GRACE ELIZABETH HALE

Making Whiteness

THE CULTURE OF SEGREGATION IN THE SOUTH, 1890–1940

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CHAPTER FOUR

Bounding Consumption

"FOR COLORED" AND "FOR WHITE"

Ours is a world of inexorable divisions . . . Segregation has made of our eating and drinking, our buying and selling, our labor and housing, our rents, our railroads . . . our recreations . . . a problem of race as well as of maintenance.

EDGAR GARDNER MURPHY[1]

As the advertising industry, which is dedicated to the creation of masks, makes clear, that which cannot gain authority from tradition may borrow it with a mask. Masking is a play upon possibility and ours is a society in which possibilities are many . . . Said a very dark Southern friend of mine to a white businessman who complained of his recalcitrance in a bargaining situation, "I know, you thought I was colored, didn't you." . . . the "darky" act makes brothers of us all.

RALPH ELLISON[2]

"NOW A MAN DROVE two hundred miles from Jefferson before he found wilderness to hunt in," William Faulkner wrote in 1942. "Now the land lay open from the cradling hills on the East to the rampart of the levee on the West, standing horseman-tall with cotton for the world's looms . . . the land in which neon flashed past them from the little countless towns and countless shining this-year's automobiles sped past them on the broad plumb-ruled highways . . . the land across which there came now no scream of panther but instead the long hooting of locomotives . . ." The voices of animals and not machines, he implied, permeated the old geography of unity on which the annual bear hunt had occurred: "It was of men, not white nor black nor red but men, hunters . . ." But the multicolored masculine spaces of the frontier where plantations were wrested from and yet coexisted with the wilderness were disappearing. The ceaseless "puny marks of man" had vanquished the dialectic of wildness and order. In *Go Down, Moses,*

Faulkner mourns the passing of a racially mixed space of often racially mixed men, the hunt's pungent and tangible racial utopia, the "best game of all."[3]

Although Faulkner dedicated his novel to his own "Mammy Caroline Barr," women and civilization complicate and make painful the racial ease of his wilderness. In *Go Down, Moses,* an archetypal white child, Carothers, finds a kind of innocent racial mixing in both his white and his "Mammy" Molly Beauchamp's homes. But the bear hunt, unlike childhood, does not have to be individually outgrown. Adult white men do not have to participate in mammy worship to revisit a space of idealized racial mixing that stories of the hunt continue to provide.

Posing his racial utopia within a romanticized remnant of the frontier myth instead of a fictionalized golden age of plantation glory, Faulkner writes a story with villains different from the standard Lost Cause antagonists. He replaces "damn Yankees," "black betrayal," and the "dark days of Reconstruction" with the swarming "men myriad and nameless" of literary modernism, figures armed not with black votes but with plows, axes, neon, automobiles, and trains. The victim this time is not the old plantation idyll but the "doomed wilderness," "the land where [even] the old bear had earned a name." A new kind of settlement meant that the region was collectively outgrowing what the hunt had allowed men to save. A new kind of settlement meant a new racial order. While the coincidence of Faulkner's domestic servant Caroline Barr's death with the completion of the novel probably prompted its dedication, Faulkner ironically crowned his nuanced exploration of one white southern fiction of racial mixing by dedicating it to another, even more influential one.[4]

Yet that was not the whole story. Against the powerful fictions of continuity—of the Lost Cause and the mammy—that grounded modern white racial identity, Faulkner asserted throughout his writings a persuasive counternarrative of geographic and cultural change. In *Go Down, Moses,* the "long hooting" of locomotives and the shine of new automobiles and neon herald the booming early twentieth-century growth of southern towns. Recent historical scholarship has revealed the extent of the movement of Faulkner's "men myriad and nameless" and women too of both races into the region's growing villages and towns. Ex-planters and ambitious farmers joined ex-sharecroppers, lawyers, ministers, merchants, and the operators of cotton, textile, and other mills to form a new white southern middle class.

By 1900, the historian Edward L. Ayers has determined, one in six southerners, by 1910 over seven million people, lived in the region's towns and cities. Faulkner also explored the less visible social changes dialectically linked to the rapid transformation of the region's geography. By 1909, the Compsons of Faulkner's *The Sound and the Fury* had sold the last of their plantation lands, "the old Compson mile," to launch their children through education and marriage into this new southern world. Fittingly, the new owners made the old pasture into a golf course.

The new and growing commercial and thus semi-public spaces that came with the towns—from that golf course to the stations that serviced those automobiles and the stores that neon named—provided places of racial mixing less romantic and more conflict-ridden than Faulkner's narrative of masculine adventure in the wilderness. And these places of consumption were, unlike the idealized images of Lost Cause, the mammy-graced white home, or the romance of the hunt, the spaces of the southern future. Far from a racial utopia and less often the subject of literary celebration, the multiplying spaces of consumption within the growing towns and cities of the late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century South became key sites for the white southern middle class's creation of and African American resistance to the culture of segregation. And the first battlegrounds were the hooting cause of the bear hunt's destruction, the trains.[5]

The railroad lines invaded the region like kudzu, tangling the most rural southern reaches of piney woods and mountain coves into a strong and living web. From the end of Reconstruction through the dawning of the twentieth century, southerners built railroads more rapidly than Americans in any other region. As early as 1890, Ayers has written, "nine out of every ten southerners lived in a railroad county." But what this network connected also changed. In the black belts the plantation houses with their circling slave cabins were left to ruin or became the country quarters of the wealthy now living in towns. Instead of those old necklaces of quarters, the less uniform and often more ramshackle dwellings of black and white tenant farmers now dotted the far reaches of the farm lands. For both southern and nonsouthern whites, the physical deterioration of the old antebellum mansions signaled the transformation of the region's cultural geography. "Most of the ancestral homes have been abandoned by their owners for residence in the cities," a reporter for *Lippincott's* wrote in an article on "Life in the Cotton Belt" in 1897; "the white-columned porticos of the favorite colonial

architecture now moldering in decay, the wide and once hospitable front halls resounding only to the rough banter and quarrels of negro tenants and their children."[6]

Across the South, cities grew and towns took root where the steel vines crossed. A white southerner in 1901 recounted the attractions of town life to a national industrial commission investigating agriculture: "cheap coal, cheap lights, convenient water supply offer inducements; society and amusements draw the young: the chance to speculate, to make a sudden rise in fortunes, to get into the swim attracts others . . . All these things, and many more of the same sort have acted and reacted between the town and the country, and the country has become permeated with tendencies to town life and efforts to imitate." These new, increasingly less rural, more closely settled places, then, asserted an influence far beyond even the growing proportion of the southern population leaving the farms. Villages, towns, and cities became the hothouses of the new culture of segregation. Cross-race interactions there had not had time to groove paths that whites could use and blacks could stand. Families were not entangled. People were not known.[7]

Segregation grew, however, in a compost of the old racial order, the paradoxically personalized but state-backed racial power that grounded the slave regime. Surviving the near-fatal wounds of emancipation and Reconstruction, this racial culture became the foundation of rural southern life through the early twentieth century. The mammy myth proved crucial here, providing a way for white middle-class southerners to anchor a new cultural authority within the relationships between white men and women and African American domestic servants patterned in the old racial order. Yet in the late nineteenth century, the forms if not the fact of modern white supremacy remained unsettled. The debate about the temporal and geographic origins of segregation has missed a key dialectical point. The choice was between segregation and the greater fluidity and relative integration of the more personalized relations of white racial power of the 1870s and 1880s. But the choice was also between the conventions of separation already in place in many southern cities by the 1880s and African Americans' total exclusion. All three options—segregation, the continuation of personalized relations of racial power, and exclusion—were in varying degrees tried and to varying degrees survived in southern society until World War II. Segregation, however, became the foundation of southern society and the central metaphor of southern life because it balanced white demand for a racially

figured power, the spread of the new national ways of buying and selling that had originated in the Northeast, and African Americans' insistence that freedom yield tangible benefits over slavery. Segregation provided a way to order the more impersonal social relations and potentially more subversive consuming practices of the new southern town life. White southerners nurtured their new racist culture to contain the centrifugal forces of a much less isolated, less rural world.[8]

The expansion of consumer culture both drew the region into the nation and played an essential role in the re-creation of racial identities between 1890 and 1940. Advertising created an increasingly national market in part through the circulation of black imagery that figured the implied consumer as white. Yet consumer culture created spaces—from railroads to general stores and gas stations to the restaurants, movie theaters, and more specialized stores of the growing towns—in which African Americans could challenge segregation, both explicitly and implicitly. Whites first encountered the very visible disjuncture between the consumer as white and the consuming southern black in the image of the middle-class African American riding first class on the train. As whites broadened segregation, removing this troubling figure from sight, however, consumption also expanded, both in terms of class and in terms of space. Mass consumption both depended upon and created a new geography of shopping. In this complex layering of places, whites interacted with African Americans as consumers, as both indirect and direct violators of both localized and regional rituals of racial deference. The difficulty of racial control over the new spaces of consumption, in turn, provoked an even more formulaic insistence on "For Colored" and "For White."

Training the Ground of Difference

In the turn-of-the-century South, the small-town train station often sat apart. While the courthouse stood tall in the sky and central, fixing a town as an axle pierces a wheel, the train station hung low, attempting dignity while hugging the ground. As structures, southern train stations wore disguises: their physical presences yelled *stop* while their function whispered *go*.[9]

Once inside, the attempt to deny motion continued. If southerners had to travel, then state laws and local customs decreed that would-be passen-

gers would have to buy tickets, wait, use the restroom, and then depart in clearly racially marked spaces. Even southern children knew these codes, as white southerner Katharine Lumpkin, born in 1897, vividly remembered:

> As soon as I could read, I would carefully spell out the notices in public places. I wished to be certain we were where we ought to be. Our station waiting rooms— "For White." Our railroad coaches—"For White." There was no true occasion for a child's anxiety lest we make a mistake. It was all so plainly marked. (Said the law, it seems, ". . . in letters at least two inches high.")

Station doors, ticket windows, waiting rooms, and toilet facilities—white southerners determinedly labeled all of them "Colored" and "White." But much more than a "child's anxiety" was at stake. When as a young college student in the mid-1920s Lumpkin boarded a train with a southern co-worker in the YWCA movement—an African American co-worker—she felt for the first time the threat of that two-inch lettering, how it marked and labeled the racial worth of southern people and places, "how deadly serious the white South was in its signs and separations, . . . its single-mindedness of aim."[10]

A growing southern African American middle class seemed keenly aware of just what was at stake in the 1880s and 1890s as they made the rapidly expanding railroads and streetcars the battleground upon which whites enacted the forms of the new segregated culture. Train stations were not new even then—railroads had expanded into the region, albeit tentatively, before the Civil War. But by the end of nineteenth century, those long low buildings connected an exponentially greater number of spaces with both freight and passenger service. As importantly, a small but visible number of African Americans had acquired the money to get on those trains and ride.[11]

In 1884 at the age of twenty-two, the ex-slave Ida B. Wells boarded a train in Memphis to travel to the school in Shelby, Tennessee, where, as the oldest daughter, she taught to support her recently orphaned siblings. Sitting in the "ladies' coach" as usual, Wells was surprised when the white conductor announced he could not take her ticket there. When he later returned and demanded that she move to the other second-class car, Wells refused. The other car, she insisted, was a smoker. Annoyed at her refusal,

the conductor grabbed her arm and tried to drag her from her seat. Wells fought back, sinking her teeth into the back of his hand and bracing her feet firmly against the seat in front of her. Nursing his injury, the conductor fled, seeking reinforcements among the baggage handlers. Three white men then successfully forced Wells from her seat to the loud accompaniment of the white passengers who stood upon the cushions to gain a better view and shouted and applauded. As the train was just making its first stop, Wells announced to the white mob that she would get off the train rather than allow them to drag her into the dirty and crowded smoker. Though her linen duster hung in tatters, Wells had managed to hold onto her ticket. When she finally got back to Memphis, she engaged a lawyer. Ida B. Wells had decided to sue.[12]

Wells's struggle on the train was certainly not unusual in the 1880s. After the U.S. Supreme Court repealed the Civil Rights Act in 1883, whites across the South attempted to draw the color line on southern streetcars and railroads. The companies that owned these transportation routes often resisted, wary of the effort and expense involved in providing separate cars and policing racial separation. And like Wells, many southern African Americans resisted segregation in individual ways that sometimes ended in violence. From the 1880s through the 1900s, southern transportation routes were spaces of racial conflict.[13]

But Wells's persistence and her victory, however short-lived, were unique. After months of dissembling and delay, she discovered that the Chesapeake and Ohio and Southwestern Railroad Company had bought off her African American lawyer. Wells then hired a white lawyer—no other black lawyers practiced in Memphis—and won her case in the circuit court under Judge Pierce, an ex-Union soldier. The *Memphis Daily Appeal* headlined the victory on Christmas Day in 1884: "A Darkey Damsel Obtains a Verdict for Damages against the Chesapeake and Ohio Railroad—What It Cost to Put a Colored School Teacher in a Smoking Car—Verdict for $500." Wells had won the first case brought to a southern state court since the repeal in 1883 of the Civil Rights Act.

The railroad, of course, appealed. The Tennessee Supreme Court concluded in 1887, "We think it is evident that the purpose of the defendant in error was to harass with a view to this suit, and that her persistence was not in good faith to obtain a comfortable seat for a short ride." The white judges saw Wells as desiring "social equality," not clean and smoke-free travel.

Southern African Americans, then, were not to enjoy comfortable seats on trains even when they could afford the higher first-class fare. The battle over the racial ordering of modern transportation was on.[14]

Railroads became the focus of late nineteenth-century racial conflict because their connecting lines broke down local southern racial settlements often violently pieced together in the years during and after Reconstruction. Trains moved beyond the reach of personalized local relations of class and racial authority. Most often, travelers found themselves in close proximity to people they did not know, from fellow passengers to line employees, moving through places with which they were not familiar. Visible cues became increasingly important as markers of identity, as ways to categorize others, as railroads spread traveling pockets of anonymous social relations, more akin to the nation's largest urban centers, across the most isolated areas of the region. The problem of black middle-class riders in first-class cars, then, was less that whites feared "racial pollution" than that the visible dress and deportment of these travelers belied any notion of southern blacks' racial inferiority. Railroads did not just regionalize transportation. For whites, they also made clear the need for a state- and region-wide racial order.[15]

Many African Americans followed Wells in filing suit against railroads for discrimination. A handful even won. Young middle-class blacks became increasingly assertive, and one Georgia newspaper rallied black resistance: "When a conductor orders a colored passenger from the first class car it's a bluff, and if the passenger goes to the forward or smoking car, that ends it; should he refuse, it ends it also, for the trainman will reflect seriously before he lays on violent hands, for he knows that such a rash proceeding makes him amenable to the law." Ida B. Wells had not been so lucky, but other southern blacks testified to how they had called the trainmen's "bluff" and argued repeatedly that they simply wanted the first-class accommodations to which the tickets they had purchased entitled them. The marketplace, they asserted, would not join the polling place as a potential arena of racial exclusion. Southern middle-class African Americans were determined to have unmediated access to the increasing variety of products, from first-class train travel to ready-made clothes and moving pictures, that their money enabled them to buy.[16]

For southern whites, however, more was at stake than comfortable plushy cushions and clean-carpeted aisles. Whiteness itself was being defined in late nineteenth-century first-class train cars. When middle-class blacks entered the semi-public spaces of railroads, they placed their better

attire and manners in direct juxtaposition with whites' own class signifiers. Because many whites found it difficult to imagine African Americans as anything other than poor and uneducated, finely dressed blacks riding in first-class cars attracted their particular ire. A white conductor told the well-dressed sixteen-year-old Mary Church, "This is first class enough for you." And many whites looked considerably worse for the public comparison with better-off blacks. Greater mobility made the poorest whites more visible to the rising white middle class as well. Katharine Lumpkin, whose own nomadic white southern childhood resulted from her father's employment with the railroad, remembered her shock at her first sight of extremely impoverished whites in the South Carolina sand hills. Class and race, then, became more visibly unhinged as railroads disrupted local isolation. Confusion reigned.[17]

Beneath white concern about racial disorder in a changing southern society lay a fear of the increasing possibility of making a mistake in identifying strangers. The more varied ingredients of white racial anxiety simmered in a stock of white concerns about racial purity. Though the account would have easily ended in violence had the gender roles been reversed, a Tennessee newspaper in 1889 chose to dramatize humorously the dangers of racial uncertainty within first-class cars. When "a bright and good-looking colored girl (or rather an almost white colored girl)" got on board a train in Nashville, a "flashily dressed white gentleman," usually known as the "car masher," flirtatiously sought her company. Wooing his "lady friend" with lunch and witty conversation, he did not realize his mistake until after she got off. Much to the "masher's" dismay, "none enjoyed the episode more than the ladies on the train." White southerners might have laughed, but the story's joke served as a warning about the dangers inherent in the first-class train car's world of anonymous yet intimate social relations and confused appearances. Possessing the middle-class markers of proper clothing and speech and made mobile by the spread of modern transportation networks, the figure of the mulatto became much more threatening. Though white anxiety translated into humor in this case of an "almost white" woman, white "ladies" undoubtedly would not have found funny an "almost white" man. And in an increasingly anonymous world where class and race status depended upon appearances, racial disorder endangered the very meaning of white racial identity.[18]

White southerners devised what Katharine Lumpkin called those "deadly signs and separations" to reproduce a white supremacy that had

become detached from the personalized relations of local power. Segregation made racial identity visible in a rational and systematic way, despite the anonymity of social relations within train cars. Racialized spaces could counter the confusion of appearances created by the increased visibility of a well-dressed, well-spoken black middle class. An African American became, as W. E. B. Du Bois described, someone who "must ride Jim Crow in Georgia." The individual's appearance then little mattered. "Colored" inferior cars meant "colored" inferior people. Systemized spatial relations replaced the need to know others personally in order to categorize them. On a childhood visit to Columbia, South Carolina, in 1892, the white southerner John Andrew Rice recalled his first sighting of the new racial order: "The main entrance to the town was the depot, and here was something new, something that marked the town as different from the country and the country depots . . . : two doors to two waiting rooms and on these two doors arresting signs, 'White' and 'Colored.' " By Katharine Lumpkin's childhood a decade later, as a result of state laws the "town" signs had spread across the countryside, and segregation became "all so plainly marked." The railroads, as the historian Edward Ayers has claimed, "took a piece of the city with them wherever they went." Segregation was modern.[19]

The white Georgia writer Flannery O'Connor explores the ways railroads bridged boundaries of urban and rural, white and black, in her short story "The Artificial Nigger." It describes an old white man from a rural all-white northeastern Georgia county taking his grandson to the city. "The thing to do with a boy," Mr. Head says "sagely" to another white passenger on the train, "is to show him all there is to show. Don't hold nothing back." Soon the boy, dressed in his first and only and ill-fitting suit on his first train ride, spies a "huge coffee-colored man . . . in a light suit and a yellow satin tie with a ruby pin." The man comes "slowly forward," punctuated by the deliberate stabbings of "a black walking stick" and adorned by refracted light from "a sapphire ring" on a "brown hand" and two "coffee-colored," yellow-and-green-dressed women companions. But the boy does not recognize the "true" identity of the wealthy passenger. As his grandfather derides him, the boy turns his brimming hatred toward "his first nigger," this finely dressed passenger who with a confusing color and wealth has made a fool of him.

Yet even as the train highlights the boy's rural confusion, it also creates for him a new form of racial order. Visiting the dining car, "the most elegant

car in the train," he draws assurance from the busy waiters, their "very black" skins accentuated by their white suits, their work serving whites overriding their somewhat saucy manner. Most clearly, however, in the dining car the boy encounters segregation. The large, almost-black man encountered earlier now sits eating with the two women behind a "saffron-colored curtain." As his grandfather explains, "they rope them off." Though Mr. Head and his grandson cannot even afford to eat on the train, the thin yellow fabric upholds their superiority, their belonging, their whiteness against the black man's roped-off wealth. The boy arrives in the city knowing "niggers" as people who serve whites or inhabit spaces whose separateness and difference are clearly, visibly marked. He, like the nonfictional Katharine Lumpkin, has learned the code.[20]

Segregation, then, could never reattach racial and class identities, could not make middle-class blacks poorly clothed, poorly educated, and poorly spoken and thus more easily identified by whites of all classes as inferior. Instead, systemized racial separation on railroads and streetcars worked to create and extend white supremacy in other ways. Most obviously, segregation reduced cross-racial contact. But segregated transportation facilities offered another marker of racial identity as well. People who moved within spaces marked "colored" were African American, and the difference—the inferiority of the black spaces—marked the difference—the inferiority of the black and even "almost white" people. John Vachon captured this interaction of built environment and racial identity in a 1939 photograph of African American men waiting behind the railroad station at Manchester, Georgia. The "colored men's" toilet as well as the "colored waiting room" faces outside the station, consigning congregating blacks to the muddy and inferior back of the building. Whites' determined racial labeling of railroad, streetcar, and later bus station waiting rooms, dining facilities, and toilets, then, served notice to black passengers of the limits of travel. The stationary points that bounded such journeys would remind everyone that the color bar, unlike town limits and county lines, could never be crossed. From the perspective of southern whites, racial order had been restored.[21]

Thus by the early twentieth century, transportation systems provided both cultural movement and cultural order. Trains and streetcars gave passage to urban commercial and social relations but not alternative racial identities. Boundaries between town and country faded even as the color bar grew, adding the tight adolescent muscles of law to the baby fat of

convention. W. E. B. Du Bois emphasizes this contradictory nature of southern transportation in his 1921 exploration of black life in America, *Darkwater: Voices From Within the Veil.* Taking the uninitiated on a literary trip through the intricacies of southern segregated travel, Du Bois describes in great detail how inferior facilities and service worked to ease white anxiety about better-off blacks' contradictory race and class status. Middle-class African Americans, when possible, simply stayed at home.[22]

"Did you ever see a Jim Crow waiting room?" Du Bois begins. "Usually there is no heat in winter and no air in summer; with undisturbed loafers and train hands and broken disreputable settees." And then the traveler must endure the "torture" of buying a ticket. At an unattended window marked "colored" in quality and with a sign, an African American has to "stand and stand and wait and wait until every white person at the 'other window' is waited on." When the agent finally decides to serve the black passenger, he harasses and contradicts, "hurries and confuses the ignorant, gives many persons the wrong change, compels some to purchase their tickets on the train at a higher price, and sends you and me out onto the platform, burning with indignation and hatred!"[23]

Once on the train, in Du Bois's description, the accommodations for black travelers only get worse. The Jim Crow car always joins the train next to the baggage car and the engine, always stops "beyond the platform covering in the rain or sun or dust," and never includes a step to help passengers on board. Often the car is "a smoker cut in two," and black passengers have to face the discomfort of having white smokers pass through the "colored" section, "with swagger and noise and stares." The compartment always encompasses "a half or a quarter or an eighth of the oldest car in service on the road," its plush "caked with dirt," its floor "grimy," its windows muddy. While the conductor lounges across two "colored seats," his services are for whites only. Often "an impertinent white newsboy" also occupies two more of the limited seats, from which he nags black passengers "to the point of rage to buy cheap candy, Coca-Cola, and worthless, if not vulgar books." Dining cars either do not serve African Americans or provide them with meals in some "dirty and ill-attended hole in the wall." As for restroom facilities, Du Bois can only scream "don't!" Finally he admonishes those still brave enough to travel about the ultimate risk, changing trains. In unforeseeable places local welcoming committees often include sheriffs and quarrelsome white persons who hate a " 'darky dressed up.' " Still, writing from a

Georgia home surrounded by the many colors of spring and humanity, Du Bois turns to his host with thoughts of the liberating possibilities of tourism: " 'No,' said the little lady in the corner (she looked like an ivory cameo and her dress flowed on her like a caress), 'we don't travel much.' "[24]

White southerners wanted railroad lines in the South to perform like those long low train stations, to both provide and deny movement. And for Du Bois, southern whites succeeded: "There is not in the world a more disgraceful denial of human brotherhood than the 'Jim Crow' car of the southern United States." Whites and blacks might set out for the same destination, but en route their difference would be continually reenacted and confirmed.[25]

While many white southerners demanded that the new racial order of the railroad enforce an old white supremacy, the white owners of southern railroad and streetcar lines sought profits. This contradiction between market incentives and the desire to encode white racial supremacy within the changing features of the region permeated the emerging culture of segregation. Whites could never achieve the tight and absolute racial ordering of these expanding spaces of transportation despite their efforts. As a white midwestern journalist following the newly erected color line through the spaces of southern transportation in 1906 and 1907, Ray Stannard Baker neither felt the indignity of the African American Du Bois's journeys nor the certainty of the white Lumpkin's childhood. The streetcar, Baker found, was "an excellent place for observing the points of human contact between the races": "In almost no other relationship do the races come together, physically, on anything like a common footing. In their homes and in ordinary employment, they meet as master and servant; but in the street cars they touch as free citizens, each paying for the right to ride, the white not in a place of command, the Negro without an obligation of servitude." Streetcar relationships were, for Baker, symbolic of the new conditions. But Baker found there an uncertainty that surprised him. The sign in the Atlanta cars read "white people will seat from the front of the car toward the back and colored people from the rear toward the front." Yet no boundary existed, and the cars marked no imaginary race line with colored curtains or signs. Baker found "this very absence of a clear demarcation" in many cross-racial interactions within the region: "The color line is drawn, but neither race knows just where it is. Indeed, it can hardly be definitely drawn in many relationships, because it is constantly changing. This uncertainty is a fertile source

of friction and bitterness." Baker found the streetcars, and, he implied, most southern spaces, places of racial uncertainty despite the new laws and the new signs.[26]

Though as a child she had noticed the racial "twilight zone between" on southern streetcars, Katharine Lumpkin still had faith in the strength of segregation's racial order. The white conductor, after all, held the power to sharpen the blurred boundary, to use his office and his stick to draw that temporary line. But by the 1920s the adult Lumpkin too understood the contradictions within the seemingly absolute racial order of segregated southern transportation. A train trip with a black YWCA co-worker began without incident: "We entered the railroad station—but through different doors: hers, 'For Colored,' mine, 'For White.' Presumably I was used to this. I had done it all my life." And the two women's physical separation continued as they bought tickets and rested in waiting rooms. But Lumpkin's epiphany occurred as they both left the station: "Only on the platform was there no physical separation . . . So we paced the platform side by side." This coming back together, both understood, was "unacceptable"; but for Lumpkin the arbitrariness and oppressiveness of the separation, which she sensed her co-worker had long known, became clear for the first time. The railroad platform, then, seemed to "baffle" southern white "ingenuity." Only there was any concession made to the necessity of movement. The African American sociologist Bertram Doyle did find evidence of one small-town Georgia train station in the 1930s in which "a fence to separate the races extended from the station almost to the tracks." But in most places no structure had been devised to separate white and black as they crossed the distance between the building and the train. And the disorder of this racial order persisted.[27]

The Farm Security Administration photographer Marion Post Wolcott portrayed the ambiguity of this walk from the main building to the passenger cars in a series of 1940 photographs of a railroad station in northwestern Florida. The series was a part of the FSA's project to document 1930s America in general and the southern United States in particular. Director Roy Stryker had decided to shift coverage from general rural poverty and specific New Deal programs to southern small-town life. Wolcott and other FSA photographers built an extensive visual record of the geography of segregated transportation across the region, documenting black and white waiting rooms, station entrances, and toilets. But in this series, Wolcott emphasized that movement, both metaphoric and material, could never be

completely contained. A white woman might have to stop in that no-race's land, that distance unordered by segregation, to let an African American woman cuddling a child make her way. State laws could never account completely for the minutiae of individual cross-racial contacts. Train stations and their younger cousins, bus terminals, remained places of uncomfortable unpredictability within the culture of segregation's attempts at racial fixity, places of movement despite, in the period between 1890 and 1940, the signs.[28]

This unpredictability was the contradictory heart of a system that promoted both travel and stasis; it made the spaces of southern transportation places of racial conflict throughout the history of segregation. The historian Robin D. G. Kelley has demonstrated that southern streetcars continued to be arenas of racial struggle over semi-public space long after Baker's 1908 observations about the particularity and the relative freedom of the contact there. In Birmingham, Alabama, in the late 1930s and early 1940s, African Americans, in this case a more working-class-oriented group than those more middle-class pioneers of the transportation struggle, continued to push at the shifting racial boundaries within the city's buses. Continuing individual and collective protests included moving the detachable race signs inside buses, deliberately sitting in the front seats reserved for whites, and talking explicitly and loudly about racial equality within earshot of whites. African Americans dramatized the contradictions at the intersection of segregation's racialized spaces and the market, moving, muddling, and vocally crossing the color line. Kelley has suggested that the metaphor of the "theater" illuminates the doubled character of buses as sites of both performance and conflict, as theaters of art and of war. Yet common carriers were not the only "theaters" in town.[29]

As the sociologist Bertram Doyle had suggested as early as 1937, "What you see on the railroad is characteristic of the whole structure of the southern states. The Negro occupies a position of inferiority and servility, of which he is constantly reminded when traveling, by restriction, by discriminating laws, and by the attitude of his white neighbors." Between the old southern racial order and the new order of segregation, then, a key shift occurred in the location of white supremacy. African Americans, as Doyle realized, might or might not appear inferior and servile. Instead, in places where cross-racial contact had a tendency to be both anonymous and visible, whites forced blacks to "occupy a position of inferiority and servility." Segregation attempted to counter a world in which people increasingly

moved beyond the local and thus the known by creating racial identity anonymously as well, through spatially grounded signifiers of black difference and white belonging. With the color line, whites literalized the metaphor of keeping blacks "in their place." Whether an individual white was superior to an individual black did not matter so much in a world in which the qualities of the spaces within which cross-race contact occurred materially spelled out the racial hierarchy. That yellow curtain alone, a visual marker of black spatial difference, was enough to assert a poor white man's racial superiority.[30]

Lillian Smith sensed these spatial struggles, the way in the first four decades of the twentieth century the entire small-town South served as a theater of racial representation:

> Every little southern town is a fine stage-set for Southern tradition to use as it teaches its children the twisting turning dance of segregation. Few words are needed for there are signs everywhere. *White . . . colored . . . white . . . colored* . . . over doors of railroad and bus stations, over doors of public toilets, over doors of theaters, over drinking fountains . . . And there are the invisible lines that turn and bend and cut the town into segments. Invisible, but electrically charged with taboo. Places you go, places you don't go. White town, colored town; white streets, colored streets; front door, back door. Places you sit. Places you cannot sit . . . These ceremonials in honor of white supremacy.[31]

Segregation materially and metaphorically grounded the South's new racial order. This geography seemed fixed to Smith, a white southerner born in 1897 who grew up with the culture of segregation. Yet the signs "For Colored" and "For White" proclaimed an order they could never command. "Invisible" yet electric lines twisted and snapped and sprang like live wires in the rain of black resistance and whites' contradictory desires for cultural stasis and economic change.

