.pdf>

Lynching in America: Racial Terror Lynchings (Map), EQUAL JUST. INITIATIVE, <https://lynchinginamerica.eji.org/explore> (last visited Dec. 4, 2024)

Joshua D. Mackey, *Breaking a Century of Silence: A Historiography of the Tulsa Race Riot*, 19 FAIRMOUNT FOLIO: J. OF HIST. 49, 49-61 (May 13, 2019), <https://journals.wichita.edu/index.php/ff/article/view/228/220>

Suzette M. Malveaux, *A Taxonomy of Silencing: The Law's 100-Year Suppression of the Tulsa Race Massacre*, 102 B.U. L. REV. 2173 (2022), <https://www.bu.edu/bulawreview/files/2023/02/MALVEAUX.pdf>

Brandy McDonnell, *Tulsa Race Massacre to be examined on Sunday's '60 Minutes,'* THE OKLAHOMAN (June 13, 2020), <https://www.oklahoman.com/story/entertainment/columns/brandy-mcdonnell/2020/06/13/tulsa-race-massacre-to-be-examined-on-sundays-60-minutes/60396299007/>

Christopher M. Messer, *The Tulsa Race Riot of 1921: Determining its Causes and Framing* (2003) (Ph.D. dissertation, Oklahoma State University) (ProQuest)

Charles Oquin Meyers, Jr., *The Ku Klux Klan in Tulsa County, Oklahoma During the Early 1920s* (1974) (Honor's Paper, Department of History, University of Tulsa)

Lindsay Myers, *The Continual Erasure of Greenwood*, NEW TULSA STAR (March 22, 2020), <https://sarweb.org/wp-content/uploads/2021/01/The-Continual-Erasure-of-Greenwood-%E2%80%93-Tulsa-Star.pdf>

1921 Tulsa Race Riot - Reconnaissance Survey, NAT. PARK SER. (Nov. 2005), https://www.nps.gov/parkhistory/online_books/nnps/tulsa_riot.pdf

Robert D. Norris, Jr., *The Oklahoma National Guard and the Tulsa Race Riot of 1921: A Historical, Tactical and Legal Analysis* (2001), available at the University of Tulsa, McFarlin Library, Department of Special Collections & University Archives

Alicia Odewale, *New Efforts in Restorative Justice Archaeology: Tulsa, Oklahoma*, SOC'Y BLACK ARCHAEOLOGISTS NEWSLETTER (Jan. 13, 2020), <https://sarweb.org/wp-content/uploads/2021/01/New-Efforts-in-Restorative-Justice-Archaeology-Tulsa-OK.pdf>

Guy Harold Parkhurst, *Uses and Legal Questions of Martial Law in Oklahoma* (1955) (Ph.D. Dissertation, University of Oklahoma)

Ottawa W. Gurley: Visionary of Black Wall Street, CENTENNIAL TULSA PILGRIMAGE (2021), <https://blackwallstreet.org/owgurley>

Deborah Savage, *African American Soldiers in World War One*, LA. PUB. LIBR.: LAPL BLOG (Feb. 27, 2024), <https://www.lapl.org/collections-resources/blogs/lapl/african-american-soldiers->

[world-war-one](#)

Red Summer: The Race Riots of 1919, NAT. WWI MUSEUM & MEM’L,
<https://www.theworldwar.org/learn/about-wwi/red-summer>

Rocket, Signal, World War I, NAT. AIR & SPACE MUSEUM, https://airandspace.si.edu/collection-objects/rocket-signal-world-war-i/nasm_A19960020000 (last visited Dec. 3, 2024)

Greta Katherine Smith, “*The Battling Ground*”: *Memory, Violence, and Resistance in Greenwood, North Tulsa, Oklahoma, 1907-1980* (2018) (Master’s Thesis, Portland State University)

Ryan P. Smith, *How Native American Slaveholders Complicate the Trail of Tears Narrative*, SMITHSONIAN MAG. (March 6, 2018), <https://www.smithsonianmag.com/smithsonian-institution/how-native-american-slaveholders-complicate-trail-tears-narrative-180968339/>

Brent Staples, *Unearthing a Riot*, N.Y. TIMES (Dec. 19, 1999),
<https://www.nytimes.com/1999/12/19/magazine/unearthing-a-riot.html>

Kara W. Swanson, *The Tulsa Race Massacre of 1921: A Lesson in the Law of Trespass*, 54 CONN. L. REV. 1005 (2022)

Marjorie A. Tracy, *The Tulsa Race Riot of 1921: The Politics of Lawlessness* (1996) (Master’s Thesis, University of Tulsa) (ProQuest)

Transportation (1850-1945), TULSA PRES. COMM’N,
<https://tulsapreservationcommission.org/resources/tulsa-history/transportation/> (last visited Dec. 4, 2024)

Tulsa City-County Library, *Tulsa-Area FAQs*,
<https://www.tulsalibrary.org/research/government/tulsa-area-faqs> (last visited Dec. 4, 2024)

Thomas Van Hare, *The Bombing of Tulsa*, HIST. WINGS (Feb. 27, 2017),
<https://fly.historicwings.com/2017/02/the-bombing-of-tulsa/>

Michael K. Velchik & Jeffery Y. Zhang, *Restoring Indian Reservation Status: An Empirical Analysis*, 40 YALE J. ON REG. 339 (2023)

The Tulsa Race Massacre, OKLA. HIST. SOC’Y, <https://www.okhistory.org/learn/trm1> (last visited Dec. 20, 2024)

Tulsa Race War, OKLA. EAGLE, Nov. 2, 1978, at E1

Richard “Dick” Warner, *Computations as to the Deaths from the 1921 Tulsa Race Riot* (Jan. 10, 2000), Tulsa Historical Society & Museum, Accession No. 2006.126.001,
https://ppolinks.com/tulsahtory/2006_126_001_pdf.pdf

Ed Wheeler, *Profile of a Race Riot*, OKLA. IMPACT MAG. (1971),
https://www.si.edu/object/nmaahc_2011.60.18

History, Northern District of Oklahoma, DEPT. OF JUST. (June 26, 2024),
<https://www.justice.gov/usao-ndok/history>

Victor Luckerson, *Black Wall Street: The African American Haven That Burned and Then Rose From the Ashes*, THE RINGER (June 28, 2018) <https://www.theringer.com/2018/06/28/national-affairs/black-wall-street-oklahoma-greenwood-destruction-tulsa>

C. **Documentaries**

DREAMLAND: The Burning of Black Wall Street (The SpringHill Co. for CNN Films 2021),
<https://www.imdb.com/title/tt13450602/>

Tulsa Burning: The 1921 Race Massacre (The History Channel 2021),
<https://www.imdb.com/title/tt14252496/>

Tulsa: The Fire and the Forgotten (Saybook Productions Ltd. for PBS 2021),
<https://www.imdb.com/title/tt14378152/>

The Legacy of Black Wall Street (Trailblazer Studios 2021),
<https://www.imdb.com/title/tt14688474/>

Rise Again: Tulsa and The Red Summer (Trilogy Films for National Geographic 2021),
<https://www.imdb.com/title/tt14673732/>

D. **Podcasts**

American History Tellers: The Tulsa Race Massacre: Pt 1 – The Promised Land, WONDERY (May 29, 2019), <https://wondery.com/shows/american-history-tellers/episode/5279-encore-tulsa-race-massacre-the-promised-land/>

American History Tellers: The Tulsa Race Massacre: Pt 2 – The Powder Keg, WONDERY (June 5, 2019), <https://wondery.com/shows/american-history-tellers/episode/5279-encore-tulsa-race-massacre-the-powder-keg/>

American History Tellers: The Tulsa Race Massacre: Pt 3 – The Invasion, WONDERY (June 12, 2019), <https://wondery.com/shows/american-history-tellers/episode/5279-encore-tulsa-race-massacre-the-invasion/>

American History Tellers: The Tulsa Race Massacre: Pt 4 – Rebirth, WONDERY (June 19, 2019), <https://wondery.com/shows/american-history-tellers/episode/5279-encore-tulsa-race-massacre-rebirth/>

American History Tellers: The Tulsa Race Massacre: Pt 5 – Bearing Witness, WONDERY (June 26, 2019), <https://wondery.com/shows/american-history-tellers/episode/5279-encore-tulsa-race-massacre-bearing-witness/>

E. Forensic Reports

Kary Stackelback & Phoebe Stubblefield, *Archaeological and Forensic Research in Support of the 1921 Tulsa Race Massacre Graves Investigation* (Mar. 2022), <https://www.cityoftulsa.org/media/18119/sensitivecontentarchaeologicalandforensicresearchinsupportofthe1921tulsaracemassacreinvestigation.pdf>

City of Tulsa, *1921 Graves Investigation*, <https://www.cityoftulsa.org/1921graves>

F. Timelines

Chronological Maps of the Tulsa Race Riot, in TULSA RACE RIOT: A REPORT BY THE OKLAHOMA COMMISSION TO STUDY THE TULSA RACE RIOT OF 1921 (Feb. 2001), okhistory.org

I. Marc Carlson, *Timeline of the Tulsa Race Massacre*, https://www.jhfcenter.org/_files/ugd/9bd760_6869ca9a385646acbdaa125b7165bbc4.pdf (as posted on the John Hope Franklin Center for Reconciliation website)

Timeline: The 1921 Tulsa Race Massacre, TULSA WORLD (last updated May 29, 2021), https://tulsa-world.com/news/local/racemassacre/timeline-the-1921-tulsa-race-massacre/collection_1c02a7b4-86ce-11e8-b63d-c3bbb45d4a6c.html

Timeline: The Questions That Remain, TULSA WORLD (2009), <https://www.tulsa-world.com/app/race-riot/timeline.html>

PHOTOGRAPHIC EVIDENCE

Tulsa City-County Library Digital Collection, *1921 Tulsa Race Massacre*, <https://digitalcollections.tulsalibrary.org/digital/collection/p15020coll6/search/page/1>

Yuliya Parshina-Kottas et al., *What the Tulsa Race Massacre Destroyed*, N.Y. TIMES (May 24, 2021), <https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2021/05/24/us/tulsa-race-massacre.html>

National Museum of African American History and Culture, *Remembering Tulsa Before the Massacre*, <https://nmaahc.si.edu/explore/stories/remembering-tulsa-before-massacre>

CONTEMPORANEOUS NEWS ARTICLES

A. Tulsa Articles

- *Signal to Call Tulsa for Duty*, TULSA DAILY WORLD, Nov. 18, 1917, at 1

- *Grand Ball New Year's Eve Is Planned by Tulsa Home Guards to Raise Funds*, TULSA DAILY WORLD, Dec. 14, 1917, at 7
- *Tulsa Home Guards Are Imposing Company of Fighters*, TULSA DAILY WORLD, Feb. 17, 1918, at 42
- *Program*, TULSA DAILY WORLD, Sept. 25, 1918, at 39
- *Mob Rule and the Law*, TULSA STAR, March 6, 1920, at 8
- *Air Police Sworn in by Mayor*, TULSA TRIB., May 1, 1920, at 1
- *Make Tulsa Decent*, TULSA TRIB., May 13, 1921, at 24
- *30 Witnesses on Stand in Probe*, TULSA DAILY WORLD, May 21, 1921, at 17
- *Whites Advancing Into 'Little Africa'; Negro Death List Is About 15*, TULSA DAILY WORLD, June 1, 1921, at 1
- *Many Shots Are Fired in Clash at the Frisco*, TULSA TRIB., June 1, 1921, at 7
- *Many More Whites Are Shot*, TULSA DAILY WORLD, June 1, 1921, at 1
- *Negroes Fleeing from City: List of Dead Mounts*, TULSA DAILY WORLD, June 1, 1921, at 1
- *Scores Badly Wounded Removed to Hospitals; Three Die on the Way*, TULSA DAILY WORLD, June 1, 1921, at 1
- *Arrest of Young Negro on Statutory Charge Causes Battle Between the Races*, TULSA DAILY WORLD, June 1, 1921, at 1
- *Race War Rages for Hours After Outbreak at Courthouse; Troops and Armed Men Patrol[l]ing Streets*, TULSA DAILY WORLD, June 1, 1921, at 1
- *Fire Razes Black District; All Negroes Interned as Guardmen Patrol City*, TULSA TRIB., June 1, 1921, at 1, 3
- *Seven Battles Rage During War of Races*, TULSA TRIB., June 1, 1921, at 5
- *Barrett Placed in Full Command, Governor Comes*, TULSA TRIB., June 1, 1921, at 1
- *Girl Attacked by Negro Not at Home Today*, TULSA TRIB., June 1, 1921, at 6
- *Civic Workers Care for Negroes Held in Concentration Camps*, TULSA TRIB., June 1, 1921, at 6
- *Trains Held Up; Negroes Ordered Off*, TULSA TRIB., June 1, 1921, at 6
- *Many Shots Are Fired in Clash at the Frisco*, TULSA TRIB., June 1, 1921, at 7
- *Fire Fighters Are Helpless; Flames Raging*, TULSA TRIB., June 1, 1921, at 8
- *Blacks Carry Belongings as They Vacate*, TULSA TRIB., June 1, 1921, at 8
- *Dick Rowland Is Spirited Out of City*, TULSA TRIB., June 1, 1921, at 8
- *Hundreds Flee to Country as Fighting Rages*, TULSA TRIB., June 1, 1921, at 10
- *Negroes Shuffle to Safe Retreat Hands Held High*, TULSA TRIB., June 1, 1921, at 11
- *Panic in Lobby of Hotel Tulsa When Negroes Cut Loose*, TULSA TRIB., June 1, 1921, at 11
- *Civic Club Plans Immediate Relief for All Negroes*, TULSA TRIB., June 1, 1921, at 11
- *Assistant Fire Chief First City Official Wounded*, TULSA TRIB., June 1, 1921, at 14
- *New Battle Now in Progress*, TULSA DAILY WORLD, June 1, 1921, at 1
- *Final Edition*, TULSA DAILY WORLD, June 1, 1921, at 1

- *The State in Action*, TULSA TRIB., June 2, 1921, at 1
- *Strict Martial Law Lifted*, TULSA TRIB., June 2, 1921, at 1
- *Martin Blames Riot to Lax City Hall Rule*, TULSA TRIB., June 2, 1921, at 1
- *Jury Inquiry Is Demanded by Governor*, TULSA TRIB., June 2, 1921, at 1
- *Search Cuts Known Death List to 27*, TULSA TRIB., June 2, 1921, at 1
- *Free Interned Negroes; Red Cross Is in Charge*, TULSA TRIB., June 2, 1921, at 1
- *Vandals Sack Burned Area of Valuables*, TULSA TRIB., June 2, 1921, at 2
- *Tulsa Closed Last Night by State Militia*, TULSA TRIB., June 2, 1921, at 2
- *The Injured*, TULSA TRIB., June 2, 1921, at 2
- *Negro Officer Is Heavy Loser in Race Riots*, TULSA TRIB., June 2, 1921, at 3
- *Air Observers Watched Blacks for the Police*, TULSA TRIB., June 2, 1921, at 3
- *Negro Finds \$600 In Melted Gold in Ruins of His Home*, TULSA TRIB., June 2, 1921, at 3
- *5000 Negroes Held in Fairground Camps*, TULSA DAILY WORLD, June 2, 1921, at 2
- *When Riot Stalked in Tulsa*, TULSA DAILY WORLD, June 2, 1921, at 7
- *No Graves Dug, Bodies of 18 Negroes Held*, TULSA TRIB., June 2, 1921, at 4
- *Niles Blames Lawlessness for Race War*, TULSA TRIB., June 2, 1921, at 4
- *Insurance Men Say Policies Won't Be Paid*, TULSA TRIB., June 2, 1921, at 4
- *Negroes From Tulsa Flee to Other Towns*, TULSA TRIB., June 2, 1921, at 5
- *The Disgrace of Tulsa*, TULSA DAILY WORLD, June 3, 1921, at 2
- *Agitators Were Cause of Riots: Propaganda Responsible for Ill Feeling Among Races Mouzon Says*, TULSA DAILY WORLD, June 3, 1921, at 2
- *Martial Law*, TULSA DAILY WORLD, June 3, 1921, at 4
- *Heavy Losses Sustained by Gun Store Men*, TULSA TRIB., June 3, 1921, at 4
- *Blacks Forced to Leave State They Declare*, TULSA TRIB., June 3, 1921, at 5
- *Realtors Start Task of Listing All Losses*, TULSA TRIB., June 3, 1921, at 11
- *Militia's Reign Brought to End*, TULSA DAILY WORLD, June 3, 1921, at 1
- *Plan to Move Negroes into New District*, TULSA TRIB., June 3, 1921, at 1
- *City to Meet Demands Out of Its Own Purse*, TULSA TRIB., June 3, 1921, at 1
- *U.S. Orders Race Riot Inquiry*, TULSA TRIB., June 3, 1921, at 1
- *Governor to Lift Martial Law at Once*, TULSA TRIB., June 3, 1921, at 1
- *C. of C. Asks Martial Law Be Continued*, TULSA TRIB., June 3, 1921, at 1
- *Police Say They Knew of War Plans*, TULSA TRIB., June 3, 1921, at 1
- *Tulsa Will*, TULSA TRIB., June 3, 1921, at 20
- *Sheriff Says Telephone Call Started Riot*, TULSA TRIB., June 3, 1921, at 1
- *Police Seize 30 in Riot Wake*, TULSA TRIB., June 4, 1921, at 1
- *Blood Shed in Race War Will Cleanse Tulsa*, TULSA TRIB., June 4, 1921, at 1
- *One Held on Charge of Inciting Riot*, TULSA TRIB., June 4, 1921, at 1
- *Red Cross in Field Until All Are Well*, TULSA TRIB., June 4, 1921, at 1

- *Negro Tells How Others Mobilized*, TULSA TRIB., June 4, 1921, at 1
- *Red Cross to Spend Months Aiding Blacks*, TULSA TRIB., June 4, 1921, at 6
- *Hostess House for Negroes Is Being Erected*, TULSA TRIB., June 4, 1921, at 6
- *Jury Summons Being Issued for Riot Quiz*, TULSA TRIB., June 4, 1921, at 6
- *Sub-Station of Post Office Is Razed by Fire*, TULSA TRIB., June 4, 1921, at 6
- *It Must Not Be Again*, TULSA TRIB., June 4, 1921, at 8
- *Bad Ni**ers*, TULSA DAILY WORLD, June 4, 1921, at 4
- *Warning Against Further Trouble*, TULSA DAILY WORLD, June 4, 1921, at 1
- *Weapons Must Be Returned*, TULSA DAILY WORLD, June 4, 1921, at 3
- *Mob Held Back by Mayor Daley for Two Hours*, TULSA TRIB., June 5, 1921, at 7
- *Press Scolds Tulsa; Editors Blame Police*, TULSA TRIB., June 4, 1921, at 11
- *The End of Argonaut Days*, TULSA TRIB., June 4, 1921, at 18
- *Total Loss in Fire Is Fixed at \$1,500,000*, TULSA DAILY WORLD, June 5, 1921, at 10
- *Mob Held Back by Major Daley for Two Hours*, TULSA TRIB., June 5, 1921, at 7
- *Mayor Warned of Uprising Negroes*, TULSA TRIB., June 6, 1921, at 1
- *Race Riot in Tulsa*, STATE SENTINEL, June 6, 1921, at 1, 4
- *Black Agitators Blamed for Riot*, TULSA DAILY WORLD, June 6, 1921, at 1
- *Notice*, TULSA DAILY WORLD, June 7, 1921, at 2
- *Notice*, TULSA TRIB., June 7, 1921, at 1
- *Charges filed against 32*, TULSA TRIB., July 7, 1921, at 1
- *Police Order Idle Blacks to Fair Camp*, TULSA TRIB., June 7, 1921, at 4
- *City Is Not Liable, Says Legal Board*, TULSA TRIB., June 7, 1921, at 1
- *Negro Section Abolished by City's Order*, TULSA TRIB., June 7, 1921, at 1
- *All Blacks Must Wear Green Tags*, TULSA DAILY WORLD, June 7, 1921, at 9
- *Jury Probe of Riot Blocked; Inquiry Is On*, TULSA TRIB., June 8, 1921, at 1
- *Get a Green Card*, TULSA TRIB., June 8, 1921, at 13
- *White Dead Are Forgotten, Rev. Cooke Charges*, TULSA TRIB., June 9, 1921, at 11
- *J.H. Welch, Unquestionably So*, TULSA DAILY WORLD, June 9, 1921, at 4
- *All Idle Blacks to be Arrested by Zero Hour Tonight*, TULSA TRIB., June 10, 1921, at 1
- *Bye Bye Tulsa Is Song of Many Blacks Without Jobs Here*, TULSA TRIB., June 11, 1921, at 2
- *It Must Be Stopped*, TULSA TRIB., June 11, 1921, at 4
- *Black Camp at Fairgrounds Is Nearly Empty*, TULSA TRIB., June 12, 1921, at 13
- *Grand Jurors Probe Takes a New Angle*, TULSA TRIB., June 13, 1921, at 1
- *Public Welfare Board Vacated by Commission: Mayor in Statement on Race Trouble*, TULSA TRIB., June 14, 1921, at 2
- *Grand Jury Gives Report to Court*, TULSA DAILY WORLD, June 16, 1921, at 1
- *Propaganda of Negroes Is Blamed*, TULSA TRIB., June 18, 1921, at 1
- *Finish the Job*, TULSA TRIB., June 23, 1921, at A19

- *Official Heads Named in Probe*, TULSA TRIB., June 25, 1921, at 1
- *M'Cullough to Face Charges Freeing Hints*, TULSA TRIB., July 23, 1921, at 1
- *Police Order Negro Porters Out of Hotels*, TULSA TRIB., June 14, 1921, at 1
- *Roundup of 64 Indicted Blacks Is On: No Warrants Issued for Whites*, TULSA TRIB., June 17, 1921, at 1
- *Gustafson Eager for Trial, Certain of His Vindication; Commissioners Back Him Up*, TULSA DAILY WORLD, June 26, 1921, at 1
- *Curiosity Drew Mob, No Violence from Whites Until Armed Negroes Arrived*, TULSA DAILY WORLD, July 19, 1921, at 1, 7
- *Home Guard Chooses Rooney for Captain*, TULSA TRIB., June 19, 1918, at 6
- *38 Indicted in Race Riot Probe*, TULSA DAILY WORLD, June 19, 1921, at 2
- *Police Head Hit on Five Counts; 11 Others Named*, TULSA TRIB., June 25, 1921, at 1
- *Grand Jury Blames Negroes for Race Rioting; Whites Clearly Exonerated*, TULSA DAILY WORLD, June 26, 1921, at 1, 8
- *Arsenal For City Hall*, TULSA TRIB., June 29, 1921, at 1-2
- *Smitherman, Held for Inciting Riot, Released on Bond*, TULSA TRIB., July 11, 1921, at 2
- *Legal Fight Waged Over Riot Evidence*, TULSA TRIB., July 13, 1921, at 1
- *State Elects to Try Gustafson First on Riot Action Charge*, TULSA DAILY WORLD, July 14, 1921, at 1, 2
- *State Elects to Try Gustafson First on Riot Action Charge*, TULSA TRIB., July 14, 1921, at 1
- *Sheriff Offers No Aid to Gustafson*, TULSA DAILY WORLD, July 15, 1921, at 8
- *Sheriff Slept Through Tulsa Riot*, TULSA DAILY WORLD, July 15, 1921, at 1, 8
- *Instruction Is Denied by Court*, TULSA DAILY WORLD, July 16, 1921, at 1
- *World's Sunday Sermon: Tulsa's Race Riot and the Teachings of Jesus*, TULSA DAILY WORLD, July 17, 1921, at C7
- *Chief Tells Own Story of Race Riot*, TULSA TRIB., July 19, 1921, at 1
- *Chief and Officers Take Witness Stand*, TULSA DAILY WORLD, July 20, 1921, at 1
- *Verdict Returned After Six Hours of Deliberation*, TULSA DAILY WORLD, July 23, 1921, at 1, 11
- *Jury Convicts Gustafson on Both Counts*, TULSA TRIB., July 23, 1921, at 1
- *Inefficiency of Police Is Denied*, TULSA DAILY WORLD, July 29, 1921, at 1
- *City Not Liable for Riot Damage*, TULSA DAILY WORLD, Aug. 7, 1921, at 1, 2
- *City May Not Appeal Fire Zone Ruling*, TULSA TRIB., Sept. 2, 1921
- *Cannot Enforce Fire Ordinance: Court Holds Unconstitutional Act Against the Burned District*, TULSA DAILY WORLD, Sept. 2, 1921
- *Mobs Lynch White Boy at Tulsa and a Colored at Oklahoma City*, TULSA STAR, Sept. 4, 1920 at 1, <https://gateway.okhistory.org/ark:/67531/metadc72815/m1/1/?q=riot>
- *Misguided Oklahoma Patriots*, TULSA STAR, Sept. 4, 1921, at 4, <https://gateway.okhistory.org/ark:/67531/metadc72815/m1/4/?q=riot>

- *Six Tulsa Negroes Will Not Be Tried at Present Term of Court; Dick Rowland Also Freed*, TULSA DAILY WORLD, Sept. 29, 1921, at A16
- *Romance of War Told in Court Trial*, TULSA TRIB., Oct. 1, 1921, at 6
- *Await Action of County Board: Red Fork Officials Still Have Several Days of Grace*, TULSA DAILY WORLD, Oct. 22, 1921, at 18
- *You Tell the World*, TULSA DAILY WORLD, Feb. 12, 1922, at 3

