



## Making History: Meta Warrick Fuller's "Ethiopia"

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# Making History

## *Meta Warrick Fuller's Ethiopia*

Renée Ater

Meta Warrick Fuller (1877–1968) created *Ethiopia* for the America's Making Exposition, a 1921 fair that focused on the contributions of immigrants to American society. Sponsored by the New York City and New York State Departments of Education, the festival and accompanying pageants were held at the Seventy-first Regiment Armory at Thirty-fourth Street and Park Avenue from October 29 to November 12. At the suggestion of writer W. E. B. Du Bois, James Weldon Johnson, field secretary of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) and chairman of the exposition's "Colored Section," requested that Fuller sculpt the allegorical figure for this event. "They had an idea all cut and dried that they would have Ethiopia," Fuller recalled in discussing the commission. She agreed to make "a twelve-inch sketch or model which could be enlarged to whatever size they wanted."<sup>1</sup>

The artist ultimately conceived a striking image of a pseudo-Egyptian black woman unwrapping her swathed lower body, a mummified form slowly returning to life. Her right hand rests in the center of her chest where her crossed arms were positioned in death, and between thumb and forefinger she holds the end of her linen shroud. Her left

hand breaks away at an angle from her bound legs. The figure's head, draped in a *nemes* worn by Egyptian kings, is turned to her left and her eyes gaze over her left shoulder. Fuller's original small-scale model, now lost and known only through surviving photographs, was the first of several versions she created during her lifetime of the sculpture, variously called *Ethiopia*, *Awakening Ethiopia*, *Ethiopia Awakening*, or *The Awakening of Ethiopia*. A later, sixty-seven-inch plaster figure, similar in design, is pictured here (frontispiece).<sup>2</sup>

Art historians such as David Driskell, Judith Wilson, and Richard Powell have rightly discussed this sculpture in terms of its Pan-African ideals and the way in which the work symbolized a new radicalized black identity at the beginning of the Harlem Renaissance, a flowering of literature, music, and visual art in the early twentieth century. A more in-depth and nuanced discussion of the historical context for this important work can further enrich our understanding, however.<sup>3</sup> Fuller's sculpture must be looked at within the framework of the America's Making Exposition and contemporary perceptions of Egypt and Ethiopia, which supplied source material and context for her conceptualization. Fuller turned to Egypt for archaeological references and

Meta Warrick Fuller, *Ethiopia* (detail), mid-1920s. Painted plaster, 67 in. high. Art and Artifacts Division, Schomburg Center for Research in Black Culture, New York Public Library, Astor, Lenox and Tilden Foundations







1 Photograph of Meta Warrick Fuller, ca. 1911. Meta Warrick Fuller Photograph Collection, Schomburg Center for Research in Black Culture, New York Public Library, Astor, Lenox and Tilden Foundations

historical validation of African Americans' place in history. The artist used Ethiopia in the title of her work to represent a source of racial pride as well as to reference the literary-religious tradition of Ethiopianism that was based on the biblical prophecy of Psalm 68:31: "Princes shall come out of Egypt; Ethiopia shall soon stretch out her hands unto God."

*Ethiopia* ultimately served two seemingly contradictory purposes. It filled a need for African Americans to formulate

an authentic racial identity by looking to the grand achievements of Egyptian history while also supporting the romantic ideal of Christian Ethiopia as a symbol of black liberation. At the same time, it was assimilationist in the way it was exhibited at a "melting pot" event, representing the emancipation of a people attempting to prove their value to a society that had long excluded blacks from full involvement as United States citizens.

### The Journey to *Ethiopia*

Born in Philadelphia in 1877 to a middle-class family, Meta Warrick (fig. 1) received her early artistic training at the Pennsylvania Museum and School of Industrial Arts beginning in 1897. She followed a course of study at the school that focused on applied arts, including decorative painting and design, and graduated in 1899. With the encouragement of a teacher, she decided to further her art instruction overseas and studied in Paris until 1902. Much influenced by the French sculptor Auguste Rodin, whose studio she visited at Meudon, the young American modeled *The Wretched* (fig. 2) after the tympanum of his *Gates of Hell* (1880–1917). She exhibited the small figural group to much acclaim at the Parisian art gallery L'Art Nouveau Bing and at the 1903 Salon of the Société Nationale des Beaux-Arts. After her return to the United States, she initially settled in Philadelphia and then in the Boston area following her marriage in 1909 to psychiatrist Solomon Carter Fuller Jr. African American organizers, especially Du Bois, provided Fuller with three major commissions related to fairs and expositions: in 1907 she created fourteen tableaux for the Jamestown Tercentennial Exposition in Virginia; in 1913 she made a seven-foot sculpture titled *Emancipation* (fig. 3) for the semi-centennial celebration of the

Emancipation Proclamation in Boston; and in 1920–21 she produced *Ethiopia*.<sup>4</sup>

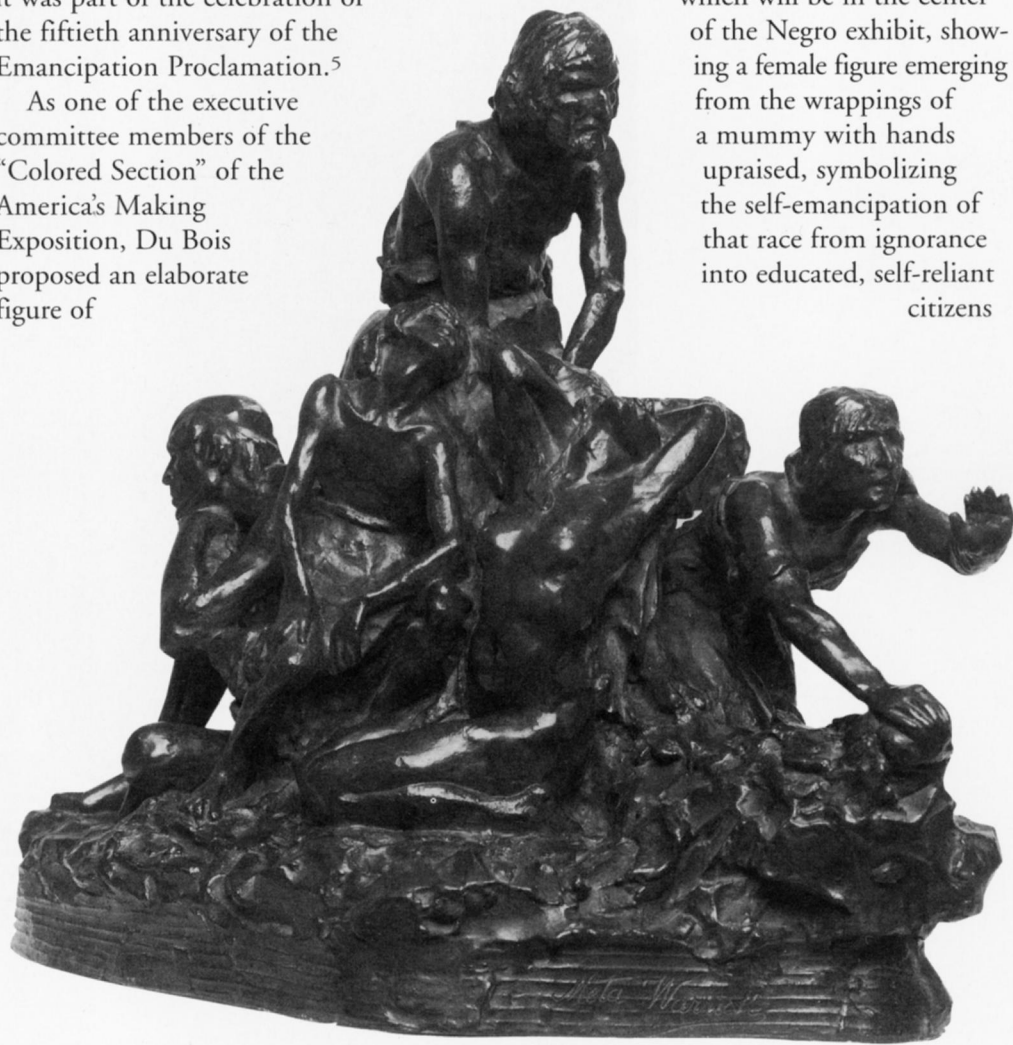
By the early 1920s Fuller had become one of the preeminent black artists of her time. As her principal advocate and a close family friend, Du Bois sought out Fuller for the America's Making Exposition commission. Du Bois was a prominent political philosopher and cultural critic, and editor of the *Crisis*, the magazine of the NAACP. Most likely, the pageant he had produced for the National Emancipation Exposition in October 1913 was one of Fuller's early inspirations for this project. She had seen his "The People of Peoples and Their Gifts to Men," later renamed "The Star of Ethiopia" (fig. 4), at the Twelfth Regiment Armory in New York, where it was part of the celebration of the fiftieth anniversary of the Emancipation Proclamation.<sup>5</sup>

