NOTES

Introduction

1. James Weldon Johnson, “What Atlanta University Has Done for Me,” The Bulletin of Atlanta University 64 (April 1895), Atlanta University Center, Robert W. Woodruff Library. 1.


3. Ibid.


Chapter One


5. Ibid., 6; Walton, “The Death of Bob Cole”; Riis, “Black Musical Theatre,” 51;


7. Plummer, “Under the Bamboo Tree,” 12; Carriebel C. Plummer, “What’s in a Song: Highlights of a Songwriter’s Career as Told by His Sister,” 6, The Leigh Whipper Papers, MSS 47, box 1, Manuscripts and Rare Books Collection, The Schomburg Center for Research in Black Culture.


James Hatch, Erroll G. Hill, and others maintain that Cole worked at Atlanta University and did not attend the school. I contend that the *Bulletin of Atlanta University* and the sources cited above point to the conclusion that he attended AU (James Hatch and Errol G. Hill, *A History of African American Theatre* [Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2003], 156).


23. Foster, 48–49.


26. Ibid., 48.


31. Krasner, *Resistance, Parody, and Double Consciousness*, 130. Both Hatch and Hill maintain that Cole performed Willie Wayside in whiteface as a form of defiance, and Carriebel Plummer argues that Cole performed sans cork and originated the Kirk fom.


33. Plummer, “Under the Bamboo Tree.”


38. Ibid., 103.


51. Johnson, *Along This Way*, 64.


54. Johnson, *Along This Way*, 141.


56. Johnson, “What Atlanta University Has Done for Me.”


58. James Weldon Johnson, George A. Towns Papers, box 2, folder 12, December 30, 1896, Special Collections, Atlanta University Center, Robert W. Woodruff Library.

59. James Weldon Johnson, George A. Towns Papers, box 2, folder 12, May 14, 1914, Special Collections, Atlanta University Center, Robert W. Woodruff Library.

60. *Bulletin of Atlanta University*, no. 56, May 1892; *Bulletin of Atlanta University*, June 1894, 1; *Bulletin of Atlanta University*, no. 38 (June 1892): 2, Atlanta University Center, Robert W. Woodruff Library.

61. *Bulletin of Atlanta University*, no. 51, December 1893, 8, Atlanta University Center, Robert W. Woodruff Library.


64. The song was published in 1900.


66. “Atlanta University Edition of Lift Every Voice and Sing,” J. W. Johnson Collection, box 2, folder 28, James Weldon Johnson Collection, Special Collections Department, Robert W. Woodruff Library, Emory University; George A. Towns Papers, box 2, folder 12, Atlanta University Center, Special Collections, Robert F. Woodruff Library; f: “From Sunday School to Stage.” Newspaper article about Cole and Johnson's musical writing practices. Johnson, James Weldon. James Weldon Johnson Collection. Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University.


69. *Bulletin of Atlanta University*, no. 93, June 1898, 1, Atlanta University Center, Robert F. Woodruff Library, Clark Atlanta University.

70. Isham produced *Oriental America* from 1896 to 1897 for high-quality houses. According to William Foster it was the first black show produced on Broadway. It featured a large professional black cast, including Inez Clough and Jessie Shipp. The show discarded the minstrel format and offered audiences an extravagant spectacle, with operatic selections, beautiful costumes, beautiful sets, and special lighting effects (Foster, “Pioneers of the Stage,” 40; Riis, *Just before Jazz*, 22; Woll, *Black Musical Theater*, 5).


79. Ibid. At the forefront of United States media representations are hypersexualized animalistic Jezebels in the films *American Gangster* (2007), *Hustle and Flow* (2006), and *Monster’s Ball* (2001); asexual mammies in *Bringing Down the House* (2003); masculinized Mammys in *Chicago* (2003); and the Mammyesque television host Sherri Shepard on the *View*, who boasts about her criminal record. Broadway shows such as *Marie Christine* (2000), rap songs such as “Cameltoe” by Fanny Pack, and rap artists such as Lil’ Kim further propagate stereotypes. (Elvis Mitchell, “How Out of It Can You Be? Here’s Going All the Way. Review of ‘Bringing Down the House,’” *New York Times*, 7


83. Ibid.


89. Huggins, Harlem Renaissance, 253–54, 257.


Du Bois’s call to action remained unremitting. In 1913 he proposed that blacks should develop a new “Negro drama” to teach their history, humanity, and emotional life. By 1926 his views evolved as he coupled black creative production, beauty, civil rights, and propaganda together. He used his writings as “propaganda for gaining the right of black folk to love and enjoy,” and proposed that black artists should do the same. In 1926 Du Bois reflected on people’s response to “black” Americans if by 1926 the only representations in literature and theater that existed were stereotypes created by whites and proposed that blacks must generate their own Afrocentric projects infused with “the kind of people you know and like and imagine” (Du Bois, “The Drama Among Black Folk,” 171; Du Bois, “Criteria of Negro Art,” 296). Cole and Johnson preceded Du Bois in advancing these ideas and remained in the vanguard of developing a strategy of racial uplift through theater.


96. Letter to Francis J. Garrison from Booker T. Washington, 31 August 1903, Booker T. Washington Collection MG 182, box 1, Manuscripts, Archives, and Rare Books Division, The Schomburg Center for Research in Black Culture.