B. Non-Tulsa Articles

- *War Council to Get Behind Home Guards*, OKLA. WEEKLY WORLD, Sept. 6, 1917, at 1
- *Autos Circle Slowly Around Negro Section in Indian War Style*, ST. LOUIS POST DISPATCH, June 1, 1921, at 1
- *Bitter Race War Rages in Oklahoma*, EVENING HERALD, June 1, 1921, at 1
- *3 Die In Riot; Call Troops*, CHI. DAILY TRIB., June 1, 1921, at 1, <https://www.proquest.com/historical-newspapers/3-die-riot-call-troops/docview/174859399/se-2>
- *56 Slain in Race Riot in Streets of Tulsa, Okla.*, PHIL. EVENING PUB. LEDGER, June 1, 1921, at 1
- *Races at War in Tulsa*, THE KANSAS CITY STAR, June 1, 1921, at 1
- *Men Returning to City Tell Story of Riot*, OKLA. CITY TIMES, June 1, 1921, at 33
- *Nine Whites, 65 Negroes Killed In Tulsa Race Riot*, ST. LOUIS POST DISPATCH, June 1, 1921, at 1, <https://www.proquest.com/historical-newspapers/nine-whites-65-negroes-killed-tulsa-race-riot/docview/578367214/se-2>
- *Partial List of Killed and Injured In Tulsa Race Riots*, ST. LOUIS POST DISPATCH, June 1, 1921, at 2, <https://www.proquest.com/historical-newspapers/partial-list-killed-injured-tulsa-race-riots/docview/578377991/se-2>
- *Fire Adds Horror in Racial Clash; Troops in Charge*, ATLANTA CONST., June 2, 1921, at 1, <https://www.proquest.com/historical-newspapers/fire-adds-horror-racial-clash-troops-charge/docview/498073765/se-2>
- *25 Whites, 60 Negroes Toll In Tulsa Race War; 1,500 Homes Are Burned*, SUN, June 2, 1921, at 1, <https://www.proquest.com/historical-newspapers/25-whites-60-negroes-toll-tulsa-race-war-1-500/docview/537200855/se-2>
- *Tulsa Dead Total 85, Nine of Them White*, BOS. DAILY GLOBE, June 2, 1921, at 1, <https://www.proquest.com/historical-newspapers/tulsa-dead-total-85-nine-them-white/docview/504151890/se-2>
- *Race War Renewed, Death Toll Mounts: From 85 To 175 Slain In Tulsa, Estimates Indicate*, WASH. POST, June 2, 1921, at 1, <https://www.proquest.com/historical-newspapers/race-war-renewed-death-toll-mounts/docview/145906584/se-2>

- *Neglect By Peace Force Blamed For Tulsa Riot*, ST. LOUIS POST DISPATCH, June 2, 1921, at 1, <https://www.proquest.com/historical-newspapers/neglect-peace-force-blamed-tulsa-riot/docview/578393768/se-2>
- *The Reproach of America*, ST. LOUIS POST DISPATCH, June 2, 1921, at 20, <https://www.proquest.com/historical-newspapers/reproach-america/docview/578366565/se-2>
- *Race Riot Drama, Wild West Scenes in U.S. City*, THE NORTH STAR, June 2, 1921, at 1
- *Soldiers Subdue Big Race Riot*, CHICAGO DAILY TRIB., June 2, 1921, at 1, <https://www.proquest.com/historical-newspapers/soldiers-subdue-big-race-riot-77-known-dead/docview/174875792/se-2>
- *85 Killed In Race Riots At Tulsa; Ten Blocks Are Burned*, N.Y. TRIB., June 2, 1921, at 1, <https://www.proquest.com/historical-newspapers/85-killed-race-riots-at-tulsa-ten-blocks-are/docview/576458845/se-2>
- *Blame Red Propaganda for Tulsa Race Riots*, L.A. TIMES, June 2, 1921, at 11, <https://www.proquest.com/historical-newspapers/blame-red-propaganda-tulsa-race-riots/docview/160984003/se-2>
- *10 Blocks of Tulsa Homes Prey to Fire; 25 White Men Dead*, PHILA. INQUIRER, June 2, 1921, at 1, <https://www.proquest.com/historical-newspapers/june-2-1921-page-1-22/docview/1830730680/se-2>
- *Series of Fierce Combats: Angered Whites Surround Negro Quarter and Set It On Fire*, N.Y. TIMES, June 2, 1921, at 1, <https://www.proquest.com/historical-newspapers/series-fierce-combats/docview/98408421/se-2>
- *Boy Started Fire to Avenge Mother Shot by Negroes*, MUSKOGEE DAILY PHOENIX & TIMES-DEMOCRAT, June 2, 1921, at 1
- *Guard Chief Leaves Riot Scene Today*, SAPULPA HERALD, June 2, 1921, at 1
- *Tulsa Race Riot Will Be Probed: Cause of Battle Attributed to Impudent Negro, Hysterical Girl and "Yellow Journal" Reporter*, ATLANTA CONST., June 3, 1921, at 1, <https://www.proquest.com/historical-newspapers/tulsa-race-riot-will-be-probed/docview/498073876/se-2>
- *First Detailed Story of How the Tulsa Race Riot Started: Statements by Chief of Police and Sheriff of Happenings After Arrest of Negro Tuesday*, ST. LOUIS POST DISPATCH, June 3, 1921, at 21, <https://www.proquest.com/historical-newspapers/first-detailed-story-how-tulsa-race-riot-started/docview/578372524/se-2>
- *Guards Return with Governor*, THE DAILY OKLAHOMAN, June 3, 1921, at 1
- *Blacks Tied Together*, THE BLACK DISPATCH, June 3, 1921, at 5
- *Tulsa Race Riot Charged to Cowardice of Officials*, N.Y. TRIB., June 3, 1921, at 1, <https://www.proquest.com/historical-newspapers/tulsa-race-riot-charged-cowardice-officials/docview/576403256/se-2>

- *Riot Charged to Official Neglect: Citizens of Tulsa Hold Local Authorities Responsible For Outbreak*, WASH. POST, June 3, 1921, at 1, <https://www.proquest.com/historical-newspapers/riot-charged-official-neglect/docview/145903506/se-2>
- *Blame for Riot at Tulsa to Be Fixed By Jury*, SUN, June 3, 1921, at 1, <https://www.proquest.com/historical-newspapers/blame-riot-at-tulsa-be-fixed-jury/docview/537216760/se-2>
- *Tulsa Death Toll Now 30*, BOS. DAILY GLOBE, June 3, 1921, at 12, <https://www.proquest.com/historical-newspapers/tulsa-death-toll-now-30/docview/504148257/se-2>
- *Tulsans at Work on Two Plans to House Negroes*, ST. LOUIS POST DISPATCH, June 3, 1921, at 2, <https://www.proquest.com/historical-newspapers/tulsans-at-work-on-two-plans-house-negroes/docview/578374927/se-2>
- *The Lesson of Tulsa*, CHI. DAILY TRIB., June 3, 1921, at 8, <https://www.proquest.com/historical-newspapers/lesson-tulsa/docview/174856356/se-2>
- *Jury Riot Quiz Set for Tulsa: Governor Orders It, Declares City, County Officers Had "No Nerve,"* DETROIT FREE PRESS, June 3, 1921, at 1, <https://www.proquest.com/historical-newspapers/jury-riot-quiz-set-tulsa/docview/566753825/se-2>
- *Tulsa*, N.Y. TIMES, June 3, 1921, at 11, <https://www.proquest.com/historical-newspapers/tulsa/docview/98414103/se-2>
- *Race Riots*, DETROIT FREE PRESS, June 3, 1921, at 6, <https://www.proquest.com/historical-newspapers/race-riots/docview/566659075/se-2>
- *Attorney General's Office Wires to Federal Officers Here to Conduct Thorough Probe to Fix Blame; Governor Gives Directions to Freeling*, OKLA. CITY TIMES, June 3, 1921, at 33
- *Refugees Declare Peonage Prevalent: Eight Who Fled From Oklahoma Before The Riot Tell of Warnings Given To Quit The State*, N.Y. TIMES, June 3, 1921, at 2, <https://www.proquest.com/historical-newspapers/refugees-declare-peonage-prevalent/docview/98425979/se-2>
- *Tulsa In Remorse To Rebuild Homes*, N.Y. TIMES, June 3, 1921, at 1, <https://www.proquest.com/historical-newspapers/tulsa-remorse-rebuild-homes-dead-now-put-at-30/docview/98428838/se-2>
- *Radical Leaders Blamed for Riot*, ATLANTA CONST., June 4, 1921, at 12, <https://www.proquest.com/historical-newspapers/radical-leaders-blamed-riot/docview/498077091/se-2>
- *Negro Agitators Caused Race Riot, Witnesses Say*, ST. LOUIS POST DISPATCH, June 4, 1921, at 3, <https://www.proquest.com/historical-newspapers/negro-agitators-race-riot-witnesses-say/docview/578376294/se-2>
- *Tulsa Begins Hunt for Riot Agitators*, PHILA. INQUIRER, June 4, 1921, at 2, <https://www.proquest.com/historical-newspapers/june-4-1921-page-2-22/docview/1830720954/se-2>

- *Civil Law Rule Is Restored in Tulsa: State Troops Withdrawn As City Quiets Down After Outbreak*, WASH. POST, June 4, 1921, at 1, <https://www.proquest.com/historical-newspapers/civil-law-rule-is-restored-tulsa/docview/145901553/se-2>
- *U.S. Inquiry in Tulsa Race Riots Ordered: Daugherty To Learn If Federal Laws Were Violated*, N.Y. TRIB., June 4, 1921, at 4, <https://www.proquest.com/historical-newspapers/u-s-inquiry-tulsa-race-riots-ordered/docview/576404823/se-2>
- *Military Control Is Ended at Tulsa*, N.Y. TIMES, June 4, 1921, at 1, <https://www.proquest.com/historical-newspapers/military-control-is-ended-at-tulsa/docview/98420285/se-2>
- *Probe of Tulsa Riot Ordered by Daugherty*, THE SUN, June 4, 1921, at 3, <https://www.proquest.com/historical-newspapers/probe-tulsa-riot-ordered-daugherty/docview/537251757/se-2>
- *Lee Not Yet Advised*, MUSKOGEE DAILY PHOENIX & TIMES-DEMOCRAT, June 4, 1921, at 1
- *Smoldering Aftermath of Tulsa's Carnival of Race Rioting*, CHI. DAILY TRIB., June 4, 1921, at 3, <https://www.proquest.com/historical-newspapers/smoldering-aftermath-tulsas-carnival-race-rioting/docview/174808760/se-2>
- *Martial Law at Tulsa Ends; City to Atone In Full: Prominent Negroes Put Blame On Own Race*, CHI. DAILY TRIB., June 4, 1921, at 3, <https://www.proquest.com/historical-newspapers/martial-law-at-tulsa-ends-city-atone-full/docview/174793498/se-2>
- *U.S. to Probe Tulsa Rioting: Daugherty Orders Inquiry to Find If Federal Laws Were Violated*, DETROIT FREE PRESS, June 4, 1921, at 8, <https://www.proquest.com/historical-newspapers/u-s-probe-tulsa-rioting/docview/566659903/se-2>
- *Military Control Is Ended at Tulsa*, N.Y. TIMES, June 4, 1921, at 1, <https://www.proquest.com/historical-newspapers/military-control-is-ended-at-tulsa/docview/98420285/se-2>
- *Negro Reds Started Riots: Members of Own Race in Tulsa Make the Accusation*, L.A. TIMES, June 4, 1921, at 11, <https://www.proquest.com/historical-newspapers/negro-reds-started-riots/docview/160928871/se-2>
- Oklahoma Historical Society, *The Tulsa Race Massacre: The Aftermath* (last visited Dec. 20, 2024), <https://www.okhistory.org/learn/trm5>
- *Troops Withdraw from Tulsa City*, ATLANTA CONST., June 5, 1921, at A10, <https://www.proquest.com/historical-newspapers/troops-withdraw-tulsa-city/docview/498072224/se-2>
- *Citizens of Tulsa Tell of Conditions There Preceding the Race Riot*, ST. LOUIS POST DISPATCH, June 5, 1921, at A1, <https://www.proquest.com/historical-newspapers/citizens-tulsa-tell-conditions/docview/578385761/se-2>
- *Denies Negroes Started Tulsa Riot: Head of Blood Brotherhood Defends the Purpose of The Organization*, N.Y. TIMES, June 5, 1921, at 21, <https://www.proquest.com/historical-newspapers/denies-negroes-started-tulsa-riot/docview/98409569/se-2>

- *Soldiers Quit Tulsa as City Grows Normal*, N.Y. TRIB., June 5, 1921, at 10, <https://www.proquest.com/historical-newspapers/soldiers-quit-tulsa-as-city-grows-normal/docview/576406014/se-2>
- *Tulsa Resolves to Clean House and Redeem Name, Says Editor*, SUN, June 5, 1921, at 8, <https://www.proquest.com/historical-newspapers/tulsa-resolves-clean-house-redeem-name-says/docview/537200523/se-2>
- *Tulsa Rioting Blamed on Negro Secret Order*, SUN, June 5, 1921, at 8, <https://www.proquest.com/historical-newspapers/tulsa-rioting-blamed-on-negro-secret-order/docview/537220002/se-2>
- *Thirty Whites Held for Tulsa Rioting*, N.Y. TIMES, June 5, 1921, at 21, <https://www.proquest.com/historical-newspapers/thirty-whites-held-tulsa-rioting/docview/98409403/se-2>
- *Tulsa To Make Up Fire Losses: Negroes Will Have Better Homes*, DETROIT FREE PRESS, June 5, 1921, at 12, <https://www.proquest.com/historical-newspapers/tulsa-make-up-fire-losses/docview/566725489/se-2>
- *Memorial Services for Dead in Tulsa Race Riot*, BOS. DAILY GLOBE, June 6, 1921, at 3, <https://www.proquest.com/historical-newspapers/memorial-services-dead-tulsa-race-riot/docview/504151696/se-2>
- *Urges Negroes Here to Arm Themselves: Colored Leader at Meeting on Tulsa Riots Intimates There Will Be Three More Riots*, N.Y. TIMES, June 6, 1921, at 7, <https://www.proquest.com/historical-newspapers/urges-negroes-here-arm-themselves/docview/98350627/se-2>
- *Chats With Visitors: Blames Tulsa Riot On Criminals*, WASH. POST, June 6, 1921, at 6, <https://www.proquest.com/historical-newspapers/chats-with-visitors/docview/145898192/se-2>
- *William Howard Taft, Taft Charges Riot at Tulsa Was Due Largely To Whites*, WASH. POST, June 6, 1921, at 1, <https://www.proquest.com/historical-newspapers/taft-charges-riot-at-tulsa-was-due-largely-whites/docview/145900833/se-2>
- *The Responsibility for Race Hostility*, SUN, June 7, 1921, at 8, <https://www.proquest.com/historical-newspapers/responsibility-race-hostility/docview/537210929/se-2>
- *Harding Exhorts Negroes to Study*, N.Y. TIMES, June 7, 1921, at 3, <https://www.proquest.com/historical-newspapers/harding-exhorts-negroes-study/docview/98448549/se-2>
- *Harding Denounces Fatal Tulsa Riots*, WASH. POST, June 7, 1921, at 1, <https://www.proquest.com/historical-newspapers/harding-denounces-fatal-tulsa-riots/docview/145899872/se-2>

- *Harding Voices Regret Over Tulsa Rioting*, N.Y. TRIB., June 7, 1921, at 2
<https://www.proquest.com/historical-newspapers/harding-voices-regret-over-tulsa-rioting/docview/576454647/se-2>
- *Rioting Charged to Tulsa Negroes*, ATLANTA CONST., June 8, 1921, at 9,
<https://www.proquest.com/historical-newspapers/rioting-charged-tulsa-negroes/docview/498072756/se-2>
- *What Race Riots Cost*, ST. LOUIS POST DISPATCH, June 8, 1921, at 28,
<https://www.proquest.com/historical-newspapers/what-race-riots-cost/docview/578362232/se-2>
- *Begin Prosecution of Tulsa Rioters: Charges Filed Against Four Negroes as Attorney General Starts State Investigation*, N.Y. TIMES, June 8, 1921, at 7,
<https://www.proquest.com/historical-newspapers/begin-prosecution-tulsa-rioters/docview/98448132/se-2>
- J. Merrill, *Rioting at Tulsa Shames the Nation*, DETROIT FREE PRESS, June 8, 1921, at 6,
<https://www.proquest.com/historical-newspapers/rioting-at-tulsa-shames-nation/docview/566730350/se-2>
- *Official Investigates Tulsa Race Riots*, L.A. TIMES, June 8, 1921, at 11,
<https://www.proquest.com/historical-newspapers/official-investigates-tulsa-race-riots/docview/160910419/se-2>
- *Rioting Charged to Tulsa Negroes*, ATLANTA CONST., June 8, 1921, at 9,
<https://www.proquest.com/historical-newspapers/rioting-charged-tulsa-negroes/docview/498072756/se-2>
- *Tulsa After the Riots*, N.Y. EVENING POST, June 9, 1921, at 6,
<https://www.proquest.com/historical-newspapers/what-other-papers-say/docview/145896096/se-2>
- *Jury Is Completed in Tulsa Riot Trial*, ATLANTA CONST., June 10, 1921, at 9,
<https://www.proquest.com/historical-newspapers/jury-is-completed-tulsa-riot-trial/docview/498060702/se-2>
- *Jury Probes Tulsa Riots: Investigators Include Minister, Banker and Business Men*, WASH. POST, at 1, <https://www.proquest.com/historical-newspapers/jury-probes-tulsa-riots/docview/145895655/se-2>
- *Tulsa Grand Jury Begins Inquiry Into Race Riot*, ST. LOUIS POST DISPATCH, June 10, 1921, at 1, <https://www.proquest.com/historical-newspapers/tulsa-grand-jury-begins-inquiry-into-race-riot/docview/578374377/se-2>
- *Personal Experiences of Those Who Came Out from the Shambles of Loot, Arson and Murder*, THE BLACK DISPATCH, June 10, 1921, at 8
- *Letters From the People: The Negro in Oklahoma*. ST. LOUIS POST DISPATCH, June 12, 1921, at A2, <https://www.proquest.com/historical-newspapers/letters-people/docview/578369963/se-2>

- *Negro Says Greed of Tulsa Whites Started Rioting*, N.Y. TRIB., June 13, 1921, at 4, <https://www.proquest.com/historical-newspapers/negro-says-greed-tulsa-whites-started-rioting/docview/576451745/se-2>
- *Nation Not of Races but of Individuals*, DETROIT FREE PRESS, June 17, 1921, at 6, <https://www.proquest.com/historical-newspapers/nation-not-races-individuals/docview/566654017/se-2>
- *Extradition Warrant for Negro*, ST. LOUIS POST DISPATCH, June 17, 2021, at 16, <https://www.proquest.com/historical-newspapers/cant-pronounce-clients-name/docview/578378965/se-2>
- *Dick Rowland in South Omaha; No Trace of Girl*, The BLACK DISPATCH, June 17, 1921, at 1
- *Negroes Indicted for Tulsa Rioting*, DETROIT FREE PRESS, June 18, 1921, at 7, <https://www.proquest.com/historical-newspapers/negroes-indicted-tulsa-rioting/docview/566734536/se-2>
- *Many Thousands Leave Tulsa*, BLACK DISPATCH, June 18, 2021, at 1, <https://gateway.okhistory.org/ark:/67531/metadc152337/m1/1/>
- *64 Negroes Indicted for Riot at Tulsa*, PHILA. INQUIRER, June 18, 1921, at 18, <https://www.proquest.com/historical-newspapers/june-18-1921-page-24/docview/1830751547/se-2>
- *Grand Jury Puts Blame for Tulsa Riot on Negroes*, ST. LOUIS POST DISPATCH, June 25, 1921, at 1, <https://www.proquest.com/historical-newspapers/grand-jury-puts-blame-tulsa-riot-on-negroes/docview/578358759/se-2>
- *Tulsa Police Chief and Others Indicted for Riot*, N.Y. TRIB., June 26, 1921, at 3, <https://www.proquest.com/historical-newspapers/tulsa-police-chief-others-indicted-riot/docview/576400936/se-2>
- *Tulsa Police Chief Indicted in Probe: Four Other Officers Also Charged in Connection With Recent Race Riots*, SUN, June 26, 1921, at 5, <https://www.proquest.com/historical-newspapers/tulsa-police-chief-indicted-probe/docview/534419338/se-2>
- *Police Chief Is Indicted During Tulsa Riot Quiz*, CHI. DAILY TRIB., June 26, 1921, at 13, <https://www.proquest.com/historical-newspapers/police-chief-is-indicted-during-tulsa-riot-quiz/docview/174843136/se-2>
- *Tulsa Race Riot Jury Indicts Police Chief*, N.Y. TIMES, June 26, 1921, at 16, <https://www.proquest.com/historical-newspapers/tulsa-race-riot-jury-indicts-police-chief/docview/98391321/se-2>
- *Oust Tulsa Chief on Jury's Advice: Race Riot Investigators Indict Five of Police, Seven Civilians*, WASH. POST, June 26, 1921, at 4, <https://www.proquest.com/historical-newspapers/oust-tulsa-chief-on-jurys-advice/docview/145912732/se-2>
- *Negroes Blamed for Race Riot By Tulsa Grand Jury: Police Chief, Four Policemen And Seven Civilians Are Indicted Following the Investigation*, ST. LOUIS POST DISPATCH, JUNE 26,

- 1921, at 2, <https://www.proquest.com/historical-newspapers/negroes-blamed-race-riot-tulsa-grand-jury/docview/578371230/se-2>
- *Red Circulars, Urging Negro Revolt, Seized*, N.Y. TRIB., June 29, 1921, at 2, <https://www.proquest.com/historical-newspapers/red-circulars-urging-negro-revolt-seized/docview/576411224/se-2>
 - Walter F. White, *The Eruption of Tulsa*, THE NATION, June 29, 1921, <https://www.thenation.com/article/society/tulsa-1921/>
 - *Alleged Red Arrested*, LOS ANGELES TIMES, June 30, 1921, at 111, <https://www.proquest.com/historical-newspapers/new-chief-justice-may-be-named-soon/docview/160852325/se-2>
 - *Tulsa Race Riot Victims Aided by \$1,012 Fund*, CHI. DAILY TRIB., July 10, 1921, at 12, <https://www.proquest.com/historical-newspapers/american-legion-notes/docview/174805688/se-2>
 - *Sheriff Takes Stand in Tulsa Police Trial*, CHICKASHA DAILY EXPRESS, July 14, 1921, at 1
 - *Sheriff Testifies in Trial of Chief Gustafson, Tulsa*, DAILY ARDMOREITE, July 14, 1921, at 1
 - *Tulsa to Pay Guard for Expenses During Riot*, DURANT WEEKLY NEWS, July 15, 1921, at 6
 - *Indications Are that Gustafson Trial Will Last All Next Week*, DAILY ARDMOREITE, July 15, 1921, at 1
 - *Sheriff Sleeps Through Big Riot at Tulsa*, DURANT DAILY DEMOCRAT, July 15, 1921, at 3
 - *Express Packettes: Sheriff McCullough testified*, CHICKASHA DAILY EXPRESS, July 16, 1921, at 4
 - *Tulsa Police Aided Riot*, SUN, July 16, 1921, at 7, <https://www.proquest.com/historical-newspapers/tulsa-police-aided-riot-report/docview/534403252/se-2>
 - *Tulsa Chief, Lax in Riots, Guilty of Theft Plots*, CHI. DAILY TRIB., July 23, 1921, <https://www.proquest.com/historical-newspapers/tulsa-chief-lax-riots-guilty-theft-plots/docview/174777930/se-2>
 - *Tulsa Police Chief Guilty: Jury Finds He Failed To Act To Protect Public In Riots*, N.Y. TRIB., July 23, 1921, at 1, <https://www.proquest.com/historical-newspapers/tulsa-police-chief-guilty/docview/576421434/se-2>
 - *Tulsa Chief Is Found Guilty on Two Counts: Woman Assistant Attorney-General Stresses Failure to Disarm Negroes Before Riot*, ST. LOUIS POST DISPATCH, July 23, 1921, at 2, <https://www.proquest.com/historical-newspapers/tulsa-chief-is-found-guilty-on-two-counts/docview/578383436/se-2>
 - Roscoe Dunjee, *Ask Federal Investigation of Use of Air Planes and Machine Guns in Tulsa Race Massacre*, BLACK DISPATCH, Aug. 26, 1961, at 1, <https://gateway.okhistory.org/ark:/67531/metadc152347/?q=%22machine%20guns%20in%20tulsa%22>
 - *President Harding at Lincoln University*, LINCOLN UNIV. HERALD, Aug. 1921, at 11

- *Ex-Police Bares Plot of Tulsans: Officer of Law Tells Who Ordered Aeroplanes to Destroy Homes*, CHI. DEFENDER, Oct. 14, 1921
- *Dick Rowland Is Freed of All Charges: Man For Whose Life Mob Fought Is Found Innocent of All Charges*, CHI. WHIP, Oct. 15, 1921, at 1,
<https://idnc.library.illinois.edu/?a=d&d=TCW19211015-01.1.1&e=-----en-20--1--txt-txIN----->

SURVIVOR ACCOUNTS

A. Survivor Accounts Provided to the Cold Case Unit by J4G Clients

VIOLA FORD FLETCHER & IKE HOWARD, *DON'T LET THEM BURY MY STORY: THE OLDEST LIVING SURVIVOR OF THE TULSA RACE MASSACRE IN HER OWN WORDS* (Mocha Media, 2023)

