

# Notes

## ROSSEN, "Introduction," pp. 4–7.

1. For more on Blackshear, see Chicago, The School of The Art Institute of Chicago, *A Tribute to Kathleen Blackshear*, exh. cat. (1990).
2. Kymberly N. Pinder, Assistant Professor of art history at the School of the Art Institute, has initiated research on this topic.
3. For more information on this exhibition, see Lisa Meyerowitz, "The Negro in Art Week: Defining the 'New Negro' Through Art Exhibition," *African American Review* 31 (1996), pp. 75–89.
4. For more information on this exhibition, see Schulman essay (note 33).
5. A small sculpture by the nineteenth-century artist Edmonia Lewis was in the museum's collection for many years, displayed in the lobby of the Goodman Theatre; its present location is unknown. I am grateful to Daniel Schulman for informing me about the second Tanner painting and the Lewis sculpture. The Art Institute's interest in Tanner actually dates back to 1896, when his *Daniel in the Lions' Den* (1895; present location unknown) was included in that year's annual "American Exhibition," along with the portrait of the artist by his close friend Herman Dudley Murphy now in the Art Institute's collection. I am grateful to Andrew J. Walker for this information.
6. The Art Institute of Chicago, *Martin Puryear*, exh. cat. by Neal David Benezra with an essay by Robert Storr (1991). Puryear is represented in the Art Institute by five works.

## WESTERBECK, "Frederick Douglass Chooses His Moment," pp. 8–25.

1. "In Their Own Right: Images of African Americans from The Art Institute of Chicago" was held from Sept. 27, 1997, through Jan. 11, 1998.
2. Frederick Douglass, *Narrative of the Life of Frederick Douglass, an American Slave, Written by Himself* (Boston, 1845; repr. New York, 1968); idem, *My Bondage and My Freedom* (New York/Auburn, N.Y., 1855; repr. New York, 1969); idem, *Life and Times of Frederick Douglass* (Hartford, Conn., 1881; repr. New York, 1983).
3. Douglass' weekly newspaper was published under two names, *North Star* (1847–51) and *Frederick Douglass' Paper* (1851–59). *Frederick Douglass' Monthly*, which had begun as a supplement to *Frederick Douglass' Paper*, became his sole publication from 1859 until 1863; and in 1870 he bought a

part-interest in another journal, which he renamed *New National Era* and published until 1873.

4. The chief source of Frederick Douglass material—letters, manuscripts of speeches, etc.—is the Frederick Douglass Collection in the Library of Congress, Washington, D.C. The most important scholarship on Douglass is to be found in Philip S. Foner, *The Life and Writings of Frederick Douglass*, 5 vols. (New York, 1950–75); William S. McFeely, *Frederick Douglass* (New York, 1991); and Benjamin Quarles, *Frederick Douglass* (New York, 1948). Two earlier studies of note are Frederic May Holland, *Frederick Douglass: The Coloured Orator* (New York, 1891); and James M. Gregory, *Frederick Douglass: The Orator* (New York, 1893).
5. J. W. Hanson, D.D., ed., *The World's Congress of Religions: The Addresses and Papers Delivered before the Parliament and an Abstract of the Congresses Held in the Art Institute, Chicago, Illinois, U.S.A., August 25 to October 15, 1893, under the Auspices of the World's Columbian Exposition* (Chicago, 1894), p. 17.
6. Frederick Douglass, *The Reason Why the Colored Man is Not in the Columbian Exposition* (Chicago, 1892); repr. Foner (note 4), vol. 4: *Reconstruction and After* (1950), p. 475.
7. F. W. Putnam, *Oriental and Occidental Northern and Southern Portrait Types of the Midway Plaisance* (St. Louis, 1894). For a discussion of both Putnam's plan and his publications, see James Gilbert, *Perfect Cities: Chicago's Utopias of 1893* (Chicago, 1991), pp. 109–10.
8. Dr. Samuel Morton, *Crania Americana* (Philadelphia, 1839). Unknown for most of the twentieth century, these studies of slaves were rediscovered in 1975 at Harvard University's Peabody Museum, Cambridge, Mass. For a full discussion of them, see Brian Wallis, "Black Bodies, White Science: Louis Agassiz's Slave Daguerreotypes," *American Art* 9, 2 (summer 1995), pp. 39–61.
9. Although Wallis (note 8), p. 39, said that there were six thousand whites and one hundred thousand slaves in the vicinity of Columbia, South Carolina, this city, which was the most modern in the state and its commercial center, was a rare instance in which whites actually constituted the majority. Slaves did outnumber whites statewide, but the area of the highest ratio of blacks to whites was around Charleston, in the Tidewater parishes. Even there, the figures did not approach the fifteen or sixteen to one suggested by Wallis. I am indebted for guidance on this question to Professor Peter Woods of Duke University, Durham, N.C. For more on the issues involved, see George M. Frederickson, "Masters and Mudsills:

- The Role of Race in the Planter Ideology of South Carolina,” in idem, *The Arrogance of Race: Historical Perspectives on Slavery, Racism, and Social Inequality* (Middletown, Conn., 1988), pp. 15–17. Also enlightening are William W. Freehling, *Prelude to the Civil War: The Nullification Controversy in South Carolina* (New York, 1966); and Stephen A. Channing, *Crisis of Fear: Secession in South Carolina* (New York, 1970).
10. Frederick Douglass, *The Claims of the Negro Ethnologically Considered: An Address before the Literary Societies of Western Reserve College, at Commencement, July 12, 1854* (Rochester, N.Y., 1854); repr. John W. Blassingame, ed., *The Douglass Papers: Series One, Speeches, Debates, and Interviews, 1847–54*, vol. 2 (New Haven, 1982), pp. 497–525. While he may not have been aware of Agassiz’s daguerrean study of slaves, Douglass did know about Agassiz’s theories. Earlier, in his address at Western Reserve, Douglass referred to Agassiz in the same breath with *Crania Americana*’s author, Samuel Morton, and other anthropologists whom he considered racist; see *ibid.*, p. 503; for Douglass on *Crania Americana*, see pp. 508–14.
  11. There were other insults to the African American during the Columbian Exposition that must have rankled Douglass. The World’s Parliament of Religions was sullied by the message and tone of papers dealing with race. In “Religious Duty to the Negro,” for example, Chicagoan Fanny B. Williams found “negroes” noble in slavery, but problematic once they were free; see Hanson (note 5), pp. 893–97. In an event connected with the Parliament of Religions—the World Auxiliary Congress on Evolution—religious support was expressed for the view of the nineteenth-century English philosopher Herbert Spencer that evolution as a progression had left Africans behind. The fair also marked the introduction of “Aunt Jemima” pancake mix, establishing a stereotype of great longevity in American life; see Marilyn Kern-Foxworth, “Plantation Kitchen to American Icon: Aunt Jemima,” *Public Relations Review* 16, 3 (fall 1990), p. 59.
  12. *Herald of Freedom* (Concord, N.H.), Feb. 16, 1844.
  13. Quoted in McFeely (note 4), p. 371.
  14. The oil painting is now in the National Portrait Gallery, Washington, D.C. See Washington, D.C., National Portrait Gallery, *Majestic in His Wrath: A Pictorial Life of Frederick Douglass*, exh. cat. by Frederick S. Voss (1995), pp. 22–23. This catalogue for an exhibition at the National Portrait Gallery was published the year before the Art Institute’s daguerreotype came to public attention.
  15. Douglass to Richard D. Webb, Apr. 16 (?), 1846, in Foner (note 4), vol. 5: *Supplementary Volume, 1844–1860* (1975), p. 42.
  16. For a detailed discussion of this daguerreotype and the events surrounding it, see Hugh C. Humphreys, “Agitate! Agitate! Agitate! The Great Slave Law Convention and its Rare Daguerreotype,” *Madison County Heritage* 19 (1994), pp. 1–64. This journal is a publication of the Madison County Historical Society, Oneida, N.Y.
  17. I am indebted to Mary Panzer of the National Portrait Gallery for sharing with me the hypothesis of Will Stapp, former Curator of Photographs at the Gallery, that the portrait may date as early as 1845.
  18. Allison Davis, *Leadership, Love, and Aggression* (New York, 1983), p. 89. This essay appears as the second chapter, “Douglass, the Lion,” in Davis’s book on prominent African Americans. The others discussed are W. E. B. DuBois, Richard Wright, and Martin Luther King, Jr.
  19. See Pittsburgh, Dargate Auction Galleries, *Estate of Hans Tauchnitz, Mrs. Standish, David Ferguson, Plus Other Select Consignments*, Apr. 27–28, 1996, lot 642, pp. 51–52.
  20. Martin R. Delany to Douglass, in *North Star*, Apr. 28, 1848, p. 2.
  21. *Beacon Journal* (Akron, Oh.), Mar. 5, 1888.
  22. *Frederick Douglass’ Paper* (Rochester, N.Y.), Apr. 28 and May 5, 1854.
  23. The convention that all men’s garments buttoned left over right seems to have been universal by Douglass’ era. See John Peacock, *Men’s Fashions: The Complete Sourcebook* (London, 1996), pp. 58–75, 203–204; and Penelope Byrde, *The Male Image: Men’s Fashion in Britain 1300–1970* (London, 1979), pp. 71–124 *passim*.
  24. Douglas Severson, photography conservator at the Art Institute, determined from the state of the preserver that he was the first person to open this assembly since the daguerreotype was made and fitted with its case. This accounts for the pristine condition of the plate, for efforts to repair or restore daguerreotypes have usually tended to damage them instead.
  25. See Floyd Rinhart and Marion Rinhart, *The American Daguerreotype* (Athens, Ga., 1981), p. 402 (listed as S. S. Miller, not Samuel J. Miller); and John S. Craig, *Craig’s Daguerreian Registry*, vol. 3: *Pioneers and Progress, MacDonald to Zulky* (Torrington, Conn., 1996), pp. 88, 395.
  26. *Akron Summit Beacon*, Aug. 25, 1852, p. 3.
  27. Samuel Alanson Lane, *Fifty Years and Over of Akron and Summit County* (Akron, Oh., 1892), p. 30.
  28. For a discussion of the economic conditions under which the daguerreotype was introduced, see Robert Taft, *Photography and the American Scene: A Social History, 1839–1889* (New York, 1938), p. 39.
  29. Edward Waldo Emerson and Waldo Emerson Forbes, eds., *The Journals of Ralph Waldo Emerson, 1841–1844* (Boston, 1911), pp. 110–11.
  30. *Ibid.*
  31. Frederick Douglass, “Self-Made Men,” *The Papers of Frederick Douglass*, Library of Congress, Washington, D.C., reel 18. By citing, among the various complete texts and fragments of this talk to survive, the version published when Douglass delivered it at the Indian Industrial School in Carlisle, Penn., I have followed the example of Rafia Zakar, “Franklinian Douglass: The Afro-American as Representative Man,” in Eric J. Sundquist, ed., *Frederick Douglass: New Literary and Historical Essays* (Cambridge, Eng., 1990), pp. 99–117.
  32. The more elaborate story about Ball, which ran in *Frederick Douglass’ Paper* on May 5, 1854, was a reprint from an Apr. 1, 1854, issue of the popular magazine *Gleason’s Pictorial*.
  33. Quoted in Foner (note 4), vol. 1: *Early Years, 1817–1849* (1950), pp. 379–80. Douglass was reviewing an 1849 book entitled *A Tribute for the Negro* by Wilson Armistead that was illustrated with engravings (repr. Miami, 1969). Whether some of these were based on daguerreotypes, which were by then commonly used as a basis for the lithographs and engravings published in books, is unclear. Douglass himself is one of the subjects profiled, and the accompanying portrait of him was poorly copied