And the movement of those color lines, like the motion of the train, echoed an equally dangerous movement of cultural meanings down those tracks from the North. Trains did not just transport pockets of anonymous social relations. They also carried an expanding culture of consumption that multiplied the sites in which racial difference could break down, adding the potentially transgressive spaces of movie theaters and chain stores. Such standardized products as national network radio programs and

automobiles made racial containment and regional distinction even more problematic. The problem for the white southern elite, planters-turned-store owners and other members of a growing white middle class, was how to reconstruct a powerful and collective definition of whiteness within this new semi-public commercial sphere, which depended for its products upon northern manufacturers and marketers and for its profitability upon both white and black buyers.[32]

Transportation facilities revealed the racial fluidity of southern spaces of consumption. While the Farm Security Administration photographs in their absolute numbers provide evidence that a national consumer culture had penetrated even the smallest dirt crossroads by the late 1930s, white southerners in the 1890s began making segregation their culture in large part because they felt threatened by the convergence of a small and yet growing African American middle class and the new northern ways of buying, selling, and living within the growing southern cities. Consumer culture made the disjuncture of race and class in the figure of the middle-class black more visible at a time when southern whites already felt threatened. Reconciliation with the North, the Populist movement, the depth of the 1893 financial panic in the already impoverished region, and the growing indigenous white campaign for woman suffrage shifted other categories of white identity, making a seeming racial stability that much more essential to southern whites. While the Lost Cause and the mammy functioned for the white middle class as fictions of continuity that laid the groundwork for the new racial order, these narratives contributed only the fading memory of wartime valor to the whiteness of poor white southerners and did nothing to counter the spectacle of the well-dressed black consumer.[33]

Train stations, those often-disguised buildings, then, sat at another crucial borderland as well. With their function as nodes of transport for both goods and people and as nodes of connection between northern cities and southern small towns, railroad stations also bridged the transition between the older agrarian-dominated economy and the growing influence of industrial production and mass consumption in the region. As southerners, including farmers, increasingly purchased rather than produced even food items, changes in the nature, variety, and marketing of goods became a very visible marker of the region's encounter with modernity. Consumer culture spread a new world of goods, a revolution in representation, and an associated proliferation of identities across the nation. With transportation facilities—railroads, streetcars, and eventually buses—southern whites found an early

solution to the problem of fixing racial identity in the modern world by marking spaces as racially superior or inferior instead of people. The solutions for the racial ordering of other emerging spaces of consumption would be more complicated. At the intersection of regions, races, and world views, railroad stations needed to hang solid and low to reinforce the boundaries.[34]

Dixie Brand

Seeking to reinforce the regional divide against the impact of this economic and cultural change, in 1930 twelve self-identified southern intellectuals cast themselves as twentieth-century apostles and the South as Christ and proclaimed their region the last moral place in America. The most famous of the twelve white men—Donald Davidson, Robert Penn Warren, Allen Tate, and John Crowe Ransom—came together at Vanderbilt University around the poetry magazine *The Fugitive*, published in Nashville between 1922 and 1925. In their manifesto *I'll Take My Stand*, the Agrarians denounced the hollowness of a land where the end justified the means and where that end in turn was a consumption that they believed had become as "brutal and hurried" as had the machine-paced labor that helped produce it. "Turning to consumption, as the grand end which justifies the evil of modern labor, we find we have been deceived," John Crowe Ransom proclaimed in his unsigned introduction to the collection. "We have more time in which to consume, and many more products to be consumed. But the tempo of our labors communicates itself to our satisfactions." Under "industrialism," leisure had become work, art instrumentalist, the self the creation of experts, and life a scrambling attempt to cope with incessant change.

And consumption, they claimed, was forced upon white southerners as a result of industrialism's inevitable overproduction. "The producers," and the Agrarians always implied they were white northerners, "disguised as the pure idealists of progress, must coerce and wheedle the public into being loyal and steady consumers, in order to keep the machine running." "The most significant development of [American] industrialism," these white southerners insisted, was "the use of modern advertising—along with its twin, personal salesmanship." Advertising persuaded "the consumer to want exactly what the applied sciences . . . furnish[ed]." It was "the great effort of a false economy of life to approve itself." More a metaphor than a coherent

plan for economic and social reorganization, Agrarianism stressed individual and localized control of both production and consumption. The South would provide the counterweight to the "eternal flux," the "infinite series," of "our urbanized, antiprovincial, progressive, and mobile American life." "The culture of the soil," these white intellectuals insisted, was "the best."[35]

Their Adam and Eve, the Agrarians grudgingly admitted, had already been tempted. Their garden of ethics in the modern world, the rural and small-town South, they cried, was itself being seduced, was beginning to trade the unified lives of its "humanistic agrarianism" for the glittering baubles of industrialism, its potential to save the nation for the twentieth century's thieves, those gaudy beads of "Progress." "It would be childish and dangerous," claimed the Agrarian Stark Young, "for the South to be stampeded and betrayed out of its own character by the noise, force, and glittering narrowness of the industrialism and progress spreading everywhere . . ." And the Agrarian John Donald Wade provided a parable of the fall. His "The Life and Death of Cousin Lucius" tells the story of the child of planters who came of age after the Civil War.

Following his father's postwar efforts to rebuild their Georgia town, Cousin Lucius attempted to chart a "compromise between farming and industrialism," between the ways of the Old South and the new North, which he embodied in his work as a farmer and a banker. By the first two decades of the twentieth century, the town was prospering. But Lucius felt something had been lost: "the [white] people were going too fast . . . villagers, they were trying to keep the pace of people they considered, but whom he could not consider, the best people in the great cities." "Shooting fiercely about in automobiles," the white townspeople "would swim with him, they would set up a golf club, but they would not read . . . because they were too busy going to the movies." When in 1919 their peach crop failed—at Lucius's urging they had learned to practice diversified farming—"the new god who was so mobile that he had lost his stability" had won. But Lucius could not blame them because "they had wanted too much." He had seen them toil "to feed and clothe a boisterous nation which had become rankly rich," but in return had offered only the false promise of consumer goods, a shine that hid the rottenness at the apple's core.[36]

Agrarian stalwarts published a second manifesto, *Who Owns America?*, in 1936; it incorporated the contributions of like-minded white nonsoutherners who called themselves distributists and wanted to reverse the movement of the American economy toward larger units of production and greater

consumption. Americans already accustomed to popular images of the region as moonlight and magnolias proved unready to view the same place as a new moral economy. Still, the Agrarians and their new distributist allies made greater reference to the ways in which "monopoly capitalism," "the imperial Eastern Big-Business economy"—what they had more vaguely called "industrialism" in *I'll Take My Stand*—included the spread of mass consumption as well as production, the extension of market relations into all aspects of southern life.

Ransom spelled out how he felt consumption had seduced southern white farmers. "The mistake which farmers in America have made," he claimed, was "having been taken in by the brilliant (if wayward) spectacle of the business or money economy so that they concluded to rely on money farming alone" rather than to balance it with "subsistence farming." The spectacle, though Ransom does not here elaborate, was the enchanting, exotic sparkle of the things that money could buy. But "passionate partisans of labor," Ransom's vague reference to communists and socialists, also fell prey to consumption's false promises: "they suppose that bigger wages, or a larger share in the spoils of production, is all the compensation for servility that can be thought of; or that it does not really matter how the laborer has to labor if it enables him to ride in a car after working hours." How exactly the hot, backbreaking labor of southern subsistence farming, even when the farmer owned the land, could be made attractive to the majority of white and black southerners in 1936, Ransom never convincingly articulated.[37]

Calling for a regulated market and trying to move beyond Agrarian nostalgia, Allen Tate, in "Notes on Liberty and Property," distinguished carefully between "paper" and "real" property rights of not just small farmers but also small factory owners and small merchants. A little grocery store "with six chain stores surrounding it," like a farm forced into commodity production, did not offer the same independence and control as these productive units had offered their past owners. The problem here, however, was that small grocery stores benefitted from and in much of the South at least depended upon the same shifts. The same move away from home production and toward market production and consumption that increased the indebtedness of small farmers increased the profits of store owners. With Ransom's balance of subsistence farming and money farming, chain stores or not, southerners would need many fewer grocery stores.

While the Agrarians may have been, as Ransom claimed, "fully prepared to concede bathtubs," drawing the line between necessity and want,

need and desire, for the proliferation of consumer goods lay beyond even this second manifesto's more detailed plans. Their metaphorical opposition of North and South simplified the degree of change within their native region and muddled their critique of what was being lost within modern America with old southern myths and the new racial denial of segregation. A gentle rebuke that white southerners had simply "wanted too much" did not convince many within those pinched years of the Depression. Published the same year, Margaret Mitchell's *Gone With the Wind* proved more predictive of the region's future. Whatever the Old South had to say could pleasurably be consumed, and Mitchell's heroine matched any Yankee in her grasping and striving.[38]

The serpent, then, as even many Agrarians grudgingly admitted, had long been in their Eden as well. Those railroads transported city goods and city desires as well as more fluid social relations. Despite the Agrarians' own need to use the South as "a pastoral rebuke" to the nation, many white southerners welcomed the proliferation of goods and were enchanted by what Ransom derided, "the brilliant (if wayward) spectacle of the business or money era." In "Greensboro, or What You Will," an essay published in 1924 in Richmond's *Reviewer*, the white journalist Gerald W. Johnson captured the magic of mass-produced abundance for white southern cotton mill workers. On a Saturday afternoon, of course, "when the mill villages in the outskirts of town pour their populations into Greensboro," shops laid their myriad wares before the groaning and "inadequate" sidewalk. "A window advertised a sale of silks," the bolts fixed "on high," the fabric "cascad[ing] to the floor in shimmering streams." Behind glass, "a riot of color blended with artful carelessness, a debauch of loveliness, voluptuous, enticing, exquisite," looked out at the street. With their three children the mill couple stood, impeding the human flow, taking in the spectacle. They were not, Johnson insisted "enraptured, but calming and judiciously admiring."

And yet for the woman who broadens in Johnson's essay into a metaphor for Greensboro itself, there was something more: "Languidly chewing gum and inspecting rich brocades woven for mistresses of empires and broad seas, she [now both the woman and the city] is perhaps justly an object of derision. But I pray you pardon me if I do join in your mirth, for I am somehow not in the mood for laughter. I have seen the gleam in her eyes." Neither the Agrarians' denial nor a cynical dismissal, Johnson implied, would diminish the attraction, for both the mill worker and Greensboro, of this abundant spectacle. Why should not white southerners,

like other Americans, have silks and bathtubs? As the young liberal New Dealers who prepared the 1938 "Report to the President on the Economic Conditions of the South" said of even the poorest white and black southerners, "the people of the South need to buy, they want to buy, and they would buy if they had the money." Greensboro, as Johnson had insisted, the industrializing, modernizing small southern city, needed to be understood. Greensboro was the future.[39]

But as the turn-of-the-century conflicts over first-class railroad accommodations revealed, other southerners wanted to buy as well. Middle-class African Americans like Du Bois and Wells left autobiographical evidence of their consuming desires. Du Bois's description of his trip through the perils of segregated train travel had begun with the tasteful appointments of his Georgia host's middle-class home and ended with her stylish dress. In 1932 the African American economist Paul K. Edwards published his detailed statistical study of southern urban black consumers. White businessmen, he complained, viewed all African Americans as "appendages" of the poorest segment of the white market. Black professionals, small business owners and young doctors and lawyers, were community leaders and thus expected "to own automobiles, electrical appliances, and luxuries far above their simple economic level." Black consumers existed for the better and nonnecessity items, no matter how much advertisers refused to pitch to them.[40]

But long before 1932, when Edwards perceptively insisted that "the custom of social segregation in the South" had created "differences in the social lives of the two races" that explained the need to consider separately the "Negro market," non-middle-class African Americans had shared that gleam in the eye with those Greensboro mill workers. The song "John Henry," written by African American crews constructing railroads in West Virginia, reveals that a black working class enjoyed the pleasures of access to the new consumer abundance:

> Where did you get that pretty little dress?
> That hat you wear so fine?
> Got my dress from a railroad man,
> Hat from a man in the mine.

As the men composing and singing the song articulated in the voice of the women they hoped to win with their purchases, "bigger wages or a larger share in the spoils of production," readily dismissed by Ransom in 1936 as

the false promise of a car ride, seemed well worth having and a significant improvement over their former bondage. From their perspective, the supposedly moral benefits of agrarian life translated into the meager pay of farm labor. The cash wages of railroad work gave them access to the new world of consumer goods, then dresses and hats for the women, and later, maybe even that car. Although "a railroad man" would have trouble voting, he would find it easy to spend his money. White businessmen would remain to varying degrees dependent upon black customers and rarely found it profitable to exclude blacks from the emerging spaces of consumer culture. Segregation as culture emerged in part from white's need to create a racial order that would make an expanding marketplace both for colored and for white.[41]

If the Agrarians denied the South's place in the national economy, other white southerners demanded its inclusion even as they paid homage to the plantation myth. "One of the most significant inventions of the New South was the Old South," as C. Vann Woodward has suggested. Nostalgia complemented progress. White southerners like Henry Grady and Joel Chandler Harris personally embodied this evolving interdependence of the South as a part and yet outside of the nation: "oftener than not this archaic romanticism, this idealizing of the past, proceeded from the mouths of the most active propagandists for the New Order," Woodward has written.

The Lost Cause, the first white southern use of the South as metaphor, enabled the very changes its image of the southern past condemned. In much the same way, then, the Agrarians' self-conscious southern stance would not have been possible without the changes they deplored—the integration of the region within the national economy and the resulting national ties developed by many well-educated and well-off white southerners. "Southernness," which Stark Young admitted was a regional whiteness, did not even have to mean geographic residence: "Provincialism does not at all imply living in the place where you base your beliefs and choices. It is a state of mind or persuasion. It is a source . . . you need not, for instance, live in the South, but you feel your roots are there." From this perspective, southern whiteness became simply one among many identities in the fractured, mobile, and consuming world that twentieth-century American whites could now choose, albeit the construction Young preferred.[42]

The Agrarians, then, began too late to critique the false promises of "industrialism." The South's inclusion or exclusion within the national economy was decided even before the late nineteenth-century campaigns to

mandate the segregation of common carriers. Trains erased the boundaries of local economies as readily as they eroded local adjustments in race relations. The Agrarians' lack of popular support stemmed not from their moral blindness to racial oppression—that fault was common enough—but from their inability to account for the economic and social change that had already occurred. They failed to see the ways in which the new racial order of segregation offered its own mediation between the region and the nation. In 1930, Stark Young decreed, "We can accept the machine, but create our own attitude toward it. There is no reason why southern people, however industrialized, should bolt the whole mess as it stands." But by 1930 white southerners had already created an attitude "toward the machine" as both tool and metaphor of modernism: segregation.[43]

Segregation provided that additional compensation for servility even if the payment was not exactly what Ransom had argued. What the historian David Roediger had called "the wages of whiteness" in relation to the northern white working class in the South took the form of a very visible hierarchy of racial worth. Being white by the dawn of the twentieth century meant enjoying the better seats on the train. And segregation's ritualistic enactment of African American inferiority expanded with mass culture—that combination of industrial production and increasing mass consumption—in which it was born. In fact, by 1930 white southerners felt so secure within the new racial order of segregation that white supremacy, often politely expressed as interest in "the Negro question," received much less public attention. The resurrected Ku Klux Klan that peaked in the 1920s, after all, had orchestrated a much broader range of hatreds than white supremacy, from anti-Catholicism and anti-Semitism to the reinforcement of traditional gender roles. Segregation as culture enabled the Agrarians to ignore the many southern African Americans who often lived the very agrarian lives the intellectuals so praised. Not just "modern mechanized labor," as the Agrarians claimed, but agricultural toil in the form of sharecropping, renting, and day laboring bore the "marks of slavishness," traces of the very slave labor from which it came. Segregation both enabled the spread of consumption and provided racial identity as an order and value other than profit. The culture of segregation became the means of the region's integration within modern America and yet difference from it. It provided a way to embrace modernism and also contain it, a way to allow greater fluidity for other identities even while attempting to hold race fast.[44]

What southern African Americans wanted, the Agrarians could not

even conceive of asking. The best the twelve whites could muster was Robert Penn Warren's contribution, "The Briar Patch," which, with its resonance of the sentimentality of Joel Chandler Harris's Brer Rabbit stories, asked whites to find a place for blacks in the new plantationless world. Warren called, in effect, for an anachronism, for the construction of a new hierarchical, multi-layered southern social order. Treating southern African Americans more as components of landscapes than as people, the other Agrarians, however, conflated southern blacks with the racialized spaces of segregation with which whites attempted to bound them.[45]

Southern boosters, businessmen rather than intellectuals, understood more clearly than the Agrarians that segregation could provide a way for "the South changing [to] be the South still." Far from Robert Penn Warren's call to find a place for southern African Americans in the modern world, small-town and urban white business owners emphasized that a space "For Colored" had already been made. "Seeing Atlanta By the Photographic Route," an early twentieth-century souvenir and promotional pamphlet, named the Georgia capital the "metropolis" of the "ultra-modern" New South. Perhaps a desire to deny the racial violence and rioting of 1906 colored the publication, which emphasized that "beautiful, hustling, sunny Atlanta [could] be a charming hostess on occasion," assuming of course that the visitors were white. The city's black population disappeared in a "skyline . . . jagged with the silhouettes of tall buildings" and "bristl[ing] with factory chimneys," in wide boulevards bounded by castlelike homes, prim churches, and the pompous buildings of educational and cultural institutions. An absence of African Americans in the photographs implied an absence of racial problems.[46]

But other southern towns spoke more directly. In the early twentieth century, Bedford City, Virginia, called the "descendants of the former slaves of inhabitants of the county" a "completely foreign element" that lived "completely separated from the Caucasian race, making no attempt to obtrude themselves upon the whites." By 1912, the *Virginia Real Estate Journal* advertised Richmond's segregation as one of its most attractive features: "Separate schools for whites and blacks, separate churches, hotels, railroad coaches, and in fact, no intermingling of the races socially, though relations otherwise are amicable and friendly." Segregation, then, reinforced white supremacy, a value other than profit, and yet enabled economic development.[47]

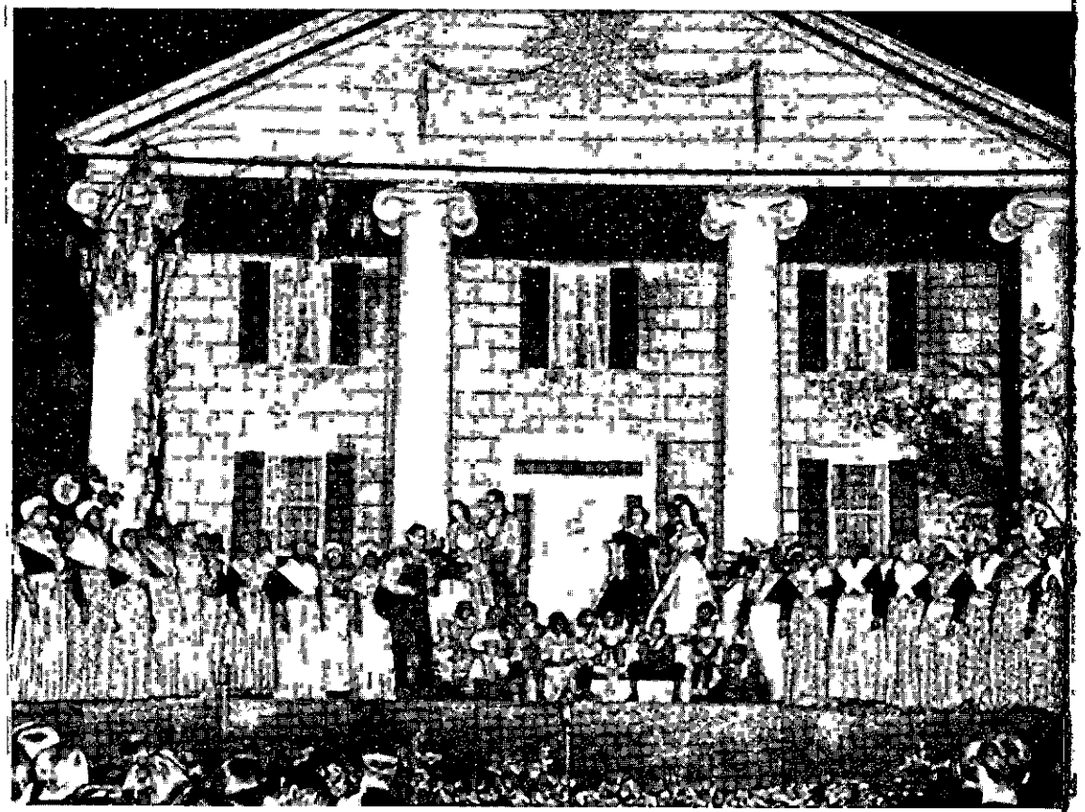
And unlike the Atlanta pamphlet, most town booster and tourist materi-

als explicitly claimed the African American, as both "darky" attraction and industrious servant, as a vital white southern asset. The souvenir booklet "Savannah: Indelible Photographs," printed in 1892, presents images of the city's buildings and monuments with two exceptions. "Two Angels" pictures two African American boys without shirts as another of Savannah's tourist sights. Another image of an African American man and woman hoeing, "Sweet Potato Field," emphasizes with its caption blacks' place as and in southern landscape, as unskilled, subservient laborers. Tourist materials for St. Augustine, Florida, also presented southern blackness as servant and sight. "Constitution Monument" pictures a Washington Monument–like obelisk at the base of which sits an African American nurse and, in a fancy carriage, her white charge. But "The Waiters of the Ponce De Leon" foregrounds black servility much more directly. As if to underscore their limited masculinity and subservience to whites, the photographer posed the tuxedoed group of black waiters at the "Ladies Entrance" of the grand hotel. And all late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century St. Augustine tourist literature promoted the old slave market, often photographed with African Americans posed in front of or within the open-sided building, as one of the city's main attractions. Early twentieth-century souvenir books for Miami and Richmond duplicated these types of images as well.[48]

By the 1930s a generic *Souvenir Folder of Dixieland,* unable to focus on a particular city, presented instead romanticized images of southern landscapes and African American labor. The only black people not "working" here are the children. In pictures captioned "Lollypops and 'Chocolate drops' in Dixieland" and "A Watermelon Feast in Dixieland," their eating, playing, and grooming become a real-life and free minstrel show for the entertainment of any white willing to drive down the scenic highways, photographs of which were included as well. Even African American children, represented as cute, comic, and ignorant, could be profitably sold.[49]

But white southerners did not just commodify southern blackness in their town booster and tourist publications. The same pamphlets promoted old plantation houses and Confederate memorials along with those factories and tall buildings, the Old South as well as the New. Though white bodies were never explicitly commodified, this literature collectively manufactured a southernness, whether Atlanta's "ultra modern South" or Natchez's "where the Old South Lives Again," that could be experienced, known, and consumed. By 1930, DixieBrand meant a regional identity made or marketed as southern, not a metaphor of moral rebuke to

Top: A. B. Frost's rendering of Uncle Remus and the boy, commissioned for the 1895 edition of Joel Chandler Harris's first book, *Uncle Remus: His Songs and His Sayings,* originally published in 1880. ***Lower Left:*** Illustration by Howard Weeden for her poem "When Mammy Dies," published in Weeden, *Bandanna Ballads (New York: Doubleday and McClure Company, 1899),* 30-31. Joel Chandler Harris praised Weeden's work for presenting "unimpeachable evidence of what they [Negros] were." In the common but not often so transparently circular arguments of white southerners, the work of a young white woman, born after emancipation, was offered by Harris and accepted by many whites as proof of the superiority of "before the war" southern African Americans. ***Lower Right:*** Illustration by Howard Weeden for her poem "Eventide," published in *Bandanna Ballads,* 26-27.
(Hargrett Rare Book and Manuscript Library, University of Georgia)



The "slave choir" singing in front of a replica of Tara at the Junior League charity ball held as part of the festivities for the December 1939 premiere of the film version of *Gone With the Wind*. Martin Luther King, Jr., in the front, makes his first appearance here in the national spotlight. The African American stars of the film were not invited to any of the official premiere events. *(Courtesy of the Atlanta History Center)*

the nation. Not just for potential intellectuals, investors, or tourists, self-conscious white southernness came in many less lofty and pretentious packages than Agrarian pieties. Those native white folks who saw small farms as hard work, not nostalgia, could demonstrate their own regional and racial loyalties through the purchase of Robert E. Lee flour, the nationally popular and yet regionally produced Coca-Cola, and even the UDC-endorsed "Library for Southern Homes." The book and film versions of Margaret Mitchell's *Gone With the Wind* made white southernness a national best-seller. In the twentieth-century South, a complex and contradictory relationship evolved between an expansive segregation's racially coded spaces and an increasingly national mass culture's regionally and racially figured products. The expansion of consumer culture generated cultural meaning on two distinct and yet interlocking planes: buying and selling within the region versus buying and selling the "region" itself.[50]

In 1895 white southern boosters spread their vision of a new southern civilization, a fusion of racial order and economic progress, formally before the nation. This inaugural event, appropriately enough, occurred in that ultra-modern city, Atlanta, the home of the late New South champion Henry Grady. The 1895 Cotton States and International Exposition presented the official joining of the South's new culture of segregation with the North's expansive, increasingly consumer-oriented commercial culture (the 1884 World's Industrial and Cotton Exposition, held in New Orleans, served as a trial run, but by 1895 racial violence had blunted African American militancy). In the previous ten years a growing and more urban-oriented white middle class had begun to see segregation as a system that would both address the disturbing divergence of race and class identities signified by the consuming "New Negro" and enable the economic development that would pull the region out of financial depression. The Atlanta fair powerfully linked regional racial views to more national conceptions of progress. Yet many details of both the new systemized racial separation and the new consumer culture's place within the region remained unsettled. The compromises worked out there, however, served as an official template for the southern future. Crafted in the image of the Atlanta businessmen who financed the exposition, the more nationally oriented businesses that sent exhibits, and the federal government which provided crucial funds, the fair presented the South that the Agrarians would come to loathe.[51]

As the historian Robert Rydell has argued, the "Atlanta Compromise" occurred long before Booker T. Washington made his famous speech.

Prominent black Atlantans like the Bishops Wesley J. Gaines and Abram L. Grant by early 1894 had persuaded the white fair directors, led by the exposition's president, the cotton mill operator and banker Charles A. Collier, to include a Negro department among the other displays. African American exhibitors had been excluded from participating in the Chicago World's Columbian Exposition of 1893, and Frederick Douglass and Ida B. Wells had passed out pamphlets in protest. If to whites the fair had been "a reaffirmation of the nation's unity, self-confidence, and triumphant progress," then for blacks the Columbian Exposition had signaled a reworking and expansion of exclusion. But New Orleans had set a different precedent. The African American leader Bishop Henry A. Turner had called the creation of the "Colored Department" there "so marvelous, so Utopian, that we could scarcely believe it was true." Atlanta, the white directors realized, had to continue this limited inclusion, and use the exposition to demonstrate to northern investors that segregation had created a place for southern blacks, transforming the "negro problem" into an economic asset.[52]

In soliciting federal funds for the exposition, the white directors asked three black delegates to join them in speaking before the House Appropriations Committee. Booker T. Washington followed Bishops Gaines and Grant and stressed that the fair offered an opportunity for the federal government to show its concern for both the region and its blacks. His goal, he emphasized, was to teach his fellow African Americans to avoid politics and seek instead the rewards of "industry, thrift, intelligence and property," through which they would earn white respect. The three southern black speakers convinced the committee of the sincerity of the fair's racial message, that as trained laborers blacks were not a hindrance to the region's economic development but an asset. Congress appropriated the funds but added a condition that the fair include a separate "Negro Building" instead of the planned inclusion of a "Negro department" within the "Government Building." A year later the compromise became national policy as *Plessy v. Ferguson* made "separate but equal" the law. At the fair's opening ceremonies before a segregated audience, Booker T. Washington simply gave the "Atlanta Compromise" its memorable rhetorical expression: "in all things that are purely social we can be as separate as fingers, yet one as the hand in all things essential to mutual progress."[53]

But segregation did not prove nearly so eloquent in practice. All public buildings were open to African American visitors, but they were not allowed to purchase refreshments except in the Negro Building. Private exhibitors

barred blacks from their restaurant facilities as well and often denied them entrance to their buildings altogether. Ticket takers at the gates proved rude, reportedly trying to dissuade African Americans from even entering. In fact, the streetcars that carried people to the fair set the tone, forcing blacks into separate and inferior seating. Even the opening-day ceremonies featuring Washington's speech entertained a segregated audience at the fair's large auditorium. The congregation of Atlanta's black Big Bethel Church protested the "[l]ack of space for the colored exhibit, jim-crow cars, and convict labor at the grounds." A local African American paper reported:

> The Fair is a big fake . . . for Negroes have not even a dog's show inside the Exposition gates unless it is in the Negro Building. Many people have written, asking whether the exposition is worth coming to see . . . If they wish to feel that they are inferior to other American citizens, if they want to pay double fare on the surface cars and also be insulted, if they want to see on all sides: "For Whites Only," or "No Niggers or dogs allowed," if they want to be humiliated and have their man and womanhood crushed out, then come.

