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BLACK WOMEN CURATORS

A Brief Oral History of the Recent Past

Kemi Adeyemi

The mid-2000s saw an unprecedented rise in the number of black women appointed to curatorial positions in major institutions throughout the United States. Black women assumed curatorial roles in major museums including the Hammer Museum, the Institutes of Contemporary Art in Philadelphia and Richmond, Studio Museum in Harlem, Museum of Contemporary Art Chicago, Brooklyn Museum, and others. They were also named curators of Made In LA, the Whitney Biennial, Prospect New Orleans, and the New Museum Triennial. They also took on critical roles in educational programming and upper management at institutions like the Los Angeles County Museum of Art, Dia Art Foundation, the Museum of Contemporary Art Los Angeles, and the Museum of African Diaspora. These hirings represent museums' attempts to diversify their staff in an era when they are facing declining attendance and when they face empowered publics demanding that museums' hiring, acquisitions, and exhibitions reflect the demographic and cultural diversity of the neighborhoods, cities, and regions they are situated in. There have always been black women curators—it seems that museums are only recently recognizing their value and are taking steps to support their work.

This brief oral history situates black women curators within a U.S. American landscape where museums are capitalizing on the fact that racial diversity is good politics (and, in turn, good business). To be sure, the black women curators in this essay often have vexed relationships to museums and the larger art market that has either marginalized black voices or capitalized on the circulation of black artists and black images alike. All of the women in this piece are more than aware of the fact that, as Meg Onli, of the Institute of Contemporary Art in Philadelphia suggests, they are working in institutions and global landscapes wherein black people used to themselves be objects. They are also aware that the job of curator is loaded with assumptions of class privilege and cultural capital. They have assumed these positions because they had certain kinds of access to art in their youth, that they had the resources to pursue (and survive) different levels of higher education, that their early forays into curating were made possible because they had the financial resources to take low-wage and non-paying internships and fellowships. They are also acutely aware of how the job of "curator" often means you have taken on massive amounts of student debt that your wages rarely ameliorate. The black women in this piece continually return to the museum as a site of innovation and possibility, however, and they strive to craft the museum as site where more ethical and just relationships might be forged.

Following in the tradition of black feminist philosophies that validate black women's stories as theory, this piece is crafted through the words of black women curators themselves. It is derived from interviews that black women curators generously conducted with me after they opened exhibitions long in the works, while they wrote their dissertations, in the midst of parenting, coming off of exhausting meetings, and as they strived to simply take time for themselves and for this project. As they narrate what brought them to curating, who influences their practice, what struggles they face, and more, they reflect upon the simply hard work of not only responding to but trying to upend the structural mechanics of white supremacy that structure the very core of museums, the art market, and, in turn, the art-consuming publics they have traditionally hailed. The sheer diversity of the women's backgrounds, educational histories, mentorship, and exhibition histories is representative of the myriad methods they have for doing this work. It includes the voices of independent curators like Ashley Stull Meyers and Jessica Bell Brown, and people like Erin Christovale of the Hammer and Legacy Russell of the Studio Museum who operated independently for many years before moving into traditional museum spheres. They represent a diversity of museums, where Kelli Morgan is at the encyclopedic, Indianapolis Museum of Art and Allison Glenn is at the independent Crystal Bridges Museum of American Art. Makeda Best and Meg Onli, on the other hand, are in university-affiliated museums (Harvard Art Museums and the University of Pennsylvania's Institute of Contemporary Art, respectively). Some of these women have moved up within the institutions that initially hired them, and others have taken time at multiple institutions throughout their careers. No matter where they are, as Naima Keith evidences, they almost always wear multiple hats: at the time of this writing, Keith was transitioning from her role as deputy director and chief curator at the California African American Museum to be Vice President of Education and Public Programming at the Los Angeles County Museum of Art.