As one of the executive committee members of the "Colored Section" of the America's Making Exposition, Du Bois proposed an elaborate figure of

Ethiopia, with a crystal globe in each hand, that would occupy a central place in the black exhibits:

*Her dark face shines forth from the massed drapery of a white Sudanese bernouse which flows down in folds to the ground and has perhaps a single splash of crimson color. The face has closed eyes and on the cheek a slight trace of tears. The arms and hands are black and bare and in the right hand is a crystal globe marked Music and in the left a crystal globe marked Labor.*<sup>6</sup>

Ultimately, however, Fuller relied on her own artistic imagination to complete the sculpture for the exposition. As preparations advanced for the fair, the *Crisis* reported that she was "designing a statue which will be in the center of the Negro exhibit, showing a female figure emerging from the wrappings of a mummy with hands upraised, symbolizing the self-emancipation of that race from ignorance into educated, self-reliant citizens



2 Meta Warrick Fuller, *The Wretched*, ca. 1901. Bronze, 17 x 21 x 15 in. Maryhill Museum of Art, Goldendale, Washington

3 Meta Warrick Fuller,  
*Emancipation*, 1913; bronze cast,  
1999. 84 in. high. National  
Center of Afro-American Artists  
and the Museum of Afro  
American History, Boston





- 4 A scene from “The Star of Ethiopia” pageant. Photograph reproduced in the *Crisis* 7, no. 1 (December 1913), p. 79



and makers of America.” We do not know whether the *Crisis* report about the position of the figure’s arms was inaccurate or whether Fuller revised them as she worked. But she did elaborate on her intentions in a letter to an acquaintance shortly before the 1921 fair opened, saying:

*Here was a group (Negro) who had once made history and now after a long sleep was awaking, gradually unwinding the bandage of its mummied past and looking out on life again, expectant but unafraid and with at least a graceful gesture. Why you may ask the Egyptian motif? The answer, the most brilliant period, perhaps of Egyptian history was the period of the Negro kings.<sup>7</sup>*

### Looking to Egypt for Vindication

In her rendering and titling of the sculpture, the artist conflated an interest in historical Egypt with a mythical representation of Ethiopia. Although clearly an allegorical image, Fuller’s *Ethiopia* (fig. 5 and frontispiece) should be understood in the context of the archaeological recovery of Egyptian funerary sculpture

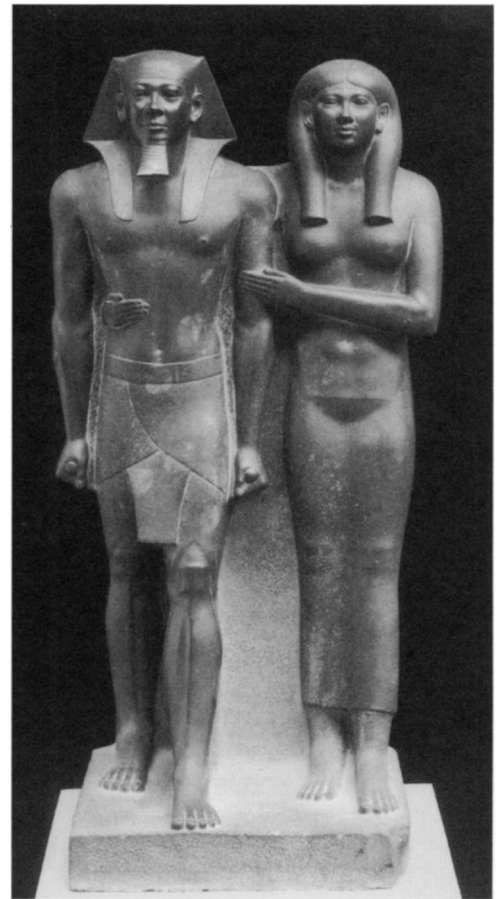
during the early decades of the 1900s. While a student in Paris, Fuller visited the Louvre on many occasions and most likely saw its collection of Egyptian artifacts, which had been on view since 1826. As a resident of Framingham, Massachusetts, a small town outside of Boston, she also had at her disposal one of the most significant collections of Egyptian art in the United States at Boston’s Museum of Fine Arts. Among the important objects in the collection at the time was the statue of King Menkaure and his queen (fig. 6). The artist stated in her 1921 letter that she was alluding to a period in Egyptian history when “the Negro kings” ruled, a reference assuredly to the reign of Kushite kings in Egypt from 712 to 664 BCE. An avid reader of the *Crisis*, Fuller learned of Egyptian art, in part, from the magazine’s exclusive coverage of archaeological excavations in the Sudan and Ethiopia, which stressed the reign of the Kushite kings and the ancient city of Meroe.<sup>8</sup>

*Ethiopia* seemingly mimics the self-contained aesthetic of Egyptian funerary statuary. Similar in form to mummies

- 5 Meta Warrick Fuller, *Ethiopia*, mid-1920s. Painted plaster, 67 in. high. Schomburg Center for Research in Black Culture, New York Public Library
- 6 *King Menkaure (Mycerinus) and Queen*, Egyptian, Old Kingdom, Dynasty 4, reign of Menkaure, ca. 2590–2472 BCE. Greywacke sandstone, 56 x 22 ½ x 21 ¾ in. Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, Harvard University–Museum of Fine Arts Expedition
- 7 Daniel Chester French, *Africa*, from *The Four Continents*, 1903–1907. Plaster model, dimensions unknown, for marble group at U.S. Custom House, New York. Peter A. Juley & Son Collection, Smithsonian American Art Museum, Washington, D.C.
- 8 Anne Whitney, *Ethiopia (Africa)*, 1863–64, destroyed. Plaster, dimensions unknown. From Freeman Murray, *Emancipation and the Freed in American Sculpture* (Washington, D.C., 1916)