from the engraving in his first autobiography. Douglass' use of the word "take" in his article suggests that he had a photographic process in mind, although at this stage of its history the medium was not generally considered capable of the amount of manipulation he was talking about here.

34. Albert Bushnell Hart, *Slavery and Abolition*, vol. 16 of *American Nation Series* (New York, 1910), p. 196; quoted in Quarles (note 4), p. 63.

35. Douglass to Sidney Howard Gay, Sept. 1847, in Foner (note 33), pp. 262–63.

36. I am thinking here not only of Douglass, but of Abraham Lincoln, who said that two things got him elected President: the speech he gave at New York's Cooper Union in 1860, and the widely distributed photograph Mathew Brady took of him that night; see James D. Horan, *Mathew Brady: Historian With a Camera* (New York, 1955), p. 32.

37. Caleb Bingham, comp., *The Columbian Orator: Containing a Variety of Original and Selected Pieces: Together with rules, calculated to improve youth and others in the ornamental and useful art of eloquence*, 18th ed. (New York, 1816).

38. Quoted in James W. Tuttleton, "Frederick Douglass," *The New Criterion* 12, 6 (Feb. 1994), p. 22.

39. James Russell Lowell, in *The Pennsylvania Freeman* (Philadelphia), Feb. 13, 1845; quoted in Quarles (note 4), p. 19.

40. Genesis 32:24–28. While Douglass, like Abraham Lincoln, did not subscribe to any of the organized religions of his day, he did feel himself to be a man of destiny, someone whom God had chosen to fulfill His will. This belief began in boyhood when a slave called Uncle Lawson told him he had a mission in life, and it ripened into a conviction that he had been born to be a prophet of his people. Recent scholars who concur in Douglass' own assessment of his importance include William B. Rogers, who has placed Douglass in a prophetic tradition going back to the Puritans; see William B. Rogers, *"We Are All Together Now": Frederick Douglass, William Garrison, and The Prophetic Tradition* (New York, 1995), pp. 21, 124. Douglass' prophetic role has also been noted by the author of his definitive modern biography, William S. McFeely (note 4); see note 51 below.

41. Douglass, *My Bondage and My Freedom* (note 2), p. 246.

42. *Ibid.*, pp. 358–62. See also *idem*, *Life and Times . . .* (note 2), pp. 219–21.

43. Douglass, *My Bondage and My Freedom* (note 2), p. 360. See also *idem*, *Life and Times . . .* (note 2), p. 218.

44. Sundquist (note 31), p. 10.

45. Douglass to Maria (Weston) Chapman, Mar. 29, 1846, in Foner (note 33), p. 142.

46. Douglass, *My Bondage and My Freedom* (note 2), p. 364.

47. Quoted in Philip S. Foner, *Frederick Douglass, A Biography* (New York, 1964), p. 82.

48. Douglass, *Life and Times . . .* (note 2), p. 282.

49. Quoted in Washington, D.C. (note 14), n.p.

50. Douglass to William Lloyd Garrison, in *The Liberator* (Boston), Mar. 27, 1846.

51. McFeely (note 4), p. 173.

**MOONEY, "Representing Race: Disjunctures in the Work of Archibald J. Motley, Jr.," pp. 26–43.**

I would like to thank Archie Motley, the artist's son, for his continued support and insightful suggestions throughout the research of this article and my dissertation, "The Crisis of Crossing: Race and Identity in the Work of Archibald J. Motley, Jr." (Rutgers [N.J.] University). I appreciate the steadfast encouragement and critical comments of Wendy Greenhouse, Matthew Baigell, James Smalls, Joe Jacobs, and Martin Eidelberg. I also extend my gratitude to Andrea D. Barnwell, Kathleen Bickford Berzock, Kirsten P. Buick, Matthew Cook, Cynthia Matthews, Clara Ines Rojas Sebesta, and Cherise Smith; and finally I wish to acknowledge the love and support of my parents, Diane and Hugh Mooney, and my husband, Geof Bradfield.

1. "Interview with Archibald J. Motley, Jr.," conducted by Dennis Barrie, Jan. 23, 1978, Archives of American Art, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C.

2. Archibald J. Motley, Jr., application for John Simon Guggenheim Memorial Foundation Fellowship, 1928, Chicago Historical Society, Archives and Manuscripts Collection.

3. "Motley Interview" (note 1).

4. According to the School's "Official Statement of Credits" (Office of Registration Records, The School of The Art Institute of Chicago), Motley received all "Gs" (good), "G+s" (very good), and "Es" (excellent). This transcript also lists an honorable mention for "Junior Composition" and a faculty honorable mention for composition in 1916. After graduating from the School of the Art Institute, Motley briefly returned in 1919 to take a class with the painter George Bellows. For a more complete biography of the artist, see Chicago Historical Society, *The Art of Archibald J. Motley, Jr.*, exh. cat. by Jontyle Theresa Robinson and Wendy Greenhouse (1991).

5. Dawson and Farrow were students at the same time as Motley; Scott graduated before Motley arrived, but they met later through mutual School contacts. On his memories of courteous treatment, see Elaine Woodall, "Looking Backward: Archibald J. Motley and the Art Institute of Chicago," *Chicago History* 8 (spring 1979), p. 53. On his harassment by students, see "Motley Interview" (note 1).

6. Wendy Greenhouse, "An Early Portrait by Archibald J. Motley, Jr.," *American Art Journal* 29 (1999), at press. I would like to thank Dr. Greenhouse for sharing early galley proofs of her article.

7. Archibald J. Motley, Jr., "The Negro in Art," *Chicago Defender*, July 6, 1918, editorial page.

8. The riot began with an altercation between blacks and whites over the boundaries of a segregated beach, which resulted in the death of an African American youth. Six days of violence caused further deaths and destruction of property. See St. Clair Drake and Horace R. Cayton, *Black Metropolis: A Study of Negro Life in a Northern City* (Chicago, 1993), pp. 65–69. According to Woodall (note 5), p. 54, the Motleys were

threatened by a mob until neighbors interceded to protect them. Interracial relationships were considered taboo, forcing Motley and Granzo to pursue their relationship with caution; see Jontyle Theresa Robinson, "The Life of Archibald J. Motley, Jr.," in Chicago (note 4), p. 3.

9. Motley also received an award from the National Conference of Artists in 1972. As part of the National Conference of Artists Exhibition at the Corcoran Gallery of Art in 1980, Motley was invited to the White House, where he was honored by President Jimmy Carter. Also in 1980, The School of The Art Institute of Chicago granted him an honorary doctorate.

10. On the seminal role of Chicago in the development of jazz, see for example Lawrence W. Levine, "Jazz and American Culture," in idem, *The Unpredictable Past* (New York, 1993), pp. 172–88; and Dempsey Travis, *An Autobiography of Black Jazz* (Chicago, 1983).

11. Bruce M. Tyler, *From Harlem to Hollywood: The Struggle for Racial and Cultural Democracy 1920–1943* (New York, 1992), p. 6. For DuBois on the use of art to promote African Americans, see idem, "Criteria of Negro Art," *The Crisis* (Oct. 1926); repr. *The Portable Harlem Renaissance Reader*, ed. David Levering Lewis (New York, 1994), pp. 100–105.

The role of the arts in this regard was further elaborated by Harlem Renaissance author James Weldon Johnson:

A people may become great through many means, but there is only one measure by which its greatness is recognized and acknowledged. The final measure of the greatness of all people is the amount and standard of the literature and art they have produced. . . . No people that has produced great literature and art has ever been looked upon by the world distinctly as inferior.

See James Weldon Johnson, "Preface," in idem, ed., *The Book of American Negro Poetry* (New York, 1922); repr. Nathan Irvin Huggins, ed., *Voices from the Harlem Renaissance* (New York/Oxford, 1995), p. 281.

12. Carl Van Vechten, "The Negro in Art: How Shall He Be Portrayed? A Symposium," *The Crisis* (Mar. 1926), p. 219.

13. Countee Cullen, response to "The Negro in Art . . ." (note 12), *The Crisis* (Aug. 1926), p. 194.

14. Archibald J. Motley, Jr., "How I Solve My Painting Problems," 1947, n.p., Chicago Historical Society, Archives and Manuscripts Collection. Motley had received a gold medal from the Harmon Foundation for his painting *Mending Socks* (1924; Chapel Hill, University of North Carolina, Ackland Art Museum), which toured with the foundation's 1929 "Exhibit of Fine Arts by American Negro Artists." In 1947 Mary Beattie Brady, the foundation's Executive Director, wrote to Motley to thank him for the "beautifully prepared statement," which, she said, the organization "will be able to use in a number of ways"; Beattie to Motley, July 1, 1947, in Chicago Historical Society, Archives and Manuscripts Collection.