In their words we see that curating is a deeply political method of enacting change. This occurs in part as black women stage exhibitions featuring black artists and acquire the work of black artists—in her time at Harvard Art Museums, Best has “more than tripled the number of African Americans in the collections”—just as it occurs when they introduce black art, artists, and conceptualizations of black life to broader publics. This important work of integrating blackness into museum holdings and into public consciousness is complemented by black women curators' broader work to change the deeply ideological violence unto black life and art that museums, art historical discourses, and art markets continue to perpetuate. This is an ideological violence that is reproduced every time a black artist's work is consistently overlooked and under-funded. The black women curators in this piece work to create awareness around the simple fact that blackness has always been central to museum operations because blackness was always been central to how we learn to produce, see, and discuss the very shapes, textures, contours, and movements that make up art objects. Could we revere the technical mastery of Dutch still life if the genre hadn't been developed alongside colonial expansion into the Caribbean, where black bodies provided raw material for thinking through plays of texture, depth, and shine? Do we really know the color blue without the deep knowledge of enslaved people who were forced to cultivate and manufacture indigo dyes in the U.S. Carolina coasts in the eighteenth century? Would we know portraiture as we do now without the countless, nameless black people, often in various stages of undress, pictured physically and conceptually propping white people up? We definitely do not have Great American Painters without the black women they abused, the black descendants that they and their white progeny pretended didn't exist, and without the black bodies embedded within yet physically and ideologically scrubbed from

their canvases.⁴ As Kelli Morgan says in this piece, “I don't give a shit who it is, I don't care what artist it is, I don't care what kind of medium they're using; you find us there every single time.”

The ideological violences that museums exact can become quite tangibly material when, for example, the incredible wealth of board members is distributed to museums and to helping governments and law enforcement maim and kill black and brown subjects (as is the case with the vice chair of Whitney Museum's board, Warren Kanders). This is to say that black women curators are working within and against museums that have long been sites for the consolidation (and, oftentimes, laundering) of white wealth, and sites for monied white people to perform their class status and cultural capital. There are some signs of change as museums have begun responding to their historical role in the reproduction of imperialist racism, sexism, classism, ableism, and transphobia with structural, organizational change. A 2015 survey of the demography of art museum staff conducted by the Andrew W. Mellon Foundation found that 84 percent of people “most closely associated with the intellectual and educational mission of museums, including those of curators, conservators, educators, and leadership (from director and chief curator to head of education or conservation)” were white. Just 4 percent of these positions people were filled by black people.⁵ By 2018, however, the numbers were more encouraging as the number of black curators had doubled,⁶ an increase of 21 curatorial positions.⁷ Multimillion-dollar investments by the Mellon Foundation, the Ford Foundation, and the Walton Family, have resulted in fellowship programs in undergraduate institutions and in museums dedicated to fostering curatorial inquiry amongst underrepresented populations. This training will ideally lay the groundwork for generating diversity—expressed in sheer numbers of people—in the coming decades, though museums still have work to do to make this diversity *sustainable*. While curatorial roles are being filled by growing numbers of people of color, museum leadership roles certainly are not.⁸ So, while black women curators may be assuming certain roles, may be providing visible “evidence” of the diversity that museums so want to claim, it doesn't mean that they have the structural support to stage exhibition and programming initiatives that are allowed to flourish. It is incumbent upon museums to not only hire the people whose voices are in these pages, but to collaborate in order to change the very culture of the institutions; they must not only hire but provide actual structures of affective, financial, and administrative support that will allow these women to do the work they were brought on to do.

Until that happens, what black women curators *do* have is the knowledge that they are amongst a community of other black women curators who provide invaluable intellectual, emotional, and at times straight-up technical, mechanical, and administrative support; support that is sometimes the only thing that keeps them doing the work that they do. The black women curators in this piece continue doing their work because, and oftentimes in honor, of the pathbreaking work of black women curators who came before them, including Leslie King-Hammond, Lowery Stokes Sims, Deborah Willis, and, importantly, Thelma Golden. They are people who created the very conditions in which Stull Meyers can explain that “I'm very lucky to be of a generation of Black curators that never had to wonder if it was possible. There were a few Black female curators that I was made aware of at an early enough age that made the mountain feel that much less steep. I always had something to visualize, which is an enormous first step in trying to produce anything.” Across these women's experiences, we are reminded that black people have always done the work of cultivating critical thought within and about the structures and institutions we have long been barred from and stifled within. Think of this piece, then, as an early, brief, incomplete attempt to capture what it looks and *feels* like to exist in a time period that we might in the future look back upon and see as a tipping point. It is a pause and an open-

ing where we can mark the fact that museums may in fact be catching up to what the rest of us already know: that black women out-think, out-pace, and out-curate the so-called best of them. It is a pause and an opening where we can announce that, as Legacy Russell notes at the end of the piece: "We are everywhere, here for it all, and coming for your white walls."

Allison Glenn: My interest in exhibitions, objects, and art history started at a very young age. I grew up in Detroit, MI, and fondly remember Saturday visits to the Detroit Institute of Arts with my mom, brother, and sister. I couldn't have been more than 4 or 5 years old.