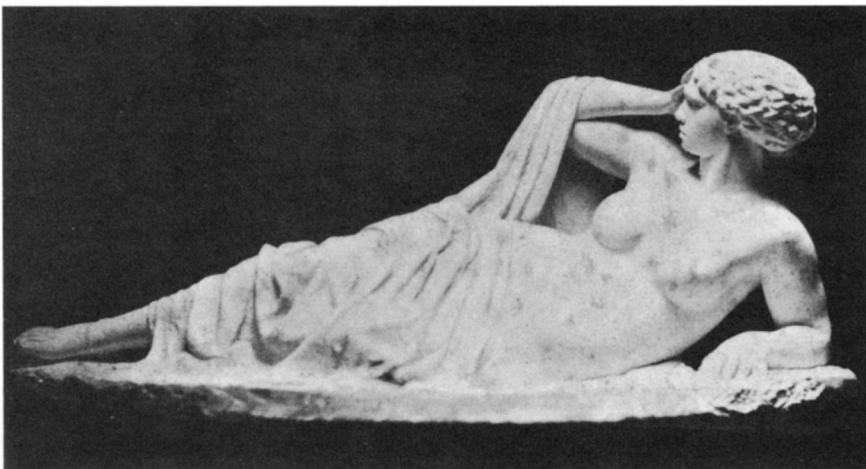
and figurines termed *shawabtis* or *shabtis*, her lower body is completely encased, broken only by the left hand jutting away from the legs. The crisscross pattern covering the figure's shrouded legs evokes Egyptian embalming techniques and entombment practices in which the body is tightly wrapped in linen. However, the mummified lower body contrasts significantly with the upper



body, which moves more freely, the head turned to the left and the right hand in the center of her chest. Here Fuller has departed from the squared frontality of Egyptian sculpture and shown us, with her shift in style to Beaux-Arts naturalism, the metamorphosis from dormancy to awakening.

Fuller treated *Ethiopia's* facial features with a distinctive reference to black physiognomy. The artist created a visage with full lips, a wide nose with flared nostrils, and sharply angled cheekbones. The most unusual element of Fuller's figure is that she wears the Egyptian kingship headdress called a *nemes*. Within Egyptian tradition, artisans rarely sculpted women with a *nemes*, except in the case of Queen Hatshepsut who was often represented as a male in the regalia of the pharaoh. It is tempting to think that Fuller might have been likening her figure





to that of the ancient queen, but we should consider Fuller's use of the *nemes* on a woman together with the encased lower body as a synthesis of elements of Egyptian and western art that best suited her early-twentieth-century sensibilities. She also seems to have ignored Egyptian

renderings of Cleopatra and the western tradition of depicting Cleopatra, preferring to create an allegorical female form that articulates an imagined concept of Egypt rather than a literal archaeological reference to Egyptian statuary or to a specific person.<sup>9</sup>

Fuller's use of Egyptian art and themes was not unusual for an American artist. Painter Elihu Vedder, for example, had evoked mystical Egypt in two versions of *The Questioner of the Sphinx* (1863); both Edmonia Lewis and William Wetmore Story carved marble Cleopatras in the 1860s; and Martin Milmore created a monumental *American Sphinx* (1872) for the Mount Auburn Cemetery in Cambridge, Massachusetts. Fuller was specifically aware of two other artists working with the trope of Egypt/Ethiopia. She had corresponded with the historian Freeman Murray and served as a reader for his 1916 volume, *Emancipation and the Freed in American Sculpture: A Study in Interpretation*. Through an exchange of letters, they discussed sculptor Daniel Chester French's figure of Africa for *The Four Continents* (fig. 7), which was executed for the U.S. Custom House in New York City and highlighted in Murray's book. French's large-scale figure of Africa was flanked by a sphinx and a lion. Murray saw the figure as an Ethiopian type; Fuller read the figure as symbolic of Africa, remarking that French "probably strove to suggest all the African types, Egyptian etc." In her review of the manuscript, Fuller also certainly saw and read about Anne Whitney's now-destroyed *Ethiopia* (fig. 8), which Murray reproduced. Murray quoted from an 1883 publication titled *Our Famous Women* for a description of Whitney's monumental sculpture:

*[S]he saw in the near future the deliverance of a race from imbruting bondage, and, later, the illumination of the dark continent from which it sprang. This grand*

*and mighty conception she sought to embody in form. . . . The symbolization is that of a colossal Ethiopian woman, in a half recumbent position. . . . She has been sleeping for ages in the glowing sands of the desert, out of which she is lifting herself. . . . Half rising, with sleep yet heavy on her eyelids, she supports herself on the left hand and arm, while she listens with fear and wonder to the sound of broken chains and shackles falling around her.*<sup>10</sup>

Remarkably, Murray wrote that he thought Whitney's work should be titled "Ethiopia Awakening" for its "representative expression of the faith, hope, and the 'high resolve' of the noblest hearts and minds of the time." Equally important for this discussion, Whitney had inscribed on the base of her sculpture a verse taken from Psalm 68:31: "And Ethiopia Shall Lift Up her Hands Unto God"—a slight rephrasing of the King James passage. African American thinkers often cited this biblical scripture in both political and literary works to evoke a prophecy of the universal freedom of blacks from bondage. From as early as January 1915 Fuller expressed her desire to create a similar figure. She wrote Murray then of her interest in the theme "The Rise of Ethiopia," which she hoped "someday to attempt." In April 1915 she reported to him that she was considering the same theme for a sculpture to be submitted to the Lincoln Jubilee and Exposition in Chicago. Ultimately, she did not have time, however, to complete such a work until Johnson commissioned the piece for the America's Making Exposition. Fuller's early interest in the topic of Ethiopia may have caused writer Alain Locke to misdate the sculpture in his influential 1940 book *The Negro in Art*, an error that was carried over in much subsequent scholarship.<sup>11</sup>

The western fascination with Egypt—Egyptomania—extends from Roman times to our new millennium. Napoleon's campaign into Egypt in 1798 heightened

Europeans' interest in the connections between the classical cultures of Greece and Rome and ancient Egypt. By the mid-nineteenth century, Americans had incorporated the Egyptian style into funerary architecture; later, they adapted designs to the fine and decorative arts including sculpture, painting, furniture, wallpaper, and sundry other household items. With the discovery of King Tutankhamun's tomb in late 1922, the American public expressed a renewed interest in all things Egyptian.<sup>12</sup>

In contrast to the popular craze for Egyptian forms, Egyptology stressed the serious study of culture, history, and artifacts. During the nineteenth century, historians were engaged in a contentious debate about the ethnicity of Egyptians. In a time when racial classification was considered a legitimate scientific tool, determining Egyptians' race was of utmost importance, for Egypt was considered a cradle of civilization. Several modern-day scholars have noted that Americans often used Egyptology to justify slavery and polygenesis, the notion that the races had different origins. For the polygenists, the concept of a single family tree of the races was abhorrent, particularly the idea that the Caucasian and African races shared the same lineage. In their promulgation of racial hierarchy, advocates of polygenesis saw Caucasians as the primary race while all others were degenerate forms.<sup>13</sup>

The field of Egyptology had created doubt about the nature of this racial hierarchy. French scholar Constantin-François Chasseboeuf, Comte de Volney (1747–1825), for example, asserted that Egyptians were of the black race, stating that ancient Egypt was founded by "a race of men now rejected from society for their sable skin and frizzled hair." His findings and those of Dominique Vivant Denon (1747–1825), the scientific leader of the Napoleonic expedition to

Egypt in 1798, were later disputed by white scholars from Britain and the United States. Americans, such as Samuel George Morton in his 1839 *Crania Americana* and 1844 *Crania Aegyptiaca*, used phrenology and Egyptology to prove that Egyptians were indeed of the white race. Morton argued that he could determine race from the features of skulls and concluded that the majority of Egyptians were not African. Underlying his purported scientific method was the belief that such a great civilization could only have been created by the Caucasian race.<sup>14</sup>

Fuller's decision to reference Egypt in form and to racialize *Ethiopia's* features must be understood in light of early African American scholars' claims of racial linkage to Egypt. Within the African American community, late-nineteenth-century scholars emphatically declared the blackness of the Egyptians, refuting racial hierarchies and offering an alternative paradigm to the white historical discourse that placed Egypt in relation to Greco-Roman civilization. Dispelling the hypothesis that blacks had no culture and were biblically destined to be slaves, the African American historians' claim of a black Egypt provided an ancient and noble lineage that disputed white historical hegemony. The historian August Meier has noted that African Americans' interest in establishing a black history, particularly one with ancient traditions, was rooted in "the need to assert and prove their equality with whites as a means of convincing whites of their worthiness . . . and the need to give themselves a sense of dignity and pride of race."<sup>15</sup> Fuller acknowledged this need for historical validation and vindication, and rendered a regal physiognomy that celebrated blackness. African American viewers of the time would have understood her reference to ancient history and her sculpture's significance as an object that exemplified the continuation of black cultural "genius."