97. Ibid.


James Weldon Johnson and his wife’s roles as committee members for the Du Bois Dinner in 1924 substantiate their close association, as does *The New Yorker*, which reported that his relationship with Du Bois began early in his life (“Dinner in Honor of Dr. W. E. Burghardt Du Bois, April 13, 1924,” W. E. B. Du Bois Papers, folder 8, Rare Books and Manuscript Collection, The Schomburg Center for Research in Black Culture; *The New Yorker*, 30 September 1933, 23–24).


104. Letters between the Johnson brothers discuss their land holdings in Jacksonville, Florida, and New York City and detail their financial situation. On April 1, 1913, the president of the State Bank of Florida, John C. L'engle, describes the properties the Johnson's owned and the unpaid mortgages (J. W. Johnson Collection, box 1, folder 3, Special Collections Department, Robert W. Woodruff Library, Emory University). J. W. Johnson apparently managed the family's properties and financial holdings. On December 15, 1913, Johnson wrote to Rosamond and addressed the precarious financial situation that the family faced and their holdings and investments. He expressed concern about Rosamond's inability to help the family financially, reprimanded him for not saving money, and wrote that his brother-in-law, Jack Nail, offered financial assistance to him (ibid.).

105. On March 2, 1928, J. W. Johnson wrote to Rosamond and discussed the team's music copyrights and the ethics of providing the Cole sister's royalties when they re-copyrighted the music. Johnson felt that “there was a moral obligation—that if Bob was alive he would stand in the same position that you and I stand in and that we were morally obligated to secure for his next of kin the same benefits that he would have if he was alive. Max [Marx] said he would re-draft the contracts so as to make the royalty four cents instead of the three in order that we could arrange for a certain part of the royalties to be paid to the Cole girls” (J. W. Johnson Collection, box 1, Special Collections Department, Robert W. Woodruff Library, Emory University). On July 23, 1942, Max Marks wrote to Carriebel Plummer to inform her that he had sent her several royalty checks for Cole's music. (Jewel Plummer Cobb Collection, 23 July 1942.) Questions of authorship and ownership of the team's music continued to surface. ASCAP denied Plummer's request to join the organization or renew Cole's copyrights as a successor because they claimed he died before their establishment (Carriebel Plummer. Jewel Plummer Cobb Collection, 21 July 1942). Plummer wrote the play “What's in a Song,” which told Cole's life story and advocated for his legal and publishing rights. In the play, after Ada becomes the star of a Broadway show which utilizes Cole's music, her mother laments “to think that the Modern Musician's are robbing the “Old timers' of music and their rights. Look at this, my brother's songs—a list of forty of them. All new copyrights must still bear his name. I won't let them take this honor from the memory of Bob Cole. I'll see Attorney Wimbush” (Plummer, “What's in a Song,” 12). Ownership surfaced in a 1944 letter from Plummer to Leigh Whipper concerning Grace Johnson's claims that the Johnsons co-authored Cole's music. “And say I had a near fist fight with Grace Nail Johnson (another chapter) in the lobby of Theresa the Wednesday before leaving. It was that she claims the three wrote together ‘Under the Bamboo Tree’ as many other songs. It was written by only one of the three and that one was Bob Cole.” Plummer committed her adult life to aggrandizing Cole, and questions of authorship centered on Plummer's pride in her brother and on insuring that the descendants of Cole were not cheated of his royalties (letter to Leigh Whipper from Carribel Plummer,
20 February 1944, Leigh Whipper Papers, MSS 47, box 1, Manuscripts and Rare Books Collection, The Schomburg Center for Research in Black Culture.

106. J. W. Johnson Collection, box 6, folder 1, James Weldon Johnson Collection, Special Collections Department, Robert W. Woodruff Library, Emory University.

107. Ibid. Companies controlled by white and black producers advertised their shows in newspapers and posters. While they promoted their shows, it is worth noting that Cole and Johnson’s strategy of sending out postcards appears unique (The Black Patti’s Troubadours Thirteenth California Tour 1908–1909, Jessie Shipp Collection, Manuscript Department, Moorland-Spingarn Research Center, Howard University; “Theodore Drury’s Grand Opera Company at the 14th Street Theater,” New York Age, 5 April 1906; Williams and Walker in Bandanna land, New York Age, 12 March 1908; James Reese Europe’s “The Clef Club Orchestra at the Manhattan Casino,” New York Age, 11 August 1910; “A Royal Coon,” New York Age, 13 April 1911; “The Smart Set,” New York Age, 4 May 1911).

108. Lester A. Walton, New York Age, 10 September 1908, 6.


110. Ibid.

111. Ibid.


115. Ibid.

116. Ibid.

117. Riis, Just Before Jazz, 54.

118. Johnson, Along This Way, 172–73; James Weldon Johnson, “NAACP Farewell Speech,” 1931, J. W. Johnson Collection, box 2, 34, James Weldon Johnson Collection, Special Collections Department, Robert W. Woodruff Library, Emory University.