The Georgia governor was perhaps more truthful than he intended when he invited "all mankind to visit us and witness both the problem and the process."[54]

In fact souvenir books proved a more reliable index to race relations at the fair than Washington's speech. *Official Views: Cotton States and International Exposition* presents no image of African American participation except the exterior of the Negro Building, an image of racial identity as geography, of new black spaces rather than new black people. The only African American pictured in the program plays the same old subservient role, a groundskeeper sweeping the street in front of the building being photographed. And the careful order of the grounds visible in the views, built and maintained by convict labor, says more about the reality of African American work in the South than the careful order of the Negro Building's industrial displays. The exposition directors, then, encouraged black attendance at a "Negro Day" for the same reason they included a Negro Building and Washington's speech. Washington's less threatening image of the "New Negro," embodied both within the Negro Building and in the form of segregated African American visitors, would serve as one of the fair's attractions. But black fair visitors would also pay to attend, becoming a double source of

revenue, both subject and object of the exposition's display. The messiness of the fair's attempt to systemize racial separation flowed both from its muddled orgins and from a fundamental contradiction, the tension between African American as racial subject and racial object, as consumers and commodities, that would characterize segregation as culture.[55]

But the fair also held other racial attractions. The problem with Booker T. Washington's image of black and white southerners as fingers on a hand was that black fingers served whites not only as tools for achieving a "common progress" but also as fetishized objects of entertainment. While the gruesome southern practice of lynching actually made black fingers into coveted commodities, lovingly preserved and displayed in jars, northerners practiced a less deadly form of appropriation in which racial images performed as minstrel entertainment and advertisements for the new consumer products. Not just African American labor but the commercialization of their racist representation could be turned into white profit. And this use of blackness too appeared at the fair, on the midway where the market's excesses escaped the containment of official display and its erotic spectacle promised pleasure in exchange for mere coins.[56]

Though fair officials may have believed that the "Old Plantation" demonstrated to visitors that African Americans could be "easily controlled," the concession in fact made little pretense of instruction. "Old Plantation" promised "Young bucks and thickliped African maidens 'happy as a big sunflower' danc[ing] the old-time breakdowns, joined in by 'all de niggahs' with weird guttural sounds to the accompaniment of 'de scrapin' of 'de fiddle' and 'de old bangjo.' " Its popularity owed as much to its manager's previous career as a minstrel performer as to its re-creation of the plantations that had once dotted the middle Georgia black belt. Most importantly, Old Plantation's seductive portrayal of southern blacks as racial products denied them any subjectivity as free laborers, as the separate-but-equal southerners that Washington had envisioned but that the realities of convict labor and unequal facilities had already narrowed. Washington brilliantly understood the ultimate contradiction between the expansive marketplace and white supremacy. He knew that when black exclusion hurt whites economically, profit would sometimes triumph over white supremacy: "No race that has anything to contribute to the markets of the world is long, in any degree, ostracized." Washington, like other black leaders, felt the racist portrayals of "happy darkies" would fade in the face of economic and racial

uplift. He did not foresee that racist representations would prove as profitable as racial bondage and that the emancipation of images would be almost as difficult as the freeing of slaves. The "Negro" indeed had a "place" at the Atlanta fair, albeit a multiple and contradictory one, a geography of limited subjectivity and spectacular objectification that segregation both created and sought to contain.[57]

Segregation Signs: Racial Order in the National Market

Though she did not attend the Atlanta Exposition, "Aunt Jemima" was no stranger to world's fairs. At the 1893 Columbian Exposition, where Ida B. Wells protested African American exclusion, a women named Nancy Green, herself an ex-slave working as a domestic for a wealthy Chicago family, impersonated the then four-year-old trademark. Outside a gigantic flour barrel–shaped exhibit hall constructed by her owner, now the milling company instead of a master, Aunt Jemima served, entertained, and sold her products to the fair's overwhelmingly white visitors. Encompassing the multiplication of racial objects at the century's end within Aunt Jemima's broad and smiling embrace, this performance in Chicago was much more complicated than making pancakes from that ready-made mix. Green played an advertising image that both mimicked minstrel show performances inspired by Harriet Beecher Stowe's character Aunt Chloe and resonated with new southern constructions of the old black mammy. Aunt Jemima was at least a representation of a representation of a representation, and her connections to any slave who actually labored for antebellum whites grew dim in the multiple layers of her popular culture rather than domestic duties. Her popularity resulted not only from her pancakes but also from her wide capacity to embody the black as entertainment, labor, and product. Mammies had important cultural work to do in the nation as well as the region.[58]

Aunt Jemima demonstrated the racial foundations of an expansive consumer culture's increasingly national market. Her particular performance of the mammy, her life as a trademark, began when the pancake mix's inventor, Chris Rutt, attended an 1889 blackface minstrel show by the duo Baker

and Farrell in St. Joseph, Missouri. Rutt appropriated the title character of the pair's most popular song, "Aunt Jemima," and her lithographed image on their posters to name and symbolize his product.

Aunt Jemima, however, had lived in earlier songs, and this character's musical evolution traced the doubling and circuitous routes by which representations of southern African Americans entered an increasingly national and commercial popular culture. In her first appearance, on the cover of an 1855 minstrel song by Samuel S. Sanford entitled "Aunt Jemima's Plaster," she also sold a product, her own home concoction good for catching thieves, stopping growth, training cats, and even managing lovers. But this Aunt Jemima also profited from her invention's sales. The comedy here turned on the "unnatural" figure of this self-supporting spinster. Aunt Jemima, as depicted on the cover illustration and implied in verse, was white. By 1875, Aunt Jemima had changed color and learned to speak in dialect. With thick white lips and a grinning dark face, a bandanna-bound head, and broad, aproned hips, she graced the cover, and her song described not her livelihood but her "friends" and their drunken and superstitious adventures with talking animals. In 1899 she debuted in a ragtime march called "Aunt Jemima's Cakewalk" in which society "darkies," not "de cheap coons," came "from ebby where" to participate in a dance contest. A 1909 "Jemima: A Sneezing Coon Song," trying to capture some of her increasingly famous trademarked image's popularity, portrayed her cooking cakes and ignoring a suitor. Other songs in the first two decades of the twentieth century took Aunt Jemima on picnics, gave her bandannas for her birthday, and, of course, featured her fried chicken, biscuits, and pancakes. Though the image had changed from comic ridicule of black (or blackfaced) ignorance to nostalgia for the old southern, servant-graced home and a longing for return, the entertainment always depended upon an image of racial and gendered yet asexual subservience, the mammy.[59]

While Aunt Jemima grew directly out of a minstrel character and song, late nineteenth-century advertisers drew most of their imagery from less specific black types. Catalogs for minstrel costumes served as dictionaries of popular black representations as well as promotional vehicles. Philip Ostermeyer's turn-of-the-century collection of wigs covered all the well-known blackface figures, from "Uncle Tom" and "Mammy Negress" to "Topsey" and the "Zulu Man." The minstrelsy tradition's well-known and popular stock of blackface characters, then, provided an expansive and increasingly

visually oriented advertising industry with a readily accessible pictorial vocabulary. Minstrelsy had originated in an antebellum matrix of northern dramatists, showmen, peddlers, and patent medicine hawkers engaging in the increasingly blurred enterprises of selling and entertaining. Even before the Emancipation Proclamation had freed the bodies of African American southerners, these northern white men had begun the recommodification of African American images. While northern wage laborers found humor in blackfaced minstrels' mocking of a stereotyped slave life, sentimental antislavery advocates mourned the plight of Harriet Beecher Stowe's Uncle Tom. And northerners of both the middle and working classes bought remedies at patent medicine shows that often included "darky" acts. P. T. Barnum, that master mixer of an older carnival tradition with a new commercialization of popular entertainment, first became known as he toured the country in 1835 exhibiting the elderly black woman Joice Heth. In perhaps the first instance of the profitability of representing a figure that would become the mammy, he claimed Heth was George Washington's 161-year-old slave nurse and quickly netted earnings far above the $1,000 with which he bought her.[60]

The blackfaced minstrel performer, the figure of the "'darky' entertainer," as Ralph Ellison first argued persuasively, was not black but white. Beginning in the 1840s, the mask of burnt cork and later face paint allowed white men to cross the racial divide and play with images of blackness for the entertainment of first a northern white male working-class audience and later a broader white market of men and women, middle- and working-class people from across the nation. African Americans came to symbolize not just slavery, the opposite of white freedom, but also the more rural, premodern innocence whites had left behind. Minstrelsy entertained not just through ridicule but also through nostalgia. And the blackface actor, particularly when performing a slave character, participated in the same elaboration of white longing as the happy slave figure of the plantation romance. The popularity of minstrelsy, the scholar Eric Lott has argued, grew out of this theatrical genre's encapsulation of both white desire for and fear and loathing of African Americans. The minstrel act gave this tension a visible and bodily form as blacked-up white men strode jauntily and even erotically across the color line, playing black men and even cross-dressing as black women. As spectacle, minstrelsy separated black identities from African American bodies, making representations of blackness a commodity in the

North even as black bodies remained a commodity in the South. In this way, minstrelsy contributed to the antebellum creation of a self-consciously white working class, as the historian David Roediger has argued. Later, as both its audience and its use broadened beyond the genre of the minstrel drama, blackface became essential to the creation of a more self-consciously white American identity as well.[61]

Minstrelsy, then, mediated between slavery and late nineteenth-century mass culture. It placed stylized black racial imagery at the center of commercial popular culture. Selling stereotyped representations of blackness became crucial to the proliferation of mass entertainment forms in the late nineteenth century, from world's fairs to amusement parks to the movies. Fairs blurred scientific and educational figurations of nonwhite races with minstrel idioms as fairgoers surveyed in a day both official exhibits and midway attractions. Photography eased other boundaries, performing an early erasure of blackface minstrelsy's explicit performances of race. With a camera, white photographers hung their representations of blackness not on the white bodies of minstrel performers but upon their own black subjects. Capturing images, then, meant less any transparent relation the lens provided than the white photographer's direction of the identities nonwhite figures performed. Although never a complete welding of white-produced representation and the black object and subject of the photograph, as the scholar Alan Trachtenberg has noted in reference to an 1850s series of daguerreotypes of slaves, the attempt achieved a chilling effect absent in blackface minstrelsy's explicit and playful displacements. Stereographic views, the most widely circulated photographic images of African Americans in the late nineteenth century, excised black subjectivity altogether by depicting black characters playing blackfaced whites.[62]

Movies blended the perception of transparency generated by photography with the explicitly theatrical effects of whites playing black characters. Although D. W. Griffith's *Birth of a Nation*, released in 1915, became the most popular, earlier one- and two-reel films like *Butterflies and Orange Blossoms*, *In the Boarding House*, and *The Bridge Across* worked the same tension. These films continued the minstrelsy humor that always depended in part upon the gap between the black role and the white, blackfaced actor and at the same time began to shorten this distance, echoing photography's "transparency" in a new fusion of actor and character. These developments—the union of education and entertainment and the splitting apart of bodies and identities—made the circulation of black representations a very profitable enterprise by the early twentieth century. African American images joined the bodies of Native Americans and other people of color from around the globe as commodities. Across lines of region, ethnicity, religion, and gender, these cultural productions created a mass and increasingly national audience as white.[63]

Advertisers quickly put these increasingly commodified white images of blackness to work selling other commodities. These racial representations figured the expansive identity of the consumer, increasingly seen as a member of a mass detached from specific localities and even gender and class identities, racially as well. The consumer, like the audiences for racialized entertainments, became more self-consciously white. This process accelerated as advances in the technology for reproducing pictures made the circulation of visual imagery increasingly affordable. In the late 1870s and 1880s, lithographers, printers, and businessmen developed trade cards, a new genre of advertisement, to combine visual imagery with pitches for products. Circulated by wholesalers and manufacturers, country stores and urban merchants, trade or ad cards appropriated minstrel figurations of racial types—African Americans especially but also Native Americans and Asians—for the promotion of branded products and stores. A card for Fleischmann's Yeast used a combination of racialized representations as three white girls gather in the center to look at a kitten dressed as a baby while a black girl and an Asian girl gaze longingly from the margins holding their own inferior dolls.[64]

Many early trade cards made no pretense of connecting the product and the advertising copy to the visual imagery used to catch the potential consumer's attention. Often businesses chose stock images available from lithographers and printers to save the expense of hiring commercial artists to do custom work. Thus the same image of two black children tickling an elderly black man asleep on a cotton bale advertised Rabineau the baby photographer and Trumby and Rehn, "Manufacturers of Fine Furniture." Pluto, a young black child wearing a hood and staring out of a background of flame with whitened eyes at once cute, comic, and solemn, promoted both the Pomeroy Coal Company and McFerren, Shallcross and Company meats. Also exploiting this racialized sentimentality, a black boy in a long gown and bonnet and holding a puppy advertised both Piqua Patent pillows, bolsters, and sectional mattresses as well as Topsey Tablets. Advertisers hoped this sentimental racism would attract the attention of middle-class white women who increasingly controlled household spending. Most early

cards, then, made little or no connection between the promoted product or establishment and the eye-catching images.[65]

Other images of African American children on trade cards were more comically ridiculing than sentimental. Advertisements for Union Pacific Tea used a distorted image of a black child's face, large-eared, thick-lipped, and white-eyed, in four different emotional expressions. I. M. Demming promoted its Alden Fruit Vinegar with a picture of a young African American boy, the whites of his eyes glaring, his exaggerated white teeth sunk into a huge ear of corn as his dog stands guard. The implication, of course, was that the boy must have stolen the enticing, golden ears from a white man's crop. African American children, however, often appeared in association with animals. In a bizarre image used by Walker, Stratman, and Company to advertise its "Pure Bone Fertilizers," an ear of corn sprouts black arms and legs and a black child's head. Sitting in a tree, this corn boy blows a horn draped with a flag while bears dance before the ripened cornfield, his own implied place of birth. He heralds the wonderful crop that the fertilizer will bring, his unity with nature conveyed by his command of the bears and his grotesque hybridity. An ad for Elson, Salisbury, and Company also featured a black boy cavorting with animals. Dressed in an outlandish parody of gentlemen's attire, he rides a bucking pig while chased by a yelping dog to sell the company's rubber goods.[66]

Perhaps the most popular commercial black imagery used in trade card advertising, however, depicted African American adults absurdly trying to mimic their white "superiors." In black and white pictures, mismatched patterns and awkward pairings signaled blacks' inability to achieve that increasingly crucial marker of middle-class status, respectable and proper attire. Color lithographs went further, painting African American clothing in boldly bright and clashing color. To heighten the comedy, these outrageously dressed figures participate in activities seen as the province of leisured, elite whites. In an ad for Sunny South cigarettes, a young black woman, her exaggerated mouth gaping in surprise and pain, pulls up her clashingly striped skirt to hold her hurt foot. She has hit herself, breaking the mallet, instead of striking the ball, while playing croquet in a scene labeled "Cape May." Playing upon conceptions of place, the ad invited viewers to laugh at an ignorant black woman attempting to enjoy the pastimes of a fashionable Victorian seaside resort. A trade card for George W. Boos coffee depicts a black man, his striped top hat and chained pocket watch flying, his polka-dotted pants flailing, as he absurdly tries to ice skate. In checkerboard-patterned pants, another grinning and wall-eyed black man awkwardly rides an English-saddled, grinning, and equally wall-eyed horse in a card for Vacuum harness oil and J. G. Crippen, a New York hardware dealer. "People," Vacuum claims, "cannot exist without It," excluding from humanity this figure who is too ignorant to understand the necessity of well-oiled tack.

Intended to be humorously entertaining, these advertisements addressed white fears of upwardly mobile blacks by insisting that African Americans could never integrate into middle-class society. The New Negro's unhinging of race and class identities, then, demanded a comic containment in the North as well as on southern trains. Even if respectability was increasingly a matter of appearances, of money, passing could never occur. Race would reveal itself in mismatched clothes and ineptness at croquet. Which blood would tell of those "almost white" blacks, advertisements did not say. But light-skinned, racially mixed people of ambiguous identity did not appear on trade cards. Even color advertisements figured racial identities in black and white.[67]

In a more explicit play upon white fears of the confusion of appearances, a trade card for Tansill's Punch, "America's Finest Five Cent Cigar," pictures a rear view of "Beauty on the Street." Attired in respectable clothing, well corseted, and topped with a tasteful hat, the woman lifts her skirt and holds her parasol in one hand and a purse and her dog's leash in the other. Flipping the card over, however, viewers learned their mistake. "Beauty's" "Front View" reveals the woman's coarse, even masculine, black face. On closer examination perhaps the woman has lifted her skirt too high to be a proper lady. "Beauty" soothed fears that in an increasingly anonymous world people were not what they seemed, assuring white readers that in the face, transparency still reigned. But the card also exudes a veiled eroticism, a masculine attraction to a well-turned ankle, the seductiveness of the racialized, feminine other. And the coarseness of "Beauty's" face suggests too the homoerotic performances of minstrelsy, in which white men played not just black men but black women as well. "Beauty's" insistence upon the certainty of racial knowing only reveals other late nineteenth-century anxieties and minstrel borrowings, white men's cross-race sexual attractions. The attempt to figure absolute racial difference often exposed other boundaries.[68]

Other trade cards played upon African Americans' awkward misuse of

modern technology. Despite the abolition of slavery, blacks, trade cards insisted, would never really be a part of the modern world in which white consumers bought the advertised products. A trade card for Glenwood Ranges and Parlor Stoves of Massachusetts depicts an elderly black man in striped attire jumping back from a ringing telephone with the dialect caption, "Sartin shoo Dis Chile Dun Gone Rung Up De Debble." An ad for Mitchell's Kidney Plasters also finds humor in another outlandishly dressed, bald black man's attempt to use the telephone. A mule stands at the end of a second phone as the man, looking perplexed, shouts, "Bless my stars! He must be a foreigner and can't understand." White consumers, of course, saw which figure was the real ass.

A trade card for Harrington and Company Merchant Tailors again shows a group of garishly dressed blacks, their checkered and striped pants above their ankles, having their picture taken in a lush tropical setting somewhere between Dixie and Africa, graced with a sharecropperlike cabin, its chimney smoking. Someone, a head hidden under the camera's drape and the ambiguity multiplying the meanings, is photographing them. Is the pants-clad mystery man an imperialist adventurer capturing the "natives," another ignorant black man trying to succeed at a career beyond his racial place, or a white man making a buck off more humorously aspiring blacks seeking that late nineteenth-century middle-class marker of respectability, the family portrait? No matter, the advertisement conveyed. All possibilities figured blacks as locked in a timeless past, crosswise with modern things. Despite the comedy implied, however, trade cards like the minstrel show images from which they borrowed, conveyed longing as well as ridicule. Whites laughed, but in their transference of an imagined past simplicity to blacks, they revealed a nagging nostalgic sense that something had been lost.[69]

Other trade cards too played up the theme of a blackness out of its place. A lithographer's sample of a card labeled "Comic Series H, 1000 for $0.75 postpaid" depicts a large-nosed, big-lipped black man dressed as a fireman. Another card for a Wisconsin dry goods store uses a well-known minstrel character, the ridiculous black politician. In high-waisted pants and suspenders, waving an oversized umbrella over his big-eared, large-mouthed, bug-eyed head, the "political orator" shouts a little late and in dialect, "Separate De Noaf Fom De Souf! 'Nevah!' " But an early trade card for Harry Smith Hatter took the opposite approach, crossing the caricatured

big-lipped, wide- and wall-eyed minstrel with the scantily clad figure of anti-civilization, the spear-toting native. "Strolling the Sands" suggested that Africa with its pyramids and exotic palms was exactly where African Americans belonged.[70]

As advertising became a more sophisticated and professionalized industry in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, advertisers developed trade cards in which the racial imagery related directly to the ad copy and the product. Transitional pictures simply depicted blacks holding or embodying the product. African American children dressed in contrasting patterns hold F. H. Brinkman's Four Heart Brand's box and trademark as they ride a seesaw made out of the crackers. Purina Mills of St. Louis combined the connection to product with the African scene, again signified by almost naked black men and spindly palms. In this trade card a foregrounded "African" boy wears the Purina Breakfast box like a suit and with Western spoon and dish in hand proclaims, "I Like the Best!" Purina almost makes him civilized. Arbuckle Brothers took this approach one step further, connecting its trade cards' racial imagery to a "history" lesson and the lesson to the product. Its Ariosa Coffee "set the standard," and thus its wise drinkers would always appreciate another opportunity, in these compact two-dimensional versions of a world exposition, for more information. Official display and midway combine as "American Negroes" and "Central Africa" elide work and play. In an almost mock-serious tone, one side describes while the other side illustrates the banjo playing, cakewalking, and possum hunting of America's own "Child of nature," "the most entertaining, interesting, and happy of beings." The African "child" requires only different activities—river running, elephant and hippo hunting, and dancing—and perhaps a little more bravery to face the dangers that whites were too smart to suffer and so had created civilization. More common, however, were trade cards that depict blacks holding products from Magnolia Ham to Java and Mocha Coffee.[71]

Other advertisers chose brand names that signified blackness and allowed for an easy incorporation of racial imagery within product pitches. A card for Nigger Head Tobacco uses all the common tropes as a black man with exaggerated facial features and mismatched, outrageously patterned clothes speaks in dialect and tries to shoot a target with a bow and arrow, hitting a bull and an Indian instead. "Nigger Head" and "Niggerhead" became common product names, used for canned fruits and vegetables, stove pol-

ish, teas, tobacco, oysters, and clams, from 1905 through the 1920s. "Nigger-hair Chewing Tobacco" claimed to be as thick and tightly packed as its namesake. "Korn Kinks" breakfast cereal was only slightly more subtle, promoting its "delicious malted flakes" with dialect tales of little "Kornelia Kinks" and her mop-headed adventures.[72]

As the nineteenth century closed, blacks embodied products both more subtly and more literally. Advertising pitches moved away from minstrelsy's theatrical exaggerations even as minstrel types left the stage as banks, dolls, and other toys, their flamboyance intact, for white homes. An "Automatic Window Attraction" sold by *Harman's Journal* in March 1898 blurred the boundaries between black representations as entertainment, as advertisements, and as commodities. "Topsey," the advertisement directed at merchants suggested, worked "for any line of business": "A cunning, comical little darkey girl. Quick right and left eye movement, which runs for six hours with each winding. Adjustable arms and legs. Cute little feet and toes. Sitting figure. Checked gingham sunbonnet and dress, white pantalettes, lace trimming. Nearly life size head." But Topsey did not just attract attention to herself. She also displayed "an endless variety of merchandise . . . in a catchy manner." Demonstrating what her sellers must have seen as the most irresistible use of the versatile Topsey, the advertisement pictures her holding a "chinese doll." Merchants, however, would have to construct their own doubled spectacle of white consumption and desire. The company did not furnish the Oriental baby. Only the black girl was for sale.[73]

Representations of blacks, then, did not just promote and sell other products. In the late nineteenth century black-figured items, from mammy dolls to jolly nigger banks, became profitable commodities themselves. Again, Aunt Jemima, like the black mammy to which through anti-slavery literature and minstrel show mediations she distantly referred, had multiple duties. As talented as Topsey, she worked simultaneously as a servant cooking pancakes at stores and fairs, an advertising image selling pancakes across the nation, and a rag doll serving for a few cents and a boxtop a multitude of white children. Jemima's career as a product herself began two years after Nancy Green impersonated the trademark at the 1893 Chicago fair. The pancake mammy appeared as an instantly popular paper doll that children could cut out of the mix's carton. Aunt Jemima's owners also created a promotional flour scoop with her red-turbaned head as the handle. In 1905, however, Davis Milling Company introduced what would become the most

popular Aunt Jemima–figured product, the rag doll. Anyone with one box top trademark and five cents could acquire an Aunt Jemima doll, and the company boasted that "literally every city child owned one." An Aunt Jemima pancake mix advertisement in the October 1918 *Ladies' Home Journal* offered her friends for sale as well: "Send for these jolly rag dolls . . . send four tops and only fifteen cents for Aunt Jemima and Uncle Mose, and two cunning pickaninnies. In bright colors, ready to cut out and stuff." Whether African American children ever ordered the dolls was unclear, but Aunt Jemima Mills, as the Davis Milling Company later became known, clearly envisioned its market as white. Not every child could have a servant but all but the poorest could have her very own pancake mammy.[74]

Black-figured products also allowed white children to enjoy blackface comedy, the minstrel show at home. In their 1890s catalog, Marshall Field's offered mechanical toys called "the Cake Walker" and "the Mechanical Nurse" that petted and cooked and danced and spun. Figured in blackface, a cast-iron mechanical bank from the 1880s swallowed any money inserted into its grinning, thick-red-lipped, white-toothed mouth. In the 1920s a fascinating mechanical toy named "Jazz-a-bo Jim" featured a black man "in conventionally fantastic attire stand[ing] on a miniature cabin and automatically danc[ing]." Spinning another 1920s tin toy called the "golliwog" caused a white clown to hit a black clown over the head with a huge hammer. Black-figured commodities waited silently and smiling to entertain and assure their white owners. Whether playfully socializing children or humoring adults, Aunt Jemima and her friends signified and magnified whiteness with their uncomplicated subservience. And as importantly, black-figured commodities advertised themselves.[75]

This association of black figures with white service, from minstrel characters' performances to Aunt Jemima's smiling supply of pancakes, also permeated an expanding advertising industry's increasingly sophisticated and subtle productions. Trade cards peaked in the 1880s, although more local merchants and manufacturers continued to use them through the first two decades of the twentieth century. Larger concerns shifted much of their promotion into the new mass circulation magazines. Many early advertisements in national magazines picked up a trade card theme closely related to the use of brand names like "Niggerhead" that signified blackness. In these cards for products like Bixby's Blacking, Bluing, and Ink, and Diamond Dyes' Fast Stocking Black, racial representations did not wear or hold but

transferred their most visible racial marker, their color and its steadfastness, to brand name products, which also often had racial names. A card for Coates Black Thread offered not just an image but a story, as a white woman talks with her servant: "Come in Topsey out of the rain. You'll get wet—Oh! It Won't hurt me Missy. I'm like Coates Black Thread. Da Color won't come off by wetting." An 1895 advertisement in the *Ladies' Home Journal* sounded a similar theme. Using an image of a white policeman catching a black boy, Nubian Dress Linings insist they are "Absolutely Fast Black" and that "the black is positively unchangeable." An attractive striped-shirted young black boy, his skin as shiny black as his product, promotes Black Satin Stove Polish in Cans in a 1905 *Delineator* ad. And a 1895 "Onyx" Black Hosiery ad, again in the *Ladies' Home Journal*, depicts a crowd of "pickaninnies" with the caption "Onyx Blacks—We never change color."[76]

Advertisements in mass circulation magazines built upon trade cards' movement away from black-figured spectacle toward black-figured embodiments of products. Soap advertisements in particular became early innovators in the use of whites' conceptions of blacks' racial characteristics to explain rather than attract attention to products. In the late nineteenth century Kirkman's Wonder Soap began featuring a mammy complete with head rag standing over a washtub, one hand upon a naked black boy getting in the water on the right while her other hand holds the white soap bar above a naked white boy getting out on the left. The image illustrates the story underneath about "two little nigger boys" who hated to bathe. Unlike white mothers, however, their mother scrubs not to remove dirt but to change their color. Only Kirkman soap, of course, could turn "pickaninnies" into white boys: "Sweet and clean her sons became—It's true, as I'm a workman—And both are now completely white. Washed by this soap of Kirkman." Despite the advertisement's comic intent, the implication here—that racial identity lay less than skin deep and could be washed away—was unusually subversive. More common were pitches that praised products as almost able to perform the impossible, like Henry's Carbolic Salve, which "would almost make a nigger white." A Procter and Gamble advertisement claimed that Ivory soap "came like a ray/ Of light across our darkened way./ And now we're civil, kind, and good,/ And keep the laws as people should./ We wear our linen, lawn, and lace,/ As well as folks with paler face./ And now I take, where'er we go,/ This cake of Ivory Soap to show/ What civilized my squaw and me,/ And made us clean and fair to see." Yet the illustration depicts a distinctly blackfaced Indian family. Cleanliness was as much about racial as middle-class status. Even fine soap, the image jokes, could only accomplish so much.[77]