Depositions of Viola Ford Fletcher, Hughes Van Ellis, and Lessie Benningfield (“Mother”) Randle, *Randle v. City of Tulsa*, No. CV-2020-1179 (Okla. Dist.) (provided by J4G)

Continuing Injustice: The Centennial of the Tulsa-Greenwood Race Massacre May 19, 2021, Hearing Before the H.R. Subcomm. on the Const., Civil Rights, and Civil Liberties, 117th Cong. (2021) (statements of Viola Ford Fletcher, Hughes Van Ellis, Lessie Benningfield (“Mother”) Randle), available at <https://www.govinfo.gov/content/pkg/CHRG-117hhrg48273/html/CHRG-117hhrg48273.htm> and <https://www.c-span.org/video/?c4963668/1921-tulsa-race-massacre-survivors-testify-congress>

B. Firsthand Accounts Authored by Survivors in the Decade Following the Massacre

Buck Cobert Franklin, *The Tulsa Race Riot and Three of Its Victims* (Aug. 22, 1931),
https://nmaahc.si.edu/object/nmaahc_2015.176.1

MARY E. JONES-PARRISH, *THE NATION MUST AWAKE: MY WITNESS TO THE TULSA RACE MASSACRE OF 1921* (Trinity University Press, 2021)

MARY E. JONES PARRISH, *EVENTS OF THE TULSA DISASTER* (1922)

Survivor testimonials given to Mary E. Jones Parrish and included in *Events of the Tulsa Disaster*:

- James T.A. West
- Jack Thomas
- Richard J. Hill
- Mrs. Roseatter Moore
- P.S. Thompson
- Dr. R.T. Bridgewater
- E.A. Loupe (Plumber)
- Mrs. Carrie Kinlaw
- J.P. Hughs

- A.J. Newman
- Anonymous/“Name Withheld”
- C.L. Netherland
- M.D. Russell
- J.C. Latimer
- “A.H.”
- Dimple L. Bush
- R.A. Whitaker
- Richard J. Hill

C. White Witness Accounts Given Contemporaneously

Letter of Thomas James Sharp to Joseph Anthony Sharp (June 28, 1921) [2021.170.001], Tulsa Historical Society & Museum, Tulsa, OK, <https://www.tulsaohistory.org/wp-content/uploads/2018/11/2021.170.001.pdf>

Amy Comstock, “*Over There: Another View of the Tulsa Riots*,” SURVEY, July 2, 1921, <https://digitalcollections.tulsalibrary.org/digital/collection/p16063coll1/id/5850/>

D. Survivor Accounts Collected Since 1980

1. The Eddie Faye Gates Tulsa Race Massacre Collection, Gilcrease Museum, available at <https://collections.gilcrease.org/anthology/eddie-faye-gates-tulsa-race-massacre-collection>
 - Alfred Stanley Dennie
 - Eunice Jackson
 - George Monroe
 - Iola Streeter Jackson
 - Veneice Dunn Sims
 - Kinney Booker
 - Elwood Lett
 - Theodore Porterfield
 - Ernestine Gibbs
 - Ruby McCormick
 - Wes Young
 - Otis G. Clark
 - Genevieve Elizabeth Tillman Jackson
 - Willie Mae Thompson
 - Julia Bonton Jones
 - Eldoris McCondichie
 - Georgia Walker Hill
 - Samuel Walker
2. Accounts collected by the Tulsa Reparations Coalition, available at <https://tulsareparations.z19.web.core.windows.net/Vignettes.htm>

- John Melvin Alexander
 - Juanita Delores Burnett Arnold
 - Kinney I. Booker
 - Binkley Wright
 - Other eyewitness accounts (short summaries)
3. Oklahoma Historical Society Oral History Collection Interviews, available at <https://www.okhistory.org/learn/tulsaracemassacre>
 - Ethelyn Gimlin (H1983.109)
 - Thomas and Mary Hamilton (H1984.019)
 - Ruth Powers (H1983.101)
 - Zola Faye Sells (H1982.052)
 - Earkysee Sutton (H1982.029)
 - Mary Magdaline Wyatt (H1982.061)
 - Thomas Edward Gage Jr. 06/12/1987
 4. Tulsa Race Riot (Massacre) Commission Interviews, available at <https://www.okhistory.org/learn/tulsaracemassacre> (conducted in 1999; collected by the Oklahoma Historical Society Audio and Oral History Archives)
 - George Monroe, [Tape 1 \(1999.069.01\)](#)
 - Lola Streeter-Jackson, [Tape 1 \(1999.069.01\)](#)
 - Veneice Dunn-Simms, [Tape 1 \(1999.069.01\)](#)
 - Kinny Booker, [Tape 1 \(1999.069.01\)](#)
 - Edward Lett, [Tape 1 \(1999.069.01\)](#)
 - Ernestine Gibbs, [Tape 1 \(1999.069.01\)](#) - [Tape 2 \(1999.069.02\)](#)
 - Ruby McCormick, [Tape 2 \(1999.069.02\)](#)
 - Wes Young, [Tape 2 \(1999.069.02\)](#)
 - Otis Clark, [Tape 2 \(1999.069.02\)](#)
 - Joe Burns, [Tape 2 \(1999.069.02\)](#)
 - Elizabeth Cooley Chappelle, [Tape 3 \(1999.069.03\)](#)
 - Annie Birdie Beard, [Tape 3 \(1999.069.03\)](#)
 - Augusta Mann, [Tape 3 \(1999.069.03\)](#)
 - George Monroe, [Tape 3 \(1999.069.03\)](#)
 - Eldoris McCondichie, [Tape 3 \(1999.069.03\)](#)
 - Jobie Elizabeth Holderness, [Tape 4 \(1999.069.04\)](#)
 - Eunice Jackson, [Tape 4 \(1999.069.04\)](#)
 - Myrtle Rollerson, [Tape 4 \(1999.069.04\)](#)
 - Beulah Loree Smith, [Tape 4 \(1999.069.04\)](#)
 5. Accounts in HANNIBAL B. JOHNSON, BLACK WALL STREET 100, 233-237 (Eakin, 2020) (taken from Eddie Faye Gates interviews (above))

- J.B. Bates
 - Kinney I. Booker
 - Otis Grandville Clark
 - Ernestine Gibbs
 - Leroy Leon Hatcher
 - Wilhelmina Guess Howell
 - Simon R. Richardson
 - Veneice Dunn Simms
 - Wess H. Young, Sr.
6. Accounts in Tulsa Historical Society and Museum Online Collection, available at <https://tulsahistory.pastperfectonline.com/>
- John Zink, Sr. (white witness), Catalog No. 1971.001.002 (Jan. 29, 1971)
<https://tulsahistory.pastperfectonline.com/archive/D41E4300-7B95-4B47-B76D-416752805357>
 - Gertrude Winterringer Carr (white witness), Catalog No. 1979.085.001 (March 20, 1979)
<https://tulsahistory.pastperfectonline.com/archive/4742E741-DF87-431A-A135-317655104335>
 - Joan Agnes “Johnnie” Coe (white witness), Catalog No. 2005.146.001 (Feb. 3, 2005)
<https://tulsahistory.pastperfectonline.com/archive/B0B9DD66-6045-44CD-B77C-531578412262>
 - William Danforth Williams, Catalog No. 1977.072.001 (March 29, 1977),
<https://tulsahistory.pastperfectonline.com/archive/0337EA50-379B-4BE3-8660-404844825836>
7. *We Are Greenwood Oral History Project*, Justice for Greenwood, available at <https://www.justiceforgreenwood.org/oral-history-project/>
- U.D. Emerson
 - Jack and Daisy Scott
 - Wilbur and Zola Stephens
 - Lessie Benningfield-Randle
 - John R. Emerson, Sr.
 - Simeon Neal
 - Joe E. Burns
 - Marciano and Josefina Villareal
 - J.B. Stradford
 - Theodor Porterfield
8. Ruth Sigler Avery Collection, *Collection Series 1: Tulsa Race Massacre of 1921*, OSU-Tulsa Library (July 2021)
- Bob Forsman (Box 2, Folder 16)

- S.M. Jackson (Box 2, Folder 16)
- Helen Donohue Ingraham (Box 3, Folder 6)
- Robert L. Fairchild, Jr. (Box 2, Folder 12)
- James Leighton Avery (Box 1, Folder 10)
- Andre Wilkes and Margaret Wilsey (Box 7, Folder 3)
- W.R. Holway (Box 3, Folder 2)
- William D. Williams (Box 7, Folder 6)
- L.C. Clark (Box 1, Folder 21)
- Cecelia Nails Palmer (Box 14, Folder 38)
- Elsie Gubser (Box 2, Folder 26)
- Edward L. Goodwin (Box 2, Folder 24)
- Marguerite Griffith Allstrom (Box 1, Folder 3)
- Ruth Wingfield (Box 7, Folder 7)

9. Other Accounts

- *Survivor Olivia J. Hooker recalls the 1921 Tulsa race riots*, USA TODAY (June 11, 2020), <https://www.usatoday.com/videos/news/2020/06/11/survivor-olivia-j-hooker-recalls-1921-tulsa-race-riots/5345617002/>
- Video Compilation (Olivia Hooker, Eldoris McCondicchie, Jimmie Lily Franklin, Eunice Jackson, Clyde Eddy, and John Hope Franklin), from *Tulsa Objects in the National Museum of African American History and Culture (NMAAHC) Online Collection*, NAT. MUSEUM OF AFRICAN AM. HIST. AND CULTURE, SMITHSONIAN INST., <https://nmaahc.si.edu/explore/search-collection/tulsa-objects-nmaahc-collection>
- *Tulsa Greenwood Race Riot Accountability Act of 2007: Hearing Before the Subcomm. on the Const., Civil Rights, and Civil Liberties of the H.R. Comm. on the Judiciary*, 110th Cong. 24-46 (2007), <https://www.govinfo.gov/content/pkg/CHRG-110hhrg34924/pdf/CHRG-110hhrg34924.pdf> (testimony of Olivia Hooker and John Hope Franklin)
- Margaret Zulpo, *Remembering When the Sky Rained Death // 95-Year-Old Wom[a]n Recalls 1921 Riot*, TULSA DAILY WORLD, May 18, 1994 (account of survivor Rosa Davis-Skinner), https://tulsaworld.com/archive/remembering-when-the-sky-rained-death-95-year-old-women-recalls-1921-race-riot/article_35d47882-6d91-5395-b92f-7acb73c0f8c4.html
- Charlene Scott Warnken, *Tulsa riot is burned into her memory*, EASTERN OKLAHOMA CATHOLIC, May 29, 1983 (account of witness Ruth Sigler Avery)
- Interview with Beatrice Campbell-Webster, *Guide to the 1921 Tulsa Race Massacre Oral History Collection, 2004-2007*, NAT. MUSEUM OF AFRICAN AM. HIST. AND CULTURE, SMITHSONIAN INST., https://mads.si.edu/mads/view/NMAAHC-A2014_240_9_1_1_PM

Interviewees

Historians, Journalists, Scholars, and Authors

The following scholars of the Tulsa Race Massacre shared their time and expertise with us or provided us with materials we used in compiling our report.

Chief Egunwale Amusan¹

Dr. Raymond Doswell

Dr. Kimberly C. Ellis

Dr. Scott Ellsworth

John W. Franklin²

Dean Oren Griffin, Esq., Ph.D.

Dr. Karlos K. Hill

Randall Hopkins, Esq.

Hannibal B. Johnson, Esq.

Quraysh Ali Lansana

Victor Luckerson

Suzette Malveaux, Esq.

Larry O'Dell

Dr. Kristen T. Oertel

¹ Chief Amusan is also the descendant of a massacre survivor. Our discussion with him was during a tour he provided of the Greenwood District.

² Mr. Franklin is also the descendant of a massacre survivor. Mr. Franklin provided us information both in an interview and during a tour of massacre-related exhibits at the National Museum of African American History and Culture.

Oklahoma Commission to Study the Tulsa Race Riot of 1921

We spoke to the following Commissioners from the Oklahoma Commission to Study the Tulsa Race Riot of 1921.

Jimmie White

Vivian Clark Adams

Jim Lloyd

Advocates and Community Organizations

We spoke to one or more members of the following organizations. Names of individuals have been withheld for privacy except for those who requested publication.

Greenwood Chamber of Commerce,
https://tulsachamber.com/member_directory/active/greenwood-chamber-of-commerce/

Greenwood Cultural Center, <https://www.greenwoodculturalcenter.org/>

Historic Vernon AME Church, <https://www.historicvernoname.church/>

John Hope Franklin Center for Reconciliation, <https://www.jhfcenter.org/>

Justice for Greenwood,³ <https://www.justiceforgreenwood.org/>, including Damario Solomon-Simmons, Professor Eric J. Miller, SolomonSimmonsLaw, and Schulte Roth & Zabel LLP

Archives, Universities, Libraries, and Museums

We visited, consulted, or used resources from the following archives, and met with many archivists and librarians. Names of individuals have been withheld for privacy except for those who requested publication.

Greenwood Rising Black Wall Street History Center, <https://www.greenwoodrising.org/>

Helmerich Center for American Research (Gilcrease), Eddie Faye Gates Collection,
<https://collections.gilcrease.org/anthology/eddie-faye-gates-tulsa-race-massacre-collection>

National Archives, College Park, MD, <https://www.archives.gov/>

³ Justice for Greenwood and its founder and executive director, Damario Solomon-Simmons, and Professor Eric J. Miller, also assisted in arranging a tour of the Greenwood District, participated in interviews of those descendants who are clients of Justice for Greenwood's law firm, identified and assisted in identifying and interviewing other interviewees, and provided massacre-related information to us.

National Museum of African American History and Culture (Smithsonian),
<https://nmaahc.si.edu/>

Oklahoma Department of Libraries, Tulsa Race Massacre Collection, <https://libguides.osu-tulsa.okstate.edu/tulsaracemassacre>

Oklahoma State University, Tulsa Campus, Ruth Sigler Avery Collection,
<https://library.okstate.edu/search-and-find/collections/digital-collections/tulsa-race-riot-of-1921-collection/>, particularly Lynn Wallace and Sheena Perez.

The University of Tulsa, McFarlin Library, Department of Special Collections and University Archives, <https://libraries.utulsa.edu/speccoll>

The University of Tulsa, College of Law, B.C. Franklin Collection,
<https://utulsa.edu/academics/law/legal-clinics/buck-colbert-franklin-legal-clinic/>

The City of Tulsa

Members of the Tulsa Police Department and other city employees spoke to us during the evaluation.

Survivors

Names of living survivors, redacted in the January 9 Report pursuant to the Privacy Act, have been unredacted pursuant to a written request.

Hughes Van Ellis

Lessie Benningfield Randle (“Mother Randle”)

Viola Ford Fletcher (“Mother Fletcher”)

Descendants

We met with the following descendants and community members. Names of living descendants, even those identified in other sources, have been withheld for privacy except for those who requested publication.⁴

1. XXXXXX
2. XXXXXX
3. XXXXXX
XXXXXX, XXXXXX, XXXXXX, XXXXXX, XXXXXX, XXXXXX

⁴ Any individual who participated in the investigation who affirmatively wishes to be identified in this report can make a written request to have his or her name unredacted.

4. Dr. Tiffany Crutcher
5. XXXXXX
6. XXXXXX
7. XXXXXX
8. XXXXXX
9. Wilford Cleo Harris
10. Ike Howard
11. Heather Nash
12. XXXXXX
13. Michael Eugene Penny
14. LaDonna Penny
15. Wes Young Descendants (2) Ms. Chantelle Waldon Wells & Tedra “Teddi” Williams
16. XXXXXX
17. XXXXXX

APPENDIX C

~~SECRET~~

CONFIDENTIAL

~~RESTRICTED OR CLASSIFIED~~

~~BOX NO. 12307H~~

~~158260 Sub 8~~

~~WGR 1/10/66~~

REPORT FORM NO. 1

58260-8
JUN 8 1921
DIVISION

REPORT MADE BY: James G. Findla	PLACE WHERE MADE: Oklahoma City	DATE WHEN MADE: 6-3-1921	DATE WHEN MADE: 6-3-1921
------------------------------------	------------------------------------	-----------------------------	-----------------------------

TITLE OF CASE AND OFFENSE CHARGED OR NATURE OF MATTER UNDER INVESTIGATION:

TULSA, OKLAHOMA RACE RIOT Tulsa, Okla. Possible Radical Matter.

STATEMENT OF OPERATIONS, EVIDENCE COLLECTED, NAMES AND ADDRESSES OF PERSONS INTERVIEWED, PLACES VISITED, ETC.

At Oklahoma City, Okla.

Beginning investigation of above entitled matter, the newspapers of June first carried the account of rioting in Tulsa, and that a number of people were killed; that during the night, at the urgent request of the Citizens Committee at Tulsa, the Governor had called out the State Militia, two companies at Tulsa, and three companies at Oklahoma City, one from Wagoner and one from Bartlesville, to quell the riot.

Agent sent Agent Weiss to Tulsa on the first train, to investigate this matter, along with other matters at Tulsa, as Agent believed that such a condition should be reported on, even though there possibly could not be any violation of any Federal law connected therewith.

At noon June 2nd Agent received the following telegram from the Chief of Bureau:

"Press carrying account race riots Tulsa. Desire immediate investigation; wire all facts."

Agent got into communication with Agent Weiss at Tulsa over the long distance telephone, and instructed him to send a long telegram ~~to~~ direct to the Chief of the Bureau, giving a short statement of the facts and conditions as they existed.

On the morning of June 3rd Agent is in receipt of a copy of the following telegram which Agent Weiss dispatched to the Chief of Bureau:

COPY OF THIS REPORT FURNISHED TO:

2 to Washington.

JUN 28 1921

James G. Findlay.

June 1 to 3, 1921.

-2-

"Tulsa, Okla., June 2, 1921.

Chief Bureau of Investigation,
Dept. of Justice, Washington, D. C.

Stop five. Race riots Tulsa, Okla. May thirty-first negro Deck Rowland charged by white elevator girl with attempted assault. Rowland jailed in county jail. Same evening white mob of about twenty-five armed men go to county jail to lynch Rowland. About same sized mob of armed negroes go to jail to protect Rowland. Sheriff refuses to disarm or arrest any of either mob. Negro mob starts to leave but returns shortly and some one, apparently white man, fires a shot. Negroes flee, shooting as they run and make a stand at Frisco tracks and Boston street. White mob augmented by several crooks and follow negroes to negro section. Both sides shooting but negroes retreating.

Whites invade negro section, shooting at fleeing negroes and setting negroes residences, church and business buildings on fire until 7 A. M. next day, looting as they go. National Guard arrive about then and martial law proclaimed. Rioting ends suddenly and everything now normal. Known dead are ~~xxxxxxxxxx~~ nine whites eighteen blacks. Undoubtedly many dead negroes in burned houses. Property damage in negro section about one million five hundred thousand.

Sheriff and Police Department apparently made no effort to preserve order. Sheriff accused of calling armed negroes to jail in first instance. Everything now quiet, National Guard still on duty. State Grand Jury probe ordered by Governor with State Attorney General to conduct same which is set for June eighth. No Federal violation appears. Trouble started spontaneously and due to fact that County and city officers have been for years notoriously crooked and inefficient.

Weiss."

Before the writing of this report, the afternoon of June 3rd, official reports from Tulsa state that there are ten whites and twenty-one negroes dead, and about three hundred injured, and it is believed that about ten of the injured are fatally injured.

A complete report from Agent Weiss will be forwarded as soon as possible.

Continued.

REPORT MADE AT: Oklahoma City	DATE WHEN MADE: 7-5-1921	PERIOD FOR WHICH MADE: 7-2-1921	REPORT MADE BY: T. F. Giss
TITLE AND CHARACTER OF CASE: <i>African</i> NEGRO ACTIVITIES (BLOOD BROTHERHOOD) : Possible Radical Matter.			
FACTS DEVELOPED: At Tulsa, Okla.			
Referring to report, this title, by Agent Sausele, dated Wichita, Kansas, June 25, 1921.			
Interviewed CHARLES DALEY, police inspector, Tulsa, Oklahoma, who said he had heard some rumors that such an organization was being formed in Tulsa, Sapulpa and vicinity, but MR. DALEY had nothing definite, and had heard of no literature or organizers.			
MR. DALEY stated that he had heard that <u>HENRY COX</u> , negro, 200 block North Hickory, Sapulpa, Oklahoma, and <u>HENRY LEE</u> , negro, Sapulpa, had attended a meeting at Sapulpa a couple of weeks ago and that a negro named <u>LON JOE</u> , living five miles west of Tulsa, had also attended a meeting of negroes at <u>Sapulpa</u> ; that the purpose of these meetings was said to be to organize the negroes and march on Tulsa and fire the residence section and wage war on the whites; that the purpose of this proposed march on Tulsa was <u>retribution</u> for what the negroes suffered May 31st; that the march on Tulsa was to begin on the night of July 3rd and plan to take advantage of the fireworks being set off in various parts of the city to cover up the first reports of the attacking negro shots, etc.			
MR. DALEY stated that he had charge of the preparation of defense of Tulsa, and had seven machine guns and experienced gunners.			
REFERENCE:	COPIES OF THIS REPORT FURNISHED TO: 3 Washington; 2 Kansas City.		

ORIGINAL

T. F. Weiss.

July 2, 1921.

-2-

with them, fifty or more minute-men, airplanes, militia and police in readiness; that all the roads leading into Tulsa from outside, especially from Muskogee, Okmulgee and Sapulpa would be well-guarded on the nights of the 2nd and 3rd, and no strange negroes allowed to pass without identification.

Agent inquired closely from MR. DALEY and others, but could find no one who had any information of any literature or any traveling organizers for this "BLOOD BROTHERHOOD" organization. From all rumors and information Agent could get, the object of the alleged negro plans to attack Tulsa was to avenge the killing and destroying of property of the negroes at Tulsa May 31st, and June 1st.

Agent, however, arranged with MR. DALEY to be notified immediately by wire or long distance, in the event any disturbance between whites and blacks broke out at Tulsa or in that vicinity, and also arranged with MR. DALEY to be furnished with the names and addresses of all informants in the future who have or claim to have definite information as to any radical organization or organizers among the negroes, and also to be furnished promptly with all literature along that line secured by the police department of Tulsa.

Open.

REPORT MADE BY T. F. Weiss	PLACE WHERE MADE Oklahoma City	DATE WHEN MADE 6-6-1921	PERIOD FOR WHICH MADE 6/1-3/1921
TITLE OF CASE AND OFFENSE CHARGED OR NATURE OF MATTER UNDER INVESTIGATION RIOTING AT TULSA, Okla. May 31st and June 1st, 1921			
<p>STATEMENT OF FACTS, EVIDENCE COLLECTED, NAMES AND ADDRESSES OF PERSONS INTERVIEWED, PLACES VISITED, ETC.</p> <p>At Tulsa, Okla.</p> <p>Beginning. Agent arrived at Tulsa June 1st at 5:45 P. M. on other business, but finding the amount of damage done, and lives lost, began at once to quietly gather data with the view of ascertaining the true cause and origin of the trouble and as to whether any violation of Federal Law was involved, or facts committed warranting the Federal Government to take a hand.</p> <p>During June 1st, 2nd and 3rd Agent talked with more than a hundred, blacks and whites, having personal knowledge of some phases and stages of the trouble and went through and inspected the devastated negro section. All whom Agent conversed with agreed that the whole affair was practically spontaneous and not due to any preliminary organized ill feeling between blacks and whites, and that neither blacks nor whites had any leaders or organization and that premeditation was also plainly absent.</p> <p>The plain uncolored truth is as follows:</p> <p>On May 31st a white woman, named MRS. SARAH PAGE, running the elevator in the Drexel Building, Tulsa, complained to the police department that a negro boy, named DICK ROWLAND, about fifteen or sixteen years old, had grabbed her by the arm, in said elevator, during business hours; that she screamed and ROWLAND ran away.</p> <p>Chief of Police Gustafson stated to Agent the above, and added that the woman bore no scratches, bruises or disarranged dress, and that she stated the boy had made no bad remark of any kind;</p> <p>to Washington.</p>			

T. F. Weiss.

June 1 to 3, 1921.

-2-

that she just got scared. That the negro boy admitted at the police station to taking hold of MRS. PAGE'S arm, but insisted he and she had been joking and playing and he meant no harm, but got scared and ran when she screamed.

GUSTAFSON states that his investigation did not justify any charge against the negro, and none was filed; that the same afternoon the "Tulsa Tribune", (a sort of yellow sheet) printed an untrue and inflammatory story with the result that by 4 P. M. rumors were current on the streets that a mob of whites were going to lynch ROWLAND that night; that he, GUSTAFSON, then had ROWLAND put in the county jail for safety, and told Sheriff WILLIAM McCULLOUGH of the lynching rumors; that about 7:30 P. M. a white mob, including white women, began gathering at the county jail, and later a bunch of about twenty-five armed negro men came also to the county jail; that he, GUSTAFSON, had heard that Sheriff McCULLOUGH had called these armed negroes by phone to come to the jail armed to protect ROWLAND.

WILLIAM ELLIS, Deputy United States Marshal, Tulsa, stated to Agent that May 31st he heard rumors that ROWLAND was to be lynched that night, and took his wife with him in his car to the jail about 6 P. M. to see the lynching, but to take no part; that there were forty or fifty white men and their wives at the jail when he got there and twenty-five or thirty heavily armed negroes, standing off to one side, muttering and cursing; that Sheriff McCULLOUGH was also present, but the white mob did not seem to be seriously intending to lynch anybody; that he, ELLIS, urged the Sheriff to disarm everybody at once, and before the tension became dangerous, offering to assist him; that the Sheriff refused to disarm any one, but did talk to the negroes, whom he called by their

T. F. Weiss.

June 1 to 3, 1921.

