

1994

The Negro Building: African-American Representation at the 1907 Jamestown Tercentennial Exposition

Sarah Watkins

College of William & Mary - Arts & Sciences

Follow this and additional works at: <https://scholarworks.wm.edu/etd>



Part of the [African American Studies Commons](#), and the [African History Commons](#)

Recommended Citation

Watkins, Sarah, "The Negro Building: African-American Representation at the 1907 Jamestown Tercentennial Exposition" (1994). *Dissertations, Theses, and Masters Projects*. Paper 1539625855. <https://dx.doi.org/doi:10.21220/s2-6esb-g145>

This Thesis is brought to you for free and open access by the Theses, Dissertations, & Master Projects at W&M ScholarWorks. It has been accepted for inclusion in Dissertations, Theses, and Masters Projects by an authorized administrator of W&M ScholarWorks. For more information, please contact scholarworks@wm.edu.

THE NEGRO BUILDING:
AFRICAN-AMERICAN REPRESENTATION AT THE 1907
JAMESTOWN TRICENTENNIAL EXPOSITION

A Thesis

Presented to

The Faculty of the American Studies Program

The College of William and Mary in Virginia

In Partial Fulfillment

Of the Requirements for the Degree of

Master of Arts

by

Sarah Howard Watkins

1994

APPROVAL SHEET

This thesis is submitted in partial fulfillment of
the requirements for the degree of

Master of Arts



Sarah Howard Watkins

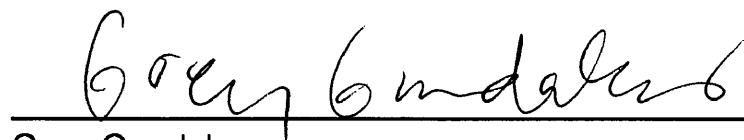
Approved, November 9, 1994



Alan Wallach



Joanne Braxton



Grey Gundaker

DEDICATION

This thesis is dedicated to Joseph Ray Watkins, Betty Lewis Watkins, Linda Howard Watkins, Helen Murphy and Tom DiCesare for their love, assistance and encouragement.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

	Page
LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS	v
ABSTRACT	vi
INTRODUCTION	2
CHAPTER	
I. PREPARING FOR THE JAMESTOWN NEGRO BUILDING	7
II. THE NEGRO BUILDING EXHIBITS: ARCHITECTURE, DISPLAYS AND AUDIENCE	43
III. OPPOSITION TO THE JAMESTOWN TRICENTENNIAL	102
CONCLUSION	134
ILLUSTRATION CREDITS	168
APPENDIX	
A. United States Appropriations to the Tercentennial	170
B. Number of Exhibitors, Exhibits, and Awards	171
C. Report of Fiscal Agent for Negro Exhibit	172
BIBLIOGRAPHY	174

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

Figure	Page
1. Pocahontas Street, Jamestown Tercentennial	143
2. Court of Honor, Jamestown Tercentennial	144
3. NDEC Headquarters and Law Office of Giles B. Jackson	145
4. Giles B. Jackson, Director-General, NDEC	146
5. W. I. Johnson, President, NDEC	147
6. Rev. A. Binga, Jr., Vice-President, NDEC	148
7. R. T. Hill, Treasurer, NDEC	149
8. Black and White Class Structures in 1910	150
9. Booker T. Washington	151
10. Thomas J. Calloway, Chairman, Executive Committee	152
11. Andrew F. Hilyer, Secretary Treasurer, Executive Committee	153
12. Accepted Design for the Negro Building by W. Sidney Pittman	154
13. Side View of the Negro Building	155
14. The Negro Building Showing Front Entrance	156
15. Map of Jamestown Tercentennial Exposition	157
16. War Path Scene	158
17. List and Description of Negro Building Exhibit Categories	159
18. North Carolina Exhibit	160
19. Operating Room of Negro Emergency Hospital	161
20. Exhibit of Savings Bank, Grand Fountain U.O.T.R.	162
21. "Landing of the First Twenty Slaves at Jamestown"	163
22. "Defending Master's Home in Civil War"	164
23. Negro Building Auditorium	165
24. Giles B. Jackson and D. Webster Davis	166
25. Record Kept by Tuskegee of Lynchings in the First Quarter of the Twentieth Century	167

ABSTRACT

The 1907 Jamestown Tercentennial Exposition, like Southern expositions preceding it, included a segregated Negro Building to illustrate the “progress” African-Americans had made since the first Africans were brought to Jamestown, Virginia in 1619, and more specifically, since emancipation. The African-American managed, designed and constructed Jamestown Negro Building and its almost 10,000 African-American exhibits inside was to a large degree financed by a \$100,000 appropriation from the U.S. government.

Symbolizing African-American achievement, self-reliance, racial pride, middle class respectability and the policy of appeasement, the purpose of the exhibits in the Negro Building was to fight racism and “uplift” the African-American masses. The exhibits selected to do this and the way in which issues such as slavery, Africa and women were addressed, reflected the attitudes of the Southern, Victorian, male, African-American organizers; the location of the Exposition; and the government sponsorship.

An increasing number of African-Americans disagreed with government supported segregated exhibits and their accommodationist tone. The Jamestown Tercentennial’s Negro Building, more than any other separate African-American exhibit, provoked fervent debate. The debate resulted from a division among African-Americans over the best way to represent themselves in order to fight prejudice and win assimilation and equal treatment. The main opponents of the accommodationist representation promoted in the Negro Building were the militant members, especially from the North, of W.E.B. DuBois’s Niagara Movement founded in 1905. The vocal and effective anti-Jamestown Negro Building movement that ensued revealed a growing dissatisfaction with accommodation and a shift to a political policy of protest.

THE NEGRO BUILDING:
AFRICAN-AMERICAN REPRESENTATION AT THE 1907
JAMESTOWN TRICENTENNIAL EXPOSITION

INTRODUCTION

The 1907 Jamestown Tercentennial Exposition ran from April 26 to November 30 on a 400 acre site in Hampton Roads, Virginia (Figs. 1 & 2).¹ Twenty-four countries and thirty states participated to commemorate the “first permanent English settlement in America at Jamestown, Virginia.”² To demonstrate America’s “progress” and celebrate its past, carefully selected historical, industrial and

¹ The site chosen for the exposition was Sewall’s Point (now the Hampton Roads Naval base), a low lying peninsula, nine miles from Norfolk. William Ziegler Schenck, “Negro Participation in Three Southern Expositions” (MA thesis. University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, 1970), p. 11.

² Lucy Brown Franklin, “The Negro Exhibition of the Jamestown Ter-Centennial Exposition of 1907,” Negro History Bulletin, Vol. 38, No. 5 (June-July 1975), p. 408; “Official Guide of the Jamestown Ter-Centennial Exposition” (Virginia: Jamestown Official Publication Co., 1907), p. 17.

military exhibits, representative of middle class and elite, white, Anglo-Saxon society, were displayed. The Exposition's portrayal of an American identity through the recreation of a 17th century Arts and Crafts village, colonial architecture and artifacts, "strenuous life" athletics and military displays conspicuously excluded African-Americans. African-Americans, however, were not excluded from the Exposition at large. Instead, the Exposition's Negro Building represented African-Americans through their own carefully selected exhibits.

Segregated African-American exhibits at Southern expositions were a standard feature in the late 19th and early 20th centuries.³ The African-American exhibits at the Jamestown Tercentennial, like those at previous expositions, were selected to demonstrate the mechanical, agricultural, educational and financial progress of African-Americans since the first Africans were brought to

³ There were separate African-American exhibits at the expositions in New Orleans (1885), Atlanta (1895), Nashville (1896) and Charleston (1902).

Jamestown in 1619 and more specifically, since emancipation.⁴ In an era plagued by fierce racism, legalized segregation, lynching, disenfranchisement and the Ku Klux Klan, proponents of the Negro Building optimistically believed that an exhibition of African-American “progress” would help fight racism and “uplift” the masses.

The exhibits chosen to represent and aid African-American “progress” were selected by the Southern, Victorian,⁵ elite, male, African-American, Bookerite⁶ organizers to reflect their self-image

⁴ NDEC, “The Appeal of the Negro Development and Exposition Company and a Part of Its Work,” n.d., p. 3, National Archives, Treasury Department files [Hereafter referred to as the “Appeal of the NDEC”].

⁵ Faith Davis Ruffin, “Mythos, Memory and History: Afro-American Preservation Efforts, 1820-1990,” in Museums and Communities, The Politics of Public Culture, Ivan Karp et al. eds. (Washington: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1992), p. 520.

⁶ This term is used to describe people who aligned themselves with Booker T. Washington and his accommodationist approach to race relations.

and ideology. Consequently, the Negro Building emphasized Victorian, African-American ideals of achievement, self-reliance, racial pride and middle class respectability.⁷ The exhibits subscribed to the over-arching theme of the building which was indicative of Booker T. Washington's appeasement philosophy. In this vein, the displays in the Negro Building calculatingly deferred to the white, Southern, male visitor: They rejected immediate social equality, accepted segregation, romanticized slavery, defined Africa as primitive, emphasized traditional gender roles and excluded references to contemporary racism. The intended effect of the conciliatory tone of the exhibits was to solve the era's so-called "Negro Problem" by pandering to white Southerners to gain their respect and favor.

An increasing number of African-Americans, however, disagreed with segregated exhibits and their accommodationist tone. The Jamestown Tercentennial's Negro Building, more than African-

⁷ Ruffin, p. 517.

American exhibits that preceded it, provoked fervent debate.⁸ The debate resulted from a division among African-Americans over the best way to represent themselves in order to fight prejudice and win assimilation and equal treatment. The main opponents of the accommodationist representation promoted in the Negro Building were the militant members, especially from the North, of W.E.B. DuBois's Niagara Movement founded in 1905. The vocal and effective anti-Jamestown Negro Building movement that ensued revealed a growing dissatisfaction with accommodation and a shift to a political policy of protest.

⁸ Although present at previous Negro Buildings, African-American opposition to the Jamestown Negro Building was the most "pronounced" and "widespread." Schenck, p. 54.

CHAPTER ONE

Preparing for the Jamestown Negro Building

Exhibits for the Negro Building at the Jamestown Tercentennial were initially solicited under the auspices of the Negro Development and Exposition Company of the United States of America (NDEC) (Fig. 3). The NDEC was officially established in 1903,¹ after President Fitzhugh Lee of the Jamestown Exposition Company's "idea for a colored department [was] strongly approved by prominent colored men."² The organization was founded by affluent African-American men from Richmond led by its Director-General, Giles B. Jackson (Fig. 4). This selective organization included neither

¹ The NDEC's white counterpart, the Jamestown Exposition Company was incorporated on March 11, 1902.

² Hampton Monitor, January 29, 1903 in Hampton University Newspaper Clipping File (117.123), Hampton University, Hampton, VA.

women, anti-Bookerites nor non-elite African-Americans. The NDEC, instead, was governed by elite, African-American male adherents to Booker T. Washington's conciliatory ideology: W. Isaac Johnson, President (Fig. 5); Reverend A. Binga, Jr., Vice-President (Fig. 6); Robert Kelser, Secretary; R. T. Hill (Fig. 7), Treasurer; and John R. Hawkins, Auditor and Chief of Finance.

That Richmond was the Negro Building's organizational headquarters was due to the fact that it was "the most important center of Negro business activity in the world."³ Furthermore, African-American aristocrats who had the time and resources to participate in the management of the Negro Building lived and worked in Richmond and Washington, D.C., where the NDEC operated a satellite office.⁴ In contrast, African-Americans from Norfolk, the

³ The Negro in Virginia, compiled by Workers of the Writers Program of the Work Projects Administration in the State of Virginia, (New York: Hastings House, 1940), p. 298.

⁴ "From the end of Reconstruction until at least World War I, Washington was the center of the Black aristocracy in the United States." William B. Gatewood, Aristocrats of Color: The Black Elite, 1880-1920 (Bloomington & Indianapolis: Indiana University Press,

city adjacent to the exposition grounds, were surprisingly unrepresented in the NDEC and made no recorded attempt to contribute to the organization of the Negro Building.⁵ Furthermore, Norfolk's 25,000 African-American residents (comprising 45% of that city's population) were excluded from the city's pre-exposition expansion.⁶ Norfolk officials felt that African-Americans detracted from the city's new boosterism. Consequently, African-Americans were segregated from developing neighborhoods and publicly denounced by local politicians.⁷ Visitors to the Jamestown Tercentennial, stated one Norfolk official, "would see [Norfolk's] accomplishments in true perspective only if they subtracted the black population from the total to give the actual number of citizens

1990), p. 39.

⁵ Carl Abbott, "Norfolk in the New Century: The Jamestown Exposition and Urban Boosterism," Virginia Magazine of History and Biography, Vol. 85, No. 1 (January 1977), p. 96. I infer from their reported absence that African-Americans in Norfolk did not meet the NDEC's elite standard.

⁶ Ibid., pp. 89 - 96.

⁷ Ibid., p. 89.

who had contributed to the city's growth.”⁸

The NDEC men, like the Norfolk officials, did not want to affiliate with those outside their social and economic group. Money, position and often skin color, combined with what noted African-American journalist and Negro Building publicist, Richard W. Thompson, described as “character, worth, morals [and] conduct” determined one's entrance into the elite, African-American society of which the NDEC was composed.⁹ Representing less than 3% of the entire African-American population (Fig. 8),¹⁰ this exclusive group upheld its sense of superiority by emulating elite white society's club system and high brow networking. Despite the fact that the “colored aristocracy”¹¹ distanced itself from the masses through its elitism, it continued to feel morally responsible for its race's

⁸ Ibid., p. 96.

⁹ Quoted in Gatewood, p. 25.

¹⁰ Bart Landry, The New Black Middle Class (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1987), p. 21.

¹¹ Quoted in Gatewood, p. 23.

uplift. Because proponents believed that the Negro Building could “ease the path for political and civil rights”¹² by earning the respect of the white community and inspiring the less refined and less educated African-American masses, the project fit elite members of the NDEC’s noblesse oblige philosophy.¹³

NDEC officers sought to improve race relations by following the example of Booker T. Washington and his belief in the future benefit of accommodation (Fig. 9). Executives of the NDEC fit the profile of Bookerites who were among the newly wealthy; supporters of African-American fraternal organizations; and businessmen who depended on African-American patronage for their livelihood:¹⁴ The NDEC’s first president, John H. Smyth, was ex-minister to Liberia; W. Isaac Johnson, the NDEC’s second president, was a funeral director and liveryman; R. T. Hill was the cashier at the True Reformer’s

¹² August Meier, Negro Thought in America, 1880-1915, Racial Ideologies in the Age of Booker T. Washington (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1964), p. 10.

¹³ Gatewood, p. 24.

¹⁴ Meier, p. 118.

Bank; and Giles B. Jackson was a lawyer and businessman.

The NDEC was dominated by men who were not only followers of Booker T. Washington, but also, personally connected to him through Tuskegee Institute (of which he was principal and founder) and the Negro Business League (of which he was president and founder). Washington's advice was frequently sought, and his recommendations followed, by his friends organizing the Jamestown Negro Building. Thus, although Washington was not an official manager of the Negro Building at the Jamestown Tercentennial as he had been at the Cotton States Exposition (Atlanta, 1895) and the South Carolina Inter-State and West Indian Exposition (Charleston, 1902), his presence was acutely felt on both an administrative and ideological level.

Giles B. Jackson (1853-1924), as its founder and spokesman, epitomized the NDEC. Jackson was born a slave in Goochland County, Virginia. As a boy during the Civil War, Jackson attended the horses and uniforms for either Robert E. Lee or his nephew, General Fitzhugh

Lee.¹⁵ As a reminder of his Civil War service, Jackson reportedly “carried on his forehead the scar of a Yankee bullet.”¹⁶ Illiterate and penniless following the end of the war, Jackson walked to Richmond. Jackson soon found work with an affluent newspaper publishing family, the Stewarts, at their estate in Brook Hill near Richmond.¹⁷ While with the Stewarts, Jackson was paid the “first dollar [he]

¹⁵ Patricia Carter Ives (Sluby), Jackson’s great granddaughter, cites a 1923 Congressional House Hearing as evidence to support that Robert E. Lee was the one Jackson served. However, William Hayes Ward in 1907 reported for the Independent that Jackson was the slave and body servant of Gen. Fitzhugh Lee. Fitzhugh Lee was a Governor of Virginia and the Jamestown Exposition Company’s president from 1902 until his death in 1905. If Ward’s version is correct, this might explain why the Negro Building was included in the Jamestown Tercentennial and why Jackson was chosen to organize it.

¹⁶ William Hayes Ward, “A Race Exhibition,” Independent, Vol. LXIII (November 14, 1907), p. 1169.

¹⁷ Patricia Carter Ives, “James and Hulda Jackson of Goochland County, Virginia,” National Genealogical Society Quarterly, Vol. 67 (1979), p. 104.

ever owned and . . . learned to write [his] name.”¹⁸ Following his employment with the Stewarts, Jackson began to work for Richmond attorney William H. Beveridge. With the assistance and encouragement of this employer, Jackson taught himself law.¹⁹ As a testimony to his intelligence and determination, Jackson was inducted by Virginia’s Supreme Court of Appeals as the first self-taught African-American attorney in Virginia on November 30, 1887.²⁰ To his prosperous law practice which followed, Jackson soon added a bakery and real estate holdings to become one of Richmond’s most successful African-American citizens.²¹

¹⁸ Letter, Giles B. Jackson to Annie Stewart, May 6, 1904, Stewart Family Papers, Virginia Historical Society, Richmond, Virginia.

¹⁹ Patricia Carter Ives, “Giles Beecher Jackson, Director-General of the Negro Development and Exposition Company of the United States for the Jamestown Tercentennial Exposition of 1907,” Negro History Bulletin, Vol. 38, No. 8 (December 1975), p. 480 (Hereafter referred to “Giles Beecher Jackson . . .”).

²⁰ Ibid.

²¹ Andrew Buni, The Negro in Virginia Politics, 1902-1965 (Charlottesville: The University Press of Virginia, 1967), p. 39.

Within the African-American community in Richmond's "middle class fraternal, political and financial circles," Jackson became an acknowledged leader.²² He aided Booker T. Washington in organizing the Southern Negro Business League and was the National Negro Business League's vice president for three years from its inception in 1900.²³ Jackson did legal work for African-American businesses including Virginia's first African-American insurance company.²⁴ On both a personal and business level, Jackson, like most elite and middle class African-Americans, was involved in fraternal organizations.²⁵ Serving as the Grand Attorney for the United Order of True Reformers, Jackson drew up the charter for its bank in 1889, making it the first African-American managed and chartered bank in

²² The Negro in Virginia, p. 298.

²³ Ives, "Giles Beecher Jackson . . .", pp. 480 - 483.

²⁴ "Giles Beecher Jackson Dies Early Today," Richmond News-Leader, August 13, 1924, p. 1.

²⁵ Louis R. Harlan, Booker T. Washington: The Wizard of Tuskegee, 1901-1915 (New York: Oxford University Press, 1983), p. 101.

America.²⁶

As Jackson represented and moved within the circles of African-American, Victorian elites, he maintained an important role as liaison to white America. In fact, as “a conservative Republican,” some considered Jackson to be “more popular with whites than with Negroes.”²⁷ Jackson’s conciliatory philosophy towards race relations reportedly granted him safe passage into the company of every president from Grant to Coolidge.²⁸ During Reconstruction, Ulysses S. Grant designated an African-American residential and business area in Richmond, “Jackson’s Ward” for Jackson to represent in

²⁶ Ives, “Giles Beecher Jackson . . .”, p. 482. The United Order of True Reformers was founded in 1881 by Rev. William Washington Browne, a former slave, school teacher and temperance reformer. By 1907, the order’s membership was 100,000 strong. The failure of its bank in 1910 led to the demise of the society in 1911. Meier, p. 137.

²⁷ The Negro in Virginia, p. 297.

²⁸ “Giles B. Jackson Dies Early Today,” Richmond News-Leader, August 13, 1924, p. 1.

Richmond's city council.²⁹ Jackson was further rewarded for his unthreatening politics by President McKinley, who gave him the honorary title of Colonel in 1901 and put him in command of an African-American cavalry regiment during the presidential inauguration ceremonies.³⁰

In 1903, following the endorsement of President Fitzhugh Lee of the Jamestown Exposition Company, Jackson initiated and promoted the idea of a Negro Building at the Jamestown Tercentennial. It is possible that Jackson was given the authority to organize and lead the Negro Building because of his position as Fitzhugh Lee's or his uncle, General Robert E. Lee's slave during the Civil War. Nevertheless, Jackson was a non-controversial and safe choice. In order to support the Negro Building financially, Jackson secured a capital stock of \$800,000 for the NDEC to be sold in ten dollar shares. Jackson attempted to appeal to the race patriotism of African-Americans across economic lines by keeping the price of

²⁹ Ives, "Giles Beecher Jackson . . .", p. 480.

³⁰ Ibid. President Theodore Roosevelt renewed Jackson's commission four years later.

each share to a minimum.³¹ To further encourage sales, the NDEC advertised that the amount of the stock would be redeemed with 6% interest after the Exposition closed.³²

To publicize the event and sell the stock, Jackson travelled extensively and published appeals to African-Americans and whites in flyers and in a weekly magazine, the Negro Criterion, of which Jackson was editor and publisher. The Negro Criterion, which was first used as the organ for the Negro Business League of Virginia, continued to perpetuate the League's and Washington's philosophies. "Me and my paper," wrote Jackson, "are for Booker T. Washington and his school and against anything that is against Booker T.

³¹ Giles B. Jackson and D. Webster Davis, The Industrial History of the Negro Race of the United States (Richmond: The Virginia Press, 1908), p. 140.

³² Letter, NDEC to the Board of Governors of the Jamestown Exposition Company, October 1, 1906, National Archives, Treasury Department files.

Washington.”³³

To supplement the sale of the stock, Jackson and the NDEC solicited support from states with a large African-American population. Despite Jackson’s ardent campaigning, the NDEC raised only \$50,000 through subscription to its stock, and North Carolina was the only state to appropriate funds for a special exhibit within the Negro Building.³⁴ These disappointing results were due to protest surrounding the Jamestown Negro Building within the African-American community. Only those African-Americans who agreed with Washington’s conciliatory philosophy supported the separate Negro Building. Proponents of the Negro Building believed

³³ Letter, Jackson to Washington, February 4, 1907, Booker T. Washington Papers, Manuscript Division, Library of Congress, Washington, D.C. (Hereafter referred to as Washington Papers).

³⁴ Jackson and Davis, pp. 158 - 161.; “North Carolina was also the only State whose officials included in their exercises at the Jamestown Exposition an official visit to the Negro Building and a speech from the governor of the State full of encouragement and hope.” U.S. Congress, Senate, Final Report of the Jamestown Ter-Centennial Commission, Sen. Doc. 735, 60th Cong., 2nd sess., 1909, p. 150 (Hereafter referred to as Final Report).

that African-Americans should “yield for the present to the irresistible and to take advantage of the privileges allowed by the dominant race in hopes of something better.”³⁵ This group of African-Americans listened when Booker T. Washington told his audience at the Cotton States Exposition (Atlanta, 1895), “In all things that are purely social we can be as separate as the fingers, yet one as the hand in all things essential to mutual progress.”³⁶ Supporters of the Jamestown Negro Building felt strongly that this abandonment of aggressive political activism for economic and social development was the answer for a brighter future.

Washington’s philosophy, echoed in the promotions for the Negro Building was un-threatening to the status quo of the South and “Lily White” Republicans.³⁷ “Washington,” wrote Thomas Nelson

³⁵ Ward, “A Race Exhibition,” p. 1168.

³⁶ Quoted in Southern Workman, (November 1895), p. 181.

³⁷ The term “Lily Whites” refers to “a faction of the Republican party in the south which stood for the exclusion of Negro voters from public office and from membership in party conventions and committees.” Edward C. Smith and Arnold J. Zurcher, Dictionary

Page in his 1904 book, The Negro: The Southerner's Problem, "is esteemed at the South the wisest and sanest man of color in the country and who has, perhaps, done more than any other to carry out the ideas that the Southern well-wishers of his race believe to be the soundest and most promising of good results."³⁸ Moreover, Washington's accommodationist philosophy and denial of "social equality" made him the safe favorite of President Theodore Roosevelt. Consequently, when faced with the realization that the Negro Building could not succeed on its own with insufficient funds and against fierce African-American opposition, Giles B. Jackson and the NDEC turned to the United States government for financial support.

Because the federal government subsidized Negro Buildings and exhibits at previous expositions, the NDEC was optimistic about funding for the 1907 exhibition. As Jackson explained, "The fact that there was a Negro department at the Atlanta Exposition, which

of American Politics (New York: Barnes & Noble, Inc., 1968), p. 222.

³⁸ Thomas Nelson Page, The Negro: The Southerner's Problem (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1904), pp. 5 - 6.

was supported by government aid, and the fact that there was a Negro department at the Charleston Exposition, which was supported by government aid, and the fact that the Negro exhibit was gathered together by the authorities of the national government and carried to Paris, and there put upon exhibition, all three of which exhibitions were declared a success, have caused our opposers [sic] to abandon all opposition. . .”³⁹

The government’s interest in the Jamestown Negro Building and the African-American exhibits at other expositions was inevitably motivated by self-interest. A non-controversial, separate African-American exhibit served the government by illustrating the economic and social well-being of the entire country. “It is due the United States,” wrote Thomas Calloway in 1899, “that proof be furnished that all classes of its population are prosperous,

³⁹ NDEC, “An Address to the American Negro by the Negro Development and Exposition Company of the United States of America,” n.d., National Archives, Treasury Department files (Hereafter referred to as NDEC, “An Address . . .”), p. 4.

progressive and valuable citizens.”⁴⁰ A successful Negro Building illustrating the “progress” Africans made since coming to America also demonstrated America’s imperialistic belief in the benefit of “civilizing” non-white and non-European peoples. Moreover, on a purely economic level, the additional African-American patronage to the Exposition would clearly boost ticket sales and augment the Exposition’s revenue.