Most companies played upon the older and much less transgressive trade card themes of colorfastness and associations of blackness and dirt, whiteness and cleanliness. N. K. Fairbank and Company began using these types of images in its early trade cards, which often featured, like Kirkman, two black boys in a washtub and promises that its White Star laundry soap would not fade "fast colors." The first cards for its Gold Dust all-purpose washing powder again featured what Fairbank called "the original twins, the universal favorites." But in other ads those black twins get up out of the tub and start working, doing dishes, scrubbing pots, cleaning floors, and washing clothes. Fairbank built here upon another crucial trade card figure, the black servant, who from Aunt Jemima to Tom, Topsey, Sambo, and Dinah as well as countless unnamed maids, butlers, and nurses performed the work that the whites, either explicitly within the image or implicitly beyond its frame, directed and observed. A typical example pictures a black domestic interacting with two white children with the caption "Dinah Keeps the children quiet with Libby, McNeill, and Libby's Cooked Corned Beef." But in their Gold Dust advertisements Fairbank moved beyond the working servant and subtly elided the service of the product with the service of the black figures promoting it. A doubling and magnification of a racially figured subservience occurred in these ads as the twins worked for the washing powder, both as trademarks and as representations of servant labor, and the washing powder then worked for the consumer. A 1902 ad captioned "the Passing of the Washboard" emphasizes these translations as cleaned white shirts dance between the black twins and the soap that has done the work. Use Gold Dust, Fairbank proclaimed, and "Let the Gold Dust twins do your work."[78]

As the Gold Dust Twins cleaned into the twentieth century, their image gradually changed from blackface-influenced caricature to a more sentimental racist cuteness to a final cartoonish simplicity of form. But unlike other advertising servants, from a Topsey pushing Coates Thread and a Dinah praising the Universal Clothes Wringer to an unnamed black male cook listing the savory qualities of Armour's Star Hams, the twins rarely spoke. Their one direct address continued the slippage between black domestic service and the service of the readily available Gold Dust Powder: "If you have not yet availed yourself of our services, lose no time, but summon us through your nearest grocer and 'let us do your work.' Your servants, The

Gold Dust Twins." Aunt Jemima's magazine advertisements, not the Gold Dust Twins, made the speaking servant the "spokesservant," a nationally known image.[79]

The "spokesservant" drew from two earlier idioms, the visual vocabulary that figured African Americans as servants and an iconography of romanticized images of African Americans at work, which drew in turn from literary depictions of the happy slave. Advertisements often featured comic or nostalgic depictions of laboring blacks. Pace, Talbot and Company Tobacco used a drawing of a relaxed and smiling, barefoot black man driving a mule. An ad for Sapolio Soap shows a strong black woman on her knees cleaning a floor while white women dust and straighten above her. Walker, Stratman and Company fertilizers used a more humorous image of a black woman dancing in a field with a sack full of cotton, grown with their fertilizer, upon her head. The spokesservant pulled together this kind of imagery, with the Gold Dust Twins' doubling of subservience in a trademarked form that spoke to white consumers. With the growth of mass circulation magazines like *Ladies' Home Journal*, "spokesservants" like Aunt Jemima, Uncle Ben, and Rastus the Cream of Wheat man became nationally known figures.[80]

But Aunt Jemima was again unique, serving to her owners, white consumers, and by implication the nation her companionable help and her specially blended self-rising cakes. In her early ads, she simply said, "I'se In Town, Honey," implying that all whites could now have a mammy or at least a mammy-cooked breakfast. Aunt Jemima's owners, like those of the Gold Dust Twins, offered a spokesservant and a branded product that promised convenience to white middle-class homes increasingly without real servants. The national rise of Aunt Jemima in particular and the spokesservant in general, then, occurred as fewer white families outside the South could find or afford domestic help and as African American women made up a sharply increasing percentage of the dwindling number of domestic servants. For those southerners and many northerners who continued to employ domestic workers, Aunt Jemima embodied everything that a servant should be. Competent and capable and yet subservient and inferior, Aunt Jemima brought the romance of the old plantation into the most modern of white American homes. Serving up a white-figured blackness on her broad, black body and a soothing nostalgia with her pancakes, Aunt Jemima mammied the nation.[81]

A 1920 advertisement called "When the *Robert E. Lee* Stopped at Aunt Jemima's Cabin" made her national service explicit. Drawing upon a biographic pamphlet published after her service in front of that giant flour barrel at the 1893 Chicago world's fair, the ad told the story of the birth of Aunt Jemima's pancake mix from the perspective of an elderly Confederate veteran. This old general had always remembered the place where he had eaten his best meal. During the war he and his orderly had become separated from the rest of the Confederate troops and were almost captured by Union forces. On their third day without food, in proper fairy-tale fashion, they stumbled across a cabin: "Ah can't express mah feelings of that mawnin when out o' that cabin came the sound of a mammy's voice and we heahd'er say sometin' about huh chilluns havin' an evahlastin' appetite fo' pancakes . . . The mammy seemed to guess ouah story." The Confederate and the mammy, of course, recognized each other immediately. "Hahrdly befoah we knew it she had us down at the table with big stacks o' pancakes in front of us. Just pancakes—that's all she had—but such pancakes they wuh! We leahrned aftwhahrds that the mammy was Aunt Jemima; befoah she was cook in the family of one Cun'l Higbee who owned a fine plantation . . ." Twenty years later, the general returned aboard the sidewheeler *Robert E. Lee* to see if Aunt Jemima, that embodiment of both the Old South and the "old-time Negro," remained in her cabin. The advertisement then staged, in the phrase of the historian Nina Silber, another "romance of reunion." The old general this time paid Aunt Jemima in gold pieces, and his generosity suggested he was paying her for not only her past and present pancakes but for the whole of her antebellum unpaid labor. Any past injustices, which Jemima of course had been too big to notice, were absolved in this exchange of coin. And the advertisement subtly linked the old southern white general and the old southern black mammy in other ways as well. Both spoke in dialect—Jemima's famous "I'se in town, honey" echoing the general's "fo' huh pancakes." Neither, however, could turn her recipe into a profitable national product.[82]

Shifting out of the dialect speech, the "legend" then insisted that a border state businessman accompanied the general on a second return visit to persuade Aunt Jemima to sell her secrets and to come to the Missouri flour mill to observe the preparation of a mix form. The pancakes had to travel north to become national products. Blacks, the ad emphasized, served southern whites, as in their varying ways New South boosters, the Atlanta fair, and Booker T. Washington had all suggested. And southern whites then in turn "served" northern whites, sharing their racial harmony and good

food with the rest of the nation in exchange for northern economic expertise. Aunt Jemima had lost her comic minstrel trappings and become a nostalgic figure instead, the archetypal southern black mammy. She had also regained a limited subjectivity, authoring her pancakes and their translation into a national commodity and finally receiving payment. Yet this move became doubly problematic. The advertisers had simply allowed their white representation of blackness, a kaleidoscope of minstrelsy's mocking impersonations and a new southern white nostalgia and desire, to speak. As in the white southern home, the black mammy promised wholeness, but the image created a paradoxical unity, a joining of a white self with a black other it had created. Past sectional animosities and present racial tensions dissolved in a steaming stack of Aunt Jemima's pancakes.[83]

The Gold Dust Twins, devoid of Aunt Jemima's deep southern resonances, could claim a more explicit national service and a global job as well. In the same pamphlet where they affectionately signed themselves "your servant," the twins' international motto appeared: "This earth will be clean from zone to zone/ when the Gold Dust Twins are better known." In a 1910 billboard the N. K. Fairbank Company made this claim with the force of foot-high letters: "Roosevelt Scoured Africa. The Gold Dust Twins Scour America." Two black children could do the work at home, then, that ex-President Theodore Roosevelt was famously performing abroad. But much like the 1920 Aunt Jemima legend, this image granted its black figures a limited subjectivity while simultaneously containing this authorship within the advertisement's frame. Following the light within the image, the white consumer's eye focused on the towering and golden figure of Roosevelt, toward which an equally gigantic, left-foregrounded image of Uncle Sam reaches out a hand in honor. The twins loom large as well, but they are of course following Roosevelt, playing the roles of both house-cleaning American pickaninnies and loyal African porters. The first twin carries Roosevelt's bags while the second twin carries a gun. The gun too is Roosevelt's, and a huge tiger carcass lies across its barrel, further subverting any chance of the twin's making use of the weapon. Roosevelt's triumphant homecoming emphasizes that his job, written in the past tense, was done, while the twins' scouring, unlike manly white adventure, can never be completed.

While white men worked for America, then, the Gold Dust Twins performed another double duty. The image depicted them serving the white man in the figure of Roosevelt while the caption proclaimed they cleaned

the nation, materially and also increasingly metaphorically in the form of temperance and other Progressive era reforms, white women's responsibility. White women could command their dark servants at home while white men commanded dark natives abroad. Hovering high in the background, the Statue of Liberty looks not at the twins but directly out of the frame at the white consumer. Americans were people who could command the service of both blacks and consumer products. Advertising, both by picturing subservient blacks with products and celebrating whites as sovereign consumers, implicitly and explicitly figured the national consumer as white.[84]

By the late nineteenth century, most American whites, across a vast continent of differences, agreed that the freed people would not be included as subjects within the nation. There were many official watersheds—the 1877 compromise that ended Reconstruction, the Supreme Court's 1883 decision that judged the Civil Rights Act unconstitutional, and the 1896 *Plessy v. Ferguson* decision that federally sanctioned the practice of "separate but equal." But what kind of objects would these "free" African Americans be?

In the South many whites continued to see blacks as laborers. But freedom brought a significant change in whites' perception of black labor, alienating it as a commodity from black bodies. The mammy figure was perhaps the most powerful example, and for southern whites this figure acquired cultural values completely removed from black women's performance of domestic labor in white homes. And segregation welded old racial hierarchies to a rapidly changing world where some African Americans would prosper enough to achieve an economic status that transcended their supposed inferiority. Though he misjudged the extent to which economically successful blacks would threaten rather than make allies of many white southerners, Booker T. Washington understood that the payoff for blacks would be a greater access to consumer products. His "emblem of civilization" at Tuskegee, he claimed, in a 1900 article in *Century* magazine, was the humble toothbrush. Cleanliness and hygiene, Washington knew, signified middle-class status. But as advertisers spelled out with reference to some brands of soap, that toothbrush also promised the potential to wash out the stain of race.[85]

In the North the circulation of representations of blacks became another peculiar but profitable institution with many varieties of form. White-figured black images were hung both on the bodies of blackfaced white entertainers and on blackfaced African American ones and sold from

minstrel stages, in stereographic views, and at fairs. It was not surprising that African Americans, long schooled at putting on masks for whites, proved adept at performing these newest white impersonations of blacks as well. But the use of black imagery in advertisements obliterated the problematic subjectivities of the white and black actors who played minstrel characters. Lithographed and printed images worked only for their white masters. "Spokesservants" served their products, their companies, and all white consumers who bought their products. Advertisers' black-figured iconography helped create an increasingly national market for branded and mass-produced consumer products by constructing the consumer as white. And this market, in turn, helped organize the one commonality that all white consumers shared regardless of their class, regional, religious, or gender positions: their racial privilege. Whiteness became the homogenizing ground of the American mass market.

An 1894–1895 calendar produced by Nestle's Baby Food summarized this new figuration of national belonging. "Coming Events Cast their Shadows Before. To Insure a Successful Future 'Give the Babies Nestle's Food' " scrolls above and below a row of babies swaddled in sacks hung on a line, their futures symbolized by the objects on the shelf above. While the white boys get to wear the hats of bankers, scholars, clergymen, soldiers, and kings, white girls can at least claim the trappings of ladies and musicians. Only over the black baby, turned away from the white consumer's gaze, does a question mark shadow the future. Not even Nestle's, which replaced the black mammy in nursing white children, could work miracles. African Americans, after all, would not grow up to be American consumers.[86]

Shopping Between Slavery and Freedom: General Stores

Despite the fact that the new mass-produced commodities and advertising campaigns were often created in the North, then, white southerners between 1890 and 1940 had little cause to complain about the figurations of blackness that appeared in pictures on labels, names of products, images on trade cards and signs, and advertisements in magazines. Instead, the problems of the southern white purveyors of the new mass culture ran almost in

the opposite direction. Creating a mass audience through racial othering, constructing the consumer as white, was much more problematic in the South where African Americans made up a large part of the possible market for any mass product from soap to sodas to movies. For commercial enterprises to be successful, outside of the largest southern cities where African Americans were able to develop their own commercial districts, these businesses often depended upon African American customers. Besides Coca-Cola, white southerners created and marketed few of the new mass products. Instead, southern whites attempted to assert control over the growing places of consumption within the region. In 1909 the white southern minister and reformer Edgar Gardner Murphy perceptively outlined the connectedness of an expansive consumption and racial ordering: "Ours is a world of inexorable divisions. Segregation has made of our eating and drinking, our buying and selling . . . a problem of race as well as maintenance." Murphy, however, got the causation backward. Racial separation followed those train tracks from the cities into the countryside, promising a new, standardized racial order even as more localized race relations and markets were transformed. The answer to the problem of consumption in the South, then, was segregation.[87]

But even before the 1890s when white racial "moderates" proposed segregation as the answer to the region's "Negro Problem," country stores were already exposing even the most rural southerners to the quick and glittery promises of the North's consumer culture. General stores, like train stations, wore disguises. Often staked by northern manufacturers and distributors who loaned money to promising young white men who had located the right railroad stop or crossroads, country stores masqueraded as indigenous southern economic development. At the center of life in the turn-of-the-century South, general stores were more than places for picking up local gossip, kerosene, and lard or for chewing tobacco and local politics around spattered stoves. With all their folksy charm, in the years immediately after the Civil War and especially by the 1890s, country stores were the entry points into the region for the new northern ways of selling, the stage upon which many southerners first encountered the new branded items with their colorful packaging, collectible trade cards, and eye-catching outdoor signs.[88]

Soap and patent medicines were the first heavily advertised products widely available across the region. The historian Susan Atherton Hanson undertook a detailed examination of store inventories in Maryland and Vir-

ginia and found branded soap available as early as 1879. Popular early brands sold at country stores included Fairy, Venus, Rosadora, Pear's, P and G Blue, and White Clover. Manufacturers and distributors hastened the conversion from homemade to store-bought soaps by offering trade cards and colorful booklets to those southerners who purchased the products from enticing countertop displays. As early as 1875, brightly hued patent medicine advertisements began to cover southern trees, barns, and the stores themselves, promising relief from every pain. Storekeepers made large profits in the late nineteenth century selling Dr. McLean's Strengthening Cordial, Lydia E. Pinkham's famous formulas, Thedford's Black Draught, McElree's Wine of Cardui, Jones' Mountain Herbs, Peruna, Electric Bitters, Carter's Little Liver Pills, King of Malaria, and Fletcher's Castoria for health complaints ranging from women's "private ailments" to fevers, constipation, and colic. Branded hair pomade also appeared on store shelves, claiming to give every African American woman long and fluffy strands in place of her string-wound rolls of hair.[89]

Although the Pure Food and Drug Act cut patent medicine sales in the twentieth century, by the 1890s many more branded products had joined the general store's ever broadening array of goods. Wholesalers and storekeepers pushed rural customers into purchasing the more profitable prepackaged products in household sizes. Laundry products especially accelerated the substitution of homemade goods with store-bought items. Another important category was tobacco, and the branding of tobacco plugs began as early as 1870. Popular early names included Johnny Reb, Rebel Girl, Rebel Boy, Confederate, Sunny Hours, Stud Horse, Blood Hound, and Good and Tough. With the rise of the Populists, Free Silver and Legal Tender appeared. As fewer manufacturers began to dominate the market, Brown Mule, RJR, and Seal of North Carolina pushed out competitors. Bull Durham became the most popular pipe tobacco, promoted with gifts to storekeepers and customers of razors, clocks, hammocks, striped couches, and soaps. Prepackaged foodstuffs like crackers, sardines, and oysters were commonly sold by the late nineteenth century. Flour sacks and barrels bore the images of banjos, possums, Egyptian obelisks, and smiling black men, promoting brands like Homeland, Mama's Pride, Spread Eagle, White Lily, and Sunny Side. By 1900, branded food and household convenience products including Campbell's Soup, Libby's Potted Meats, and Argo Starch dominated store inventories.[90]

General stores, of course, did not just display the clashingly colored and enticingly packaged branded items. They also sold them, often to the region's poorest consumers. But one aspect of southern life endured across the rapidly changing region between 1890 and 1940. In *Light in August*, William Faulkner stages what must have been a frequent collision between the scarcity experienced by many southerners and the abundance embodied by the general store.

For "money and excitement," Lucas Bunch has left, Lena Grove insists, not her but the place, despite the fact that she is pregnant. To stay would only be to put off the going. It is the sort of small southern sawmill town a person would leave, its rural past, modern present, and rusting and desolate future visible at a glance. Lena is the white, orphaned daughter of sharecroppers, alone except for the coming child, and when her lover does not send for her she sets out to walk from Alabama to Mississippi after him. But along the way she finds money herself when a middle-aged farm woman taking pity gives Lena the egg money earned by long trading of the fragile commodities for tiny hard coins. When the farm woman's husband carries the then heavy Lena in his wagon to the country store to catch a ride into the town proper, she finds excitement too. Lena has taken little of the woman's food, though she did take her handkerchief-knotted wealth: " 'I et polite,' she thinks, her hands lying upon the bundle, knowing the hidden coins, remembering the single cup of coffee, the decorous morsel of strange bread; thinking with a sort of serene pride: 'Like a lady I et. Like a lady traveling. But now I can buy sardines too if I should so wish.' " "Travers[ing] the ranked battery of maneyes," she enters the store: " 'I'm a-going to do it,' she thinks, even while ordering the cheese and crackers; 'I'm a-going to do it,' saying aloud: 'And a box of sardines.' " And she eats her extravagant purchases "slowly, steadily, sucking the rich sardine oil from her fingers with slow and complete relish." Lena with her sardines embodies both the sensuality and pleasure of consumption and the strictures against a decadent and wasteful indulgence. This juxtaposition permeated experiences of shopping across both time and space in the region between 1890 and 1940.[91]

For many, the sights, smells, and imagined tastes of the shelves piled high and the floor overrun with the multihued and shiny goods and the pungently enticing foods presented a temptation difficult to bear. But most southerners did not find themselves the recipients of a stranger's hoarded coin. From the Reconstruction era through the Great Depression, money

was scarce. The country store became the central economic institution across the region at the turn of the century and in the most rural areas through 1940 by inventing a way for people to shop locally without money. Country merchants were able to sell the new branded products because they supplied credit along with sardines, soap, and tobacco. Southern storekeepers, then, sat at the juncture of the urban North and the rural South, occupying the dual roles of banker and merchant as well.

As banker, the storekeeper ended most consuming fantasies like Lena's by saying no to the extension of credit for the purchase of items deemed beyond the customer's means. Despite the northern manufacturers' and distributors' motto of "a store within reach of every cabin in the South," there was little chance of burying the region in a hedonistic wash of buying run amuck. Both white and black southerners could only purchase on their general store accounts what the storekeeper approved. And for many African American and white tenants and sharecroppers, consumption was doubly mediated. Not only the storekeepers but the owners of the farms they worked controlled their buying, although in many localities the same white man often served as storekeeper, creditor, and landowner. Tenants and croppers always needed the boss's approval and often his literary abilities to write up store orders the merchants would accept. Successful storekeepers, depending not just on current sales but also on future payment, managed the encounter between scarcity and abundance, need and desire, with a delicate and practiced hand. Though many storekeepers had not been planters, through the general store a new way of business reinforced an older localized white male authority. At least through the early twentieth century, trains broke down some local southern social relations even as they supplied the goods that helped merchants reconstitute others.[92]

General stores also solved the problem of inscribing racial difference within consumption by combining the old racial inferiority of plantations and paternalism within the new consuming world. Storekeepers to a large degree controlled what African American southerners bought with their limited credit and rarer cash. African American storekeepers were rare, and even in predominantly black areas white men often tended the stores. These white merchants in conjunction with the white landholders who wrote up store orders for their tenants marked the color line in poor-quality goods. A black man who needed clothing received a shirt "good enough for a darky to wear" while a black family low on provisions could have only the

lowest grade of flour. Storekeepers also controlled the rituals of deference through which blacks were forced to make their purchases. African Americans often had to wait until all whites were served to take whatever grade of cornmeal, molasses, or sidemeat clerks would give them. The pioneering African American economist Paul K. Edwards reported in 1932 that African Americans often demanded brand-name products in order to acquire quality goods.

Even so, country stores were places of racial mixing, and southern African Americans faced less discrimination there than at the courthouse or polling place. In many parts of the rural South, the fact that whites and blacks purchased many of the same items in the same stores subverted an ideology of absolute white supremacy. The personal authority of the storekeeper, then, eased the contradictions through his control over both his white and black customers' buying.[93]

General stores became the central institution in the economic and cultural transformations of the late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century South. They inserted the new branded consumer products and their associated advertising directly into the old white ways of local communities. Stores competed with churches as places of socializing and often won. Both white and black women and men shopped frequently in country stores, and children marked their coming of age by being allowed to go on an errand to the store alone. The seats around the stove, however—though not usually the benches on the porch—seemed at certain times reserved for white men. Though never tolerated as equals, black men could sometimes listen while sitting on a barrel or crate apart from the central group.

The cyclical visits of the various drummers were often such times of male communion. Salesmen for the wholesale houses who traveled from the large border cities throughout the rural South, the drummers told bawdy stories of their alleged frolics with farmers' daughters in other towns as well as their exploits with more experienced city women. These salesmen turned stove-side storytelling into a subtle form of information gathering and product advertising. Many used their real or imagined pasts as Confederate soldiers to persuade both the merchant and his customers, often veterans or the sons of veterans themselves, to purchase products. According to the historian Thomas D. Clark, "[i]f a drummer lacked the technique of maneuvering the Confederate army and his line of goods into a strategic position to mow down a cornfield full of Yankees and stubborn sales resis-

tance," then he had to rely on vigorous political and religious discussions. Another popular technique, the telling of "Negro" and "Irish" dialect stories picked up by the drummer in the border state cities where the wholesale houses had their headquarters, welded local southern storytelling traditions to the particular racialized images of the newly expansive advertising. General stores housed not only a complicated inventory of goods but a complex geography of human relations as well, providing an embodiment of consumer abundance, integrated shopping, and segregated socializing all under the same small roof.[94]

Yet African American consumers coexisted uneasily with representations of blacks within advertising and their echoes in white drummers' stories. Both idioms figured southern African Americans as objects and not subjects of consuming desires. And drummers did not just promote sales by word of mouth. They also blanketed store walls with their signs, gave storekeepers trade cards to hand out with purchases, and shipped goods in eye-catching and message-laden displays. Southern country stores served as the most important places for advertising in the rural South. In late-1930s photographs taken for the Farm Security Administration, they sit covered with advertisements, both inside and out. In a 1938 Russell Lee photo, the white owner of a general store stands slicing bologna in front of a shelf displaying, among other products, boxes of Aunt Jemima cornmeal. But racist advertisements and stereotypical black "spokesservants" crafted in the Northeast often competed in general stores with more homegrown racist horrors. Displays of souvenir body parts and picture postcards from lynchings were especially popular. A store in Center, Texas, even printed a trade card in 1908 with a lynching poem and photograph. Thus storekeepers created their own black-figured displays as well, and some stores took on the character of informal museums, displaying blackness and other local oddities along with their goods.[95]

Thus even as they sold goods to African American customers, storekeepers participated in the sale and display of racial otherness that was so central to the creation of mass products at the national level. In the country store, however, the storekeeper's doubled role as merchant and banker mediated these contradictions. For the competition in the country store trade was not so much between stores as between the wholesale houses fighting over shelf space on the one hand and the customers struggling to gain credit at the counter on the other. Customers, for the most part, had few convenient shopping options. African American tenants and croppers

usually had to make their purchases where their landlord dictated at whatever terms offered. Especially in the twentieth century, better-off southern whites could shop with cash in the larger villages and towns while better-off blacks by definition lived in more urban areas. But in rural regions general stores with their often integrated clienteles flourished through the late 1930s, despite such countermoves as a call for racial separation in stores that formed a part of a campaign for total rural segregation waged between 1913 and 1915 by editor Clarence Poe and his popular *Progressive Farmer* magazine. In FSA photographs from the late 1930s, country or general stores remain sites of integrated shopping and overlapping if segregated socializing. A Jack Delano shot of a store in Fort Bragg, North Carolina, suggests that the only things that had changed in southern stores were a larger inventory of prepackaged foodstuffs and the rules of personal hygiene. A sign over the black and white shoppers commands, "if you have to spit on the floor, go home to do it." The country storekeepers had the power and incentive to mediate as well as promote consumption, and thus their stores remained racially mixed sites of advertising, socializing, and wonder.[96]

Carson McCullers's *Ballad of the Sad Cafe*, originally published in *Harper's Bazaar* in 1936, portrays just what a store could bring to the rural South beyond branded soap, flour, and tobacco. "Miss Amelia," a rare white woman storekeeper who in typical fashion has inherited the trade from a relative, her father, dabbles in commercial ventures from landholding to moonshining and by the village's account is wealthy. Originally her store "carried mostly feed, guano, and staples such as meal and snuff" and catered to an all-white mill village and the African Americans who lived on its fringes. But as its function as a place of socializing began to eclipse its function as a purveyor of general merchandise, Miss Amelia's place became more of a cafe instead. White men drink her bootleg whiskey, women a Nehi and even a swallow of the harder stuff, and children a penny-a-glass drink called Cherry Juice that Miss Amelia also mixes up herself. Besides the dinners cheaper crackers and candy are also available.[97]

Miss Amelia's place soon becomes "the warm center of the town," and its attraction goes beyond its "decorations," "brightness," and "warmth." "This deeper reason," "a certain pride that had not hitherto been known in these parts," has to do with the "cheapness of human life" in that isolated village: "There were always plenty of people clustered around a mill—but it was seldom that every family had enough meal, garments, and fatback to go the rounds. Life could become one long dim scramble just to get the things

needed to keep alive . . . often after you have sweated and tried and things are not better for you, there comes a feeling deep down in the soul that you are not worth much." But the cafe brings "a new pride" to the town for the cost of the spare pennies that all the villagers can lay aside from time to time: "There, for a few hours at least, the deep and bitter knowing that you are not worth much in this world could be laid low." Of course, this pride is not readily available to the blacks who, denied mill employment, live in an even deeper poverty than the whites. Forced to take their purchases outside the cafe for enjoyment, they are also denied belonging to the community that grows up around its commerce. But for the mill families what the store brings to town becomes more than Lena Grove's "excitement and money." Before, white people have met at the church or the mill, but they "were then unused to gathering together for the sake of pleasure." When the cafe closes, there is "absolutely nothing to do in the town . . . the soul rots with boredom." McCullers illuminates how stores founded identities and communities even as they supplied goods.[98]

The country store welded the colorful carnivalesque messages of early advertising with the close-knit communities of the rural South and brought a sensuous and pleasurable abundance, visible and at least partially acquirable, to most rural southerners. Unlike the national advertisers, white storekeepers considered blacks profitable customers. But African Americans held a marginal place at best in the new consuming communities that lit up white rural life around the country stores where both races shopped. In the general store, the local racial and class authority of the storekeeper largely maintained the racial order. Storekeepers had everything to gain and nothing to lose in asserting a flexible, nonexclusionary, and yet white-commanded shopping community. Black-figured advertising was not irrelevant in promoting white desire for consumer goods but in the often poor rural South, desire for more needed little stimulation. General stores mediated the effects of the new northern consumer culture upon the region by associating its embodiment of the new abundance of both goods and entertainment with local white community life.