### The Legacy of *Ethiopia*

Ethiopia was a place that held longstanding interest for African Americans. In the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, the term "Ethiopia" was employed in a number of ways: to describe the whole continent of Africa, but also to indicate the actual modern state of Ethiopia (Abyssinia) or to refer to ancient Ethiopia (Kush). African Americans championed modern Ethiopia for several reasons. Emperor Menelik II of Abyssinia, who was descended from a three thousand-year-old monarchy that had embraced Christianity in the fourth century, defeated the Italians in 1896, becoming the first African leader to remove a colonial power. The black press celebrated his victory and in December 1913 mourned his death. For the black community in the United States, Ethiopia symbolically represented a source of black power and pride and functioned as a symbolic homeland.<sup>16</sup>

African Americans also linked Ethiopianism to a Christian prophetic vision of Africa in two ways. They associated it with the rise of black independent churches in South Africa from the 1870s to the 1890s. For them, Ethiopianism was a literary-religious tradition as well, derived from the Christian biblical scripture of Psalm 68:31. This passage was cited as early as 1808 in a sermon delivered by Peter Williams Jr. at Saint Phillip's African Church in New York City. The poet Francis Ellen Watkins Harper borrowed the phrasing in her circa 1855 poem "Ethiopia":

*Yes, Ethiopia yet shall stretch  
Her bleeding hands to God;  
Her cry of agony shall reach  
The burning throne of God!*

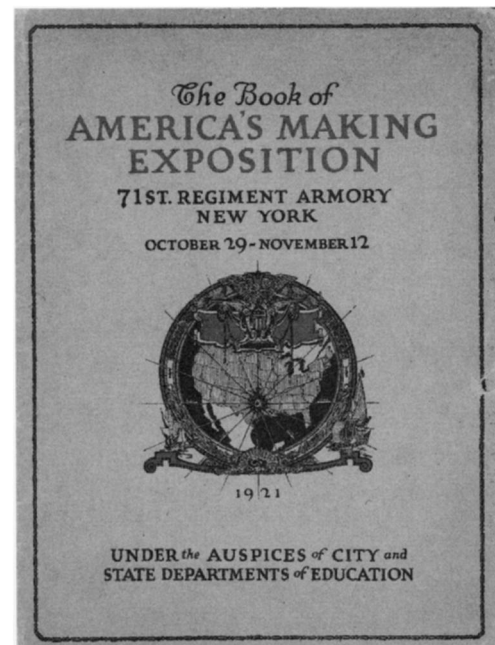
Both Williams and Harper used the verse in relation to the abolition of slavery. In the nineteenth and early twentieth century, African and African American clergy



and lay leaders understood the Psalm as a biblical prediction that Africa and its peoples would be delivered from bondage. They used the “Ethiopian prophecy” in sermons, anti-slavery writings, public speeches, and even in the design of mastheads of newspapers such as the *Black Republican* in New Orleans and the *Freeman* in Indianapolis.<sup>17</sup> Fuller’s *Ethiopia* clearly references Psalm 68:31, with her rendering of the figure’s hand breaking free from the bindings.

The interest in Ethiopia could be seen as well in black revisionist history texts from the nineteenth and early twentieth century. In his *History of the Negro Race in America* (1886), black historian George Washington Williams presented the most significant early account of ancient Africa. Not only did Williams trumpet the importance of Egypt as a great black civilization, he also traced Egypt’s origins to Ethiopia, using the translated work of the ancient Greek historian Herodotus. Other black thinkers, including Edward Blyden, Joseph Casely Hayford, and Du Bois, incorporated the ideas of Ethiopianism into their writings. For example, Casely Hayford’s *Ethiopia Unbound* (1911), a combination of novel and political commentary, focused on Ethiopia as a symbol of black independence.<sup>18</sup>

Du Bois’s widely read 1915 survey of African history titled *The Negro* relied on both the Williams and Casely Hayford texts as source material. In *The Negro*, Du Bois reclaimed Egypt for the continent of Africa. Using archaeological evidence, he emphasized that Egyptian monuments showed distinctly “Negro and mulatto faces.” Most importantly, he traced Egypt’s origins to Ethiopia. Thus, for Du Bois and black historians, the earliest known civilization was based in Ethiopia, a black nation. In his book *To Wake the Nations*, Eric Sundquist argues that the black revisionist writings of Du Bois and others conveyed three important ideas to their readers: they countered racist historiography; they pro-



vided a source of communal pride; and they created “a reservoir of ideas to spur new conceptualizations of race consciousness.”<sup>19</sup> *Ethiopia* embodied these new conceptualizations with its references to ancient Egypt and to Ethiopianism; Fuller’s awakening black woman indicated a nation reclaiming its rightful place in history and asserting racial pride.

### The America’s Making Exposition

While Egypt and Ethiopia were primary sources of artistic and intellectual inspiration for Fuller’s sculpture, the America’s Making Exposition of 1921 provided the original context for its display. With funding from the Carnegie Foundation and John D. Rockefeller, the exposition’s organizing committee invited thirty-three “racial groups” to participate in the fifteen-day civic affair (figs. 9 and 10). It defined immigrants as “all groups of new comers who have settled in America from 1607 to date, during the period in which their racial distinctiveness is retained.” These loosely defined “immigrants”

## WHERE AMERICA-MAKING IS A REGULAR BUSINESS



Forty-Eight Thousand Three Hundred Seventy-Six Posters for America's Making,  
Each an Original Design, Have Been Made by Children of the Public Schools

- 9 · Cover of *The Book of America's Making Exposition* (New York: City and State Departments of Education, 1921)
- 10 Illustrations of posters from *The Book of America's Making Exposition*

ranged from groups who had arrived as colonists, indentured servants, and slaves in the seventeenth century to the wave of Eastern Europeans entering the United States in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. The authors of the foreword to the official book of the exposition declared the nation to be “a land of one people” to which each immigrant population had brought unique gifts and “laid them on the Altar of America.” They further stated that “hatred of old-time neighbors, national prejudices and ambitions, traditional fears, set standards of living, graceless intolerance, class rights and the demand of class—these were barred at the gates.” In her study of the exposition, theater historian Ilana Abramovitch has aptly remarked that “America’s Making combined the pageantry of American nationalism with an exhibition of cultural difference in the name of Americanization.” The organizers highlighted cultural pluralism as the ostensible purpose of the festival, but a belief in assimilation and a unified American cultural identity underscored their rhetoric.<sup>20</sup>

As outlined by its officers and executive committee, the festival sought to demonstrate “the most important historical, economic, and cultural contributions that Americans of various descent” had made to the nation. An article in the *New York Times* described the function of the public spectacle in larger, more progressive terms, saying: “[It is] a movement to abolish the racial prejudice growing out of the war, to bring about a better understanding by all Americans of the part played in the development of the country by every one of the races of immigrants who sought our shores, to instill an adequate understanding of the greatness of America, and to demonstrate that the country may weather any and all storms.”<sup>21</sup>