-5-

first names, to go home and avoid trouble; that the negroes did start away, but in a few minutes, they or others returned, stood around and cursed; that when the negroes came back the second time a large, tall white man stepped up to McCULLOUGH, and said: "Bill, why did you call those armed niggers up here?"; that McCULLOUGH replied, "I didn't call them", and the white man said, "You are a God damned liar, for I heard you do it". ELLIS states that McCULLOUGH then said nothing but went inside the jail and shut the door; that Chief of Police GUSTAFSON, and a policeman named BLAINE were present during all this, and made no move to prevent trouble, so that he, ELLIS, took his wife and drove away, as it was apparent Hell was going to break loose.

ELLIS states that he drove home, six or eight blocks, and about ten minutes after he got home, heard a noise in the street in front of his house; that he looked out and saw about sixteen niggers, with guns, holding up two autos of whites, that the whites, some of whom were women, were standing in the cars with their heads high in the air, and the niggers cursing them vilcely; that the niggers, however, did not harm the whites, but let them drive on in a few minutes, after which the negroes fired about thirty shots in the air and ran. (This shows the purposelessness of the negroes.)

ELLIS~~st~~ states that he stayed home that night, but was down town next morning; that the whites were stealing and pillaging in the negro section which was on fire, and continued to do this till noon; that they thus stole Victrolas, sewing machines, clothes, furs, autos, furniture, etc. and that he has helped recover some stuff thus stolen; that in one white man's house were found three Victrolas and nine silk

T. F. Weiss.

June 1 to 3, 1921.

-4-

shirts--all admitted as being stolen from the negroes.

ELLIS states that there was no unusual race feeling prevailing; that the trouble just started on a small scale, and grew out of bounds; that at 8 P. M. three good officers could have controlled the situation and avoided all trouble, but neither the police nor Sheriff's office at any time made the least effort to preserve order; that these officers seemed to have no sense, no interest, and no guts.

Chief of Police GUSTAFSON also assured Agent that there was no apparent premeditation, or unusual race feeling on either side; that neither side had leaders or organization, and that it all was a spontaneous growth, mainly due to the many crooks and transients who took advantage of the conditions from midnight on, broke into hardware stores, pawnshops, and sporting goods shops, and stole hundreds of guns and a lot of ammunition, and then began about daylight to loot the negro houses, after driving the negroes out; that probably the burning of property was to cover up this, as many houses were looted before being set afire.

MR. HALL, Secretary to Chief of Police GUSTAFSON, stated that he, HALL, was present at the County Jail, "from start to finish", and that no effort was made by any county or city peace officer, to disarm the members of the mob. HALL indignantly declared that to have attempted that would have been bad judgment, as it would surely have lead to shooting.

L. W. CRUTCHER, attorney, Mayo Building, Tulsa, stated to Agent that he was with white mob at jail until about 9 P. M. He described the facts about same as ELLIS, and as to time after ELLIS had left, CRUTCHER stated the tension became higher and higher, the armed niggers

getting bolder and more insulting; that finally a white man remarked that as he had a gun he would show the niggers about cursing whites, or words to that effect, whereupon another white man handed the first one a gun and remarked, "There is a gun, brother"; that a few seconds later a shot rang out, evidently by the man who had just been given a gun, whereupon the niggers started to run back towards their own section of town, shooting aimlessly as they ran, but killing two whites within the next four blocks; that the whites pursued the blacks to the Frisco track, on Boston Street. These tracks are a sort of dividing line between the white and negro sections; that the negroes made a stand at the tracks, but the shooting died down.

CRUTCHER states this was about 10 P. M. and that things were quiet till 2 A. M. at which time a negro business building was set on fire, and more shots fired; that this died down till about 5 A. M. when fires again started in the negro section, starting in five or six places, blocks apart, at one time; that shooting continued and a mob of several hundred whites invaded the negro section, setting fire as they went, that this continued till about noon, by which time the entire negro section, business and residence, was in flames.

CRUTCHER states that the burning was mostly by the criminal white element of Tulsa, and that he did not believe there was any agitation or premeditation by either side; that the Sheriff's force and Police Department simply made no effort to enforce law, though it could have easily been done any time up to 2 A. M.; that the lower element of whites simply seized the opportunity to pillage, burn and shoot the negroes without interference from the authorities. CRUTCHER was of the

T. F. Weiss.

June 1 to 3, 1921.

-6-

opinion that many dead negroes were in the debris of the burned houses, and mentioned the case of a negro maid whose bullet riddled and burned body was found in the ashes of her burned home by her employers.

TOM DYER, Jenks, Oklahoma, stated to Agent that a Tulsa policeman named RIGNON came to Jenks, near Tulsa, in a car the night of May 31st and invited several white men to go to Tulsa, intimating a raid on the negroes; that he, DYER, did not go that night, but that ROBERT HANSKON, an oil driller, quit work and did drive over after midnight, at RIGNON'S invitation; that HANSKON'S dead body was found June 1st in the ~~the~~ negro burned section, near where RIGNON afterward told DYER he, RIGNON, had stationed himself.

DYER stated that he did drive to Tulsa next morning and watched the white mob burn and sack the negro section; that he got there about 10:30 A. M. and saw hundreds of whites, including white women and white girls, carrying Victrolas, trunks, clothing, furs, etc., out of negroes' houses before they were burned, and hauling or carrying the plunder off; that there was absolutely no effort made by the ~~country~~ city officers to preserve order or enforce the law, and that this continued till about 1 P. M., when the militia took charge.

DYER also states that this policeman RIGNON, bragged to him, DYER, of being part of the white mob, and personally killing four niggers, as they sat in an auto. DYER also states that he saw a neighbor, who lives in Jenks, take two Victrolas from negro houses, put them in a Ford and drive away, presumably for home.

(DYER was very indignant, and stated he was going before the Grand Jury and tell all he knew.)

T. F. Weiss.

June 1 to 5, 1921.

-7-

All the above named are witnesses, who are really a little prejudiced toward negroes, but state they cannot condone the actions of the county and city officers, and the white mob, that invaded the negro section.

By June 2nd the whites and blacks were mingling amicably on the streets of Tulsa and in the devastated negro section. Many of the negroes were searching in the ruins of their homes for valuables and keepsakes. Agent talked to them, and found no bitterness but a surprising amount of optimism and resignation. They nearly all told the same story of hearing shots, seeing houses set on fire, and fleeing for their lives, some of their members who had guns, shooting as they fled. "The Tulsa World" and "Tribune" were advocating making good the property losses by private donations, and were distributing blanks to the losers, to file their claims by. This probably had much to do with the negroes' optimistic attitude.

A real estate and insurance firm estimated the total loss at \$1,500,000.00. R. G. DUNN estimated the loss in merchandise alone at \$250,000.00. Agent inspected the destroyed area, and is of the opinion that above estimates are conservative. The area is about two miles long and from two to six blocks wide; a few houses are left standing, but those burned are most completely consumed. The residences ran from shacks to \$6,000.00 and \$7,000.00 homes.

The business buildings included several hundred one to three-story brick and frame stores, garages, hotels, rooming houses, cafes, picture shows, churches, etc. One church alone, that cost \$85,000.00 is completely destroyed. The negroes saved almost absolutely nothing when they fled, and between four thousand and five thousand of them were

T. F. Weias.

~~May~~ June 1 to 3, 1921.

-8-

rendered homeless.

The police department and many good citizens are recovering considerable of the stolen property, and some arrests are being made--but not many. A number of good ~~autos~~ autos are known to have been stolen by the mob, including a Peerless limousine, belonging to a white man, and a Marmon.

The known dead to date are ten whites, twenty-one blacks, wounded about 125. At first it was feared that many blacks would be found to have been shot, and burned, but after talking with the negroes who fled, Agent believes that but few dead bodies will be found in the debris, as most of the negroes fled as soon as the first fires started about daylight.

In response to phone message from Agent in Charge Findlay on June 2nd, Agent sent night letter, Mackay, to Chief of Bureau, which has already been submitted in Agent Findlay's report, this letter dated June 1 to 3, 1921, and need not be copied here.

To sum up, Tulsa for years has been notoriously lax in law enforcement and has had both crooked and inefficient county and city officers (see our reports for three years back)

The present trouble was really not a race riot, nor was it the result of racial feeling, or agitators. It began in a small half-hearted attempt to lynch a negro youth--who is apparently innocent--and grew to an armed clash between whites and blacks, brought on by the Sheriff's crazy calling of armed negroes to the county jail. (Two Deputy Sheriffs are negroes, and one, BARNEY CLEAVER, can, if he will tell about this call.)

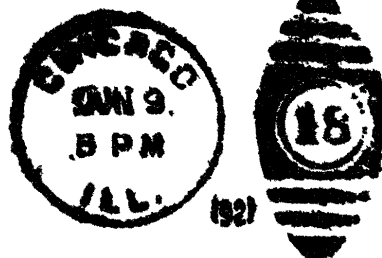
DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

Box 455

Chicago Ill.

OFFICIAL BUSINESS

PENALTY FOR PRIVATE USE, \$300.



Chief,

Bureau of Investigation

Dept. of Justice,

Washington,

D.C.

Attention

Mr. J. E. Hoover

Intelligence Division.

Reproduced with permission of copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

APPENDIX D

DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

MAIL AND FILES DIVISION

*Tolson & F. Lee
Walt, 1921*

SCREENED
BY *WAR* DATE *11/10/66*

File No. 158260
Sub. 8

*Material must not be removed from
nor added to this file*

See also Nos.

PRESIDENT
Rev. SAMUEL FALLOWS, D. D., R. C. L. D., BISHOP

1ST VICE-PRES AND SUPT
JOHN BUTLER CALDWELL

158260-8
TREASURER
Rev. J. G. LAWSON

asked
7/25/21
justified

International
Purity Journal
ESTABLISHED 1907. PUBLISHED BY THE
International Purity Association
60 CENTS PER YEAR
JOHN BUTLER CALDWELL, Editor

International Purity Association

INCORPORATED, ILLINOIS, 1894-1911

DEVOTED TO

RACE IMPROVEMENT, EUGENICS, CONSCIOUS EVOLUTION, PRE-NATAL
INFLUENCES, AND THE RIGHT OF EVERY CHILD TO BE WELL-BORN

LONG DISTANCE TELEPHONE FRANKLIN 88

OFFICE OF
MME. LOZANTO, VICE-PRES.
SAINT JOSEPH, MO.

HEADQUARTERS
127 N. WELLS ST.
CHICAGO, ILL.

3020 Penn St.

AUG 2 1921

158260-8-2

26

My Dear Mrs. Harding,

I am so grateful

all 36-23
for the reply to my former letter.
I have gained ~~some~~ information
very recently that I want to put before
you, in an informal way, as I deem
we are one great family with Mr. Hard-
ing (and yourself) at the head. I further-
more believe that you, each, are interested
in the highest good of every citizen and
community - hence, enclose the informa-
tion that will show you more fully what
the Tulsa Oklahoma disaster means to
our people in black. And to ask for
aid from the government, as
Mr. Harding may determine, and per-
sonally as you each can decide on

PRESIDENT
Rev. SAMUEL FALLOWS, D. D., D. LL. D., BISHOP

1ST VICE-PRES AND SUPT
JOHN BUTLER CALDWELL

TREASURER
Rev J. G. LAWSON

International
Purity Journal
ESTABLISHED 1887. PUBLISHED BY THE
International Purity Association
60 CENTS PER YEAR
JOHN BUTLER CALDWELL, Editor

Interational Purity Association

INCORPORATED, ILLINOIS, 1884-1911

DEVOTED TO

RACE IMPROVEMENT, EUGENICS, CONSCIOUS EVOLUTION, PRE-NATAL
INFLUENCES, AND THE RIGHT OF EVERY CHILD TO BE WELL-BORN

LONG DISTANCE TELEPHONE FRANKLIN 88

OFFICE OF
MME. LOZANTO, VICE-PRES.
SAINT JOSEPH, MO.

HEADQUARTERS
127 N. WELLS ST.
CHICAGO, ILL.

as to best mode of procedure - but in
each case to give us your influence
for better things for them.

I am in touch with Mr. G. A. Gregg, who
is well known here, quoting from his
letter to me under date of July 11, '21,
is this: "We are doing what we can in
our behalf. We must have an advocate.
We can not bear our burdens alone."

The saddest observation and memory is,
that amid all the suffering of our people
not a person stood out in Tulsa and
gave voice in our behalf."

Knowing existing conditions as I
do, both of church and state, yes, and
press, I fully realize why 'twas so,
They simply lack the will to carry
out what they can't help but know
to be the correct attitude and action.

PRESIDENT
Rev. SAMUEL FALLOWS, D. D., F. J. LL. D., BISHOP

1ST VICE-PRES AND SUPT
JOHN BUTLER CALDWELL

TREASURER
Rev J. G. LAWSON

International
Purity Journal

ESTABLISHED 1887. PUBLISHED BY THE
International Purity Association
60 CENTS PER YEAR
JOHN BUTLER CALDWELL, Editor

Interational Purity Association

INCORPORATED, ILLINOIS, 1894-1911

DEVOTED TO

RACE IMPROVEMENT, EUGENICS, CONSCIOUS EVOLUTION, PRE-NATAL
INFLUENCES, AND THE RIGHT OF EVERY CHILD TO BE WELL-BORN

LONG DISTANCE TELEPHONE FRANKLIN 88

OFFICE OF
MME. LOZANTO, VICE-PRES.
SAINT JOSEPH, MO.

HEADQUARTERS
127 N. WELLS ST.
CHICAGO, ILL.

toward the colored race. I have mingled
with the public too much study in
conditions to not know where I speak.
Tulsa, in the sight of God can not
deny those colored people the right of
citizenship in the fullest sense, nor
refuse to see that the desolation shall
be made as good for them as it
was before the riot. It is their duty—
morally, legally,—our government should
see that it is done. I realize that Mr.
Harding's hands are extremely full,
but from biblical standpoint—"one of
the least of these" is the Tulsa ~~colored~~
colored people in their distressed condi-
tion at this time, ignored by the Christian
people of that city, ~~remedy~~, and in helping
them at this crisis, would be doing it
unto Christ. What a changed world

this would be a proposed bribe
would be practical, and not promote
the caste and its fallacies for individual
selfishness.

The enclosures explain the situation,
which to the wise is sufficient.

Thanking you and Mr. Harding, for
your interest in those people, I both for
myself and them, and hoping they can
be secured for all their desires. (the stain)
the action will not only I am

Very Sincerely

Mme. Legato

20. Joseph
July 18 - 1921

APPEAL!

TULSA'S COLORED PEOPLE

have not the earnest attention of the nation, because the associated press reports do not state in a manner, that will stimulate a desire to give relief, the cruel conditions that have and do exist.

**Official Tulsa and therefore Tulsa at large
*Is NOT helping in proportion to
the appalling need.***

People are without stoves, cooking utensils, quilts and bedding of all kinds—the merest necessities of existence—

and ready money
*All they have left is courage to face
the future*

Mr. James L. Fieser, Southwestern Division Manager of the Red Cross said: "Winter's approach worries the Red Cross." Unless Tulsa wishes to have a tent colony on its hands in the fall and face a more serious problem, it should **SPEED UP** its reconstruction program. He sees a big job ahead here for Tulsans and that now the financial end of the undertaking is the most important feature. *Money is needed for relief and needed badly.*

We appeal to you for help

Tulsa Colored Citizens Relief Committee

S. D. Hooker, Chr.; G. A. Gregg, Executive Sec'y.; Rev. R. A. Whitaker, Sec'y.; Hon. E. I. Saddler, Legal Advisor; J. Tyler Smith, Treas.; E. A. Troupe, Rev. H. T. S. Johnson, Rev. Jas. A. Johnson, Rev. J. R. McClain, Dr. J. M. Keys, S. G. Smith, Mrs. A. Bankhead, Hon. J. H. Goodwin.

#1026 Kenyon, Street, N.W.

Washington, D.C.,
July, 2nd., 1921.

Mrs.*****.
*****Aulder Avenue,

Tulsa, Oklahoma,

Dear Madam:-

Your cousin Mr. Jordan, who formerly lived in Tulsa, and who now works with me, told me this morning that he had gotten a letter from you, stating the facts concerning the whole-sale murder of the colored people of Tulsa. I am writing to ask you if you will at your convenience, write me concerning the same. I want to know first-handed of the trouble. It would be more than criminal in me to divulge the name of my informant. I will tell you what we of the East think of this affair:-We learn from reliable sources that the up-shot of the whole matter was that the white people wanted the land on which the colored people had their homes, stores and the like, and that this murder was started for this reason--and no other. The colored man who stepped on the foot of the white department store girl elevator operator, was charged with this simple thing and nothing else. We learn that the colored men went to the sheriff and asked for protection. He told them that the man would be protected. When the white mob came to storm the jail, the colored men came too. There were 200 of each. The colored men told the mob that there was not going to be any lynching, and the sheriff, asked the white men if they were going to take that from "These niggers"? Then the lower regions opened. The police tried and only disarmed the colored people. When the houses were set on fire the police refused to let the firemen, put it out. Then the militia was called and they surrounded the colored section, and the white mob having protection, they fired all the buildings. They looted the department stores, and shot down women and children in their burning homes. The real estate companies who insured these homes had a riot clause, in all their policies to colored people. The colored people lost all their holdings in oil, and their homes and property, as well as all their books. Their receipts and the like were destroyed in the flames, except what was not stolen by these white fiends. They say they are going to build. Yes! Some shacks, three miles further out. We know the truth and the hearts of the Race everywhere in America, bleeds for thee. Let me know what I can do and I will thank my God, that I have the privilege. Shall earnestly await your reply. Have written a poem "TULSA---HOW OUR HEARTS BLEED FOR THEE". Haven't a copy heret at work. Will send you one when I write again. May God bless all of you.

Good-bye,

Respectfully Yours----

Rev. J. Luther Martin
Rev. J. Luther Martin.

South Boulden, Ave.

Tulsa, Oklahoma,
July, 6th., 1921.

Rev .J.Luther Martin,
#1026, Kenyon St., N.W.,
Washington, D.C.,

Dear Sir & Brother:

Yours of the 2nd., inst. to hand and contents noted. I am more than glad to answer such a manly, sympathetic and heart-felt letter. First I will say that every word in your letter is true. The gathering at the jail is said to have been about 500 whites and 200, colored. When this trouble began they held a battle from 10:30 o'clock, Tuesday ~~morning~~ night until 9:00 o'clock Wednesday morning. As near as I can say the militia arrived here somewhere about 9:00 o'clock or 9:30. But let me say that the fire had been started before, and the police would not let the firemen put out the fire. They killed two of the firemen because they were trying to do their duty. The whites drove trucks up to the doors of the colored homes and loaded them before setting fire, while the poor people were running for their lives. Some had only one or two pieces on; no shoes nor the like. The whites took all their belongings; they took the colored peoples' victrolas, bedding, wearing materials, watches, rings -- in fact everything that they could get their hands on. One of the saddest things that happened, was that they took \$800.00 from an old woman, beat her and then threw her out into the street, and then set her house on fire. Many crimes like that were committed. They took over \$700.00 from one woman and then pitched her out of the window on her head. After they had disarmed the colored people; then they rounded them up like Texas cattle, searching them all the time, and taking all the money they found. A man told me--- and I know that it is true, that where they carried them, they had all the colored people shot to pieces, lying across the door where the people had to go in, and as they would go into the place they would demand "hands up". He said that the guards took, \$11.00 from him, and \$20.00 off the man just in front of him. The man asked the guard, "are you going to credit me for my money?" With this he said, "you-son-of-a-gun, and you----- don't ask again. The colored man then threw down his book. The white guard commanded, him to pick it up, or he would put him in the same fix, the dead man in the door was. In some of the homes they dressed up in the colored peoples' clothes, leaving what they had on when they went in their, and then would burn the homes. Sad but true:--there were babies burned in these homes, when there were thousands of men, women, and children, with no place to hide nor anything to lie upon. One woman gave birth to a child that night in a truck, exposed and couldn't hide. White men cursing her for a cow and other things. Now as to the building, the homes again for the colored people, these white people don't intend to do nothing of the kind. They said that they were going to and when they raised the money, for that purpose, they said that they were going to put it in the bank. Now listen! I know that the colored district was still burning, when I read in the papers that they were going to move "the niggers", farther out N.E., and build for them out there, and take their land and not allow them to build on it. But thank God; the colored people were too wise to let them do that. Now they think that they can bar them out by saying that nothing can go up but fire-proof buildings. Now as what you can do I can't say, but I hope that you can do something for the protection of our people. Now there is a Committee, of three men here from Washington, as you know, looking after this affair, and they are to be here for three weeks. They say that these whites have got to place every thing back, and that if they didn't that the Government would and take it from the Tulsa whites. Oh! I am about to forget to tell you that some of the colored peoples' clothes are being taken off those white men and women right on the street and they are being sent to jail in their under-clothes. I am told that there has been a car-load of the colored peoples' belongings, brought from Texas. I could write all day and something would be untold. Now listen! One of our finest surgeons, Dr. Namely, a friend of Dr. Jackson, came out of his house with both hands up, and the whites, shot him to death, and then robbed him in the presence of his wife. God only knows and He only, will know untill, the day will come when all things will be made known!

I will be glad to hear from you at any time,

Respectfully Yours,

Mrs. *****.

#1026, Kenyon, Street, N.W.,

(In reAPS. (script)WCH.
158260-8-
Dictated, WCH-ECT.)

Washington, D.C.,
July, 12th., 1921.

158260-8

To the Honorable,
The Attorney-General, of the United States,
Washington, D.C.,

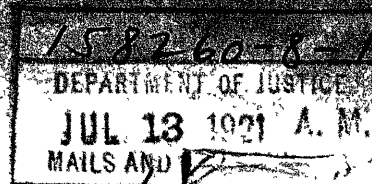
Dear, sir:-

Your letter of June, 8th., 1921, as noted above, was received in due course of mail. In reply I should like to state that I have been active, in trying to get data, so as to in a small way, assist your Department, in ascertaining the truth in reference to the "rape of Tulsa" : You will please note in paragraph three(3), of my letter too. Mrs. ****. ****. ****. of Tulsa, (a copy of which is enclosed), as of July 2nd., 1921, that I state that "it would be more than criminal in me to divulge the name of my informant". It is for this very reason that I with-hold her name. This letter is over my signature, consequently, the Department can hold me responsible for all statements contained therein. I may state however that the information I wrote, Mrs. John Doe, was gained from no less a source, than one sponsored by the great Methodist Episcopal Church, in the person of the Rev. Dr. W. A. C. Hughes, Field Secretary, Board of Home Missions and Church Extension. The M. E. Church, him and a white man there to investigate. He personally told us these facts at a Mass Meeting, held recently in one of our representative Churches. He also read letters from Tulsa. There were several white men present. As to whether or not they represented your Department, I do not know. In the attached letter from Mrs. X., there is made mention of "the guards". Does this imply, the National Guard of Oklahoma? My letter to her suggests that this is what is meant. Your Department can however verify the same. If these were men in the uniform sanctioned by the United States Government, then the crime is not only against the colored people of Tulsa, but against the Sovereign Dignity of the United States of America. As a matter of fact, the crime does strike at the cardinal principles of Americanism, which to the rest of the world stands for, Liberty, Justice and Right! I am not a lawyer, but I think I learned when I was in school, something that goes as follows:-The Constitution of the United States say:- "All persons born or naturalized in the United States of America or its Territories, and subject to the jurisdiction thereof are citizens of the United States. No state shall make or enforce any Law which shall abridge the rights, privileges or immunities of any citizen thereof, neither shall ANY STATE, deny any citizen the right to equal protection of the Law". I think the Declaration of Independence says:- "We hold these truths to be self-evident, that ALL men are *****endowed by their Creator, with certain inalienable rights; that among these are the right, LIFE, LIBERTY and the pursuit of happiness I can hardly believe that "mob-law", will supplant the Law of the Land". I cannot believe that the so-called question of "States Rights", is more dominant than "The Powers that be",---which is the United States, centralized in Washington. It seems to me that the question of "States Rights", was settled at Appomattox, when Lee surrendered to Grant. *****While I know that the colored people of the country are doing all they can to help the Tulsa sufferers; yet I DO want to believe that the Committee, mentioned in the letter from there, has been sent out by your Department. I want to believe that the Government for which we have bled and died, and have even been ready to defend, also the Flag, dyed by Negro blood from Chrispus Attucks, to Metz, will protect us from criminals and murderers at all times. We trust that your Department, will not cease its vigilance (and I have no reason to believe otherwise), until every one of these Tulsa, murderers are brought to justice and paid the penalty of their crimes.

Again thanking you for your prompt reply,
I wish to subscribe myself,
Yours-for Justice and Right-----

Ram. J. Smith

Martin



TELEPHONE XW 25

Already Proven to be the
Greatest Remedy in
the World.

OFFICE: NORTHEAST OF CITY

10TTENTOL

DISCOVERED, MANUFACTURED AND DISTRIBUTED BY

C. DEARMAN

MEDICAL RESEARCH SCIENTIST

158260-8
POST OFFICE BOX 183

Will Relieve, Assuage, Conquer
and Cure More Different Con-
tagious, Infectious and bad
Chronic Diseases than
any Other Remedy in
the World.

Just to
HONORABLE, WARREN G. HARDING, President of the United States of America,
White House.

Washington, D.C.