Although the NDEC was confident that it would receive federal aid, it wanted to guarantee an appropriation by first seeking the personal endorsement of President Theodore Roosevelt. Roosevelt publicly announced his support during a trip to Richmond in 1905. Outside the NDEC’s headquarters, Roosevelt declared: “Mr. Jackson, I congratulate you and your people on the magnificent showing you have made in your development. I am with you. I assure you and your people that you have my hearty support in the efforts you are making to have a creditable exhibit of the achievements of your race and I

⁴⁰ Thomas Calloway, “U.S. Commission to the Paris Exposition of 1900. The American Negro Exhibit,” Washington, D.C., December 21, 1899, n.p., Jamestown Exhibition Collection, Hampton University Archives, Hampton, Virginia.

commend you in the effort you are making for the bettermen [sic] of the condition of your race.”⁴¹ After receiving Roosevelt’s verbal endorsement, in addition to the written support of other white leaders, including ex-president Grover Cleveland, Jackson made his first appeal before Congress for \$1,200,000.

Jackson and the NDEC arrived at the original \$1,200,000 figure by calculating what they felt the federal government owed African-Americans. Jackson specifically asked for \$200,000 of the \$480,000 in the Treasury “due to the estates of deceased colored soldiers, but unclaimed.”⁴² “It is certain,” explained Jackson, “that this money will never be called for by the heirs or next of kin to the deceased soldiers killed in the war of 1861-1865 because of their inability to establish their right on account of the condition of slavery.”⁴³

For the balance of one million dollars, Jackson asked that it

⁴¹ NDEC, “An Address . . .”, p. 3.

⁴² Jackson and Davis, p. 144.

⁴³ Ibid., p. 148.

come “out of the United States Treasury from any money not otherwise appropriated.”⁴⁴ To justify this appropriation, Jackson reminded Congress that African-Americans had not been reimbursed for the “twelve hundred thousand dollars of which they were defrauded by the Freedmen’s Bank swindle.”⁴⁵ “We feel,” Jackson explained, “that in making us the appropriation for this Exposition it will in some measure repay the heirs of the deceased depositors of the said Freedman’s Bank who have long ago lost their passbooks and other receipts . . . and will also in a measure pay back to a race of

⁴⁴ Ibid.

⁴⁵ Ibid. “The Freedman’s Saving Bank (officially named the Freedman’s Savings and Trust Company) was incorporated in 1865 by the U.S. Congress. Controlled and operated largely by whites, this bank established 34 branches between 1865 and 1871. By 1872 a total of \$7 million had been deposited in the bank which appeared to have a promising future with the potential of assisting former slaves to economic freedom. Poor management, hostility to the black institution, dishonesty and incompetence in various branches, and careless lending of funds resulted in the bank’s failure. In June of 1874, the Freedman’s Bank closed its doors - owing almost \$3 million to 61,000 depositors. 38 percent of the deposits were never refunded.” W. Augustus Low ed. Encyclopedia of Black America (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1981), pp. 150 & 398.

people the money out of which they were swindled by the said Freedman's Bank fraud."⁴⁶

Jackson further testified that African-Americans deserved what he described as a "gift," not only because they constituted ten percent of the population, but also because of their "fidelity to the master during slavery and to the government during the war."⁴⁷ The NDEC later reduced the amount of their request to \$200,000. "I felt that in view of the fact that the white people at such a time could not get \$2,650,000," explained Jackson, "that I would not strike for \$1,000,000, for I did not think I would get it."⁴⁸

Not all African-Americans felt that the money in the Treasury should go to support the Jamestown Negro Building. Reverend James L. White, Assistant Pastor of the Washington Shiloh Baptist Church, opposed such an appropriation. White argued before the Committee

⁴⁶ NDEC, "Petition to Congress," February 17, 1905, National Archives, Treasury Department files.

⁴⁷ Jackson and Davis, p. 149.

⁴⁸ "Appeal of the NDEC," p. 15.

on Industrial Arts and Expositions of the House of Representatives that the money Jackson earmarked should, instead, go to support “a memorial national home in honor of deceased colored soldiers and a home for the aged and infirm” in Washington, D.C.⁴⁹ African-Americans, White insisted, were “not willing for one dollar of this money to be spent anywhere in any state where there is any discrimination against the American citizen.”⁵⁰

Mr. Tawney, the Chairman of the Committee on Industrial Arts and Expositions, also challenged the Negro Building appropriation on February 17, 1905. The Chairman asked the NDEC representatives, “whether the government would be justified in encouraging and fostering a distinction which you yourself say has been made against your race.”⁵¹ The NDEC responded to the Chairman, and those

⁴⁹ Ibid., p. 25.

⁵⁰ U.S. Congress, House, Select Committee on Industrial Arts and Expositions, Jamestown Ter-Centennial Exposition, 1907, Hearings, on HR 12610, 59th Cong., 1st sess., February 19, 1906, p. 62.

⁵¹ “Appeal of the NDEC,” p. 29.

African-Americans opposed to the Negro Building, by arguing that the exhibit would highlight the positive side of the African-American. This was necessary, explained Rev. James Anderson Taylor for the NDEC, because the “reason he is separate and distinct is because the people do not know him; they do not know him. They don’t know what he is doing; they see his bad side, and everybody thinks that everything he does is bad in the world.”⁵² Following much deliberation and a thorough investigation into the NDEC, the government sided with the NDEC and responded with a reduced, yet significant, appropriation of \$100,000 on June 30, 1906.

In order to control the product that it was financing, the government stipulated that all details of the Jamestown Negro Building, including promotion and expenses, be first approved by the Jamestown Tercentennial Commission. The Commission formed to represent the government in issues relating to the Exposition included the Secretary of the Treasury, Leslie M. Shaw, who was later replaced by George Cortelyou; Assistant Secretary of the Treasury, John H. Edwards; Secretary of War, William Howard Taft;

⁵² Ibid.

Secretary of the Navy, Victor H. Metcalf; and William Geddes as the Commission's assistant secretary.

The government's Commission demanded fastidious accounting from the NDEC. The extent of the record keeping that they required seemed to indicate a lack of trust which offended the proud gentlemen of the NDEC. In a letter to the Jamestown Tercentennial Commission, W. Isaac Johnson, President of the NDEC, articulated the NDEC's indignation:

In my opinion these requirements are rather superfluous, as they relate to small items; such as street carfare, tips to a porter, and other small items . . . all of which you require to be sworn to. I think this would be putting us in a position as being unworthy of trust and honor . . . I would not be willing to subscribe to such a document unless I was forced to do so, as our Company would not employ a man who would have to be sworn on account of such small items.⁵³

⁵³ Letter, W. Isaac Johnson to J. H. Edwards, Secretary of the Tercentennial Commission, August 21, 1906, National Archives, Treasury Department files.

The Tercentennial Commission curtly replied that such requirements were standard government policy and that they must comply. It is questionable, however, that the same dependence was required of the white exposition organizers receiving aid from the government.

Theodore Roosevelt and his administration believed that an unsuccessful or inappropriate Negro Building, funded by the government, could jeopardize his already unstable relations with African-Americans and “Lily White” Republicans. In his first term as President, Roosevelt gained African-American votes by using Booker T. Washington as an advisor on African-American issues and inviting him to dinner at the White House.⁵⁴ African-Americans supported Roosevelt for hiring an African-American, Dr. William D. Crum, to be customs collector of Charleston and for closing a post office in Indianola, Mississippi when that town refused to have an African-American postmaster.⁵⁵ During his second term as President, however, the leader of the party of emancipation

⁵⁴ Meier, pp. 112 & 164.

⁵⁵ Ibid., p. 164.

increasingly sided against African-Americans to gain the Southern white vote. In the year before the Jamestown Tercentennial Exposition opened, the President delivered a speech to Congress siding with whites in the South that lynching was a justifiable response to rape; dishonorably discharged, without trial, African-American soldiers of the 25th infantry division after a riot in Brownsville, Texas with police and shop owners; and approved the sending of all remaining African-American soldiers in America to the Philippines.⁵⁶

Because of the political ramifications of the “Negro Question” and the \$100,000 appropriation, the Jamestown Tercentennial Commission panicked four months before opening day when it became aware of accusations being made against the NDEC. Some of the denouncements came from within the organization against its Director-General, Giles B. Jackson. Thomas J. Calloway, the NDEC’s special agent, wrote to Booker T. Washington about his lack of confidence in Jackson: “I am now convinced that his set purpose is to make the exhibit a GILES B. JACKSON EXHIBIT, and that nothing has

⁵⁶ Ibid.

any consideration in his mind that will in the least endanger or seem to share in his 'glory.' He seems to have no one in his confidence, and is trying to so arrange everything that he will be the sole master of the situation."⁵⁷

Criticisms were not contained to within the NDEC. Instead, rumors of mismanagement were widespread. The Indianapolis Freeman on February 2, 1907, informed its readers that "misunderstandings if not downright accusations of mismanagement and speculation are in the wind."⁵⁸ "Confidence in the affair at Washington, the logical headquarters," continued the Freeman, "is practically dead."⁵⁹

As opening day approached, the Jamestown Tercentennial Commission became increasingly anxious. The Commission was not moved to action, however, until it received a letter addressed to

⁵⁷ Letter, Thomas J. Calloway to Booker T. Washington, August 9, 1906, Washington Papers.

⁵⁸ Freeman (Indianapolis, IN), February 2, 1907, p. 1.

⁵⁹ Ibid.

President Roosevelt from Professor W. C. Payne of the William McKinley Normal and Industrial School in Alexandria, Virginia. After reading the following letter, dated December 11, 1906, the Commission appears to have panicked:

I deem it my indispensable [sic] duty, which I owe to you and the people of my race (the negro) to call your attention to the incompetent way which the Negro Development and Exposition Company is managing the affairs of our people's exhibit. Mr. Jackson, the Director General of this company is seemingly, all there is to it, though he has appointed scores of people as commissioners of which I am one, but we are all figure-heads. No meeting of us, have [sic] been called and no official business done by these unpaid, commissioners with no official status. But Mr. Jackson is playing with the government just as he is with us, and to this I can't concede, for there is too much at stake on the part of the negro of this country and what is expected of them at Jamestown . . . There should be some shaking up in this matter, or negroes should be apprised of the real conditions through the press. The fact is that Mr. Jackson

does not remain at his office attending to the negro exhibit, but he is always on the go in the sole interest of the Negro Development and Exposition Company selling its stock, and up to this time nothing worthy of mentioning has been done on the plot of ground allotted to Negroes for their exhibit.⁶⁰

The Commission immediately responded by organizing a review of the NDEC. Correspondence between members of the Commission reveals their sense of urgency. In a December 19, 1906 letter to Chairman Leslie M. Shaw, William Howard Taft wrote, "I enclose herewith a letter on the subject of the Negro Development business, and think that we ought to have a thorough investigation made and prompt action taken. I suggest that you call a meeting of the Commission, and tell our Secretary to give us all the data that he can give us in respect to the matter. Certainly we must avoid a scandal in this business."⁶¹

⁶⁰ Letter, Payne to Roosevelt, December 11, 1906, National Archives, Treasury Department files.

⁶¹ Letter, William Howard Taft to Leslie M. Shaw, December 19, 1906, National Archives, Treasury Department files.

The Final Report of the Jamestown Tercentennial Commission described what ensued: “The officers of the Negro Development and Exhibition Company met with the Commission on December 24, 1906, it having developed that the advancement was not being made as satisfactorily as desired in the preparation of the Negro Exhibit because of the failure of the said Negro Development and Exposition Company to advise the Commission from time to time of the progress being made.”⁶² Following this meeting, the Commission arranged for an investigation to be made of the NDEC. The Jamestown Tercentennial Commission hired experienced African-American exposition managers, Jesse Lawson and Thomas J. Calloway, to perform the evaluation. Lawson, a legal examiner in the Department of the Interior, was in charge of the Washington, D.C. exhibit in the Negro Building at the Cotton States Exposition (Atlanta, 1895). Calloway, a special agent for the NDEC and a clerk in the War Department, was the State Commissioner for the Negro Department of the Atlanta Exposition in 1895 and Commissioner of the American

⁶² Final Report, p. 139.

Negro Exhibit at the Paris Exposition of 1900.⁶³

Lawson and Calloway's report on the NDEC revealed that "the bookkeeping and record work show[ed] a lack of system and a degree of confusion that should be immediately straightened out" and that "less than one third of the real work of preparing the exhibit [had] been accomplished."⁶⁴ The report concluded that these delinquencies were not the result of "maladministration but due to a lack of knowledge of the real business of preparing an exhibit."⁶⁵ It also cited "hostile and adverse circumstances" as probable cause for its lack of progress.⁶⁶ The result of this evaluation was the organization of a new, more experienced Executive Committee. Although the NDEC continued to function, "the work of collecting, preparing, classifying, installing, maintaining and returning Negro

⁶³ New York Age, December 5, 1907, p. 1.

⁶⁴ "Report prepared by Thomas Calloway and Jesse Lawson for the NDEC and Jamestown Tercentennial Commission," December 1906, National Archives, Treasury Department files.

⁶⁵ Ibid.

⁶⁶ Ibid.

exhibits” was, thereafter, the responsibility of the Executive Committee of the Jamestown Negro Exhibit.⁶⁷

With the emergence of the new Negro Building Executive Committee, organizational power shifted from Richmond, Virginia to Washington, D.C. and from Giles B. Jackson to Thomas J. Calloway (Fig. 10). Although initially named Chairman, Jackson declined this position in favor of Thomas J. Calloway and assumed the post of Director-General. Consequently, after “nearly 4 years advertising, promoting and collecting the material for this exhibit at the personal cost of over \$15,000,” Jackson “turned over all [his] books, papers and records containing the names and nature of over 8,000 exhibits and the names and addresses of nearly 11,000 exhibitors” to Calloway.⁶⁸ Calloway, who was born in 1866 in Cleveland, Tennessee, graduated from Fisk University in 1889 and once worked

⁶⁷ Ibid.

⁶⁸ Letter, Jackson to the Jamestown Tercentennial Commission, December 9, 1907, National Archives, Treasury Department files.

as Booker T. Washington's assistant at Tuskegee University.⁶⁹ Following this appointment, Calloway became the president of Alcorn A & M College in Mississippi in 1895.⁷⁰ Calloway eventually left education to accept a position as clerk in the War Department in Washington.⁷¹ While working in the War Department, Calloway earned a degree in law from Howard University in 1904.⁷² As a past assistant to Booker T. Washington at Tuskegee Institute, Calloway was "a staunch supporter of Booker T. Washington and was a leader in what became known as the Bookerite faction in Washington, D.C."⁷³ Calloway brought to his position as Chairman of the Executive Committee, his vast experience in exposition work, elite status and safe Bookerite politics.

⁶⁹ New York Age, December 5, 1907, p. 1.

⁷⁰ Ibid.

⁷¹ Ibid.

⁷² Ibid.

⁷³ The Booker T. Washington Papers, Louis R. Harlan and Raymond W. Smock eds. (Urbana: Chicago University of Illinois Press, 1989), Vol. 3, p. 177 (Hereafter referred to as BTW Papers).

Andrew F. Hilyer (1859-1925) was hired as the Secretary-Treasurer of the Executive Committee after Jesse Lawson's appointment to this position was challenged (Fig. 11). Hilyer's experience as an agent for the 1900 Paris Exposition's United States Commission made him a logical choice for this position. Born a slave in Monroe, Georgia, Hilyer was the first African-American to graduate from the University of Minnesota.⁷⁴ Hilyer went on in the 1880's to receive a law degree from Howard University.⁷⁵ In 1892, Hilyer founded the Union League and was an active member of the National Negro Business League.⁷⁶ Hilyer, who was "a long time fixture in Washington, D.C.'s most exclusive African-American social circles," joined the Executive Committee while on leave from his job as an accountant in the U.S. Treasury Department.⁷⁷

⁷⁴ Ibid., Vol. 4, p. 150.

⁷⁵ Ibid.

⁷⁶ Ibid.

⁷⁷ Gatewood, p. 28. Hilyer was called back to his job at the Treasury Department in June of 1907.

With the restructuring of Negro Building management, a woman, Mrs. Nanna or Namah [both short for Namanoko] Curtis, was chosen to hold the important position of Fiscal Agent of the Executive Committee to certify all vouchers and payrolls. Curtis was a “socially and politically active woman of striking beauty” originally from San Francisco.⁷⁸ Her husband, Dr. Austin M. Curtis, a surgeon with a “national reputation,”⁷⁹ was administrative head of the Freedman’s Hospital in Washington, D.C.⁸⁰ She, too, was chosen because of her elite status and exposition experience gained from being on the Board of Lady Managers at the Columbian Exposition (Chicago, 1893) and the Louisiana Purchase Exposition (St. Louis, 1904).⁸¹

Newspaperman Richard W. Thompson also joined the Executive

⁷⁸ Ibid., p. 49.

⁷⁹ Washington Bee, December 29, 1906, p. 4.

⁸⁰ Gatewood, p. 49.

⁸¹ New York Age, December 5, 1907, p. 1.

Committee “to furnish the negro newspapers specially and to the press generally items of interest relative to the progress of the exhibit.”⁸² In order to work on the Negro Building publicity full time, Thompson was given an indefinite leave of absence from his position in the War Department in Jeffersonville, Indiana and from the Freeman newspaper in Indianapolis.⁸³ Thompson’s hire was based on the recommendation of Booker T. Washington. Washington’s motive for having Thompson in this position was two-fold. First, through Thompson, Washington could control what was to be printed about the Jamestown Negro Building and his involvement in it. More importantly, however, having Thompson in the District of Columbia assured Booker T. Washington a spy and pro-Bookerite voice in a city with strong anti-Bookerite opposition. “I am real glad to hear you are in Washington,” wrote Washington to Thompson, “and feel that our little effort was not in vain . . . keep an eye out for the

⁸² Final Report, p. 146.

⁸³ Letter, Washington to Calloway, February 8, 1907, Washington Papers.

[Washington] Bee and Record.”⁸⁴ “It is an open secret,” Thompson later wrote Washington’s personal secretary, Emmett Scott, “that we need a dependable organ in the national capital.”⁸⁵

The Jamestown Commission was not satisfied with the reorganization of the Negro Building’s management alone. Instead, the Commission required the Executive Committee to send detailed monthly reports and inform them of all their activities. From its inception, the Executive Committee was forced to keep meticulous records and greatly reduce the NDEC’s previous expenditures. Hence, with only ninety-seven days left, field agents collecting exhibits went from fifty to twelve and promotional travelling, services and office staff was reduced to a minimum.⁸⁶

⁸⁴ Letter, Washington to Thompson, March 3, 1907, Washington Papers.

⁸⁵ Letter, Thompson to Emmett Scott, April 6, 1907, Washington Papers.

⁸⁶ “Report of Executive Committee, Negro Exhibit, Jamestown Exposition, January 14 - March 31, 1907,” April 1, 1907, n.p., National Archives, Treasury Department files.

CHAPTER TWO

The Negro Building Exhibits: Architecture, Displays and Audience

The Building

The NDEC and the Executive Committee for the Negro Exhibit insisted that African-Americans be responsible for all aspects of the Negro Building, including its design and construction. “To deny [African-Americans] this privilege,” R. T. Hill of the NDEC argued, “would be very detrimental to the object sought by Congress to enable the Negro to make a creditable exhibit.”¹ If African-Americans were not solely responsible, Hill explained, “it would place the Negro in a very weak position, he would still appear as the

¹ Quoted in Franklin, “The Negro Exhibition of the Jamestown Ter-Centennial Exposition of 1907,” p. 411.

ward of the Nation and incapable of providing a building for the exhibition of the results of his achievements.”² This aspect of the Negro Building was fundamental to its existence. Consequently, the Negro Building managers claimed that “if the building wasn’t erected by Negro artisans the enterprise would be abandoned.”³

Therefore, instead of the “Supervising Architect in connection with the other government buildings” designing the Negro Building as the Jamestown Tercentennial Commission initially requested,⁴ African-American architects alone were invited to compete for the honor. Five drawings were submitted to the NDEC and sent to the government’s Supervising Architect, J. Knox Taylor, for approval. After Taylor’s examination, the plans were returned to a committee

² Ibid.

³ “Report of the Executive Committee, Negro Exhibit, Jamestown Exposition, to April 30, 1908,” May 15, 1908, p. 5, National Archives, Treasury Department files.

⁴ Letter, Edwards to Taft, July 28, 1906, National Archives, Treasury Department files.

of NDEC officials for the final selection.⁵ The contest ultimately narrowed between two Washington, D.C. architects, J. A. Lankford and W. Sidney Pittman. The Washington Bee described what followed: “Messrs. Lankford and Pittman appeared before the committee at Richmond, Va., last week, each with a copy of their drawings and in its presence they were explained. There was a very lively session of the committee and the two competitors. The committee, after a thorough examination of the two sets of drawings and the explanation each gave, retired for consultation and unanimously reported in favor of the drawings made by Mr. W. Sidney Pittman” (Fig. 12).⁶ This outcome in Pittman’s favor made him the first African-American architect to have plans accepted by the federal government.⁷

Pittman’s selection, however, was not without controversy. Newspapers critical of the Negro Building project, like the Boston

⁵ The committee consisted of NDEC officers W. Isaac Johnson, Rev. A. Binga, Jr., R. T. Hill and Giles B. Jackson.

⁶ Washington Bee, October 27, 1906, p. 1.

⁷ New York Times, November 24, 1906, p. 2.

Guardian, reported that the selection was dishonest and distorted by nepotism. The Guardian claimed that the architectural plan which Supervising Architect Taylor found the best “from the standpoint of beauty, arrangement [and] cost” was that of J. A. Lankford.⁸ The Guardian continued to discredit Pittman’s selection by reporting that he was chosen over Lankford because he had graduated from Tuskegee and was engaged to Booker T. Washington’s daughter, Portia⁹. Pittman, the article continued, was chosen only after Booker T. Washington and his brother, James, the superintendent of Tuskegee’s Industrial Department, intervened.¹⁰ The Boston newspaper accused Booker and James Washington of pressuring the NDEC board members by stating that only if the Tuskegee graduate and future son-in-law of Booker T. Washington was chosen, would Tuskegee Institute endorse the Negro Building and send an exhibit.¹¹ With the fate of the Negro Building thus on the line, the Guardian

⁸ Guardian (Boston, Mass.) , December 18, 1906, p. 1.

⁹ Ibid.

¹⁰ Ibid.

¹¹ Ibid.

reported that the NDEC obligingly selected Pittman over Lankford.¹²

This version was obviously meant to discredit the entire project. How much of it was based on truth is unknown. It is curious that before the selection was announced, Lankford was favored to win by the Washington Bee. Furthermore, there was truth in the report that Pittman and Portia Washington were to be married. However, their engagement was not made public until September of 1907.¹³ Of course, it is possible that their engagement was generally known before it was announced. Lankford, however, was not without connections to Booker T. Washington. In fact, he was president of the Washington, D.C. Negro Business League. Moreover, the Guardian's accusation that Tuskegee agreed to send an exhibit if Pittman was selected was also not accurate. There was no exhibit from Tuskegee in the Negro Building.

¹² Ibid.

¹³ Poria Washington and W. Sidney Pittman were married at Tuskegee only a month later on October 31, 1907. BTW Papers, Vol. 2, p. 236.

Emmett Scott, Washington's secretary, refuted the Guardian's claims and accused a revengeful Lankford of being the press's source of information. "As a matter of real truth, and as you well know," Scott reprimanded Lankford, "Mr. Washington had absolutely nothing to do with the award in that matter, and could not in the slightest degree have done any of the thing [sic] which you mention, and then, in addition, to bring Mr. Washington's daughter into a thing of that kind was not in the slightest degree creditable to any of those who have had a part in it, either as inspirer of the article, as writer of same or as publisher. There are some limits, it seems to me, in all things."¹⁴

Lankford vehemently denied being the author of the slanderous statements against the NDEC's selection of an architect for the Negro Building. He immediately fired off two letters, one to Scott and the other to Washington. To Scott, he wrote: "Your very insulting and criminating [sic] letter at hand contents duly noted, coming from you as it did both surprised [sic] and vexed me to a great extent . . . I

¹⁴ Letter, Scott to Lankford, January 3, 1907, Washington Papers.

need not tell you who the correspondant [sic] of the different newspapers are in Washington and what monster are [sic] standing always ready to take advantage of any thing which in the slightest [sic] degree stands for Tuskegee or the Business League.”¹⁵

“I have just received a letter from Mr. Emmett J. Scott, your personal representative,” wrote Lankford with indignation directly to Washington, “charging me with the responsibility of a newspaper article, the most of which has been in ‘The Associate Press’ for the past two months . . . I don’t think I should be called upon to explain especially to you and Mr. Scott about any article which have [sic] or may come out in the Boston Guardian, for you know full well they have said every thing about you and your supporters that mankind could think of and have been doing it for years. It goes without saying that I would not attempt to drag you and your family in any thing which is dishonorable. I had at least thoughts [sic] we were

¹⁵ Letter, Lankford to Scott, January 5, 1907, Washington Papers.

friends and my friendship was not from a selfish standpoint.”¹⁶

Another person disgruntled by Pittman’s selection was Emmett Scott. Scott felt that he and Jackson had “reached an understanding” and that Jackson would follow Scott’s “request” and award the contract for the Negro Building to Mr. R. R. Taylor, who designed most of the buildings at Tuskegee.¹⁷ After Pittman’s selection, Jackson defended the NDEC’s decision. Jackson explained to Scott that the reason Taylor was not selected, as Scott had “requested,” was because he failed to attend a mandatory meeting in Washington, D.C. Moreover, Jackson denied full responsibility for Taylor’s disqualification and Pittman’s election: “In reply to yours of recent date in which you said the Supervising Architect at Washington had written that the matter of award of the Negro Building was left to me, I will say that it was in part left to me, that is, it was left to

¹⁶ Letter, Lankford to Washington, January 5, 1907, Washington Papers.