But by the late nineteenth century both white and black rural southerners had access to another shopping alternative, one that paradoxically both brought that abundance home and also disembodied it, the mail-order catalog. Called the "Farmer's Friend," "the Nation's largest supply house," "a Consumer Guide," "a city shopping district at your fingertips," and the

"world's largest country store," by the late nineteenth century the catalogs of the Chicago-based Montgomery Ward and Sears and Roebuck made their way into many southern homes. A white Georgia farm woman mentioned its presence in her 1906 rural home with little fanfare, noting in her diary that she had used her telephone to place an order for her white neighbor. The thick books' beguiling pictures and enticing descriptions of goods made images of one thousand general store inventories readily available, no doubt stretching many southerners' consuming imaginations and desires. Customers could thumb through and gawk at the offerings at will, unconstrained by the country store's complicated social geographies and crowded interior and by the eyes of merchants, clerks, and friends. Mail-order catalogs multiplied consuming possibilities for southerners and, along with the U.S. Post Office's 1898 institution of rural free delivery (RFD), made shopping a more private affair.[99]

In the South mail order both erased the problem of integrated shopping and created racial contradictions. Sears's and Montgomery Ward's catalogs forced consumption back into what whites conceived as the already racially ordered spaces of the home where an even more local white male power, the rule of the father, could mediate other family members' consuming desires. In practice, however, purchases were as often made under the direction of white women as men, and the desire to own the pictured goods was held in check as much by the lack of cash as by any gendered exercise of control. Though catalog customers did not reveal their racial identities, African Americans with any access to cash must have enjoyed the opportunity to purchase needed goods without enduring local store rituals of racial deference and white storekeepers' belief that the poorest-quality products were all they deserved. And mail order enabled white and black southerners with money to choose from an exponentially greater array of products, beyond the bounds of the storekeeper and his family's particular tastes and the weight of other community members' most frequent choices. Catalogs brought an individuality to consumption, lifting some southerners above the local geographies of power and identity that positioned shopping at the general store where almost everyone was known. The disembodiment of the products—the goods now flattened, their smells erased, their glitter muted by the two-dimensional pages—mirrored the detachment of shopping from the country store's localized community of consumption. Catalog shoppers had entered a much more national if much less tangible market indeed.[100]

The new mail-order firms understood that potential customers might experience anxiety conducting what had been very personal relations of exchange with faraway and faceless companies. Addressing his customers as "personal friends," Montgomery Ward wrote his catalog's copy himself in an "amateur, folksy vernacular" designed to arrest the fears and stimulate the purchases of mail-order shoppers. Pioneering the promise of "satisfaction guaranteed or your money back," he offered a display of trust in his customers that he hoped they would reciprocate. Richard Sears began his early catalogs with a personal letter designed to set would-be consumers at ease: "Don't be afraid that you will make a mistake. We receive hundred of orders every day from young and old who never sent away for goods . . . Tell us what you want, in your own way, written in any language, no matter whether good or poor writing, and your goods will be promptly sent to you." Sears also mimicked the general stores' groundedness into local communities with the national expansion of its 1905 "Iowaization" scheme. Under this plan, pioneered in the Midwest, current customers were urged to send Sears the names of family and friends who had not yet received the Sears catalog. The company then paid each customer who sent in a name a premium if the new catalog recipient ordered any goods. In return, Sears received both new customers and local endorsers. Sears and Montgomery Ward attempted to counter consumers' fears of the unknown, even as they conjured new wants.[101]

Yet by disembodying consumer desire, mail order created new possibilities for consuming transgressions. Country storekeepers fought back by asserting their local power and attempting to heighten fears of outsiders. Before the initiation of RFD in 1898, storekeepers who were also postmasters refused to sell money orders, write up purchase requests, or sell stamps to customers who still owed on store accounts. After 1898 Sears countered by advising catalog shoppers who lived on rural routes to "just give the letter and the money to the mail carrier and he will get the money order at the post office and mail it in the letter for you." After the passage of the new parcel post laws in 1913 and 1920, catalog customers did not even have to go to the post office, often inside country stores, to pick up medium-sized packages.[102]

Some storekeepers gave in and contented themselves with the profit made by lending customers money at interest to make mail-order purchases. Other southern merchants, along with their midwestern colleagues, resorted to more desperate measures like sponsoring bonfires and handing

out prizes to those who turned in the catalogs for burning. Exploiting the very disembodiment that enabled catalogs to be the personal friends of very different customers across the nation, local storekeepers circulated rumors that Sears and Ward were blacks and that they sold by mail because "these fellows could not afford to show their faces as retailers." Sears published photographs to prove the whiteness of its founders while Ward countered with reward offers for the name of the person who had started the rumor that he was a mulatto. Although local southern merchants' actions had little effect on catalog sales, they did reveal the racial anxieties that permeated the continuing expansion of consumption. Catalogs placed the consuming practices of blacks beyond local white knowledge and control. Few southern African Americans had the means to buy much from catalogs. But the possibility that some distant merchant might make money off local blacks or that an African American might try to be uppity by purchasing products similar to or better than the things owned by his white neighbors excited white fears and sometimes white violence. Money and white supremacy were both at stake. Outside of the localized geography of shopping at the general store, southern whites found the potential racial contradictions of consumption much more difficult to control. Markets, mail-order catalogs proved, could, like trains, cross the boundaries of the local racial settlements, but securing white identity in these expanding sites of consumption would prove much more difficult than labeling the spaces of transportation "for colored" and "for white."[103]

Segregation Signs: Racial Disorder in the Southern Market

On a cool afternoon in 1935 in the small town of Huntingdon, Tennessee, a not yet unusual public spectacle took place. A pitchman for an unnamed but no doubt magically healing elixir set up his medicine show off the town's Main Street in an alleyway by a warehouse. Besides his bottles and vials he had the usual accompaniments, three worn assistants arrayed in once crowd-catching but now frayed attire. Medicine shows, much like the pitchman himself, had seen better days. Modern versions of the peddlers, those nineteenth-century icons of salesmanship, the pitchmen then plied

their trade only in marginal towns, beyond the reach of the Federal Pure Food and Drug Act and the New Deal reformers pushing for its strengthening. "The thing about pitching medicine is to make a fuss, and in any bunch of men you draw, half are going to have aches and pains," claimed a patent medicine salesman in a Federal Writers Project (FWP) interview. And in the photographs of Farm Security Administration photographer Ben Shahn, this pitchman in Huntingdon is certainly making a fuss.[104]

In these images Shahn conveys a stark vision of the overlapping interdependence of market and racial identities in such selling, and the ambiguity of peddling blackness to an integrated mass of potential customers. For the pitchman's assistants, in the well-grooved minstrel borrowings of the medicine show tradition, are an Indian-faced white man, a blackfaced black man, and a display dummy much like the advertised "Topsey" in everything except his striped and shabby dress. The blackfaced black man's facial expressions seem to project his lack of enthusiasm for the performance, his sense that the dummy would do just as well in wearing the white-created blackness the pitchman required. The photographs do not show either the Indian or black versions of white racial fantasies speaking, and the men's stiff postures and stillness within the busy photographs' frames heighten an elision between the real men and the dummy's masquerades. An exotic Indian wisdom and the boundary-crossing appeal of a black man portraying a white man performing a black, himself replaced at times by a dummy double, are offered to stimulate consumption of the unnamed elixir. In one frame, a sort of live and bedraggled trade card, the pitchman explicitly links the transformative fantasies associated with both racial masquerade and patent medicines by holding the product in one hand and the dummy in the other. In a border state in the twilight of the peddling era, a pitchman sells a potion on the edge of legality by attempting to orchestrate yet another white staging of racial desire.[105]

In his FWP interview, a patent medicine salesman had emphasized his lack of responsibility, that "people believe what they want to believe." Despite the tired tawdriness of the Tennessee show, the pitchman there too, like the national advertisers, must have at some point thought that this display was what the people, understood as white, wanted. The most interesting aspect of the Shahn photographs, however, is that they depict an integrated audience, despite the edgy spaces and body language that slightly divided some men from others. How African Americans in such situations

responded to the manipulations of racial representations is difficult to determine. Did they just come for the medicine show entertainment, described by the pitchman Nevada Ned in a 1929 *Saturday Evening Post* interview as including anything from "full evenings of drama, vaudeville, musical comedy, Wild West shows, minstrels, magic, burlesque, dog and pony circuses" to "Punch and Judy, pantomime, movies, menagerie, bands, parades, and pie-eating contests"? Certainly African Americans, like white southerners, purchased patent medicines. One of Nevada Ned's more profitable ventures, he claimed, was selling liver pads to blacks in Wilmington, North Carolina.[106]

But how did African Americans respond to the use of black-figured imagery in the advertising used to sell less exotic products? Paul K. Edwards's 1932 study insisted that most African Americans in southern cities rarely saw advertisements other than the ones for patent medicines, race records, and toiletries specifically designed for black use. In a detailed examination of a small sample of African Americans in Richmond and Nashville divided evenly by gender and class, Edwards found that about half would not purchase Aunt Jemima pancake flour after viewing an advertisement featuring the bandanna-clad pancake mammy and her cabin. Black consumers also disliked the black-figured advertising used by Cream of Wheat and Fairbank's Gold Dust Powder. In particular, informants did not like "those original twins," calling them "disgusting," "a caricature," and "ridiculous," "not a true picture of Negroes and used to get attention of whites." Middle-class African Americans in particular were outraged at the presentation of African Americans in national advertisements.

In 1930 Nannie Burroughs, a black leader from Washington, D.C., put her opinion more emphatically in the *Philadelphia Tribune:* "The Gold Dust Twins, Aunt Jemima, and Amos and Andy have piled up millions for two business concerns and two white men. Aunt Jemima and the Gold Dust Twins cook and wash dishes while Amos and Andy broadcast subtle and mischievous propaganda against Negro business. They tell the world that when it comes to business the Negro is a huge joke and a successful failure." By then most whites had already seen countless black-figured advertisements on trade cards handed out at general stores, on labels and packaging, on store displays, and in newspapers and magazines for over four decades. And despite Edwards's findings, African Americans must have seen them at general stores too, in the white homes where many African American

women worked as domestics, and in the national magazines. Yet for blacks facing a rising tide of discriminatory laws and lingering racial violence, the racist caricatures in advertising must have seemed relatively tame. Created by and for whites, the racial messages of advertising contradicted many white southerners' experience of consumption, a tension that only increased as the center of the geography of southern consumption shifted toward town.[107]

As the twentieth century progressed, southern towns and cities grew, and many white and black southerners no longer lived in a locally inscribed world centered on a general store where everyone was known. Commerce increasingly depended more on cash than on white storekeepers' extensions of credit. Face-to-face selling in a more competitive cash market could be as anonymous and difficult to contain as catalog buying. And the contradictions between using a white-produced blackness to sell products and the need for black customers became both more acute and more visible. The small-town, small-city South, then, sat on a continuum between general stores where all parties were known and the very different anonymities of the old peddlers and the new mail-order houses. And white southerners continued to pass segregation laws and paint signs. The market's disruptions, it seemed, took racial as well as economic form.[108]

Though the day of the week was not recorded, the Tennessee medicine show probably happened on a Saturday afternoon, when the pitchman would be sure to catch the most folks in town. No women appear in the crowds Shahn photographed, perhaps because this method of selling retained something of minstrelsy's bawdy origins. But the ritual of Saturday afternoon shopping belonged to all southerners as black and white, middle-class and poor, men and women crowded into towns. Described both critically and fondly, by reporters, writers of memoirs, and scholars, Saturday afternoons in commercial districts were the most integrated times and spaces in southern life.[109]

The white journalist Rebecca Latimer Felton ranted about just this mixing in her *Atlanta Journal* column in 1901: "Between politics and the Bible there is no lack of discussion in the Saturday gatherings . . . The towns fairly swarm with idle men and boys [of both races] on Saturday afternoons, and the 'colored ladies' are not far off, if there is any money in the pockets of these idlers, or if their credit is good enough to obtain an 'order' on a store for dry goods and sundries." Perhaps not wanting to criticize the white farm women who were her column's most loyal readers, she did not mention the white women who no doubt were also there enjoying Saturday afternoons in town. Revealing her sense of the racial threat represented, Felton continued, "Last Saturday night a disorderly gang [of black men] passed along our road firing pistol and making outcries . . . rousing us from sound sleep to ask what good these Saturday gatherings are doing for the country?" A reader of Felton's column, a white farm woman named Magnolia LeGuin, voiced a similar anxiety about the racial mixing that occurred in towns. In 1908, on her twelve-year-old son Askew's first visit to the town of Barnesville, Georgia, she recorded in her diary that he had fought a young black boy: "The little negro asked him [Askew] if he was a *white* boy." She and her husband had laughed at a postcard Askew wrote about the incident. But her comments also revealed a guilty unease behind the joke: "I guess the negro said it with impudence, or at least Askew thought so, 'tho Askew is tolerably dark and there are *white* negroes in cities." In the early twentieth century for many whites, the town, even more than the localized world anchored in the general store, seemed a place of racial and consuming seductions.[110]

By the 1930s, however, going to town had become routinized for most southerners of both races, and the new racial order of segregation had expanded to order systematically the spaces of consumption that in many places had outgrown the limits of personal authority and local customs. The white sociologist John Dollard, investigating a black belt Mississippi town in 1935 and 1936, described this shopping and socializing in a more even tone: "Saturday is by all odds the big day of the week. In the summer the stores are open all afternoon and evening . . . The country Negroes mill through the streets and talk excitedly, buying and enjoying the stimulation of the town crowds. The country whites are paler and less vivacious [than the town whites]; there are not so many of them, but still a considerable number." The African American sociologist Charles S. Johnson discovered in the late 1930s a similar mixing of blacks and whites in southern cities and towns. In his 1931 novel *Sanctuary*, William Faulkner adds rich detail to the sociologists' accounts in his fictional description of racial mixing and small-town shopping:

> [I]t was Saturday . . . To the left [the street] went on into the square, the opening between two buildings black with a slow, continuous throng, like two streams of ants, above which the cupola of the courthouse rose from a clump of locusts and oaks . . . Empty wagons still passed him and he passed still more women on foot, black and white, unmistakable by the

> unease of their garments as well as by their method of walking, believing town dwellers would take them for town dwellers too, not even fooling one another . . . The adjacent alleys were choked with tethered wagons . . . The square was lined two-deep with ranked cars, while the owners of them and of the wagons thronged in slow overalls and khaki, in mail-order scarves and parasols, in and out of stores . . .

As Faulkner's account reveals, automobiles had joined the wagons, becoming the last eraser of local boundaries and accelerating the magical process by which on Saturdays the countryside seemed to empty out into the towns.[111]

The commercial geography of 1930s southern towns, the business districts that served many white and black southerners, closely matched in content if not exact layout the "Southerntown" Dollard had described: "A square block of buildings and the four streets around it make up the business district." Businesses there included department stores and drugstores where white customers could "receive courteous curb service . . . and the cold shock of a 'coke' in the throat" without leaving the car. Other enterprises included white law offices serving both white and black patrons and a small hotel and restaurant. Stores serving only African Americans but rarely owned by them lined another street. Somewhat isolated from the other commerce, "a small industrial section devoted to ginning cotton and pressing cotton seed" sat at the edge of the commercial district. A movie theater, "white downstairs and colored in the gallery, with separate entrances" completed the town.[112]

But while the white northerner Dollard stressed the separations, the African American Johnson emphasized the racial mixing. "Negroes," he claimed, were "served in all the business establishments of the towns visited for this study, except in cafés, barbershops, beauty parlors, and some amusement places. Grocery and dry-goods stores depend as much on the Negro buying public as on the white . . ." Despite northern manufacturers' and advertisers' conception of the abstract consumer as white, then, southern consumers came in a multitude of hues. The elaboration of state laws and codes that began with the late nineteenth-century battles over railroads, Johnson found, had created "no uniform pattern of segregation and discrimination" in "private commercial establishments": "Legal codes do not deny Negroes access to such establishments except where eating is involved, nor guarantee him the privileges usually accorded the white public . . . The policies of stores vary widely, as do the relations between [white] clerks and Negro patrons. One generalization can be made: In the interracial situation in trade relations there is constant uncertainty." Commerce depended, then, upon a great deal of white denial over the contradictions between market incentives and segregation's linkage of white supremacy to superior white spaces.[113]

Farm Security Administration photographs captured this tension between segregation's claims of absolute racial ordering and the racial messiness of consumer culture in places that depended upon both white and black customers. In the late 1930s, after the director Roy Stryker shifted the project's focus to southern town life, photographers took hundreds of pictures of the shopping districts of small towns and small cities across the region. Marion Post Wolcott's 1939 photographs of Saturday afternoons in Clarkesdale and Belzoni, Mississippi, and Greensboro, Georgia, depict integrated crowds. In Clarkesdale a heterogeneous group of black and white men, women, and children mix under store awnings and seep out onto the sidewalk at a downtown street corner. In Belzoni, across from the A & P and in front of Turner's Rexall Drugs, a crowd of blacks sit, stand, and visit, backed by a small knot of young white men, while three white women lean on the window front to the right. In Lexington, Mississippi, whites sell apples from the edge of the courthouse lawn across from a street of stores as whites and blacks walk by on the sidewalk. In Yanceyville, North Carolina, on a 1939 Saturday afternoon, white and black men lounge outside W. H. Hooper and Son Groceries, Feed Stuff, Meat, and Country Produce, while a white woman and child look on from inside a parked car. Racial separation was difficult to maintain on the crowded sidewalks and squares and under store porches during these ritualistic Saturday afternoon trips to town.[114]

Wolcott's set of Greensboro images provide even more detail. A closeup frames two small groups of black women, men, and children socializing on benches under the authoritative glare of a policeman painted onto the bricks of the Hunter's drugstore building and commanding "Drink Coca-Cola, Pure as Sunlight—Go Refreshed." A second shot opens up to set the benches on an alley off a busy commercial street filled with white and black shoppers. In another of Wolcott's images of Saturday afternoon in Greensboro, a white woman with her child encounters two young black women as

all three shop at a grocery store for their weekly provisions. And white men, women, and children mix with African American men, women, and children under the awning of the "Home-Owned" "Western Auto Associate Store" in Starke, Florida, in a December 1940 Wolcott photograph. When Jack Delano visited Greensboro, Georgia, over two years after Wolcott, he repeated Wolcott's closeup and wider view approach and photographed different corners with similarly integrated crowds. Delano also shot white and black shoppers outside J. H. Dolven Company's store in Siloam, Georgia, on a Saturday afternoon while Dorothea Lange photographed a white woman selling appliquéd embroideries on a Saturday sidewalk shared with multihued southerners. Certainly, whites and blacks must have connected. Two black boys swerve to make way for a white women carrying a baby and leading a child as a drugstore advertisement touts both Philco radios and Livor-Kaps in a Wolcott photograph taken in Wendell, North Carolina, in November 1939. For many white and black southerners, then, Saturday afternoons in town replaced the consuming communities centered around the general stores. Cyclically reconstituted, overlapping and yet segregated gatherings of family and friends occupied a shared geography of consumption that belied any absolute racial difference.[115]

Despite the culture of segregation, whites and blacks mixed in the shopping districts of 1930s small towns. Signs blared "For Colored" and "For White" on the very streets in which blacks and whites mingled. The intimacy of touching lips to water, for example, attracted the particular attention of white southerners. In a 1938 photograph by John Vachon a black boy finishes his drink at a fountain on the side lawn of the courthouse in Halifax, North Carolina, as the huge sign affixed to an adjacent tree proclaims his race. At Bethlehem-Fairfield Shipyards in Baltimore, a drinking fountain is again racially marked, this time white. At a tobacco warehouse in Lumberton, North Carolina, the fountains and the racial signs stand side by side, and the black man and the white boy drinking indicate their racial identities even as they quench their thirsts. Of course, no sales were at stake here—water was free. Public restrooms offered a space for performing the most private activities and like water fountains offered nothing for sale. Their signs, the condition of their facilities, and the convenience of access shouted out the racial worth of their users. At a bus station in Durham, North Carolina, the "White Ladies Only" restroom faces out on a busy commercial street, its sign signifying not only race but the associated difference

whites asserted within womanhood. "Colored Women," no doubt, had to hunt down an alleyway or go behind the station.[116]

Consuming food combined a similar touching of the product to lips and the intimate routines of human maintenance. Because they made public the decidedly home-centered rituals of eating, cafes, restaurants, and diners usually served only one race. Jack Delano took a May 1940 photograph of an exception, "A cafe near the tobacco market" in Durham, North Carolina, where customers pass through separate, clearly marked "white" and "colored" doors to similarly marked tables inside, proclaiming the centrality of racial difference to Durham life for all to see. More typical was "Bryant's Place" for "Hot Fish" in Memphis, Tennessee, its window advertising "for colored" in a 1937 Dorothea Lange photograph. Unusual was the "Choke 'Em Down Lunch Room" in Belle Glade, Florida, built precariously on pilings over a marsh, its sign advertising hot and cold lunches, cold drinks, and "whites and colored served" in a 1939 Wolcott image. Whether the dining space inside the tiny shack was segregated, Wolcott's photograph does not reveal.[117]

Watching movies was a close and sedentary social experience, and theaters were carefully ordered, usually, as Dollard described, with whites downstairs and African Americans in the "too hot or too cold" balcony. Like the cafe in Durham, theaters also had separate entrances, a well-lighted and inviting front door for whites, a side alley and often dark doorway for blacks. Delano shot the white front and black side entrances of a theater in Greensboro, Georgia. In some places, however, whites designated only part of the balcony, always the worst seats, for "colored." Always black southerners had to share their space, as on trains, with whites who wanted to act outside the boundaries of acceptable white middle-class behavior. A domestic interviewed in Marked Tree, Arkansas, by Charles Johnson complained, "when they fill up the downstairs some of the white fellows come up and set with the colored . . . Sometimes they come up with their girlfriends. It's just like it is always—the white can come on your side, but you don't go on theirs." In a later trend theaters opened with seating reserved entirely for blacks. Wolcott shot the "Rex Theater for colored people," its outside decorated with Joe Louis fight posters, in Leland, Mississippi, in 1939. Dorothea Lange had photographed the same business two years earlier. But Marion Post Wolcott constructed a compelling image of the interdependence of segregation and consumption when she took a photograph captioned "Negro

man entering a movie" in the Delta town of Belzoni, Mississippi, in October 1939. Climbing above the "for white men only" restroom between the segregation sign and the Dr. Pepper advertisement, the black man can watch the same movie and drink the same soda as a white patron as long as he declares his race and, by white implication as well as the shabby surroundings, his inferiority as he enjoys his purchases.[118]

But perhaps whites were so intent on racially ordering the relatively sedentary experiences like eating and watching movies because they understood just how resistant to racial segregation, despite the racially figured products and advertisements shipped down from the North, the new commercial spaces of consumption would prove to be. Shopping, like boarding the train, required movement. But segregating shopping proved more difficult than racially ordering trains, streetcars, buses, cafes, and theaters. Inside shops racial identity could not be secured with segregation signs, which allowed for customers of both races while grounding black inferiority in inferior spaces. Certainly whites' desire for absolute racial difference could have been met by excluding African Americans from white stores—a solution practiced by most restaurants and often required by law—and by limiting black purchases of consumer items considered too fine for "colored" consumers. To some degree these policies were pursued, but very few white southern businesses could afford to exclude a paying customer no matter their color, especially when the next store down the street would probably make the sale anyway. Within this most intimate geography of southern white consumption, then, the collective white need for superiority clashed headlong with white individuals' desire for greater income, and money often won.[119]

What occurred within the interiors of southern stores revealed even more clearly the racial contradictions of integrated shopping within a regional culture of segregation and a national culture of white consumption. In a 1940 Jack Delano photograph taken in Stem, North Carolina, and entitled "the 'gossip corner,' " a white woman and a black woman stand together talking inside the grocery of Mrs. N. L. Clements while another black woman looks on from the sidewalk. A John Collier series taken inside a drugstore in Haymarket, Virginia, presents a more detailed representation of the racial geography of shopping. In a shot taken through the store's glass doorway, a black woman, her black male companion's arm, and the white woman behind the counter form a prickly triangle. Framed above and to the right by advertisements for "Refreshing" Coca-Cola and "The Farmer's

Laxative, Push you Can Depend on, Dr. Caldwell's Syrup Pepsin," the white woman cocks her head listening toward the black arm holding an unidentifiable package for purchase. Another frame depicts the same white woman waiting on a bald round white man dressed in the wrinkled light linen suit of a planter.

The testimonies collected by African American sociologists working alone or in conjunction with white sociologists prove even more revealing. Whites expected certain deference in public encounters, an interaction "on terms of superior and inferior" that became a general code of black shopping behavior: "In places of business, the Negro should stand back and wait until the white has been served before receiving any attention and in entering or leaving he should not precede a white but should stand back and hold the door for him. On the streets and sidewalks the Negro should 'give way' to the white person." Yet because complete segregation existed in the commercial enterprises of few southern communities, southern shopping proved resistant to whites' attempts at racial ordering. Store clerks in businesses with large numbers of black customers often served shoppers in turn, sometimes making whites wait until African Americans had been served. And sites of shopping—the buildings that housed dry goods, drug, clothing, and shoe stores and five-and-dimes—never wore segregation signs.[120]

Fierce price competition between grocery stores enabled many African Americans not dependent on landowner store orders to find better treatment in these sites of consumption. Johnson found that African Americans in the town of Cleveland, Mississippi, preferred to shop at stores owned and operated by Chinese instead of the grocery chains, enjoying there greater "freedom" and escape from "the traditional observances." These stores, he implied, had replaced country stores as centers of socializing as well: "On Saturday migrant farmers may be seen loitering . . . sitting around on the counters and benches enjoying unrestrained conversation. They wait on themselves even to the extent of going behind the counters for articles. There is no particular racial etiquette to observe."

In southern cities, however, Johnson found that many African Americans made the opposite choice, preferring chain stores where clerks were "most likely to place all relations on an economic basis and extend all services to all customers regardless of race." An African American porter at a chain grocery in Houston put the situation bluntly: "We carry packages for everybody, whether they are colored or white. We take them as they come." Chain stores, African Americans insisted, did not resort to the galling prac-

tice of selling black customers inferior foodstuffs, often especially set aside for this purpose. A black professional from Richmond summed up the economic incentives that blurred the color line within southern grocery stores: "Of course none of them want to give you the same service they give white people, but competition for Negro trade is so keen that every store has to make some pretense of fair play."[121]

The overlapping nature of the services offered by southern drugstores, their doubled character as places both for purchasing medicines and toiletries and for consuming refreshments, made the racial geographies there more complex and resistant to change. By the 1930s soda fountains in drugstores had become important white sites for youthful socializing. As a result, African Americans were rarely free to linger within these stores. While they could purchase anything offered for sale, ice cream and sodas for which they often had to bring their own buckets or dishes could only be consumed in the back of the store or outside. African Americans could enjoy what Dollard called the "cool shock" of Coca-Cola, but only beyond the spaces marked by the comfortable white familiarity of the drugstore soda fountains.[122]

The most contradictory places among southern sites of consumption, however, were clothing and department stores. Foodstuffs, medicines, sodas, and ice cream were quickly consumed, and their purchases did not so readily mark the bodies of consumers. Clothing, more than other consumer goods, conveyed a lasting meaning and incited white fears of upwardly mobile African Americans and the unhinging of class and racial identities that such "New Negroes" signified. After all, at the turn of the century many whites had found the most galling aspect of African Americans' presence in first-class railroad cars their fine and fashionable dress. And early advertisers clothed their black figures in mismatched and gaudy attire that caught white consumers' attention while confirming their superiority. But in southern apparel stores whites' conceptions of blacks ran headlong into African Americans' own consuming desires. A white mailman's wife expressed the persistence of white anxiety over black dress in the 1930s. Spying the child of an African American professional entering a store, she exclaimed within earshot of a white sociologist, "it's a shame how these nigguhs can dress their children up. They fix them up better than we can afford to fix ours!"[123]

Having little control over what types of clothing African Americans with the means could purchase, white merchants and clerks attempted to assert racial difference at least within the shopping ritual itself. Blacks often could not try on clothing, hats, gloves, or even shoes. At best, some establishments permitted African Americans to try on hats only with a cloth over their heads and dresses, skirts, shirts, and pants only over other clothing. Some shoe stores allowed blacks to try on shoes but would not provide assistance. Other businesses insisted that they discriminated equally, denying unclean whites as well as African Americans, who were of course all assumed to be unclean, the right to handle clothing items.