Most Honorable Sir,

Box-183.
TULSA, OKLA.
Secy. to the President.
I am a Negro man forty seven years of age, I
manufacture a medicine, I am a Baptist Minister of the Gospel. I have lived
in Tulsa, Oklahoma, for the past fourteen years I knew not whether you have
received a special report of the horrible affair that happened in our city
some weeks ago, Howbeit feeling that you for some reason may not be fully
acquainted with conditions as they exist, I thought it not amiss to submit
for your consideration, a report which you will find enclosed.

I am indeed your humble servant

C. Dearman,

RECORDED

158260-8-18
JUL 9
STEWART HERRON
LLT JUL 10 1921

6/28/21.
Tulsa, Oklahoma.
Box 183.

Honorable, Warren G. Harding. President of the United States of America.
White House
Washington, D.C.

Most Honorable Sir.

On behalf of ten thousand Negroes that live in our city of Tulsa, I am asking that you through your Department of Justice or any other of your Departments that you deem necessary, give consideration by investigation or otherwise of the horrible affair that happened in our city on the first day of June 1921. I am asking for Federal action because I believe that it is the only agency that is capable of getting at the bottom of this affair.

The local grand jury has met and adjourned some white people and some negro people have been indicted for inciting riot, looting etc, be that as it may I feel sure that the bottom of the affair has not been reached. My belief borne out by some facts is that Foreign propaganda or some other propaganda equally as dangerous was responsible for the whole affair. For instance upon making inquiry among my people the Negroes, a woman told me that her son-in-law who was in Texas before this affair happened ever heard a long distance telephone conversation stating that a white mob was going to form for the purpose of lynching a Negro in Tulsa, and that a Negro mob was going to oppose the white mob and that then the white mob would enlarge itself and kill Negroes loot and burn their homes and use their land for industrial purposes. Upon making further inquiry I found that some white man telephoned certain Negroes in our part of the city and advised them to form a Negro mob and oppose the white mob.

Now Mr, President I am very much of the opinion that the man or men that advised the white mob to form was the same man or men that advised the Negro mob to form and urged them to oppose the white mob, and that the same man or men urged the white mob to enlarge itself and kill Negroes, loot and burn their homes etc, and that the same man or men are responsible for the handicapping the work of the Red Cross among our people and that the same man or men refused to accept outside aid for us when it was proffered and that the same man or men persistently refused to aid us themselves causing hundreds of our people here at the present time to be in a condition worse than any condition of slavery that ever existed in this country, And now when we say that we want food, clothing and shelter they answer us by saying that we want your land where your houses were burned.

The Red Cross under the direction of Mr, Maurice Willows is doing a commendable and most wonderful work among our people which is highly appreciated by all of our people,, and were it not for the Red Cross many of our people would have died from exposure, disease and starvation long before this hour, In all the good work that the Red Cross has accomplished among our people it has been done in the face of a hidden hand of opposition, you can better understand when I tell you that in many instances high officials of the Red Cross have had to lay aside their ink and pens and take up the saw and hammer and build temporary refuges for some of our people.

I am very much inclined to the opinion that the final aim of these that were responsible for the crimes committed against our people here was for the specific purpose of embarrassing the United States Government for the reason that the saying is now being spread abroad that the United States cannot again talk about the atrocities of any other nation because the crime committed here was the worst in the history of the world.

Mr, President it seems as but yesterday that ten or fifteen thousand white people armed with pistols, shotguns, rifles, army rifles, machine guns, together with four or five armed airplanes murderously swept down upon us on that fatal wednesday morning of June the first 1921. and almost the entire ten thousand colored people were killed wounded or made prisoners after which hundreds and hundreds of automobiles driven by white men and white women came into our section of the city and stolen and taken our goods from our stores and from our homes about fifteen hundred of our homes were robbed and about one thousand of our homes and business houses, churches, undertaking parlors school houses and hospitals were both robbed and burned. immediately after this horrible crime press reports went out from Tulsa that she would make good all our losses but to date not one dollar of our losses have been made good by either the city, county or state. and no plans as far as we are able to learn are on foot for that purpose about all that we can hear is that they are going to compel the railroads to build a Union Station here and that they are going to compel us to sell our lands for that purpose.

(2)

All the help that we have ever been able to get came from the Red Cross and a few private individuals both white and colored, Our condition beggars description and all that I can say Mr, President is that if it is not beneath your dignity and that if you can lend your attention from matters of greater importance to you than our affair that you come to our city and see for your self our ruins, our desolation, our despair. But if you cannot come, We trust, We hope, We believe Mr, President that you will act in the matter that will insure us succor, aid and protection and also that you will bring to the surface the propagandist that is responsible for this terrible affair, that he or they may receive the punishment that the laws of our United States Government decrees will be swift, sure and certain.

I am subject to your command.

C. Deamman,

158260-S

WWG-AS

16
July 11, 1921.

Arthur T. Tallman, Esq.
35 Bullman Street,
Phillipsburg, N. J.

Dear Sir:

Receipt is acknowledged of your letter of the 3rd instant in which you enclosed a copy of the circular entitled "The Tulsa Massacre", issued by the Central Executive Committee of the Communist Party of America. Although this matter had already been brought to our attention, I desire you to know that your action in calling it to the attention of the Government is appreciated.

Respectfully,

For the Attorney General,

RECORDED

Herron
Attorney.

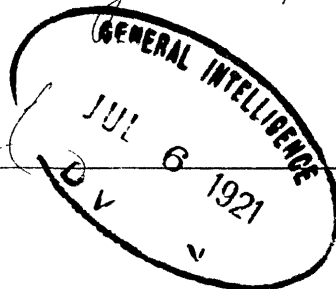
THE STANDARD SILK CO.
PHILLIPSBURG, N. J.

NOTED
F.D.W.

157260-8

Department of Justice
Washington

July 3 1921



Gentlemen;

I enclose two copies of "The Tulsa
Massacre" put out by the Central Executive Com.
Communist Party of America. It shows to what
lengths they will go, and their shrewdness
in picking up anything that can foment
trouble. I picked up these pamphlets on the
street this morning. I think the hot bed
of these people in this section is Easton Pa
just across the river from Phillipsburg N.J.

Yours Resp.

Arthur P. Hallman

35 Bullman St.

Circular attached
7/16/21 F.D.W.

Aded. 7/11/21

JUL 16 21

RECORDED

158260-8-16



The Tulsa Massacre!

By the time this leaflet is in your hands all the horrible details of the mass murder of the helpless Negro population of Tulsa, Oklahoma will be known to the entire world.

There are no words vivid enough to describe the action of the well dressed armed mob of business men who, with automobiles and airplanes, surrounded the Negro quarter in Tulsa on June 1st, setting fire to their homes, destroying ten city blocks and rendering homeless more than ten thousand Negro workers; ruthlessly slaying men, women and children—killing over 90 and wounding more than 200.

There is only one appeal that will stop these fiendish and bloody outrages—that is the appeal to organized force. The only language that the bloodthirsty capitalist of America can understand is the language of ORGANIZED POWER. Only by reprisals—by answering force with force—will the business mobs and their White Guards, the Klu Klux Klan etc., be restrained from continuing their brutal and cowardly assaults upon the Negro and working class population of this country.

If there is any red blood in the veins of the working class of America it will come to the defense of its colored brothers, who are the victims of the same bloody capitalist class that exploits and murders the workers regardless of color or race.

In their own interests, the white workers of America, must come to the aid of the exploited Negro masses. Their skins are darker-hued than ours, but the interests are the same. Black and White, we, the workers, have but ONE enemy—THE CAPITALIST CLASS—which uses its GOVERNMENT to suppress us.

There are more than ten million Negroes in this country. Almost all of them are of the working class. These Negro wage workers, whom we have refused to admit into our trade unions, are rapidly being reduced to serfdom and peonage—to a condition of slavery worse than chattel slavery before 1861. Shall we, the white wage slaves, stand by idly and permit the CAPITALISTS to murder, rob and crush ten millions of our fellows? The crushing of ten million Negro workers can mean nothing but the beginning of a system of peonage and degradation for the entire working class of America. For the breaking of the spirit of these ten million Negro wage workers will enable the WHITE CAPITALISTS to use these colored men and women against the white wage workers as strike breakers in order to crush the resistance of the entire working class. Already there are five million wage workers walking the streets of the cities and towns of America in search of work—unemployed, desperate, hungry—and the CAPITALISTS are making a general assault upon our unions, through the open shop movement, in the effort to destroy our unions and break our resistance.

If the Negro worker can be used against the White worker, who is to blame? We have refused to allow our colored brothers to join our unions. We have repeated all the idiotic accusations against their race. We have foolishly allowed ourselves to be swayed by race prejudice. We have failed to ORGANIZE the Negro workers. We have refused to treat him as our own, our equal BROTHER in the CLASS STRUGGLE. WE ARE TO BLAME.

BREAK DOWN THE BARRIERS IN THE UNIONS. WIPE OUT THE "COLOR LINE." There is only ONE line that we can draw—that is the CLASS LINE. White and Black, Jew and Gentile, ALL THE

WORKERS, the exploited masses, must be organized on the basis of their CLASS interests.

Our Negro fellow workers were supposed to have been "emancipated" during the American Civil War. The Constitution of the U. S. is supposed to guarantee their "freedom." Since then they have been herded into separate districts, segregated in Jim Crow cars, their women subject to the assaults of white men, their children deprived of elementary education, their men denied the right to acquire trades or professions, their whole race kept in ignorance and degradation. They have been burned alive, lynched, murdered and brutally assaulted upon the slightest provocation. The hideous accusation of rapine has been fastened upon their entire race. This is the kind of "freedom" that CAPITALIST CONSTITUTION guarantees to the working class. This is the only kind of "freedom" that the WORKERS can expect from the CAPITALIST GOVERNMENT of the United States. For the Government of the U.S. is nothing but the organized expression of the WILL of the CAPITALIST CLASS. The Government of the U. S. is nothing else but a ruthless DICTATORSHIP of the RICH over the POOR.

It is in the interest of both the Negro and the White WORKERS to destroy this CAPITALIST GOVERNMENT, root and branch. Shoulder to shoulder, and heart to heart, the workers of ALL races must UNITE to establish in this country a WORKERS' GOVERNMENT—THE SOVIET REPUBLIC OF AMERICA.

THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF AMERICA calls upon our colored comrades to ORGANIZE, and with arms in their hands, to resist the murderous armed assaults upon their homes, their women and their children.

THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF AMERICA calls upon the White workers to assist their colored brothers and with arms in their hands, to help them to repel such armed attacks upon them by the wealthy business men, as occurred in Tulsa, Oklahoma and in hundreds of other places.

THEIR FIGHT IS OUR FIGHT. THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF AMERICA recognizes no artificial division between the WORKING CLASS. We call upon ALL workers of ALL races to UNITE against their COMMON ENEMY—the Capitalist Class and the CAPITALIST STATE.

Both Negro and White workers must by this time realize the kind of "democracy" they fought for in France. This is the only kind of "democracy" that the workers can get under the capitalist government of the United States.

In Russia, under the Tzar's Government, the Jews were the victims of race riots and pogroms. In Russia the workers and peasants overthrew the CAPITALIST Government of Russia and established a WORKERS' GOVERNMENT—THE SOVIET REPUBLIC OF RUSSIA. The workers of all races in Russia are UNITED. Race prejudice and race wars have disappeared.

Only by following our Russian Comrades' heroic example and by establishing in this country the SOVIET REPUBLIC OF AMERICA will White and Black workers be able to live and work in peace and enjoy the fruits of their labor.

WORKERS OF AMERICA—ORGANIZE! WIPE OUT THE "COLOR LINE!"

HAIL TO THE PROLETARIAN REVOLUTION!
DOWN WITH THE CAPITALIST SYSTEM AND THE CAPITALIST STATE!

LONG LIVE THE WORKERS' REPUBLIC OF AMERICA!

CENTRAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE
COMMUNIST PARTY OF AMERICA

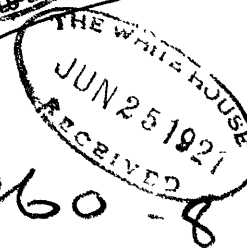
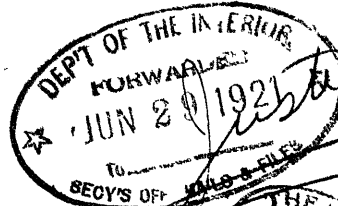
DUANE MOWRY
LAWYER

COLLECTIONS

2442 CHESTNUT ST. TELEPHONE WEST 1821
MILWAUKEE, WISCONSIN



Inter
RESPECTFULLY REQUESTED
FOR ACKNOWLEDGMENT
AND CONSIDERATION.
Geo. H. Christman
Secy. to the President



158260-8

Milwaukee, Wis., June 28, 1921.

Hon. Warren G. Harding,
President of the United States,
White House,
Washington, D.C.

My dear Mr. President:-

Herewith is my recent contribution
to the subject of MOB RULE, which appeared this morning in
our local newspaper, The Milwaukee Sentinel. It is suggestive,
mainly. But I am hoping that it may interest you, and, perhaps,
assist you in arriving at some practical solution of this
inexcusable national disgrace.

But as you have other letters from me bearing on
this subject, it is not necessary for me to refer to the
matter further at this time.

I beg, my dear sir, to be,

Your most obedient servant,

Duane Mowry

158260-8-15
JUN 30 1921
STEWART HERRON

RECORDED

Wm. S. H. H.

once, founding his colony of Rhode Island.
The Puritans of Boston allowed no one to vote unless he belonged to their church.
The Pilgrims permitted any well behaved citizen to exercise the franchise. Miles Standish, the great military captain, never belonged to their church, yet he held the highest office in the colony except that of governor.
One of our correspondents a while ago said the Pilgrims "burned witches." The fact is, there never was not one trial for witchcraft at Plymouth. The accused was acquitted and thereupon the whole witchcraft craze was ridiculed out of that colony. The Puritans hung some witches—they did not burn them.
Any reader who wishes to verify these statements is referred to "The Pilgrim Republic," by John Goodwin, the most thorough and authentic history of that colony.

FAIRPLAY

Oshkosh, Wis., June 15, 1921.

MOB VIOLENCE IN OKLAHOMA.

To the Editor of The Sentinels

The recent lawless outbreak in Tulsa, Okla., which furnishes the subject for the leading article in the current issue of the Literary Digest, is additional evidence of the utter hopelessness of the present social order to cope successfully with this national disgrace. No one will be punished for this inexcusable crime, and lynch law will be again inflicted whenever any community, in its lawlessness, feels so inclined to do.

And yet "there is no evidence to show that punishment of negroes by mob violence tends to decrease lawlessness among the negroes, or even tends to restrain the vicious element from committing offenses against the whites. On the contrary, lawlessness seems to beget lawlessness, and the publicity given to revolting crimes by lynching the perpetrators of them, seems really to incite others to commit similar crimes, or at least suggests to others like crimes when opportunity offers."

But the writer quoted says that "the problem of finding a remedy for lynching is really a problem of increasing and maintaining a popular reliance on the formulation and the administration of the law. Every measure which will in any way promote such a reliance, either by invalidating the excuses offered in justification of the practice, or by developing a strong public sentiment against it, deserves serious consideration, and every such measure, unless likely to be productive of other evils possibly greater, should be immediately adopted and put into operation."

It would seem, therefore, that "strict and impartial law enforcement" would do much to deter the commission of crime by whole communities. The difficulty seems to be and is that there is no law enforcement for the rule of the mob. The due administration of the law has totally failed to administer justice to those guilty of mob violence.

President Harding has held out hope that the subject of lynch law will receive consideration at his hands and by the present congress. Let us hope so, for there is great and pressing need for constructive legislation, which will render the rule of the mob the act of criminals and to be dealt with as such.

DUANE MOWRY.

Milwaukee, Wis., June 18, 1921.

FILES

Workmen are engaged in putting a new gilded cross on the spire of the Spring Street Methodist Episcopal church to take the place of the one wrenched off some time ago by the wind.
...The State Medical society will close its annual session here today... There will be a fair and festival at the Unitarian church this evening... "The Jolly Tailor" is the name of the attractive play which will be given at Kurz's theater tomorrow evening.

+ + +

The entire property of the Oberman Brewing company was sold yesterday to Phillip Jung.... Beginning next Saturday, open air concerts will be given at Lake park every Wednesday and Saturday.

25 Years Ago

158260-8-100

JUN 25 1921

June 16, 1921.

ED

Hon. Horace Porter,
Mayor of Riverside,
Riverside, Calif.

My dear Mayor:

I have your letter of the 9th instant and thank you for writing me with reference to the subject mentioned. I can assure you that I at all times want to see the Federal laws enforced and I shall be very happy to cooperate with you and see that all citizens of the United States have guaranteed to them their constitutional rights.

I have instructed the United States Attorneys in Oklahoma to report any violations of the Federal laws in connection with the recent race riots, and I am in hopes of having their report. With reference to your local cities I shall be very happy at any time to have reports of any violations in your community.

I can not let the opportunity go by to wish you well, and it is gratifying to know an Okian, who has wandered westward, is still imbued with political activities.

Yours truly,

Attorney General.

M

RECORDED

158480- 3- 13

Misc.

6-18-31.

Will Green,
Haskell Okla.

n Writes re race riots in Tulsa Okla.

Stewart Herron Kr

6-23-31.

158260-8

158260-8-13

JUN 28 1921 A.M.
LES DIVISION

STEWART HERRON

Hasbun

JUN 18 1921

R. D. B.

To the Attorney General
Daughter

Dear Sir,
I thought I would write to
you concerning the Race
Riots in Tulsa, Okla.
I will say in plain
English that it was the
entire Business
District of the Negroes
were wiped out with
fire. The Home Guards
were helping Burn
Houses and shooting
Negroes as they were

121

Running out of Ruidoso.
The Horse Guards is
responsible for the
Blondy. Later when they
could have stopped
the mob from burning
the house. 4 airplanes
were flying over the
creek. Delt dropping
incendiary missiles and
burning buildings. Some
and some. It was
white men were fighting
negroes like Germans
on the firing line
in France. It a
coward that would
do such. The negro

have no protection in
America Right or wrong
this government is going
to let us not fall off
we are going to die
by the thousands
trying to protect our
rights in the united
state. did you get that
if the failure of education
allows airplanes to
destroy ~~the~~

Negroes Homes
and Brown Homes by
hundreds. some white
people is going to
die with laws that
all the Negroes of
+ India

had a Right to invade
the downtown
district to protect
their Race. a white
man would have did
the same thing if
a Negro mob were
going to lynch a
~~white~~ white man.
The white man have
Protection this was
a made up thing
between the mob and
the High Sheriff and
the Police department.
to not stop the
mob. that was the
Reason.

they also use two
machine guns on the
slogans. if they don't
don't need any more
slogans if they don't
stop them in the
Army.

Read and
act

Will Greene

HASKEL
JUN 20
730AM
OKLA.

1921

Attorney General Daugherty
Washington D.C.
City

N

WCH-ECT

158260-8-11

June 16, 1901.

Mr. E. C. Branch,
127 River St.,
Troy, New York.

Dear Sir:

Your letter of June 9th to the President of the United States, enclosing a clipping from the Troy, New York, Times, relative to the Tulsa race riot, and giving your views upon the matter, has been referred to this Department, and I beg to assure you that what you say will receive due consideration.

There is not, however, in the matter sent by you, the slightest indication that the airplane referred to was a government airplane, and therefore this Department does not feel that it should investigate that aspect of the matter.

Respectfully,

For the Attorney General,

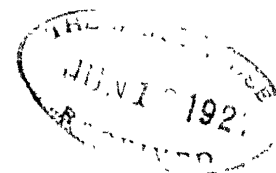
(Signed) Annette Abbott

Assistant Attorney General.

RECORDED

158260-8

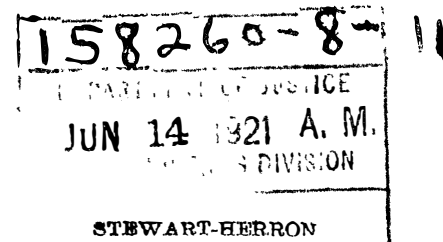
Justice
RESPECTFULLY REFERRED
FOR ACKNOWLEDGMENT
AND CONSIDERATION.



Troy, N. Y.

June the 9th, 1921

Mr. Warren G. Harding, President of U. S. A.
White House,
Washington, D. C.



My Dear Sir:-

I am sending you a clipping from the Troy, N. Y., Times, June the 7th, 1921 for your information, relative to the Tulsa, Okla. Race Riot. I see from this article, that an aeroplane dropped bombs on Negro Apartment Houses, in the Negro settlement. If this was a U. S. Aeroplane, did this pilot have the authority to make the attack upon these Negroes? My race would appreciate it very much, if you would have the War Department to investigate the allegation.

You can see from this report the Negro was not aggressive from the very fact the negroes was in the church, and apartment house, and both of was in a negro settlement. The negroes in the church and apartment could not make much of a fight in a church. I am of the opinion the negroes in the church especially was hiding, and possibly those in apartment also. If the negroes met the attack they did so in the negro settlement. It was a strange thing to see so many white men in a negro settlement. Their business there?

The writer of this Press Article was once a northern man, but he is now a Southern man. I doubt his brief narrative being

JUN 17 21

- 2 -

real facts. The Tulsa Riot will not stand an honest investigation. If the soldiers was not compelled to turn the machine guns on God's Church, God himself will take care of the incident in due time, in his righteous supreme court of heaven. God the Supreme Judge, I believe in the divine act of Sowing and Reaping Gal. 6-7.

God does not at all times handle cases swiftly, of injustice, only where justice is weak and the principle of justice is a joke, God takes up the case in a righteous gigantic way!

I only ask justice for my race. As citizens under the U.n.S. Constitution my race is entitled to justice. The blood of our negro boys upon foreign fields was the price of justice! What may our race expect from the American Government and Flag?

Thanking you in advance for consideration of my race.

Yours respectfully,

E. L. Branch
127 River St
Troy N. Y.

Enc.

TROJAN SAW TULSA RIOT.

Editorial, ~~X~~
the same issue.
June 7, 1921

[illegible]

City of Riverside

HORACE PORTER, MAYOR

Riverside, California,
June 9, 1921.

1261 5 2 NMT

158260-8-14

ATTORNEY GENERAL

Attorney General Daugherty,
Washington, D. C.

My dear Sir:-

I am enclosing you a clipping from the Los Angeles Times of June 4th, stating that you have as Attorney General ordered the investigation of the Tulsa race riot.

What especially interests me is the remark in this telegram that the Tulsa situation is "purely local". But I desire as the Mayor of the City of Riverside, California, to urge upon you that the Tulsa riots disclose a national situation, as well as a local. Similar agitators to those at work at Tulsa are at work to my personal knowledge, in Riverside, California, and probably in every community in the United States.

I urge upon you that the investigation should be nation wide. ~~The situation is serious and fast bringing a crisis between the colored and white races in our country.~~ I suggest that your investigation include the teachings of the National Society for Improvement of the Colored People, headquarters in New York City, and their organ The "Crisis". I know personally some of the leaders in this movement and am personally acquainted, on the basis of personal conversations, with their extremely radical views, demanding social equality in the sense of social intermingling and marriage.

I am myself a northern man, a native of our state of Ohio, born at old Marietta. My people were abolitionists, I have myself always championed the colored people and am their true friend. As Mayor of the City of Riverside, I have been striving to quiet certain negro agitations similar to those of Tulsa caused by personal visits of the representatives of the New York Society and by the reading of The Crisis.

My conviction is that we have escaped riot in Riverside, California only by extreme care, tact and firmness in dealing with these colored agitators.

I beg of you, and of President Harding, most serious attention to the national situation. I can give you more light and testimony in the matter if you so desire it.

Very sincerely,
H. Porter

Mayor

TULSA THEN --AND NOW



1928-29-30
G. D. GREGG, A.B.
Executive Secretary Hinton Branch Y. M. C. A.
Tulsa, Oklahoma

Graduate of University of Kansas
Teacher of Mathematics in Western University Several Years.
Prominent in Fraternal and Religious Organizations in
Kansas and Missouri
Brother of Dr. John A. Gregg, President of Wilberforce
University
A Safe, Sane Christian Leader, in whom the People Have
Confidence.

Detailed to direct the relief work for the
Tulsa Riot Victims

S. D. HOOKER
CHAIRMAN, COLORED CITIZENS RELIEF COMMITTEE
TULSA, OKLAHOMA

Marked by Mrs. Logan D.

FOREWORD

An earnest appeal for the helpless, destitute, law abiding, city building, innocent of offense colored citizens of Tulsa, who face extreme suffering if help of all kinds is not immediately given.

G. A. GREGG.

Leaving Tulsa as I did on May 26th, 1921, to be present at the graduation of my two daughters, Ruth and Eunice, the latter from the Eighth grade, May 27th, and the former from Western University, June 2nd, found me away from Tulsa on the dates of the riot, May 31 and June 1,

But the Tulsa that I left and the Tulsa that I found on my return, June 5th.

I left a Tulsa throbbing with life and high hopes, people who were happy, people who in the main were prosperous, a wide awake, alert, active, forward-looking folk. Some who had come in the early day when it tried men's souls, and now were resting and beginning to enjoy the fruits of their years of toil. People who were singing the praises of Tulsa, prosperous.

No man, be he millionaire or pauper, had more pride in Tulsa than her upstanding, forward-looking colored citizens. None clamored harder against the overbearing police system and the evils of the underworld.

Ten months in Tulsa; ten active constructive months of human hopes and aspirations; ten months of a vision of a better day and then on platform and in press the phrase "The Dawn of a New Day" was in actual use. This in Tulsa colored.