15. Greenhouse (note 6).

16. L. Hamilton McCormick, *Characterology, An Exact Science* (Chicago, 1920), pp. 46–47. On this mass of publications, see Charles Colbert, in *A Measure of Perfection: Phrenology and the Fine Arts in America* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 1997), pp. 12–13.

17. By 1889 the Ryerson Library of The Art Institute of Chicago had acquired Dr. William Rimmer's *Art Anatomy* (Boston, 1877), an instructional drawing manual that relies upon phrenology and social Darwinism

and includes several plates in which African American physiognomies are compared to that of a chimpanzee (pp. 4–5). This kind of racist association is also seen in R. W. Shufeldt, *America's Greatest Problem: The Negro* (Philadelphia, 1915).

18. The National Academy of Design, New York, had introduced courses in phrenology into its curriculum beginning in 1826; see Colbert (note 16), pp. 12–13. The connection between countenance and character is present, although to a lesser degree, in the instructional drawing manual of the School of the Art Institute's influential teacher John Vanderpoel, which was published in numerous editions; see idem, *The Human Figure* (Chicago, 1907).

19. For these physiognomic interpretations, see McCormick (note 16), pp. 46–47, 139, 160–61, 197. In their study of Motley's career (Chicago [note 4], p. 72), Robinson and Greenhouse suggested that the stylization of the hands in the Art Institute's *Self-Portrait* was due to a lack of skill; however, Motley used the same convention in the hands of the subject of *The Octoroon Girl* (fig. 3), painted some five years later and widely recognized as one of his most accomplished portraits. In her review of Motley's 1928 New York debut (see note 28), Marya Mannes praised the artist's "amazing ability in painting hands," which she credited to his apparent "passionate delight in their fragility, complexity and movement"; see idem, "Gallery Notes," *Creative Art* 2, 4 (Apr. 10, 1928), p. xvi.

20. See Elaine Woodall, "Archibald J. Motley, Jr.: American Artist of the Afro-American People 1891–1928," M.A. thesis, Pennsylvania State University, State College, Penn. (1977), p. 7.

21. Wendy Greenhouse, "Motley's Chicago Context: 1890–1940," in Chicago (note 4), p. 43.

22. "Motley Interview" (note 1).

23. "Mulatto," from the Spanish, means "hybrid." Further classifications included a "sambo" or "griffe" (three-quarters black) and "mango" or "sacatra" (seven-eighths black). For the French and Spanish origins of the Creole classification system, see F. James Davis, *Who Is Black?* (University Park, Penn., 1991), pp. 36–37.

24. *Ibid.*, p. 5.

25. Motley (note 14).

26. *Ibid.*

27. Although this work is known only from its reproduction on the cover of Motley's first New York exhibition (see note 28), it is described in a later exhibition catalogue as follows: "This picture of a red-gowned mulatress with her pearl necklace and coral earrings is the most famous painting of the best-known of American Negro artists. Excellent in arrangement and color treatment, it is even more so in characterization, and this mulatress, with her sensuality, her touch of sorrow, her suggestion of intelligence, and her determination, has an epic quality"; see New York, Anderson Galleries, *Notable Paintings and Drawings of George S. Hellman*, exh. cat. (1932), p. 63.

28. The exhibition ran from Feb. 25 to Mar. 10, 1928; see New York, The New Gallery, *Exhibition of Paintings by Archibald J. Motley, Jr.*, exh. cat. by George S. Hellman, n.p. The cover bore a disclaimer that Mr. Hellman, the gallery's director, had had no prior knowledge of the artist's racial identity. Since Motley's connection to the New Gallery was the result of the initiative of Robert Harshe, Director of The Art Institute of Chicago from

1921 to 1938, who took a personal interest in the painter's success, this professed ignorance on the part of the gallery of the artist's race is highly unlikely, especially in light of Hellman's request that Motley execute paintings with voodoo subjects; see p. 171 and note 35).

29. Motley (note 14).

30. The origins of the "tragic Mulatto" character are discussed in *The Culture of Sentiment: Race, Gender, and Sentimentality in Nineteenth Century America*, ed. Shirley Samuels (New York, 1992). For a consideration of visual depictions of the "tragic Mulatto," see Albert Boime, *Art of Exclusion* (Washington, D.C., 1990). For the proliferation of this character type in literature and its various interpretations, see the thorough treatment in James Kinney, *Amalgamation! Race, Sex, and Rhetoric in the Nineteenth-Century American Novel* (Westport, Conn., 1970). In a discussion of the "tragic Mulatto" type, Daniel J. Leab noted that the playwright Eugene Walter did not want a character to represent the "traditional mammy," since his "Mulattress" character "is cunning[,] crafty, heartless, sullen . . ."; see idem, *From Sambo to Superspade: The Black Experience in Motion Pictures* (Boston, 1975), p. 10. The real tragedy of this stereotype was the way it was used to deny and romanticize the raping of black slave women by their white owners.

31. For a physiognomic interpretation of the chin and mouth, see McCormick (note 16), p. 212. McCormick also believed that thick lips indicated "grossness, slothfulness, love of food, sensuality, lack of breeding, and unenterprising, indolent disposition"; *ibid.*, p. 215.

32. Motley (note 14).

33. Although the trope of the "tragic Mulatto" is still current, contemporary critical theorists have exposed its use as a perpetuation of racist myths of deviant sexuality and of the objectification of black women. See for example bell hooks, *Ain't I a Woman: Black Women & Feminism* (Boston, 1981); and Deborah Gray White, *Too Heavy a Load: Black Women in Defense of Themselves, 1894-1994* (New York, 1998).

34. Motley titled the work *Mammy* for his 1928 exhibition (see note 28) and in both his Guggenheim applications (notes 2 and 51).

35. George Hellman to Motley, May 9, 1927, Chicago Historical Society, Archives and Manuscripts Collection.

36. In addition to the two works illustrated here (figs. 6-7), *Waganda* [Uganda] *Charm Makers* is known through a reproduction in *Opportunity* 6, 4 (Apr. 1928), pp. 114-15. Motley's own descriptions in "How I Solve My Painting Problems" (note 14) and contemporary reviews indicate that both *Devil-Devils* and *Spell of the Voodoo* similarly embodied a stereotypical approach to the exotic; see for example Mannes (note 19).

37. Edward Alden Jewell, "A Negro Artist Plumps the Negro Soul," *New York Times Magazine*, Mar. 25, 1928, p. 8.

38. New York (note 28).

39. Alain Locke, "The Legacy of the Ancestral Arts," in idem, ed., *The New Negro: Voices of the Harlem Renaissance* (New York, 1925; repr. New York, 1992), pp. 254-67. The term "Dark Continent" became a synonym for Africa after the publication of Joseph Conrad's *Heart of Darkness* (London, 1902). For a discussion of the impact of Conrad's writing, see Marianna Torgovnik, "Traveling with Conrad," in idem, *Gone Primitive: Savage Intellectuals, Modern Lives* (Chicago, 1990), pp. 141-58.

40. Alain Locke, *The Negro in Art: A Pictorial Record of the Negro Artist and of Negro Themes in Art* (Washington, D.C., 1940), p. 134.

41. Four paintings by Delacroix were available for study in the galleries of The Art Institute of Chicago during Motley's student years at the School. While in Paris, Motley went twice to the Musée du Louvre to see an exhibition of works by this artist; see Archibald J. Motley, Jr., "Diary" (1929-30), Chicago Historical Society, Collection of Archie Motley. He also mentioned the French artist throughout "How I Solve My Painting Problems" (note 14).

42. "The Art Galleries," *The New Yorker* (Mar. 10, 1928), p. 79.

43. Robinson (note 8), p. 12, stated that Motley's African compositions were "inspired by the many stories [his] grandmother Harriet Huff passed on to him about life in East Africa. . . ." Throughout the literature on Motley, Huff has been described as a Pygmy from East Africa. Motley cited an article by Martin Johnson entitled "Asia," in *The American Magazine of the Orient* (July 1921) at the bottom of his description of *Devil-Devils*; see George S. Hellman Archives, Collection of Archives and Manuscripts, New York Public Library. Woodall (note 20), p. 124, stated that Motley consulted a composite of *National Geographic* articles in a volume entitled "Africa" (1924) compiled by the Ryerson Library at The Art Institute of Chicago. Unfortunately, this and other, similar volumes are no longer extant, with the exception of one on Greece comprising articles published from 1913 to 1943. Motley also consulted *Women of All Nations*, ed. Otis T. Mason (New York, 1912), a book that claims to present the "habits, manners and customs of women in every part of the world" through its photographic illustrations and their captions. According to Jontyle Theresa Robinson, Motley had marked pages that discuss East Africa; see idem, "Archibald J. Motley, Jr.: Pioneer Artist of the Urban Scene," *American Visions: Afro American Art*, ed. Carroll Greene (Washington, D.C., 1987), p. 33.

44. I have explored this idea further in "The Crisis of Crossing: Memory or Amnesia in the Work of Archibald J. Motley, Jr.," presented at the annual meeting of the College Art Association, New York City, Feb. 13, 1997. Motley intended each "legend" to detail the cultural practices associated with the people and country depicted in the work. Assuming the authoritative tone of an amateur anthropologist, he wrote descriptions that read like photo captions from *National Geographic* and that in fact have little to do with his images. For example, his legend for *Kikuyu God of Fire* explains that, after the appearance of the deity, "a sheep and a she goat are sacrificed beneath a spreading sacred tree . . . [and] the skin is cut into strips and given to the women for luck. . . . Men, women, and children drink blood, or blood mixed with milk." In his narrative for *Waganda* [Uganda] *Woman's Dream*, the artist described the "superstitious" women of Waganda, who subscribed to the validity of their dreams and "believed that some demons are able to spirit away children and even grown up men and women." The complete texts Motley submitted are in the George S. Hellman Archives (note 43).

45. For an examination of Covarrubias's life in Harlem, see Adriana Williams, *Covarrubias* (Austin, Tex., 1994), pp. 37-40.