120. Through the careful analysis of the lyrics from the musicals, written reviews, fragments of The Red Moon found at Howard University, and evaluating the writing of James Weldon Johnson, Bob Cole’s descendants, Abbie Mitchell, and members of the casts, I reconstructed the storylines of Shoo Fly Regiment and The Red Moon. In addition, I analyzed a 1938 script of The Red Moon written by J. Rosamond Johnson and Clarence Muse for an all-white cast that allowed me to ascertain how the story unfolded on stage. Some may question the validity of using the 1938 script of The Red Moon, especially considering that it was written for an all white cast, but I have come to the conclusion that this script differed little from the original. The New York Times reported on May 4, 1909 that “A flimsy and uninteresting story of an Indian maiden Minnehaha,
who was taken away from boarding school by her chieftain father to ‘the land of the setting sun only to be rescued and happily married in Bill Gibson’s parlor in Swamptown, served as the structure on which hang about twenty songs with tunes of more or less familiarity’” (“Red Moon’ Uninteresting,” 4 May 1909, The New York Times). This description matches almost word for word the Johnson and Muse 1938 script. From my analysis of the materials mentioned above I stand by my assertion that that both shows included storylines integrated with music, a first in the history of African American musical theater.


123. Johnson, Black Manhattan, 171.

124. Lester Walton, “Abyssinia’s Star Actress,” Indianapolis Freeman, 6 October 1906.

125. Malone, Steppin’ on the Blues, 77.

Chapter Two

1. Will Marion Cook, Mercer Cook Papers, box 1, folder 4, 3, Moorland-Spingarn Research Center, Howard University

2. Will Marion Cook, letter addressed to the Teachers Association (Carter), November 23, 1934, Jewel Plummer Cobb Collection.


5. Bob Cole, Manuscript Department, Moorland-Spingarn Research Center, Howard University


7. Bob Cole: OG 605, Manuscript Department, Moorland-Spingarn Research Center, Howard University.

8. Ibid.

9. Ibid.


12. *Dayton Journal*, March 19, 1907. Bob Cole, Manuscript Department, Moorland-Spingarn Research Center, Howard University; Robinson Locke Collection B.


16. The show offered important advances by portraying black men as stouthearted, patriotic, and erudite. Woll contends that one of the most important breakthroughs included a serious love scene between a black man and woman, thus breaking the “love scene taboo.” A January 14, 1908, review reported that the show presented “three love stories,” confirming its romantic underpinnings (Woll, *Black Musical Theatre*, 23–24; “Shoo Fly Regiment Review,” *Indianapolis Freeman*, 14 January 1908; Johnson, *Black Manhattan*).


18. Walton, “Abyssinia’s Star Actress.”


James Weldon Johnson, 360–61.
44. The Bulletin of Atlanta University, no. 51, December 1893, 8, Special Collections, Atlanta University Center, Clark Atlanta University; The New York Age. N.d. Article about Cole and Johnson as athletes and musicians. Johnson, James Weldon. James Weldon Johnson Collection. Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University.
46. O: Plain Dealer, 1903, James Weldon Johnson Papers, Yale Collection of American Literature, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University. Scrapbook.
60. Arthur Ashe, A Hard Road To Glory: A History, 96–100
63. The Colored American, 8, no. 4 (29 December 1900): 10.
of Atlanta University, January 1, 1898, Atlanta University Center, Robert W. Woodruff Library.

65. Ibid.

66. Ibid.


69. Ibid., 219.


77. John A. Williams, Captain Blackman (Minneapolis: Coffee House Press, 1972, 1988, 2000), 76.

82. Ibid.
85. Lynk, The Black Troopers, 77; Cashin et al., Under Fire with The Tenth U.S. Cavalry, 80. (Books published by blacks attests to their military expertise.)
86. Lynk, The Black Troopers, 29, 30, 39, 40, 43; Goode, 225; Guthrie, Campfires of the Afro-American, 684–86, 688; Cashin et al., Under Fire with The Tenth U.S. Cavalry, 89–90, 124.

Roosevelt details his and the Rough Riders’ ineptitude and their confusion in the Cuban jungles. “I had an awful time trying to get into the fight and trying to do what was right in it; and all the while I was thinking that I was the only man who did not know what I was about, and that all the others did—whereas as I found out late, pretty much everybody else was as much in the dark as I was.” (Theodore Roosevelt, Theodore: An Autobiography [New York: The Macmillan Company, 1913], 128, 256–57
89. Gaines, Uplifting the Race, 26.
94. Logan, The Negro in American Life and Thought, 89; Franklin, From Slavery to Freedom, 341.
95. Du Bois, Black Reconstruction in America, 699.
96. Logan, The Negro in American Life and Thought, 89.
97. Roosevelt, Strenuous Life, 2.
100. “Musical Composition by Negroes,” Bulletin of Atlanta University, no. 140, November 1903, 5.

101. Johnson, Along This Way, 218–20. Anderson was the collector of internal revenue for the Wall Street area and political leader within the black community.


103. Ibid.


105. Johnson, Along This Way, 218–19.


107. 26 February 1906 letter from the State Department to Johnson, J. W. Johnson Collection, box 1, folder 2, James Weldon Johnson Collection, Special Collections Department, Robert W. Woodruff Library, Emory University.

108. Johnson, Along This Way, 250–51.

109. Ibid., 239.

110. Ibid., 345.

111. Krasner, Resistance, Parody, and Double


116. Ibid.


118. Guthrie, Camp-Fires, 692.

119. Krasner, Resistance, Parody, and Double Consciousness, 140.

120. Bob Cole, Manuscript Department, Moorland-Spingarn Research Center, Howard University.


123. Jewel Plummer Cobb Collection, Bob Cole Scrapbook.


126. Cole and Johnson Collection, Schomburg Center for Research in Black Culture, New York City.


134. Ibid.


136. Ibid.


Sgt. Patrick Mason, the Cleveland Gazette: “I don’t believe they will be justly dealt by. The first thing in the morning is the ‘Nigger’ and the last thing at night is the ‘nigger.’ You have no idea the way these people are treated by the Americans here.” Gatewood. Smoked Yankees, 257.