New York City Mayor John Hylan and New York Governor Nathan Miller praised the America’s Making Exposition for its symbolic representation of assimilation. While citing the diversity of participants during opening-evening remarks, Miller stated, “We have been called a melting pot, and it is very significant that there are thirty-three different races who are uniting in this effort to teach America what each separately and altogether collectively have done to contribute to the making of America.” The narrative of harmony among people of different origins, appearances, and experiences did not prevent controversy: various groups debated issues such as who had discovered America and who had made the most valuable contributions. African American participants, however, apparently did not engage in these conflicts about past roles.<sup>22</sup>

Although African Americans had been forcibly brought to the United States as slaves, the planning committee invited them to the fair as “honorary immigrants.” Organizers of the “Colored Section” exhibit—a collaborative effort by the NAACP and the National Urban League—did not acknowledge this “honorary” status, choosing to sublimate the



Often excluded from pageants in local communities, blacks frequently found themselves stereotyped in historical spectacles and exhibits based on images from popular theater that glorified the South and minstrel shows that portrayed blacks as comic buffoons. Since Reconstruction, their status in the United States had deteriorated significantly. By the turn of the nineteenth century, lynching was on an upswing, large numbers of African Americans lived in poverty in both the rural South and urban North, and progressive politics seemed to have had little impact on segregation and racism. The 1915 release of D. W. Griffith's film *The Birth of a Nation* embodied the nativist impulses of the period: the movie angered members of the African American community with its ignominious stereotypes and engendered a national protest campaign.<sup>24</sup> With artworks like *Ethiopia* and participation in events like the America's Making Exposition, the African American intelligentsia had a chance to produce new representations of blacks, even as "honorary immigrants."

Through displays that focused on the industrial contributions and educational work of African Americans, Johnson, Du Bois, and others aspired to enlighten the larger white population, to uplift the race, and to locate themselves as integral to American history and life (see fig. 11 for Du Bois's early exhibit of similar material for the 1900 Paris Universal Exposition). As contributing editor of the *New York Age*, Johnson promoted the America's Making Exposition in his weekly column, writing, "This affair offers the colored people of New York City and State great opportunity. . . . 'America's Making' gives us the opportunity to bring to the eyes of hundreds and thousands of people and of the entire press of this great city the worth while things that race has done and given to help make America the great nation that it is."<sup>25</sup>

The "Colored Section" installation included charts, drawings, and examples

11 Negro Social and Industrial Exhibit, Palace of Social Economy, 1900. From *Report of the Commissioner-General for the International Universal Exposition, Paris, 1900* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1901)

12 "Americans of Negro Lineage," from *The Book of America's Making Exposition*

13 Photograph of "The National Emancipation Exposition: The Temple of Beauty in the Great Court of Freedom." From the *Crisis* 7, no. 1 (December 1913), p. 78

legacy of slavery in favor of creating a positive modern self-image and underscoring black contributions to American society. All participating immigrant groups were able to shape their own representation at the festival. Each group developed and financed its own displays, and a memorandum of understanding between the organizers and immigrant groups stated: "It is understood that each racial group will be entirely free to determine for itself the extent and manner of its participation in America's Making." This was especially important for African Americans whose image had been under attack for centuries in every facet of American life.<sup>23</sup>



## AMERICANS OF NEGRO LINEAGE



By Mrs. Meta Warrick Fuller  
a Negro Sculptor

*"Ethiopia" A Symbolic Statue of the  
EMANCIPATION of the NEGRO  
RACE.*

*From the Exhibit*

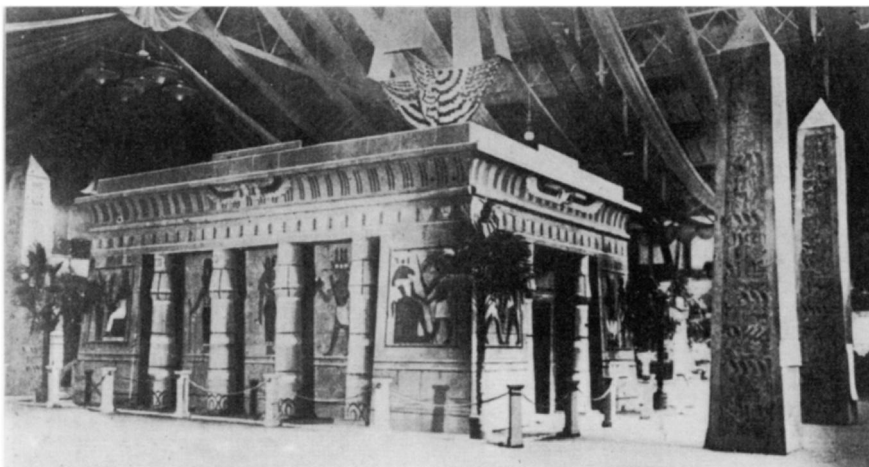
**I**N the making of America, the part played by the African group is of tremendous importance. His great contributions have been labor, personal service and music.

Negro labor in slavery and freedom, cleared the forests and swamps for the great agricultural regions of the South. It entered America one year before the Puritans and only twelve years after the Cavaliers. From the early 17th Century to the present day, Negro labor has been indispensable in the fundamental industries of the South. On its work depend the great crops of cotton, sugar, tobacco and rice. Negroes are also engaged in the operation of coal mines, fisheries and transportation. It has furnished faithful personal and domestic service and recently has succeeded in the skilled trades.

In 53 years of freedom the Negro has increased his homes owned from 12,000 to 600,000; farms operated from 20,000 to 1,000,000; business enterprises from 2,100 to 50,000. He has increased in literacy sixty per cent. and the number of his teachers from 600 to 38,000. The sum spent from his own pocket for his own education has increased from 80,000 to 1,700,000 dollars; his church property from 1,500,000 dollars to 85,900,000 dollars, and his general wealth from 20,000,000 dollars to 1,100,000,000 dollars.

Churches, colleges and great social agencies have been organized by the Negro. This race has produced orators, writers, and educators. It has given to this country the only distinctively "American" music; the "Sorrow Songs" or Jubilee Music and the syncopated instrumental and vocal rhythms.

The Negro exhibit is designed to symbolize the origin of the race in Africa and its progress in America. Wall decorations will show their industrial contribution to the nation and the educational work among those of their own race. The industrial school will be depicted. Their Musical festival typifies their wonderful contribution to this branch of art.



of literature and art (fig. 12). In addition to the statue of *Ethiopia*, Du Bois envisioned an exhibit booth that integrated a pyramid as part of its design:

*The exhibit consists of a booth. At the back of the booth rises a pyramid in bas-relief with a side view of the great sphinx of Giza at either side of the pyramid. The pyramid is divided horizontally into seven unequal spaces. In a narrow space at the bottom is Exploration. Above this is a very large space, Labor. Above this is a small space, Self Supporting Womanhood; then a large space, Emancipation of Democracy; above this an equal space, Defense; above this a smaller space, Literature; and a large cap stone, Music. Both sides of this booth will be occupied by books, pictures, and charts.<sup>26</sup>*

No images survive of the booth, but it is possible to imagine the sense of grandeur Du Bois had in mind by looking at his design of "The Temple of Beauty" in the National Emancipation Exposition of 1913 (figs. 4 and 13). Positioned in a similar installation, Fuller's *Ethiopia* was the focal point of the "Colored Section" at the 1921 America's Making fair celebrating the contributions of African Americans to society. The *New York Age*, an African American newspaper, noted that "the consensus of opinion was that it [*Ethiopia*] was the best expressed ideal in the whole armory." At the end of the festival, African Americans expressed satisfaction with their participation. Eugene Kinckle Jones, executive secretary of the National Urban League, wrote to the exposition's president to voice his enthusiasm: "May I take this opportunity to tell you how pleased the colored group was with the whole proceedings of 'America's Making.' We felt that this was the first time the Negroes have been given a real chance to demonstrate their ability to work out such matters in co-operation with the community as a whole."<sup>27</sup>