¹⁷ Letter, Scott to Jackson, September 5, 1906, Washington Papers.

the Committee of which I am a member.”¹⁸ As justification for the selection, however, Jackson explained, “that Mr. Pittman had strong letters of recommendation from Mr. Washington, and also others from Tuskegee, but those along [sic] did not give him the work. It was the merit of his drawings.”¹⁹ Nevertheless, Jackson confessed to Scott that he “was very anxious to have the work and the drawings done by someone connected with your school [Tuskegee], therefore I am glad that Mr. Pittman was so fortunate as to get the job.”²⁰

William Sidney Pittman (1875-1968), who described the competition “as very interesting and a bit exciting,” was born in Montgomery, Alabama, and graduated from Tuskegee Institute in 1900.²¹ With a loan from Booker T. Washington to cover tuition for

¹⁸ Letter, Jackson to Scott, October 21, 1906, Washington Papers.

¹⁹ Ibid.

²⁰ Ibid.

²¹ Letter, Pittman to Scott, October 26, 1906, Washington Papers.

three years, Pittman pursued an advanced degree in architecture from Drexel Institute in Philadelphia.²² Pittman graduated fourth in his class with high honors from Drexel.²³ Out of an obligation to Washington, Pittman returned to Tuskegee to teach and design some of the Institute's buildings.²⁴ At the time Pittman submitted his design for the Jamestown Negro Building, he had moved from Alabama to Washington, D.C.²⁵

Originally, the NDEC wanted to have a separate building for the exhibits of African-Americans of each state.²⁶ Within this scheme, the NDEC envisioned Virginia with the "best and biggest because the relations between the two races here are so well and satisfactorily

²² BTW Papers, Vol. 2, p. 236.

²³ Washington Bee, October 27, 1906, p. 1.

²⁴ Ibid.

²⁵ Ibid.

²⁶ Jackson and Davis, p. 141.

defined that we have prospered greatly.”²⁷ However, because of insufficient funds, the NDEC settled for one large building to house the majority of the exhibits, and five small specialty buildings, including an emergency hospital exhibit and concessions for which the NDEC personally paid \$21,000.²⁸ The concession buildings, which were also designed by Pittman, were colorfully described as containing “prevailing features of the Greeks and of true Elizabethian [sic] era and the quaint castles of Queen Isabella with here and there an example of Wesleyan simplicity and not forgetting a dash of the oriental.”²⁹

Unlike the concessions, the Negro Building had to conform to a “Colonial style” of architecture. The requirement of a colonial, or what art historians today call neo-classical, structure was in keeping with the architecture of the rest of the main Exposition buildings. In previous expositions, the separate Negro Building

²⁷ Ibid.

²⁸ Letter, R. T. Hill to House of Representatives, January 10, 1908, National Archives, Treasury Department files.

²⁹ Washington Bee, October 12, 1907, p. 1.

similarly subscribed to the over-arching architectural theme.³⁰ The intended effect of a common design was to have the Exposition appear as a harmonious and cohesive whole. Thus, despite the subtext of white supremacy throughout the Jamestown Exposition, the white organizers felt the Negro Building “worthy” of this symbolic inclusion. For the African-American managers, the “Colonial” Negro Building allowed them to ally themselves with the rest of the exposition in order to symbolize their desire to be included in the Exposition’s, and by extension, white society’s dominant discourse. Moreover, the colonial/neo-classical style of the Jamestown Negro Building with its balanced form and controlled feeling reflected the intended tone of the exhibits inside: “Civilized,” intelligent and rational.

Construction of the Jamestown Negro Building faced many obstacles. From the design stage, Pittman was hindered by prejudice from the white clerks in the Supervising Architect’s office in the Treasury Department. The clerks were promptly silenced, however,

³⁰ For instance, at the Nashville Exposition, the exposition’s architect designed the Negro Building in the Spanish Mission style to emulate its white counterparts.

by the Secretary of the Treasury, George Cortelyou, who “gave the white employes [sic] to understand that the colored man would not be disturbed. All that the colored man wants is a show and he will convince his white competitors that he is equal to the occasion.”³¹ Secondly, the NDEC had difficulty finding an African-American firm to build the Negro Building for the allotted \$30,000. Consequently, with only eighty days left to complete the building, the Richmond construction firm of Bolling and Everett was hired after putting up a \$15,000 bond for an increased fee of \$40,000.³² Transportation of materials and the almost one hundred mechanics and laborers to the site by street car, train and boat caused delays because Norfolk, the nearest town and shipping port, was nine miles away (forty-five minutes by trolley).³³ The Jamestown Tercentennial Commission described the dire situation in its Final Report: “The 16 transportation lines centering in Norfolk transferred all freight to a single one track railroad to the Exposition, and it was regarded

³¹ Washington Bee, April 6, 1907, p. 4.

³² Final Report, p. 140.

³³ *Ibid.*, p. 143.

fortunate if freight delivered in Norfolk reached the Exposition grounds within ten days thereafter. All the mechanics and laborers had to come by street car or boat, and these lines were proverbial in breakdowns, landing passengers at 10 o'clock who should have been at work at half-past 7.”³⁴ Moreover, delays in the shipment of exhibits and construction materials were augmented by train officials who sought confirmation from the United States government that the checks issued by the African-American Negro Building officers were valid before making their deliveries.³⁵

Due to these delays, the Negro Building was unfinished on the Exposition's opening day, Friday, April 26, 1907. Consequently, despite earlier reports that African-American businesses in Norfolk would be closed on the Exposition's inaugural to encourage large numbers of visitors,³⁶ “colored people did not attend [the opening

³⁴ Ibid.

³⁵ Letter, Atlanta Coast Line Railroad Co. to U.S. Government, February 9, 1907, National Archives, Treasury Department files.

³⁶ Charleston Messenger, April 13, 1907 in Hampton University Newspaper Clipping File (117.145).

ceremonies] in large numbers from this [Richmond] or from any other section.”³⁷ African-Americans were dissuaded from attending, at the beginning, by news of the Negro Building’s unfinished condition. “The Negro building,” read African-Americans on May, 4, 1907 in the Richmond Planet, “is not yet completed and it will be several months, according to conservative estimates, before it will be. The work is being pushed through and no fault attaches itself to either the contractors or to the management of the Negro Department. It has just been a human impossibility to get it ready within the time specified, with the hindrances and drawbacks that have everywhere confronted it.”³⁸ The Negro Building, however, was not the only building on the Exposition grounds behind schedule. Reportedly over one quarter of the Exposition buildings were still under construction on opening day. The Jamestown Exposition, as a result, received negative reviews and was gleefully referred to as the “Jamestown Imposition.”³⁹

³⁷ Richmond Planet, May 4, 1907, p. 1.

³⁸ Ibid.

³⁹ William Inglis, “The Troubles at Jamestown,” Harper’s Weekly, Vol. LI (June 8, 1907), p. 834.

Once completed, the 213 foot long, 129 foot wide and two story high Negro Building was deemed a success (Figs. 13 & 14). Following his final inspection of the Negro Building, R. B. Hayes in the Office of Construction in Baltimore, reported to the Supervising Architect of the Jamestown Tercentennial that the Negro Building “is artistic, is artistically located and the cost is remarkably low. The Negro Building is a distinct achievement for those interested in its construction.”⁴⁰ The Jamestown Official Photographic Corporation described it as “one of the most beautiful [buildings] upon the Exposition grounds.”⁴¹ The Negro Building, which catapulted Pittman’s reputation, was credited as “the chef d’oeuvre” of his “brilliant career.”⁴² Even the Negro Building’s critic, the Washington

⁴⁰ Letter, R. B. Hayes, Office of Construction, U.S. Public Building, Baltimore, MD to Supervising Architect, Treasury Department, July 19, 1907, National Archives, Treasury Department files.

⁴¹ Jamestown Official Photographic Corporation, The Jamestown Exposition Beautifully Illustrated (New York: Isaac H. Blanchard Co., 1907), n.p.

⁴² Washington Bee, October 12, 1907, p. 1.

Bee, published an article hailing Pittman as the best African-American architect in America. “Mr. Pittman’s work at the Exposition,” reported the Washington Bee, “is a distinct triumph and has established him as beyond question the race’s premier in the building profession.”⁴³

The Negro Building was located on a six acre “Negro Reservation” on the west side of the Exposition grounds (Fig. 15). Situated behind the one mile long amusement area called the War Path, the Negro Building was extremely isolated (Fig. 16). Despite a side entrance to the Exposition near the Negro Building, visitors had to make a deliberate effort to get to the Negro Building from other parts of the fair.⁴⁴ The difficulty in finding the Negro Building was augmented by the fact that it was not included in many official

⁴³ Ibid.

⁴⁴ “Report of the Executive Committee, Negro Exhibit, Jamestown Exposition to April 30, 1908,” May 15, 1908, p. 1, National Archives, Treasury Department files.

guide books.⁴⁵ The NDEC also complained of obstructed roads leading to the building because of a “shooting-the-chutes” concession in the War Path and the Intramural Railway which caused visitors “attending the Exposition to have difficulty in finding the building.”⁴⁶ Although the Director-General of the Jamestown Exposition Company promised to arrange with the street car company to extend service to Powhatan Avenue and construct a sidewalk under the chutes,⁴⁷ the treatment of the Negro Building suggests that it was not only separate, but also, very much unequal.

⁴⁵ For example it was not included in the Jamestown Exposition by the Jamestown Official Photography Company, Jamestown Tercentennial Exposition Official Classification of Exhibit Departments and the Official Guide, Jamestown Tercentennial Exposition by the Jamestown Official Publication Company.

⁴⁶ Letter, William Geddes to Jason M. Barr, Director-General, Jamestown Exposition Company, July 18, 1907, National Archives, Treasury Department files.

⁴⁷ Letter, Barr to Geddes, July 24, 1907, National Archives, Treasury Department files.

It may be argued that the Negro Building was placed in such an isolated locale because it was not included in the original plan of the Exposition.⁴⁸ Although Negro Buildings had become a standard feature in Southern expositions, the Jamestown Negro Building was not represented on a map of the Exposition grounds as late as December 22, 1906.⁴⁹ Correspondence with Hampton Institute suggests that there was disagreement regarding the location of the Negro Building at this time. The Negro Building managers apparently requested, but were denied, a location adjacent to the Philippine Reservation within the Government Reserve on Bennett Circle.⁵⁰ The final location for the Negro Building, near the War Path, upset some

⁴⁸ "Report of the Executive Committee, Negro Exhibit, Jamestown Exposition to April 30, 1908," May 15, 1908, p. 1, National Archives, Treasury Department files.

⁴⁹ Map, "Latest Map, Jamestown Tercentennial Exposition," December 22, 1906, Jamestown Exhibition Collection, Hampton University Archives, Hampton, Virginia.

⁵⁰ Letter, T. S. Southgate, Division of Exhibits, Jamestown Tercentennial Exposition to Frissell, December 3, 1906, Jamestown Exhibition Collection, Hampton University Archives, Hampton, Virginia.

African-Americans. One disgruntled writer even suggested to Dr. Frissell, Hampton Institute's Principal, that the school withdraw its exhibit in protest.⁵¹

That previous Negro Buildings suffered a similar fate suggests that the Negro Building's isolated location was not due to the original exhibitors having priority, but rather, prejudice. At the 1895 Cotton States Exposition in Atlanta, the Negro Building was set apart from the other buildings next to Buffalo Bill's Wild West Show grandstand.⁵² The Negro Building at the 1902 South Carolina Inter-State and West Indian Exposition in Charleston was separated from the main grounds and sat adjacent to the fair's amusement section called the Midway.⁵³ Where Negro Buildings were placed in relation to the rest of the fair symbolized the white exposition managers' view of a Negro Building as a second class exhibit on the

⁵¹ Letter, to Dr. Frissell, December 4, 1906, Jamestown Exhibition Collection, Hampton University Archives, Hampton, Virginia.

⁵² Schenck, p. 38.

⁵³ Ibid., p. 44.

same level as an amusement.

The Exhibits

Symbolizing African-American achievement, self-reliance, racial pride, middle class respectability and the policy of appeasement, the purpose of the exhibits in the Negro Building was to fight racism and “uplift” the masses. The exhibits selected to do this, and the way in which issues such as slavery, Africa and women were addressed, reflected the attitudes of the Southern, Victorian, male, African-American organizers.

The NDEC wanted to have a comprehensive exhibit to show African-American “progress” in all areas. Jackson envisioned the Negro Building exhibiting “what the race has made, produced, woven, carved, engraved, invented, written and published; in fact, everything it has done - that the world may form a correct opinion of the negro race of this country - to the end that a proper solution of the ‘problem’ may be had from a business, commercial, financial, and industrial standpoint; that the unjust and unfair critics of the

negroes may be put out of business.”⁵⁴ To achieve this goal, twelve field agents across the country collected nearly 10,000 objects in eleven categories: Education, Home, Farms, Skilled trades and Organized labor, Business enterprises, Professions, Military life, Church life, Books and Periodicals, Music and Art, and Women’s Work (Fig. 17).

The exhibits were arranged by subject, except for the North Carolina exhibit, which because of that state’s appropriation of \$5,000, was separate (Fig. 18). In addition to the display of objects, watch makers, artists and inventors gave demonstrations, a working hospital operated in a separate building (Fig. 19), a branch of the True Reformers’ bank conducted business (Fig. 20), a model of a Mississippi town owned and governed by African-Americans was exhibited and students displayed exams in Hebrew, Greek and theology and gave papers in chemistry, physics, astronomy and biology. Moreover, extensive statistical charts supplemented the exhibits to provide the exact figures behind the “progress” displayed.

⁵⁴ “Appeal of the NDEC,” pp. 3 - 4.

Lectures, speeches and the three day Jamestown Negro Conference helped to articulate the meaning of the exhibits displayed in the Negro Building. The principal speakers of the conference were well known elite Bookerites including Professor Roscoe Conkling Bruce, the son of the Mississippi Senator Blanche K. Bruce and Judge Robert Terrell of Washington, D.C. The topics of discussion were “The Negro’s past, has it been well played; the Negro’s present, is he progressing as well as he could, and if not, why?; and the Negro’s future, along what policies should he labor.” It is clear from the agenda of the conference that like the Negro Building itself, its aim was not to be a forum for radical, political activism. Rather, the conference, like the exhibits, highlighted past and present African-American accomplishments as evidence for a an even more successful future. The future marked a time when African-Americans would be “ready” for full citizenship. To this end, African-American leaders and organizers of the Negro Building hoped the masses would strive.

Hope for an improved future was addressed during the formal

opening ceremonies of the Negro Building on July 4th. The day's "safe and sane" speech by Professor Kelly Miller of Howard University, "sounded a keynote of racial thought."⁵⁵ The response from the crowd to Miller's address was indicative of Booker T. Washington's view that African-Americans were not yet equipped for immediate integration and full citizenship. In describing the event, a reporter for the Southern Workman wrote, "The large audience, composed almost entirely of colored people showed keen appreciation of the speaker's remarks by frequent and hearty applause, which was just as hearty when the race was criticized for its vices as when it was commended for its virtues. And this is one of the many hopeful things about the Negro - that he accepts kindly and helpful criticism with good grace. He is glad to know his faults because he wants to remove them."⁵⁶

The interior of the Negro Building visually set the stage appropriate for conciliatory, Victorian African-Americans. Among the American flags, "festoons of orange and white" and "mural

⁵⁵ Freeman (Indianapolis, IN), July 13, 1907, p. 3.

⁵⁶ Southern Workman, Vol. 36, No. 8 (August 1907), p. 423.

trimmings of green and maroon,” Booker T. Washington’s “benign countenance in plaster casts, busts, statuettes and oil paintings looked approvingly upon the animated scene.”⁵⁷ “Booker T. Washington,” asserted the Virginian Pilot, “is rightly the presiding genius of the place; his busts and portraits are everywhere in evidence, which goes to prove that the intelligent and educated among his race are quick to acknowledge the wisdom of his teachings.”⁵⁸

Managers of the Negro Building intended to illustrate how African-Americans fit smoothly into dominant society. Consequently, the exhibition carefully avoided primitivism, an identification with Africa and the idea of a distinct African-American culture. The anti-primitive/anti-Africa exhibits were a direct response to the white supremacist ideology of Social Darwinism.⁵⁹ As such, the African-American organizers accepted the

⁵⁷ R. W. Thompson, “Special Correspondence,” 1907, National Archives, Treasury Department files.

⁵⁸ Virginian Pilot, November 10, 1907, p. 15.

⁵⁹ Ruffin, p. 521.

premise that less “civilized” peoples were inferior, thus deserving of racism and colonization. The absence of any exhibit in the Negro Building that might be deemed “primitive” served both to demonstrate the “progress” African-Americans had made since their African ancestors were first brought to America and also to distance itself from the War Path to which it was regrettably adjacent.

Not only was the War Path entertainment, but also, visitors expected to see an exhibit of primitive people by whom they could be amused and to whom they could feel superior. The 1893 World’s Columbian Exposition in Chicago, for instance, exhibited an African tribe to the exclusion of all other African-American representation save for an educational exhibit by Hampton Institute.⁶⁰ Frederick Douglass accused the World’s Columbian Exposition managers of including the African tribe “to exhibit the Negro as a repulsive

⁶⁰ Reid Badger, The Great American Fair, The World’s Columbian Exposition and American Culture (Chicago: Nelson Hall, 1979), pp. 105 - 106. Hampton Institute won a gold medal for its exhibit.

savage” and thus intentionally “shame the Negro.”⁶¹ Although no African tribe was displayed in the Jamestown Tercentennial’s War Path, an “Esquimaux [sic] village” served to illustrate the “uncivilized” nature of non-white, non-European people. Furthermore, a “Philippine Reservation” at the east end of the Exposition grounds was included to demonstrate the primitiveness of America’s “newest ward.”⁶²

Africa in the Negro Building was evoked only as a point of contrast. For this purpose, it was the NDEC’s original plan to have an agent “visit Africa, to collect and transport to America, specimens of the various civilized and uncivilized tribes, in order to show, by contrast, the beneficent gain the American Negro has derived through being in contact, during the last two hundred and eighty seven years, with liberalized American civilization.”⁶³ It is likely

⁶¹ Ibid., p. 106.

⁶² Cuyler Reynolds, New York at the Jamestown Exposition (Albany, N. Y.: J. B. Lyon Co. Printers, 1909), p. 177.

⁶³ NDEC, “Statement of Needs,” n.d., National Archives, Treasury Department files.

that the “specimens” Jackson referred to were people. The Boston Guardian, which strongly opposed the Negro Building, reported that Jackson meant to “go over to Africa and to get a colony of heathen Negroes.”⁶⁴ If true, this implicates the NDEC of being just as exploitative as white exposition managers. Nevertheless, the Jamestown Tercentennial Commission refused to consent to the \$11,000 sought for this exhibit. The Commission’s explanation was that the money given for the Negro Building was in order to demonstrate “the progress of the Negro race in this country.”⁶⁵

In place of the African “specimens,” the NDEC procured \$1,510.80 to commission sculptor Meta Vaux Warrick (1877-1968) to illustrate the progress of African-Americans in fifteen tableaux.⁶⁶ The first of these tableaux depicted the landing of African slaves on Jamestown Island to illustrate the lowest point in

⁶⁴ Guardian (Boston, Mass.), December 18, 1906, p. 1.

⁶⁵ Unlabeled piece of paper attached to NDEC, “Statement of Needs,” n.d., National Archives, Treasury Department files.

⁶⁶ R.W. Thompson (?), “Some Special Features,” n.d., n.p., National Archives, Treasury Department files.

the “evolution” of contemporary African-Americans (Fig. 21). Warrick was an African-American from Philadelphia who studied art in Paris from 1899 to 1902.⁶⁷ With the help of Henry Tanner, a family friend, as her Parisian “advisor,” Warrick became the protégé of Rodin and frequent visitor to the studio of Augustus Saint-Gaudens.⁶⁸ While in Paris, Warrick attended the 1900 Paris Exposition with other African-Americans including Thomas Calloway, Andrew Hilyer and W. E. B. DuBois.⁶⁹ Warrick was initiated into the Paris Exposition when at Calloway’s request, she repaired a tableau depicting African-American progress since emancipation.⁷⁰ Once repaired, the tableau created by Thomas W. Hunster and his Washington, D.C. manual arts students, “attracted great attention

⁶⁷ Judith Nina Kerr, God-Given Work: The Life and Times of Sculptor Meta Vaux Warrick Fuller, 1877-1968 (Ph.D. dissertation. University of Massachusetts, Amherst, 1986), p. vi.

⁶⁸ Ibid., p. vii.

⁶⁹ Ibid., p. 101.

⁷⁰ Ibid., p. 97.

from the social economists of the Old world.”⁷¹

Out of friendship, gratitude and admiration, Calloway and Hilyer offered Warrick the commission to sculpt tableaux chronicling the “progress” of African-Americans from 1619 to 1907 for the Jamestown Negro Building.⁷² The commission which brought Warrick national attention was described by the New York Tribune as “an honor to her sex and an honor to her race.”⁷³ Warrick combined the Executive Committee’s original six scene ideas with suggestions from an unlikely source, her friend, W. E. B. DuBois.⁷⁴ The approved tableau subjects were orchestrated to articulate the Negro Building’s themes of progress, appeasement, racial pride and self-

⁷¹ R. W. Thompson (?), “Some Special Features,” n.d., n.p., National Archives, Treasury Department files.

⁷² This commission was first mentioned to Warrick in 1900 by Calloway. Kerr, p. 148.

⁷³ New York Tribune, March 31, 1907 quoted in *Ibid.*, p. 167.

⁷⁴ Letter, Meta Vaux Warrick to W.E.B. DuBois, January 29, 1907, W.E.B. DuBois Collection, University of Massachusetts Archives, Amherst, Massachusetts.

help. Each twenty-four inch clay figure was realistically painted and costumed complete with human hair.⁷⁵ The figures were arranged in ten by ten foot stages with painted canvas backdrops and positioned near one of the Negro Building entrances.⁷⁶

The way in which slavery was addressed in the tableaux and throughout the Negro Building reflected Victorian African-American versions of history. Despite the fact that the majority of the organizers had been slaves, the Negro Building did not include any of the material culture of slavery. This lack of physical representation such as quilts, banjos, fiddles, distinctive dress or ceramics reflected the preservation efforts of Victorian African-Americans.⁷⁷ Like their disassociation from Africa, the Negro Building's lack of slave material culture symbolized a rejection of a distinct African-American culture and an embrace of the dominant white culture through assimilation.

⁷⁵ Kerr, p. 167.

⁷⁶ Ibid., p. 172.

⁷⁷ Ruffin, p. 519.

When slavery was referred to, it was romanticized to gain the favor of the white Southern audience. Ironically, only a few miles from where Nat Turner's rebellion took place in 1831, the image most often evoked in the Negro Building was that of the faithful slave. For instance, one of Meta Vaux Warrick's tableaux depicted slaves defending their master's home during the Civil War (Fig. 22). This scene was described as representing "one of the finest qualities of the Negro - loyalty."⁷⁸

Furthermore, Giles B. Jackson's The Industrial History of the Negro Race of the United States (1908) which was written as an account of the exhibit and included the version of African-American history represented in the Negro Building, included an ode to the "old plantation mistress." About her, Jackson wrote, "Let us pause to pay a tribute to the old mistress on a Southern plantation, who, at all times, day & night, was willing to listen to the cry and administer to the wants of the Negroes on the Southern plantations, and to such

⁷⁸ "Historic Tableaux at the Jamestown Exposition," Southern Workman, Vol. XXXVI (October 1907), p. 519.

as she, Heaven awards its brightest crown.”⁷⁹ This overt politicking by Jackson might also have been meant to quell the fear that white America had of African-American men raping white women which was exploited to justify lynching.

A cleansed view of slavery was also represented in the “live exhibit” of the Fisk Jubilee Singers (Fig. 23).⁸⁰ Every morning and afternoon, these twelve students from Fisk University performed plantation songs “in costume” for audiences in the Negro Building’s auditorium. Contrary to what is now known about these songs, Jackson explained that there was in them “no where a revengeful spirit.”⁸¹ Jackson described the songs simply as happy affirmations of devout Christianity.⁸² De Layne Matlock, director of “Harmony,” a group that has been singing spirituals professionally since 1991, provides a more critical interpretation:

⁷⁹ Jackson and Davis, p. 31.

⁸⁰ Ibid., p. 227.

⁸¹ Ibid., p. 293.

⁸² Ibid., p. 292.

The spirituals were not religious songs in the sense of a compartment of life, nor religious in the sense of the theology of the camp meeting nor because they often used biblical symbols. Even the hope of heaven being substituted to solve the problems of the earth did not make these songs religious, they were religious and spiritual because they tried, with inspired artistry, to pose the root question of life, of before life, and of life beyond life.⁸³

Moreover, overlooked in the Negro Building was the fact that “spirituals were also songs of protest, escape from bondage and secret messages telling people where to meet, where to hide and what was going on.”⁸⁴ What was missing from the Negro Building’s version, therefore, was the true and less palpable heritage of the so-called plantation songs.

⁸³ De Layne Matlock, *The Harmony Singers, “Songs of Slavery, Songs of Freedom, Songs of Hope”* (Amherst, MA: Watercourse Recording Studios, 1993).

⁸⁴ *Ibid.*

Negro Building organizers advertised these songs as non-controversial entertainment. Mrs. Namah Curtis, the Executive Committee's Fiscal Agent, wrote, "It is said by some writers, the Negro is a born songster. This part of his characteristic [sic] has been much sought after by the white race, for their amusement and edification, and will be more so on this occasion."⁸⁵ Therefore, this stereotype of African-Americans, unlike many others, was not refuted in the Negro Building because it was "sought after" by whites. Consequently, the inclusion of the Jubilee Singers ironically served as both a romantic image of slavery and a commercial draw for the white audience.