Ashley Stull Meyers: I had a teacher in high school who spoke about art history in a super down-to-earth way that sparked with me. It was an after-school club, and made me want to intern in my city's municipal museum. I started stapling papers in the education department when I was 16.

Naima Keith: My parents are actually collectors. My mom specifically has been collecting African American art since she was in medical school, and so well before me. I grew up going to museums and seeing art work and meeting artists but really it wasn't until college, I went to Spelman College undergrad, that it sparked interest for me.

Jessica Bell Brown: In college I majored in art history. I knew I wanted a longer engagement with the field afterwards.

Erin Christovale: I took a film and video class in the art department my last semester and that's where it all sort of came together and clicked. It was like oh, I really, really like experimental film and video, and I'm leaning more into this art world.

Makeda Best: I started out actually as an artist. I got an MFA at CalArts and studied studio photography, I was interested in being a photographer, and that tipped it for me and then I went back and got my PhD in Art History.

Legacy Russell: My junior year in school, when I was studying abroad in Barcelona, I got news that I had been accepted into a summer fellowship at The Met in New York. I ended up leading a tour that summer called "Pink Painter: The Hunt for the Female Voice at The Met." What was supposed to be a 30–45 minute tour ended up lasting two hours as I trekked with attendees across the Museum to look at the twenty or so works by women on the walls. All that space, all the hard work of so many amazing women, and space had been made for only twenty of them. This was 2007.

Meg Onli: I think for me, as a black queer woman in a museum right now, there is not enough time, there is not enough shows, there is not enough work that I can do to satiate the fire that I feel to curate right now. It's like if I could curate more shows I would. Which is maybe kind of stepping back and thinking about what my curatorial practice is animated by, which is: we were once objects and now I am tasked with working with objects in an institutional space that was always built to keep a person like me and you out. If you aren't feeling a fire to have those questions right now, what are you doing?

Kelli Morgan: I'm always saying to many audiences, "Me standing here today is like a huge deal because this was a place that I was never supposed to be in for various reasons and various forms of systematic oppression that I was just able to usurp." Museums weren't built for this type of conversation, they were never built to tell our stories. That wasn't the point. The point was, "I have a whole lot of stuff that I think is super fucking cool, and all my rich friends are going to think it's cool too. You know what? I'm going to build a building to put it in."

Legacy Russell: I think for me I always thought of it in terms of making space, creating opportunity for the invisible to become visible, building projects, conversations, exhibitions that interrogate the very complicated business of art. I wanted to—still want to—ask hard questions about what has brought us here, whose history deserves to be told.

Kelli Morgan: We've been socialized to believe that a lot of these objects are like objects of whiteness, or uphold whiteness in a particular way. If you peel back the layers every single time, I don't give a shit who it is, I don't care what artist it is, I don't care what kind of medium they're using, you find us there every single time.

Erin Christovale: It's just about just doing the research. And I think more and more institutional spaces are open to people who either don't have those higher degrees or who have them in different spaces or different departments because I think as we continue to push the idea of contemporary art, it has to be inclusive of all these different people.

Meg Onli: I think in order for us to get any of these jobs we have to be so much better than our white counterparts, often. Even though I didn't have maybe the pedigree that a traditional candidate may have, it's not as if I didn't have the engagement.

Kelli Morgan: What you have totally missed is that in order for us to even to do this work or to be as great as we are, we gotta know you motherfuckers inside and out! So, this is why I can look at your Benjamin West painting and tell you more about it, because I have to know my stuff and yours.

Allison Glenn: I believe that brilliant minds from all walks of life have been waiting for their chance to speak and have a voice. We have practiced, studied, mastered, and are ready.

Erin Christovale: I have the tools online. Like, there's digital ways to do this. I don't have to go and get a degree, per se. I can look up a lecture by someone and learn something. It's just simple everyday practices that just get me closer and closer to having some sense of that background.

Kelli Morgan: We have either been in school or we've been doing it in our own institutions and our own homes and our own communities like we *have* been since we been here.

Legacy Russell: When I stepped out of institutions, I was super burnt out, and felt disillusioned by how the mechanics of the art world. I knew if I were to come back into an institution, it would have to be by choice, not by force, and for the right reasons.

Naima Keith: A lot of us have Studio Museum on our resume because Thelma gave us that first start.

Legacy Russell: Spaces like the Studio Museum in Harlem have made it its mission to bring black curators out into the broader artworld; Studio Museum has been a training ground for great curators and many of the faces we see on the rise today have passed through the Museum's halls.