### History, Nationalism, and Pageants

One of the important elements of the America's Making Exposition was that each of the thirty-three groups created and participated in its own performance. Du Bois had used the tropes of Ethiopia and Ethiopianism to represent the essence of a re-emerging nation in his 1913 pageant "The Star of Ethiopia," which he modified and produced for the America's Making Exposition as "The Seven Gifts of Ethiopia to America." "The Star of Ethiopia" had premiered in New York City as part of the National Emancipation Exposition. A scene from this pageant (see fig. 4) depicts a pseudo-Egyptian temple in the background and the dancing "forty maidens" before "the Enthroned Pharaoh Ra, the Negro." Produced in six acts with a prelude, each episode of "The Star of Ethiopia" illustrated African Americans' gifts to the world. The pageant began with tremendous fanfare: four heralds trumpeted and called the play to order.

*Here ye, hear ye! Men of all the Americas, and listen to the tale of the eldest and strongest of the races of mankind, whose faces be black. Hear ye, hear ye, of the gifts of black men to this world, the Iron Gift and Gift of Faith, the Pain of Humility and the Sorrow Song of Pain, the Gift of Freedom and of Laughter, and the undying Gift of Hope. Men of the world, keep silence and hear ye this!*<sup>28</sup>

Remarkable in its placement of Africans at the center of the origins of humankind, Du Bois's drama asserted the achievements of African civilization and of black people dispersed around the globe.

Central to the drama was the veiled woman known as the All-Mother—Ethiopia in later renditions of the play—who followed the race from Africa to the New World (fig. 14). At the moment of emancipation in the final act of the pag-

nant, she unveiled herself and took her place in a chariot, leading the race to a new day. Du Bois saw the pageant form, at its zenith in the early twentieth century, as an opportunity "to teach on the one hand the colored people themselves the meaning of their history and their rich, emotional life through a new theater, and on the other, to reveal the Negro to the white world as a human, feeling thing."<sup>29</sup>

Du Bois's pageant for the 1921 exposition, "The Seven Gifts of Ethiopia to America," illustrated African Americans' contributions to the making of America. The pageant depicted seven scenes set to music, beginning with the African drum in the New World and continuing to contemporary Broadway songs. Slowly throughout the performance, participants constructed a pyramid. The first scene portrayed Estevancio, a Muslim slave who participated in a sixteenth-century Portuguese expedition to the American Southwest, landing in the New World to the sound of a constant drumbeat. A veiled Ethiopia followed him and witnessed his death. The next section revealed four African American men who carried foundation stones of the pyramid, inscribed with the words: *cotton, sugar, tobacco, and rice*. Under the direction of Ethiopia, they laid the foundation of the pyramid over the grave of Estevancio. In scene three, eight women who were chained together sang "You May Bury Me in the East." They carried the stones of *service, self support, religion, and faith*. The women entombed the bodies of both Estevancio and Ethiopia in the rising pyramid.

The fourth scene portrayed noted African Americans, including Benjamin Banneker, Toussaint l'Ouverture, Frederick Douglass, Booker T. Washington, and Sojourner Truth. Singing "Roll, Jordan, Roll," they bore stones marked "Africa for Africans," "The Right of All to Vote," "Equality," and "The Free Woman." In

the fifth scene, African American soldiers, marching to music by Harry Burleigh, placed stones imprinted with the names of wars and the numbers of blacks who fought for American liberty. Then children singing “Listen to the Lambs” entered carrying books, which they installed as the capstone of the pyramid. For the finale, the ensemble sang composer Samuel Coleridge-Taylor’s “Onaway.” After one of the children lit the pyramid, Ethiopia and Estevancio emerged from the tomb, followed by Egyptians and Ethiopians. The procession exited to the music of Rosamond Johnson’s “Walk Together Children.”<sup>30</sup>

Du Bois’s pageant of music was performed on November 11, 1921, the day before the closing ceremonies of the America’s Making Exposition. Matthew Henson, the first black explorer to the North Pole, participated, dressed in “furs that he wore at the discovery of the pole.” The *Chicago Defender* hailed the pageant as a success, remarking that “attendants in the various booths who have witnessed the programs of the various races during the exhibit were

unanimous in agreeing that Thursday’s program surpassed that of all others.” The black newspaper described “tableaux depicting early slave life and plantation pastimes on up to the modern development of slave themes cleverly shown on a specially designed stage.”<sup>31</sup> In the context of the pageant, Fuller’s *Ethiopia*, displayed in the pyramidal exhibition booth, would have been a symbolic reminder of Du Bois’s fictional Ethiopia rising to claim a new day for African Americans.

Other African American writers would turn to the theme of Ethiopia in plays and pageants, using drama as a didactic tool to educate the black populace. Willis Richardson, in *Plays and Pageants from the Life of the Negro*, argued that during the 1920s “blacks were taking an action akin to that of writing slave narratives: they were recording the history of their own culture and their own interpretation of that history.” Created predominantly for high schools, the pageants included Dorothy C. Guinn’s “Out of the Dark,” Frances Gunner’s “The Light of the Women,”

14 Figures portraying the Queen of Sheba, left, Ethiopia, center, and Candace of Meroe from a 1915 production of “The Star of Ethiopia” pageant in Washington, D.C. From the *Crisis* (December 1915), p. 90





and Edward J. McCoo's "Ethiopia at the Bar of Justice."<sup>32</sup>

In addition to *Ethiopia's* presence at Du Bois's pageant, Fuller participated in at least two other pageants as costume designer and artist, creating related images. In November 1921, under the auspices of the Women's Service Club in Boston, she designed the costumes for the final act of "The Answer," a pageant written by Kathleen M. Easmon, Adelene Moffat, and Butler Wilson, which appeared to be based on "The Star of Ethiopia." It traced the history of blacks from Africa to the New World, followed by the protective "Spirit of Africa." In the last scene, a "Temple of Achievement" was revealed, with Fuller's *Ethiopia* as a focal point.<sup>33</sup>

Dorothy Guinn also based the final tableau of her 1924 pageant "Out of the Dark" on Fuller's *Ethiopia*. Guinn's pageant again centered on the emergence of black civilization from Africa. In episode four, the chronicler invited representations of music, literature, science, and art to unveil their treasures. Art, dressed in a smock and cap, described the glory of African American artists Henry Ossawa Tanner, Albert Alexander Smith, and Fuller. The personification of art drew back a curtain to reveal a living tableau of *Ethiopia*. The figure declared: "[S]ee, Ethiopia is awakening and she is beginning to realize the glories of her past and the possibilities of her future. In this statue of Meta Warrick Fuller, see symbolized the soul of this people to-day."<sup>34</sup> In the epilogue, the chorus sang James Weldon Johnson's "Lift Every Voice and Sing," and the tableau of *Ethiopia* was shown again. Guinn's pageant and others like it sought to represent ancient African origins as essential parts of the African American legacy. Fuller's image embodied this quest.

## Conclusion

In his landmark 1903 book *The Souls of Black Folk*, Du Bois wrote that "the shadow of a mighty Negro past flits through the tale of Ethiopia the shadowy and of Egypt the Sphinx."<sup>35</sup> Fuller's *Ethiopia* emerged amid intense interest in asserting the primacy and significance of black culture from ancient Africa. Both Egypt and Ethiopia played essential roles in shaping racial consciousness and creating a positive and profound history that transcended the American experience of slavery. To fulfill their desire for a future in American society, blacks had to excavate the past for signs of the important position they had played in the creation of civilization. This quest to assert African Americans' significance in the larger context of world history is at the core of Fuller's conceptualization; she engaged in the construction of a new and powerful image of blackness.