The emphasis on the mythical South fit the agenda of elite Southern African-Americans who agreed with Booker T. Washington that the South was the best place for them. About the South, Jackson wrote:

⁸⁵ "A Statement by Mrs. Namah Curtis to the Members of Congress and Friends of the Negro Exhibit at the Jamestown Exposition," n.d., n.p., National Archives, Treasury Department files.

The South is in every way the best home for the Negro of all places in this world It is an undeniable truth that the honest, self respecting, industrious and frugal Negro can always find a white hand in our Southland stretched out to help him to higher and better things. Let us make the best of our opportunities, cease croaking and grumbling, make friends of the people by whom we are surrounded, be loyal and true to our Southland, and be determined in the words of Booker T. Washington, 'To let down our buckets where we are.'⁸⁶

Most obviously excluded from this idealized scenario of the South was any acknowledgement of the atrocities suffered by contemporary African-Americans.

Despite the fact that many Victorian, middle class African-Americans were involved in anti-segregation and anti-lynching campaigns,⁸⁷ this facet of their lives was repressed in the Negro Building. There were no statistics on where African-Americans were

⁸⁶ Jackson and Davis, pp. 59 - 60.

⁸⁷ Ruffin, p. 520.

denied entry or how many had been lynched. Nowhere in the Negro Building or in the lectures it sponsored was there any hint of the violence and racism that filled African-American newspapers and lives everyday. This cleansed and romanticized version of history was obviously adapted to appease the government officials responsible for funding the exhibit and to curry the favor of white Southern visitors in the tradition of Booker T. Washington.

The Negro Building also omitted issues of gender. The representation of African-American women reflected the Victorian "cult of true womanhood." As women, both African-American and white, were organizing and fighting for equal rights, male society emphasized traditional gender roles. This was evident on both sides of the Jamestown Tercentennial's color line. In the white section of the Exposition, women were literally and symbolically linked with children in the separate Women and Children's Building. Similarly, within the Negro Building African-American women were given a separate section for the display of "woman's work" which included embroidery, needle work and "other domestic products." Missing from this exhibit was representation of political activism and

intellectual pursuits that characterized African-American feminists like Ida B. Wells, Anna Julia Cooper and Pauline Hopkins.⁸⁸ Although African-American women were not theoretically excluded from participating in the other departments, the existence of a separate category condoned what feminists, as well as African-Americans in general, were fighting.

The sexism implied in the “woman’s work” category was articulated by Jackson in The Industrial History of the Negro Race of the United States: “The race needs wives who stay at home being supported by their husbands, and then they can spend time in the training of their children.”⁸⁹ “Concentrating on improving homelife,” continued Jackson, “would relieve the strain that too frequently falls upon a hard working husband.”⁹⁰ Moreover, “It is a woman’s

⁸⁸ Hazel V. Carby, “On the Threshold of Woman’s Era’: Lynching, Empire, and Sexuality in Black Feminist Theory,” in “Race,” Writing, and Difference, Henry Louis Gates, Jr. ed. (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1986), p. 306.

⁸⁹ Jackson and Davis, p. 135.

⁹⁰ Ibid., p. 136.

duty,” wrote Jackson, “to be as beautiful as she can and as gracious and kind as God intended her to be.”⁹¹

The psychological motivation behind African-American men emphasizing their masculinity by stressing subordinate roles for African-American women clearly came from their need for positive self-image and control. At the turn of the century, women were developing a strong feminist consciousness and whites were emasculating African-American men through segregation, disenfranchisement and violence. Negro Buildings, therefore became monuments to the strength, masculinity and constructive identity of African-American men. At the 1895 Cotton States Exposition in Atlanta, Washington articulated this component: “I know I have the sentiment of the masses of my race, when I say that in no way have the value and manhood of the American Negro been more fittingly and generously recognized, than by the managers of this magnificent

⁹¹ Ibid., p. 137.

Exposition . . .”⁹² The celebration of universal “manhood” was in truth, a celebration of male patriarchy aligning African-American and white men against all women.⁹³ “What had begun as a movement to free all black people from racist oppression,” explains historian bell hooks, “became a movement with its primary goal the establishment of black male patriarchy.”⁹⁴ This quest for recognition of African-American manhood was strongly reflected in the Jamestown Negro Building and in its management and ideals.

The Audience

Jackson calculated that between “3 to 12 thousand” people visited the Negro Building each day and by the end of the Exposition

⁹² “Address by Booker T. Washington, Principal, Tuskegee Normal and Industrial Institute, Tuskegee, Alabama, at Opening of Atlanta Exposition, September 18, 1895,” Southern Workman, (November 1895), p. 180.

⁹³ bell hooks, Ain’t I a Woman: Black Women and Feminism (Boston: South End Press, 1981), p. 4.

⁹⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 5.

three quarters of a million people saw its displays.⁹⁵ Jackson boasted that the African-American and white Negro Building visitors “went away astounded at the marvelous display of every possible department of Negro thrift and industry.”⁹⁶ The Negro Building, Jackson continued, “silenced the croakers, gratified the friends beyond expression, made friends of the enemies, and indeed it may be said that ‘they who came to scoff, remained to pray.’”⁹⁷ Who were these visitors upon whom the Negro Building had such a profound effect? The audience was predominantly Southern whites, some Northern and Western whites, middle to upper class African-Americans from the South and lesser numbers of Northern and Western African-Americans and poor African-Americans from the South.

⁹⁵ Jackson and Davis, p. 6. There were 18, 928 African-Americans and 1,382,481 whites who paid to visit the Jamestown Tercentennial Exposition. Blue Book, p. 729. About two times as many entered without purchasing a ticket. The total number of the paid and unpaid visitors was only half of the six million estimated to attend. Abbott, p. 90.

⁹⁶ Jackson and Davis, p. 6.

⁹⁷ Ibid.

The Negro Building was primarily geared to the Southern, white audience because of the location of the Tercentennial, the government funding and more importantly because that audience had the power to improve race relations. With an eye to improved future conditions for African-Americans, the Richmond Planet, an African-American newspaper, encouraged its readers, in the spirit of Booker T. Washington, to “cultivate a friendly relationship with the white people. It will pay in the long run.”⁹⁸ Jackson, too, echoed Washington’s philosophy of appeasement in promoting the Negro Building: “It is our duty to cultivate friendly relations with white people for the benefit of both races, in the North and the South.”⁹⁹ The obvious reason for this, Jackson explained, was that “the negro cannot succeed in any great enterprise without the aid of the whites, who make and control the money, who make and execute the laws, and who build and run the railroads and navigate the

⁹⁸ Richmond Planet, October 19, 1907, p. 4.

⁹⁹ Jackson and Davis, p. 139.

waterways.”¹⁰⁰

Almost as conclusive proof of the Negro Building’s success in cultivating friendly relations with Anglo-American society, President Roosevelt, on his second visit to the Exposition on June 10, unofficially opened the Negro Building.¹⁰¹ The Indianapolis Freeman reported that President Roosevelt, who teetered between being the African-American’s friend and his adversary, “strengthened himself with the Colored people in the country by his timely visit to the Negro Building at Jamestown.”¹⁰² Six thousand African-Americans greeted the President and his wife, the Governor of Georgia and members of the Jamestown Tercentennial Commission. Upon viewing the exhibits in the Negro Building, the

¹⁰⁰ “Appeal of the NDEC,” p. 5.

¹⁰¹ Roosevelt attended the Exposition in honor of Georgia Day to dedicate the Georgia Building which was a reproduction of his mother’s home. Robert T. Taylor, “The Jamestown Tercentennial Exposition of 1907,” Virginia Magazine of History and Biography, Vol. 65, No. 2 (1957), p. 199.

¹⁰² Freeman (Indianapolis, IN), July 13, 1907, p. 3.

President “gave expression to many complimentary remarks concerning them, punctuated liberally with exclamations of great satisfaction, not unmingled with surprise.”¹⁰³ In a short speech after touring the building, Roosevelt declared, “Those who have argued from the outset that a high grade exposition of what the Negro has accomplished in his three centuries of struggle and achievement would go far to vindicate his title to the full panoply of citizenship, have unquestionably won their case. . ..”¹⁰⁴

Roosevelt’s endorsement set a precedent for white visitors. As a result, Jackson was able to confidently describe the Negro Building as “a central feature” of the Jamestown Tercentennial Exposition.¹⁰⁵ The reviews of the exhibit in white newspapers were seen as positive and attracted the hoped for white audience. The Negro Building, for instance, was praised in an article published in the Virginian Pilot as being a model example of Social Darwinism:

¹⁰³ R. W. Thompson, “Special Correspondence,” 1907, National Archives, Treasury Department files.

¹⁰⁴ Ibid.

¹⁰⁵ Jackson and Davis, p. 6.

“To one interested in the study of ethnology and the development of any race from a state of semi-barbarism to good and useful citizenship, the Negro Building at the Jamestown Exposition will be a gratifying revelation, no unprejudiced mind can observe what the Negro has done during the forty years that have elapsed since slavery was abolished without predicting for him a future hopeful from every standpoint.”¹⁰⁶

Some reports claimed the white Southerner to be the Negro Building’s strongest advocate. “While those who came to view and to examine were residents of all sections of the country and all were impressed more or less deeply,” recounted The Official Blue Book of the Jamestown Ter-Centennial Exposition, “it maybe said that the men from the Southern States undismayed by some of the crudities that were in evidence, were most enthusiastic in their approbation of the obviously fine purpose and commendable ambition which was throughout manifested and they were astounded at the general

¹⁰⁶ Virginian Pilot, November 10, 1907, p. 15.

excellence of the exhibit.”¹⁰⁷ About the Negro Building, Governor Glenn of North Carolina stated that it “deserved the approval of all good citizens, white and colored.”¹⁰⁸

After the Exposition closed, the official white reports about the Jamestown Tercentennial included positive descriptions of the Negro Building. New York at the Jamestown Tercentennial (1909) reported that “the Negro Building deserves to come in for a share of unstinted commendation” and that “it contained one of the most complete exhibits on Grounds [sic].”¹⁰⁹ Maybe the highest compliment was paid in the 800 page, The Official Blue Book of the Jamestown Ter-Centennial Exposition (1909). This report stated that:

The U. S. Government was principally responsible for the

¹⁰⁷ The Official Blue Book of the Jamestown Ter-Centennial Exposition, Charles Russel Keiley ed. (Norfolk: Colonial Publishing Company, Inc., 1909), p. 675 (Hereafter referred to as Blue Book).

¹⁰⁸ Jackson and Davis, p. 261.

¹⁰⁹ Reynolds, pp. 174 - 175.

conduct of the Negro Exhibit and to a large extent the splendid display made by the black race may be attributed to the watchfulness, the care and the interest manifested by the men appointed to supervise the Federal expenditures. The Negroes of the country were proud of the showing they had made, and rightly did they place a high estimate on their collection. Never before in Exhibition history had they done so well.¹¹⁰

If written by the white Exposition managers, this account obviously undermines the African-American organizers and exhibitors by praising the government for the exhibit's achievement. However, by doing so, it reveals the extent of the Negro Building's success. If the Negro Building was seen as a failure, certainly the government would have denied responsibility. It is likely, however, that the NDEC and the Executive Committee wrote this description of the Negro Building. Nevertheless, the report, like everything else, was approved first by the government representatives.

¹¹⁰ Blue Book, p. 508.

Because of the white audience's positive response, the NDEC and the Executive Committee optimistically believed that the Negro Building had achieved its mission. The Negro Building managers felt that the positive reviews and high white visitor rate would have an unprecedented power to fight racism.¹¹¹ "Not a few influential men and women of the 'other race'," reported R.W. Thompson, "freely confessed that the negro exhibit was a revelation. Many who had not heretofore felt very hopeful of the black people's future let this building fully converted and testified without reserve that never more would they have the heart to charge the Negro with being a race of shiftless incapables or a menace to the well being of the nation."¹¹² Whether or not this occurred is unknown. It is probable that many who went out of their way to visit the Negro Building had an open mind to begin with. However, it is always possible that a few visiting the Negro Building "to scoff" were, for the moment, converted. Nevertheless, it is likely that the Exposition was seen as

¹¹¹ Based on the number of tickets purchased, approximately half of all whites who attended the Tercentennial visited the Negro Building.

¹¹² R. W. Thompson, "Special Correspondence," 1907, National Archives, Treasury Department files.

a type of fantasy escape. Therefore, visitors might view the Tercentennial as a temporary experience without lasting implications.

If the Negro Building succeeded in attracting a favorable white audience, what about the African-American visitors that the exhibit was meant to represent, inspire and even “uplift”? Potential middle class, African-American visitors from outside the South were dissuaded from coming by Virginia’s offensive Jim Crow laws. Interestingly, in 1901 Giles B. Jackson, at Booker T. Washington’s urging, went unsuccessfully before the Virginia legislature to protest the Jim Crow street car and train laws.¹¹³ After this defeat, Jackson wrote to Washington, “I have been so astounded at the decision of the Supreme Court sustaining the infamous ‘Jim Crow Car Law’ that I have felt as [if] I sustained an electric shock that has paralyzed my energy in the cause.”¹¹⁴ Despite the initial devastating effect the Jim Crow laws had on Jackson, he later

¹¹³ NDEC, “An Address . . .,” p. 5.

¹¹⁴ Letter, Jackson to Washington, January 24, 1901, in BTW Papers, Vol. 6, p. 15.

minimized their importance. When talking about this legislation in relation to the Negro Building, Jackson implored other African-Americans to “stop kicking and quarreling:”

It is now the law, and as law abiding citizens, we are compelled to bow in humble submission Is it not the proper thing for us to do to make the best terms we can with railroads since they have the power to give equal accommodation to both races . . .? It is incumbent upon the Negro to stop kicking and quarreling, and go to the law and to the heads of the authorities of the States and ask that the railroads be required to give equal accommodations for the colored passengers, and this will be done.¹¹⁵

The NDEC published pamphlets targeted to African-Americans from other parts of the country, encouraging them to attend regardless of the laws. The NDEC assured this group of visitors that it was doing all it could to pave the way. Jackson assured African-Americans that “they shall have no reason to complain, other than the fact that

¹¹⁵ NDEC, “An Address . . .,” p. 5.

they will not be riding with the white folks.”¹¹⁶

The pamphlets further reported that African-Americans in Norfolk were organizing alternative transportation to the Exposition and accommodations with African-American families in the area could be arranged.¹¹⁷ Speaking as a lawyer, Jackson insisted that no hotel would be allowed to charge more for African-American guests and in general, “no man will be unfairly dealt with, but he must obey the law.”¹¹⁸ “We mean,” warned Jackson, “the rowdy and shiftless element that might drift among us. They will find the white and black men united to suppress them, if they commence to evade the law or hinder others in their pursuit of happiness.”¹¹⁹

The audience of poor African-Americans which the Negro Building hoped to inspire and uplift were presumably excluded

¹¹⁶ Ibid., p. 6.

¹¹⁷ Ibid.

¹¹⁸ Ibid., p. 7.

¹¹⁹ Ibid.

because of the cost. This included the majority of the African-American exhibitors who were never able to see their objects displayed.¹²⁰ The admission price of 50 cents when added to train fare, hotel and food expenses was prohibitive. “The saddest feature of the Exposition,” lamented Jackson after the Exposition closed, “is the fact that so few of our people were able to see it, and thus gain the inspiration that such a scene must have given the dullest soul.”¹²¹ “To rectify this defect,” Jackson and D. Webster Davis wrote a full description of the Negro Building in The Industrial History of the Negro Race of the United States which they hoped to place, “if possible, in the hands of every Negro school boy and girl in the land, that he may know his own people, and by virtue of that knowledge, be inspired to do his part to build up to greater heights, the race with which he is identified.”¹²²

The African-Americans that were in the greatest need of

¹²⁰ Blue Book, p. 678.

¹²¹ Jackson and Davis, p. 7.

¹²² *Ibid.*

uplift in the eyes of the organizers, however, were not welcome in the Negro Building. The Negro Building managers did not want to attract the “rowdy and shiftless” African-American visitor.¹²³ The subject of the unwanted visitor surfaced when the question of alcohol was addressed. One African-American concessionaire requested permission to sell alcohol with meals on the “Negro Reservation” in order to give African-Americans “the privileges and receive the service which is extended to white people in various parts of the grounds, and by this provision prevent any unseemly or embarrassing attempt on the part of any colored person to be served in places which were intended only for white people.”¹²⁴ The Fiscal Agent of the Executive Committee of the Negro Exhibit, Mrs. Namah Curtis, asked the Jamestown Tercentennial Commission not to

¹²³ NDEC, “An Address . . .,” p. 7.

¹²⁴ Letter, C. Brooks Johnston, Chairman, Jamestown Exposition Company to J. H. Edwards, Secretary, Tercentennial Commission, May 31, 1907, National Archives, Treasury Department files.

permit this request.¹²⁵ “I fear,” Curtis wrote in a letter to the Commission, “that one intoxicated Negro would do more to harm the cause for which this exhibit was gotten (to show the enlightenment and advancement of the race to which I am connected) than will all of the collected exhibits . . .”¹²⁶ Furthermore, Curtis insisted, “I feel that the advertising that liquor can be obtained on the Negro Reservation would be the bringing to these grounds of a class of people such as it is better to keep in the backgrounds [sic], as they do not reflex [sic] credit either upon themselves or upon their race. It is the like of these people that has caused our race a great deal of trouble and the misjudging of the better class of my people.”¹²⁷ In the end, the petition to serve alcohol on the Negro Reservation was rejected by the Jamestown Tercentennial Commission. It is

¹²⁵ Her request to the Commission was approved by Calloway and Hilyer but not Jackson.

¹²⁶ Letter, Mrs. A. M. Curtis to Board of Governors of the Jamestown Exposition Company, May 1, 1907, National Archives, Treasury Department files.

¹²⁷ Letter, Curtis to Geddes, May 15, 1907, National Archives, Treasury Department files.

unknown, however, if the Commission was consenting to the Fiscal Agent's request or if it was the result of their own prejudices.

The African-Americans that were most likely to attend and who were seen as ideal African-American visitors were middle class, Southern African-Americans sympathetic with Washington's conciliatory tactics. These representative visitors which the Negro Building was created to mirror, were exemplified by the single voice of Booker T. Washington on Negro Day. Washington initially had some hesitations about speaking on Negro Day. "I felt a great delicacy about accepting your generous invitation to speak at the Exposition . . .," he wrote to Calloway, "when our Institution is not making an exhibition. I have been fearing that this phase of the situation might not be understood by the public and by you. On the other hand perhaps it is just as well for me to show my sympathy for what you are doing and what you are standing for by my appearance there."¹²⁸ Washington ultimately accepted the invitation with the provision

¹²⁸ Letter, Washington to Calloway, July 23, 1907, Washington Papers.

that the event be highly publicized.¹²⁹ Following extensive advertising as promised, Washington arrived on August 3, 1907, accompanied by his son, Booker T. and his traveling secretary, Julius Cox. Following a special exhibition drill by Hampton Institute's battalion on Lee's Parade ground and a grand procession to the Negro Building, Washington was introduced by President Tucker of the Jamestown Exposition Company as "the greatest American in America."¹³⁰

Under the scorching noon sun, over ten thousand African-American visitors and "hundreds of caucasians . . . [with] the keenest interest in the proceedings" gathered behind the Negro Building to hear Washington's address entitled "The Opportunities of the Negro in America."¹³¹ "I believe," bellowed Washington to this "surging

¹²⁹ Telegram, Washington to Calloway, July 18, 1907, Washington Papers.

¹³⁰ Letter, Thompson to Scott, August 7, 1907, Washington Papers.

¹³¹ R. W. Thompson, "The Negro's Gala Day, " Washington Bee, August 10, 1907, p. 1.

mass of humanity,”¹³² “that we should amplify our opportunities, as is being done at this Exposition, rather than our disadvantages.”¹³³ In his characteristic address, Washington denied any effects of racism or desire for immediate assimilation and “social equality:”

I think I know the ambitions and activities of the colored people throughout this country well, and I am safe in saying to you that it is not the ambitions or the desire of the Negro in this country to intermingle socially with the white people. Neither is it his ambition or his desire to domineer [sic] the white man in the matter of politics.¹³⁴

Washington’s speech was praised by R. W. Thompson as “a masterpiece . . . full of common sense” which “in quality outranked

¹³² “Negro Day at the Expo,” Southern Workman, Vol. XXXVI, No. 9 (September 1907), p. 469.

¹³³ “Extracts from the Address of Booker T. Washington at the Jamestown Exposition,” August 3, 1907, Washington Papers.

¹³⁴ Ibid.

the famous Atlanta speech.”¹³⁵

The Southern Workman proudly described the success of Negro Day, not only in terms of the ideology promoted, but also, in its African-American audience: “Not even one disorderly Negro was seen on the fair grounds during the entire day. This alone was a credible exhibition of the progress of the race . . .”¹³⁶ Booker T. Washington, too, applauded the achievement the audience demonstrated. “I have been equally interested and gratified,” concluded Washington, “on the account of the deportment of the thousands gathered upon these grounds today. The [sic] present a clean, orderly, sober, industrious appearance. This deportment on a public occasion, such as this, is within itself the highest evidence of our progress.”¹³⁷ Consequently, along with the building that housed the displays, the organization of

¹³⁵ R. W. Thompson, “The Negro’s Gala Day, ” Washington Bee, August 10, 1907, p. 1.

¹³⁶ “Negro Day at the Expo,” Southern Workman, Vol. XXXVI, No. 9 (September 1907), p. 469.

¹³⁷ “Extracts from the Address of Booker T. Washington at the Jamestown Exposition,” August 3, 1907, Washington Papers.

the Negro Building and the objects shown, the African-American visitor was on exhibit to demonstrate African-American achievement, self reliance, racial pride and middle class respectability.

CHAPTER THREE

Opposition to the Jamestown Tercentennial

Opponents of the Negro Building “did not want any Jim Crow separation of their products and work” especially in an exposition that celebrated where it was erroneously believed slavery began in America.¹ Many African-Americans articulated this objection. “We are not taking any part,” stated an article in the New York Age, “in the celebration of the importation of African slaves, in 1619, into the Colony of Virginia.”² In contrast, supporters of the exhibit believed the benefit of displaying proof of their equality outweighed the discriminating practices of Southern expositions. “Many thought

¹ Ward, “A Race Exhibition,” p. 1168; and Kerr, p. 149. “The idea that the twenty blacks who arrived at Jamestown in 1619 were sold into slavery is a misconception. Like many whites who came to America, they became indentured servants.” Kerr, p. 389.

² New York Age, March 28, 1907, p. 4.

it [the Negro Building] would give aid and comfort to Negro discrimination,” Jackson explained, “others thought it would be detrimental. All were divided.”³

Those opposed to the Negro Building believed that financially contributing to a separate African-American exhibit would be interpreted as supporting the South’s segregation laws that subordinated African-Americans and denied them fundamental civil rights.⁴ Participating in the Negro Building, therefore, seemed to these African-Americans as working against their ultimate goal of assimilation and regaining even basic rights, theoretically granted during Reconstruction: the right to vote, represent themselves in Congress and equal access to public facilities.

Following Reconstruction, the North seemed to abandon the cause of African-Americans in the South. In 1896, the Supreme Court validated the South’s claims that African-Americans were

³ Jackson and Davis, p. 6.

⁴ Letter, Thomas Calloway to William Geddes, April 18, 1907, National Archives, Treasury Department files.

inferior and thus not deserving or ready for privileges of citizenship.⁵ The outcome of the infamous Plessy versus Ferguson case was the “separate but equal” or “Jim Crow” laws which made Southern segregation legal. Following the Supreme Court’s decision, African-Americans were excluded or segregated in buildings, restaurants, municipal parks including Jamestown Island, trains and trolley cars.⁶ Disenfranchisement and overall loss of political influence accompanied segregation.⁷ In 1902, Virginia’s constitution officially excluded African-Americans from all political activity including voting through a grandfather clause, literacy tests and voting fees.⁸ Lynching, the Ku Klux Klan and intimidation violently enforced Jim Crow’s written and unwritten laws throughout the South.

⁵ Guion Griffis Johnson, “Southern Paternalism Toward Negroes after Emancipation,” in The Negro in the South Since 1865: Selected Essays in American Negro History, Charles E. Wynes ed. (University: University of Alabama Press, 1965), p. 103.

⁶ Meier, p. 162.

⁷ Buni, p. 68.

⁸ Ibid., p. 254.

In response to African-American critics who accused the Jamestown Negro Building of being a “Jim Crow affair,” Giles B. Jackson argued that it was no more than were “the church, and the institutions of learning, owned and operated by Negroes.”⁹ The NDEC defended its case by publishing pamphlets quoting leaders of the African-American community in support of a separate Negro Building. Taking literally the Jim Crow analogy, Judge C. Augustus Straker of Detroit, Michigan, wrote, “A separate exhibit is not Jim Crow, as I understand it. The Negro is not denied he [sic] right to enter the grounds of the exposition nor to look upon the exhibits of the white race, but he is called upon to look after his own business in particular. To establish, if you please, an imperium in imperio.”¹⁰

The NDEC also argued that if the African-American exhibits were integrated throughout the Exposition as those opposed to the Negro Building desired, it would have been necessary “to have some

⁹ NDEC, “Address . . .,” p. 5.

¹⁰ NDEC, “READ AND THINK!,” Washington, D.C., n.d., p. 2, National Archives, Treasury Department files.

one standing by each article to swear it was made by a Negro and ten more to swear they would believe the witness on oath.”¹¹ The NDEC knew, however, that ultimately African-Americans had no choice. Either there was to be a separate exhibit or none at all. The South was not ready for integration in its society or expositions. Opponents of the Negro Building who believed otherwise were described by the NDEC as “irreconcilable idealists, who live up in the clouds and breath an artificial atmosphere.”¹² The NDEC, therefore, implored more practical African-Americans to “join in making the most of it that is possible to make.”¹³

All African-Americans, however, did not join together on behalf of the Negro Building. Instead, those fighting for immediate integration and who opposed segregation in all forms boycotted the

¹¹ Helen A. Tucker, “The Negro Building and Exhibit at the Jamestown Exposition,” Charities and the Commons, Vol. XVIII (September 21, 1907), p. 724.