139. Kaplan, “Black and Blue on San Juan Hill,” 228; Guthrie, Campfires, 706–10. Chaplin Guthrie argued that the United States brought democracy to the Philippines and maintained that the end of the war in the Philippines “will not come until the colored man has had a share in the toils, dangers, and sacrifices of a war with the Filipinos as he has had in other wars to establish, perpetuate and extend the principles of American free government” (ibid., 710). Guthrie remained unaware of the impending Jim Crow in the Philippines.

Chapter Three

2. Ibid., 78–80.
3. Ibid., 83.
4. Ibid., 89.
5. Johnson, “What Atlanta University Has Done for Me.”
6. Ibid.
11. Ibid.
15. Bulletin of Atlanta University, no. 90 (March 1898): 1; Bulletin of Atlanta University, no. 94 (October 1898): 1; Bulletin of Atlanta University, no. 120 (June 1901): 1, Atlanta University Center, Robert W. Woodruff Library.

When Shoo Fly Regiment opened on Broadway, Viennese-style operettas proved popular among white composers and audiences. The stage was overwhelmed with musi-
icals, including *Naughty Marietta*, European imports including *The Merry Widow* (1907), and the Ziegfield Follies, whose origins were a Paris revue. Little room remained for American musicals. (Boardman, *American Musical Theater*, 230, 231, 236) White com-
posers emulated European styles, while black artists created an original American form, which included minstrelsy, grand opera, vaudeville, and book musicals. They wrote coon songs, ragtime, and light opera.

22. Ibid., 146–47.
24. Ibid., 267–68. Because whites denied black women deference when it came to addressing them as Miss, Mrs., or Lady, blacks named their children Queen, Lady, or Mrs., to insure that whites would address them properly, and they included these titles in their job descriptions—lady principal of Tuskegee.
30. Ibid.
31. Ibid.
32. Ibid.
33. Ibid.
37. Bob Cole: OG 605, Manuscript Department, Moorland-Spingarn Research Cen-
ter, Howard University.
39. Ibid., 178.
46. Both the *Toledo Blade* and the *Brooklyn Eagle* noted that *The Red Moon* chor-
us included women of all shades. The *Toledo Blade* stated that the chorus consisted of “dusky damsels, ranging in color from sable black to a pinkish white.” *Toledo Blade*, 14


56. Will Marion Cook, “Autobiographical Notes,” Mercer Cook Papers, box 4, folder 6, Moorland-Spingarn Research Center, Howard University.


58. Interview with Dr. Jewel Plummer Cobb 2003, Los Angeles, California.


60. Plummer, “What’s in a Song.”

61. Interview with Dr. Jewel Plummer Cobb 2003. Los Angeles, California.


64. Ibid.
67. Ibid.
70. Ibid. The pickanninny characterization remains an enduring legacy in films, including the Wayans Brothers Scary Movie (2000), where a wild, loud, animal-like, chicken-eating pickanninny disrupts the film Shakespeare in Love.
73. Ibid.
77. Toll, Blacking Up, 139–40; Mahar, Behind The Burn’t Cork Mask, 316; Hill and Hatch. A History of African American Theatre, 120.
78. Ibid., 140; Mahar. Behind The Burn’t Cork Mask, 311.
80. The black female impersonator C. Adam La Rose held “the record as the only colored female impersonator doubling band in America,” and prepared to perform the Salome dance (Freeman, 22 May 1909, 5). LaRose’s performance style of female impersonation which included performing in the band and the Salome dance appears as something quite unique and distinctly African American and appealed to black audiences. It does not fit into the mold of white female impersonation.
82. Ibid.
83. New York Age, 6 June 1907, 6.
85. Ibid., 180.
94. Bob Cole: OG 605. Manuscript Department, Moorland-Spingarn Research Center, Howard University.
95. Ibid.
97. Ibid.
100. Riis, *Just Before Jazz*, 36.
104. Ibid.
105. Ibid.
106. Ibid.
111. Ibid.

Chapter Four


4. R. Johnson Papers, box 6, folder 14.


6. Woll, Black Musical Theatre, 24–27; R. Johnson Papers, box 6, folder 14. While the 1938 script of The Red Moon was written for an all-white cast, the notes within the script include commentary on the 1908 version and illuminate the performance practices of the black show. The 1938 script also sheds light on the original script.


9. J. R. Johnson Papers, box 6, folder 14; Riis, Just before Jazz, 244–45; Badger, A Life in Ragtime, 38–39; Woll, Black Musical Theatre, 24–27.


13. Ibid., 459; Majestic Theater Program of The Red Moon May 3, 1909; Riis, Just before Jazz, 244; Badger, A Life in Ragtime, 38–39; Woll, Black Musical Theatre, 24–25.


19. (Mrs.) M. F. Armstrong, “A Teacher’s Witness,” 38; Donal Lindsey, Indians at Hampton Institute (Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1995), 1–3. Mrs. Armstrong states that the Lahainaluna School taught the Native Hawaiians Christianity, citizenship, and manual labor and that “[General Armstrong] had seen the successful working of such schools among semi-civilized natives of the Sandwich Islands, and his own views were strengthened by the testimony of some of the oldest of the pioneer missionaries” (Armstrong. “A Teacher’s Witness,” 38, 43–45).