*Ethiopia*, in its allegorical representation of a black woman, also reflected African Americans' romanticism in developing an idea of Africa. Indeed, Fuller's art, its display, and its role in the pageants revealed the depth of African Americans' stake in the mythic construct of Egypt and Ethiopia as it related to their own history. I believe this idealization was necessary to reshape and redefine a community as well as to counter standard historical narratives that relegated African Americans to the margins and projected them as debased and primitive.

A paradox is evident, however, in Fuller's conception and exhibition of *Ethiopia*: the style and content of the sculpture asserted a Pan-African program while the exhibition of the work revealed the desire for blacks to prove their "Americanness" through participation in a national civic event. Through their

involvement in the America's Making Exposition, Johnson, Du Bois, and others declared and legitimized their place in the long history of those who helped to build America. These men saw the festival, pageant, and Fuller's sculpture as a means to rewrite the narrative of race and nation so that they could be perceived as productive citizens worthy of inclusion.

In 1921 Fuller's statue proclaimed that African Americans were awakening to their power and testified to the transformation of a people liberated by the dawn of a new century. Today *Ethiopia* is still a

prescient symbol of black identity. It is frequently discussed and reproduced in texts on the Harlem Renaissance, and the figure is included in museum exhibitions, most recently in the 1997 traveling exhibition *Rhapsodies in Black: Art of the Harlem Renaissance* and in the Whitney Museum of American Art's 2000 exhibition *The American Century: Art and Culture 1900–1950*. *Ethiopia* remains an important and potent marker that helps us to locate black history in time and space, signaling the continuing struggle toward self-determination by people of the African diaspora.

## Notes

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- 1 Transcript of interview with Meta Warrick Fuller, 7 and 8 April 1964, Sylvia G. L. Dannett Papers, Livingstone College, Salisbury, N.C.
- 2 The known versions are: (1) the first sketch, known only from photographs, with the left hand at a ninety-degree angle to the figure's bound legs; see fig. 12; (2) the sixty-seven-inch plaster figure at the Schomburg Center for Research in Black Culture, New York; see frontispiece, fig. 5 (3) a bronze cast in the same collection with the left hand moved flush to the figure's side, an apparent error about which Fuller complained to the Ostercamp-Mead foundry in October 1927; and (4) a number of thirteen-inch-high "stone and plaster" casts made in the 1960s as gifts for

relations. Fuller did not date her works, and no documentation or provenance survives for the versions held by the Schomburg Center. The earliest surviving photograph appeared in *The Book of the America's Making Exposition, 71st Regiment Armory New York, October 29–November 12, 1921* (New York: City and State Departments of Education, 1921), where the work was titled *Ethiopia*. The same photograph was reproduced in the July 1923 issue of *Opportunity as Ethiopia Awakening* and in the March 1939 issue of the *Negro History Bulletin* as *The Awakening of Ethiopia*. In 1923 Fuller also exhibited this version at the Annual Exhibition of the Pennsylvania Academy of Fine Arts, Philadelphia. For detailed discussion of the various casts, see Renée Ater, "Race, Gender, and Nation: Rethinking the Sculpture of Meta Warrick Fuller" (Ph.D. diss., University of Maryland, 2000), 157–62.

- 3 See David Driskell, "The Flowering of the Harlem Renaissance: The Art of Aaron Douglas, Meta Warrick Fuller, Palmer Hayden, and William H. Johnson," in *Harlem Renaissance: Art of Black America* (New York: Studio Museum in Harlem and Harry N. Abrams Inc., 1987), 108; Judith Wilson, "Hagar's Daughters: Social History, Cultural Heritage, and Afro-U.S. Women's Art," in *Bearing Witness: Contemporary Works by African American Women Artists* (New York: Spelman

College and Rizzoli International Publications Inc., 1996), 106; and Richard Powell, "Re/Birth of a Nation," in *Rhapsodies in Black: Art of the Harlem Renaissance* (London: Hayward Gallery, Institute of International Visual Arts, 1997), 18.

- 4 For biographical information on Fuller, see William Francis O'Donnell, "Meta Vaux Warrick, Sculptor of Horrors: The Negro Girl Whose Productions Are Being Compared to Rodin's," *World To-Day* 13, no. 5 (November 1907): 1139–45; Benjamin Brawley, "Meta Warrick Fuller," *Southern Workman* 47 (January 1918): 25–32; Sylvia Dannett, "Meta Vaux Warrick Fuller," in *Profiles of Negro Womanhood*, vol. 2 (Yonkers, N.Y.: Educational Heritage Inc., 1966), 31–46; and Judith Nina Kerr, "God-Given Work: The Life and Times of Sculptor Meta Vaux Warrick Fuller, 1877–1968" (Ph.D. diss., University of Massachusetts, 1986).
- 5 Fuller to Murray, 31 January 1916, Freeman Henry Morris Murray Papers, Manuscript Division, Moorland-Spingarn Research Center, Howard University, Washington, D.C. (hereafter Murray Papers).
- 6 "A Proposed Exhibition and Pageant Illustrating the Part Which the American Negro Has Played in the Making of America," undated, reel 9,