¹² Untitled, n.d., Hampton University Newspaper Clipping File.

¹³ Letter, Thomas Calloway to William Geddes, April 18, 1907, National Archives, Treasury Department files.

Jamestown Negro Building. Newspapers such as the Washington Bee and the Boston Guardian participated by publishing anti-Negro Building propaganda. For instance, in 1906, potential Negro Building visitors and stock subscribers read in the Washington Bee:

The Exposition is to be held in the hotbed of 'Jim Crowism' and prejudice, where the colored people will receive no more recognition than they would in the Mississippi Legislature or at the dinner table of Vardaman.¹⁴ The colored people in this country have no business to indorse [sic] the Jamestown Exposition, nor should they be foolish enough to subscribe one dollar for its benefit. This is a white man's Exposition pure and simple and if the colored people get anything at all it will be after the white folks have cleaned up everything of note.¹⁵

Editors William Calvin Chase of the Washington Bee and William Trotter of the Boston Guardian were not acting alone.

¹⁴ James Kimble Vardaman (1861-1930) was the governor of Mississippi.

¹⁵ Washington Bee, March 24, 1906, p. 4.

Instead, they were members of the radical Niagara Movement which organized the most detrimental campaign against the Jamestown Negro Building. The Niagara Movement was formed in 1905 by twenty-nine men led by W. E. B. DuBois after a meeting in Buffalo near Niagara Falls, New York.¹⁶ The organization was founded in direct opposition to Booker T. Washington by men who believed that “the policy of conciliation and of preaching simply duties without rights had gone too far.”¹⁷ As the antithesis to conciliation tactics, the Niagara Movement stood for “protest against the curtailment of our [African-American] civil rights.”¹⁸ “The Niagara Movement is not merely an academic body. It is militant,” explained DuBois, “Our fight is waged and [is] to be waged against the outer enemy and the inner racial indifference and tendency to lethargy. It is obvious that

¹⁶ Letter, DuBois to Ray Stannard Baker, February 5, 1907, W.E.B. DuBois Collection, University of Massachusetts Archives, Amherst, Massachusetts.

¹⁷ Ibid.

¹⁸ Niagara Movement, “Declaration of Principles,” 1905, W.E.B. DuBois Collection, University of Massachusetts Archives, Amherst, Massachusetts.

there is a converted plan - a conspiracy, not of silence but to silence our demand for full citizenship and to belittle and deride any aspiration for the larger liberty and higher outlook.”¹⁹ The Niagara Movement members believed that “persistent manly agitation is the way to liberty.”²⁰ In this vein, the movement’s “chief activities of 1906” were “manly agitation” against Jim Crow laws, disenfranchisement and the Jamestown Tercentennial.²¹

Ironically, DuBois initially gave managers of the Jamestown Negro Building a partial endorsement of the project. In a March 5, 1907 letter to Emmett Scott, R.W. Thompson wrote, “DuBois is for the Exposition now, but thinks that while the Negroes should send exhibits and make a good showing to the Whites, they should remain

¹⁹ Untitled, DuBois, August 2, 1907, W.E.B. DuBois Collection, University of Massachusetts Archives, Amherst, Massachusetts.

²⁰ Niagara Movement, “Declaration of Principles,” 1905, W.E.B. DuBois Collection, University of Massachusetts Archives, Amherst, Massachusetts.

²¹ Letter, from DuBois, Office of the General Secretary, Niagara Movement, June 13, 1906, W.E.B. DuBois Collection, University of Massachusetts Archives, Amherst, Massachusetts.

away in person, and force a comment on their absence.”²² Despite the tentative and qualified condition of DuBois’s support, reports were promptly published announcing his whole hearted endorsement and agreement to send an exhibit. The Newport News Star reported:

Prof W. E. B. Dubois is to prepare an exhibit along educational and sociological lines. He is in hearty sympathy with the Exposition idea, and realizes that in a large measure the Negro is on trial to show cause why he should not be convicted of incapacity to absorb the virus of civilization. Prof. Dubois is of the opinion that whatever may be the private notion of individuals as to the policy of separation, it is now the bounden duty of every Negro to come forward as a witness for the defense.²³

Immediately after this report was published, DuBois

²² Letter, Thompson to Scott, March 5, 1907, Washington Papers.

²³ Star (Newport News, VA), March 23, 1907 in Hampton University Newspaper Clipping File (117.136).

emphatically denied that there was any truth to it. “The statement sent out by the Jamestown Exposition management,” wrote DuBois in March 29, 1907 to the editor of the Appeal to Reason, “that I am preparing an exhibit for Jamestown or intend to is an impudent lie, and quite in keeping with this whole shameful and discredited enterprise.”²⁴ DuBois, later elaborated on his opposition to the Jamestown Tercentennial to the same editor:

In the first place, I do not like the treatment that they are going to accord Negroes. The Negroes are to be separate in practically all things and are to be treated as a separate caste and to that I am opposed. If the separation were voluntary on the part of the colored people that would be a different thing but for them to accept Jim-Crowism and then work to make the Exposition a success is a thing in which I do not believe.²⁵

²⁴ Letter, DuBois to the Editor of the Appeal to Reason, March 29, 1907, W.E.B. DuBois Collection, University of Massachusetts Archives, Amherst, Massachusetts.

²⁵ Letter, DuBois to Editor of the Appeal to Reason, April 8, 1907, W.E.B. DuBois Collection, University of Massachusetts Archives, Amherst, Massachusetts.

The deep rooted antagonism between the Washington and the DuBois camps is overtly evident in the defensive letter written to Washington's personal secretary, Emmett Scott from R. W. Thompson in response to DuBois's retraction:

DuBois lies like a dog when he denies that he tentatively favored the Negro Exhibit. I gave out the note in good faith, and the Niagarites know whereof I speak. The Washington contingent frightened DuBois into back tracking. . . . It is not deemed wise by the committee to make explanations. For the present it is deemed expedient by Calloway and Hilyer to "stand pat." They are cognizant of the facts, and I have their support. We have magnified the little fellow's importance by regarding his support as an acquisition. In that sense, we may be chalked up with a battery error. DuBois in this instance has shown a smallness that has surprised me. In descending to the parlance of the street, to characterize the truth as "an impudent lie," he shows himself utterly unfit for the toga of leadership of a movement that owns in fee simple all of the

“manhood rights” of 10,000 of people.²⁶

The managers of the Negro Building soon discovered that they had not “magnified the little fellow’s importance by regarding his support as an acquisition.” DuBois and his Niagara Movement proved to be the Jamestown Negro Building’s most effective opponents.

As the General Secretary of the Niagara Movement, DuBois monitored the efforts of its local chapters in discouraging financial and personal support of the Jamestown Negro Building.²⁷ The most active chapters were in the North. The vocal Boston chapter, in particular, not only opposed the existence of the Negro Building, but also, Massachusetts’ participation in the Exposition in general. Boston Niagara Movement members unsuccessfully implored Massachusetts officials not to appropriate funds for its state exhibit at the Jamestown Tercentennial Exposition “without legal protection for citizens of this Commonwealth [Massachusetts]

²⁶ Letter, R. W. Thompson to Emmett Scott, April 6, 1907, Washington Papers.

²⁷ Schenck, p. 68.

against the discrimination in Virginia because of color.”²⁸

About Boston’s anti-Jamestown agitation, an article entitled, “Foolish Boston Negroes” in a Newport News newspaper, reported:

While a few negro agitators and South haters up in Massachusetts are endeavoring to foster a movement having for its object an adverse vote on the part of the Massachusetts representatives in Congress on the Jamestown Exposition appropriation bill, because of the passage of a Jim Crow street car law by the last legislature of Virginia, the negroes of Hampton and other sections of Virginia are organizing and bending every energy to co-operate with the managers of the exposition and to make a good showing for themselves and for their race while the celebration is in progress. . . . Even if there were discrimination against the colored passengers on street cars the refusal of the Massachusetts members of Congress would not help the negroes at all. It would really have a tendency to make the Southern people more stubborn in

²⁸ Mass. Journal of the Senate, April 24, 1906, p. 695.

their determination to handle matters at issue between the two races in their own way, without Boston interference.²⁹

In a letter to Washington, Jackson described the “great fight” waged against the Jamestown Exposition Company in Massachusetts as “an unholy warfare.”³⁰ Jackson named members of the Niagara Movement as those responsible:

No doubt you have seen by now that a great fight is being waged against the Exposition Company in Mass. by Trotter [editor of the Boston Guardian and active Niagara Movement member] and others. This is an unholy warfare and should not be carried on. It is a blow at the conservative Negro in the South. I hear that Dr. Dubois of Atlanta is also striking a [word illegible] blow at the Exposition, or at me and the Negro Criterion, because I have refused to publish certain articles

²⁹ “Foolish Boston Negroes,” Newport News [Star ?], March 28, 1906 in Hampton University Newspaper Clipping File (117.125).

³⁰ Letter, Jackson to Washington, March 24, 1906, Washington Papers.

derogatory to your policy. The Boston Guardian has heaped war upon me, because of the same thing. ³¹

Despite Jackson's insinuations, the Niagara Movement's opposition was clearly not based on a personal vendetta against him, but rather, a fundamental conflict of ideology.

The anti-Negro Building agitation by Boston members of the Niagara Movement greatly troubled Jackson. "I have whipped every set of Negroes except those in Boston,"³² wrote an anxious Jackson to Booker T. Washington. Jackson explained that the Jamestown Exposition Company and some members of Congress "felt very keenly this opposition coming as it did from a state holding such strong commercial relations with Virginia."³³ A frantic Jackson implored Washington to help:

³¹ Ibid.

³² Ibid.

³³ Letter, Jackson to Washington, March 31, 1906, Washington Papers.

Will you kindly write a letter to the honorable Silas B. Reed, Chairman of the Committee on Ways and Means of the Legislature of the State of Mass., State House, Boston, Mass. and ask him to disregard the protests that are being made against the Jamestown Exposition? . . . They are protesting against the State's participation in the Exposition. Now, all the Northern States, except Mass., or nearly all of them, have made appropriations, also have the Western States. But this contention in Mass. is being carried on by a set of Negroes having, as they claim, for their excuse the jim crow hotels and car laws in the South. All of their protestation does not change the laws, neither does it change the custom down here. The Exposition will go on with or without Mass., but we are anxious to whip these fellows out . . . At a meeting of our representatives and the Jamestown Exposition Company in Washington yesterday, it was decided to use every honorable means possible to defeat these Negroes in their efforts to defeat us. Will you help us? If you will, I am sure that there is nothing that I will not do that is in my power when I am called

upon by you.³⁴

Even without Washington's help, which he declined, Massachusetts officials ultimately ignored African-American opposition and finalized its plans to participate in the Jamestown Tercentennial. Following the Boston branch of the Niagara Movement's defeat in preventing Massachusetts participation, they focused their protest on the Negro Building. In particular, African-Americans in Boston fiercely objected to the arrangement between the managers of the Negro Building and Senator Henry Cabot Lodge and Mayor Fitzgerald of Boston to have the monument in the Boston Common of the African-American Revolutionary hero, Crispus Attucks, transferred to the Tercentennial grounds and placed in front of the Negro Building for the duration of the Exposition.³⁵ Upon hearing of this arrangement, Boston Niagara Movement members immediately protested. Trotter, editor of the Boston Guardian, wrote a letter to the editor of the Washington Bee, expressing his

³⁴ Letter, Jackson to Washington, March 24, 1906, Washington Papers.

³⁵ Washington Bee, March 23, 1906, p. 4.

objection and refuting the claim that the monument was to be moved. "This is untrue," wrote Trotter, "It is one of the falsehoods put out by R.W. Thompson, Booker T. Washington's 'Staff Correspondent' who has gotten the job of press booster."³⁶ Trotter included a letter from the office of the Mayor of Boston. This letter from the Mayor's secretary, Arthur Dolan, stated that at the request of Senator Lodge, permission was given in February to reproduce the sculpture, but that "no authority has been or will be given to transfer the monument itself to the exposition grounds."³⁷ Following the official letter, Trotter defiantly exclaimed, "It is not to be a 'Jim Crow' monument. The truth is the colored women of this state would not allow any transfer, to say nothing of the men. Any attempt would lead to another massacre worse than that of 1775."³⁸ Also reproduced in the Washington Bee article was a letter to Boston officials from the Presidents of the Boston and New England Suffrage Leagues. "Representative colored people here [in Boston],"

³⁶ Washington Bee, April 6, 1907, p. 4.

³⁷ Ibid.

³⁸ Ibid.

added the Suffrage League letter, “regard it as a desecration even to have a copy of the monument in front of Giles Jackson’s Jim Crow building.”³⁹

The Negro Building officials also suffered opposition from less militant African-American organizations. In order to publicize, finance and organize the Negro Building, the NDEC approached religious, fraternal and business associations. The African-American Virginia Baptist Convention debated its endorsement of the Negro Building. It finally consented, adding the disclaimer that, “while the body deplored the Jim Crow features of the Exposition, it endorsed its purpose so far as a display of the progress of the colored people was concerned.”⁴⁰ The NDEC received the endorsement of the Florida, Georgia and Mississippi Negro Business Leagues, but surprisingly, Booker T. Washington as the president of the National Negro Business League initially denied the NDEC his endorsement.⁴¹

³⁹ Ibid.

⁴⁰ Richmond Planet, May 19, 1906, p. 1.

⁴¹ Kerr, p. 150.

This confusing refusal on the part of Washington might be explained by a conflict of egos, not philosophy. It is possible that Jackson's initiative and publicized leadership of the Jamestown Negro Building challenged Washington's established reign as leader of African-Americans and their exhibits. In fact, Washington had been solicited by some African-Americans to take the part of manager of the Negro Building. A letter from the Young Men's Christian Association of Norfolk to the office of Hollis Burke Frissell informed Hampton Institute's principal that "A committee of Tidewater gentlemen [have] the opinion that the greatest success of the Negro Department could be best secured by inviting Dr. Booker T. Washington to accept its chairmanship."⁴² Furthermore, Thomas J. Calloway, prior to the organization of the Executive Committee, wrote to Washington, "My positive conclusion is that you are the only person who can save the situation."⁴³ There is no evidence to

⁴² Letter, Young Men's Christian Association of Norfolk to Dr. H. B. Frissell, October 4, 1905, Jamestown Exhibition Collection, Hampton University Archives, Hampton, Virginia.

⁴³ Letter, Calloway to Washington, August 9, 1906, Washington Papers.

support that Washington ever seriously considered a leadership position in Jamestown Negro Building management.

Washington did ultimately endorse the Jamestown Negro Building and was the speaker on Negro Day. However, his institution, Tuskegee remained conspicuously absent from the education section of the Negro Building. Whether or not Tuskegee would send an exhibit was the subject of extensive correspondence between himself and the managers of the Jamestown Negro Building. Calloway, representing the Executive Committee of the Jamestown Negro Building, proposed to Washington that a room or building be provided capable of accommodating fifty to one hundred visitors for an exhibit from Tuskegee consisting of transparencies, photographs, lantern slides and a moving picture machine.⁴⁴

As a great disappointment to the managers of the Negro Building, Washington turned down Calloway's offer of a special exhibit. "It is too expensive for us," explained Washington, "besides

⁴⁴ Letter, Calloway to Washington, February 23, 1907, Washington Papers.

you know we are compelled to make an exhibit at the fair in Montgomery next October.”⁴⁵ “While this institution,” elaborated the Student (Tuskegee’s school newspaper), “for various reasons which it cannot overcome is not to make an exhibit at the Jamestown Exposition. The officers of Tuskegee are in hearty sympathy with the Jamestown Exposition. It is a big mistake if our people do not put forth their very highest and best efforts. In the case of the Tuskegee Institute we have lately gone to much expense in making exhibits and in connection with the celebration of our 25th anniversary.”⁴⁶

Despite Tuskegee’s reasonable explanation, opponents of the Jamestown Negro Building interpreted Washington’s decision not to exhibit as an indictment of the Negro Building. The Washington Bee reported, “Dr. Washington has become disgusted and will not exhibit

. . . It is quite evident that Dr. Washington is convinced that blunders have been committed and he does not propose to be party to

⁴⁵ Letter, Washington to Jackson, February 7, 1907, Washington Papers. Washington estimated that it would take four to five thousand dollars for Tuskegee to make a respectable exhibit.

⁴⁶ Student, reproduced in Washington Bee, April 27, 1907, p. 4.

any scheme that will tend to humiliate colored people at Jamestown.”⁴⁷ Because of the Negro Building’s strong identification with Washington and his role as its spokesman on Negro Day, it is safe to assume that the Washington Bee’s article reflected its own disgust, not Washington’s.

Despite Jackson’s statement to the contrary, however, it is clear that not everyone who “came to scoff, remained to pray.”⁴⁸ The Niagara Movement members remained its most vehement critics. The Guardian continued its anti-Negro Building campaign throughout the Exposition. On July 27, for instance, it published a seething article that reproduced a July 15th New York Times article quoting a “recent visitor” to the Exposition:

“There is a rather pitiful exhibit . . . Only Negroes had control in the beginning, but white men had to step in and finish up for them. There are in the place no exhibits at all really showing progress of the race, but all the “colored universities” have

⁴⁷ Washington Bee, April 27, 1907, p. 4.

⁴⁸ Jackson and Davis, p. 6.

childish displays illustrating what is being taught in these institutions, which is or may be a very different thing from what is being learned. There is nothing showing accomplishment by the graduates.⁴⁹

The antagonistic article continued by arguing that it was actually not a “Negro” Building at all. “It is a strange fact,” quoted the Guardian, “that there are in the building no negroes, properly so called, except a few laborers and tenth-rate mechanics. All the managers are mulattoes, quadroons and still whiter mixtures. They are the only ones who have done anything at all, and they will not class themselves as negroes or with them.”⁵⁰ The Colored American Magazine responded by denouncing this statement as “simply another effort of the white man to discredit Negro intelligence.”⁵¹ The article retorted that the author of this statement should look at

⁴⁹ New York Times, July 15, 1907, p. 6 quoted in Guardian (Boston, Mass.), July 27, 1907, p. 5.

⁵⁰ Ibid.

⁵¹ “Mulattoes, Negroes and the Jamestown Exhibit,” Colored American Magazine, Vol. XIII, No. 2 (August 1907), p. 87.

Giles B. Jackson who could “never be mistaken for a mulatto.”⁵²

Discrimination at the Jamestown Tercentennial

The Jamestown Exposition Company’s president, Henry St. George Tucker, epitomized the atmosphere of Jamestown Tercentennial in his statement to a Boston agent: “The Exposition will be held under the laws of the United States, the laws of Virginia, and the customs which have prevailed in Virginia on subjects which laws do not reach . . .”⁵³ Although national and international in scope, the Jamestown Tercentennial indeed catered to Jim Crow and New South politics. The New York Age came out strongly against the Tercentennial for this reason and implored its readers not to go:

The fact that the usual Southern methods will be practiced by those in charge of the exposition, of insulting and excluding from places of public amusement and entertainment colored

⁵² Ibid.

⁵³ Quoted in Schenck, p. 69.

persons who may visit the exposition, is to my mind sufficient ground for self respecting persons of color to avoid contact or patronage with the whole miserable affair. It is sad to feel that our manhood as a people has been so nearly crushed out that we supinely submit to such outrages without general protest. It is gratifying to know that there is a considerable number left in the race who are not willing to trade their manhood even for hire.⁵⁴

The institutionalized racism at the Exposition undoubtedly affected the experience of those African-Americans who ignored the warnings and did attend, as well as altered how white visitors viewed the Negro Building.

The location of the Negro Building and the discrimination likely to be suffered by African-American visitors was offensive. Consequently, the Washington Bee warned its readers, especially the women, not to visit the Negro Building:

⁵⁴ New York Age, December 5, 1907, p. 1.

The Jamestown Exhibit as far as the Negro is concerned is a complete failure. The Building is located in a far off corner near the camping and drill grounds where the Southern soldiers will come- the nearest building to the War Path. -All who know anything of exhibitions fully understand that these are the places where the rough elements from all over the world will attend and between the Southern soldiers and the crowds that will attend the War Path will keep our ladies in constant contact with these rough elements and especially to their many insults.⁵⁵

Not only inside, but also outside the “Negro Reservation,” the Exposition represented white Virginia and its prejudices: the United Daughters of the Confederacy used a reproduction of Jefferson Davis’s house as their headquarters; the Exposition’s monthly promotional magazine and photographic souvenir books replaced representation of the Negro Building with images of poor, rural, African-American tenant farmers to symbolize the South and white supremacy; and in the War Path, white visitors ate “hoe cake batter

⁵⁵ Washington Bee, April 27, 1907, p. 4.

bread and corn bread with syrup” served by “Mammies.”⁵⁶ An article in Harpers Weekly entitled, “The Troubles at Jamestown” by William Inglis went so far as to blame African-American laborers for the incompleteness of the Exposition buildings on opening day. “The labor problem in the South,” editorialized Inglis, “consists very largely in the business of keeping the black man and brother awake and on the job.”⁵⁷ The article was accompanied by a photograph of two African-American workers on the Exposition grounds with the caption, “Two Negroes sleepily dawdling over the Task of an Army.”⁵⁸

Despite the NDEC’s efforts, legalized segregation remained and was enforced at the Jamestown Tercentennial. An article in the Richmond Planet entitled, “The Truth about the Jamestown Exhibition” reported that, “Colored people who come expecting to find race discrimination will not be disappointed, although it is

⁵⁶ Laird & Lee’s Guide to Historic Virginia and the Jamestown Centennial 1907 (Chicago: Laird and Lee Publishers, 1907), p. 128.

⁵⁷ Inglis, “The Troubles at Jamestown,” p. 835.

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 836.

evident that the management is doing all in its power to secure fair treatment for the colored visitors. But there are concerns here that it cannot control.”⁵⁹ The article continued by warning African-American visitors from other parts of the country to beware: “It is not so noticeable to those of us who reside here, because we know where these discriminations are made and we studiously avoid the places. But a northern and western individual left to his own inclinations and exercising his own rights and privileges will be repeatedly insulted much to his chagrin and embarrassment unless he is previously advised as to the location of these exclusive establishments.”⁶⁰

As expected, African-American visitors from other parts of the country returned with accounts of injustices suffered at the Jamestown Exposition. A group of African-American ministers who had visited the fair from an annual conference in Baltimore, wrote with fierce condemnation about their experience:

⁵⁹ Richmond Planet, May 11, 1907, p. 1.

⁶⁰ Ibid.

From what we saw and experienced, we are satisfied that it was a mistake for the Negro to have had anything to do with the Jamestown Exposition. He is not wanted there; he has never been wanted there, and no self-respecting Negro will want to go there. The Jim Crow treatment begins as soon as you board the boat at Baltimore, and increases in vehemence as you journey from Norfolk to the grounds, and when you get on the grounds, well it would take a more eloquent pen than ours to tell of the abominable and devilish treatment you receive. You simply waste time and money to go there.⁶¹

At the close of the Exposition the Georgia Baptist voiced the opinion of many who experienced such discrimination: "While the Negro exhibits at the Jamestown Exposition was [sic] good, it did not by any means come up to the promise of its promoters [sic]. The Georgia Baptist will never be led to favor another Negro Annex Exsosition [sic]. Jamestown has given us this kind of medicine."⁶²

⁶¹ Freeman (Indianapolis, IN), July 20, 1907, p. 1.

⁶² Georgia Baptist, December 5, 1907 in Hampton University Newspaper Clipping File (117.159).

Trolley car conductors forced African-Americans to meet the racism and convenience of its white customers. "Every hour in the day," wrote one Washington, D.C. observer about the trains going into Virginia, "Jim Crow Cars filled with colored people many of whom are intelligent and well to do, enter and leave the national capital."⁶³ One such elite passenger, Meta Warrick, the Negro Building's sculptor of international fame was confronted by a conductor when she entered through the front door of a trolley. Upon being ordered to reenter from the rear, Warrick openly challenged the conductor and won.⁶⁴ Warrick's small victory, however, was the exception. One Jamestown Tercentennial visitor summed up his experience with, "I have been 'Jim Crowed' at the exposition so much that I begin to feel like a crow, if I do not look like one."⁶⁵

Within the Exposition grounds, exhibit buildings and

⁶³ Quoted in Gatewood, p. 65.

⁶⁴ Kerr, p. 181.

⁶⁵ Cleveland Gazette, July 20, 1907 quoted in Schenck, p. 72.

entertainments, including the merry-go-round, refused African-American patronage.⁶⁶ Restaurants outside the “Negro Reservation” were for white visitors only. Meta Warrick’s memory of humiliation at being turned down at white food concessionaires remained vivid sixty years later. “I had gotten a Gold Medal for that exhibit,” recounted Warrick, “but I couldn’t eat at any of the eating places.”⁶⁷ Many African-American visitors like Warrick did not remain longer than necessary at the Jamestown Tercentennial.

⁶⁶ Schenck, p. 70.

⁶⁷ Quoted in Kerr, p. 181.

CONCLUSION

Despite the controversy surrounding the Jamestown Negro Building, the NDEC sought to perpetuate it in the form of a national museum of African-American culture in Richmond.¹ Following debate with the government concerning ownership of the building, the NDEC paid the Treasury department \$100 for the appraised value of the Negro Building and \$5,000 for the building's removal to Richmond.²

To attract support for the museum, Jackson addressed large segregated auditoriums often full of whites seated comfortably on the ground floor and African-Americans crammed in the upper

¹ Jackson's idea for a Museum of African-American History had little precedent. Only thirty African-American museums were established between 1885 and 1930 and most of these were affiliated with universities. Ruffin, p. 557.