But blacks again used their value as paying customers to seek less racially discriminating service. Many walked out of shops, often after expressing anger at poor service, and sought needed items in stores with less discrimination, often those owned by nonsouthern whites or African Americans. And clothing had a way of moving beyond whatever racial conventions southern white merchants and clerks strung feebly in place. In Natchez, Mississippi, a white sociologist overheard white salespeople admitting unwittingly that clothing could cross the color line. A black customer had attempted to return a coat. After one white clerk refused to accept the now tainted item, a white assistant manager intervened. The first clerk then said to the other white saleslady, "this is perfectly terrible; I think it is awful. We can't put this coat back in stock." The second clerk replied, "I know it. Who wants a nigger coat? . . . Some little white girl will probably come in and buy it and not know it is a nigger coat." Segregation signs could not racially divide clothing. Whites lived with the contradictions that in an age of mass production and widespread consumption identical hats, shoes, dresses, and pants implied.[124]

Cars even more than clothing crossed the spaces whites attempted with laws and signs to label "For Colored" and "For White." By the 1930s both white and black southerners owned automobiles at rates that matched the national averages. Despite John Crowe Ransom's warnings about the false promises of consumption, many southerners apparently believed a "ride in a car after working hours" was a reward worth pursuing. Cars broke down the distances that had enabled the last country stores to hang on in isolated areas despite the increasing competition of the town trade. Yet by adding pumps many country stores stayed in business selling gas, oil, and service to both locals and town folks passing through. Gasoline pumps graced country stores in FSA photographs of Bynum, North Carolina; Jarreau, Louisiana; Diascond, Virginia; and Penfield, Georgia. Like country stores, country gas

stations wore a thick coat of advertising. In a 1938 photograph by John Vachon of a filling station in Enfield, North Carolina, garlands proclaiming Gulfpride motor oil compete with Coca-Cola and BC headache powder signs for the attention of consumers. Other rural filling stations had no store trade but absorbed the store's place at the center of rural communities. And a degree of integration was there, too, sometimes the norm, under the eye of watchful white owners. In a 1940 Jack Delano shot of a filling station in Stem, North Carolina, two black men share a bench with a white man. Local customs, related to the amount of "colored trade" the station depended upon, determined whether African Americans would receive the same service—checking oil, water, and air—and use of facilities as white customers. Automobiles were for a time serviced by the very institutions they would help render obsolete.[125]

Gas stations, however, seemed to come in two extremes. National chains brought with them a rigidly stylized architecture and nationalized rules of management. Often there was no place in the plans for segregated restroom facilities on the one hand or segregated service on the other. At the pumps, first come, first served became the norm and white and black customers, except those with the oldest makes of cars, usually got the same level of service.[126]

Despite the expense and the fact that in the face of the Depression some southern railroad lines relaxed rigid enforcement of the color line and even occasionally abandoned separate cars, many African Americans purchased automobiles. Cars, they claimed, allowed them to escape the indignities of traveling Jim Crow and gave them freedom, despite the segregation of travel facilities like tourist cabins and cafes. On the road race held no sway. The law granted African Americans behind the wheel the same right to their side of the street as whites. And while many white landlords and country merchants complained about black tenant farmers' extravagance in buying automobiles, white opposition gave additional support to the black belief that cars conferred an ease of movement free from white restriction. African Americans of all classes had no trouble finding whites who would sell them vehicles. In 1939 Wolcott photographed a used car lot in Clarksdale, Mississippi, set up to attract speakers flush with wages at the end of the cotton season. The image depicts a white man showing two well-dressed black men the engine of an automobile. Like clothes, cars were highly visible consumer items. Many whites, according to Dollard, cursed African

Americans who could purchase better automobiles. What could segregation signs do in the face of such movement? What was the meaning of inferiority when a southern black could simply get into his better car and ride?[127]

Because white southern store owners needed African American customers, many southern commercial districts remained racially integrated despite the labels "for colored" and "for white." The signs of segregation were as much admissions of weakness as labels of power. African American southerners could not vote, but despite white efforts to keep them down they could spend. Neither the new marketplaces nor the new products provided liberation, but whites and African Americans consumed the same products and often shopped for the same goods in the same places. And even if the level of service offered was markedly different, white salespeople often had to serve black customers. These very public contradictions subverted whites' dependence upon segregation as the signifier of absolute racial difference. As Lillian Smith wrote about the early twentieth-century South in which she grew to adulthood, "there were signs everywhere. *White . . . colored . . . white . . . colored* . . . over doors of railroad and bus stations, over doors of public toilets, over doors of theaters, over drinking fountains . . ." White southerners needed what Smith called "these ceremonials in honor of white supremacy" because the southern spaces of consumption remained racially ambiguous despite the signs.[128]

And this racial ambiguity ran in two directions, both of which undermined southern whites' attempts to found an alleged superiority in racialized spaces. Too rigid attempts to segregate the southern spaces of consumption spurred the growth of black businesses in the largest cities as early as the late nineteenth century. African Americans formed business associations like the National Negro Business League and worked through churches, women's clubs, and fraternal organizations to encourage blacks to buy black. Even storytelling traditions were employed to shame holdouts into patronizing African American businesses. A story of a black man "who had worked up a nice trade selling ice to both whites and blacks" circulated in the early twentieth century:

> The white man began selling ice too, since the colored man was doing so well he thought he would go in there and get him some customers. So when the white woman saw the colored woman had changed to the white

> man—the white woman was still buying from the colored man—she said, "Now why did you stop buying from John, he was so courteous and nice, and we did business with him a long time?" Well I tell you truth, Miz George . . . that white man's ice is just colder than that nigger's ice."

The point, of course, was that African Americans who gave their business to white-owned enterprises supported white supremacy.[129]

But black businesses were not without their racial contradictions. A grocery store in Athens, Georgia, advertised in 1901 that "we'll treat you white." The African American community in Dollard's "Southerntown" resented a local African American woman's use of a mammy dummy, complete with dark skin and a bandanna, to advertise her candy business. By the 1944 publication of *An American Dilemma*, however, the social scientist Gunnar Myrdal insisted that all but the smallest African American communities had the opportunity to patronize black-owned businesses. Segregation had helped build up a black middle class relatively independent from southern whites. The black sociologist Charles S. Johnson asserted that in the early 1940s it was "possible for one who knows the devious paths of this 'ultraviolet' world to travel through the south without encountering the blunt and menacing reminders of the race system." "Ultraviolet" proved an apt term for the growing spaces of black autonomy that the culture of segregation both encouraged and helped render invisible to white eyes.[130]

Where complete segregation had been the white rule, in enterprises engaged in intimate, body-oriented services from barbershops to funeral homes to hospitals, the contradictions could be as bold as the segregation signs. State health codes often demanded that white undertakers handle only white bodies, creating a secure and often profitable business for African American morticians. The police in one southern town mistakenly delivered the body of a white criminal to a black undertaker. The dead man had blackened his face in disguise. More serious were the early-1920s battles over the staffing of the first U.S. veterans' hospital for African Americans in Tuskegee, Alabama. Before beginning construction, the federal government had promised Tuskegee whites that whites would control and partially staff the hospital. But as the staffing plans became public, African Americans learned that white nurses, prevented under Alabama law from touching black patients, would draw professional salaries while poorly paid black "maids" would perform the actual care. Thinking in terms of badly needed jobs, southern whites seemed to have no qualms about the close association

of white women and black men in the veterans' hospital. But African American leaders like Booker T. Washington's successor at the Tuskegee Institute, Robert Russa Moton, played publicly upon these transgressions of the color line. By 1924, Tuskegee Veterans Hospital had an entirely black staff. Necessitated by segregation, the hospital became another space of southern black autonomy.[131]

But the racial ambiguity of segregation signs also ran in the opposite direction, erasing lines of racial difference as well. An expansive and only partially segregated consumption implied sameness. In the stores, whites with the will could assert some authority, enforcing black deference within the rituals of shopping. But whites could never completely control what African Americans were buying. A white girl could purchase that "nigger coat," but even more likely with increases in mass production and consumption, whites and blacks could meet the other wearing the same hat or dress, drinking the same soda, or driving the same car. The fact that national advertisers figured consumers in the abstract as white only increased white southern anxiety over African American buying. Even the white sociologist Dollard admitted that middle-class southern whites meeting middle-class African Americans experienced the shock of sameness.[132]

Segregation also served, in the case of lighter-skinned African Americans, to blur further the very problem of confused appearances it had been created to solve. For southern whites were slow to mark a "white" person black. As an informant told an interviewer in the 1930s, "they are pretty careful before they call a person a Negro. I look somewhat like a foreigner, so I can get by without a great deal of trouble." Just as inferior spaces meant inferior people, the white spaces marked off by segregation signs carried their own assumptions of belonging. Light-skinned African Americans like Walter White, James Weldon Johnson, and John Hope often had to insist that they belonged in "colored" sections. Charles Johnson recounted a well-known Negro poet's attempts to ride Jim Crow in Georgia. After asking him twice to move, the confused conductor "examined the man's hair and hands, but without helpful clues in his association of speech and dress, had to take the word of the passenger." Shifting into an ingratiating manner, the conductor then "explained that he had to watch for white men who came into the colored coach to 'meddle the girls.' " Separation, he implied, protected African Americans. Yet the conductor's own actions eased the very passing across the border he was required to patrol.[133]

The shock of racial sameness, it seemed, always brought southern whites

back to sex. Dollard quoted a "professional southerner" whose blood boiled "when he went North, to see Negroes riding streetcars side by side with whites, to see them eating in the same restaurants, to see Negro men and white women together." It would, he insisted, upset any white southerner. Perhaps unconsciously, this "professional" had reduced southern white identity to the segregation of travel, consumption, and sex. Prostitution, however, was one business that whites never marked for colored or for white. An African American told the black sociologist Allison Davis, "If a decent culled girl here ain't got a white man, it sho ain't her fault, 'cause anybody can go and pick one up. They jus' hangin' 'round like flies 'round molasses, waiting for somebody to give 'em a sign." Some white women, too, engaged in this most intimate violation of the culture of segregation. And sexual relations across the color line and the mixed-race children that resulted certainly erased difference despite white denial. But traveling, eating, and shopping were more publicly visible activities thus subject to racial ordering both by law and by custom.

The problem was that most southern whites could not control the symbolically significant circulation of mass-produced consumer goods. How could a white feel above an African American who drove a newer automobile or wore a nicer suit or dress? As a black man bluntly stated in a 1913 letter to the *Progressive Farmer*, "seeing that you white folks think you are so much better than the 'nigger,' you ought to be superior to him in every respect."[134]

Segregation signs, then, provided evidence of the vanity and ultimately, the futility, of the culture of segregation. Many southern whites believed that a permanent racial order and their own everlasting superiority had been achieved. Racialized spaces were meant to capture and identify blacks, not set them free from white control. But whites themselves had paradoxically created the color line as permeable, as transgressable by their own desires. And other white southerners had once been confident. Now their wisteria- and kudzu-covered mansions stood deaf and mute, mouthlike porticoes and steps rotted off, eyelike, once-elegant windows shuttered or broken. FSA photographers found them inhabited by poor African American tenants. Other cameras captured an Italian Renaissance–style mansion converted into the greasy, dirt-covered home of the Tuscaloosa Auto Parts and Wrecking Company, and another once-proud plantation house transformed into a bejungled carcass reaching vainly toward the sky. In the 1930s such haughtiness in mere segregation signs betrayed the weakness of their ordering

claims. Whites, then, had only violence to hide the emptiness of their allegedly greater worth, their assertion that "niggers" were "all right in their place" difficult to pin down in a world where spaces were rapidly changing. Maybe Faulkner was right about the hunt. There was a certainty to violence, a seductive seeming solidness in blood's warm and sticky rush. But the bear was gone. White southerners instead chose a different symbol, a different prey, and indeed a very different game.[135]

CHAPTER FIVE

Deadly Amusements

SPECTACLE LYNCHINGS AND THE CONTRADICTIONS OF SEGREGATION AS CULTURE

This effort to keep the white group solid led directly to mob law. Every white man [and woman] became a recognized official to keep Negroes "in their places." Negro baiting and even lynching became a form of amusement.

W. E. B. DU BOIS[1]

We are very near an answer to our question—how may the [white] Southerner take hold of his Tradition? The answer is by violence.

ALLEN TATE[2]

DESPITE THE parchment paper pronouncements of separate but equal and the bright block-lettered signs loudly proclaiming "For Colored" and "For White," at the heart of the culture of segregation lay a profound ambiguity. Separation, after all, did not necessarily mean racial inferiority. It could also signify the creation of relatively autonomous black spaces, even autonomous black bodies. In fact, even as African Americans fought disenfranchisement and legal segregation in the courts across the South, many black southerners sought to separate themselves as fully as possible from the white southerners who had been their former masters. Segregation certainly meant shabby or nonexistent waiting rooms and train cars where African American passengers were jumbled together with smoking whites and engine soot. W. E. B. Du Bois made the intended indignity clear in revising his 1925 article on Georgia for *The Nation* while traveling through the state:

"I am in the hot, crowded, and dirty Jim Crow car where I belong . . . I am not comfortable." Yet segregation also created spaces for black doctors, black colleges, and increasingly black business districts—from Auburn Avenue in Atlanta to Beale Street in Memphis—as southern African Americans moved into growing southern cities. The creation of a separate white southern world, a culture of segregation, implied that somewhere there existed a separate black one. As whites strove to create an all-encompassing system of separation, then, they also risked aiding African Americans in the very struggle for more autonomy that white supremacy sought to deny.[3]

The culture of segregation was always a process, never a finished product. Despite the dizzying multiplication of the spaces of consumption, white southerners sought to found their own racial identity within the maintenance of an absolute color bar. Yet black southerners continued to fight separation and exclusion, pushing against each new boundary. And despite Du Bois's discomfort in the Jim Crow car, the expansion of transportation systems across the region rapidly increased spatial mobility, for black as well as white southerners. As threatening to whites as the development of a separate black world were the ways changes in leisure, consumption, and travel threatened to blur the edges of those carefully constructed white and black spaces. Indeed, southern whites found what the film historian Miriam Hansen has described as "the simultaneous liberation and commodification of sexuality that crucially defined the development of American consumer culture" particularly dangerous and yet also titillating. And threats came from within as well. The shift from an agrarian toward a more industrialized and urban economy and increasing activism among white industrial workers as well as Populists made class lines more visible. Southern white women, too, demonstrated a growing interest in reform and joined the temperance and suffrage movements in large numbers. Would a whiteness founded in a culture of segregation, then, be able to hold white southerners together?

Though Allen Tate referred to an older, antebellum southern white tradition in his essay for the Agrarian manifesto *I'll Take My Stand*, he was right about the methods white southerners were using to defeat perceived threats to the racial line they had drawn in the sand. And as Tate participated in yet another recycling of Lost Cause themes of past southern glory and pastoral utopia, he surely would have appreciated the long history of the answer at which he arrived. Unfortunately, white southerners' best-known acts of violence, lynchings, became increasingly bound up between 1890 and 1940 in the very practices of a modern culture of consumption that Tate hoped his region in 1930 would use violence to reject.[4]

It was an uneasy landscape, the early twentieth-century South, a small-town, small-city world of ice companies and beauty parlors, soda fountains and gas stations. It was a world where people who went to church some days watched or participated in the torture of their neighbors on others. In the decades following 1890, many lynchings no longer occurred in places untouched by the technological advances of the larger world. Lynchers drove cars, spectators used cameras, out-of-town visitors arrived on specially chartered excursion trains, and the towns and counties in which these horrifying events happened had newspapers, telegraph offices, and even radio stations that announced times and locations of these upcoming violent spectacles. Although after the peak decades of the 1890s the number of lynchings decreased even in the South, the cultural impact of the practice became more powerful. More people participated in, read about, saw pictures of, and collected souvenirs from lynchings even as fewer mob murders occurred. In the twentieth century white southerners transformed a deadly and often quiet form of vigilante "justice" into a modern spectacle of enduring power.[5]

Yet not all southern lynchings fit this new and evolving pattern. More often, small groups of white men hunted down and shot or hanged their African American victims after an argument over the year-end sharecroppers' settle or to send a message to other timber or turpentine camp laborers not to demand any better. These lynchings in the night claimed many more victims than the open-air spectacles of torture that drew such large crowds. And white violence against southern blacks was not limited only to lynchings—white men continued in more private settings to rape black women and assault African Americans for "reasons" ranging from black resistance and economic success to white hatred, jealousy, and fear.[6] "Private violence," as W. J. Cash explained in 1941, stemmed from the same circumstances that made spectacle lynchings "socially defensible" from a southern white perspective: "to smash a sassy Negro, to kill him, to do the same to a 'nigger lover'—this was to assert the white man's prerogative as pointedly, to move as certainly to get a black man back in his place, as to lynch." Southern whites did not need Tate to encourage them to use vio-

lence to secure what he conceived as their more "private, self-contained, and essentially spiritual" way of life—it had been a chosen method of empowerment since colonial Jamestown.[7]

But something was new about lynchings in public, attended by thousands, captured in papers by reporters who witnessed the tortures, and photographed for those spectators who wanted a souvenir and yet failed to get a coveted finger, toe, or fragment of bone. More was at stake than putting African American southerners brutally in their place, as Cash understood, for "private violence" succeeded in limiting and often eliminating African American political activity and achieving significant white control of black labor. Explanations of the practice of lynching in the twentieth century, however, have focused on the persistence of the "barbaric" practice of the past rather than its transformation, in the case of spectacle lynchings, into a peculiarly modern ritual.[8]

Southern whites, according to both contemporary observers like H. L. Mencken and Arthur Raper and present-day scholars like James McGovern and Joel Williamson, lynched African American men and occasionally women in the absence of "modernity"—because they lacked a "modern" economy, a "modern" white male sexuality, or even a "modern" theater.[9] Even Jacquelyn Dowd Hall, in the best analysis of lynching to date, saw the region's extreme racism as existing in conflict with southern modernizing efforts. And while the historians Fitzhugh Brundage and Edward L. Ayers have convincingly argued that lynching was central to the New South and particularly the structuring of its labor markets in areas experiencing rapid increases in their African American populations, they have focused mainly on the more common private lynchings and their role in the New South economy.[10]

African American anti-lynching activists, too—some of whom had barely escaped lynching themselves—saw lynching as central to the New South, and they examined the function of violence in structuring a changing southern economy and culture. From Ida B. Wells, who founded both the study of lynching and anti-lynching activism, to Frederick Douglass, W. E. B. Du Bois, Mary Church Terrell, James Weldon Johnson, and especially Walter White, they understood that whites' practice of ritualized violence, what Terrell called "this wild and diabolical carnival of blood," was central not only to the white economy but to white identity as well. Yet even the liberal W. J. Cash condemned Walter White as an extremist for denouncing

the "rape complex" as a "fraud." African American activists were more often simply ignored.[11]

A practice dependent on modern transportation and printing technologies, increasingly intertwined with the practices of an emerging consumer culture, was not some frontier residue and soon-to-be-lost small obstacle to "Progress," then, but a part of the southern present and future, a key medium for resolving the contradictions within the culture of segregation in which these brutal spectacles took place. "Lynch carnivals," as a popular book on the subject written in the 1930s described them, were rituals increasingly bound up with the way southern whites shaped the practices of modern consumption to their own ends, communal spectacles of torture that helped ease white fears of a raceless consumer society even as they helped structure segregation, the policy that would regulate this new southern world. Publicly resolving the race, gender, and class ambiguities at the very center of the culture of segregation, spectacle lynchings brutally conjured a collective, all-powerful whiteness even as they made the color line seem modern, civilized, and sane. Spectacle lynchings were about making racial difference in the new South, about ensuring the separation of all southern life into whiteness and blackness even as the very material things that made up southern life were rapidly changing. Racial violence was modern.[12]

The Genealogy of Lynchings as Modern Spectacle

Despite the roots of an expanding consumer culture outside the South, white southerners made an important contribution to the rapidly evolving forms of leisure in twentieth-century America: they modernized and perfected violence, in the form of the spectator lynching, as entertainment, as what Du Bois had chillingly described as a new and yet grisly form of white southern amusement. And like all cultural forms, over time lynching spectacles evolved a well-known structure, a sequence and pace of events that southerners came to understand as standard. The well-choreographed spec-

tacle opened with a chase or a jail attack, followed rapidly by the public identification of the captured African American by the alleged white victim or the victim's relatives, announcement of the upcoming event to draw the crowd, and selection and preparation of the site. The main event then began with a period of mutilation—often including emasculation—and torture to extract confessions and entertain the crowd, and built to a climax of slow burning, hanging, and/or shooting to complete the killing. The finale consisted of frenzied souvenir gathering and display of the body and the collected parts.[13]

To be sure, in a perverse twist on regional exceptionalism, lynchings of all kinds became fixed in southerners' as well as nonsoutherners' imaginations as the dominant form of southern white violence against blacks. And certainly news of midnight shootings and hangings by small groups of white men circulated among both white and black southerners even when not reported in local papers. Hearing that "the white folks" quietly shot his classmate's brother, Richard Wright recalled the impact all "white death" had on young African American men: "the white brutality that I had not seen was a more effective control of my behavior than that which I knew. The actual experience would have let me see the realistic outlines of what was really happening, but as long as it remained something terrible and yet remote, something whose horror and blood might descend upon me at any moment, I was compelled to give my entire imagination over to it . . ." Since southern blacks rarely attended public lynchings, their knowledge of all these extralegal killings remained paradoxically distant and perhaps fantastic even as their very effective networks of communication publicized the brutality that struck close at hand.

Yet as the twentieth century progressed—or perhaps regressed—spectacle lynchings became the most widely known form of white violence against southern blacks even as less public lynchings claimed many more victims. Cash declared that by 1900, the white South had developed a lynching habit. As Walter White lamented, however, by the 1920s interest in the practice of lynching had spread far beyond the region in which mob murders were most likely to occur: "mobbism has degenerated to the point where an uncomfortably large percentage of American citizens can read in their newspapers of the slow roasting alive of a human being in Mississippi and turn, promptly and with little thought, to the comic strip or sporting page. Thus has lynching become an almost integral part of our national folkways." The distance was not far, then, between titillation and disgust, a white

southern amusement, an African American tragedy, and a new national pastime.[14]

But just how did a practice of quiet vigilante justice become a modern public spectacle, a narrative of astonished interest more than horrified concern, a national folkway? Consumer culture, spreading from the Northeast across the country in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, created the possibility of a new kind of public, a much more heterogeneous group of shoppers, diners, travelers, vaudeville and movie patrons, sports fans, and visitors to local, regional, and national fairs. In the North, as the historian David Nasaw has argued, segregation absolutely excluded African Americans from an emerging world of urban public amusements, denying them access to fair midways, amusement and baseball parks, and vaudeville and movie theaters. Yet segregation alone did not meld these new heterogeneous crowds into a white public. The spectacle of African American otherness was also required. Thus whites of all classes, genders, and ethnicities could gawk at the "Dahomeys" in a fair exhibit of "Darkest Africa," "buy three balls for five" to "dunk the nigger" at Coney Island, and cheer on a black man's lynchers in *Birth of a Nation*.[15]

In the North, then, segregation and the spectacle of black otherness made a mass audience for the new purveyors of commercial entertainments and other new mass products. For southern whites, however, the problem of creating a new white public was both more difficult and, they believed, more necessary. There segregation and spectacle lynching made what Du Bois referred to as a new white "amusement" but also a new southern order. Segregation as culture strengthened racial boundaries without denying southern whites and blacks who could afford consumer products access to them, allowing white-owned businesses to sell African Americans Coca-Cola and movies and yet protect white supremacy too. For southern blacks must, while enjoying their purchases, swallow their pride along with their soda. They could only publicly consume goods within spaces marked, whether "For Colored" or not, as clearly inferior. Yet making a spectacle of lynching disrupted the commonality of even this spatially divided experience of consumption. Only whites, whether they endorsed the violence or not, could experience the "amusement" of a black man burned. Only African Americans could be extralegally and publicly tortured and killed. In a grisly dialectic, then, consumer culture created spectacle lynchings, and spectacle lynchings became a southern way of enabling the spread of consumption as a white privilege. The violence both helped create a white con-

suming public and the structure of segregation where consumption could take place without threatening white supremacy.[16]

Newspaper reporters and men around the stove at the crossroads store, telegraph operators and women at the local meeting of the United Daughters of the Confederacy, law "enforcement" officials and trainmen who jumped from the car to tell the news at each stop—all helped shape the stories of specific events into a dominant narrative of southern spectacle lynchings that evolved in the decades between 1890 and 1940. But widely circulated newspaper stories, as Walter White understood, were central to the power of these new "amusements." While thousands of white southerners witnessed and participated in lynchings as the twentieth century unfolded, the majority of Americans—white and black, northern and southern—learned about these events from newspapers and to a lesser extent books, pamphlets, and radio announcements. In many cases these accounts were written by reporters who personally witnessed the spectacle, but the experience for their readers or listeners was mediated, a representation at least once removed from actual involvement. And even those spectators who attended the lynching or later viewed the body or examined a display of "souvenirs" were affected as well by the narratives constructed by reporters to describe and explain these events. Beginning in the 1890s, no matter the specific characteristics, representations of spectacle lynchings increasingly fell into a ritualistic pattern as the narratives constructed by witnesses, participants, and journalists assumed a standardized form. Spectacle lynchings, then, became more powerful even as they occurred less frequently because the rapidly multiplying stories of these public tortures became virtually interchangeable.[17]

Thus the modernization of the practice—the incorporation of cars and trains, radios, phones, and cameras—matched the standardization of the representations. As a dominant narrative evolved and circulated more widely, innovations added in a particular lynching were easily spotted and picked up by subsequent mobs. The grisly dialectic began in the 1890s as newspaper coverage grew, crowds increased, and lynch mobs adapted the rituals of public executions to the needs of vigilantism and racial control. As James Elbert Cutler found in the first academic investigation of lynchings, published in 1905, before 1890 magazines ignored the subject entirely while local newspapers printed small, sparse accounts. Three events in the early 1890s, however, initiated the early development of spectacle lynchings as

practice and as narrative. First, the lynching on March 14, 1891, of eleven Italian immigrants accused of aiding in the murder of the New Orleans police chief brought international attention to mob murder in the South as the Italian government condemned the action and demanded indemnities. Before the fervor over these murders had faded, another public lynching in Louisiana occurred: a large crowd of whites tortured and burned an African American named Tump Hampton in St. Tammany Parish on May 30 of the same year. Significantly, publicity generated by the Italians' murder spilled over in this case onto the lynching of a black southerner. The founding event in the history of spectacle lynchings, however, was the final murder in the gruesome triad, the 1893 lynching of Henry Smith in Paris, Texas, for the alleged rape and murder of three-year-old Myrtle Vance.[18]

The 1893 murder of Smith was the first blatantly public, actively promoted lynching of a southern black by a large crowd of southern whites. Adding three key features—the specially chartered excursion train, the publicly sold photograph, and the widely circulated, unabashed retelling of the event by one of the lynchers—the killing of Smith modernized and made more powerful the loosely organized, more spontaneous practice of lynching that had previously prevailed. In what one commentator aptly termed a "neglected feature of railroading," from 1893 on railroad companies could be counted on to arrange special trains to transport spectators and lynchers to previously announced lynching sites. On some occasions these trains were actually advertised in local papers; with railroad passenger service, even small towns could turn out large crowds. Even after automobiles cut into the railroads' "lynch carnival" business, a 1938 commentator found that "modern trainmen, schooled in the doctrine of service," helped "in an informative way" by relaying news of upcoming lynchings to train passengers and townspeople "all along the rail lines."[19]

As crucial as the innovation in transportation, however, was the publication, after Henry Smith's lynching, of the first full account, from the discovery of the alleged crime to the frenzied souvenir gathering at the end: *The Facts in the Case of the Horrible Murder of Little Myrtle Vance, and Its Fearful Expiation, at Paris, Texas, February 1, 1893*. This widely distributed pamphlet is perhaps the most detailed account of a lynching ever written from a lyncher's point of view. It included a photograph of Smith's torture, probably also sold separately. This pamphlet initiated a new genre of lynching narrative, the author as eyewitness and in this case also participant.

More important, however, this anonymous lyncher as reporter implicated the entire white community in the public torture and murder that had recently occurred: "From the first it was a clear case of temporary insanity of a whole populace, the moral and social shock for the time eclipsing every vestige of temperance in dealing with the culprit." And "populace" did not mean simply white men. Though the photographer focused on the scaffold, emblazoned with a large sign that proclaimed "JUSTICE," on which Smith was being tortured, the size of the crowd prevented him from getting very close to the action. The shot, more a picture of the mob than the mob's victim, depicts a mass of spectators including white women and children. From the earliest spectacle lynchings, then, white women actively participated in these events as more than the passive alleged victims that fueled white men's fury. The story of lynching as the entire white community in action, using savagery to protect "Southern" civilization, was born.[20]

But even in 1893 there was another if extremely vulnerable space from which to narrate these events. In March of 1892 Ida B. Wells lived through the lynchings of three of her closest friends—Thomas Moss, Calvin McDowell, and Henry Stewart, the African American owners of a new and successful enterprise where the streetcar turned on the outskirts of Memphis, the People's Grocery Company of the colored suburb of the Curve. A quarrel between white and black boys over a game of marbles had escalated into a fight between white and black grocers. The black grocers were arrested. Then a white mob let in by law officers took the three men from their cells, loaded them on a switch engine that ran on a track behind the jail, drove them north of the city limits of sleeping Memphis, and shot them to death. Though no spectators witnessed the event, the good citizens of Memphis were not forgotten, for somehow one of the morning papers knew enough to hold up its edition and subscribers were able to read the details of the murders as they sipped a late cup of coffee.[21]

Ida B. Wells, however, also owned a paper. And as a white mob helped itself to food and drink at the People's Grocery, her *Memphis Free Speech* attempted to set the record straight. Over the next three months the paper agitated against the violence and told African Americans to leave a city in which they could get no justice. Wells was convinced that her friends had been lynched because the success of their business hurt the Curve's other grocery, a white-owned establishment. She began a closer investigation of the lynchings, which had been only briefly recorded in the local and regional white papers. In late May 1892, she editorialized:

> Eight Negroes lynched since the last issue of the *Free Speech*. Three were charged with killing white men and five with raping white women. Nobody in this section believes the old thread-bare lie that Negro men assault white women. If Southern white men are not careful they will overreach themselves and a conclusion will be reached which will be very damaging to the moral reputation of their women.[22]

Out of town at a convention, Wells escaped her own lynching, but Memphis whites silenced her southern voice as effectively. In a flurry of city elite-led speech making, marching, and threatening, the *Free Speech*'s office and type were destroyed. By 1893, however, when Henry Smith was lynched for the alleged rape and murder of "Little Myrtle Vance," Wells had already started her campaign to expose the fallacy of the rape myth as a justification for lynching from her new position at the *New York Age*.[23]

Lynching as practice and as story—the newspaper narratives that reported and even created racial violence in the region—never went unchallenged, then, by African Americans and a few brave liberal and radical whites. In fact, even as the dominant narrative of spectacle lynchings developed, anti-lynching activists worked to subvert the story, believing that by exposing the false accounts of events and empty justifications, they would expose the immorality and end the violence. And the lynchings they and later white liberals described became a hybrid sort of spectacle lynching as well: the stories they told of real or imagined lynchings circulated publicly and bumped against the narrative most white southerners had learned to tell so well. Thus the violence occurred and the story was written within a never-ending dialectic—the pushing and pulling at the boundaries of the racialized yet shifting spaces of segregation as culture.