- W. E. B. Du Bois Papers, Manuscript Division, Library of Congress, Washington, D.C. (hereafter Du Bois Papers).
- 7 "The Looking Glass," *Crisis* 23, no. 1 (November 1921): 29, and Fuller to Mrs. W. P. Hedden, 5 October 1921, Meta Warrick Fuller Papers, Manuscript, Archives, and Rare Books Division, Schomburg Center for Research in Black Culture, New York Public Library, New York City (hereafter Fuller Papers).
  - 8 For references to archaeological excavations in Ethiopia, see M. D. Maclean, "African Civilization," *Crisis* 1, no. 5 (March 1911): 23–25; "Excavations in Ethiopia," *Crisis* 2, no. 4 (August 1911): 169; and Maud Cuney Hare, "Ethiopian Art," *Crisis* 22, no. 6 (October 1921): 259.
  - 9 Pauline de Souza has proposed a link between Fuller's sculpture and the Egyptian goddess Isis, asserting that Fuller's Ethiopia is Isis, based on an unseen *tiet*, or knot of Isis, said to be located in the folds of Isis's garment between her breasts. She links her interpretation of *Ethiopia* as Isis to the literary work of Du Bois. See Pauline de Souza, "Black Awakening: Gender and Representation in the Harlem Renaissance," in *Women Artists and Modernism*, ed. Katy Deepwell (Manchester, England: Manchester Univ. Press, 1998), 64.
  - 10 Fuller to Murray, 8 February 1915, Murray Papers, and Freeman Henry Morris Murray, *Emancipation and the Freed in American Sculpture* (1916; reprint, Freeport, N.Y.: Books for Libraries Press, 1972), 137–38.
  - 11 Murray, *Emancipation and the Freed in American Sculpture*, 140, and Fuller to Murray, 9 January 1915, 5 April 1915, and 1 September 1915, Murray Papers. *Ethiopia* was correctly dated until 1940, when Locke reproduced the full-size plaster and dated it to 1914 in his *The Negro in Art*. He also suggested that the work was made of bronze when in fact it was plaster painted to resemble bronze, a technique favored by Fuller, who was often unable to afford having her work cast in bronze. James Porter, in his 1943 *Modern Negro Art*, reproduced the same photograph and mistakenly wrote that Fuller created the work for the 1889 New York State Centennial.
  - 12 See Christiane Ziegler, Jean-Marcel Humbert, and Michael Pantazzi, *Egyptomania: Egypt in Western Art, 1730–1930* (Ottawa: National Gallery of Canada, 1994); James Stevens Curl, *Egyptomania: The Egyptian Revival: A Recurring Theme in the History of Taste* (Manchester, England: Manchester Univ. Press, 1994); Bernadette M. Sigler, *The Sphinx and the Lotus: The Egyptian Movement in American Decorative Arts 1865–1935* (Yonkers, N.Y.: Hudson River Museum, 1990); and Donald Kuspit, "Our Egypt," *Art in America* 67, no. 2 (March–April 1979): 86–93. More recently, the 1979 King Tutankhamun traveling exhibition sparked "Tutmania" in America.
  - 13 Nicholas Hudson, "From 'Nation' to 'Race': The Origin of Racial Classification in Eighteenth-Century Thought," *Eighteenth-Century Studies* 29, no. 3 (spring 1996): 247–64; and Stephen Jay Gould, "American Polygeny and Craniometry before Darwin: Blacks and Indians as Separate, Inferior Species," in *The "Racial" Economy of Science: Toward a Democratic Future*, ed. Sandra Harding (Bloomington: Indiana Univ. Press, 1993), 84–115.
  - 14 See C. F. Volney, *The Ruins: or, Meditations on the Revolutions of Empires: and the Law of Nature*, 1802, quoted in Dickson D. Bruce Jr., "Ancient Africa and the Early Black American Historians, 1883–1915," *American Quarterly* 36, no. 5 (winter 1984): 689–90; and Gould, "American Polygeny and Craniometry Before Darwin," 99–111.
  - 15 Edith R. Sanders, "The Hamitic Hypothesis: Its Origins and Functions in Time Perspective," *Journal of African History* 10, no. 4 (1969): 521–32, and August Meier, *Negro Thought in America, 1880–1915: Racial Ideologies in the Age of Booker T. Washington* (Ann Arbor: Univ. of Michigan Press, 1963), 51.
  - 16 Sylvia M. Jacobs, *The African Nexus: Black American Perspectives on the European Partitioning of Africa, 1880–1920* (Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 1981), 187–203; and Elliott P. Skinner, *African Americans and U.S. Policy Toward Africa 1850–1924: In Defense of Black Nationality* (Washington, D.C.: Howard Univ. Press, 1992), 275–83.
  - 17 Imanuel Geiss, *The Pan-African Movement: A History of Pan-Africanism in America, Europe and Africa*, trans. Ann Keep (New York: Africana Publishing Co., 1974), 132–59; William R. Scott, *The Sons of Sheba: African-Americans and the Italo-Ethiopian War, 1935–1941* (Bloomington: Indiana Univ. Press, 1993), 12–22; and "Miss Francis Watkins," *Frederick Douglass' Paper*, 24 August 1855.
  - 18 J. E. Casely Hayford, *Ethiopia Unbound* (1911; reprint, London: Frank Cass and Co. Ltd., 1969). Judith Wilson has suggested that Fuller may have known of Casely Hayford's book. She writes, "Fuller has produced an image remarkably congruent with the title of Casely Hayford's book—that is, an image of 'Ethiopia (-in-the-process-of-becoming-) Unbound.'" See Wilson, "Hagar's Daughters," 106. It is possible that Fuller knew of the text, either through her connections to Du Bois or relationship with her psychiatrist husband, an expatriate from Liberia. Fuller had met Casely Hayford's ex-wife, Adelaide, in 1921 while working on the pageant "The Answer." Adelaide writes: "It was at Boston that we spent a memorable day in the home of Mrs. Meta Warwick Fuller, the eminent sculptor." Adelaide M. Cromwell, *African Victorian Feminist: The Life and Times of Adelaide Smith Casely Hayford* (London: Frank Cass, 1986), 114.
  - 19 W. E. B. Du Bois, *The Negro* (1915; reprint, Mineola, N.Y.: Dover Publications Inc., 2001), 17–26, and Eric J. Sundquist, *To Wake the Nations: Race in the Making of American Literature* (Cambridge, Mass.: Belknap Press of Harvard Univ. Press, 1993), 567.
  - 20 "America's Making: A Festival and Exhibit," flyer, Du Bois Papers; "Outline of Scope of Exhibit," box 20, People's Institute Records, Rare Book and Manuscript Division, New York Public Library; "Foreword," *The Book of America's Making Exposition*, n.p.; and Ilana Abramovitch, "America's Making Exposition and Festival (New York, 1921): Immigrant Gifts on the Altar



- of America (Multiculturalism)" (Ph.D. diss., New York University, 1996), 14.
- 21 "Our Organization," in *The Book of America's Making Exposition*, n.p., and "33 Groups to Show America's Making," *New York Times*, 9 October 1921, sec. 2, p. 4.
- 22 "Hylan Praises the Melting Pot," *New York Times*, 21 October 1921, 3; "Pageant Pictures America's Making," *New York Times*, 30 October 1921, 17; "Many Lay Claim to Finding America," *New York Times*, 31 October 1921, 15; and "Races Clash Over 'America's Makers,'" *New York Times*, 1 November 1921, 19.
- 23 "Memorandum of Understanding with Racial Groups," 23 December 1920, People's Institute Records.
- 24 See David Glassberg, *American Historical Pageantry: The Use of Tradition in Early Twentieth Century* (Chapel Hill: Univ. of North Carolina Press), 132. For a discussion of the climate of the time, see Rayford W. Logan, *The Betrayal of the Negro: From Rutherford B. Hayes to Woodrow Wilson* (1954; reprint, New York: Da Capo Press, 1997); John Higham, *Strangers in the Land: Patterns of American Nativism 1860-1925* (1955; reprint, Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 1981); and Thomas Cripps, *Slow Fade to Black: The Negro in American Film, 1900-1942* (New York: Oxford Univ. Press, 1993), 41-69.
- 25 James Weldon Johnson, "Views and Reviews: 'America's Making' and the Colored People," *New York Age*, 20 August 1921, 4.
- 26 "A Proposed Exhibition and Pageant Illustrating the Part Which the American Negro Has Played in the Making of America," Du Bois Papers.
- 27 "Negro Represented in 'America's Making,'" *New York Age*, 5 November 1921, 8, and Eugene Kinckle Jones to John Finley, 23 November 1921, box 51, John Huston Finley Papers, Rare Book and Manuscript Division, New York Public Library.
- 28 W. E. B. Du Bois, "The National Emancipation Exposition," *Crisis* 6, no. 7 (November 1913): 339.
- 29 W. E. B. Du Bois, "The Drama Among Black People," *Crisis* 12, no. 4 (August 1916): 171.
- 30 "A Proposed Exhibition and Pageant Illustrating the Part Which the American Negro Has Played in the Making of America," Du Bois Papers.
- 31 "Matt Henson and Other Artists in Historic Pageant," *Chicago Defender*, 19 November 1921, 3.
- 32 "Introduction," in *Plays and Pageants from the Life of the Negro*, ed. Willis Richardson (1930; reprint, Jackson: Univ. Press of Mississippi, 1993), xxxvi.
- 33 Kathleen M. Easmon, Adelene Moffat, and Butler R. Wilson, "The Answer: A Symbolic Pageant Showing the Contribution to America's Growth and Greatness made by the Negroes," 29 November 1921, synopsis and program, Fuller Papers.
- 34 Dorothy Guinn, "Out of the Dark," in *Plays and Pageants from the Life of the Negro*, 322.
- 35 W. E. B. Du Bois, *The Souls of Black Folk*, in *Three Negro Classics* (1903; reprint, New York: Avon Books, 1965), 217.