² Final Report, p. 141.

gallery. "We would not think," asserted Jackson's fellow museum organizer, D. Webster Davis³ (Fig. 24), to one such audience, "of bringing this exhibition to Richmond without your approval."⁴ In a similar vein, Jackson exclaimed, a "promoter came from Rochester to get our exhibit and offered me a job with it, I told them that I had a job, and that they couldn't have it if the white folks of Richmond would let us fetch it here."⁵ Apparently, Davis and Jackson's speeches were effective because as one article reported, "it wasn't necessary to call for a hand primary on the question, as the crowd showed unmistakably that it was in line."⁶ In support of such a museum, the Richmond Leader declared, "the negro exhibit at the exposition is universally regarded as one of the best on the grounds, and its removal to Richmond would be a matter, not only of

³ D. Webster Davis (1862-1913) was a Baptist minister in Richmond, high mason and teacher.

⁴ Richmond Leader, November 12, 1907 in D. Webster Davis Collection, Virginia Historical Society, Richmond, VA.

⁵ Ibid.

⁶ Ibid.

considerable interest, but of substantial value to the city.”⁷

Despite large white support, the museum never opened.⁸ Jackson’s great granddaughter, Patricia Ives Carter Sluby, believes that there were simply too many “political forces against it.”⁹ The same political forces including prejudice, racism, and lack of interest were apparently in place when Kelly Miller (1863-1939), Dean of the College of Arts and Sciences tried unsuccessfully to get support for a “Negro Americana Museum and Research Library” at Howard University in 1912 and once more in 1938 for a “National Negro Museum.”¹⁰ It was not until 1991, that the first museum of

⁷ Ibid.

⁸ Exactly how and when it met its demise is not know. Jackson’s papers where destroyed when his house and adjoining stable was torn down to make the Richmond-Petersburg Turnpike in the late 1960’s. Based on telephone interview with Giles B. Jackson’s great-granddaughter, Patricia Carter Ives Sluby, November 1994.

⁹ Ibid.

¹⁰ Kelly Miller Papers, Moorland-Spingarn Research Center, Howard University, Washington, D. C.

African-American history and culture in Virginia opened.¹¹ This Black History Museum and Cultural Center is located in the Jackson Ward section of Richmond. Ironically, Jackson Ward is the very place Giles B. Jackson did not want his Museum of African-American History. In discussing an appropriate location for the Negro Building Museum, Jackson assured his white audience, “that members of his race will not attempt to place it on Grace or Franklin Street, but that they certainly did not want it set way back in Jackson Ward.”¹² In retrospect, Jackson’s idea of converting the Jamestown Negro Building into a Virginian Museum of African-American Culture and History was more than three quarters of a century too soon and

¹¹ The museum is on 00 Clay Street in Jackson Ward and has only one full-time, paid staff person. It is open from 11:00 a.m. to 4:00 p.m., four days a week. Based on a telephone interview with Brian Little, Executive Director, Black History Museum and Cultural Center, Richmond, VA, January 1994.

¹² Richmond Dispatch, February 12, 1908 in Hampton University Newspaper Clipping File (117.169).

stood no chance of succeeding in 1907.¹³

Despite the NDEC's hopes, time proved that the Negro Building and Washington's accommodationist approach did not bring African-Americans closer to obtaining civil rights. Instead, legalized segregation, lynching and the Ku Klux Klan continued to plague the South (Fig. 25). Moreover, America quickly deleted from its memory any positive associations with African-Americans at Jamestown in 1619 and 1907. In 1915, D. W. Griffith's racist saga, A Birth of a Nation, opened with a scene of African slaves landing at Jamestown Island to illustrate the "contamination" of America. President

¹³ After the Exposition closed and no museum opened, the feature of the Negro Building most sought after was Meta Vaux Warrick's fifteen historical tableaux. Technically owned by the government, the tableaux could be borrowed for exhibition purposes. Consequently, the tableaux were loaned out to the NDEC, the Colored Young Women's Christian Association of Washington, D.C. and finally, in 1909, after sitting in a Treasury Department warehouse for over a year, Meta's friend, W. E. B. DuBois, requested and received the tableaux for exhibition at Atlanta University. Letter, DuBois to Calloway, February 20, 1909, National Archives, Treasury Department files. The location of Warrick's Tableaus today is unknown. Kerr, p. 425.

Calvin Coolidge condoned this version of history by holding a private screening of the offensive film at the White House and describing it as “history written with lightning.”¹⁴

In 1916 when a Mr. J. W. Gandy from the Virginia Normal and Industrial Institute wrote to the Association for the Preservation of Virginia Antiquities (APVA)¹⁵ for permission to erect a monument on Jamestown Island in honor of the first Africans who came to America, his request was denied with the following explanation:

The APVA has considered the request . . . and regrets that it cannot grant permission for which you ask. The reason for this is, that Jamestown was the first permanent Colony of the English speaking people in this country and its history is associated always with that fact. Whatever relates to Jamestown has its value because of that Association . . . It was distinctively an English Colony and the incident of

¹⁴ Harlan, p. 432.

¹⁵ The APVA operated Jamestown Island and initiated the idea for the Jamestown Tercentennial.

bringing the Negroes by the Dutch ship to Jamestown forms no such part in the life of the colony as will justify our granting permission to erect a memorial to mark that event. The United States Government, when it erected a monument in 1907 caused the following inscription to be placed on it: "Jamestown, the first permanent colony of the English people, the birthplace of Virginia, and of the United States."¹⁶

Incredibly, it was not until seventy-six years later in 1992, that a small commemorative marker, sponsored by the Harriet Tubman Historical Society in Wilmington, Delaware, was erected by the Department of Historic Resources in Richmond.¹⁷ Significantly, however, this overdue marker is not on Jamestown Island itself, but instead is located on Route 31, outside the Island's entrance.

¹⁶ Quoted in Richard T. Couture, To Preserve and Protect: A History of the Association for the Preservation of Virginia Antiquities (Dallas: Taylor Publishing Company, 1984), p. 83.

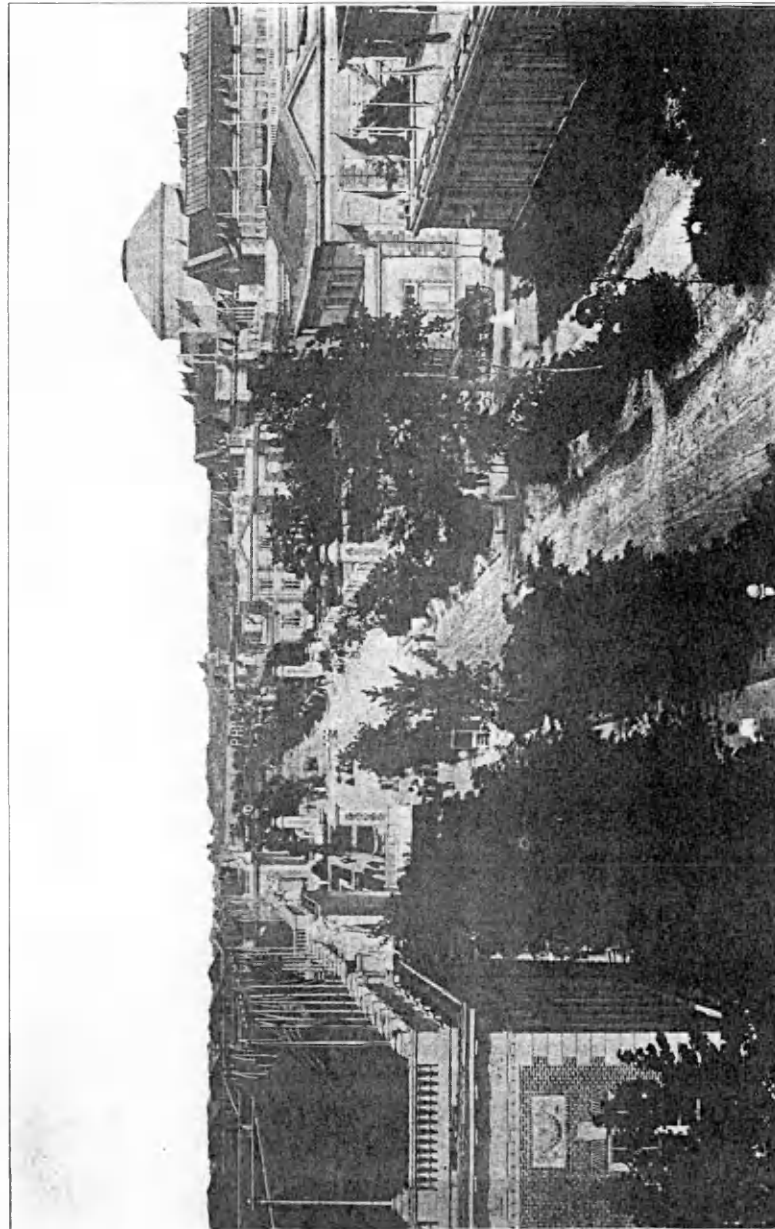
¹⁷ Based on a telephone interview with John Salon, Historic Marker Manager, Historic Landmark Division, Department of Historic Resources, Richmond, VA, May 1994; and Richmond Times-Dispatch, August 22, 1992, p. 1.

In conclusion, the Negro Building revealed the debate being waged among African-Americans over representation, identity and political strategies in the first decade of the twentieth century. The exhibits in the Negro Building were carefully constructed to project the single voice of the Southern, male, middle class, Victorian, African-American follower of Booker T. Washington. The way in which this select group of African-Americans represented themselves reflected attitudes that were wide spread. However, that many opposed this type of representation revealed a turning point in African-American political thought. A new African-American consciousness developed as a response to dissatisfaction with the denial of a distinct African-American experience, the policy of appeasement and the anti-Africa ideologies represented in the Negro Building. The ideology of the radical anti-Jamestown Negro Building agitators became more mainstream as Washington's program of appeasement proved ineffective. Even Giles B. Jackson, just a few years later in 1913, would be described as a "Fresh Nigger" for attempting unsuccessfully to "exercise his manhood

rights” by voting.¹⁸ Following the Jamestown Tercentennial, Southern African-Americans migrated in increasing numbers to Northern cities, establishing New York and especially Harlem, as a mecca for African-Americans. After 1909, African-Americans led by the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People shifted their racial policy away from Southern appeasement to Northern protest and agitation. The problem, however, remained - the problem of African-American representation and identity amidst pervasive racism and discrimination.

¹⁸ Colored Virginian, September 18, 1915 in Hampton University Newspaper Clipping File (274.79).

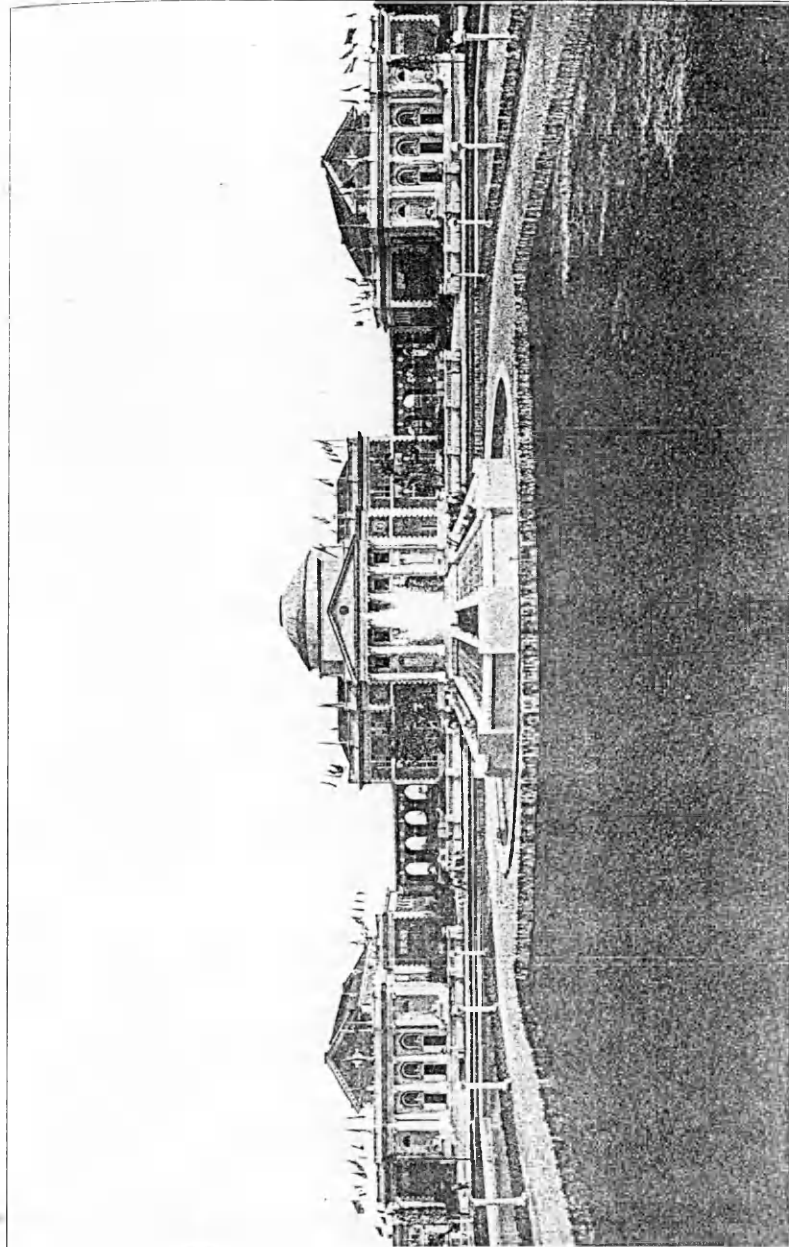
Figure 1



POCAHONTAS STREET

Scene on the main avenue of the Exposition Grounds

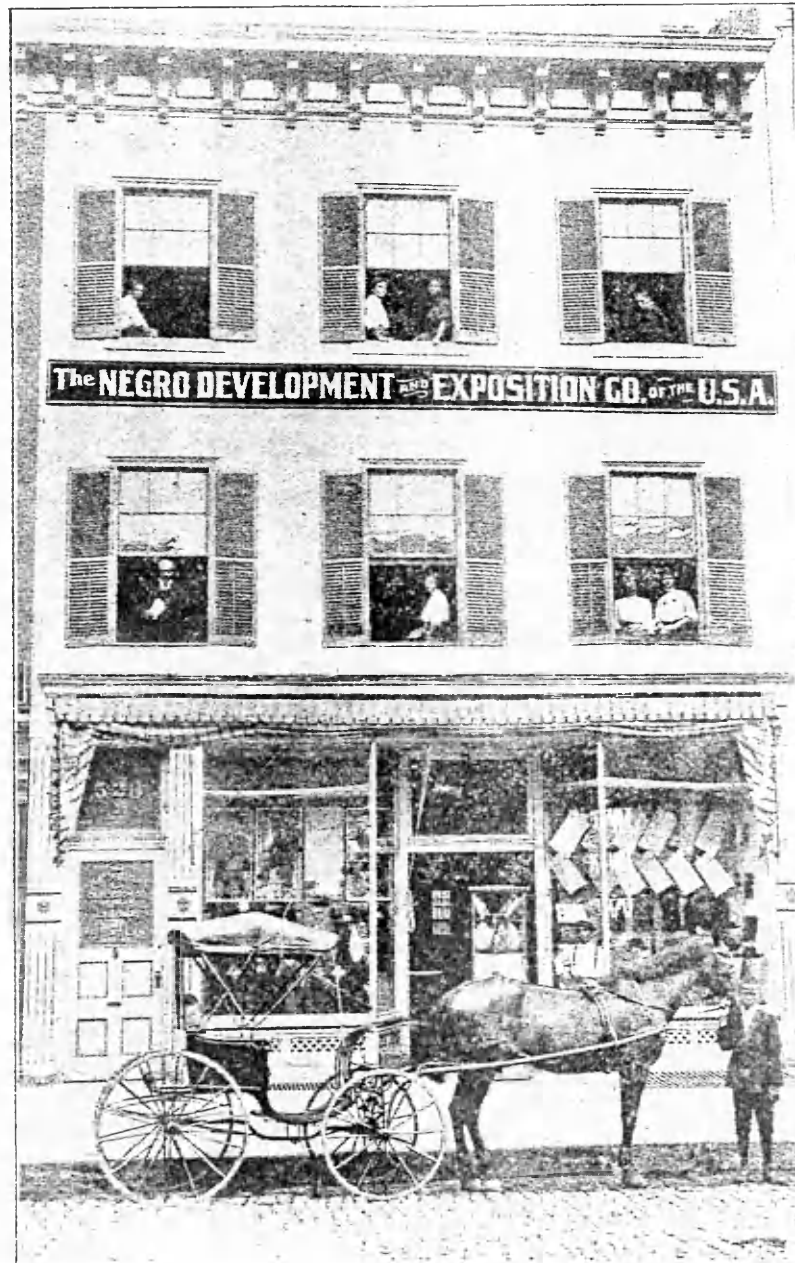
Figure 2



COURT OF HONOR

A group of three of the most important buildings

Figure 3



NDEC headquarters and law office of Giles B. Jackson,
528 East Broad Street, Richmond, Virginia

Figure 4



GILES B. JACKSON, Director-General N. D. & E. Co.

Figure 5



W. I. JOHNSON, President N. D. & E. Co.

Figure 6



*Yours truly,
A. BINGA, Jr.*

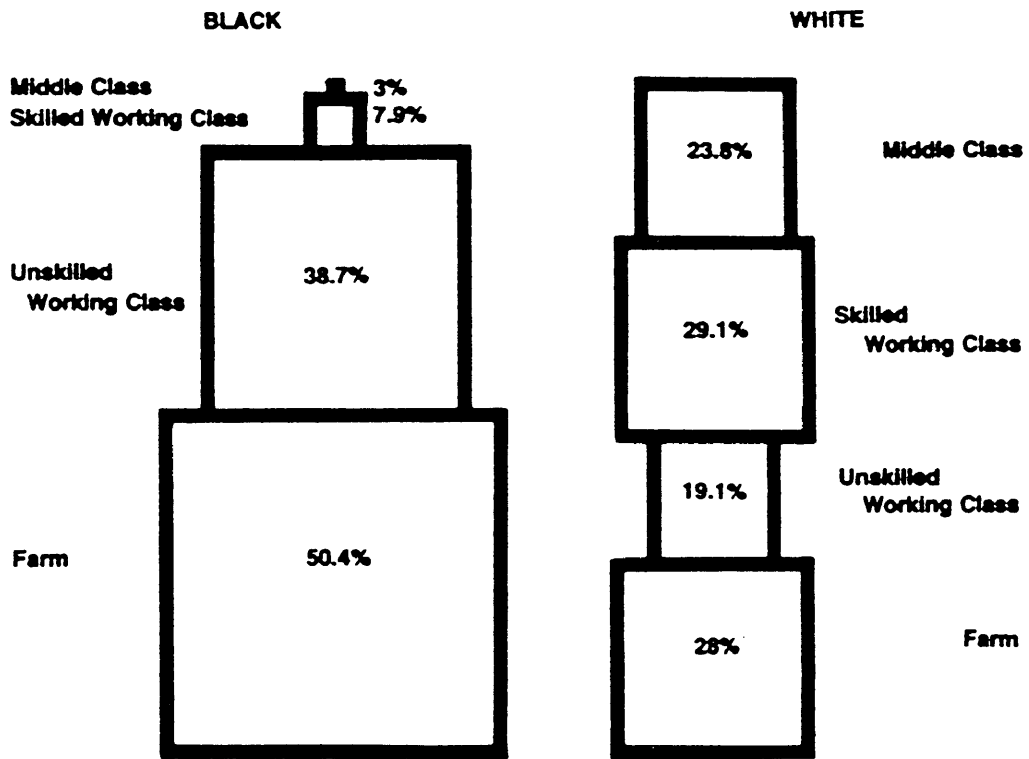
Rev. A. BINGA, Jr., Vice-President N. D. & E. Co.

Figure 7



R. T. HILL, Treasurer N. D. & E. Co.

Figure 8



Black and white class structures in 1910

Figure 9



Booker T. Washington

Booker T. Washington, 1906

Figure 10



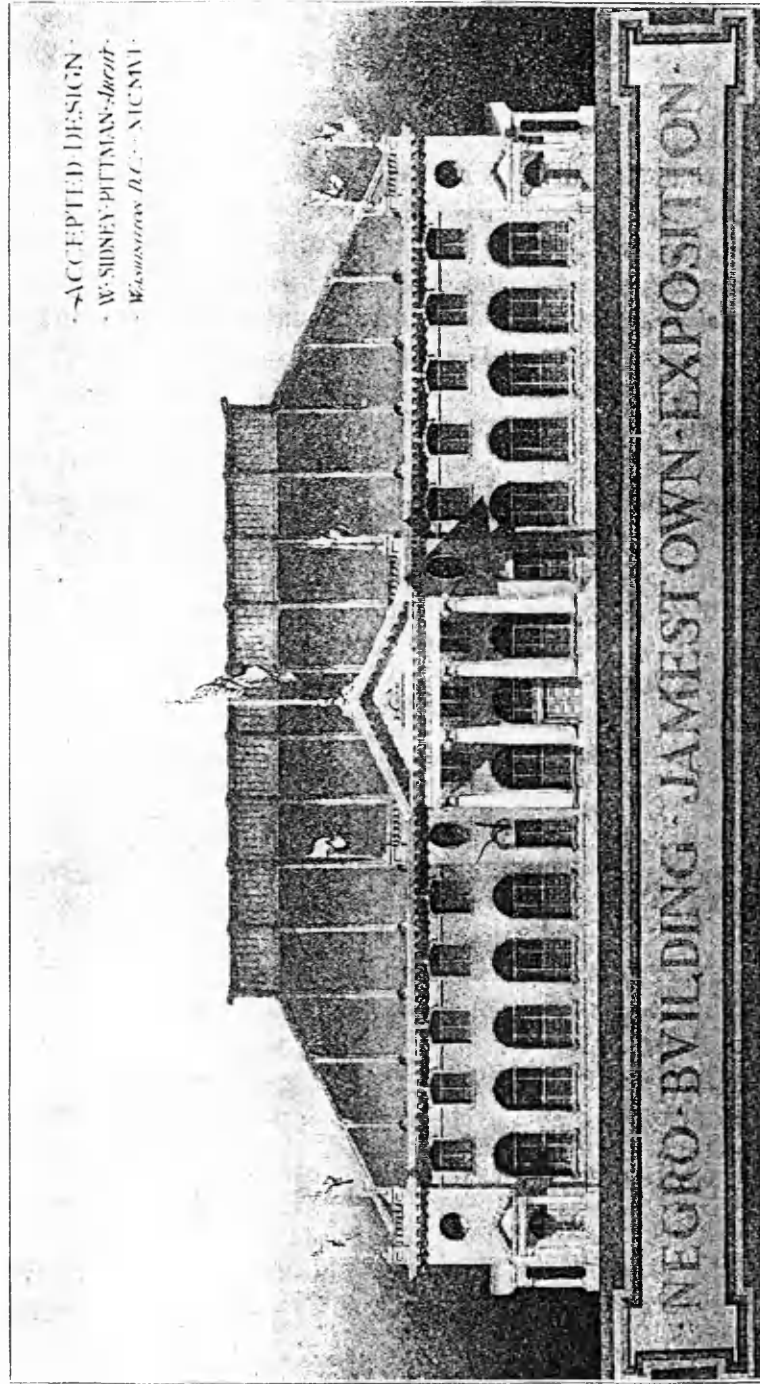
THOMAS J. CALLOWAY
CHAIRMAN EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