46. See for example Cedric Dover, *American Negro Art* (Greenwich, Conn., 1960), pp. 34-35; Samella S. Lewis, *Art: African American* (Los Angeles, 1990), p. 66; and Los Angeles County Museum of Art, *Two Centuries of Black American Art*, exh. cat. by David C. Driskel (1976), pp. 61-62.

47. This is certainly revealed in the material and tone of the artist's legends for the paintings. Perhaps his use of the word "legend" to explain

his research in a letter to the secretary of the Guggenheim Foundation suggests that he was fully aware of the exaggerated character of his interpretations. See Motley to Mr. Moe (Henry Allen Moe, Secretary, John Simon Guggenheim Memorial Foundation), Feb. 21, 1929, in Chicago Historical Society, Archives and Manuscripts Collection.

48. Franz Boas, "The Real Race Problem," *The Crisis* 10, 2 (Dec. 1910), pp. 22–25. Sociologist E. Franklin Frazier also argued that race is a social construction based on psychological attitudes derived from the cultural environment; therefore, he concluded, eugenics, or "selective mating" of only the best and brightest, would not resolve "the race problem"; see idem, "Eugenics and the Race Problem," *The Crisis* 31, 2 (Dec. 1925), pp. 91–92.

49. This historical debate is thoroughly discussed in Barbara J. Fields, "Ideology and Race in American History," in *Region, Race and Reconstruction: Essays in Honor of C. Vann Woodward*, eds. J. Morgan Kousser and James M. McPherson (New York/Oxford, 1982), pp. 143–77.

50. Motley (note 2).

51. A copy of Motley's 1929 Guggenheim application can be found in Archibald J. Motley, Jr., Papers, Chicago Historical Society, Archives and Manuscripts Collection. It is interesting that those reviewing the applications and choosing the recipients were amenable to Motley's request when he dropped his ethnic goals to embrace purely formalist ones.

52. Zora Neale Hurston, "Characteristics of Negro Expression," in *Negro: An Anthology*, eds. Nancy Cunard and Hugh Ford (New York, 1935), pp. 29–30; repr. Huggins (note 11), pp. 232–33. I want to thank Kirsten P. Buick for sharing the varied meanings of "jook" and her interpretation of *Nightlife*. Another important meaning of the word is to "fake out," perhaps referring to the temporary pleasures sought in the "juke" during the trying years of World War II. See Clarence Major, ed., *Juba to Jive: A Dictionary of African American Slang* (New York, 1994), pp. 262, 264, where "juke" is defined as a term, used from the 1800s to 1940, "of African Gullah origin, [meaning] to be unruly; loud, boisterous, to have a good time dancing; to dance in a whorehouse; to get drunk; to dance to the music of a juke box."

53. Sharon F. Patton, *African-American Art* (New York/Oxford, 1998), p. 139.

54. For a thorough examination of the proliferation of these images, see Jan Nederveen Pieterse, *White on Black: Images of Africa and Blacks in Western Popular Culture* (New Haven/London, 1992).

55. "Motley Interview" (note 1).

56. Levine (note 10), pp. 181–82. Surprisingly, given jazz's powerful, popular appeal, it was still considered threatening in the 1940s. According to Tyler (note 11), p. 219, "By 1943, federal and local authorities started closing clubs and repressing musicians because it was feared that they were corrupting and exploiting soldiers and civilians by playing jazz and selling them booze, drugs, and sex that dissipated their health and morals." In New York, club owners were required to hire only those musicians who were deemed "clean"; authorities also issued "cabaret cards" to musicians as a way to police illicit activities. The renowned alto saxophonist Charlie Parker repeatedly lost his card because of his drug use. On the jazz scene in the United States in the 1940s, see *Bird: The Legend of Charlie Parker*, ed. Robert Reisner (New York, 1962).

57. Nathan Irvin Huggins, *Harlem Renaissance* (New York, 1997), p. 91.

**BARNWELL AND BUICK, "Continuing the Dialogue: A Work in Progress," pp. 44–51.**

We would like to thank Okwui Enwezor, Ronne Hartfield, Daniel Schulman, and Jeremy Strick for their critical commentary and thoughtful suggestions.

1. Quoted in Tony Kornheiser, "The Problem with Art That's Only Skin Deep," *The Washington Post*, Dec. 3, 1989, sec. F, p. 1.

2. Quoted in Roxanne Roberts, "Jackson: Not Insulted by Painting, Says Destruction of Portrait Reflects Hidden Anger," *The Washington Post*, Dec. 4, 1989, sec. B, p. 1.

3. Quoted in Barbara Gamarekian, "Portrait of Jackson as White is Attacked," *New York Times*, Dec. 1, 1989.

4. Closer to home can be cited two incidents at The School of The Art Institute of Chicago that also attest to the power of art to anger and provoke fear. When *Mirth and Girth* (1988), by David Nelson, an acrylic painting of the late Chicago African American mayor Harold Washington in ladies' lingerie, was exhibited in the School's 1988 "3-D Exhibition of Graduate Students," a number of the city's aldermen and women became incensed and had the work removed. See Bill Stamets, "Theater of Power, Theater of the Absurd," *New Art Examiner* (summer 1988), pp. 29–31. The following year, *What Is the Proper Way to Display a US Flag?*, a mixed-media piece by Scott Tyler in which an American flag was placed on the gallery floor and visitors were invited to walk over it, was included in a School exhibition entitled "A/Part of the Whole." It too became the subject of intense controversy. See K. O. Dawes, "Flag Artwork to be Shown Despite Suit," *Chicago Sun-Times*, Mar. 2, 1989; and Jean Fulton and Benjamin Seaman, "The Flag Fracas," *New Art Examiner* (May 1989), pp. 30–32.

5. Raymond Williams, *Keywords: A Vocabulary of Culture and Society* (London, 1976; repr. London, 1983), p. 248.

6. Barbara J. Fields, "Ideology and Race in American History," in *Region, Race, and Reconstruction: Essays in Honor of C. Vann Woodward*, eds. J. Morgan Kousser and James M. McPherson (New York/Oxford, 1982), p. 152.

7. Elsa Barkley Brown, "Polyrhythms and Improvisation: Lessons for Women's History," *History Workshop Journal* 31 (spring 1991), p. 86. Brown's analysis is concerned with women's history, but, as a model for historical inquiry, is certainly applicable here.

8. Alain Locke, "The Legacy of the Ancestral Arts," in idem, ed., *The New Negro, Voices of the Harlem Renaissance* (New York, 1925; repr. New York, 1992), pp. 254–67.

9. W. E. B. DuBois, "Conservation of Races," in *W. E. B. DuBois Speaks: Speeches and Addresses, 1890–1919*, ed. Philip S. Foner (New York, 1970), pp. 73–76; repr. David Levering Lewis, *W. E. B. DuBois: A Reader* (New York, 1995), pp. 20–27. For additional discussion of the shortcomings of Locke's views, see Jeffrey Stewart, *The Critical Temper of Alain Locke: A Selection of His Essays on Art and Culture* (New York, 1982); idem, "(Un)Locke(ing) Jacob Lawrence's Migration Series," in Washington, D.C., The Phillips Collection, *Jacob Lawrence: The Migration Series*, exh. cat. (1993), pp. 41–51; and Lisa Meyerowitz, "The Negro in Art Week: Defining the 'New Negro' Through Art Exhibition," *African American Review* 31 (1996), pp. 75–89.

10. Another leading artist who focused on images of Africa was Palmer Hayden (1890–1973).

11. Newark Museum, *Against the Odds: African-American Artists and the Harmon Foundation*, exh. cat. by Gary Reynolds and Beryl J. Wright (1989); Winifred Stoelting, “The Atlanta Years: A Biographical Sketch,” in New York, Studio Museum of Harlem, *Hale Woodruff: Fifty Years of His Art*, exh. cat. (1979), pp. 20–25; and Chicago, American Negro Exposition, *Exhibition of the Art of the American Negro (1851 to 1940)*, exh. cat. (1940).

12. Elizabeth Johns, *American Genre Painting: The Politics of Everyday Life* (New Haven/London, 1991), p. 2.

13. New York, Whitney Museum of American Art, *Bob Thompson*, exh. cat. by Thelma Golden (1998), p. 22.

14. Charles Alston, Edward Clark, and Hale Woodruff are others who have been excluded from surveys on American abstraction. Black artists have either been entirely ignored or only minimally referenced in a number of standard texts, including the following: Irving Sandler, *Triumph of American Painting* (New York, 1970); New York, Whitney Museum of American Art, *Abstract Expressionism: The Formative Years*, exh. cat. by Robert Hobbs and Gail Levin (1978); and H. Arnason, *History of Modern Art: Painting, Sculpture, Architecture*, rev. and updated by Daniel Wheeler (New York, 1986). An important revisionist study is Ann Eden Gibson, *Abstract Expressionism: Other Politics* (New Haven/London, 1997).

15. Alain Locke, “Enter the New Negro,” *Survey Graphic* 53, 11 (Mar. 1, 1925), pp. 631–35.

#### “Portfolio,” pp. 52–83.

1. Clara T. MacChesney, “A Poet-Painter of Palestine,” *International Studio* 50, 1 (July 1913), p. xi.

2. Quoted in Kansas City, Mo., Nelson-Atkins Museum of Art, *Across Continents and Cultures: The Art and Life of Henry Ossawa Tanner*, exh. cat. by Dewey F. Mosby (1995), p. 40.

3. Quoted in Kathleen James and Sylvia Yount, “Chronology,” in Philadelphia Museum of Art, *Henry Ossawa Tanner*, exh. cat. by Dewey F. Mosby, Darrel Sewell, and Rae-Alexander Minter (1991), p. 45.

4. Sharon F. Patton, *African-American Art* (Oxford/New York, 1998), pp. 115–16.

5. Amy Helene Kirschke, “The Depression Murals of Aaron Douglas: Radical Politics and African American Art,” *International Review of African American Art* 12, 4 (1995), pp. 18–30.

6. Blacks began frequenting Oak Bluffs around 1890. For a discussion of African Americans’ history at Martha’s Vineyard, see Jill Nelson, *Volunteer Slavery* (New York, 1993); Robert Stepto, *Blue as the Lake: A Personal Geography* (Boston, 1998); and Dorothy West, *The Wedding* (New York, 1995).