Naima Keith: I think the "Thelma Model" is not just hiring but giving opportunities. When I was an Assistant Curator at Studio from 2011 to 2016, I was given real shows. It wasn't just "Oh, can you assist me?" No, we were expected to operate as full curators with full responsibilities and I think the model works because when we leave then we are competitive for better jobs.

Meg Onli: I think there's a lot of us that are kind of coming up being like, "Well why do you have to be a curatorial assistant? Why do you have to assist under typically white people to understand what art would be and then bring in a fresh perspective?" It doesn't really make sense to me.

Naima Keith: You can't just bring them in as interns and Fellows. You actually have to give them shows and responsibilities and opportunities for growth.

Erin Christovale: I think for a while, up until very recently actually, I think there are only certain spaces that you could rely on that would have black women curators, and obviously more culturally specific spaces like the Studio Museum, but recently all of these other institutions have been opening up and allowing people in. And I think that's great but my only concern is we can't just exist here to be your Assistant Curators for a million years until you're done with us. If you're inviting us into these spaces then we should all be working towards real change in these spaces.

Jessica Bell Brown: These institutions say that they want change, they say that they want to diversify their collections and think about their blind spots, but I find that people of color often put in the position to labor on behalf of institutions in those kinds of ways.

Meg Onli: I'm the first black curator to be hired at this museum in its 55-year history. As a full curator. So, Naomi Beckwith was Fellow at the ICA. But in 55 years, we're the museum that gave Warhol his first museum exhibition. Our endowment is originally started by Agnes Martin giving us a large gift for the work that we've done with her. We originated *A Perfect Moment*, Mapplethorpe's show that was so controversial. The ICA has an amazing history, it's an amazing history, and yet 2016 was the first time they hired a black curator full-time. It's deplorable! I mean it's deplorable on many museums.

Kelli Morgan: They saw the problem and then started to scramble.

Naima Keith: I think that institutions hiring curators of color is important because I think that people want to feel like the diversity they are experiencing every day is what it is like in the institution. Also, I hope and think that they realize it is not just that—it is also board diversity and also support within the institution for that curator. So, it is not just having it there as a place holder but, rather, what else is in place to make sure they succeed.

Allison Glenn: Funding structures really need to change. We need more affordable higher education, better paying jobs, more women of color, and more non-binary POCs in positions of power, including seats on the boards of major institutions.

Kelli Morgan: This is the other thing about museums—and I think this is a thing with white supremacy—they feel that they know everything about everything even though they haven't experienced everything. I can't tell you how many white curators who claim to know historic American Art, and they may know what they know, but they will look at me and be like, "Well, how do you know that?" And then when I break something down in terms of the cultural or the political or the economic or the social history behind it, it's like, "Oh. Well, where did you read that?"

Meg Onli: I was at a board event last night and someone said something about my hair, I can complain about that to Erin [Christovale] in a different way, that she just gets it. 'Cause it's like you can't say something to a person that's donating to your museum, "Don't touch my hair." You gotta kinda grin and bear it and deal with it later.

Legacy Russell: There are many black women, and female-identifying persons of color that have made the institutional art world as a site safer for me. At points this has happened through intense collaboration, conversation, creative contestation, deep engagement in producing projects together; at other points this has come with some very real painful moments of recognition about how blackness is capitalized on, circulated, within creative industries.

Jessica Bell Brown: [Rashida Bumbray] really encouraged me to speak up and to use my voice and say what my opinions are, because these institutions—there are so few of us.

There's so few people of color and often are not necessarily in the position to have a seat at the table in that regard. I felt that. As much as I learned so much from that first gig, I also realized, "Hm, things are uneven, how do you navigate that?"

Legacy Russell: It's been hard watching certain black female curators navigate this at points; some have done this by making it an active choice to make space, while others have done this by sort of allowing themselves—and their blackness via extension—to be eaten alive by the machine of the industry.

Erin Christovale: I think what I'm trying to keep in mind with a lot of those experiences is I think we have to actually work at decolonizing our minds in terms of what these spaces have traditionally wanted to from us and who they wanted us to be, and how often that can lead to like a mental space of working from a space of scarcity, being a token, assuming that there's only room for one person here.

Naima Keith: I think that we all recognize that, look: there are not that many of us. We've got to stick together.

Jessica Bell Brown: I was talking to my friend who's an artist, Naudline Pierre, she said something so simple but something so true is that, as black women artists or curators, or as black women in general, we often hold each other up. No one else shows up for us like us.