Figure 11



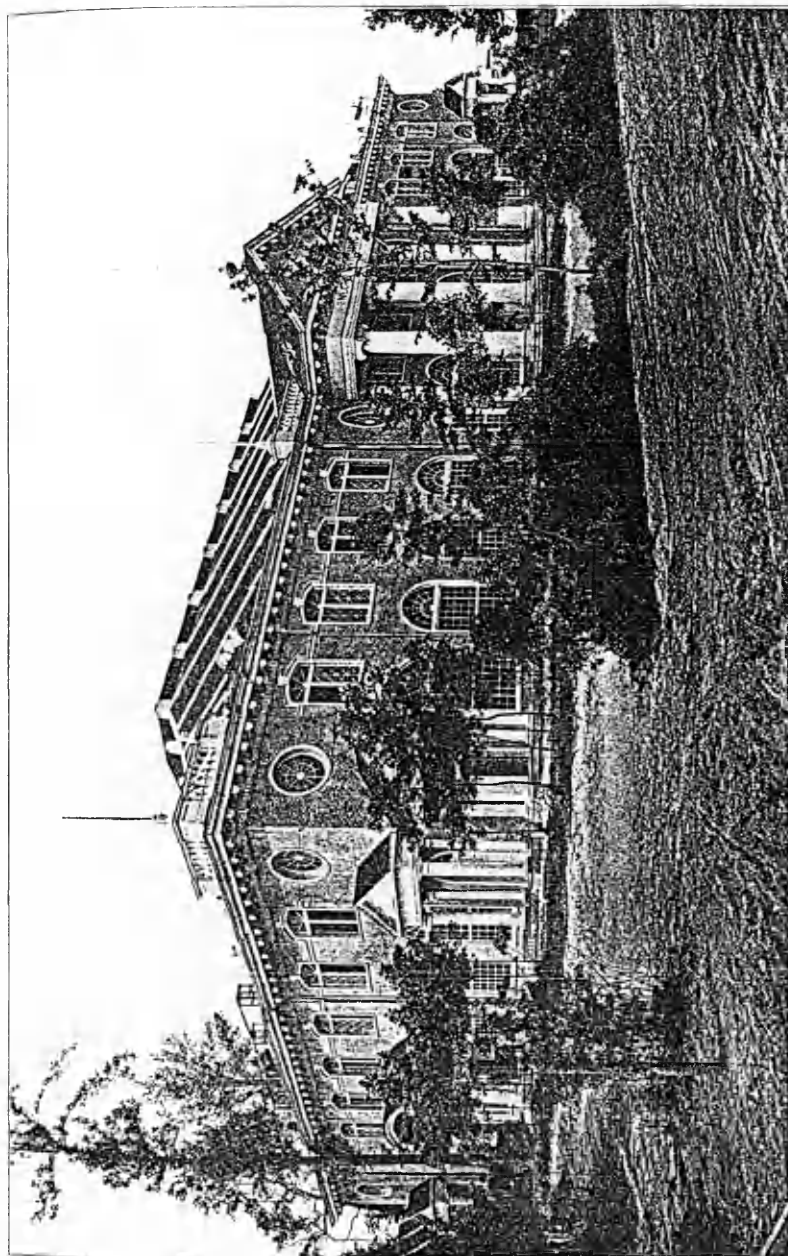
ANDREW F. HILYER
SECRETARY TREASURER

Figure 12



Accepted Design for the Negro Building by W. Sidney Pittman

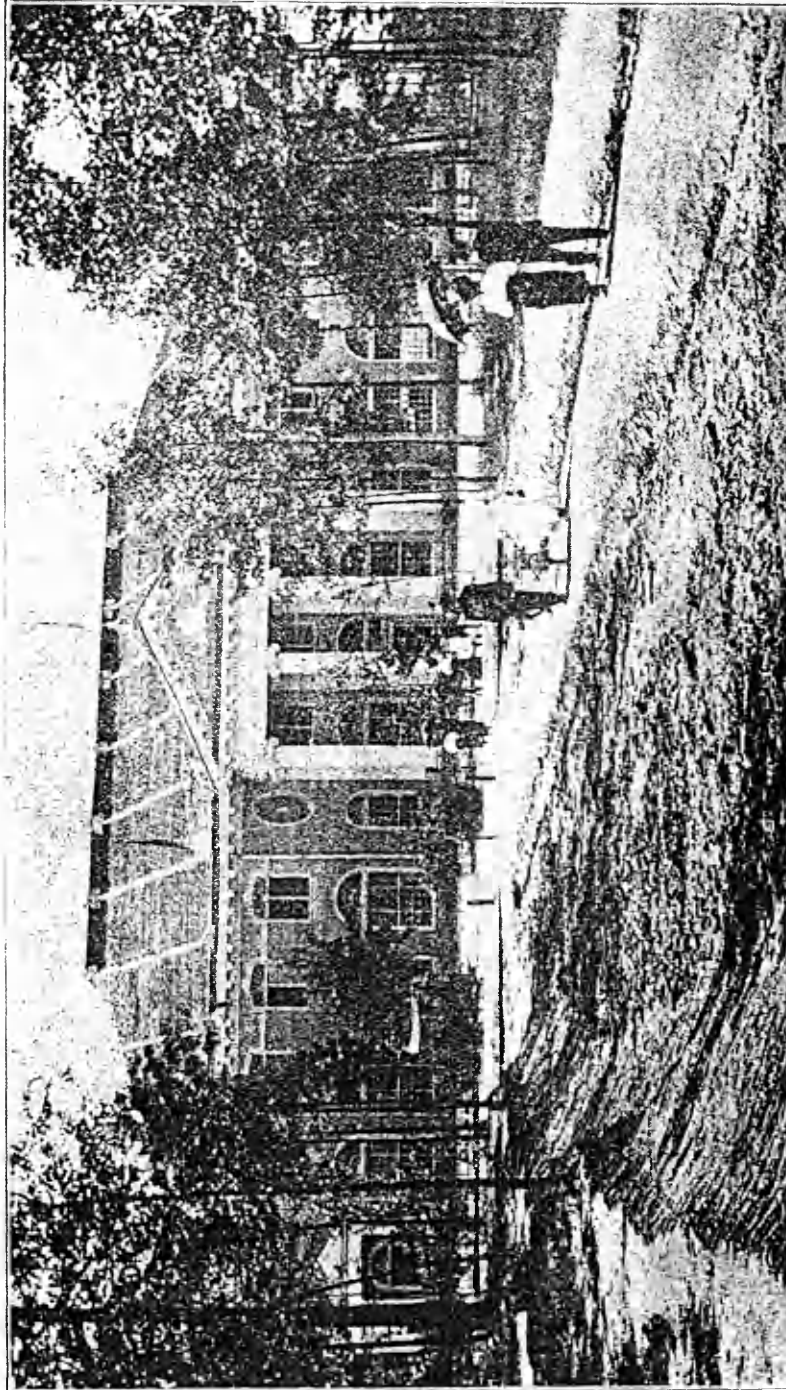
Figure 13



NEGRO BUILDING

It contained one of the most complete exhibits on Grounds

Figure 14



THE NEGRO BUILDING SHOWING FRONT ENTRANCE. THE WALK LEADING TO BUILDING IS A DIRECT LINE TO EXPOSITION GATE

Figure 15

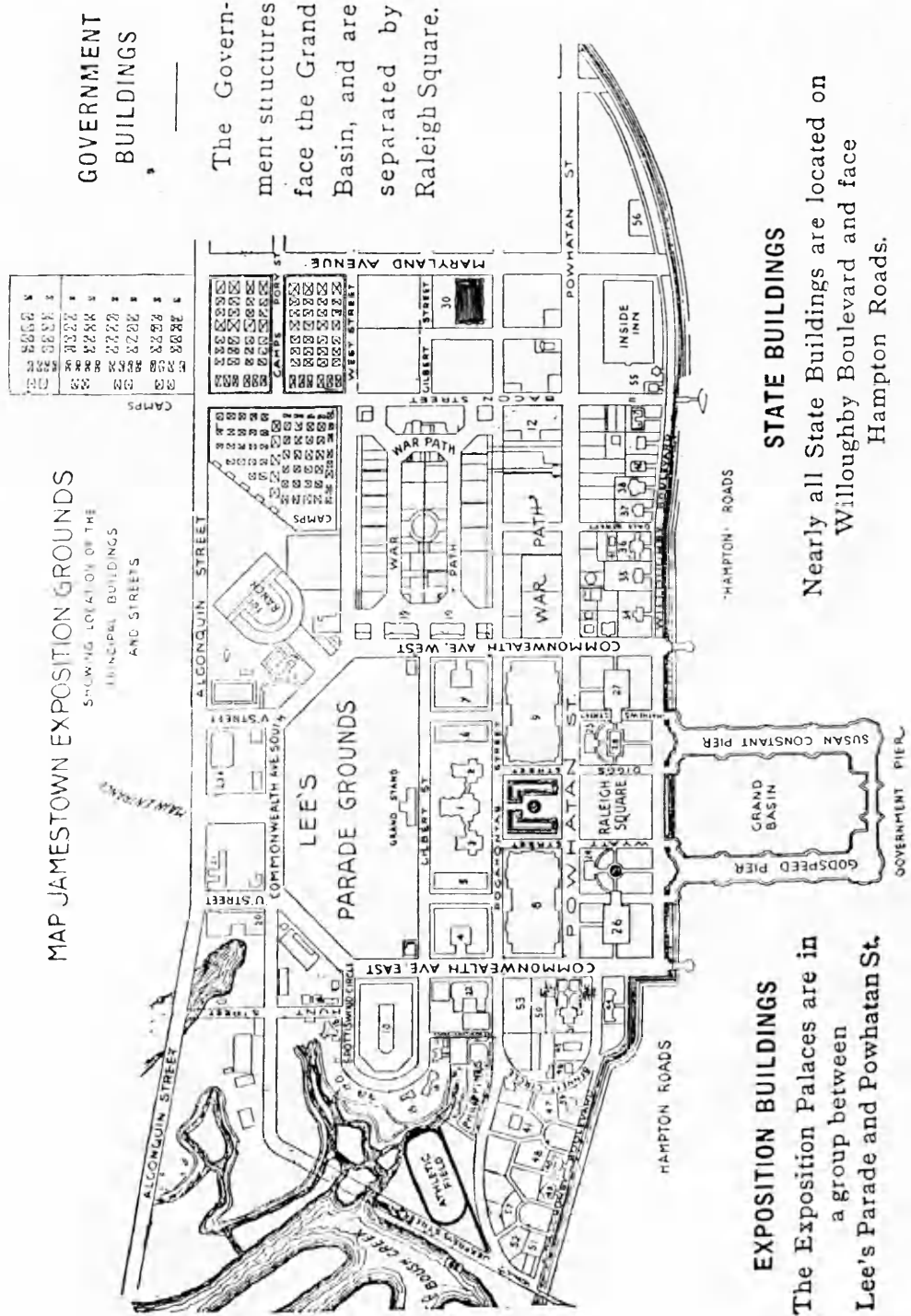
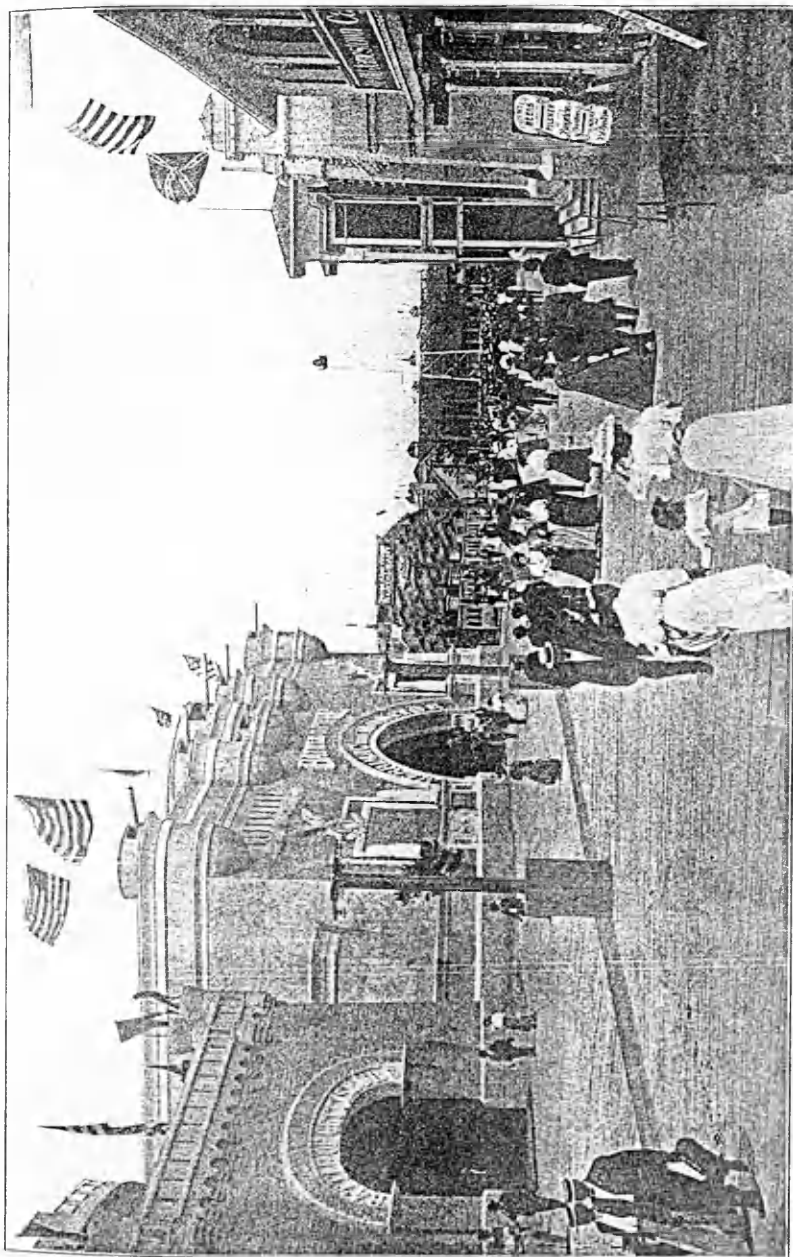


Figure 16



WAR PATH SCENE

A locality which attracted every visitor to the Exposition

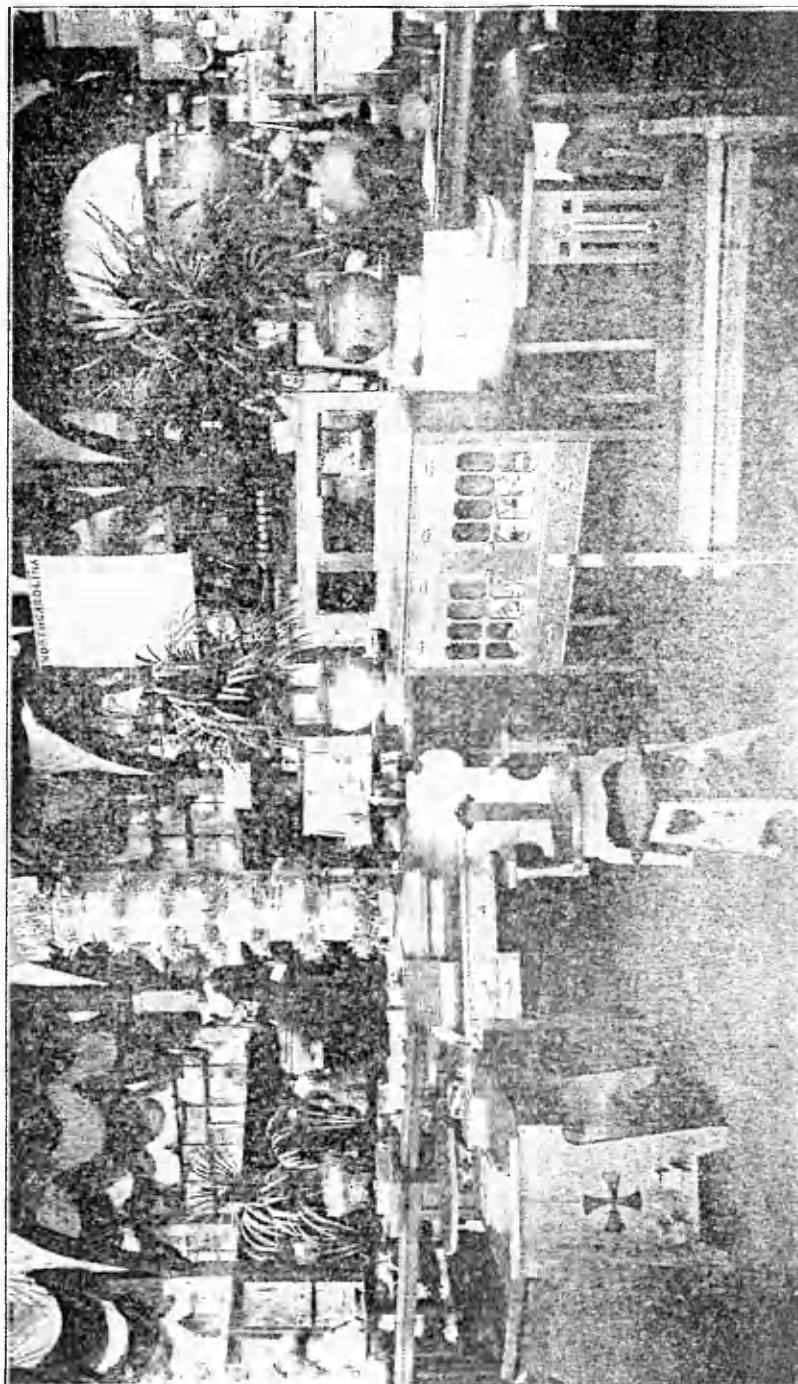
Figure 17

Let Your Exhibits Come Forward, Showing Progress in—

1. EDUCATION, including photographs of buildings, classes and campus, samples of literary and mechanical work of pupils, catalogues, sets of text books used by pupils, drawings, compositions, kindergarten paraphernalia, etc.
2. HOMES, to include small models of nice homes, photographs of exteriors, stables, yards, interiors, parlors, dining rooms, bed rooms, kitchens, etc.
3. FARMS, samples of agricultural products, canned and preserved goods, soils, photographs of barns, stock and machinery.
4. SKILLED TRADES AND ORGANIZED LABOR, to include inventions, samples of workmanship, photographs of shops, and products.
5. BUSINESS ENTERPRISES, including photographs of banks, stores, shops, samples of stationery, etc.
6. PROFESSIONS, photographs, libraries, diplomas, etc.
7. MILITARY LIFE, to include swords and guns worn in service, photographs, medals and other trophies won for valor, etc.
8. CHURCH LIFE, to include photographs of church buildings showing exteriors and interiors, pulpits, etc., also photographs of bishops, elders, pastors and officers, with statement showing value of church property, number of communicants, and various branches of the work, etc.
9. BOOKS AND PERIODICALS. We desire especially to have an exhibit of all books and periodicals written or published by Negro authors.
10. MUSIC AND ART. The collection of art work at this exposition promises to be especially good. Send your work.
11. WOMAN'S WORK: While no distinction will be made against woman's work in any line, we desire to emphasize that we want a full collection of samples of all skilled work which our women are performing.

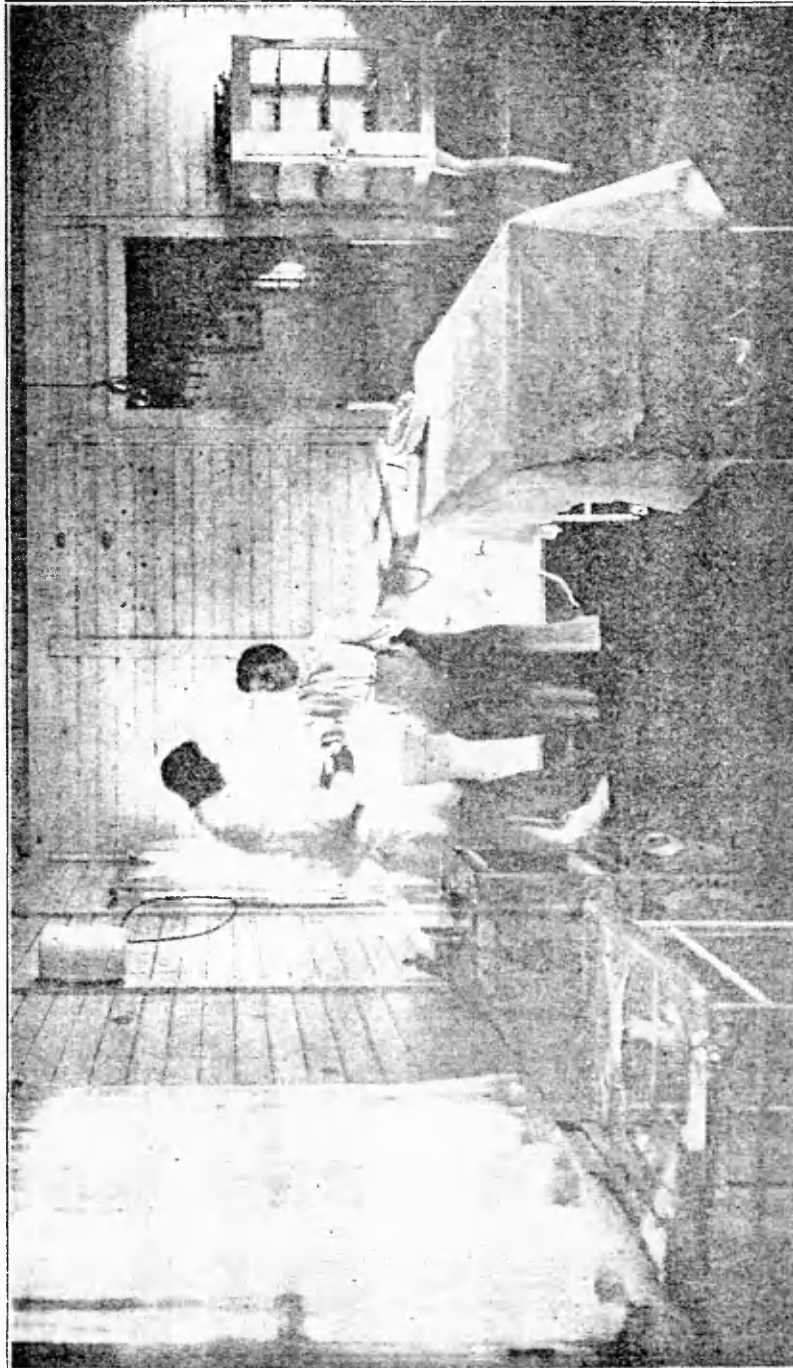
List and description of Negro Building exhibit categories

Figure 18



NORTH CAROLINA EXHIBIT

Figure 19



OPERATING ROOM OF NEGRO EMERGENCY HOSPITAL, JANESTOWN EXPOSITION

Figure 20

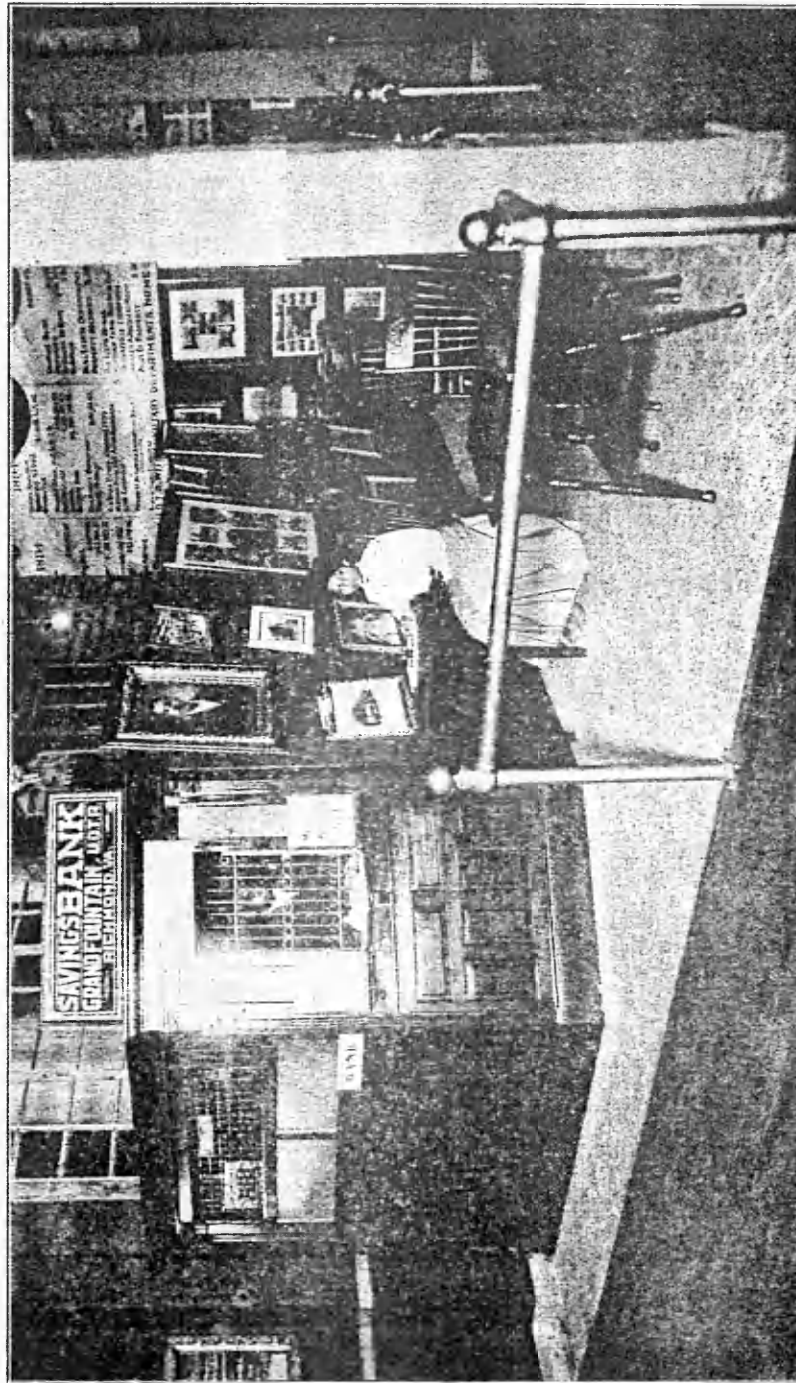


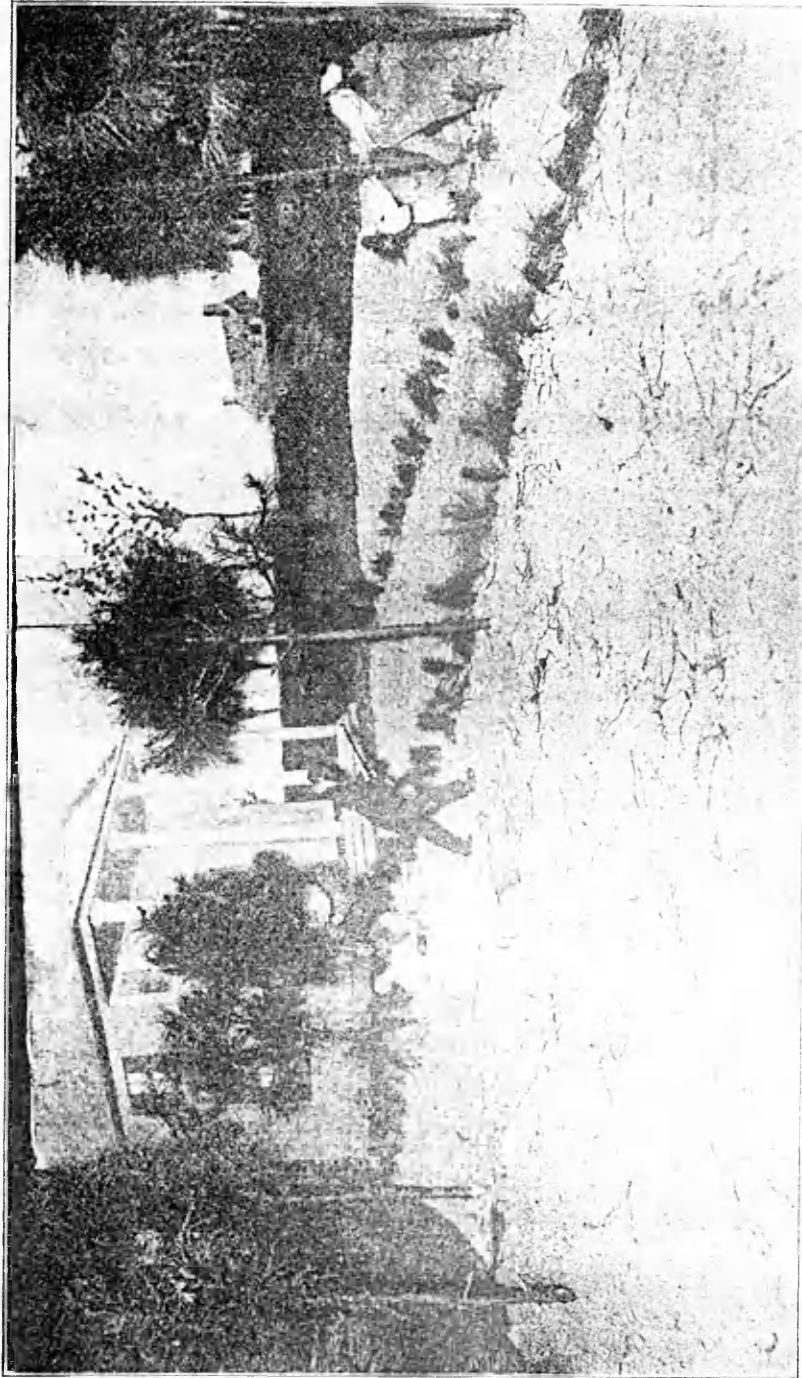
Exhibit of Savings Bank, Grand Fountain U. O. T. R.