7. Richard J. Powell, *Homecoming: The Art and Life of William H. Johnson* (Washington, D.C., 1991), p. 170.

8. Richmond Barthé to Courtney Donnell, Dec. 19, 1978, Department of Twentieth-Century Painting and Sculpture files, The Art Institute of Chicago.

9. David Leeming, *Amazing Grace: A Life of Beauford Delaney* (New York, 1998), p. 50.

10. As Leeming stated (note 9), p. 27, “Beauford knew he was in emotional trouble, that he was presenting too many faces to the world and to himself. The faces were beginning to fight with each other and they were already becoming the voices that would later haunt him.”

11. Langston Hughes, “Graduation,” in idem, *One-Way Ticket* (New York, 1949), p. 128.

12. For more on Lewis, see New York, Studio Museum of Harlem, *Norman Lewis: Black Paintings 1946–1977*, exh. cat. by Ann Eden Gibson and Jorgé Daniel Veneciano (1998).

13. Romare Bearden and Harry Henderson, *A History of African-American Artists: From 1792 to the Present* (New York, 1993), p. 315.

14. Samella S. Lewis, ed., *Black Artists on Art* (Los Angeles, 1969), vol. 2, p. 57.

15. New York, The Museum of Modern Art, *Roy DeCarava: A Retrospective*, exh. cat. by Peter Galassi (1996), pp. 14–19.

16. *Ibid.*, p. 19.

17. Quoted in Claudine Ise, “A Conversation with Roy DeCarava, Photographer,” *Artweek* 28, 1 (Jan. 1997), pp. 23–24.

18. Samella S. Lewis, *The Art of Elizabeth Catlett* (Claremont, Ca., 1984), p. 97.

19. Interview between Richard Hunt and Kymberly N. Pinder, Chicago, Aug. 2, 1998.

20. Quoted in New York, The Museum of Modern Art, *The Sculpture of Richard Hunt*, exh. cat. (1971), p. 14.

21. Michael Brenson, “Lynch Fragments,” in Purchase, New York, Neuberger Museum of Art, *Melvin Edwards Sculpture: A Thirty-Year Retrospective 1963–1993*, exh. cat. org. by Lucinda H. Gedeon (1993), p. 21.

22. New York, Studio Museum of Harlem, *Vincent Smith: Painting and Drawing*, exh. cat. (1969), n.p.

23. Derryl DePasse, “Joseph Yoakum,” in New York, Museum of American Folk Art, *Self-Taught Artists of the Twentieth Century: An American Anthology*, exh. cat. (1998), p. 110.

24. See Floyd Coleman, “The Changing Same: Spiral, the Sixties, and African-American Art,” in Indianapolis Institute of Art, *A Shared Heritage: Art by Four African Americans*, exh. cat. ed. by William E. Taylor and Harriet G. Warkel (1996), pp. 147–58.

25. Ralph Ellison, *Romare Bearden, Paintings and Projects*, exh. cat. (Albany, 1968), n.p.

26. Romare Bearden, “Rectangular Structure in My Montage Paintings,” *Leonardo* 2 (1969), p. 14.

27. Quoted in *Contemporary American Women Artists* (San Rafael, Ca., 1991), p. 62.

28. Lucy R. Lippard, *Mixed Blessings: New Art in a Multicultural America* (New York, 1989), p. 236.

29. Quoted in Anne Keegan, "An Artist's Vision," *Chicago Tribune*, Nov. 28, 1995, sec. 5, p. 2.

30. Quoted in David Colman, "Pretty on the Outside," *George* (June/July 1996), p. 118.

31. "Extreme Times Call For Extreme Heroes," *The International Review of African American Art* 14, 3 (1997), pp. 2–15.

32. Quoted in Lynn Gumpert, "Kara Walker: Anything but Black and White," *Art News* 96, 1 (Jan. 1997), p. 136.

**SCHULMAN, "Marion Perkins: A Chicago Sculptor Rediscovered," pp. 84–107.**

I am deeply grateful to Marion Perkins's family, particularly his sons Toussaint and Useni Eugene Perkins, for graciously allowing me access to materials still held by the family. This study of Perkins's work would not have been possible without the enthusiasm and assistance of Julia Perkins, an Art Institute colleague, and the artist's granddaughter. For agreeing to be interviewed and for facilitating my research on Perkins, I wish to thank the following individuals: Barbara Adler, William and Glenda Ashley, Genevieve Baim, Andrea D. Barnwell, Dick Berglund, Margaret T. Burroughs, Jean Callahan, Theresa Christopher, Eldzier Cortor, Alan and Lois Dobry, Walter O. Evans, Peter Gourfain, Steven L. Jones, Belle and Hal Kerman, Bea Kraus, Linda Lewis, John Loengard, Gail London, William London, Roslyn Lund, Muriel Kallis Newman, Herb Nipson, David Norman, James Parker, Andrew Patner, Creilly Pollack, Ramon Price, Helen Roberson, Michael Rosenfeld, Irwin Salk, Elizabeth G. Seaton, Dorothy Seiberling, Virginia Shore, Kent Smith, Esther Sparks, Ellen Steinberg, Glen Steinberg, Jeannette Stieve, Studs Terkel, Anna Tyler, Carol Ware, Sherry Goodman Watt, Susan Woodson, and Quentin and Ruth Young. I am also grateful to Beth Howse, Fisk University Library; Mary Ann Bamberger and Patricia Bakunas, University of Illinois at Chicago, The University Library, Department of Special Collections; Laura Giammarco, Time-Life Syndication; and Katherine Hamilton-Smith, Lake County Museum. For permission to reproduce photographs from *Ebony* magazine, I am deeply grateful to John H. Johnson, Lerone Bennett, and Basil O. Phillips.

1. Since 1961 there has been only one solo exhibition—at the Chicago Public Library in 1979—devoted to the work of Perkins; however, neither a checklist nor a catalogue was published. The following, recent exhibition catalogues include his work in a larger context: Chicago, Illinois Art Gallery, *The Flowering: African-American Artists and Friends in 1940s Chicago: A Look at the South Side Community Art Center*, exh. cat. by Judith Burson Lloyd and Anna Tyler (1993); Ramon B. Price, *Two Black Artists of the FDR Era: Marion Perkins, Frederick D. Jones* (Chicago, 1990); Washington, D.C., Evans-Tibbs Collection, *Margaret Burroughs and Marion Perkins*, exh. cat. (1982); and Chicago, Council on Fine Arts and Chicago Public Library, *WPA and the Black Artist: Chicago and New York*, exh. cat. by Ruth Ann Stewart (1978). For excellent background material, see Wendy Greenhouse, "Motley's Chicago Context: 1890–1940," in Chicago Historical Society, *The Art of Archibald J. Motley, Jr.*,

exh. cat. by Jontyle Theresa Robinson and Wendy Greenhouse (1991), pp. 33–63.

2. Perkins once estimated that he had carved or modeled over two hundred works; see Wesley South, "Loader by Day, Sculptor by Night," *Chicago-American*, May 3, 1957. To date I have been able to identify and locate only about half that number.

3. According to his family and friends, Perkins was at one time a member of the Communist Party. His writings leave no doubt that he was an advocate of revolutionary Marxist doctrine. In fact his activism and associations made him a target of government surveillance. Material was requested from his FBI files under the Freedom of Information/Privacy Act, but was not received by the time this article went to press.

4. Information about Perkins's youth is based on newspaper interviews conducted with the artist in the 1940s and 1950s, and on family lore. The Arkansas Department of Health, Division of Vital Records, was unable to locate a birth certificate for Perkins; nor have Perkins's children succeeded in locating any of their father's relatives. It is not known how, or even if, Padrone was actually related to Perkins.

5. Allan H. Spear, *Black Chicago: The Making of a Negro Ghetto, 1900–1920* (Chicago, 1967), p. 12.

6. The best history of Bronzeville can be found in St. Clair Drake and Horace R. Cayton, *Black Metropolis: A Study of Negro Life in a Northern City* (Chicago, 1945; repr. 1993).

7. Eva Perkins is remembered by family and friends as affectionately as is her husband. For the most part, she devoted herself to raising her children, but, in the 1930s and 1940s, she worked as a seamstress. In the 1950s, when her children were grown, she was employed as a housekeeper at a University of Chicago dormitory.

8. Gwendolyn Brooks, "They Call It Bronzeville," *Holiday* 10, 4 (Oct. 1951), p. 64. The full article, which runs from p. 61 to p. 67 and p. 112 to p. 116, was located as a clipping in the Eldzier Cortor Papers, Archives of American Art, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C. (reel N70–47).

9. The DuSable Museum has ten works by Perkins.

10. Perkins's application for a grant from the Julius Rosenwald Fund is preserved at the Fisk University Library, Nashville. Of the dozens of articles that cite Perkins, those with biographical information are: "Present Hall Branch with Distinctive John Henry Sculpture Creation," *Chicago Criterion* (Mar. 1943); "Postal Employee [sic] Becomes One of Chi's Foremost Sculptors," *The Pittsburgh Courier*, Aug. 23, 1947; Janet Peck, "'Relax' is Word of Action for Artist Perkins," *Chicago Tribune*, Aug. 24, 1947; "Self-Taught Week-End Sculptor Seeks Chance for Full Time Art," unsigned, undated clipping [1947–48], Fisk University archives; "His Soap Chipping Rewarded," *Chicago Sun-Times*, May 8, 1948; "'Sorrows' Head Gives Sculptor Joy—\$750 of It," *Fort Wayne* [Ind.] *News-Sentinel* [1951]; "Sculpture Prize to Self-Taught Chicago Artist," *Chicago Sun-Times*, May 30, 1951; C. J. Bulliet, "Student Takes Highest Chicago Honors," *Art Digest* 25, 17 (June 1, 1951), ill.; Hertha Stein Duemling, "19 Prizes Awarded in Area Show," *Fort Wayne* [Ind.] *News-Sentinel*, June 2, 1951, ill.; Frank Holland, "Chicagoans' Exhibit Mainly Bunch of Junk," *Chicago Sun-Times*, June 3, 1951, ill.; "Chicago Art," *Where Magazine* (June 9, 1951), ill.; "Realistic Artist Slants Sculpture Toward Negro," *Chicago Defender*, Sept. 29, 1956; South (note 2); George McCue, "Fame, but Not Much Money, Comes to Marion Perkins," *St. Louis Post-Dispatch*, Oct. 20, 1957.