27. R. H. Pratt Papers, Pratt Wa MSS S-1174, Letter Press Bound Volume #3, 1877
Nov–1878 Apr, in the Western Americana Collection, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University.


29. Engs, Educating the Disenfranchised, 119.

30. The threat of retaliation against conquest by Indians proved very real. Ramon Gutierrez argues that New Mexican Indians appeared converted to Christianity, but in fact practiced their own religion, and eventually grew tired of Spanish rule, eventually murdering missionaries and burning churches and missions in the Revolt of 1680. The fear of retribution colored the ways in which administrators dealt with Native American and Blacks at Hampton. (Ramon A. Gutierrez, When Jesus Came, the Corn Mothers Went Away: Marriage, Sexuality, and Power in New Mexico, 1500–1846 [Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1991], 133–34; Lindsey, Indians at Hampton Institute, 30–31)


32. Washington, Up from Slavery, 97.

33. Folsom, “Indian Days At Hampton,” 37, 51, 29; “Class of 1876. J.C. Robbins,” Twenty-Two Years Work of the Hampton Normal and Agricultural Institute at Hampton Virginia (Hampton Normal School Press, 1893), 37, 51, 73, Hampton University Archives; Lindsey, Indians at Hampton Institute, 95.

34. Lindsey, Indians at Hampton Institute, 95.

35. Ibid.


38. Ibid.


43. Ibid., 79.


45. Georgiana Washington, “‘A Resident Graduate’s Fifteen Years at Hampton’ by Georgiana Washington, Class of ’82,” Essay read at the Hampton Anniversary, May
19, 1892, *Southern Workman* 21, no. 7 (July 1892): 116–17; *Twenty-Two Years Work; Southern Workman*, February 1893, Hampton University Archives.

46. Washington, “A Resident Graduate’s.”

47. Ibid.


51. “Pioneer Teacher Ends Busy Life: Amelia Perry Pride, Teacher in Negro Schools for 33 Years Dies Today”; *Hampton Questionnaire*, 16 January 1928, 1–2; letter from Amelia Perry Pride to General Armstrong dated 12 November 1888, Hampton University Archives; Amelia Perry Pride, “Incidents of Indian Life at Hampton” (February 1880), 19, Hampton University Archives (hereafter, “Pioneer Teacher Ends Busy Life”).

52. Amelia Perry Pride, “Incidents of Indian Life at Hampton,” 19.

53. Ibid.


55. *Southern Workman* (December 1882), 123, Hampton University Archives.


57. Ibid.

58. Ibid.


61. *Southern Workman*, December 1882, 123.


64. Margaret James Murray, “Practical Help Leaflet No. 1,” Hampton University Archives.

65. R. H. Pratt Papers, Pratt Incoming letters, WAMSS S-1174 series I, box 7, folder 235, The Western Americana Collection, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University.

66. R. H. Pratt Papers, Pratt Incoming letters, WA MSS S-1174 box 8, folder 296.


70. Sarah Walker, Fort Berthold, Dakota (Hidasta), “Incidents of Indian Life at Hampton” [February 1880], 19, Hampton University Archives.


73. *Talks and Thoughts* (October 1895), Hampton University Archives; *Talks and Thoughts* (1898).

74. The Amelia Perry Pride Papers: letter addressed to Mrs. Cleveland, December 1892; obituary, *Hampton University Questionnaire*, January 1928; letter addressed to Dr. Frissell, President of Hampton (1901); letter to Dr. Frissell (President of Hampton University) from Amelia Perry Pride 1901; *Twenty-Two Years Work*. The Polk School survives and is renamed The Paul Laurence Dunbar Middle School, High School, and Alternative School (called The Amelia Perry Pride House). Personal visit to Lynchburg, Virginia, fall 2007.


76. Washington, “A Resident Graduate’s.”

77. *Southern Workman* (July 1892). When Georgiana Washington died in 1952 at the age of 91, the community and the school administrators named the school in her honor. (*Hampton Graduates 1871–1899*, box 42, Peoples Village School Correspondence 1917–1988, Hampton University Archives.)

78. “Lovey Mayo, Class of 1880,” 145.


82. Folsom, “Indian Days At Hampton,” 87, 95; *The Southern Workman* (July 1892).


86. C.A.H. [Charles A. Hunter], *New York Age*, 1 April 1909, 6.

87. J. Rosamond Johnson Papers, Irving S. Gilmore Music Library, Yale University.


94. Ibid.; Johnson, *Black Manhattan*, 171; Riis, *Just before Jazz*, 175; Sampson, *The Ghost Walks*, 439, 442–43; Badger, *A Life in Ragtime*, 38–39. All reviewers indicate that the show *did* break the love scene taboo with romantic scenes and a storyline in the vein of light opera (review of *The Red Moon*, *Toledo Blade*, 14 December 1908, Robinson Locke Collection). The passion imbued in the musical accounts for white reviewers discomfort when evaluating the musical, given that the norm was to lampoon black love. The *New York Times* identifies a plotline with a finale, which saw Minnehaha happily married to Plunk Green (“‘Red Moon’ Uninteresting,” *New York Times*, 4 May 1909, 9; “Few Novelties in the Waning Theatrical Season,” *New York Times*, 2 May 1909, X8). The love songs within the musical, including “Won’t You Be My Little Brown Bear,” a playfully romantic ditty, also substantiate the ardent nature of the show. J. Rosamond Johnson’s 1938 notes on the 1908 production confirm the sentimentality of the play. Finally, contemporary scholars Henry T. Sampson, Thomas Riis, Reid Badger, and Karen Sotiropoulos all write of the romantic nature of *The Red Moon.*