Legacy Russell: My relationships with other black creators through and beyond the art world have saved me, have grounded me, have given me purpose, and have helped me keep sight of myself in an art world that wants to see us gone, keep us silent, render us invisible. It's made an existence in this industry sustainable, if not at points immensely joyful. That loyalty, love, care, has meant the world to me.

Meg Onli: Kellie Jones is my mentor and Kellie's the reason I wanted to be a curator.

Makeda Best: I have a great colleague, Jacqueline Francis, an amazing scholar of the art and visual culture of the African and African diaspora at my former institution, was *always* for me. You know, in her own actions, whatever she does, she's always trying to bring other people along. And I don't mean you've always got to be selfless, you're always like "I gotta give something," but just the way that she recognizes the power of her own voice, her position *for* somebody else, to just change the narrative a little bit. If you just use outlets that are available to you, you use your station.

Naima Keith: Naomi [Beckwith] is someone I talk to all the time, at the MCA Chicago. She actually got me my job at Studio. She is the one that reached out and said "Hey, what are you doing after the Hammer? I would love for you to have a conversation with Thelma and I; I'm leaving." The network is real and we definitely utilize, take advantage of it.

Erin Christovale: My goal is to bring my community where ever I go no matter what space I'm in. Like, the space isn't going to shift what I'm interested in and the core values of my curatorial practice, and so I think when I engage in intuitions I'm very vocal about that. Like, this is what I've been doing and this is what I'll continue to do, and this is probably why you hired me, so you should let me do what I want me to do, you know?

Meg Onli: This field is class-based and, unfortunately, I think a lot of the things that frustrate me about black curatorial roles and the things that we have done is it's a very Bourgeois aesthetic. And [white people] buy that body and buy that to keep in their house.

Allison Glenn: As I began to professionalize, huge roadblocks around access to non-profit jobs were often tied to salaries. Not being able to afford a position because it just did

not pay enough. This awakening to the pay structure in non-profits aligns with the awakening that many people in these positions are coming from a space of privilege. They may not have student loans, maybe they have a trust fund, or maybe their parents paid for their schooling or housing while in school.

Kelli Morgan: We've recapitulated that elitism.

Ashley Stull Meyers: The current structures of the capital A "Art World" are stacked against Black makership. The most prominent institutions and funders operate with systemic anti-black bias on foundational levels. We can't evaluate success on their terms.

Kelli Morgan: And the issue has always been the market because the work [of Howardina Pindell, Sam Gilliam, Richard Hunt, and other older black artists] should have been valued in the same way it's valued now—it should have been valued like that when they were doing it. And honestly, the way that the markets and galleries kind of control the market, its under-value or de-valuing in the 70s was *purposeful* and *deliberate*.

Ashley Stull Meyers: Too many Black artists produce and exhibit for many years without achieving the particular pedigree required for some of the more prominent financial awards. Resources beget resources, and Black and brown makers remain behind the curve. As an administrator, I constantly fight bureaucratic battles "qualifying" lesser-known Black makers for similar opportunities as their non-Black peers.

Makeda Best: I think a lot of us have a similar interest: to elevate the voice of the people of color.

Naima Keith: I have always been committed to contemporary art, particularly by artists of color, or African American artists, with an emphasis on working with artists who are living and working on the west coast.

Jessica Bell Brown: I think my Project overall is amplifying the voices of black women artists, artists of color, people who are creators and makers who might be lesser known but have made and are making significant strides in their practices.

Kelli Morgan: I'm in the business of black people. I'm in the business of people of color. My framework, my trajectory, my training, my just literally my life experience. Everything is from a black space.

Meg Onli: There are so many broader conversations that we should be having and yet I don't feel like we're at a stage in which—yeah, we're bringing more people in, but it's only pushing a more Bourgeois aesthetic typically.

Legacy Russell: I think what's been most difficult for me is that I'm a black queer woman who wants to talk about (cyber)feminism and queerness as it intersects with blackness within her curatorial practice, rather than blackness in a vacuum. I also want to talk about new media, performance, technology, and how these things can be positive agents within a discourse of feminism, queerness, blackness. This sounds super straight-forward, right? Shouldn't be too difficult, right? Strangely, it's been one of the biggest struggles of my career.

Erin Christovale: I love that like more black folks are collecting work, are joining boards at museums, are in curatorial departments. That just brings me so much joy. But at the same time, I want to see more experimental work. I want things to get weird. I want things to be queer.