11. Marion Perkins File, National Personnel Records Center, St. Louis, Mo. The most authoritative source on the Illinois Art Project lists Perkins as a participant in the sculpture division of the Federal Art Project in Illinois, but bases this finding on secondary source material; see George J. Mavigliano and Richard A. Lawson, *The Federal Art Project in Illinois, 1935–1943* (Carbondale/Edwardsville, Ill., 1990), p. 130. Had Perkins participated in the prestigious sculpture division, surely he would have stated this in his Rosenwald application. Since Perkins's position in 1936 at Garfield Park was classified as a "recreational instructor" rather than as a "teacher/adult education," he probably did not teach art or handicrafts. This position may have involved sports, as an unsigned, undated newspaper clipping in Perkins's file at Fisk ("Self Taught . . . Sculptor . . ." [note 10]) states that one of his WPA assignments was to teach boxing.

One interesting document from Perkins's file at the National Personnel Records Center may provide early evidence of his outspokenness and the radical political convictions that emerged later in his life. A "Change in Work Status" form, dated Nov. 30, 1935, records Perkins's dismissal for being a troublemaker, after only two weeks on a construction job. The document states that, after having been "warned several times," he was fired for "failing to work, leaving the job without permission"; it describes him as an "instigator of trouble," who "keeps other men from their work."

12. For more discussion of the SSCAC, see note 27.

13. See for example two infrequently cited articles: Bernard Goss, "Ten Negro Artists on Chicago's South Side," *Midwest—A Review* (Dec. 1936), pp. 17–19; and Willard F. Motley, "Negro Artists of Chicago," *Opportunity* 18, 1 (Jan. 1940), pp. 19–31. Motley's article was triggered by a 1939 exhibition at Hull House, the well-known Chicago settlement organization founded by Jane Addams. The much younger relative of painter Archibald J. Motley, Jr. (see Mooney essay), Willard Motley wrote some of his finest early pieces while on the editorial staff at Hull House. This center was one of several on the South Side that, from 1939 at least, ran ambitious WPA-supported art-training programs. For further information on Motley, see Robert E. Fleming, *Willard Motley* (Boston, [c. 1978]).

14. The author of a 1951 profile on Perkins in *Ebony* magazine, Herb Nipson, referred to Perkins's sensitivity to this issue: "Today Perkins is hailed by some critics as a self-taught artist and others imply that the laborer-sculptor is a primitive. Perkins pooh-poohs such talk and points to his WPA study under Gordon, an established sculptor and teacher now travelling in Europe, as a part of his training"; see [Herb Nipson], "Marion Perkins," *Ebony* 6, 12 (Oct. 1951), p. 110.

15. "Postal Employee [sic] . . ." (note 10).

16. Theodore Ward's plays have been examined by Rena Fraden, *Blueprints for a Black Federal Theater, 1935–1939* (Cambridge/New York, 1994), pp. 111–35; and Helene Keyssar, *The Curtain and the Veil: Strategies in Black Drama* (New York, 1981), pp. 77–112.

17. For information on Wright in Chicago, see Margaret Walker, *Richard Wright, Daemonic Genius: A Portrait of the Man, a Critical Look at His Work* (New York, [c. 1988]), pp. 53–104. Wright lived only doors away from the Perkinses in the mid-1930s.

18. According to Perkins's Rosenwald Fund application, he bought the newsstand in 1939; however, both Burroughs and Pollack reported meeting Perkins there earlier. See "Margaret Taylor Goss Burroughs Interview," Archives of American Art, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C., pp. 26–27.

19. Peter Pollack, quoted in "Chicago Art" (note 10). The sculpture of Lincoln has not been located.

After serving as director of the SSCAC from 1939 to 1943, Pollack (1909–1978) worked at The Art Institute of Chicago from 1945 to 1957, where he began as public-relations counsel and eventually founded the museum's Department of Photography. He wrote *The Picture History of Photography* (New York, 1959). Pollack's papers are housed at the J. Paul Getty Research Institute for the History of Art and the Humanities, Los Angeles (acc. no. 900283).

20. South (note 2).

21. According to a pamphlet for a WPA program, "National Art Week," Nov. 25–Dec. 1, 1940, Gordon shared a studio at 3567 Cottage Grove Avenue with Mischa Kohn and Esther Zolott. (My thanks to Susan Woodson for bringing this source to my attention.) Other artists in Gordon's circle included Julio de Diego, Leon Garland, Todros Geller, Henry Simon, and Morris and Alex Topchevsky.

Information on Gordon is very scarce. For example, he is not included in Esther Sparks's useful compendium of Illinois artists, "A Biographical Dictionary of Painters and Sculptors in Illinois, 1808–1945," Ph.D. thesis, Northwestern University, Evanston, Ill., 1971. The only published biographical information located to date is Harold Haydon, "Galleries: Si Gordon—A Sculptor with a Heart," *Chicago Sun-Times*, Sept. 29, 1972, sec. 2, p. 4; and a section devoted to him in a pamphlet by Barbara Bernstein, *Sculpture of the 1930's Federal Art Project* (Chicago, n.d.), pp. 12–13, which appears to rely heavily on Haydon's article and is occasionally erroneous. The generosity of spirit to which the title of Haydon's article refers is revealed in a story told by Margaret Burroughs. She recalled that, on one visit to Gordon's studio, he offered to lend her books on African American heroes such as Harriet Tubman. This was her first exposure to African American history. See "Burroughs Interview" (note 18), pp. 44–45.

On Gordon's work under the WPA, see Si Gordon File, National Personnel Records Center (note 11).

22. See "Adult Sculpture Class Exhibit at Wabash Y," *Chicago Defender*, Oct. 8, 1938, p. 7; and "Blind Girl's Work Feature of Art Show," *idem*, Sept. 24, 1938, p. 3. These articles are preserved in scrapbooks of the 38th Street YMCA, Special Collections, University of Illinois at Chicago Library. These archives provide major primary and secondary source material on the art-related activities sponsored by Chicago's Hull House.

23. Gordon's work might have been completely forgotten had it not been for the determination of Louis Cheskin, the former head of adult education of the Illinois Art Project. Cheskin acquired many WPA sculptures, including some by Gordon, from warehouse surplus after World War II, and donated them to the Illinois State Museum, Springfield.

24. The Biltmore Hotel commission is mentioned in interviews with Perkins (see note 10), but no details are disclosed. The date usually given for the commission is 1938, but the Steubens did not buy the hotel until 1940; see "It's No Cinch Fitting Hotel For Summer," *South Haven Daily Tribune*, June 12, 1943. I wish to thank Bea Kraus, Gail London, and Mrs. Jeanette Stieve for providing key information on South Haven and the Biltmore. I would also like to thank Genevieve Baim for sharing her time with me; interview with Genevieve Baim, Jan. 1998.

Perkins's sons worked at the Biltmore when they were children; Toussaint helped in the kitchen, and Eugene shined shoes. However, neither has detailed recollections of the owners of the hotel or of the sculptures. Why the Steubens approached Perkins remains unknown.