Tulsa's colored citizens settled in the north end of the city, separating themselves at right angles to the Tulsa white.

Standpipe hill jutted out into the colored section like the state

of Florida extends into the ocean. This hill is owned by a white man. From it one can get a fine panoramic view of Tulsa and the surrounding country. The white people would not buy it and the colored could not, although they lived on three sides of it.

The good people of color were building magnificent church structures. One, Mt. Zion Baptist, had merged into completion at a cost of \$85,000—hard-earned and frugally kept. It was a consolation to the old members who had labored many years and now, in a home comfortable, were ready to worship God and patiently serve until He called them home.

Paradise Baptist church was a cozy brick building situated on the north side of standpipe hill, while Mt. Zion was on the south side of it. The members of this church were building on the pay-as-you-go plan. It was completed with the exception of interior furnishings. The Methodist Episcopal and African Methodist Episcopal churches had their first story completed and money in the bank for the superstructure.

There were four well equipped drug stores many grocery stores; Elliott & Hooker, men's and women's furnishing store carried as high a grade of goods as any in the city; two fine hotels accommodated the traveling public; Welcome grocery was a model, modern barber shops and two shoe shops with uptodate machinery. Dreamland theatre catered to the pleasure

and entertainment of the people. The physicians were equipping themselves with all the modern apparatus required to alleviate human suffering. Young men as dentists had invested heavily in preparing to take care of the distressed in their line. Women had invested in beauty parlors and dressmaking establishments. Cafes were prepared to feed satisfactorily the many patrons. In fact the people were so industrious and put in so much time at work that they did not prepare their food at home but patronized the cafes. Four upholstered jitney busses carried the people from their homes to their work. An undertaking establishment equipped with caskets ranging from \$50 to \$1000, all for the accommodation of the colored people. A \$10,000 limousine for the accommodation of the bereaved families was the latest addition.

The Tulsa colored people in every sense of the word were building a modern, up-to-date business city.

They were constantly handicapped as to public utilities, which were managed and controlled by the white man. They constantly prayed him to extend and furnish the same. Procrastination, political promises and hope deferred was the final result. The colored section of Tulsa was insufficiently lighted. And if evil did hold sway and the bad Negro did exist he had the cover of a neglected city darkness in which to ply his evil trade. They have cried "Let there be light" and there was no

light. The kerosene lamp, the tallow dip or darkness prevailed in their city. In Tulsa white night had been turned into day.

The unsanitary condition, the surface tub-toilets, the stench therefrom increased the wonder that the health of the community was as good as it was.

The colored man of Tulsa built his home not upon sand, but upon an exceedingly great faith, for when fire does break out all he can do is to stand by and see all his earthly possessions go down in ashes. Water protection was insufficient.

In spite of all the physical and mental handicaps he has wrought well, and though a part of his city lies in ashes, the carpenter's hammer is heard and new lumber in the form of a house flares up in every direction. The Tulsa attitude of the black man is to build and rebuild.

The Young Men's Christian Association was the latest addition to civic betterment. This is an inspiring chapter in the city's history.

Conscious of the unwholesome moral trend of the life of the young people, a few active wide awake, progressive citizens, on their own initiative and the friendly counsel and co-operation of that fine Christian gentleman, Mr. C. E. Buckner, general secretary of the Tulsa "Y" set about the organization of the Hunton Branch Y.M.C.A.

They raised their own budget of \$3,012 for the first year's work. The central association stood ready to furnish \$1,000 of

it, but the board of managers led on by that prince of men Mr. S. D. Hooker, raised the full amount themselves. The membership was more than 500 men and boys.

In like manner they raised the budget for the next year's work, notwithstanding the tightness of the times they increased the budget to \$5,207 and had the pleasure on Tuesday evening before the Tuesday of the riot, of rejoicing over the fact that the entire amount had been pledged.

Shortly before that a community institute was held. For the first time in the history of the University of Oklahoma, the Extension Division, consisting of seven white men and women, experts in their line, carried on a three-day session in the colored community of Tulsa. They touched and stimulated the church school, civic and home life of the people in a most encouraging manner. It gave our people a new hold on the cheering possibilities of life. The workers were pleasantly informed as to the inner life and cravings of the colored people. The latter did not know that white people could be so kind, helpful and interested in their personal problems. The institute cost \$1,000. The people thought it worth many times the cost.

These are some of the evidences of the new attitude of mind developing in Tulsa's colored citizens.

Just another fact showing the desire for civic improve-

ment wholesome ideals and better things for Tulsa.

Just a week before the riot, the board of managers of Hunton Branch Y. M. C. A., together with the mayor and city commissioners invited President King of the Republic of Liberia to be Tulsa's guest. President King accepted.

This would have heartened the colored citizens of Oklahoma to make more of their opportunities. The \$1,000 cost to the colored citizens of Tulsa for this visit of President King and his party was no deterrent.

The houses of Tulsa's colored citizens ranged from the temporary floorless box house to modernly equipped ones of the latest and best interior and exterior furnishings.

This, in brief, and in brief only, for much can be said of the high hopes and aims of the colored citizens of Tulsa. This is the Tulsa that I left on the night of the 26th of May 1921.

And the Tulsa that I found on my return the 4th of June. What a contrast!

Tulsa had turned a page to run parallel with the Huns and Goths—vandals of Europe or the Indians in Custers last charge.

An awkward colored boy steps on the toe of a white elevator girl—she slaps him—a retort discourteous on his part—arrested on the charge of assault and battery—newspaper omits "and battery"—public thinks rape—threatening groups of whites gather about jail—colored men fearing the

usual happening, gather to prevent a lynching—a careless, reckless shot—and the restraints of civilization are thrown aside and men became brutish beasts.

The boy ought to have apologized. The girl ought to have recognized the accident. The paper ought not to have garbled the story with false emphasis. White men ought not to have gathered about the jail. They should be willing to let the law have the right of way. The colored men ought to have trusted those whose sworn duty it was to protect the prisoner.

A cordon of police could have surrounded the first groups, white and black. But these are sad words "It might have been." But **nothing that happened can justify the driving of twelve thousand innocent sleeping colored people, clad in their night clothes, out into the streets, marched to convention hall and elsewhere, then loot, rob and steal the hard, laborious earnings of a struggling people, handicapped at best.**

I have worked ten months, with these people. I have had a deep sympathy for them in their struggle against great odds.

Loot — they backed auto trucks up to the vacated (by force) Negro homes and loaded everything movable and of value. One colored woman went to eleven different white homes and in each recovered portions of her household goods.

Rob—Every bit of money

found on their persons was taken. Masonic rings were removed from their fingers, watches and chains from their persons. In fact, everything of a material nature, etc., preparatory to the cruel initiation which has not yet ended was taken from them. And so in their penniless, destitute condition they were corralled, first one place and then another.

Thanks to the good people who took them into their homes, fed and clothed them, housed them until the cruel police order compelled even the white people to give up and send to the fair grounds those whom they had befriended. Kind offers were thwarted by the police regulation.

With homes looted, homes and stores burned to ashes, with the sick, aged and enfeebled carried out or left to perish in the flames; mothers giving birth to children in the open, herded, corralled and guarded like prisoners of war, and before the smoke of a thousand homes had blown away the trembling, homeless learn that the city fathers have passed an ordinance "making it forever impossible for them in their destitute condition to go back and rebuild on their own home place.

While their hearts are bleeding, their homes and all the relics that make the memory of life's past sustaining with shocking realization that their families and broken and scattered and fearing that they may be slain by the cruel bullet of the

mob, with trembly, weak, tired, hungry and hungerless bodies, compelled to be in the stalls of the fair grounds under a heavy, cruel guard of home-guards—guards who greet them with harsh orders and vulgar language—while suffering all this and more, the mayor and commissioners, the Real Estate Exchange, the Welfare Board are like those who crucified Christ, casting lots for the Negro's hard-earned land.

Ah! if they would only stop and think how long it required those poor struggling people to own that little portion of earth!

Yet by every method known and being discovered by the combined trained minds of the best legal talent that the city and state affords, not one loop hole is being left through which or by means of which the colored citizen can ever again rebuild on his own land.

We appeal to the conscience and good judgment of the American people, where is the line separating the lower element that cleared the way and the higher element that sat at noon luncheon under the cool of the electric fans and carefully and judiciously planned that this "never again would be a Negro section."

And immediately proceeded to publish without the owner's consent or offering a cent:

"Wanted, Wholesale Houses in Tulsa."

"New Welfare Committee in active campaign to Better City."

"Through the reconstruction committee appointed by the

mayor and city commissioners Tuesday (June 14), Tulsa extends a welcoming hand to wholesale houses and industrial plants which are to be located on the trackage property in Little Africa swept by fire and which is now within the city fire limits restricted to the erection of fire-resisting buildings."

"The committee also expressed a sentiment in favor of using a part of the burned area for a union station whenever such a project is ready for consideration by the railroads entering Tulsa."—Tulsa World, June 15, 1921.

Think of it! A union station where the races of men pass through, built upon the blood stained soil of the Negro's property. What an approach to Tulsa! What a gateway to the "Magic City of the Great Southwest." A symbol of greed and blood!!

And added to that anguish of soul comes quick and fast the police regulation that all Negroes to have the freedom of Tulsa's streets must wear a green tag stating age, residence, name, and name of employer, who must be white. Men who did business for themselves had to find a white man to sign their cards. If not employed, a red card must be worn. This readst "If the bear is on the streets after 7 o'clock he will be arrested and taken to the fair-ground"—By some called the "bull-pen."

The guards are placed at all roads entering the colored section. Men, women, boys and

Every step from the sudden awakening by the firing of guns and the buzzing of airplanes to the present moment evidences in increasing humiliation. Those who were privileged to return to their homes found their contents gone or mutilated. Everything from a shoe a piano to an automobile was found in the homes of white folks.

I left a happy, hopeful, progressive people; I found a crushed, humiliated, discouraged humanity. I left a praying people; I found them wondering if God is just. I left a Young Men's Christian Association with bright and promising prospects, just ready to jump into a \$150,000 building campaign; I found a budget destroyed, resources consumed and a board of managers in despair.

Tulsa has destroyed the homes, taken the lives and maimed the bodies of the best friend the white man has in American yea, the world.

There is no man in the world that has stood by and will stand by the white man like the Negro.

There is no justification for the wholesale destruction of property and resources of the thousands of innocent, law abiding, home building Negroes. We do not condone the wrong deeds of the bad Negro. We deplore his existence. We pray the co-operative influences of all peo-

ple to help reform or restrain him as well as his co-partners in white. We find it difficult to reach him. You find it difficult to reach his white partner. They clash. You and we are thrown into a whirlpool of human rage. We who emerge with bloody bruised bodies, and the savings and buildings of a lifetime smouldering in ashes must face each other and realize how trivial and avoidable the cause and how deplorable and lasting the results.

Is the spirit of America dead? Shall the color of a man's skin be the symbol for adverse sentiment? > *See's*

Mine is a Christian program. Am thoroughly convinced that an active wide-awake Christianity will cure this human ill.

There come times in a Christian program when it becomes necessary to "drive out the money changers" and land grafters.

Unhappily Tulsa has worked into that stage.

Tulsa is not all bad. There are good citizens in Tulsa. They, as much as any, deplore the spot that will not out.

We need a nearer approach to the principles and teaching of the Golden Rule. The hammer and claw, pistol and gun, create hate. And hate hurries us on to destruction.

There is no place in a Christian program for hate.

Let's make America safe for her own citizens and courteous to others.

Sustained by Victims of the Tulsa Riots.

PROPERTY OWNERS			LOSSES
Mr Jim Cherry			\$ 50,000
Mr. O. Gurley			50,000
J. H. Goodwin			30,000
Mr. John Gist			25,000
Dis R T Bridgewater			32,000
Mrs. Lula T. Williams			85,000
Mrs Annie Partee			35,000
Mrs. Jennie Wilson			25,000
Mr. A. Brown			15,000
Mr J B. Stradford			125,000
Mr. A. I. Phillips			40,000
Mr W. H. Smith (Welcome Grocery)			40,000
Elliott & Hooker, Clothiers and Dry Goods			45,000
Dr. A. F. Bryant			30,000
Mr C W. Henry			25,000
Jackson Undertaking Co			15,000
Mr T R. Gentry			25,000
Prof J W. Hughes			15,000
Mr S. M. Jackson			15,000
NORTH GREENWOOD STREET.			
RESIDENCE	SIZE	BUSINESS	VALUE
2-Story Brick			\$ 15,000
101-- Wood's	70x 80 s.s.s.s.s.s.s.s.	Earl Real Estate Co	
103	s.s.s.s.s.s.s.s.s.s.	Bayers & Anderson, Tailors	
103 1/2	s.s.s.s.s.s.s.s.s.s.	R. T. Bridgewater, Physician	
103 1/2	s.s.s.s.s.s.s.s.s.s.	T. R. Gentry, Real Estate	
103 1/2	s.s.s.s.s.s.s.s.s.s.	Wesley Jones, Physician	
103 1/2	s.s.s.s.s.s.s.s.s.s.	James M. Key, Physician	
103 1/2	s.s.s.s.s.s.s.s.s.s.	Mrs Mary E. J. Parish, School	
103 1/2	s.s.s.s.s.s.s.s.s.s.	Two Apartments	
103 1/2	s.s.s.s.s.s.s.s.s.s.	Oklahoma Sun Office, Theo Baughman.	
WILLIAM'S BLDG's s.s.s.s.	25x 35		\$ 12,500
3-Story Brick			
102	s.s.s.s.s.s.s.s.s.s.	Dr J. J. McKeever.	
102	s.s.s.s.s.s.s.s.s.s.	Mrs. Lulu Williams, Confectionery.	
102--Second Floor	s.s.s.s.s.s.s.s.s.s.	Apartments	
102--Third Floor	s.s.s.s.s.s.s.s.s.s.	Offices.	
MRS. E. G. HOWARD'S BLDG			
2-Story Brick.	25x 80		\$ 8,000
107		Barber Shop	
107 1/2		Safety First Loan Co.	
107 1/2		Mrs. Sarah Whitaker, Rooms.	
BRYANT BLDG's	50x 90		\$ 15,000
2-Story Brick.			
108		Bryant's Drug Stores Drs A. F. Bryant	
108 1/2		Rooming Houses	
110		C. L. Netherland, Barber Shop	
PHILLIPS	25x 80		\$ 15,000
2-Story Brick.			
111		Hardy & Hardy, Restaurant.	
111 1/2		Hardy & Hardy, Rooms.	
GURLEY BLDG.	60x140 80 Rooms		\$ 55,000
2-Story Brick.			
112		Brunswick Billiard Parlor.	
112 1/2		Gurley Hotel.	
114		Dock Eastman & Hughes, Cafe.	
PHILIP'S BLDG's	50x 80		12,500
2-Story Brick.			
115		Carter's Barber Shop.	
115 1/2		E. A. Hardy, Furnished Rooms.	
117		Gentry, Neely & Vadel, Billiards.	
117		Oquawka Cigar Store.	

GURLEY BLDG. O. W. Gurley			
25x 60..s.....			\$ 10,000
119 2-Story Brick		A S Newkirk, Photographer	
119 1/2		S G Smith, Insurance	
119 1/2		Bashears & Franklin, Attorneys and Oil Deal.	
119 1/2		Smith's Apartment.	
DIXIE BLDG Redfern	50x130		\$ 50,000
120 1-Story Brick		Dixie Theater	
120 1/2		Samuel Stokenberry, Shoe Shiner	
120 1/2		J R. Bell	
GIST BLDG Gist	25x 80		\$ 12,500
2-Story Brick.			
121		J P. Gist, Barber.	
121 1/2		Nails Brothers, Shoe Repair Shop	
121 1/2		Gist Rooms	
SMITH BLDG	50x120		\$ 30,000
2-Story Brick.			
122		Welcome Grocery	
122 1/2		Smith's Apartment	
122 1/2		Dr. Wells.	
122 1/2		Dr. Robinson	
122 1/2		Dr. P. Travis	
122 1/2		Dis Smitherman	
122 1/2		Attorney E I Sadler	
122 1/2		Y M. C A. Rooms	
124		Elliott & Hooker, Clothing and Dry Goods	\$ 7,000
GOODWIN BLDG.	25x 80		
2-Story Brick.			
123		Union Grocery, Duncan & Clinton	
123 1/2		Rooms	
WILLIAMS' BLDG. No. 2	25x140		\$ 30,000
2-Story Brick.			
129 -133		Dreamland Theater.	
129 1/2		A J. Whitley, Physician.	
129 1/2		Alexander Hotel.	
MRS. TITUS BLDG	20x 30		\$ 1,500
1-Story Brick			
MRS. PARTEE BLDG.	15x 40		
(2)			
1-Story Frame			
201		Cain's Cafe.	\$ 1,500
203		Dr. R. T. Motley, Office	
HILL'S BLDG.	25x 70		\$ 8,000
2-Story Brick.			
126		Star Printing Co., A. J. Smitherman.	
126 1/2		Morgan Rooms.	
REDWING BLDG.	25x100		\$ 30,000
2-Story Stone			
202		Wm. Kyle, Druggist.	
204		Red Wing Cafe, J. L. White.	
206		Abbie Funche, Tailor.	
206 1/2		Red Wing Hotel, Mrs. J T. Pressley.	
208		Barber Shop, Abner & Hutton, Prop.	
STRADFORD BLDG.	50x140		\$ 50,000
2-Story Brick.			
301		Stradford Hotel	
301 1/2		A L. Ferguson, Drugs.	
CLEANER & CHERRY BLDG.	25x 80.		\$ 8,000
2-Story Brick.			
501		Anderson & Person, Groceries	
501 1/2		Knights of Pythias.	
501 1/2		Odd Fellows Hall.	
FRANKFORT AVENUE, NORTH.			
BURNETT'S BLDG.	40x 80		\$ 6,000
1 1/2-Story Brick			
302		T. J. Wiseman, People's Tailoring Co	
BAKER'S BLDG.	40x 80		\$ 4,500
2-Story Brick.			
304 1/2		W A. Baker, Grocery.	
MRS. MEEKS' BLDG.	25x 40	Apartment.	\$ 750

1-Story Frame		W M Curry, Grocery	
502 (3) 1-Story Stones	25x100	Johnson's Plumbing Office	\$ 5,000
525		Bell & Little Cafe	
527		Cold Drinks and Cream Parlor	
529	1-Story Frame	15x 30	
CAMERON EAST			
		Blacksmith's Shop	\$ 350
		Loup's Plumbing Office	
STRADFORD BLDG			
Facing Cameron St	Included in Hotel Bldg	Waffle House	
ARCHER EAST.			
BUILDING	SIZE	BUSINESS	VALUE
1-Story Brick		B A Wayne, Physician	
1-Story Frame			\$ 2,500
206		Rolly Huff, Confectionery	
1-Story Brick	18x 30		\$ 1,200
210		A J Douglas, Barber Shop	
1-Story, 4-Room Stucco			
216		B F Smith, Physician	
1-Story Frame			
303		H A Guess, Attorney	\$ 750
305		Rev W H. Twine, Real Estate	750
307		Charles Allen, Tailor	750
1-Story Frame			
201		Friedman Bros Grocery	\$ 800
1-Story Frame			
314 1/2		R. J. Clark, Tailor	\$ 500
316		J L Locard, Restaurant	800
316 1/2		Wm. Bunn, Shoe Shine Parlor	250
1-Story Frame			
318		Ray Smith, Barber Shop	\$ 300
1-Story Frame			
328		Woodard & Tillman, Confectionery	\$ 400
328		Grace & Warren, Restaurant	300
402 G		G W. Hutchins, Attorney.	
416 1/2		L. W. Williams, Restaurant	\$ 1,200
418		S L Neal, Tailor	1,200
2-Story Frame			
420		Midway Hotel	\$ 4,000
421		Grace Johnson, Restaurant	800
1-Story Frame			
429		Public Library	\$ 750
2-Story Frame			
501		Mrs. Grace Johnson, Rooms	2,500
2-Story Frame			
505		D R. Roland, Rooms	\$ 5,000
1-Story Stone			
514		Steam Laundry, Mrs. Pastel	3,500
MRS. PARTEE'S BLDG.	25x 40		
1-Story Brick			
516		J. L. Grier, Shoe Maker	\$ 2,500
516		Mrs. Lula Lacy, Restaurant	800
516 1/2		Rooms	1,000
608		W. D. Kelley, Lunch Counter	400
MRS. DORA WELLS' BLDG			
1-Story Frame			
613		Mrs. Dora Wells, Garment Factory.	\$ 2,500
2-Story Stone	50x120		
614		East End Garage, Mr. Williams	\$ 8,500
2-Story Frames			
617		R. R. Robinson, Physician	1,500
2-Story Frame			
619		Louiza White, Fun Rooms	4,000
MYERS BLDG.			
2-Story Brick			
622		Jackson Und Co., S M Jackson	\$ 40,000
622 1/2		Mrs. N. O. Smith, Beauty Parlor	
622 1/2		Dr. L. N. Neal, Chiropractor	
622 1/2		Beauty Parlor	
CINCINNATI STREET, NORTH.			
RESIDENCE	SIZE	BUSINESS	VALUE
1-Story Frame			
6		T D Jackson, Barber	\$ 700
8		Cave French Dry Cleaners	700
18		T B. Carter, Billiards	800

512—Arthur Scott	800
514—James Yates	1,500
515—	2,000
516—Abe Yates	2,000
517—J. H. Hodnett, 1-Story Frame, 6 rooms Mrs. Emma Works	2,000
519—Mrs. Emma Works, 1-Story Frame, 6 rms Mrs. Emma Works	2,250
520—Edward Jones	800
522—C. M. Mathews	1,200
531—J. H. Smith	4,500
535—M. C. Allen	1,000
537—C. H. Perkins, 1-Story Frame, 3 rooms C. H. Perkins	1,000

RESIDENCE	NO. ROOMS	PROPRIETOR	VALUE
308—Wm Jones			1,500
310—Garfield Dixon			800
311—Emma Dixon			1,200
316—N. S. Jones			5,000
318—Mrs. Margaret Davis			3,000
404—Leon Homer			600
412—J. J. Jones			750
502—Benjamin Blythe—House moved			
510—Albert Vernon—House moved			
515—John Williams			1,200

RESIDENCE	NO. ROOMS	PROPRIETOR	VALUE
416—Dr. B. A. Wayne, 1-Story Frame, 6 rms. Dr. B. A. Wayne			3,000

RESIDENCE	NO. ROOMS	PROPRIETOR	VALUE
401—J. H. Goodwin, 2-Story Frame, 9 rms. J. H. Goodwin			4,000
407—1-Story Brick, 5 rooms J. H. Goodwin			1,500
409—1-Story Brick, 6 rooms J. H. Goodwin			3,500
—2-Story Frame, 5 rooms J. H. Goodwin			3,000
—Garage			500

RESIDENCE	NO. ROOMS	PROPRIETOR	VALUE
206—Hanery Van Dyke, 2-Story Brick		Brockman Bros	2,500
210—C. Ws Drummond, 5 rooms			1,750
212—J. R. Bell, 4 rooms			1,200
214—Francis Hood, 3 rooms			400
216—Thomas Johnson, 3 rooms			400
220—Rufus Allen, 5 rooms			1,200
221—Edward Richardson, 3 rooms			450
224—Edward Howard, 5 rooms			2,250
301—James Jefferson, 4 rooms			1,500
303—G. D. Aytch, 5 rooms			2,000
304—Samuel Perkins, 4 rooms			1,000
305—Hap Watson			5,000
309—Catherine Jackson			1,250
310—S. E. Easley			3,000
311—Al Young			3,500
314—Floyd Gilkey			1,200
316—F. W. Waddell			2,000
317—Rev A. W. Brown, 8 roomss		M. Jackson	1,500
318—Alice Staples, 6 rooms		M. Jackson	2,000
319—Elmer Williams			1,000
320—Theodore Baughman			1,000
320½—D. W. Devrow, 2 houses on lot		Bridgewater	3,500
321—Wright Jones		Stovall	1,000
322—Jessie C. Vann		Bridgewater	750
323—C. V. Nunley		Mrs. Watson	2,500
401—Toby Campbell		Bridgewater	500
402—Hixie B. Blackman			750
403—Robert Robertson			1,500
403½—Victor Visser			1,250
404—A. W. Tindall			1,250
405—L. T. Johnson			2,500
406—Willie Connor			1,000
407—John Hampton			1,000
408—Charles Berry			900
409—W. H. Hicks			800
410—H. J. Green			1,500
411—Emma Anderson			1,200
412—Square Nebles			1,000
415—Mrs. Mary Mitchell, 1-Story Frame		Mrs. Mary Mitchell	2,000
416—Mrs. Aurelia E. Watson			1,500
417—Amy Hawkins			1,000
504—Mrs. Mary Simms			1,000
505—Wm. Dysart			1,000

506—Olive Dupree	700
508—Mrs. Sophia Smith	700
511—Mrs. Bonnie Whipple	1,500
512—W. M. Henderson	500
513—Lon Jenkins	850
514—Mondy Lincoln	2,500
515—Mrs. Emma Swinger	1,000
516—Mrs. Margaret McKeever	2,000
519—O. W. Hawkins	850
521—M. K. Randles	2,500
623—Mrs. Ella (Watley) Meeks, 2-story frm. Mrs. Ella Meeks	2,000
624—Staley Webb, 1-Story Frame Staley Webb	

RESIDENCE	NO. ROOMS	PROPRIETOR	VALUE
305—Dock Eastman			1,200
306—Alvin Graves			2,500
306—"A"—E. W. Vaden			2,500
307—Daniel Black			1,000
308—Rev. J. A. Johnson, 2-Story Frame		Rev. J. A. Johnson	2,500
309—Harvey Hearst			1,200
310—J. E. Fields			1,500
311—Wm Cherry			1,000
312—Joseph Saunders			1,500
314—Mack Bergman			1,000
315—Sallie Grayson			1,750
316—C. B. Turner			1,750
317—G. L. Gasper			1,500
318—Anderson Parker			1,000
319—M. A. Byars			750
321—W. M. Haward			1,000
400—W. M. Bruner			2,000
401—Frank Gaylord			950
402—W. J. Wood, Physician			1,250
403—E. T. Waters			950
404—Steward Cooper (Laundry)			850
405—Wm. Clark			900
406—Mrs. Ida Berry			1,000
407—Wm Young			1,000
408½—Mrs. Minnie L. Sanders			250
408½—W. H. Cohn, Physician			1,000
409—Mrs. Fannie White			700
411—Mrs. Martha A. Newman			950
412—Henry Johnson			950
413—R. C. Carter			1,000
414—James King			1,750
415—Bud Thomas			3,000
417—Nathaniel Dorset			5,000
418—Mrs. Samuel Mackley, 2-Story Frame		Mrs. Samuel Mackley	1,000
421—Mrs. Equella Randle			1,000
502—Mrs. May Thompson			500
503—A. C. Jackson			750
504—Love Williams			1,250
505—A. W. Williams			1,000
506—Mrs. Jannie Russell			
507—Mrs. Carrie Barner			2,000
508—Barney Cleaver, 2-Story Frame		Barney Cleaver	2,000
509—W. M. Luper			2,000
510—J. B. Burton			1,000
511—Mrs. Camille Colbert			1,000
512—J. H. Golden			1,500
513—J. B. Beason			1,000
514—M. C. Edwards			2,000
515—A. F. Bryant			1,000
516—Mrs. Josie Daniels			850
519—James Thomas			850
518—Julius Muckroy			850
520—Mary Ananda			
604—Rev. J. R. McClain		James Cherry	4,000
702—James Cherry		A. L. Phillips	4,000
716—A. L. Phillips, 1-Story Frame			

RESIDENCE	NO. ROOMS	PROPRIETOR	VALUE
12—L. F. Guess			300
23—Nelson Talbert			300
101—Frank Taylor			1,000
104—Roy Little			800
106—Henry Richmond			750
108—Jack Scott			1,200

110—W. P. Carter	3,000
114—John Andres	500
112—Eva Bolden	500
113—Moot Dallas	
115—Guss Mitchell	
116—Mrs. Emma O'Connor	
117—John Thomas	
118—Mrs. Emma Meacher	
120—Wm. Dodd	
121—J. L. Anderson	
122—Mrs. Nina Dickson	2,500
124—Mrs. Emory Malone	1,750
301—D. E. Green	3,000
303—Mrs. Julia Haynes	1,000
304—Mrs. Sarah Burger	750
305—Mrs. Sarah Gaines	750
306—Hannibal Rankins	500
307—Odis Easlick	750
309—Orlando Williams	1,800
310—Jesse Edwards	500
311—Clifford Warren	1,000
312—Mrs. Retta Boon	750
313—George McAlister	750

SCHOOLS.