102. Eastman was a physician at the Pine Ridge Reservation. The HBO movie *Bury My Heart at Wounded Knee* presents composites of the Eastmans (Elaine Goodale Eastman, *The Voice at Eve* [Chicago: The Bookfellows, 1930], 28–29, Hampton University Archives). Owl the tribal chairman of the Eastern Cherokees married Ponds after World War I. Ponds died in childbirth. Owl recalls their courting in 1911. “‘We weren’t allowed to be socially mixed with female teachers,’” but he took a job gardening for teachers and they became romantically involved “as she found excuse to assist him in the flower beds” (Tingey, *Indians and Blacks Together*, 235–36). Jones graduated from Hampton in 1892, and was the first Indian graduate from Harvard and the first to receive a PhD from Columbia University under Franz Boas in 1904. He taught at Columbia College, studied Indian languages in Canada and Minnesota, and was killed in March 1909 by the Ilignot tribesmen while conducting anthropological research in the Philippines (*Talks and Thoughts* 18, no. 7 [January 1904]: 2; “William Jones Obituary.” *Southern Workman* 37, no. 5 [May 1909]: 263, Hampton University Archives; Lindsey, *Indians at Hampton Institute*, 165).


104. Ibid., 169, 170.

105. Ibid., 169

106. Ludlow, “Incidents of Indian Life at Hampton,” *Southern Workman* 9, no. 7 (July 1879): 77, Hampton University Archives.


112. James Weldon Johnson Papers, Yale Collection of American Literature, GNK James Weldon Johnson to series no. III, folder no. 21, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University.


115. James Weldon Johnson Papers, Yale Collection of American Literature, JWJV3J633B49, Yale University James Weldon Johnson Papers, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University.


120. Ibid.

121. Ibid.


126. J. R. Johnson Papers, box 6, folder 14.


128. P. Jane Hafen, ed., *Dreams and Thunder: Stories, Poems, and The Sun Dance Opera, Zitkala-Sa* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2001), 126–27. Hanson claimed to have been the sole writer of the opera, performed in 1938 by the New York City Opera. (Hafen, *Dreams and Thunder*, 128.)


130. Clara Sue Kidwell, “Ethnoastronomy as the Key to Human Intellectual Develop-


134. Badger, A Life in Ragtime, 38; Woll, Black Musical Theatre, 24; J. R. Johnson Papers, box 6, folder 14.


across the Geohistorical Divide (Lanham, MD: Alta Mira Press, 2005), 21.

146. Hunter, New York Age, 21 October 1909, 6; “Rays from ‘The Red Moon,’” from “Music and the Stage,” edited by Lester A. Walton; Shoo Fly Regiment Program 1906, Robinson Locke Collection, 1906; James Weldon Johnson Papers, Yale Collection of American Literature, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University; Majestic Theater Program of The Red Moon, 3 May 1909; Sampson, Blacks in Blackface, 288; Badger, A Life in Ragtime, 39.


148. Ibid.


153. Ibid.


155. Walton, New York Age, 10 September 1908, 6. The Hungry Negro reverberates in the movies today. The Nappy Roots album’s name “Watermelon, Chicken & Gritz” also perpetuates the stereotype. Psyche A. Williams-Forson argues that the stereotype is enduring, originating during slavery. Like stereotype-infused rap music which conforms to white audiences’ tastes, Cole and Johnson adhered to white tastes while at the same time giving black people affirmative characters. The line between glorifying blacks and ridicule remained thin. (Entertainment Weekly, 20 May 2002, 107; Psyche A. Williams-Forson, “Black Men, Visual Imagery, and the Ideology of Fear, in Building Houses Out of Chicken Legs: Black Women, Food, & Power [Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2006], 38–78.)


159. Ibid., 3, 10, 72–73.


161. Berkhoffer, The White Man’s Indian, 7–8, 10.


164. Robertson, Pocahontas, 1–2.


166. Nash, Red, White, and Black, 39–40; Robertson, Pocahontas, 1–2.


169. Berkhoffer, The White Man’s Indian, 30, 88. George Catlin’s Wi-Jun-Jon, the Pigeon’s Egg Head (The Light), Going to and Returning from Washington (1832) depicts
the Vanishing Indian as noble.

170. Frances B. Johnston’s 1899–1900 photographs details the Hampton Indian’s transformation with “before” images in traditional attire and “after” pictures in Anglo dress.


172. Ibid.


174. R. H. Pratt Papers WAMSS S-1174, Pratt incoming letters, box 4, Howling Wolf, The Western Americana Collection, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University.

175. Ibid.


178. R. H. Pratt Papers, WA MSS S-1174 box 8, folder 296, Pratt Incoming Letters, Toun ke uh, The Western Americana Collection, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University.

179. R. H. Pratt Papers, box 2, folder 67 WA MSS S-1174, Pratt Incoming Letters, Doanmoe, The Western Americana Collection, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University.


181. R. H. Pratt Papers, box 2, folder 67 WA MSS S-1174, Pratt Incoming Letters, Doanmoe, The Western Americana Collection, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University.