25. Chicago, American Negro Exposition, *Exhibition of the Art of the American Negro (1851 to 1940)*, exh. cat. (1940), nos. 245–46. The exhibition was held from July 4 to Sept. 2. Members of the juries of selection and awards included Pollack and Art Institute Director Daniel Catton Rich. The survey of African American art in the catalogue of the exhibition is similar in content to Alain Locke's major publication *The Negro in Art: A Pictorial Record of the Negro Artist and of Negro Themes in Art* (Washington, D.C., 1940).
26. "Burroughs Interview" (note 18), pp. 29–30; Samella S. Lewis, *The Art of Elizabeth Catlett* (Claremont, Ca., 1984), pp. 13, 158–61. For photographs of the now-lost sculpture by Catlett, see A. Elizabeth Catlett, "Sculpture in Stone: Negro Mother and Child," MFA thesis, University of Iowa, Iowa City, 1940, pl. 5.
27. The South Side Community Center (SSCAC) was among approximately one hundred such neighborhood organizations founded in the late 1930s under the auspices of the WPA. It is the only one still in operation today. Although the SSCAC's archives have not been inventoried, there are several good sources on its activities: Chicago, Illinois Art Gallery (note 1); Chicago Council on Fine Arts . . . (note 1); Commission on Chicago Landmarks, *South Side Community Art Center, 3831 South Michigan Avenue* (Chicago, 1993); Mavigliano and Lawson (note 11), pp. 66–71; Margaret Goss Burroughs, "Chicago's Community Art Center: A Personal Recollection," in *Art in Action: American Art Centers and The New Deal*, ed. John Franklin White (Metuchen, N.J./London, 1987), pp. 131–44; and the Scrapbooks maintained by The Art Institute of Chicago, Ryerson and Burnham Libraries (hereinafter referred to as AIC Scrapbooks). The papers of William McBride, one of the founding members of the SSCAC, were donated to the Vivian Harsh Collection, Carter Woodson Branch, Chicago Public Library. Although these papers are not yet available to scholars, they will undoubtedly prove to be a major repository on the activities of African American artists in Chicago from the 1920s to the 1950s. For the development of WPA-supported art centers in general, see William F. McDonald, *Federal Relief Administration and the Arts* (Columbus, 1967), pp. 464–74.
28. For the opening of the center, see Alain Locke, "Chicago's New Southside Art Center," *Magazine of Art* 34, 7 (Aug.–Sept. 1941), pp. 370–74. The extensive local newspaper coverage can be seen in AIC Scrapbooks (note 27). A small scandal enveloped the opening, when people learned that a few notorious "policy kings" served on the board, along with reform alderman Paul Douglas and other important local politicians and socialites. ("Policy" is a term that referred to the ubiquitous form of illegal numbers—often protected by the police—that flourished in Bronzeville in these years.) See "Policy Racket Bared as Patron of S. Side Arts," *Chicago Tribune*, May 11, 1941, AIC Scrapbooks (note 27); see also Burroughs (note 27), p. 136.
- Perkins showed at SSCAC exhibitions in 1943, 1945, 1946, and 1947, according to his Julius Rosenwald Fund grant questionnaire (note 10). I have been unable to locate catalogues for these exhibitions.
29. The Art Institute of Chicago, *53rd Annual Exhibition of American Paintings and Sculpture*, exh. cat. (1942), no. 263. The exhibition was on view from Oct. 29 to Dec. 10. For a brief history of the "American Exhibition," as well as the "Chicago and Vicinity" exhibition, which was also held annually at the museum, see David Falk, ed., *The Annual Exhibition Record of The Art Institute of Chicago, 1888–1950* (Madison, Conn., 1990).
30. Roark Bradford's novel *Ol' Man Adam an' His Chillun* (New York/London, 1928), based on black folktales, had been adapted by Marc Connelley for the successful stage musical "Green Pastures," which opened in New York in 1939. Bradford's own dramatic adaptation of his popular book *John Henry* (New York, 1931) proved to be a critical and commercial failure, despite its star and the publicity it engendered. For an overview of the literature on John Henry, see Brett Williams, *John Henry: A Bio-Bibliography* (Westport, Conn., 1983). See also Archie Green, "John Henry Depicted" and "John Henry Revisited," *John Edwards Memorial Foundation Quarterly* 14, 46 (fall 1978), pp. 126–43; and 19, 69 (spring 1983), pp. 12–31.
31. "Present Hall Branch with Distinctive John Henry Sculpture Creation," *Chicago Criterion* (Mar. 1943), n.p., in AIC Scrapbooks (note 27).
- Another early work by Perkins with strong similarities to *John Henry* is *Figure Sitting*, reproduced in Savannah, Ga., Beach Institute, King-Tisdell Museum, *Walter O. Evans Collection of African American Art*, exh. cat. by Shirley Woodson (1991), no. 51, p. 86, fig. 20, where it is dated c. 1939, described as stone, and listed with the measurements 11 x 6 x 10 in.
32. "Present Hall Branch . . ." (note 31).
33. "Negro Artists of Chicago" was held at The Art Institute of Chicago between June 17 and Aug. 8, 1943. A typed exhibition list is found in the Art Institute's Ryerson and Burnham Libraries. A press release (AIC Archives) notes that Perkins was the only sculptor included in the show. Among the other artists featured were Henry Avery, William Carter, Eldzier Cortor, Charles Davis, Ramon Gabiel, Margaret Taylor Goss, Archibald J. Motley, Jr., William Edouard Scott, Charles Seabee, and Charles White.
- While press coverage of "Negro Artists of Chicago" was extensive, only one writer, Frank Holland, singled out Perkins, and his comments were critical: "Marion Perkins, the only one of the group showing sculpture, is represented by two works, 'Woman with a Shawl' and 'O! Israel,' which are not up to the paintings in the exhibition"; see idem, "Negro Artists' Work an Exhibition of Talent," *Chicago Sun*, June 27, 1943, in AIC Scrapbooks (note 27). The dean of Chicago critics, C. J. Bulliet, used the occasion to pen a long-winded and somewhat condescending tract on the lack of a true Negro art. He concluded in "Groping for a Real Negro Art," *Daily News* (Chicago), July 10, 1943, in AIC Scrapbooks (note 27): "Nothing is evident, as yet, in the creations of American Negro artists that show any kinship with the impulses that developed and were perfected in the jungles along the Congo." Bulliet was generally very supportive of black artists, but was incapable of looking at works by them without applying this kind of exotic criterion.
34. *Moses* was certainly an important work for Perkins, since it was chosen to represent him in another survey of Negro art, on view in Albany, New York, between Jan. 3 and Feb. 11, 1945; see Albany Institute of History and Art, *The Negro Artist Comes of Age: A National Survey of Contemporary American Artists*, exh. cat. (1945), no. 52. The sculpture was illustrated in the catalogue and in a four-page spread in *Life* magazine: *Life* 21 (July 22, 1946), pp. 62–65 (ill. p. 62, where it is dated c. 1943). In 1947 it was shown again, in an exhibition sponsored by the Society for Contemporary American Art at The Art Institute of Chicago (checklist).
35. According to his Julius Rosenwald Fund application (note 10), Perkins exhibited at Hull House, but records of these exhibitions cannot be found. On Hull House, see notes 13 and 22. Two extraordinary heads of children in terracotta, now at the DuSable Museum, Chicago, may well be products of his Hull House training in ceramics.
36. The present whereabouts of *Figure at Rest* is unknown. IBM sold the piece, along with a large number of works from its collection, in 1960; see

New York, Parke-Bernet Galleries, *American and Other Modern Art* (Feb. 18, 1960), lot 88. IBM was one of the first American corporations to recognize the value of collecting art; Perkins's piece was apparently purchased as part of an initiative, in the 1940s, to acquire works by African American artists.

Among the books in Perkins's extensive art library were Jules Compos, *The Sculpture of José de Creeft* (Scarsdale, N.Y., 1945); and C. Ludwig Brummé, *Contemporary American Sculpture*, foreword by William Zorach (New York, 1948). Composed primarily of reproductions, Brummé's book is a balanced presentation of the techniques of direct carving, modeling, welding, and construction.

37. New York, Museum of Modern Art, et al., *Henry Moore*, exh. cat. by James Johnson Sweeney (1946); see also The Art Institute of Chicago, *Henry Moore, Drawings and Sculpture*, exh. cat. (1947). The artist's interest in abstraction is also demonstrated in several sketchbooks in the possession of his family. These appear to date from about 1948 to 1952, during the period of Perkins's most intense activity. Most pages are filled with rapid sketches of people. There are also studies for and after sculptural works from around 1950. The notebooks are primarily utilitarian and indicate that for Perkins drawing was not an independent activity upon which he lavished a great deal of time.

38. The Art Institute of Chicago, *51st Annual Exhibition by Artists of Chicago and Vicinity*, exh. cat. (1947), no. 118 ("Negro Woman"). Ivan Le Lorraine Albright, "Chicago Art Exhibition Shakes Provincialism," *Chicago Herald-American*, June 4, 1947, p. 14, in AIC Scrapbooks (note 27). The dimensions and present location of Sylvia Shaw Judson's granite *Lambs* are unknown. A negative of this work is located in the Department of Imaging, The Art Institute of Chicago.

39. *Negro Woman* was referred to by Frank Holland as a portrait of Perkins's wife; see *Chicago Sun-Times*, May 7, 1947, p. 44. According to Susan Woodson, the 1947 portrait of Eva was at one time in the Gourfain collection.

40. Peck (note 10).

41. Established by Sears, Roebuck, and Company chairman Julius Rosenwald (1862–1932), the fund was designed to exhaust its resources and cease operations by 1948; thus Perkins's grant was among the last to be awarded. See Edwin R. Embree and Julia Waxman, *Investment in People, The Story of the Julius Rosenwald Fund* (New York, 1949). General records of the fund's activities, such as board-meeting minutes, are in the Special Collections of the Regenstein Library, The University of Chicago. The Fisk University Library, Nashville, has materials related to individual grant applications.

42. Quotation used by permission of Fisk University Library, Nashville; and Harold Ober Associates. Hughes's admiration for Perkins is indicated by the photographic portrait used to illustrate the back flap of his book of poems *One-Way Ticket* (New York, 1949). Taken by Gordon Parks, the photograph shows Hughes embracing Perkins's early limestone sculpture *Figure Sitting* (see Savannah [note 31]). I am grateful to Dr. Walter O. Evans for bringing this photograph to my attention.

43. See Harvey Klehr and John Earl Haynes, *The American Communist Movement: Storming Heaven Itself* (New York, 1992), pp. 129–30. As I stated above (note 3), I have not been able to study Perkins's FBI files, which might shed light on his activities at the time; but his circle of friends and supporters were outspoken opponents of the nation's Cold War policy.

44. The Art Institute of Chicago, *52nd Annual Exhibition by Artists of Chicago and Vicinity*, exh. cat. (1948), no. 142, fig. 6. Interestingly, the jury included Sylvia Shaw Judson, the sculptor whose *Lambs* Ivan Albright had compared unfavorably to Perkins's *Negro Woman* the previous year (see note 38).

45. Fuller's *Ethiopia Awakening* was reproduced in Alain Locke's *Negro in Art* (note 25), p. 31. For recent discussions of the date and significance of Fuller's sculpture, see Judith Wilson, "Hagar's Daughters: Social History, Cultural Heritage, and Afro-U.S. Women's Art," in Jontyle Theresa Robinson, *Bearing Witness: Contemporary Works by African American Women Artists* (New York, 1996), pp. 104–107, 110, n. 51; and Tritobia Hayes Benjamin, "May Howard Jackson & Meta Warrick Fuller: Philadelphia Trailblazers," in Philadelphia, Afro-American Historical and Cultural Museum, *Three Generations of African American Women Sculptors: A Study in Paradox*, exh. cat. by Leslie King-Hammond and Tritobia Hayes Benjamin (1996), p. 21. My thanks to Andrea D. Barnwell for these references.

46. Perkins's interest in Greek mythology and in classical sculpture is evidenced by a work of similar pose and expression entitled *Cassandra* (c. 1950; collection of Belle and Hal Kerman, Chicago). Perkins had earlier demonstrated familiarity with medieval art; his 1943 *Moses* (fig. 10) had the stripped-down immediacy and schematic directness of Romanesque architectural sculpture.

47. *Seated Figure* (fig. 12) was exhibited in the "53rd Annual Exhibition of Artists of Chicago and Vicinity" (1949), no. 202; and *Dispossessed* (present location unknown) was in the "60th Annual American Exhibition of Painting and Sculpture" (1951), no. 129. The Art Institute of Chicago, *55th Annual Exhibition by Artists of Chicago and Vicinity*, exh. cat. (1951), no. 130, ill. The only works by African American artists in the Painting and Sculpture Department's collection prior to 1951 were those by Henry Ossawa Tanner (Portfolio, no. 2; and see Rossen, note 5) and Richmond Barthé (Portfolio, no. 11).

48. [Nipson] (note 14). The article, which runs from p. 107 to p. 113, includes photographs by Mike Shay.