Dunbar Grade School	20,000
---------------------	--------

CHURCHES.

Methodist Episcopal	1,000
African Methodist Episcopal	2,500
Colored Methodist Episcopal	2,000
Mt. Zion Baptist	6,500
Paradise Baptist	85,000
Metropolitan Baptist	3,000
Union Baptist	2,000
Seventh Day Advent	1,500

HOSPITALS.

Frissell Memorial	3,500
-------------------	-------

117
 118
 119
 120
 121
 122
 123
 124
 125
 126
 127
 128
 129
 130
 131
 132
 133
 134
 135
 136
 137
 138
 139
 140
 141
 142
 143
 144
 145
 146
 147
 148
 149
 150
 151
 152
 153
 154
 155
 156
 157
 158
 159
 160
 161
 162
 163
 164
 165
 166
 167
 168
 169
 170
 171
 172
 173
 174
 175
 176
 177
 178
 179
 180
 181
 182
 183
 184
 185
 186
 187
 188
 189
 190
 191
 192
 193
 194
 195
 196
 197
 198
 199
 200
 201
 202
 203
 204
 205
 206
 207
 208
 209
 210
 211
 212
 213
 214
 215
 216
 217
 218
 219
 220
 221
 222
 223
 224
 225
 226
 227
 228
 229
 230
 231
 232
 233
 234
 235
 236
 237
 238
 239
 240
 241
 242
 243
 244
 245
 246
 247
 248
 249
 250
 251
 252
 253
 254
 255
 256
 257
 258
 259
 260
 261
 262
 263
 264
 265
 266
 267
 268
 269
 270
 271
 272
 273
 274
 275
 276
 277
 278
 279
 280
 281
 282
 283
 284
 285
 286
 287
 288
 289
 290
 291
 292
 293
 294
 295
 296
 297
 298
 299
 300
 301
 302
 303
 304
 305
 306
 307
 308
 309
 310
 311
 312
 313
 314
 315
 316
 317
 318
 319
 320
 321
 322
 323
 324
 325
 326
 327
 328
 329
 330
 331
 332
 333
 334
 335
 336
 337
 338
 339
 340
 341
 342
 343
 344
 345
 346
 347
 348
 349
 350
 351
 352
 353
 354
 355
 356
 357
 358
 359
 360
 361
 362
 363
 364
 365
 366
 367
 368
 369
 370
 371
 372
 373
 374
 375
 376
 377
 378
 379
 380
 381
 382
 383
 384
 385
 386
 387
 388
 389
 390
 391
 392
 393
 394
 395
 396
 397
 398
 399
 400
 401
 402
 403
 404
 405
 406
 407
 408
 409
 410
 411
 412
 413
 414
 415
 416
 417
 418
 419
 420
 421
 422
 423
 424
 425
 426
 427
 428
 429
 430
 431
 432
 433
 434
 435
 436
 437
 438
 439
 440
 441
 442
 443
 444
 445
 446
 447
 448
 449
 450
 451
 452
 453
 454
 455
 456
 457
 458
 459
 460
 461
 462
 463
 464
 465
 466
 467
 468
 469
 470
 471
 472
 473
 474
 475
 476
 477
 478
 479
 480
 481
 482
 483
 484
 485
 486
 487
 488
 489
 490
 491
 492
 493
 494
 495
 496
 497
 498
 499
 500
 501
 502
 503
 504
 505
 506
 507
 508
 509
 510
 511
 512
 513
 514
 515
 516
 517
 518
 519
 520
 521
 522
 523
 524
 525
 526
 527
 528
 529
 530
 531
 532
 533
 534
 535
 536
 537
 538
 539
 540
 541
 542
 543
 544
 545
 546
 547
 548
 549
 550
 551
 552
 553
 554
 555
 556
 557
 558
 559
 560
 561
 562
 563
 564
 565
 566
 567
 568
 569
 570
 571
 572
 573
 574
 575
 576
 577
 578
 579
 580
 581
 582
 583
 584
 585
 586
 587
 588
 589
 590
 591
 592
 593
 594
 595
 596
 597
 598
 599
 600
 601
 602
 603
 604
 605
 606
 607
 608
 609
 610
 611
 612
 613
 614
 615
 616
 617
 618
 619
 620
 621
 622
 623
 624
 625
 626
 627
 628

44-38861-1

MILITARY INTELLIGENCE DIVISION

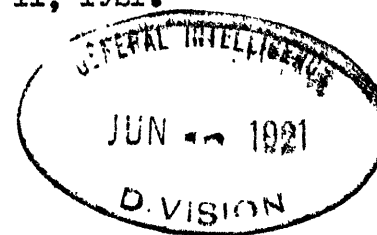
In replying refer to

10218-422-M.I.4.

WAR DEPARTMENT
OFFICE OF THE CHIEF OF STAFF
WASHINGTON

158260-8

June 11, 1921.



Mr. L. J. Bailey,
Chief, Bureau of Investigation,
Department of Justice,
Washington, D.C.

My dear Mr. Bailey:-

Herewith is a photostat copy of a letter from an
anonymous source, sent to the Secretary of War.

This is furnished you for your information.

Very truly yours,

For the Director, Military Intelligence Division.

Matthew C. Smith
MATTHEW C. SMITH,
Colonel, General Staff,
Chief, Negative Branch.

1 incl.
bk

RECORDED
JUN 15 1921

Main and Files Division
LJB

158260-8-10
JUN 15 1921
File 87 R.

HPK

10218-422-41.1.4.

June 11, 1921.

Mr. L. J. Bailey,
Chief, Bureau of Investigation,
Department of Justice,
Washington, D.C.

My dear Mr. Bailey:-

Herewith is a photostat copy of a letter from an
anonymous source, sent to the Secretary of War.

This is furnished you for your information.

Very truly yours,

For the Director, Military Intelligence Division.

MATTHEW C. SMITH,
Colonel, General Staff,
Chief, Negative Branch.

1 incl.
Mk

Grand Rapids Mich 6-1

1921

Mr Weeks

10218-422

Sir

I think it is time I tell you
of some of the things I know to
be a fact. I call your attention
to Tulsa (Okla) first for one minute
let this pass as just a small race
riot, that is what they want you
to think. I know that for the past
8 years the negroes of the south
have been taught that they are
of the same blood as Japan &
Mexican agents, mostly come
in from Brazil & South America.
Their object means of making
harm for them. It is by prison
chapters there they work with the
lowest blacks and these are
the ones the white man must
fear most but seem to know
(over)

at the least.

While fools in these
united states are asking
that we lay down our arms

Two of the greatest nations
on earth are getting ready to
take our country.

Any fool can see why
England grabbed all the ships
from Germany.

The riggers of the united
states will now tell you

"We ain't going to fight Mexico
or Japan, they are riggers,
just like ourself."

This movement is war like
I call your attention to the
riggers in British East
Africa and in other things.

Who wanted the British to
police our Atlantic coast?

I know of a white man
stopping his business at
Crowley La. to go to
New Orleans to get a wife &
a white man could not buy
a wife, But the Jews down
they save him for the niggers
and niggers buy any kind of
good and things the price asked
for they are getting ready to
kill the white man.

I knew one lawyer who
made a study of the negro
and he claimed that none
had a claim on this country
as they had been buying by
been smuggled into this
country and that it was
possible to take just what

part of the globe they originated
from. Had I the seaborning
I would have sailed long ago.
But that is why. I have seen
so much in the south west
one thought I have my fight
in me.

Now put this up to the best
men in these united states
find out why one man is
so strong for us to disarm
find out about South
America watch all both
yellow and Black.

And don't disarm
commenced while they built
the force (force?) forming
not ready to disarm while the
world. With a prayer that
ed save America
remain there
a country

In Oklahoma negroes were killed, herded in barracks to save them from murder. Some say the white men wanted their oil lands. More probably trouble started because white men out of work saw negroes working.

Senator Medill McCormick wants a committee "to report on race hatred" in this country. The committee should go to the zoological gardens, and report what it finds there. The dog hates the fox, his cousin, and doesn't hate the elephant, so different. Human beings are animals and hate their brothers, as the dog hates the fox or the wolf. They will stop that when they stop being animals—that's a long way off.

Justice
#1026 Canyon, Street, N.W.

158260-8
Washington, D.C.,

June, 4th., 1921.

To the Honorable Warren G. Harding,
President of the United States,

Your Excellency:--

Enclosed please note a copy of a letter, the which I have this day forwarded to Attorney-General Daugherty. Knowing only as a layman, the burdens left you by a former Administration, I fain would withhold this letter, but for the fact that thousands of offenseless and defenseless women and children are suffering for something for which they are not responsible.

It seems to me that your being President of the whole country, devolves upon you manifold duties. I am broad enough to wish that you will do nothing that will make enemies for you of any section of the country, who at some other crisis would exert all their influence to defeat your plans.

In view of the foregoing, I shall refrain from doing the usual thing under such circumstances viz:--asking you to rush into public print on this subject. Your position on such matters as this is well known..

I shall however ask you to lend your weighty influence to your Attorney-General, to do justice to all concerned in the Tulsa tragedy.

I feel for these mothers, daughters, sisters and children, the same as if they were my very own.

Knowing your stand for pure Americanism, I shall rest my case in your hands.

May God strengthen your arm. May He ever guide you to boldly defend the cause of Justice and Right!

Wishing for you a prosperous Administration,

Allow me to subscribe myself,

Yours -For-Pure- Americanism-----

Rev. J. Luther Martin
Rev. J. Luther Martin.

P.S. The inclosed clipping is from Mr. Brisbane's "Today" in Saturday's Times

RECORDED

158260-8-9
JUN 9 21
STEWART HERRON

JUN 13 1921

#1026 Kenyon, Street N.W.

Washington, D.C.,

June, 4th., 1921.

To the Honorable,

The Attorney-General of the United States of America,

Dear Sir:—

Enclosed you will please find a clipping from "The Baltimore Sun", of even^{ing} date. The marked paragraph is vitally significant in placing the blame of the "why", of the Tulsa riots.

The writer has talked to some people from this vicinity and it is the consensus of opinion that this district was the most prosperous of all the colored sections of the Southwest. What valid reason can the people of Tulsa, give to the world for deliberately destroying an entire "Little Africa"?

If your Office works on the presumption that the colored people owned too much property, and that their holdings in oil was an incentive to the complete destruction of an entire colored settlement, does it not occur to your Office that this would furnish a motive?

The Negroes are going to have their homes rebuilt, but as we understand ON ANOTHER PLOT OF GROUND,-----the destroyed section is to be an industrial centre.

I submit this for what it is worth.

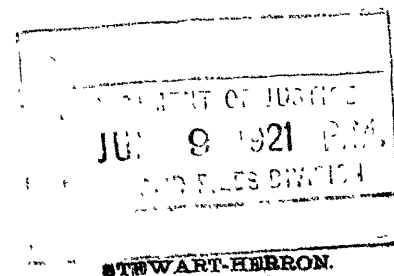
Trusting that a people who have ever stood ready to defend the country from the ~~days~~ of Crispus Attucks, Peter Salem, and with Jackson at New Orleans, with Roosevelt at San Juan Hill, at Carrizal, in France and elsewhere; that they, Sir, will receive absolute justice at your hands (and we have no cause to surmise otherwise)-----

I Am Yours,

For Justice and Right,

Rev. J. Luther Martin

Rev. J. Luther Martin.



WCH-ECT

RPS-

158260-8-7

JUN 15 1921

June 13, 1921.

Mr. John E. Arnold,

Oil & Gas Purchasing Agency,

208 Lorton Bldg. & Tulsa, Oklahoma.

Dear Sir:

Your letter of June 2d to the President of the United States, relative to the recent race riots at Tulsa, Oklahoma, has been referred to this Department, and I beg to assure you that the matters stated by you will receive due consideration.

Respectfully,

For the Attorney General,

(Signed) R. T. Howard

Assistant Attorney General.

RECORDED

158260-8

Oil & Gas Purchasing Agency
Direct from Owners Only
Use Value Must Equal Cash Value

RESPECTFULLY REFERRED
FOR CONSIDERATION.

June 25, 1921

158260-8-7

Mr. Warren G. Harding,
The White House,
Washington, D. C.,

John M. Christy
Secy. to the President.

Personal and Confidential

My dear Warren:

STEWART HERRON

As a Rotarian who organized the Rotary Club of Wichita Falls, Texas, I know I can absolutely depend upon your right heartedness to serve the cause of God and humanity in this present matter:

My business has brought me to live in Tulsa, Oklahoma, the scene of the gruesome outbreak of lawlessness described in the enclosed paper which happens to be the least sensational of our daily papers.

Our State Governor is a Democrat, and a very fine gentleman; and our State Attorney General is a Democrat, and a very fine gentleman.

Our County Sheriff is a Republican, and a gentleman.

Our Mayor and City Officials are all gentlemen regarded as being clean government citizens; but-----

Our State Attorney General has already been announced as a candidate for the next Governorship of Oklahoma, and-----

Local factionalism between political parties and between the city and county officials, has, I believe, led to a lack of moral courage on the part of the proper persons to sufficiently uphold the rights of our own citizens, white and black, as prescribed by the Federal and State Constitutions - possibly - I hope not, but am led by observation to believe - by their fear of the effects of their activities in behalf of righteousness upon their own chances of getting political rewards in the future. God versus politics, and you have within your personal reach the power to see to it - by proper investigation thru the Department of Justice - that Law and Order must prevail here.

Altho' we are taught that Masonic Bodies must not hold any sort

Mr. Warren G. Harding, 6/2/21 - Page #2,

of communications with Negro Masons, I feel sure that this is a time when you and I as Masons can each do our part to contribute to the relief of poor and penniless Master Masons (Negro), their widows, and orphans. You by your personal influence in the right direction in Washington to bring about a state of due respect and honor in the entire state of Oklahoma and particularly in Tulsa and county circles - for the duly constituted officers of the law in whose hands this negro rapist was held at the time this outbreak started. Me to do my share here locally. I am sure that you will cordially do anything you can legally and morally do to relieve the situation as well as to try to put "our house in order" so that "It Must Never Happen Again".

The Grand Master and Most Worshipful Potentate of Masons every where surely did not intend, in His wisdom, as per the words of His Son, Jesus Christ, that there should be one moral law or code of ethics for benefit of one color, and another - less righteous - for the negro, or other races among our citizens.

I blush with shame to think that the fair name of our city has been smutted by any such circumstances, and even tho' it was done by an element among both whites and blacks who may be claimed to be the "tougher" element, but I am sure that after due examination and strict trial, your investigators would find conditions in Tulsa and vicinity disgustingly rotten, as witness the facts brought out in the testimony of Rev. Harold G. Cooke, and Mr. C. E. Buchner in the recent investigation of Police Circles in the matter of immoral women and whiskey selling.

Courteously and Fraternally yours,

John E. Arnold

RPS-

WCH-EOT

168260-8-4

JUN 14 1921

June 13, 1921.

J. R. Coffey, Attorney at Law,
206 Love Bldg.,
Muskogee, Oklahoma.

Dear Sir:

I beg to acknowledge receipt of your letter of June 4th, relative to the recent race riots at Tulsa, Oklahoma, and to assure you that the views stated by you will receive due consideration.

Respectfully,

For the Attorney General,

(Signed) R. P. Stewart
Assistant Attorney General.

RECORDED

13

11
RESIDENCE
228 KINSLEY STREET

PHONES OFFICE 1378
RESE 4571

J. R. COFFEY
ATTORNEY-AT-LAW
206-7 LOVE BLDG.
MUSKOGEE, OKLAHOMA
June 4, 1921

Hon. Harry M. Dougherty,
Attorney General,
Washington, D. C.

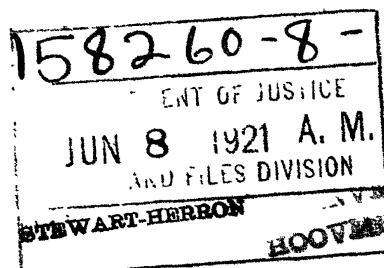
Dear Sir:

Should the Department of Justice of the United States decide, as I think it should, to take a part in the investigation of the cause and effect of the late race riot at Tulsa, Okla., I am sure you will undertake a route in which you can at least hope to obtain the facts desired. In this and some other parts of the country, when calamities like this occur, some times the investigators start out with the intention not to get and report the truth. The situation in this grand country is growing worse in some respects as regards race relations. The good folks of both races wisely(?) try to make a pleasant showing; but, in many instances, the class of men who will accept the smaller offices are not the best men to act in such cases as we have on hand at this time.

I am a colored man and I am in position to say that it will require men of both races, instead of one, and they must be honest men of high motives, to effectively do this kind of work.

This is a delicate affair and I don't like to get mixed up in such things; but, if I can be of any service to your department in assisting your representatives here, call upon me.

Very respectfully,



RECORDED

(Signed) R. P. Stewart
Assistant Attorney General.

For the Attorney General,

Respectfully,

Your letter of June 3d to the President of the United States, calling attention to the race riot at Tulsa, Oklahoma, and expressing your views in regard to the reason and remedy for such occurrences, has been referred to this Department, and I beg to assure you that your remarks will receive due consideration.

Dear Sir:

2027 North College Ave., Philadelphia, Pa.

Spring Street Settlement (for Colored People),

Ellwood Hancock, President,

June 13, 1921.

JUN 16 1921

158260-8-5

RPS-

WCH-ECT

158260-8

Justice

2027 N. College Avenue,
Philadelphia, Pa., June 3, 1921.

Hon. Warren G. Harding, President,
Washington, D. C.

Dear Sir:-

As a citizen of our Republic which stands for so much in the cause of human welfare and as one who is interested in the progress of the Negro Race I feel called upon to ask your consideration of the antagonisms between many of the white race and our colored citizens.

The awful riot reported as having occurred in Tulsa, Okla. is but an expression of this unfortunate condition. I am sure that when the facts are known it will be found that a Negro was unjustly accused of a serious crime and was in danger of being lynched when his colored friends, probably many of them ex-service men who had fought to make the world safe for democracy, determined to defend him and their attitude was violently resented by white men who often claim "the black man must be kept in his place".

In nine out of every ten race riots the fault lies wholly with the white people and has its foundation in the meanest kind of injustice.

Our National Government as well as State and local authorities should see to it that our Constitution and laws are enforced in behalf of all of our citizens without regard to race or color. The most searching investigation should be made by the Federal authorities in this murderous and wide-spread Tulsa riot and the guilty parties punished. It is necessary as a lesson to the whole country as a matter of justice. Many of our returned negro soldiers have highly resolved that the lynching business must stop. No more important question is before the American people today.

Assuring you of my appreciation of your kind attention,
I remain,

Very respectfully yours,

Eurois Henson President,
Spring Street Settlement.
(For Colored Peoples)

158260-8-5

RECEIVED
JUN 9 9 21 A.M.
STEWART-HERRON

RECORDED
JUN 15 21

WCH-ECOT

RPS-

158260-8-6

JUN 15 1921
June 13, 1921.

Hon. Channing H. Cox,
Governor of Massachusetts,
State House, Boston, Mass.

Dear Sir:

Your letter of June 3d to the President of the United States, enclosing a letter from the National Equal Rights League, of Boston, Massachusetts, has been referred to this Department.

The letter of the National Equal Rights League calls the President's attention to the recent race riot at Tulsa, Oklahoma, and requests him to cause this Department to make an immediate investigation of the matter to the end that all persons accused may be protected in their rights under the Constitution. In your letter you state that the citizens of Massachusetts are very much stirred by these terrible outrages and will stand behind the President in any endeavor to punish the guilty and make such crimes forever impossible in this country.

The views of the National Equal Rights League and of your honorable self will receive the due consideration of this Department. You are, however, undoubtedly aware that, under the decisions of the Supreme Court of the United States, the Federal Government has no jurisdiction over matters of this kind.

Respectfully,

For the Attorney General,

(Signed) R. P. Stewart,
Assistant Attorney General.

RECORDED



CHANNING H COX
GOVERNOR

THE COMMONWEALTH OF MASSACHUSETTS
EXECUTIVE DEPARTMENT
STATE HOUSE, BOSTON

158260-8
1
RESPECTFULLY REFERRED
FOR CONSIDERATION.

Gertrude M. Stewart
Secy. to the President.

3d June, 1921.

To the President of the United States,
Washington, D. C.

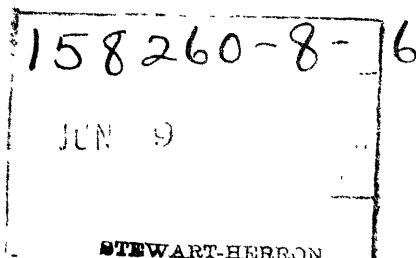
Mr. President:

At the request of the National Equal Rights League, I am forwarding an appeal for aid to the victims of the recent mob violence in Tulsa, Oklahoma. All the citizens of Massachusetts are stirred to the depths by these terrible outrages, and they look to you for leadership in giving aid to the afflicted, and they will stand behind you in any endeavor to punish the guilty and to make such inhuman and barbaric crimes forevermore impossible in this land of freedom and justice.

I am,

RECORDED

Respectfully yours,



Channing H. Cox
JUN 15 21

NATIONAL EQUAL RIGHTS LEAGUE

ORGANIZED TO SECURE EQUALITY AND JUSTICE FOR THE RACE

WILLIAM MONROE TROTTER, CORRESPONDING SECRETARY

OFFICE, 34 CORNHILL

TELEPHONE CONNECTION

BOSTON June 3, 1921

The President, Warren G. Harding,
White House, Washington, D.C.

Sir:-

The Colored citizens of Boston and vicinity and others in sympathy, through the National Equal Rights League, appeal to you as the Executive head of this rich and powerful government to take note in mind and heart of the brutal slaying of dozens of Colored Americans citizens by white American mobists at Tulsa, Oklahoma, and of their ruthless, wholesale attacks upon women, old men and children, by burning down all the homes and property in the large Colored residence and business section. We urge you, facing this disgrace to our country and calamity to an ethnic group of citizens, in mercy and justice, to secure from Congress appropriations for immediate care of sick and disabled, and for pensions for those rendered permanently dependant by the mob's destruction, or permanently disabled by it, and to the families of those slain.

We request that you cause the Department of Justice to make immediate investigation to the end that all persons accused be protected in their rights under the constitution.

May the terrible series of lynchings which have culminated in this message lead you to urge upon Congress speedy passage of the Dyer Anti-lynching Bill in order that, as you said in your message, "Barbaric lynching may be wiped from the banners of the Republic."