182. Charles Alexander Eastman, 1858–1939, Indian Boyhood (Omaha: University of Nebraska Press, 1902, prepared for the University of Virginia Library Electronic Text, Electronic Text Center, University of Virginia Library, 1999), 289; Adams, Education for Extinction, 239, 240, 225.


185. Sampson, The Ghost Walks, 442. The song reflected the popularity of Latin dances with its “habanera ostinato” (Riis, Just Before Jazz, 135).


190. Ibid.
199. Robert Allen Cole Theatre Directions for Red Moon (play), n.d.
206. Berkhoff er, The White Man’s Indian, 90.
211. “Pioneer Teacher Ends Busy Life”; letter from Amelia Perry Pride to the General dated November 12, 1888. I discovered that Amelia Perry Pride’s family gravestone in the Old City Cemetery in Lynchburg, Virginia, is a very prominent monument that connotes her stature.
215. Abbie Mitchell’s Autobiographical Notes, Mercer Cook Papers, box 157–7, folder 27, 1, Moorland-Spingarn Center, Howard University.
217. Ibid.
218. Ibid. Mitchell’s father played an active role in her wellbeing. Jo Ann Tanner conducted an interview with Mitchell’s granddaughter who conveyed that Mitchell’s relationship with her father thrived. (Tanner, *Dusky Maidens*, 109.)
220. Ibid.
223. Ibid.
224. Ibid.
225. Ibid.
respondence 1911–1957, Letter 20 November 1931, Du Bois MG 109 box 1, Schomburg Center for Research in Black Culture.)

233. Steinberg, Ethnic Myth, 225; Gutman, The Black Family in Slavery and Freedom, 523. By 1913 anti-Semitism became so pronounced that Jewish pencil factory manager Leo Frank was convicted of raping and murdering Mary Phagan in Atlanta, Georgia. The anti-Semitic feeling ran so high that white supremacists dismissed the common practice of accusing a black, in this case a janitor, and lynched Frank in 1915. The musical Parade was based on this case.


236. Ibid. Rothman’s article remains unclear as to whether the marriage was a common law marriage or legal.


238. Steinberg, Ethnic Myth, 91, 93, 95.

240. Ibid., 17–18.
241. Ibid., 28.
242. Mercer Cook Papers, box 157–9, folder 39, Moorland-Spingarn Center, Howard University.
244. Mercer Cook Papers, box 157–9, folder 39.
246. Mercer Cook Papers, box 157–4, 18, Moorland-Spingarn Research Center, Howard University.
249. Mercer Cook Papers, box 157–7, folder 27.
250. Ibid.
252. Ibid.
255. Tom Fletcher, 100 Years of the Negro in Show Business (New York: Burdge, 1954), 131, 132; Mitchell, Abbie, Mercer Cook Papers, box 157–7, folder 17, 11.
259. Ibid.
262. J. Rosamond Johnson Papers, box 6, folder 15, Irving S. Gilmore Music Library, Yale University James Weldon Johnson Papers, Yale Collection of American Literature, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University.
264. J. R. Johnson Papers, box 6, folder 15.
Chapter Five

1. Margaret James Murray, “Practical Help Leaflet No. 1.”
3. White, Ar’n’t I A Woman?, 29. Birth of a Nation (1915) perfectly illustrates The Cult of True Womanhood. The white ingénue Flora Cameron leaps off a cliff to her death rather than face despoilment by Guy, the black union officer “rapist.” This action exemplifies the characteristics of the stereotype and magnifies the black female’s failure as a woman due to her rape during and after slavery.
10. Ibid.
12. I will use Gibson Gal when discussing The Red Moon, and Gibson Girl when discussing how Abbie Mitchell and Ada Overton Walker used the icon.
15. Ibid. Almost one hundred years later in the Broadway shows Ragtime and The Color Purple (2006), the Model T Ford and the Packard represented middle-class attainment and standing for blacks. In Ragtime Coalhouse Walker buys a Ford as a symbol of his status, and in The Color Purple the Packard signifies refinement and upper-class status.
20. Ibid.

23. In 1909 James Weldon Johnson wrote to George A. Towns to announce his engagement and pending marriage to Grace Nail. They married on February 3, 1910. (George A. Towns Papers, box 2, folder 12, Special Collections, Atlanta University Center; J. W. J. Johnson Collection, wedding announcement box 2, folder 13, James Weldon Johnson Collection, Special Collections Department, Robert W. Woodruff Library, Emory University; “Robert Cole A Suicide,” *The New York Times*, 3 August 1911, 5.)


28. The Amelia Perry Pride Papers: Letter addressed to Mrs. Cleveland December 1892 Obituary, *Hampton University Questionnaire* (January 1928); letter addressed to Dr. Frissell, president of Hampton (1901); letter to Dr. Frissell from Amelia Perry Pride (1901); *Twenty-Two Years Work*; Amelia Perry Pride, “Report of the Committee on Domestic Economy, by A. E. Pride,” The Amelia Perry Pride Papers, Hampton University Archives; Washington, “A Resident Graduate’s Fifteen Years at Hampton,” *Southern Workman* (July 1892), Hampton University Archives.