49. No captions were located with the negatives in the Time-Life archives. According to Dorothy Seiberling, a photo editor at *Life* in the 1950s, competition for space in the magazine was fierce, and it was not unusual for a story to be killed or to languish; see Seiberling to author, Dec. 29, 1997.

50. Eleanor Jewett, "Art Exhibition Prize Awards Called Absurd," *Chicago Tribune*, May 30, 1951; Frank Holland, "Chicagoans' Exhibit . . ." (note 10); both in AIC Scrapbooks (note 27). In his column for the national magazine *Art Digest*, Bulliet wrote about Perkins's work: "Negroid as the Congo, it is suffused with the spirit of devotion to Christ, sensed in a spiritual sung by a Marion Anderson or an Ethel Waters"; see Bulliet (note 10).

51. Besides works by Douglas and Johnson, there is an interesting carving in marble by Earl J. Hooks also titled *Man of Sorrows* and dated 1950; see Los Angeles County Museum of Art, *Two Centuries of Black American Art*, exh. cat. by David C. Driskell (1976), no. 200, p. 202, ill. Hooks, a professor of art at Fisk University, was acquainted with Perkins in the later 1950s and owns a version of Perkins's *Musician* (c. 1940); see *ibid.*, no. 130, p. 170.

52. Quoted in [Nipson] (note 14), p. 109.

53. The Art Institute of Chicago, *56th Annual Exhibition: Artists of Chicago and Vicinity*, exh. cat. (1952), no. 146.

54. The Art Institute of Chicago, *LXII American Exhibition: Paintings and Sculpture*, exh. cat. (1957), no. 100.

55. Marion Perkins, "Hiroshima in Sculpture," *Masses & Mainstream* 5, 8 (Aug. 1952), pp. 19–21. Perkins's piece is prefaced by a brief profile by Victoria Steele, "Marion Perkins: Worker-Artist," pp. 17–18.

56. Perkins wrote, "Obviously, for me to attempt to express the idea of Hiroshima in such as fashion would have been the height of folly, since no American community would today be interested in such a public memorial. This act must be reserved for the future, when we have repudiated the crimes which at present make us the most feared and hated nation"; Perkins (note 55), pp. 19–20.

57. *Ibid.*, p. 20.

58. Art-historical precedents for Perkins's skyward-looking figures are plentiful. Pablo Picasso's *Guernica* (1937; Madrid, Reina Sofia) includes several images of helpless figures looking up at war planes. Two further, noteworthy examples are Rockwell Kent's 1942 *Bombs Away* (Chicago, Philip and Suzanne Schiller Collection) and Grant Wood's poster *Bundles for Britain* (1940). Closer to home, the important Chicago printmaker Max Kahn created a woodblock print of the subject for a Hull House calendar in 1942 (Special Collections, University of Illinois at Chicago Library), which closely resembles Perkins's *Skywatchers*.

59. [Nipson] (note 14), p. 112.

60. Although the portrait of Bessie Smith was exhibited as recently as 1982 (Washington, D.C. [note 1], no. 14, ill. p. 15), it could not be found for this study. Perkins's *Head of Buddha* is recorded in a snapshot owned by the Perkins family. The location of this work and the identity of the patron remain unknown. One sculpture, executed in baling wire that Perkins appropriated from his son's newspaper-distribution business, resembles a Songye mask from central Congo; see Price (note 1), no. 25, p. xix.

61. Perkins showed with the Artists League of the Midwest, a kind of successor organization to the Artists Union of the 1930s; at Gallery 1020, a nonprofit space in a mansion at 1020 N. Michigan Avenue; and at the 1958 "Artists of Chicago" exhibition held at Navy Pier. An unjuried variation of the Art Institute's "Chicago and Vicinity" exhibitions, this event, dedicated to local art, had over two thousand exhibitors.

62. The North Shore Art League, which organized the Old Orchard Art Fair, confirms that Perkins's name does not appear on official exhibitor rolls; see Helen Roberson, Chairperson, North Shore Art League, to author, Jan. 29, 1998.

63. Perkins is remembered warmly by fellow artists for his extraordinary unselfishness and for his refusal to engage in petty, factional disputes. Interview between Eldzier Cortor and author, New York, Jan. 23, 1998; and "Burroughs Interview" (note 18), p. 26.

64. The text of Perkins's address was published by Toussaint and Eugene Perkins in 1971 as a booklet: Marion Perkins, *Problems of the Black Artist* (Chicago, 1971), intro. by Eugene Perkins.

**SMITH, "Fragmented Documents: Works by Lorna Simpson, Carrie Mae Weems, and Willie Robert Middlebrook at The Art Institute of Chicago," pp. 108–123.**

I wish to thank Michael Sittenfeld, former editor of *The Art Institute of Chicago Museum Studies*, and Kathleen Bickford Berzock, Associate Curator in the Department of Africa and the Americas, at The Art Institute of Chicago, for encouraging me to find my voice. I would also like to thank Professor Alex Nemerov, Lela Graybill, and Tirza Latimer at Stanford University; Andrea D. Barnwell, Kirsten P. Buick, and Amy M. Mooney at the Art Institute; and Professor Kate Ezra at Columbia College, Chicago, for reading drafts of this essay. In addition, I thank Professor Leah Dickerman for her constructive criticism. I also appreciate Professor Suzanne Lewis's sage advice and Ruben Ramirez's patience and confidence.

1. For more discussion of this phenomenon, see Louis Althusser, "Ideology and Ideological State Apparatus (Notes Toward an Investigation)," in *Video Culture*, ed. John G. Hanhardt (Layton, Ut., 1986), pp. 56–95.

2. Allan Sekula, "Dismantling Modernism, Reinventing Documentary (Notes on the Politics of Representation)," in idem, *Photography Against the Grain* (Halifax, 1984), p. 56.

3. Richard Dyer, "The Role of Stereotypes," in idem, *The Matter of Images* (London, 1993), p. 12. For more discussion of stereotypes, see Homi Bhabha, "The Other Question: Stereotype, Discrimination, and the Discourse of Colonialism," in *Out There: Marginalization and Contemporary Culture*, eds. Russell Ferguson, Martha Gever, Trinh T. Minh-Ha, and Cornel West (New York, 1990), pp. 71–87.

4. Brian Wallis, "Black Bodies, White Science: Louis Agassiz's Slave Daguerreotypes," *American Art* 9, 2 (summer 1995), pp. 39–61.

5. Shortly after the invention of photography, nearly 160 years ago, social scientists turned to the medium to record and categorize criminals and the mentally ill for future reference and research (up until that time, graphic techniques such as engraving and lithography had been employed for such purposes). Photography was also used by colonists to "capture" the "exotic" individuals they encountered during their travels, not only to document their experiences but also to reinforce their belief in European superiority.

6. Wallis (note 4), p. 42.

7. Alan Trachtenberg, *Reading American Photographs* (New York, 1989), pp. 54–60; and Westerbeck essay, p. 155.

8. W. E. B. DuBois, "Criteria of Negro Art," *The Crisis* (Oct. 1926); repr. in *The Portable Harlem Renaissance Reader*, ed. David Levering Lewis (New York, 1994), p. 103.

9. Langston Hughes, "The Negro Artist and the Racial Mountain," *The Nation* (June 23, 1926); repr. *The Portable Harlem Renaissance Reader* (note 8), p. 95.

10. Romare Bearden, "The Negro Artist and Modern Art," *Opportunity* (Dec. 1934); repr. *The Portable Harlem Renaissance Reader* (note 8), p. 141.

11. Regina Joseph, "Lorna Simpson Interview," *Balcon* 5, 6 (1990), pp. 35–39.

12. Quoted in *ibid.*, p. 35.
13. See Lowery Stokes Sims, "The Mirror the Other," *Art Forum* 28, 7 (Mar. 1990), pp. 111–15, in which the author discussed Simpson's work, especially the anonymity of her sitters.
14. On the synecdochal effect of Simpson's work, see Kellie Jones, "In Their Own Image," *Art Forum* 29, 3 (Nov. 1990), p. 135.
15. I wish to thank Pamela M. Lee, Professor of Art History at Stanford University, for suggesting that the text be read backward.
16. Judith Wilson, "Beauty Rites: Toward an Anatomy of Culture in African American Women's Art," *The International Review of African American Art* 11, 3 (fall 1994), pp. 11–55.
17. For another discussion of hair, see Kobena Mercer, *Welcome to the Jungle* (New York, 1994), pp. 97–128.
18. I wish to thank Carrie Mae Weems for her generosity in speaking with me. Our conversation took place in Sept. 1998.
19. Quoted in Susan Benner, "A Conversation with Carrie Mae Weems," *Art Week* 23 (May 7, 1992), p. 5.
20. On "signifyin'," see Henry Louis Gates, *The Signifying Monkey* (New York, 1988), pp. xix–xxviii.
21. *Ibid.*, p. 51.
22. Weems's print appears to be a reproduction of a photograph entitled *The Scourged Back*. Taken by McPherson and Oliver of New Orleans in 1863, the photograph pictures the back of Gordon, an escaped slave, at the time of a medical examination. The image was later reproduced by McAllister & Brothers of Philadelphia and distributed internationally as Abolitionist propaganda. For more information and an illustration, see Kathleen Collins, "The Scourged Back," *History of Photography* 9, 1 (Jan. 1985), pp. 43–45.
23. The song "Strange Fruit," originally a poem, was written by Abel Meeropol, a.k.a. Lewis Allan, in the mid-1930s as a protest against lynching and was performed by Billie Holiday after 1938. For more information, see David Margolick, "Strange Fruit," *Vanity Fair* 457 (Sept. 1998), pp. 310–20.
24. Quoted in Benner (note 19).
25. This line, from the hymn "On Mah Journey Now," is quoted in bell hooks, "Diasporic Landscapes of Longing," in *idem, Art on My Mind* (New York, 1995), p. 65.
26. Interview with Willie Robert Middlebrook, Sept. 1997. I wish to thank Mr. Middlebrook for generously sharing his time with me, as well as Martha Schneider for the information she graciously provided me on the artist.
27. Middlebrook (note 26).
28. *Ibid.*
29. *Ibid.*