Yours for protection of life,

Matthew M. Shaw National President
Wm. Monroe Trotter National Secretary

WCH-ECI

158260-8-12

JUN 22 1921

June 21, 1921.

Mr. Oscar J. Berend,
934 Kennedy Bldg.
Tulsa, Oklahoma.

Dear Sir:

I beg to acknowledge receipt of your letter of June 13th, enclosing a clipping from the Tulsa Tribune relative to alleged arming of negroes, and to advise you that the matter will receive due consideration.

Respectfully,

For the Attorney General,

W. C. Herron
Attorney.

RECORDED

67
68
69
70
71
72
73
74
75
76
77
78
79
80
81-8-088821

OSCAR J. BEREND
317 WEST 9TH ST.
934 Kennedy Bl.

158260-8

PHONE USAGE 6841
Cedar 2528

TULSA, OKLA..
June 13, 1921.

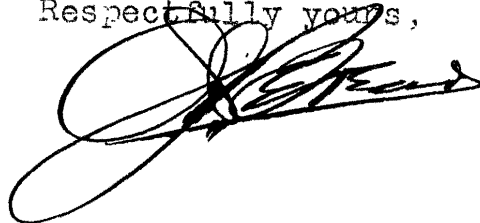
Attorney Generals Office,
Washington, D.C.

Gentlemen:-

I am enclosing herewith a clipping from the editorial page of the Tulsa Tribune. In this editorial I have blocked out and underlined a certain paragraph and sentences which I wish to call to your attention.

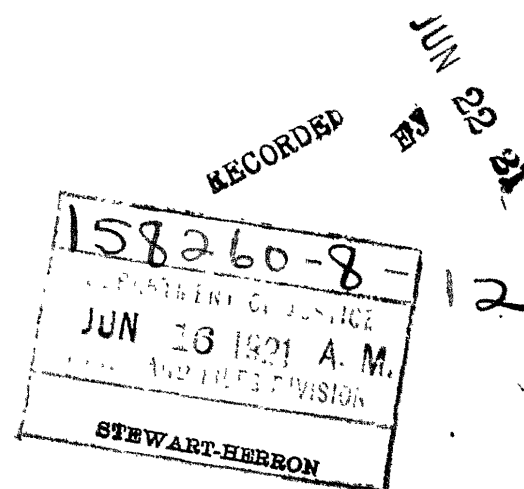
A timely investigation of this reported condition and if found substantially correct, immediate effective action should be taken to avoid further occurrence similar to the Tulsa race riot, which are the results of such agitation as mentioned in this editorial.

Respectfully yours,



OJB:SB

Encl



IT MUST BE STOPPED

THE property owners, business men, and righteous citizens of Tulsa hold a responsibility, not only to see that unnecessary suffering following the tragic hours of the race riot is prevented, but also to make sure that a sound and permanent scheme of reconstruction is worked out in which those who prize the reputation of Tulsa may participate. But in doing this there should be no false and misleading sentiment created, no unstable standards encouraged.

The city cannot condone the looting and stealing but we must not confuse those lawless practices with the heroic defense by the white men who stood their ground and saved this city from a more serious disaster than that which we experienced. Those who suffered in defending our city from a more serious disaster should be cared for and helped and honored. They defended all of us when our officers of the law, who did not suffer a scratch, failed us.

It appears to be reasonably well established that certain lawless negroes had for some time been collecting arms and ammunition. It is also well established that lawlessness was allowed to run unarrested in the old "Niggertown." The citizens of Tulsa become derelict of duty if they do not now give Attorney General Freeling the fullest support and co-operation in his investigation into officers of the law who failed to function not only during the riot but before. Tulsa, Mr. Mayor, is in no mood to witness another whitewash exhibition.

What are the officers of the law, county and city, doing NOW to get the negroes here who have advocated gun play? Many of them are doubtless now in hiding in and around the city. The people ought to have a report from the officers of the law as to what is now being done to apprehend these negroes.

The New York World accepts the uninvestigated statement of five negroes in New York City that the disaster here was the result of oil men who were anxious to acquire the property occupied by the negroes and known as "Niggertown." Such a statement is not only viciously untrue but it illustrates the kind of incendiary propaganda which negro agitators spread. If the good negroes have any regard for their race they themselves will take such foes of their race in hand and stop this kind of criminal lying.

The New York Times, in its issue of June 6, page 7, reports that Herbert H. Harrison, president of the Liberal League of Negro Americans, at a meeting of negroes held at 135th street and Lennox avenue, New York City, urged the negroes to arm. He declared, "I should not be surprised if we saw three splendid race riots by next September." He also advises that as president of that society he is to name a committee of negroes to go to Tulsa to investigate conditions there but the names of that committee are not to be made public because if they were "then some one would be waiting for them when they got out to Tulsa."

Some one ought to be waiting for them. Because of this statement every negro arriving in Tulsa should be subjected to a rigid examination.

This is but another convincing evidence that the race riot here was planned by the bad negroes and that the law-defying negroes are planning more "splendid riots" to be delivered by September. Get that word "splendid." In all these "splendid riots" the bad negroes will trump up the lie that the whites started it.

This kind of thing is lawlessness in the extreme. This kind of thing is the repudiation of the government itself. This kind of thing is defiance of the law of the land. This kind of thing is treason.

The negroes who respect the law and who desire to be looked upon as honest and respectable Negro-Americans must suppress this thing. If they do not suppress it they condone it. America is not going to submit to any such plotted outrages. America is not going to submit to any attempt to shift responsibilities for this kind of outbreaks. The negro newspapers are full of just this kind of incendiary stuff. And IT MUST BE STOPPED.

■ ■ ■ ■ ■

RP3-

WCH-ECT

158260-8-2
158260-8-2

JUN 10 31

June 8, 1921.

Rev. Luther J. Martin,
1026 Kenyon St., N. W.,
Washington, D. C.

Dear Sir:

I beg to acknowledge receipt of your letter of May 4th, enclosing a clipping from the Baltimore Sun relative to the Tulsa race riots.

The Department thanks you for calling this to its attention and assures you that the matter will receive due consideration.

Respectfully,

For the Attorney General,

(Signed) R. P. Stewart
Assistant Attorney General.

RDS
RECORDED

#1026 Kanton, reet, N.W.

Washington, D.C.,

May, 4th., 1921.

158260-8

To the Honorable,

The Attorney-General of the United States of America,

Dear Sir:-

Enclosed you will please find a clipping from "The Baltimore Sun", of even date.

The marked paragraph is vital^{ly} significant in placing the blame as to the "why" of the Tulsa riots.

The writer has talked to some people from this vicinity and it is the consensus of opinion that this district was the most prosperous of all the colored section in the Southwest. What valid reason can the people of Tulsa give the world for deliberately destroying an entire "Little Africa"?

If your Office works on the presumption that the colored people owned too much property and that their holdings in oil was an incentive to the complete destruction of an entire colored settlement, does it not occur to your Office that this would furnish a motive?

The Negroes are going to have their homes rebuilt, but as we understand ON ANOTHER PLOT OF GROUND, the destroyed district is to be an industrial centre.

I submit this for what it is worth.

Trusting that a people who has ever stood ready to defend the country from the days of Crispus Attucks, Peter Salem, and with Jackson at New Orleans, with Roosevelt at San Juan Hill, at Carrizal, in France and else where; that they Sir, will receive absolute justice at your hands (and we have no cause to surmise other wise) -----

I Am Yours,

For Justice and Right,

J. Luther Martin
Rev J. Luther Martin.

RECORDED

RDB

158260-8-2

DEPT. OF JUSTICE	
JUN 6	921 A.M.
LET'S DIVISION	

RECEIVED

NE 4, 1921.

PROBE OF TULSA RIOT ORDERED BY DAUGHERTY

Informal Investigation Will Be
Made By Agents Of Depart-
ment Of Justice.

SEARCH FOR RINGLEADERS ON

Radical Negro Leaders Blamed For
Trouble—Martial Law
Lifted.

Washington, June 3.—A general in-
quiry into the race riots at Tulsa, Okla.,
has been ordered by Attorney-General
Daugherty, it was announced today at
the Department of Justice.

The purpose of the investigation, offi-
cials said, is to determine whether the
disorders were in violation of federal
laws. Preliminary reports, it was added,
show that the situation is purely local.

The inquiry ordered is informal and
will be made by the department's agents
in the field. Officials indicated that it
was not probable that a special investi-
gation would be ordered. They ex-
pressed the belief that the situation
would work itself out without the inter-
vention of the Federal Government.

Has Suspects' Names.

Tulsa, Okla., June 3.—Search for a
number of alleged ringleaders of the
race riots of Tuesday night and Wed-
nesday, the lifting of martial law and
progress on plans for rebuilding a negro
"zone" were developments in Tulsa
today.

Adjutant-General Barrett in charge
of the State troops here, announced
this afternoon he had the names of a
number of persons suspected of being
ringleaders in the trouble and that these
persons when apprehended would be
turned over to the civil authorities.
General Barrett told the Chamber of
Commerce it was unnecessary to keep
the troops after today, and this after-
noon issued the governor's order re-
storing civil law.

The committee of seven at a confer-

ence, discussed the request of Gov. J.
B. A. Robertson, for a searching in-
quiry and decided the best plan would
be to handle the investigation through
the grand jury. A special committee
from the bar association, it was an-
nounced, will be appointed to co-operate
with the county attorney's staff.

For Model Negro Section.

The committee of seven also con-
sidered the rebuilding plans and steps
are to be taken to provide a well-built
negro section, this to be done in part
as an atonement for the harm done,
and also as an example for other cities.
An order was issued from military
headquarters early today demanding the
arrest of anyone offering for recording
deed or transfers of any property in
the burned district.

General Barrett, commanding Tulsa
county, under the martial law proclama-
tion, in an order asserted that irrespon-
sible persons were seeking to obtain the
property at much less than its value.
Agitation by a few irresponsible
negroes was blamed for the part of the
negroes in the race war here, in state-
ments today by several prominent ne-
groes and by Police Commissioner J.
M. Adkinson.

According to Commissioner Adkins,
the police were aware that negro radi-
cals had been at work for some time.
He said negro citizens had been warned
several months ago that responsibility
for any trouble would rest upon the
negroes.

TALKS WITH TRADE BODIES

Hoover Discusses Business In Light
Of Trust Laws.

Washington, June 3.—Representa-
tives of trade associations assured Secre-
tary Hoover in a conference today at
which the collection of business informa-
tion was discussed in the light of the
anti-trust laws that they were in full
accord with the desire of the Admin-
istration to obviate price fixing through
dissemination of trade figures. The pro-
posed publication of trade statistics by
the Commerce Department in co-opera-
tion with the various industries also
was indorsed.

The Secretary said he was sure only
a very few associations were engaging

alking
"But
years
where
e's a
icious
change

sum-
he ex-
ble to
work

ll keep
a job
"she
sk—so
ad,"
rk as
rticu-
would
happes
anag-
or in-
fam-
tutor
ie."

ING
repta


epub-
h has
s, to-
resi-
gar-
White
dnes-
vet-
ake
ven-

in
gre
the
day
sen
the
tra
par

i
s
v

c
n
h
o
w
de
di

m
ho
sty
pr
pe
ex
Cc

POSTAL TELEGRAPH-CABLE COMPANY	
NIGHT LETTERGRAM	
<small>THE POSTAL TELEGRAPH-CABLE COMPANY (INCORPORATED) TRANSMITS AND DELIVERS THIS NIGHT LETTERGRAM SUBJECT TO THE TERMS AND CONDITIONS PRINTED ON THE BACK OF THIS BLANK.</small>	
	<small>RECEIVED AT</small> <small>DELIVERY NO.</small> 15826
INDEPENDENT COMPETITIVE PROGRESSIVE	

4L-26000 855ohkd 832am 261 collect Government NL

Tulsa Okla Jun 2-3 1921

Chief Bureau of Investigation Department of Justice Washington DC

Stop five riots Tulsa Okla May thirty first negro Dick Rowland Charged by white elevator girl with attempted assault Rowland jailed in county jail same evening while mob of about twenty five armed men go to county jail to lynch Rowland about same sized mob of armed negroes go to jail to protect Rowland Sheriff refuses to disarm or arrest any of either mob negro mob starts to leave but returns shortly and some one apparently white man fires a shot negroes flee shooting as they run and make a stand at Frisco Tracks and Boston Street white mob augmented by several hundred apparently mostly crooks and fellow negroes to negro section both sides shooting but negroes retreating whites invade negro section shooting at fleeing negroes and setting negroes residences church and business buildings on fire until seven AM next day looting as they go national guard arrive about then and martial law proclaimed rioting ends suddenly and everything now normal known dead are nine whites eighteen blacks undoubtedly many dead negroes in burned houses property damage in negro section about one million five hundred thousand Sheriff and Police department apparently made no effort to preserve order Sheriff accused of calling armed negroes to jail in first instance everything now quiet National Guard still on duty state grand jury probe ordered by governor with state attorney general to conduct which is set for June eighth no Federal violation appears trouble started spontaneously and due to fact that county and city officers have been for years notoriously crooked and inefficient.

NOTED
F.R.

720 / 12

Mail and Files
Route

Wells
JUN 3 1921
RECEIVED

RECORDED

158260-8-1
H 43-1
JUN 2 1921
file

APPENDIX E

Page 100

Treasury Department
SECRET SERVICE DIVISION
OFFICE OF CHIEF

Washington, D. C. (P. 11) 1935

Respectfully referred to Bureau of
Investigation, Department of Justice
Washington, D. C.

Special Agent in Charge,
Winter Hill, Massachusetts.
July 17, 1935.
Re: "Red" leaflets of radical
elements, recently being circu-
lated in name of the "United States"
This leaflets of lawlessness
and ill advice as it will
cause trouble if allowed to
continue.

G. H. Morgan
Chief

BS
242100-2253

The Tulsa Massacre!

By the time this leaflet is in your hands, all the horrible details of the mass murder of the helpless Negro population of Tulsa, Oklahoma will be known to the entire world.

There are no words vivid enough to describe the action of the well dressed armed mob of business men who with automobiles and airplanes, surrounded the Negro quarter in Tulsa on June 1st, setting fire to their homes, destroying ten city blocks and rendering homeless more than ten thousand Negro workers; ruthlessly slaying men, women and children; killing over 90 and wounding more than 200.

There is only one appeal that will stop these fiendish and bloody outrages—that is the appeal to organized force. The only language that the bloodthirsty capitalist of America can understand is the language of **ORGANIZED POWER**. Only by reprisals—by answering force with force—will the business mobs and their White Guards, the Klu Klux Klan, etc. be restrained from continuing their brutal and cowardly assaults upon the Negro and working class population of this country.

If there is any red blood in the veins of the working class of America it will come to the defense of its colored brothers, who are the victims of the same bloody capitalist class that exploits and murders the workers regardless of color or race.

In their own interests, the white workers of America, must come to the aid of the exploited Negro masses. Their skins are darker-hued than ours, but the interests are the same. Black and White, we, the workers, have but **ONE** enemy—**THE CAPITALIST CLASS**—which uses its **GOVERNMENT** to suppress us.

There are more than ten million Negroes in this country. Almost all of them are of the working class. The Negro wage workers, whom we have refused to admit into our trade unions, are rapidly being reduced to serfdom and peonage—to a condition of slavery worse than chattel slavery before 1861. Shall we, the white wage slaves, stand by idly and permit the **CAPITALISTS** to murder, rob and enslave millions of our fellows? The crushing of ten million Negro workers means nothing but the beginning of a system of peonage and degradation for the entire working class of America. For the breaking of the spirit of these ten million Negro wage workers will enable the **WHITE CAPITALISTS** to use these colored men and women against the white wage workers as strike breakers in order to crush the resistance of the entire working class. Already there are five million wage workers walking the streets of the cities and towns of America in search of work—unemployed, destitute, hungry—and the **CAPITALISTS** are making a general assault upon our unions, through the open shop movement, in the effort to destroy our unions and break our resistance.

If the Negro worker can be used against the White worker, who is to blame? We have refused to allow our colored brothers to join our unions. We have repeated all the idiotic accusations against their race. We have foolishly allowed ourselves to be swayed by prejudice. We have failed to **ORGANIZE** the Negro worker. We have refused to treat him as our own, our equal **BROTHER** in the **CLASS STRUGGLE**. **WE ARE TO BLAME**

BREAK DOWN THE BARRIERS IN THE UNIONS. Wipe Out THE "COLOR LINE." There is only **ONE** line that we can draw—that is the **CLASS LINE**. White and Black, Jew and Gentile, **ALL** are

WORKERS, the exploited masses, must be organized on the basis of their **CLASS** interests.

Our Negro fellow workers were supposed to have been "emancipated" during the American Civil War. The Constitution of the U. S. is supposed to guarantee their "freedom." Since then they have been herded into separate districts, segregated in Jim Crow cars, their women subject to the assaults of white men, their children deprived of elementary education, their men denied the right to acquire trades or professions, their whole race kept in ignorance and degradation. They have been burned alive, lynched, murdered and brutally assaulted upon the slightest provocation. The hideous accusation of racism has been fastened upon their entire race. This is the kind of "freedom" that **CAPITALIST CONSTITUTION** guarantees to the working class. This is the only kind of "freedom" that the **WORKERS** can expect from the **CAPITALIST GOVERNMENT** of the United States. For the Government of the U. S. is nothing but the organized expression of the **WILL** of the **CAPITALIST CLASS**. The Government of the U. S. is nothing else but a ruthless **DICTATORSHIP** of the **RICH** over the **POOR**.

It is in the interest of both the Negro and the White **WORKERS** to destroy this **CAPITALIST GOVERNMENT**, root and branch. Shoulder to shoulder, and heart to heart the workers of ALL races must **UNITE** to establish in this country a **WORKERS' GOVERNMENT—THE SOVIET REPUBLIC OF AMERICA**.

THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF AMERICA calls upon our colored comrades to **ORGANIZE**, and with arms in their hands, to resist the murderous armed assaults upon their homes, their women and their children.

THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF AMERICA calls upon the White workers to assist their colored brothers and with arms in their hands, to help them to resist such armed attacks upon them by the wealthy business men, as occurred in Tulsa, Oklahoma and in hundreds of other places.

THEIR FIGHT IS OUR FIGHT. THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF AMERICA recognizes no artificial division between the **WORKING CLASS**. We call upon ALL workers of ALL races to **UNITE** against their **COMMON ENEMY**—the Capitalist Class and the **CAPITALIST STATE**.

Both Negro and White workers must by this time realize the kind of "democracy" they fought for in France. This is the only kind of "democracy" that the workers can get under the capitalist government of the United States.

In Russia, under the Tsar's Government, the Jews were the victims of race riots and pogroms. In Russia the workers and peasants overthrew the **CAPITALIST** Government of Russia and established a **WORKERS' GOVERNMENT THE SOVIET REPUBLIC OF RUSSIA**. The workers of all races in Russia are **UNITED**. Race prejudice and race wars have disappeared.

Only by following our Russian Comrades' heroic example, and by establishing in this country the **SOVIET REPUBLIC OF AMERICA** can White and Black workers be able to live and work in peace and enjoy the fruits of their labor.

WORKERS OF AMERICA—ORGANIZE! WIPE OUT THE "COLOR LINE"!

HAIL TO THE PROLETARIAN REVOLUTION!
DOWN WITH THE CAPITALIST SYSTEM AND THE CAPITALIST STATE!

LONG LIVE THE WORKERS' REPUBLIC OF AMERICA!

**CENTRAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE
COMMUNIST PARTY OF AMERICA**

Department of Justice

Bureau of Investigation

**P.O. Box 348
Hartford, Conn.**

**JULY
Twelfth
1931**

**Hon. William J. Flynn,
Director, Bureau of Investigation,
Department of Justice,
Washington, D.C.**

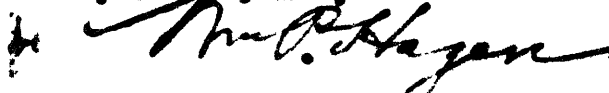
Dear Sir:

I have the honor to acknowledge receipt of your letter concerning the COMMUNIST PARTY OF AMERICA circulars entitled "THE TULSA MASSACRE", from the — Honorable Frank B. Brandegee, Senator from Connecticut.

Replying will state that the Chief Agent of the COMMUNIST PARTY, who was handling these particular circulars and many others, is now confined in the Hartford County Jail, having been arrested along with two others, for directing and distributing the COMMUNIST PARTY circulars throughout the State of Connecticut.

An Agent of this office secured a sworn statement from the Chief Agent of the COMMUNIST PARTY, which is now on file in the Washington Office under the name of HAROLD BRENTON et al, who was sentenced for both perjury and the distribution of circulars under the Act concerning Sedition, Public Acts of Connecticut, Approved May 17th, 1919, to five months in the Hartford County Jail, and fined \$100.00 and costs. The Honorable Senator may be assured that we have the right man serving his sentence, along with two others for distributing the circular "THE TULSA MASSACRE".

Very truly yours,



WILLIAM P. H. H. H.

Special Agent in Charge.

BS 202 600 2053

Instruct one received from
Agent in Charge

J. P. Mooney 7/26/21 7/21 to 24/21 EDWIN C. SHANAHAN.

THE TULSA MASSACRE: Circular.

At Chicago.

Reference is made to Bureau letter dated July 19, 1921, Initialed JEH:GPO, in regard to one ton of the above circulars being received at 631-33 W. Huron, 631 No. Park Ave., and 3934 Metropolitan Pl., Chicago, Ill.

Agent visited the above addresses with the following results; 631-33 W. Huron; no such address: 631 No. Park Ave., no such address: 3934 Metropolitan Pl. is a two story red brick building; first floor occupied by a widow and one child; name Mrs. Kubik. Second floor occupied by John Turcan, wife and two children. Turcan employed a laborer at C.N.A. Car Shop #5. Has first papers only; has been in this country for 16 years. The above information obtained under pretext.

Agent then conferred with Asst. U.S. Attorney R.A. Milroy in regard to the possibility of there being a violation of any federal statute. On July 23, 1921, the following letter was received from the office of the U.S. Attorney:

"... In reply to your letter of July 15, 1921, concerning the pamphlet entitled, 'The Tulsa Massacre', beg to advise that I have carefully examined this pamphlet and I find in it no special violation of any Federal Statute.

I suggest, however, that you take the matter up with the State's Attorney with a view to proceeding against the author of the pamphlet under the Syndicalist Law".

Acting upon the suggestion contained in this letter Agent

JEH:GPO
7/19/21

Wash -2- U.S. Atty Milroy -1- Chgo 1

ACS.

65-201600-2253

proceeded to the Detective Bureau, Chicago Police and conferred with Sargeant McDonough about the matter. Sargeant McDonough stated that he would proceed to act on this matter under the State ~~Syndicalist~~ Law of Illinois. Agent will make further report upon result of Sargeant McDonough's investigation.

Continued.

TPB-AC

702600-2253

August 12, 1921.

Mr. P. Hazen, Esq.,
Box 548,
Hartford, Conn.

Dear Sir:

A letter has been received by the Department from Sidney Blumenthal and Company, Incorporated, at Shelton, Connecticut, enclosing a copy of the Communist leaflet entitled "The Tulsa Massacre", which it is alleged was scattered throughout the city of Shelton on the morning of August 7th. The letter from Blumenthal Company was initialed L. deKH:ML and offers any assistance possible in an investigation of the matter.

Very truly yours,

Chief.

702600-2253-15

REPORT MADE AT: **Hartford, Conn.** DATE WHEN MADE: **8-19-21** PERIOD FOR WHICH MADE: **8-18-21** REPORT MADE BY: **WILLIAM T. LYNCH**

TITLE AND CHARACTER OF CASE: **THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF AMERICA.** **Shelton, Conn.** **Distribution of Radical Literature**

FACTS DEVELOPED:
At Shelton, Conn.

REC'D
DIVISION
AUG 22 1921

Reference is made to letter from Chief of Bureau, dated August 12, 1921, initialed TFB-AS, relative to the distribution of the Communist leaflet "The Tulsa Massacre". in the Town of Shelton, Conn. Under instruction of Acting Agent in Charge EDWARD J. HICKEY, Agent called on the informant in this matter, L. deK. HUBBARD, Operating Vice-President of the Sidney Blumenthal Company, Shelton, Conn., on the above date. He stated that the leaflets were distributed on the principal streets of Shelton during the night of the 6th. or the early morning of the 7th. of August, 1921. He has no information relative to the persons or organizations responsible for the distribution. As far as he knows there is no local organization of the Communist Party in the Town of Shelton.

Agent then called on Chief DONOVAN, of the Shelton Police Department. He stated to Agent that he had been unable to get any trace of the persons responsible for the distribution of the leaflet. He is of the opinion that there is no local organization of the Communist Party in his town.

Both of the above mentioned persons stated that they would communicate further with this Office in case they obtained any additional information.

This investigation is closed.

REFERENCE: **2-Washington, 1-Hartford.**

ORIGINAL.

202 600 - 2253

202 600 - 2253

WJF-jpm

July 13, 1921.

Honorable Frank H. Bland,
United States Senate,
Washington, D.C.

My dear Senator:

Referring to your recent letter which has
as an enclosure a dodger circular titled "THE RULSA ASSOCIATION"
copies of which were being distributed in sections of the State
of Connecticut. I am sure you will be interested in knowing
that the parties responsible have been detected and apprehended.

For your information I enclose a copy of
letter from our Agent in Charge at Hartford which goes into
fully into detail.

a

a

Respectfully,

Encl.

Director.

BS 202600 - 2253 - R

Reproduced with permission of copyright owner. Further reproduction
prohibited without permission.