Figure 21



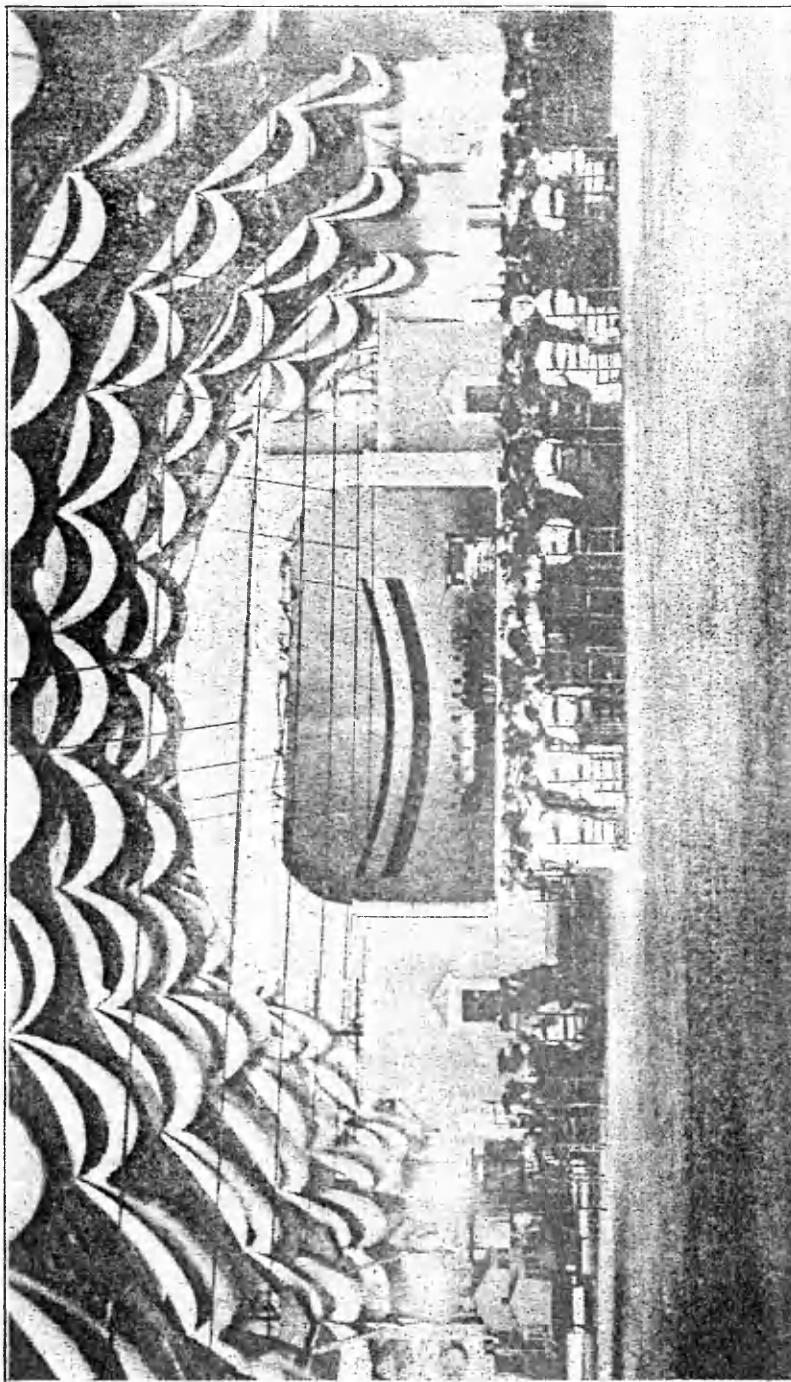
LANDING OF FIRST TWENTY SLAVES AT JAMESTOWN

Figure 22



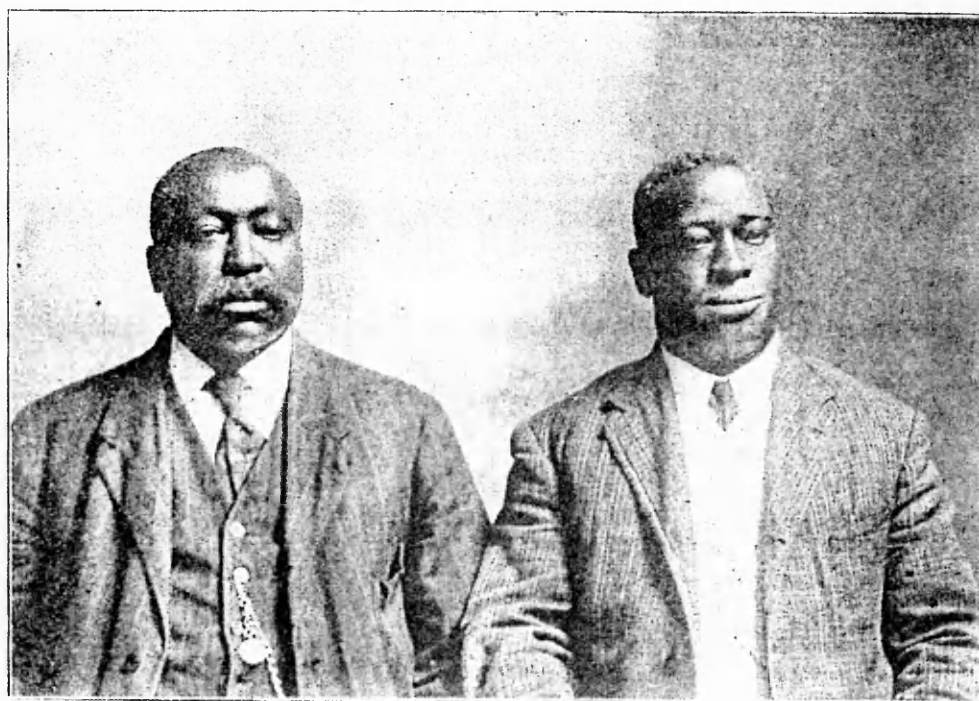
DEFENDING MASTER'S HOME IN CIVIL WAR.

Figure 23



Auditorium of Negro Building An audience of more than 500 gathered twice daily to listen to Fisk University students sing jubilee or plantation songs

Figure 24



GILES B. JACKSON

D. WEBSTER DAVIS

Figure 25

RECORD KEPT BY TUSKEGEE OF LYNCHINGS IN THE
FIRST QUARTER OF THE TWENTIETH CENTURY

1900 — 115	1913 — 52
1901 — 130	1914 — 55
1902 — 92	1915 — 69
1903 — 99	1916 — 54
1904 — 83	1917 — 38
1905 — 62	1918 — 64
1906 — 65	1919 — 83
1907 — 60	1920 — 61
1908 — 97	1921 — 64
1909 — 82	1922 — 57
1910 — 76	1923 — 33
1911 — 67	1924 — 16
1912 — 63	1925 — 17

ILLUSTRATION CREDITS

1. Pocahontas Street, New York at the Jamestown Exposition, p. 135.
2. Court of Honor, New York at the Jamestown Exposition, p. 119.
3. NDEC Headquarters, Industrial History of the Negro Race, p. 166.
4. Giles B. Jackson, Industrial History of the Negro Race, p. 165.
5. W. I. Johnson, Industrial History of the Negro Race, p. 162.
6. Rev. A. Binga, Jr., Industrial History of the Negro Race, p. 163.
7. R. T. Hill, Industrial History of the Negro Race, p. 164.
8. Black and White Class Structures in 1910, The New Black Middle Class, p. 21.
9. Booker T. Washington, Booker T. Washington: The Wizard of Tuskegee, 1901-1915, frontispiece.
10. Thomas J. Calloway, Industrial History of the Negro Race, p. 171.
11. Andrew F. Hilyer, Industrial History of the Negro Race, p. 172.
12. Accepted Design for the Negro Building by W. Sidney Pittman, Industrial History of the Negro Race, p. 176.
13. Negro Building, New York at the Jamestown Exposition, p. 175.
14. The Negro Building Showing Front Entrance, Industrial History of the Negro Race, p. 228.

15. Map of Jamestown Tercentennial Exposition, Laird & Lee's Guide to Historic Virginia and the Jamestown Centennial, frontispiece.
16. War Path Scene, New York at the Jamestown Exposition, p. 179.
17. List and Description of Negro Building Exhibit Categories, "Jamestown Negro Exhibit," National Archives, Treasury Department files.
18. North Carolina Exhibit, Industrial History of the Negro Race, p. 208.
19. Operating Room of Negro Emergency Hospital, Industrial History of the Negro Race, p. 185.
20. Exhibit of Savings Bank, Industrial History of the Negro Race, p. 194.
21. "Landing of the First Twenty Slaves at Jamestown", Industrial History of the Negro Race, p. 18.
22. "Defending Master's Home in Civil War", Industrial History of the Negro Race, p. 24.
23. Negro Building Auditorium, Industrial History of the Negro Race, p. 314.
24. Giles B. Jackson and D. Webster Davis, Industrial History of the Negro Race, frontispiece.
25. Record Kept by Tuskegee of Lynchings in the First Quarter of the Twentieth Century, A Pictorial History of the Negro in America, p. 256.

APPENDIX A

UNITED STATES APPROPRIATIONS TO THE JAMESTOWN TRICENTENNIAL EXPOSITION

U.S. Government Buildings & Exhibits	\$425,000
Negro Building	\$100,000
Building for Army & Navy Headquarters	\$125,000
U.S. Government Pier	\$400,000
Direct Aid to Exposition	\$250,000
Landing Pier at Jamestown Island	\$15,000
Policing Jamestown Island	\$10,000

Source: Jamestown Exhibition Collection, Hampton University Archives, Hampton, VA.

APPENDIX B

NUMBER OF EXHIBITORS, EXHIBITS, AND AWARDS

	Exhibitors	Exhibits	Awards
Historical art	2	151	2
Education	117	6,334	59
Social economy	37	338	7
Fine arts:			
Paintings and drawings	93	244	-
China painting	6	90	4
Sculpture	3	14	-
Pyrography, carving, etc.	17	50	1
Architecture (house models)	11	13	2
Photography	40	426	10
Manufactures	102	213	10
Liberal Arts	90	237	10
Inventions	55	414	9
Fancy needlework	409	719	43
Machinery	1	1	-
Transportation	7	12	1
Agriculture	31	34	2
Horticulture	3	10	-
Food and food products	17	107	2
Forestry, fish, and game	3	3	-
Mines and mining	6	6	-
Graphic arts	454	510	-
Total	1,504	9,926	162

* No awards for paintings, drawings, and sculpture were made, the Exposition Company having abolished that department after such exhibits were collected for the Negro Building.

Source: Final Report, p. 153.

APPENDIX C

REPORT OF FISCAL AGENT FOR NEGRO EXHIBIT, JAMESTOWN EXPOSITION TO THE JAMESTOWN TER-CENTENNIAL COMMISSION

Cost of erecting the building	\$41,428.90
Architect fees and allowances	1,219.05
Electric lighting and decorative display	2,248.71
Decorating interior of building	4,354.05
Erecting an emergency hospital and equipping same	944.96
	50,195.67
	=====
Salaries of the executive committee	4,036.07
Traveling expenses of this committee and the fiscal agent	4,227.85
Supplies for the office, and fitting up interior of main building	1,143.73
Rent of building for storing exhibits, heating, and lighting	780.05
Salaries and traveling expenses of clerks and office employees	4,320.46
Telegrams, postage, and miscellaneous	218.80
	14,726.96
	=====
Disbursed for salaries of office employees	2,773.84
Traveling expenses and per diem of office employees and director-general	1,107.19
Salaries of field agents	1,577.06
Traveling expenses and per diem of field agents	443.22
Postage, telegrams, telephone, messengers, etc.	665.12
Printing, publicity, stationery, office supplies, and miscellaneous items	1,644.05
	8,210.48
	=====
Collection of exhibits	7,693.31
Installers of exhibits	840.00
Per diem and traveling expenses of installers	517.50

Skilled laborers, labels, show cases, lumber for partitions and erecting the booths, and burlap to cover the same	2,091.82
Materials used in making show cases, molding, partitions, booths, nails, paint, and the installing of exhibits	1,494.13
Necessary supplies for furnishings, heating, lighting and maintaining the buildings and grounds	2,548.92
Salaries of guards, guides, demonstrators, watchmen, matron, attendants, and janitors	5,091.36
Special features:	
Warwick tableaux	1,510.80
Statistical charts	313.65
Emergency hospital supplies and maintenance	438.93
Musical and literary exercises	341.95
Mechanical devices and inventions	397.82
Agricultural exhibit	100.00
Publicity and newspaper exhibit	229.48
Musical exhibit, including plantation songs and original compositions	540.00
Total	----- 24,149.67 =====

For returning exhibits:

Guards, packers, cartage, superintendence of packers, express, freight, and necessary packaging material and expense	2,053.81
Final report of the chairman of the executive committee	39.25

The total expenditures from the appropriation, up to and including April 30, 1908, amounted to 99,375.84.

You will see from this that there is still a small balance on hand; but as I am still signing vouchers for a few freight bills, coming in from time to time, I feel sure that the remainder will be taken up in this manner, but there will be no deficit. ...

NAMAH CURTIS, *Fiscal Agent*

Source: Final Report, pp.157-158.

SELECTED BIBLIOGRAPHY

Primary Sources

MANUSCRIPTS

D. Webster Davis Collection. Virginia Historical Society, Richmond, VA.

Jamestown Exhibition Collection. Hampton University Archives, Hampton, VA.

Miller, Kelly. Papers. Moorland-Spingarn Research Center, Howard University, Washington, D.C.

Murray, Freeman H. M. Papers. Moorland-Spingarn Research Center, Howard University, Washington, D.C.

Records of the U.S. Treasury Department, National Archives, Washington, D.C.

Stewart Family. Papers. Virginia Historical Society, Richmond, VA.

W. E. B. DuBois Collection. University of Massachusetts Archives, Amherst, MA.

Washington, Booker T. Papers. Manuscript Division, Library of Congress, Washington, D.C.

OFFICIAL RECORDS AND DOCUMENTS

Massachusetts. General Court. House of Representatives. Journal of the House of Representatives, 1906.

Massachusetts. General Court. Senate. Journal of the Senate, 1906.

U.S. Congress. House. Select Committee on Industrial Arts and Expositions. Jamestown Ter-Centennial Exposition, 1907, Hearings, on H.R. 12610. 59th Cong., 1st sess., Feb. 19, 1906.

U.S. Congress. Senate. Final Report of the Jamestown Ter-Centennial Commission. Sen. Doc. 735. 60th Cong., 2nd sess., 1909.

NEWSPAPERS

Hampton University Newspaper Clipping File. Hampton University, Hampton, VA.

Broad Ax (Chicago, IL)

Charleston Messenger (Charleston, SC)

Colored American (Washington, D. C.)

Colored Virginian

Freeman (Indianapolis, IL)

Georgia Baptist (Augusta, GA)

Cleveland Gazette (Cleveland, OH)

Guardian (Boston, Mass.)

Hampton Monitor (Hampton, VA)

New York Age (New York, NY)

New York Times (New York, NY)

New York Tribune (New York, NY)

Portland New Age (Portland, OR)

Richmond Dispatch, a.k.a Richmond Times-Dispatch (Richmond, VA)

Richmond Leader later, Richmond News-Leader (Richmond, VA)

Richmond Planet (Richmond, VA)

Star (Newport News, VA)

Virginian Pilot (Norfolk, VA)

Washington Bee (Washington, D.C.)

PERIODICALS

Charities and the Commons

Colored American Magazine

Harper's Weekly

Independent

Outlook

Southern Workman

Voice of the Negro

World Today

BOOKS

Jackson, Giles B. and D. Webster Davis. The Industrial History of the Negro Race of the United States. Richmond: The Virginia Press, 1908.

The Jamestown Exposition and Historic Hampton Roads. New York: Isaac H. Blanchard Co., 1907.

Jamestown Official Photograph Corporation. The Jamestown Exposition Beautifully Illustrated. New York: Isaac H. Blanchard Co., 1907.

Keiley, Charles Russel, ed. The Official Blue Book of the Jamestown Ter-Centennial Exposition. Norfolk: The Colonial Publishing Company, Inc., 1909.

Laird & Lee's Guide to Historic Virginia and the Jamestown Centennial 1907. Chicago: Laird and Lee Publishers, 1907.

Lambert, James H.. Pennsylvania at the Jamestown Exposition. Philadelphia: Town Printing Co., 1908.

"Official Guide of the Jamestown Ter-Centennial Exposition."
Virginia: Jamestown Official Publication Co., 1907.

Page, Thomas Nelson. Address at the Three Hundredth Anniversary of

the Settlement of Jamestown. Richmond, VA: Whitter & Shepperson Printers, 1919.

- - - . The Negro: The Southerner's Problem. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1904.

Reynolds, Cuyler. New York at the Jamestown Exposition. Albany, N. Y. : J. B. Lyon Co. Printers, 1909.

ARTICLES

"Address by Booker T. Washington, Principal, Tuskegee Normal and Industrial Institute, Tuskegee, Alabama, at Opening of Atlanta Exposition, September 18, 1895." Southern Workman (November 1895): 180.

Barber, J. Max. "The Niagara Movement at Harpers Ferry." Voice of the Negro III (October 1906): 402-411.

Bently, Florence Lewis. "Meta Warrick, A Promising Sculptor." Voice of the Negro IV, 2 (March 1907): 114-118.

"Historic Tableaux at the Jamestown Exposition." Southern Workman XXXVI (October 1907): 516-519.

Inglis, William. "The Troubles at Jamestown." Harper's Weekly LI (June 8, 1907): 834-837.

"The Jamestown Imposition." Voice of the Negro IV, 10 (October 1907): 344-345.

Moore, Henry Hoyt. "Picturesque Aspects of the Jamestown Exposition." Outlook LXXXVII (September 28, 1907): 186-197.

"Mulattoes, Negroes and the Jamestown Exhibit." Colored American Magazine XIII, 2 (August 1907): 87-88.

"Negro Day at the Expo." Southern Workman XXXVI, 9 (September

1907): 469.

“The Niagara Movement.” Voice of the Negro III (July 1906): 476.

O'Donnell, William Francis. “Meta Vaux Warrick, Sculptor of Horrors.” World Today XIII (November 1907): 1139-1145.

Slosson, Edwin E. “What There is at the Jamestown Exposition.” Independent LXII (July 11, 1907): 73-81.

Thompson, R. W. “The Negro Exhibit at Jamestown.” Colored American Magazine XIII (July 1907): 26-32.

Tucker, Helen A. “The Negro Building and Exhibit at the Jamestown Exposition.” Charities and the Commons, XVIII (September 21, 1907): 723-726.

Ward, William Hayes. “A Race Exhibition.” Independent LXIII (November 14, 1907): 1168-1172.

Secondary Sources

BOOKS

Badger, Reid. The Great American Fair, The World's Columbian Exposition and American Culture. Chicago: Nelson Hall, 1979.

Buni, Andrew. The Negro in Virginia Politics, 1902-1965. Charlottesville: The University Press of Virginia, 1967.

Couture, Richard T. To Preserve and Protect: A History of the Association for the Preservation of Virginia Antiquities. Dallas: Taylor Publishing Company, 1984.

Gatewood, William B. Aristocrats of Color: The Black Elite, 1880-1920. Bloomington & Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 1990.

- Harlan, Louis R. Booker T. Washington: The Wizard of Tuskegee, 1901-1915. New York: Oxford University Press, 1983.
- Harlan, Louis R. and Raymond W. Smock, eds. The Booker T. Washington Papers. Urbana: Chicago University of Illinois Press, 1989.
- Hine, Darlene Clark, ed. Black Women in United States History. Brooklyn, New York: Carlson Publishing Inc., 1990.
- hooks, bell. Ain't I a Woman: Black Women and Feminism. Boston: South End Press, 1981.
- Hughes, Langston and Milton Meltzer. A Pictorial History of the Negro in America. New York: Crown Publishers, Inc., 1968.
- Landry, Bart. The New Black Middle Class. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1987.
- Litwack, Leon and August Meier, eds. Black Leaders of the 19th Century. Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1988.
- Low, W. Augustus, ed. Encyclopedia of Black America. New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1981.
- Meier, August. Negro Thought in America, 1880-1915, Racial Ideologies in the Age of Booker T. Washington. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1964.
- Neverdon-Morton, Cynthia. Afro-American Women of the South and the Advancement of the Race, 1895-1925. Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1989.
- Newby, I. A. Jim Crow's Defense: Anti-Negro Thought in America, 1900-1930. Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1965.
- Smith, Edward and Arnold J. Zurcher, eds. Dictionary of American

Politics. New York: Barnes & Noble, Inc., 1968.

Trachtenberg, Alan. The Incorporation of America: Culture and Society in the Gilded Age. New York: Hill and Wang, 1982.

Workers of the Writers Program of the Work Projects Administration in the State of Virginia. The Negro in Virginia. New York: Hastings House, 1940.

ARTICLES

Abbott, Carl. "Norfolk in the New Century: The Jamestown Exposition and Urban Boosterism." Virginia Magazine of History and Biography 85, 1 (January 1977): 86-96.

Carby, Hazel V. "On the Threshold of Woman's Era': Lynching, Empire, and Sexuality in Black Feminist Theory." In "Race," Writing, and Difference. Henry Louis Gates, Jr., ed. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1986.

Franklin, Lucy Brown. "The Negro Exhibition of the Jamestown Ter-Centennial Exposition of 1907." Negro History Bulletin 38, 5 (June-July 1975): 408-414.

Harrison, Lottie Davis. "Daniel Webster Davis." Negro History Bulletin XVIII, 3 (December 1954) : 55-57.

Ives, Patricia Carter. "Giles Beecher Jackson, Director-General of the Negro Development and Exposition Company of the United States for the Jamestown Tercentennial Exposition of 1907." Negro History Bulletin 38, 8 (December 1975): 480-483.

- - -. "James and Hulda Jackson of Goochland County, Virginia." National Genealogical Society Quarterly 67, 2 (1979): 104-106.

Johnson, Guion Griffis. "Southern Paternalism Toward Negroes after Emancipation." In The Negro in the South Since 1865: Selected Essays in American Negro History. Charles E. Wynes, ed.

University: University of Alabama Press, 1965.

Ruffin, Faith Davis. "Mythos, Memory and History: Afro-American Preservation Efforts, 1820-1990." In Museums and Communities, The Politics of Public Culture. Ivan Karp et al, eds. Washington: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1992.

Scheiner, Seth M. "President Theodore Roosevelt and the Negro, 1901-1908." Journal of Negro History XLVII (July 1962): 169-182.

Smyth, William D. "Blacks and the South Carolina Interstate and West Indian Exposition." South Carolina Historical Magazine 88, 4 (1987): 211-219.

Taylor, Robert T. "The Jamestown Tercentennial Exposition of 1907." Virginia Magazine of History and Biography 65, 2 (1957): 169-208.

THESES AND DISSERTATIONS

Kerr, Judith Nina. God-Given Work: The Life and Times of Sculptor Meta Vaux Warrick Fuller, 1877-1968. Ph.D. dissertation, University of Massachusetts, Amherst, 1986.

Schenck, William Ziegler. "Negro Participation in Three Southern Expositions." MA thesis. University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, 1970.

INTERVIEWS

Little, Brian. Telephone Interview. January 1994.

Salon, John. Telephone Interview. May 1994.

Sluby, Patricia Carter Ives. Telephone Interview. November 1994.

MISCELLANEOUS

Matlock, De Layne. The Harmony Singers, "Songs of Slavery, Songs of Freedom, Songs of Hope." Amherst, MA: Watercourse Recording Studios, 1993.

VITA

Sarah Howard Watkins was born on May 17, 1968 in Boston, Massachusetts. She graduated Cum Laude from Mount Holyoke College in 1990. For two years she worked as the Director of Member Services at the Copley Society of Boston, a non-profit art association in Boston, before attending the graduate program in American Studies at The College of William and Mary in 1992. After finishing her coursework in 1993, Sarah returned to Boston working first as an interpreter and researcher at The Paul Revere Memorial Association, and then as a Curatorial Assistant at the USS Constitution Museum.