The Lynching of Sam Hose

If the lynching of Henry Smith marked the beginning of the transformation of the practice from quiet vigilante justice to modern public spectacle, the lynching of Sam Hose in Newnan, Georgia, in 1899 made an isolated event into a new and horrifying pattern. The alleged crimes, the chase, and the lynching occurred in and around places like Palmetto, Newnan, and Griffin—small southern towns like any others yet within forty miles of Atlanta. Easy

access to train and telegraph lines ensured that the lynching of Hose would be an "event" not just in the rural Georgia Piedmont but in the self-proclaimed capital of the New South as well. The Hose murder, then, added a key innovation: local and regional newspapers took over the publicity, promotion, and sale of the event and began the development of a standardized, sensationalized narrative pattern that would dominate reporting of spectacle lynchings through the 1940s.[24]

"DETERMINED MOB AFTER HOSE; HE WILL BE LYNCHED IF CAUGHT" began the story in the *Atlanta Constitution* on April 14, 1899. The best men were in the mob, unmasked white men and proud, the cream of "a half dozen counties," "lawyers, doctors, merchant farmers, and every creed and class of men." "Driven . . . almost to a frenzy" and vowing "never to give up the chase," these citizens, however, remained "perfectly cool" and would, the Atlanta papers assured readers, do what had to be done "as thoroughly and as orderly as though nothing unusual was involved." From the first, local and regional papers never doubted that the African American would be tracked down by the mob and killed, and the large black letters in the papers gave an eerie certainty to an act of violence that had previously been both anticipated and feared. After all, the entire white community was behind these best men, not really a mob, the *Journal* stressed, but more of a crowd. Sam Hose's alleged crimes had "closed the store doors in the towns and stopped the plows in the country," as white men, women, and children sought "the fiendish beast."

The white folks in Palmetto believed that on the previous night Sam Hose, a laborer on Alfred Cranford's farm, had split open to the eyeballs the skull of the respected white farmer with an ax and then injured his children and raped his wife within reach of the bleeding corpse. As one of those lawyers or doctors or merchants, boastfully unmasked and yet unwilling to be identified, calmly told a reporter, "whatever death is most torturous, most horrifying to a brute, shall be meted out"; "let him burn slowly for hours." Apparently no death was too horrifying for the lynch "crowd" or for the large numbers of white spectators whom newspaper announcements and specially chartered trains from Atlanta were certain to bring as soon as Hose was captured and the telegraph lines could transmit the appointed time and place. Hose's fate had already been decided by the papers ten days beforehand, and as mobs of white men sifted the countryside, ransacking black houses, black farms, and black sections, the days grew hotter, the reading audience larger, and chances that the torture and killing of a black man

would provide white amusement more certain. On April 23, a Sunday afternoon, in Newnan, Georgia, it was done.[25]

But the finale was ten days away when the Atlanta papers began developing the story, and they needed more than the repetitive details of the chase to hook their audiences. Mrs. Cranford, the wife of the murdered man and the alleged rape victim, provided the most exciting copy in those early days, but the reporters' attempts to use her as both subject and source of the story exposed the gendered tensions at the center of spectacle lynchings. Granting interviews with reporters from both the *Journal* and the *Constitution*, she demanded an active role in planning the lynching, expressing a desire to witness Hose's torture and death and her preference for a slow burning. Mrs. Cranford, then, was the voice of the crime that set the elaborate ritual in motion, a witness to her husband's brutal murder and yet a survivor, a white who had easily outsmarted a black man determined not to leave without money by giving him a Confederate bill and convincing him of its worth. She was, in fact, the source of all that was known about the attack on her family.[26]

Yet could a white woman play so important and public a role in a ritual that both brought out and created the white community, that made whiteness? With their desire for authenticity and gore, the newspapers after all had put their spotlights on Mrs. Cranford. She had only claimed the power, possible through her sudden "fame," to shape the story. But the papers were determined to put Mrs. Cranford back on the pedestal. No longer simply a good and common farm wife but now a woman of "refined parentage," Mrs. Cranford, they sympathized, was a lady doubly savaged by the "black beast rapist." The woman who had despite her horror upheld white supremacy by outsmarting her black assailant with a worthless bill was now described as "the horrified and hysterical wife." Proclaiming that "death would have been mercy," the reporters related details of the rape that she alone could have given them. Just as white women both helped in the chase and cheered on the "best men," although it was Mrs. Cranford's account of the crimes that initiated the spectacle lynching, the papers transformed her from active participant to passive victim. In the end, Hose was murdered in Newnan. And Mrs. Cranford's desire to see the lynching, for the spectacle to take place near her home in Palmetto, was ignored.[27]

As the unfolding narrative of the spectacle lynching moved forward from the crime, the story of Hose's capture provided a somewhat lighter interlude between Mrs. Cranford's gruesome descriptions of rape and mur-

der and the anticipated climactic horror of Hose's torture and death. His captors claimed they caught him going to a cakewalk after recognizing him as a "strange negro" near his mother's house outside Marshallville. In one account Hose constructed his own disguise, while in another white men applied the lampblack to conceal his distinguishing copper color and increase their chances of delivering him safely to the sheriff for the promised reward. Either way white readers could find amusement in the picture of a black man in blackface as images of blacked-up black minstrels performing the cakewalk merged with the very different form of entertainment in which Hose would soon star. In this early spectacle lynching, it seemed, the minstrel act bridged the distance between the faithful, laughing slave and the "black beast rapist." Before he could be the beast, Hose played a more familiar role, the joking black fool.[28]

The small group of white men who had captured Hose took him to Griffin on the regular Macon-to-Atlanta train early Sunday morning. Again the papers played up the festive atmosphere. The railroad, eager to please and keep this special traffic separate from the other passengers, provided an excursion train to take Hose and the fast-growing mob from Griffin to Palmetto. En route the reporters cornered their star, and Hose confessed the murder but insisted he had not raped the white woman. His version of events, however, little mattered. He was checked with the sheriff like a package for the official receipt that entitled his captors to a reward. The mob soon stole him back from the sheriff, and the papers reported that "it was marvelous how the news spread and thousands came here to satisfy their curiosity and to take part in the lynching." Other trains too converged on Palmetto for the lynching, and officials of the Atlanta and West Point Railroad estimated they sold one thousand tickets and that stowaways stole five hundred spaces more. The show, it seemed, was on.[29]

But eyewitness descriptions of the main event, the torture, burning, and souvenir gathering for which the large white crowd had assembled, threatened to unhinge the lynchers' role as enforcers of white supremacy. While the papers insisted that the mob escorting the captured Hose was an orderly, determined "crowd," reports did stress that at every step these good citizens feared some crazed outsider would shoot the prize and deny them their fun. Afraid, ironically, that Hose would be killed, they lynched him at Newnan, still ten miles from Palmetto, that Sunday just after church let out. Receiving word quickly by telegram, the papers had special correspondents at the

scene, and in the Monday editions reporters as eyewitnesses detailed the cutting off of Hose's ears, his castration, and his very slow burning. Again the papers went to great lengths to "civilize" the mob, though at least one got Hose's name wrong: "the crowd that burned Holt—it could hardly be called a mob, so orderly was its action—has made no mistake . . . the crowd was cool and went about its work carefully and almost with a system." Another paper pronounced "absolute order and decorum." An ex-governor of the state, W. Y. Atkinson, bragged that though he had not prevented the lynching he had at least succeeded in persuading them to move the spectacle out of Newnan's town square and away from the white women and children. "The crowd was a marvel of coolness and determination and . . . was remarkably orderly," said Atkinson. The reporters even went so far as to praise the courage of the victim, who, they wrote, did not flinch as he marched to the stake or cry out as his legs slowly burned. "I stood as close to the flames and the writhing figure in their midst as the heat would permit," wrote the *Journal*'s reporter. He described Hose "battling in the flames with the wildest superhuman energy": "now he was twisting around the tree, now biting at the back of the pine, jumping and springing and twisting and fighting for every inch of life, kicking the embers with his dangling legs, blood vessels bursting, eyes protruding, but not a word, not a tear, but, oh God, the horror of his face . . ." The stronger the victim, the greater the glory of the mob that defeated him. The "superhuman" Hose became both more and less than a man.[30]

Certain images, however, threatened to break through the narrative of a calm avenging white civilization—images of "frenzied men" and "delirious delight," of an old white-haired man screaming "God bless every man that had a hand in this" and "thank God for vengeance," and of a mingling of white and black blood as men rushing to cut off pieces of Hose's body cut the hands of their friends instead. The barbarism of the trophy-gathering in particular exploded any claim of white deliberateness and calm. Mob members had collected some body parts, the choice ears and penis and fingers cut off before the fire, and many spectators afterward turned "souvenir seekers," rushing in to push back the still-hot coals and hack up the body, cutting out the heart and other internal organs, fighting rival onlookers for the most cherished prizes. The *Journal* reported that "men scrambled and fell over each other in their mad haste to secure something that would be a memento to the horrible tragedy. And everything that had any bearing on

the occasion was grabbed and pocketed, even the ashes were picked up in handkerchiefs and carried away in triumph. Men left the scene bearing huge chunks of burned wood, limbs of the tree which was made the stake, pieces of bone, and revolting and bloody segments of skull." A market for souvenirs quickly developed, as spectators too far away from the burning bargained with luckier men and purchased at "inflated prices" their own keepsakes of that glorious day. In the process of giving its readers the sensationalized details of the spectacle, the papers blurred if not obliterated the fine distinction between a ritual of civilization taming savagery and actual savagery itself. If indeed "the whole male community seemed to be a unit," what that unit accomplished did not seem as clear as many southern whites wanted to think.[31]

After there was nothing left to collect, the crowd broke up and went home, and those souvenirs also traveled, ending up in dusty mason jars in crossroads stores, on the mantles of farmhouses, in the homes of some of those best men. At least one of these bloody relics made it back to Atlanta. Although W. E. B. Du Bois did not write his alternative narrative of the aftermath of Hose's lynching until decades afterward, this "souvenir" certainly extended the reach of the horrifying spectacle:

> a Negro in central Georgia, Sam Hose, had killed his landlord's wife. I wrote out a careful and reasoned statement concerning the evident facts and started down to the Atlanta *Constitution* office, carrying in my pocket a letter of introduction to Joel Chandler Harris. I did not get there. On the way the news met me: Sam Hose had been lynched, and they said his knuckles were on exhibition at a grocery store farther down Mitchell Street, along the way I was walking. I turned back to the University. I began to turn aside from my work. I did not meet Joel Chandler Harris nor the editor of the *Constitution*.[32]

The Atlanta shopkeeper or perhaps an enterprising seller of Hose's knuckles must have taken the special excursion train to be back in Atlanta from Newnan so quickly. The Hose lynching signaled a turning point for Du Bois, a transformation in his own thinking on the "race problem" generally and racial violence in particular. The display of Sam Hose's knuckles, he claimed, irrevocably changed his life. Having recently reconstructed the African American experience for an international exhibition, Du Bois was robbed of access to the newspaper of his own city and brought to his knees by a white southerner's own display of the meaning of blackness. Perhaps if Du Bois had reached the *Constitution*, its editors would have at least spelled Hose's name correctly. Yet while Hose lived on in a kind of gruesomely pickled and dried immortality, Du Bois later regained his voice and directed it even more loudly at the horrors of white supremacy. He forgot the facts of the case but he always remembered the fingers.[33]

The Lynching of Jesse Washington

Though seventeen years had passed, the lynching of Jesse Washington in the City Hall square of Waco, Texas, in 1916 mimicked the pace and structure of events in the Hose lynching, at least as constructed by the Atlanta newspapers. Though early reports did not so assuredly predict a lynching beforehand, the Waco papers presented the details of Mrs. Lucy Fryar's murder and rape in the standard sensationalized pattern set in the pamphlet about the lynching of Smith. The doctor reported that she had been surprised by her attacker, killed by the first blow, and ravished while dead. And yet one report followed the dominant narrative and stressed how the highly respected white woman had struggled valiantly against her violator. In the lynching narrative, even the corpse of the white woman recoiled from the black man's lust. The *Waco Semi-Weekly Tribune* provided a "Chronology of the Crime"; though the law-breaking referred to was the rape and murder of Mrs. Lucy Fryar, this summary of events culminating in an eighteen-year-old African American's lynching provided as accurate an outline of the ritual of southern spectacle lynchings as had ever been published. The local Waco papers in 1916, then, told much the same story, revealing similar tensions between sensationalism and newspaper sales, white supremacy and civilization.[34]

But Waco was a small modern city, sixteen years inside the twentieth century, and a far cry from the dusty, slow farm town of Newnan in 1899. Much had happened in the South and in the nation in those seventeen years. The Leo Frank case had subverted the color line by making a Jewish factory supervisor the victim of a public, widely promoted and reported lynching. Yet the class conflict that fueled this 1915 lynching in Atlanta remained within the spaces of the culture of segregation: it was an argument about whether whiteness would be defined by local farmers, mill workers,

and small merchants or by an emerging professional and corporate class with ties outside the region. In 1915, the hugely popular film *Birth of a Nation* at least symbolically resolved this conflict within whiteness; D. W. Griffith reworked the spectacle lynching into a gripping film scene and appropriated its power to advance a national rather than southern white unity. The political scientist Michael Rogin has argued that "the nation was born in Gus's castration," as "the passivity forced upon the defeated South"—and here he might have added, upon Leo Frank's lynchers' more recent crisis of masculine authority as well—was "now enforced on Gus," made to stand as the archetypal southern black man. Making a spectacle of lynching, *Birth* both provided a ground for the national unity necessary in the Great War and created the modern film industry.[35]

The 1916 lynching of Jesse Washington, then, was a transitional event in the history of spectacle lynchings. The time and place changed the tone of the event—at Waco no one could deny that violence was modern even as after *Birth*, the presidency of Virginia-born Woodrow Wilson, and the Great War the practice of spectacle lynching would never be the same. White supremacy had long been a national concern, but as *Birth* captured on film, by Wilson's presidency North and South again formed a truly unified nation. The southern whiteness that the culture of segregation made took on a double and sometimes contradictory duty, as both a space of national reunion and a ground for the region's continuing difference.

There were ice trucks at the Waco fire. The leader of the mob was a big white man, a driver for the Big Four Ice Company, and trucks were good to stand on for a latecoming spectator hoping to see over all the other people. Waco, a town with 40,000 inhabitants, sixty-three churches, and ten colleges and universities in 1916, could get up quite an audience. No special trains were necessary here to create the festive atmosphere lent these occasions by large, milling crowds. Since Hose, lynching towns had advertised; in a twisted form of town boosterism they used the standard methods of promoting commerce. But in Waco telephones helped tremendously, speeding the circulation of news by neighborly word of mouth. In the city with the ice trucks the Raleigh Hotel, too, advertised, billing its lodgings as "ten stories of comfort and safety, sleep where life is safe, absolutely fire proof," where "Waco welcomes *You*." The focus of all this attention, a black man named Jesse Washington, unfortunately did not have a room there, and the estimated 15,000 white folks—men, women, and children—who

welcomed him instead to Waco's jail, courtroom, and finally City Hall Square found his body very flammable indeed. The burning alive of Jesse Washington in 1916 was a peculiarly modern ritual. As the *Houston Chronicle* recounted with shame, "they did such a thing in the cultured, reputable city of Waco."[36]

In other places participants in such events had sometimes later bragged to journalists and investigators, and as in the Hose case reporters had even been eyewitnesses themselves. But an investigator sent by the recently organized NAACP, a white woman named Elisabeth Freeman, found no one in Waco willing to describe his or her role in the torture. The newspapers largely omitted the gruesome details, even though their correspondents covering the trial must have been at the scene. The only exception was the *Waco Times Herald*, which could not help admitting that "fingers, ears, pieces of clothing, toes, and other parts of the negro's body were cut off by members of the mob that had crowded to the scene as if by magic when the word that the negro had been taken in charge by the mob was heralded over the city." People from farming settlements outside Waco, in fact, had been arriving as early as Sunday afternoon for Washington's quickly scheduled Monday morning trial. Prominent Waco businessmen had driven out to Robinson, the village nearest the Fryar farm, and arranged a deal with the murdered woman's friends and relatives to let the trial proceed unhindered. In exchange these good men promised that the Robinson folks would get to carry out the little-doubted death sentence. Everyone was certain that young Jesse Washington was guilty. Even Freeman reported in an undated letter scribbled hastily to NAACP secretary Roy Nash from Waco that "the boy committed the foulest crime. He premeditated the crime—killed the woman in cold blood—raped the dead body—went back to his work [and] finished the day in the fields—came back and put up his mules and went home. When arrested he frankly admitted his guilt, was coarse and bestal [*sic*] in the telling." She claimed that the leading African American citizens, too, were "stung and disgraced" by Washington's actions, and the *Waco Semi-Weekly Tribune* even reported—most likely falsely—many blacks among the spectators who witnessed Washington's burning.[37]

Many prominent town citizens had reportedly watched if not participated in the lynching. One paper reported that "from the windows of city buildings hundreds look[ed] out upon the activities of the scene below." Mayor Dollins was perhaps the most prominent Wacoan with this bird's-eye

view. The tree the mob chose to hold Washington, luckily for the mayor, was right under his office window, ten feet from the building, and from his box seat he must have seen the mob cut off Washington's ear as a prelude to the obligatory castration. Later, Waco citizens told Freeman that the fire had damaged the tree's beautiful foliage. Only a young manicurist whose window at work also looked out on City Hall Square had been willing to go on record with her description of the horrible scene. As the NAACP investigator recorded, "it was generally known that something was going to happen, and when they heard the noise everybody rushed to the windows, and that child saw them unsex the body . . . [and] others say . . . that they were carrying the proof around in a handkerchief showing it as a souvenir . . ."[38]

A photographer, too, tried his hand at the souvenir business. Freeman discovered that Gildersleeve—he put his name on the photographs—was tipped off by telephone and arrived in time to set up his camera even before the mob lit the fire. "It was a cooked business between the Mayor and himself. The getting of the pictures was a certain amount of rake-off." Quickly printing the photos as postcards, he sold them for ten cents apiece to those unfortunate enough to have missed acquiring their own portion of Washington's body. Ten cents, after all, was significantly cheaper than the five dollars that by day's end Washington's teeth were reportedly fetching and less even than the links of the chain that were trading for a quarter. No one, it seemed, was selling the more coveted body parts. The only important difference in the case of the burning alive of Jesse Washington in Waco in 1916 was that Freeman got the pictures. But Gildersleeve charged Freeman, posing as a suffrage activist, five times his regular price.[39]

The photographs filled in with graphic visuality what the papers with their nods to politeness and decency and the "cultured and reputable city" had largely left out. The pictures gave witness to the new, multistoried buildings, City Hall Square spilling over with Wacoans, and the setting of a black man on fire. They showed the body burning, burnt and charred beyond human resemblance, and the white boys smiling with the ash. Freeman specifically asked only for pictures of City Hall, the courthouse, and the judge, claiming as a motive her desire to show folks up north that Waco was a nice and friendly place. The mayor and sheriff hesitated and hemmed and hawed over her request, reluctant to circulate the pictures further by giving them to outsiders. As even the on-the-take mayor and the sheriff sunk in the politics of his own reelection came to see, these images would subvert the story they wanted told about Waco once they had circulated beyond the approving context of the souvenir-seeking crowd. But they relented and granted Freeman the pictures. Erasing the fine line between civilized ritual and savage spectacle, the photographs appeared widely in the weeks afterward, provoking regional and national condemnation and challenging the often recycled story of the white community in action. Despite *Birth of a Nation*'s declaration of national reunion, the narrative of white unity would not hold.[40]

The sheriff's and the mayor's changes of heart about the photographs, however, were not the only evidence of cracks within the standard white southern lynching story. The unnamed reporter at the *Waco Semi-Weekly Tribune* began well, describing how Washington was seized in the courthouse and making the necessary nod to law officers who had valiantly performed their duty yet somehow misplaced their guns: "once the huge mass of humanity moved, it moved in such a compact formation that nothing could stop it." The paper described the crowd as made of men, women, and children, "all classes of people and among them many negroes." But soon a slip appeared: "Not all approved, but they looked on because they had never seen anything of the kind. No hand was raised to stop the movement, no word spoken to halt the progress of those who carried the negro to his death." Evidently not all 15,000 Texans enjoyed the murder of a man who within days would have been legally executed. In a similar fashion, another local reporter admitted that "many turned away," suggesting that not everyone in Waco wanted to watch such barbarism. By the end of its story, however, the first Waco paper had resurrected the old refrain: "This is the story of the execution of this Negro by the citizens of this county. No one section was implicated more than another. They were here from all parts, and all parts and Waco participated equally." Compelled to assert the unity of the white community, then, newspapers inadvertently included blacks among the citizenry, thereby undermining precisely the point they wanted to make. The act of trying to clarify the boundary between white and black revealed the very fluidity of the color line.[41]

Nonlocal papers also focused on the white crowd in motion and ignored the effects of such blatant white barbarity on southern African Americans, but their accounts displayed a decidedly different moral. The *Houston Chronicle and Herald* put the matter baldly: "The Chronicle leaves him [Washington] entirely out of consideration. It is not him, nor his race, that has been affected; it is the hundreds of whites who participated, the thousands who looked on, the millions who will read." Calling lynching

an "American institution," the *San Francisco Bulletin* concluded that "the strangest delusion in connection with lynching is that it is the victim who suffers most. In reality it is the community who is lynched." Commenting on the call to "civilize" Mexico popular among Texan whites, the *Bulletin* implied that "civilization" might be safer there. Even the African American paper the *Chicago Defender* implied that "white culture" was in great danger if it stood "for such bestial cruelty." Only the local *Waco Morning News* editorially took up for the town, but it too saw white Wacoans as the prime victims. Asking who would cast the first stone, the paper presented the Texas city as a victim of national self-righteousness. The culture of segregation conflated "civilization" with white space, and the order of Waco's City Hall Square had been undeniably violated that May morning. The *News* did not understand how much it gave away when it claimed "Civilization is but skin deep."[42]

With Washington's lynching in 1916, then, replaying the familiar ritual of white supremacy, reconstructing the master narrative, was much more complicated than in the 1899 lynching of Hose. Regional papers had abandoned altogether that story of the white community upholding civilization. Instead they deployed varying degrees of outrage over the spectacle's destruction of the very whiteness it was supposed to save. National anti-lynching agitation increased after the Washington lynching under the leadership of the NAACP, and Congress considered the Dyer Anti-Lynching Act in 1919 and 1920. Northern big-city papers, too, expressed a clearer condemnation.[43]

But interpretations of the meanings of these events had never been their main attractions. As NAACP official Walter White stated thirteen years after Waco, many white newspaper readers around the nation could encounter the spectacle with "little thought" and perhaps a small amount of titillation. Even locally the question was less one of agreement than of interest. As the *Waco Semi-Weekly Tribune* had put it, "once the huge mass of humanity moved, it moved in such a compact formation that nothing could stop it . . . Not all approved, but they looked on because they had never seen anything of the kind. No hand was raised to stop the movement, no word spoken to halt the progress of those who carried the negro to his death." Some southern whites had always publicly condemned lynching. Their numbers grew as the twentieth century progressed. But it was white participation, not white agreement, that empowered lynching as modern spectacle, creating a white consuming public and easing white divisions of gender

and class. And participation—in a continuum, certainly, of moral repugnance and responsibility—ranged from performing the tortures to watching the murder to looking at the pictures. As the film critic Dana B. Polan has explained, spectacle condensed sense and understanding into sight and "jettison[ed] a need for narrative myths . . . Contradiction itself [became] a new coherence, the modern seduction." Du Bois had boldly stated that even the deadly spectacle of African American otherness had become an amusement. And the amusement, the cultural power of spectacle lynchings, lay not in the assignment of cause and blame, the tallying of rights and wrongs, but in the looking.[44]

As the Smith, Hose, and Washington lynchings demonstrated, then, innovations like trains and cars, telegraphs and telephones, and cheaper newspapers and photographs could expand and strengthen the power of each incident as easily as they increased white condemnation. And *Birth of a Nation*, shown widely from its release through the end of the decade, merged the twentieth-century spectacle lynching with Reconstruction era violence, producing a spectacle of lynching for the entire nation. The symbolic reunion of North and South that *Birth* captured so vividly and to such popular acclaim echoed the political reconciliation evident in the election of the southerner Woodrow Wilson to the presidency in 1912 and the segregation of Washington, D.C., during his first term. The North, then, had accepted southern whites' version of Reconstruction as black space and installed the culture of segregation at the very center of the nation. With America's entrance into the Great War in 1917, Wilson realized what George Creel, his chair of the Committee on Public Information, bluntly stated: the need to "weld the people of the United States into one white hot mass instinct." The president borrowed *Birth of a Nation* imagery to celebrate another American ride to the rescue, the entrance of America into the war. In both the movies and in life, the spectacle of African American otherness created white unity and gave birth to the modern nation. Whether most Americans rationally agreed with *Birth*'s interpretation of the Civil War and Reconstruction little mattered. As Wilson understood, the film "wrote history in lightning" because of the pleasure of the looking.[45]

The two regions' elites, then, had come together in whiteness, in their desire for a system of difference that would withstand the corrosive effects of modernity and defend against the breakdown of all social categories. The color line at the foundation of the southern culture of segregation was no longer mediated even by a lingering regional animosity. But the practice of

lynching continued, as southern elites without business connections outside the region and southern whites without business connections at all continued to murder African Americans, not in contradiction to but because of other white southern elites' and nonsoutherners' increasing opposition. As lynching became more about conjuring "southernness"—understood as white—than about "whiteness"—understood as American—the form and narration of the spectacle necessarily changed.

The Lynching of Claude Neal

The lynching of Claude Neal in Marianna, Florida, in 1934 signaled the end of the gruesome southern practice of spectacle lynchings. The lynching of Matthew Williams in 1931 in Salisbury, Maryland, had served as a practice run for Neal. Sending Johns Hopkins professor Broadus Mitchell to investigate the "gaudy show," H. L. Mencken sarcastically commented on and editorially condemned the entire Eastern Shore from the *Evening Sun* in Baltimore. A crowd of over two hundred white men—Mencken called them "town boomers"—took Williams from a hospital and hanged him from a tree by the courthouse for the enjoyment of a thousand spectators. And there were a few other gruesome murders of black men and women after 1934—the burning to death of two black men with gasoline blowtorches in the town square of Duck Hill, Mississippi, in 1937 stood out for its barbarity across the entire history of southern white racial violence. But the Neal lynching, unfolding against the background of the case of the Scottsboro men, was different. Local whites pointed to the nationally publicized trials and appeals of these nine young African Americans accused of raping two white women on a train as evidence of how justice was thwarted when citizens let "the law take its course." But the NAACP learned a very different lesson from its struggles with the International Labor Defense, a popular front organization, over control of the Scottsboro men's defense. The correct publicity could transform an event into a tool for achieving the organization's larger goal, the passage of a federal anti-lynching bill, and from the Neal lynching forward the NAACP worked to capture the cultural power inherent in sensationalized, gruesomely voyeuristic stories and even more grisly pictures for the anti-lynching crusade. Though Neal was lynched in an isolated backwoods area of northern Florida instead of in broad daylight

in the center of a southern city, the NAACP made the torture and murder of Claude Neal into a spectacle. It uncovered the details, constructed the story, and provided the meaning, telling the nation a tale of white southern injustice rather than of the still-persuasive black beast rapist. And they told it well.[46]

The local, regional, and national press, however, certainly did not ignore the lynching. In fact, the *Marianna* (Florida) *Daily Times-Courier* and the *Dothan* (Alabama) *Eagle* announced the "lynch party" in their October 26 morning editions, at least twelve hours in advance of Neal's torture and murder. The Associated Press issued a series of dispatches from the area around Marianna beginning with an October 26 morning report, and newspapers from the *Richmond Times-Dispatch* to the *Bismarck* (North Dakota) *Tribune* announced "Mob Holds Negro; Invitations Issued for a Lynch Party." But the details of the lynching, which occurred at the hands of the approximately one hundred white men who had taken turns torturing Neal over ten hours, did not appear in the press. The local and state law officials had made a show of trying to prevent the lynching, and no one from the press admitted being a witness to the event.[47]

The NAACP, however, was determined to make use of the case to strengthen its hand in the ongoing fight for the Costigan-Wagner Anti-Lynching Bill. Within eight days of the lynching, it sent an undercover investigator, Howard Kester of the Committee on Economic and Racial Justice, a white liberal southerner in his early thirties, to Marianna, instructing him "to get all the gruesome details possible together with any photographs of the body, crowd, etc . . . " On November 7 Kester wrote Walter White, then secretary of the NAACP, that the night before a member of the mob had related "with the greatest delight" all the specifics of Neal's prolonged torture. By November 30 the NAACP had published Kester's report, and at last the details of perhaps the most chillingly brutal lynching to date were available for public and nauseating consumption.[48]

The NAACP's *Lynching of Claude Neal* was widely circulated—Mencken sent it out to his Christian friends with a Christmas card attached—and over 15,000 copies were distributed and sold. And yet Kester's description varied little from turn-of-the-century narratives of lynchings published by local and regional white papers in praise of the practice. The key differences were his inclusion of a picture taken of the naked and mutilated body, the kind of photograph usually sold as a souvenir but never published in a newspaper, and his arrangement of the narrative's parts. Kester began not with

Neal's alleged crimes, mentioning only that he had been arrested for the murder of Lola Cannidy, but with the mob, "car loads of men" cast as savages hunting down a black man already in custody and threatening his also jailed mother and aunt. The mob played the role of the villain, then, less because of what Kester said about them than because he had not yet proclaimed Neal guilty of rape. And Kester's accounts of the shortcomings of law enforcement officials had also been present in narratives justifying lynchings, though perhaps with less detailed evidence. But most strikingly, Kester moved next to recount the lynching itself, still without having described in voyeuristic detail the black man's alleged crimes. And although later, in a concluding section on the historic, social, and economic context of the Marianna area, he would describe it as otherwise, here he placed the northern section of Florida and southeastern Alabama squarely within 1930s America, a place where newspapers, telephone calls, and even a radio station in Dothan, Alabama, advertised that a "lynching party" would be held "to which all whites were invited." The scheduled "modern Twentieth Century lynching" of Neal, he claimed, drew between three and seven thousand whites to the "ringside seats" at the murdered white woman's home.[49]

Kester did make three subtle innovations in the dominant lynching narrative, however, providing more detail in one central plot section, clarifying necessary ambiguities in another, and extending the story past a frenzied souvenir-gathering aftermath. Though the torturing of lynch mob victims had been described before, no other report surpassed the NAACP's unblinking account of Neal's castration, framed as the words of a bragging eyewitness: "they cut off his penis. He was made to eat it. Then they cut off his testicles and made him eat them and say he liked it." And Kester's arrangement of the Neal story fully utilized these details, transforming the eye-for-an-eye narrative structure in which one violated body demanded another more violated one, a black man's body for a white woman's contaminated soul, into a tale of competing bodies as metaphors for competing truths. Lola Cannidy's clothed and only beaten and still not raped corpse could never overcome, then, the horror of Neal's mutilated remains, scattered across the countryside and shattering the narrative frame, entering the future as alcohol-preserved fingers in a jar.