Legacy Russell: Ten years ago I found myself often being asked, often by white, straight peers, but sometimes devastatingly by other POCs: "But you're black. Why not make

black shows/projects?" as if to be black I couldn't talk about being queer, or have any belonging within a feminist politic as part of my curatorial ethos.

Meg Onli: If you look at the last Whitney Biennial, you had two curators of color and the only way that they saw diversity was black bodies. That's incredibly problematic. We need to be advocating for other people of color, not simply black. Diversity isn't blackness. Diversity is socioeconomic. Diversity is ability. It's other marginalized people.

Erin Christovale: I think like the core of my curatorial works definitely comes from a black radical tradition and that will forever be the grounding of my work but I also want to consider how other people and cultures can be in conversations with blackness because I think blackness expands beyond a group of people and has the capacity to shift culture and society. And so, I want that to be felt through the objects that are in the room and how they're actually in dialog with each other, and not separate entities.

Jessica Bell Brown: More so than just accounting for representation in terms of just sheer numbers, I wanted to really make conversations happen amongst artists that haven't necessarily happened before. So: putting Betty Blayton-Taylor in dialogue with Helen Frankenthaler. That kind of strategic gesture that you don't necessarily see on the museum front, but you know that it's possible to imagine alternative possibilities for how we understand artists and how they engage in, whether it be practices of abstraction or practices of representational justice in the case of a Jordan Casteel and an Alice Neel, etc.

Naima Keith: Not assuming that just because they are a curator of color they only want to champion artists of color. I think not setting them up to where that is the expectation, they are allowed to do other shows. There is equal support for when they want to a show about Bruce Nauman as there is for Carrie Mae Weems.

Makeda Best: We need to change who we understand or who we see as experts. That's just as important as bringing other voices into the collection. We can't just curate things about the black experience—we've got to change the perception that we're not experts about anything else.

Kelli Morgan: A challenge that I'm facing right now is getting them to understand, or so much own, the problems with privilege. So I'm constantly trying to get institutions, the audiences, not just to value our art, because they may or may not do that—but we're going to get them to see the pathologies in the way in which they value their own shit. Toni Morrison has a great quote about this: "In order for you to feel tall, I have to be on my knees." So in order for your work to be valuable, you have to devalue everybody else's. Not just black folks. Even your own women. I feel like that's the change that I'm fighting for: we have to change the structure. We all know there are umpteen African-American artists who deserve retrospectives that none of us will ever be able to do all of. We have to train students that will be interested in doing the work. But if we don't change their sentiment, or we don't shift the paradigm, we can do all the retrospectives in the world!

Legacy Russell: The Internet. The more the words, work, conversations of black women have heightened in visibility, the more it has put pressure on institutions to pay attention. It's also made it impossible to cite these conversations, spaces, bodies as being marginal, as with the mass circulation of discourse via digital material comes the plain truth: we are everywhere, here for it all, and coming for your white walls.

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Notes

- 1 Krista A. Thompson, *Shine: The Visual Economy of Light in African Diasporic Aesthetic Practice* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2015). See, especially, chapter 4.
- 2 Tiffany Lethabo King, "The labor of (re) reading plantation landscapes fungible(ly)," *Antipode* 48.4 (2016): 1022–1039.
- 3 Robin Coste Lewis, *Voyage of the Sable Venus and Other Poems* (New York: Knopf, 2017).
- 4 Gwendolyn DuBois Shaw, "Andrew Wyeth's Black Paintings," in *Andrew Wyeth: In Retrospect*, edited by Patricia Junker and Audrey Lewis (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2017), 108–135.
- 5 Roger Schonfeld, Mariët Westernann, and Liam Sweeney, "The Andrew W. Mellon Foundation Art Museum Staff Demographic Survey," The Andrew W. Mellon Foundation, July 28, 2015, <https://mellon.org/programs/arts-and-cultural-heritage/art-history-conservation-museums/demographic-survey/>.

- 6 Roger Schonfeld, Mariët Westernann, and Liam Sweeney, "Art Museum Staff Demographic Survey 2018," The Andrew W. Mellon Foundation, <https://mellon.org/programs/arts-and-cultural-heritage/art-history-conservation-museums/demographic-survey/>.
- 7 Andrew W. Mellon Foundation, "Latest Art Museum Staff Demographic Survey Shows Increases in African American Curators and Women in Leadership Roles," January 28, 2019, <https://mellon.org/resources/news/articles/latest-art-museum-staff-demographic-survey-shows-increases-african-american-curators-and-women-leadership-roles/>.
- 8 Schonfeld et al. "Art Museum Staff Demographic Survey 2018."