36. Ibid.


38. J. W. Johnson Collection, Scrapbook BV 6, New York Amsterdam News, A2, November 6, 1976, The Crisis, March 1977, James Weldon Johnson Collection, Special Collections Department, Robert Woodruff Library, Emory University; Gatewood, Aristocrats of Color, 107. In the autobiographical Along This Way, Johnson maintains that “[a] number of these older families in Brooklyn were positively rich; their money, made in the days when Negroes in New York were successful caterers, fashionable dressmakers, and the janitors of big buildings having come down through two or three generations.” Grace Nail came from such a family because her father owned a tavern. (Johnson, Along This Way, 202.)


41. James Weldon Johnson Papers, Yale Collection of American Literature. JWJ MSS Johnson box 41, folder 5, Beinecke Rare Books and Manuscripts Library, Yale University.

42. Nell Painter, Creating Black Americans (New York: Oxford University Press,

43. Grace Nail, J.W. Johnson Collection, box number 1, James Weldon Johnson Collection, Special Collections Department, Robert Woodruff Library, Emory University.

44. Hunter, New York Age, 18 February 1909, 6.

45. Ibid.

46. James Weldon Johnson Papers, Yale Collection of American Literature, JWJ MSS Johnson box 41 folder 6, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University.

47. J. W. Johnson Collection, box number 1, James Weldon Johnson Collection, Special Collections Department, Robert F. Woodruff Library, Emory University.

48. James Weldon Johnson Papers, Yale Collection of American Literature, JWJ MSS Johnson box 41 folder 12, Beinecke Rare Books and Manuscript Library, Yale University. Johnson as a diplomat kept a photograph of Grace Nail on his desk, so it remains possible that this was the photograph he showed Carlotta.


50. Elizabeth Clark-Lewis observed a luncheon in Washington, D.C., held by her eighty-year-old aunt’s Bible club in the 1990s and surmised that their main goal included promoting black female reputability. She noticed their elegant and expensive dress, with their matching hats and gloves. She noted their pride in presenting themselves as “proper ladies,” sophisticated, and middle class. Elizabeth Clark-Lewis, Living In, Living Out: African American Domestics in Washington D.C., 1910–1940 (Washington and London: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1994), 2.


52. Ibid., 92–93, 95, 113–120, 75.

53. Ibid., 113.


55. Ibid., 93–95.

56. Ibid., 95.

57. Ibid., 124–125, 144.

58. Ibid., 58–59.


61. Ibid.

62. Ibid.


64. Ibid.

65. Ibid.
66. Ibid.
72. Pitz, Gibson Girl and Her America, 116.
74. Lester A. Walton, “Abyssinia’s Star Actress,” Indianapolis Freeman, 6 October 1906, 4–5.
75. Pitz, Gibson Girl and Her America, 74; Gelman, The Best of Dana Gibson; Warsaw, The Gibson Girls.
76. Foster, “Pioneers of the Stage,” 46–47.
78. Ibid.

84. Ibid., 571.
85. Ibid.
86. Ibid.
87. Ibid.
88. Ibid., 573.
89. Walker, “Colored Men and Women on the Stage,” 574.
90. Ibid.
92. Ibid., 296.
95. Abbie Mitchell, Mercer Cook Papers, box 157–7, folder 17, 11, Moorland-Spingarn Center, Howard University.
96. Abbie Mitchell Autobiographical Notes, 157–7, Moorland-Spingarn Center, Howard University.
97. Leigh Whipper Papers, Moorland Spingarn Center, Howard University. Mitchell’s biography for Stevedore and newspaper obituaries all mentioned her audience with the King of England. (Abbie Mitchell Papers, Moorland Spingarn Center, Howard University.)
99. Tanner, Dusky Maidens, 119. Mitchell’s anticipated responses to insults and slights instilled intense fear in those who worked with. When Ethel Barrymore saw Mitchell in Coquette (1930) with the white actress Helen Hayes, she asked “[w]ho’s that marvelous nigger back there?” Hayes, who both respected and feared Mitchell, responded fractally, “Please, please, Oh God! Please don’t let her hear you say that” (Tanner, Dusky Maidens, 119). Mitchell refused to allow anyone to disrespect her, and Hayes’s response indicates that if Mitchell had heard the slur she would have given both
women a humiliating tongue-lashing.


Epilogue

2. Henry T. Sampson, The Ghost Walks: A Chronological History of Blacks in Show Business 1865–1910 (Metuchen, NJ, and London: The Scarecrow Press, Inc., 1988), 438; Lester A. Walton, “Music and the Stage,” New York Age, 12 May 1910, 19 May 1910, 6. The Indianapolis Freeman suggested that while The Red Moon was not a “storming hit or boisterous, [it was] just a plain big success. The music is the best that was ever offered by Negroes. Every number received an equal amount of encores and was well placed throughout the program. The comedy was exceptionally light; nothing to scream at, but keep smiling, not laughing. The piece is so well balanced that any two good comedians could do the show justice” (Sampson, The Ghost Walks, 438).
3. In a letter addressed to Grace Nail, Bob Cole congratulated her on her marriage to James Weldon Johnson and detailed his commitment to theater: “[A]lthough the show closes for the season I see no vocation for me as I should be busy on our new piece right away. Mrs. Walkers play Phoebe Brown.” (J. W. Johnson Collection, box number 1, folder number 3, James Weldon Johnson Collection, Special Collections Department, Robert W. Woodruff Library, Emory University.)
5. Ibid.
7. J. W. Johnson Collection, box number 1, folder number 3, May 13, 1913, James Weldon Johnson Collection, Special Collections Department, Robert W. Woodruff Library, Emory University.
9. Ibid.
10. Ibid.