In addition, Kester clarified the ambiguities that surrounded white women in the lynching narrative. For the story demanded women's participation—identifying their or their relatives' rapists, relating the specifics of their own or other women's torments, and calling for the most brutal

deaths for the black men they accused. And yet it also depicted their victimization—the living torture of raped "ladies" whispered better off dead and the shocked and speechless horror of a murdered woman's relatives. Kester presented white women unflatteringly detached from their pedestals. He reported how an unidentified woman at the Cannidy house drove a butcher's knife through the heart of Neal's corpse, brought to the door by some lynchers in a car. His report also described Lola's sister shouting that no possible punishment could ever fit the crime. Most importantly, however, Kester described how Lola herself, about to marry a white man, wanted to end her sexual relationship with Neal and threatened him with lynching. This alternative female image contrasted sharply with the picture of violated ladyhood drawn by the local papers. And whether or not Kester had evidence to back up his account of Lola Cannidy's and Claude Neal's affair, the NAACP engaged in the same kinds of exaggeration that had become standard in the lynching narrative. NAACP activists by the 1930s were as little interested in the truth as the white southerners who defended lynching. Their agenda was a moral, not a historical one—they wanted to save not facts but lives.

Finally, Kester added a postscript to his narrative, describing the lives of African Americans in the days between and after Cannidy's and Neal's murders. Playing "Uncle Tom" and "Sambo," terrified local black men desperately tried to distance themselves from Neal's publicly predicted fate. But a riot broke out after Neal's death anyway, as the thousands of spectators who went to the wrong location and were thus deprived of the promised entertainment roamed the town looking for other victims. In Kester's version, instead of an implied return to white order beyond the narrative frame, the lynching ended with another charge by those rampaging and revenging white men. As the riot exploded, so did white unity. Kester ended his narrative and began his analysis with the image of whites protecting, sometimes with shotguns pointed at other whites, their cherished black butlers and maids.

Lynching as a story of the entire white community in action, using savagery to protect southern "civilization," was dead. And Walter White, then secretary of the NAACP, followed up on the success of the Neal pamphlet by attempting to create yet another lynching spectacle. The NAACP was a silent sponsor along with a distinguished list of published patrons of "An Art Commentary on Lynching," an exhibit of paintings, prints, and drawings about lynchings at the Arthur U. Newton Galleries in New York City.

Almost three thousand people saw the exhibition of thirty-nine works—some directly inspired by the killing of Neal—on display from February 15 through March 2, 1935. Copies of the catalog, with moving forewords written by Sherwood Anderson and Erskine Caldwell and reproductions of five of the works, circulated widely. The NAACP and other organizations also began using photographs and grisly descriptions of lynched black men on petitions circulated for signatures in support of federal anti-lynching legislation and on postcards mailed out to raise funds. The lynching spectacle, then, had given way to the growing anti-lynching crusade's attempt to make a spectacle of lynching. Lynching may have remained a white southern pastime, but it became a much more private sport. If the nation wanted to look at or read about the mutilated and murdered bodies of black men, it would have to sign the petition.[50]

And yet since the spectacle itself was enough to create a white public, the NAACP's capture of the lynching narrative, its impact on national interpretations of lynching's meaning, did not disrupt the cultural work of the spectacle. Whites were not blacks, and blacks were still humans who could be tortured and killed with impunity. No doubt for some whites the slippage between titillation, self-righteousness, and disgust remained. White southern elites blamed "crackers," and northern whites pointed a finger at white southern barbarity. Having reunited in their common racial identity, northern and southern whites argued, then, about whether lynching protected or damaged whiteness while glossing over the plight of the African American victims. And by continuing and expanding the circulation of the stories, even anti-lynching activists' use of lynchings as spectacle helped maintain the power of the practice as a cultural form and aided in the cultural work these narratives performed. That they had no other option demonstrated the power of the spectacle in setting the boundaries of racial meaning.

After the Neal lynching, spectacle lynchings seldom happened, and lynchings that became spectacles—the 1955 lynching of Emmet Till was perhaps the best known—were overwhelmingly condemned. W. J. Cash was right about the continuing need of white southerners to reassure themselves with yet another reenactment of the old white supremacy ritual. What he failed to understand, however, was that southern whites no longer needed to "dirty" their towns with actual lynchings. The spectacle circulated in detailed written accounts of tortures, pickled and dried body parts, a radio announcement, an Edison recording, a film, and even a gruesome picture postcard sent and saved: these artifacts increasingly did the cultural

work of othering southern African Americans, of making whiteness across gender and class lines, for them. And from the perspectives of anti-lynching activists, the African American public that supplied the victims, and small-town boosters alike, this shift was progress. Yet the image of the "black beast rapist," providing a foundation for the culture of segregation beyond the reach of rational discussion, remained. The modern twentieth-century lynching had become the white South's own ritual of transgression, and by the late 1930s representations of lynchings worked almost as well as lynchings themselves.[51]

The Meaning of the Spectacle

At a country picnic in 1896, a young white boy hurried up to the booth to trade his sweaty nickel for a rare chance to hear that marvelous modern wonder, the Edison talking machine:

> With the tubes in my ears, the Pitchman was now adjusting the needle on the machine . . . My excitement increased, my heart was pounding so I could hardly hold the tubes in my ears with my shaking hands . . . "All Right Men. Bring Them Out. Let's Hear What They Have to Say," were the first words I understood coming from a talking machine . . . The sounds of shuffling feet, swearing men, rattle of chains, falling wood, brush, and fagots, then a voice—shrill, strident, angry, called out "Who will apply the torch?" "I will," came a chorus of high-pitched, angry voices . . . [I heard] the crackle of flames as it ate its way into the dry tinder . . . My eyes and mouth were dry. I tried to wet my lips, but my tongue, too, was parched. Perspiration dripped from my hands. I stood immobile, unable to move. Now the voice of the Pitchman saying, "That's all gentleman—who's next?" . . . [and] sensing what my trouble was, said, "Too much cake, too much lemonade. You know how boys are at a picnic."[52]

Perhaps little Mell Barrett would have been as sick and excited if he had actually witnessed the lynching of these unidentified men, burned to death by a mob after being forced to confess to rape and after pleading desperately for mercy. A place in a giant rushing crowd and the slow building, perfect pacing, and almost delicate choreography of a lynching such as Hose's three

years later might have counteracted the uniquely nauseating stench of burning flesh. Through the recording and the quick working of a young boy's imagination, however, as his physical reactions revealed, Barrett was there. Representations of lynchings, multiplying and increasing their power with the spread of consumer culture, made the line between individual and collective experience much more permeable than the line between the races. As Richard Wright knew well, a person did not have to experience the violence directly to feel its effects. And despite the chasm that separated African Americans' mediated experience of the terror and white Americans' mediated experience of the titillation, in both cases contact with a representation of the event was enough. To the newspaper story, the warning or bragging word overheard, and the remembered sight of fingers floating in alcohol in a jar were added as the decades passed those more modern ways of spreading knowledge: the radio announcement, the Edison recording, and even the gruesome picture postcard sent and saved.[53]

Lynching was the brutal underside of the modern South, the terrifying and yet for whites also perversely titillating practice and increasingly mediated narrative that made the culture of segregation work and even seem sane. As participants, spectators, investigators, and present-day scholars have all to varying degrees argued, lynchings, particularly the blatantly public spectacles, worked by ritualistically uniting white southerners, by embodying the community in action. Thus the "whole populace," the "whole male community as a unit," "the citizens of this county," and "all the white people" lynched Smith, Hose, Washington, and Neal. Even the naming of lynchings revealed their communal nature, as lynchers and anti-lynching activists alike called them after the cities and towns, the white communities that had performed them. But even as early as Hose, cracks appeared in white southerners' stories of lynching as the unified assertion of white supremacy. Lynchings conjured whiteness, then, through their spectacle of a violent African American otherness as much as through the narratives of white unity they generated. And that spectacle eased the contradictions at the heart of segregation, enacting the whiteness segregation simultaneously created and undermined.[54]

The culture of segregation made race dependent on space, and the color bar became less a line than the ground on which southern people were allowed to drink and buy and stand. The ritualized lynchings of the twentieth-century South were in part the controlled inversion of this practice of racial separation, the southern version of the medieval ritual of "woman

on top" in which boundary crossing served as boundary control and the ambivalance and contradictory nature of the proceedings expanded their power. In these spectacles, a transgression of segregated spaces occurred that eased without eliminating the subtle contradictions between the practice of segregation and the ideology of absolute white supremacy upon which it was based. As separation of the races became the foundation for white racial identity, black homes, businesses, churches, and bodies threatened to provide a ground of black autonomy that could challenge white supremacy. Yet lynchings denied that any space was black space, even the very bodies of African Americans were subject to invasion by whites. And public violence asserted this right in a way that was much more visible than the many undoubtedly frequent but much more privately horrible rapes and murders. These "lynch carnivals," then, were not about a lingering frontier past but about strengthening the culture of segregation, creating a new southern future in which an expanding consumer culture created and maintained rather than blurred and transformed racial difference. Lynchings ensured that a black man or woman was not just, as Du Bois had stated, "a person who must ride Jim Crow in Georgia," but also someone who could be publicly tortured and killed, prevented even from being a person.[55]

And lynchings reversed the decommodification of black bodies begun with emancipation. In spectacle lynchings, blacks themselves became consumer items; the sites of their murders became new spaces of consumption. After the lynchings of Smith, Hose, and Washington, markets in the gruesome souvenirs sprang up within minutes of the victim's death, and professional and amateur photographers alike rushed eagerly to the scene to capture the lynchers posing with the body. In other cases, stereographs of lynched black men were made and sold for three-dimensional viewing. Spectators occasionally even broke into black-owned general stores and passed out soda, cake, and crackers as refreshments.[56] In one rare case, a lynch mob in Texas skinned a black victim called "Big Nose" George and made the tanned "leather" into a medical instrument bag, razor strops, a pair of women's shoes, and a tobacco pouch. The Rawlins National Bank proudly displayed the shoes for years in the front window. As H. L. Mencken ironically asked, referring to a much more typical collection of body parts, in his coverage of the 1931 lynching of Matthews Williams: "What has become of these souvenirs the *Marylander and Herald* [the local paper] does not say. No doubt they now adorn the parlor mantlepiece of some

humble but public spirited Salisbury home, between the engrossed sea shell from Ocean City and the family Peruna bottle. I can only hope that they are not deposited eventually with the Maryland Historical Society."

Even if no historical society ever received such family heirlooms, Mencken was hardly exaggerating. Souvenirs were often publicly displayed. In the Hose lynching, townspeople considered it a supreme act of friendship when a man offered to split Hose's finger with his neighbor. Claiming all spaces and all consumption as white, lynchings closed off any access, however contingently, to the transformative possibilities of consumer products and consuming spaces by changing blacks themselves into the objects of white desire. This much, these lynchings said, could never be changed: blacks were humans who could be treated as nonhuman, and no amount of care on their part to follow the "rules" could in the end ensure their safety. Segregation seemed, on the other hand, if discriminatory, at least to offer places of relative safety and security, to allow at least the minimal right to exist to the new black bodies and spaces of freedom, a right that public spectacles of violence absolutely denied. Lynching was among other things the horror that made that oppressive system of segregation seem tame. Encountering Hose's knuckles, Du Bois confronted the very center of southern whiteness itself.[57]

But lynchings as a cultural form transgressed the color bar in another way as well. For the lynching narrative joined whiteness and blackness symbolically and bodily as the ritual built to a climax of torture and death. Cutting between the scene of Gus's castration and a Klan ceremony performed with the alleged rape victim Flora's blood, Griffith's original print of *Birth of a Nation* only made more explicit the mixing of white and black blood that was reported in the Hose lynching as white men rushing to cut souvenirs off the still live body sometimes stabbed each other instead. Spectacle lynchings, as the literary critic Robin Wiegman has argued, "enact[ed] a grotesquely symbolic—if not literal—sexual encounter between the white mob and its victim." Certainly this mixing of whiteness and blackness occurred only temporarily. And yet representations of lynchings suspended this moment in time, as pictures or pieces of mutilated bodies became souvenirs much like sexy photographs of or gifts from cherished lovers. Whiteness and blackness merged and civilization became savagery to defeat savages; in the end blackness was destroyed, and whiteness was all. Souvenirs of spectacle lynchings warned southern African Americans that violations of the color line could occur in both directions, that integrated spaces could prove

deadly. Whites' transgressions, then, reinforced separation even as they cut out any authority black spaces threatened to provide. The lynching act publicly revisited the biracial origins of southern culture only to deny in its narrative what it furiously displayed in its spectacle. After the "carnival," the white order of the culture of segregation was restored.[58]

Yet the sexuality at the center of spectacle lynchings, the castration of the black beast rapist in exchange for the violated white "virgin," proved that the "ritual of transgression" involved gender as well. Beyond reversing the decommodification of black bodies, the spectacle lynching also reversed the desexualization that also began with emancipation. The black man who during Reconstruction could no longer be stripped and beaten by a white man had demanded the removal of his female relatives from the spaces of white male control. By the end of the nineteenth century, however, he could be stripped and killed, becoming a sexual victim himself. The lynching narrative would never have been so powerful a ritual of subversion if the spectacle had not been invented within the late nineteenth-century context of changing southern white gender relations examined in Chapter 2. As historian Nancy Maclean has argued about the lynching of Leo Frank, "charged issues of sexuality and power between the sexes . . . [acted] as a trigger" for the mob's brutal actions.[59]

In fact, categories of gender and race would not stay fixed within these violent rituals, a slippage Griffith made explicit in the original cut of *Birth of a Nation* but perhaps even more visible in Jean Toomer's 1923 poem "Portrait in Georgia," which transforms a white woman into a lynched black man:

> Hair—braided chestnut,
> coiled like a lyncher's rope,
> Eyes—fagots,
> Lips—old scars, or the first red blisters,
> Breath—the last sweet scent of cane,
> And her slim body, white as the ash
> of black flesh after flame.[60]

In his *Light in August* (1932), William Faulkner too explores this violent conflation of womanhood and blackness through the culmination of the racially ambiguous Joe Christmas's fantasy of "womanshenegro" in his murder of his white lover Joanna Burden and his lynching and castration as a

black man at the hands of the white Percy Grimm. These writers, then, only made more apparent a transformation working in less artistic lynching narratives as well. In the Hose and Neal lynchings, as in others, the white men seem to fall into a strange love of their victims, praising the supermasculinity displayed by these black men through their calm courage in facing torture and death. White women refused to sit passively on their pedestals: Mrs. Cranford demanded that Hose be burned before her eyes, women in the crowd cheered the slow roasting of Washington, and a female relative of Lola Cannidy drove a butcher's knife through Neal's heart. And Toomer evoked the contestation of bodies, the mutilation and killing of the black man's body in return for the violated one of the white woman, visible in these lynchings as well.[61]

Ida B. Wells was the first investigator to delve beneath southern whites' loudly proclaimed connection of lynching to the "black beast rapist," and her 1892 suggestion that white women's sexual desires played an important role has been largely neglected. Twenty-four years later, Sheriff Fleming of Waco, the law enforcement official who did little to stop the 1916 lynching of Jesse Washington, tried to assure the voting public of his manliness, bragging about his "virility" in campaign ads. But it was not until 1941 that W. J. Cash first connected lynching to a crisis of masculinity. Cash provided one of the first examinations of a threatened white male authority as the overthrow of slavery's racial order also endangered its sexual order:

> For the abolition of slavery, in destroying the rigid fixity of the black at the bottom of the scale, in throwing open to him at least the legal opportunity to advance, had inevitably opened to the mind of every [white] Southerner a vista at the end of which stood the overthrow of this taboo. If it was given to the black man to advance at all, who could say (once more the logic of the doctrine of his inherent inferiority would not hold) that he would not one day advance the whole way and lay claim to complete equality, including, specifically, the ever crucial right of marriage. What [white] Southerners felt, therefore, was that any assertion of any kind on the part of the Negro constituted in a perfectly real manner an attack on the Southern [white] woman.[62]

Cash implied that white male power challenged by black men's political and economic advances translated into white male sexuality threatened by black male sexuality. Rape of white women signaled metaphorically white men's fear of the loss of ability to provide for white women and physically their fear, given their treatment of black women, of the loss of white racial purity.[63]

In his examination of Thomas Dixon, popular author of *The Leopard's Spots* and *The Clansman*, on which *Birth of a Nation* was based, the historian Joel Williamson has made Cash's argument much more explicit, describing a crisis of white male sexuality as southern white men worked themselves into a corner within which black and white women became unavailable sexually. Fear of the white women who held families and communities together after the war competed with white men's romanticization of their brave deeds. Beginning in the Reconstruction era as white men increasingly glorified white women, the pedestal rose too high for the satisfaction of white male sexual desires. At the same time, with the emancipation of female slaves, white men found themselves less and less able to take their sexual desires to the quarters. Lynching, then, relieved these tensions and transferred the supersexual powers of the white-constructed "black beast rapist" to the sexually diminished white man even as it diminished the feared power of the white woman who now needed white male protection. White women and black men were conflated as fear of and the desire to protect the white woman became fear of and the desire to destroy the black man.[64]

And yet more than elite white manhood was at stake. Lynching helped reconcile the ambiguity of gender difference at the heart of a society in which the primary boundary was the color line. The gender lines within the whiteness made by the culture of segregation were less than clearly drawn, no matter the amount of effort both white men and women expended in the praise of the "lady on her pedestal." For white supremacy always carried with it the possibility of strengthening the white woman as it emasculated, often literally, the black man. Toomer's poem can as easily be read as an empowering exchange in which the white woman, not the white man, takes her existence from the last breath of the burned black man. White women, after all, shared a racial power that contradicted the supposed inferiority of their gender. And fear of the "black beast rapist" exploded not in the 1870s, when African American men were more recently released from the reportedly "civilizing influence of slavery," but in the 1890s, as whites began building segregation as culture upon segregation as policy. The historian Jacquelyn Hall has emphasized, "it may be no accident that the vision of the black man as a threatening beast flourished during the first phase of

the southern women's rights movement, a fantasy of transgression against boundary-transgressing women. Certainly the rebelliousness of that feminine generation was circumscribed by the feeling that women were hedged about by a 'nameless horror.' "[65]

Spectacle lynchings did sometimes incorporate warnings aimed at unconventional women. When the lynch mob dragged Washington's corpse through the streets of Waco in 1916, some of his charred limbs fell off. The NAACP's investigator discovered that these reminders of the white community's power to define acceptable sexual behavior, instead of being sold as souvenirs, were placed on the stoop of a "disrespectable" woman's home in the reservation district. And yet white women often directed the very rituals by which white men recaptured their own masculinity through the castration of the black male. After all, as in the Hose lynching, the black man's supersexual image was often the result of their testimony. White women like Rebecca Felton, perhaps the region's most popular white woman journalist, were empowered by the lynching narrative. Felton owed much of her region-wide fame to her demand in a speech before hundreds at an 1897 meeting of the State Agricultural Society of Georgia that "if it takes lynching to protect [white] woman's dearest possession from drunken, ravening human beasts, then I say lynch a thousand a week."[66]

The spectacle lynching began in a setting that emphasized a sharp gender difference, with the white woman endangered by a "black beast rapist." For no matter the actual crime, as Wells had argued as early as 1892, no matter that the evidence was inconclusive that Hose, Washington, or Neal committed sexual assault, rape provided the justification. Yet the act of the torture and murder itself brought white men and women together symbolically and physically just as it had merged whiteness and blackness. White women often participated as announcers of the upcoming event, as spectators, and as gatherers of wood and other fuel. They directed the actions of large numbers of white men by alleging rape, attempted rape, or even an attempted stare, and by demanding tortures and egging mobs on. In one case a woman even stood on a car and repeatedly yelled "roast the nigger" when it seemed the mob might show mercy. Not just the white man was empowered when the black man was literally and symbolically deprived of his masculinity. The lynching narrative moved white women toward masculinity even as it subtly shifted white men away from the maleness, embodied in the black beast, that they were trying to capture through castration. Thus spectacle lynchings operated upon gender ideologies in very contradictory ways. Replicating a process at work in the larger southern world, the lynching narrative simultaneously empowered white women as it emasculated black men and limited white women as it signified their need for protection.[67]

The lynching narrative, then, conferred a power that white women accepted ambivalently. No doubt some white women used it. The NAACP reported that Lola Cannidy attempted to break up with Claude Neal by threatening him with lynching. Yet white women were never allowed to assume the major roles in the spectacle, to participate directly in the torture. The southern suffrage movement too had pursued a strategy that sought white women's political power in the name of their racial identities, as a way to strengthen whiteness, and had almost totally failed. Only the Association of Southern Women for the Prevention of Lynching (ASWPL), led by Jessie Daniel Ames, seemed to walk the tightrope between racial strength and gender weakness well, mobilizing this very contradiction in the 1930s and 1940s to help decrease racial violence. Donning a veil of white womanhood—emphasizing and even exaggerating gender difference—white women nevertheless argued privately that even "southern ladies" did not need the protection of the mob. When lynchings seemed imminent in their towns or counties, members of the ASWPL called sheriffs and mayors and quietly reminded them that as women they could not actively intercede with the mob but that as whites they were voters too. The activist Lillian Smith hinted at southern white women's contradictory experience of whiteness and womanhood in her autobiographical work *Killers of the Dream:*

> One day, sometime in your childhood or adolescence, a Negro was lynched in your county or the one next to yours. A human being was burned or hanged from a tree and you knew it happened. But no one publicly condemned it and always the murderers went free. And afterward, maybe weeks or months or years afterward, you sat casually in the drugstore with one of the murderers and drank the Coke he casually paid for. A "nice white girl" could do that but she would have been run out of town or perhaps killed had she drunk a Coke with the young Negro doctor who was devoting his life to the service of his people.[68]

White women's access to the power of whiteness could be effective against lynching, then, but not against the system of segregation that helped create

their racial identities in the first place. In the end, both the racialized spaces of consumer culture and male power were restored.[69]

Finally, lynching as the controlled inversion of segregation also helped ease the class tensions within white supremacy. For poor whites, too, experienced a racial power that contradicted the inferiority of their class position. No matter the economic strength of southern progressives, of the mill owners and professionals, or of the new southern middle class that created segregation as policy. Any white man and some white women, too, could "burn a nigger." And white southern elites, even when they wanted to, could not stop other whites from lynching without threatening the system of segregation, itself based on white supremacy, that had helped secure their rise above their fellow farmers in the first place. But as sociologist Arthur Raper found in his 1933 study of lynchings, the "best men" seldom condemned the practice:

> Not infrequently more unanimity can be had on a lynching than on any other subject. Lynching tends to minimize social and class distinctions between white plantation owners and white tenants, mill owners and textile workers . . . This prejudice against the Negro forms a common meeting place for whites.

Only in the Neal case did published accounts question that all whites supported the spectacle. The culture of segregation created a cross-class construction of whiteness, and the mass of white spectators and mob members provided its physical embodiment. For tenants and mill hands, being able to commit unpunished acts of violence created an illusion of individual power, of control over their destinies, however, that their deteriorating place in the southern economy belied.[70]

By the end of World War I, increasing numbers of white elites, especially in cities, had developed important ties beyond the region and had become concerned about outside condemnation of the practice. In addition, lynchings often created race riots, and certainly the same racial tensions fueled both. Many of the buildings, houses, and businesses burned by rioters in Wilmington in 1898, in Atlanta in 1906, and in the widespread racial violence in 1919 after the end of the war did not belong to these poorer whites. And Leo Frank had brought home the danger of calling the white masses into motion—they could turn on their white employers, a task no doubt made considerably easier by Frank's Jewish otherness, instead of their African American neighbors.[71]

Between 1890 and 1940, however, a profound shift occurred within the class tensions that spectacle lynchings ritualistically resolved. The practice had in part originated in the late nineteenth century as white elites tried to consolidate their power in the postbellum economic order by pulling less wealthy whites away from possible Populist allies, the black tenants who lived the same difficult rural lives. By the time of World War I, however, as national reconciliation between northern and southern whites peaked in a recognition of their common racial identity, the class dynamic within southern whiteness reversed. Small-town and rural southern whites continued to lynch in defiance of wealthier and often more urban and nationally oriented members of their race. The lynching of Leo Frank, an early example of this shift despite its urban context, had essentially been an argument about which southern whites would shape this collective racial identity. In the 1920s and 1930s, lynching asserted its practitioners' southern distinctiveness, their own definition of whiteness, in opposition to a more urban, national version. Though spectacle lynchings could not occur without the complicity of mayors, law enforcement officials, and local businessmen, mob leaders were less likely to come from these groups, which increasingly voiced a public appeal for the rule of law. In the Neal case, law enforcement officials did make some effort to avert the lynching, and despite making a secret deal with the lynchers, Marianna businessmen did not publicly lead or support the mob. In addition, especially by the 1930s, southern big-city newspapers always condemned the practice. Their concern, however, passed over the African American victims to focus on injury to white "civilization," as demonstrated by Mencken's attack on the lynchers of Salisbury, Maryland, in 1931 and the *Atlanta Constitution*'s condemnation of the 1934 Neal lynching.[72]

Somehow the violence had to be controlled, then, without upsetting poorer whites' support for the culture of segregation. And here again a growing consumer culture making less violence better known and thus more powerful reinforced the culture of segregation by reconciling its ideological contradictions. Whites could now consume a lynching without consuming a black man, alleviating the danger of a lynching spilling over into an anarchy that destroyed valuable property. A lynching somewhere else could create a white public and yet not hurt local town boosting or challenge local

class hierarchies. In growing urban eras, police forces increasingly stepped in to stop extralegal violence and protect property. For many white southerners, representations of lynchings had become better than lynchings themselves.

But not for all. Though the circulation of the lynching narrative—especially with the NAACP's escalation of the anti-lynching campaign—helped eliminate spectacle lynchings, in more isolated places like Glendora and Poplarville, Mississippi, whites continued to assert what they thought was their racial right to kill African Americans, albeit more privately. Private lynchings continued and may even have increased in the 1930s as some rural white southerners saw the violence as an act of southern patriotism. For some whites, then, images of lynchings did not work quite as effectively as lynchings themselves in reconciling the class differences within the whiteness empowered by the culture of segregation.[73]

Spectacle lynchings symbolically and physically subverted segregation, separation as culture, in order to strengthen it. These grisly rituals ensured that the whiteness segregation created remained unbroken within by gender and class divisions and unchallenged without by a black autonomy nurtured on the ground of separation. But as some white southern elites increasingly saw their own interests connected culturally and economically to a North whose conception of justice did not as routinely include extralegal violence, lynchings could no longer conjure southern unity across a growing class divide. The contradictions between more dominant American conceptions of "civilization" and southern whites' claims of superiority cracked whiteness in a way that lynching, as the cause, could not seal. For some whites, then, lynching, "smashing a sassy Negro," became a badge of southern distinctiveness as well as racial identity. The federal government and the moralistic North could not again tell these southern whites how to manage their own affairs. By the 1930s, violence became one way to mediate between the desire for Americanization, a connection to the larger nation, and the fear of losing the white southern self.[1]

But perhaps most frighteningly, the lynching narrative worked as a ritual of inversion that created white unity within the nation as well as the region. Resolving the contradictions of a nationalism based on racial identity—a national white supremacy—the white South could always be condemned by the North as excess, as lack, thereby providing the mask

underneath which the inequities of American whiteness could be ignored. The fact that northern African Americans could look south and see a much more explicit oppression must have dampened their confidence in demanding greater rights at home. As NAACP director James Weldon Johnson declared so eloquently, "lynching in the United States has resolved itself into a problem of saving black America's body and white America's soul." Despite the moral as well as racial ambiguity with which William Faulkner surrounds Joe Christmas, perhaps the most famous fictional victim of a lynch mob, then, many whites continued to see the "black beast rapist," their own simple and therefore defeatable devil, their own collective construction of evil. On the black side of Calvary, however, African American and white liberal anti-lynching activists offered a vastly different interpretation of southern white atrocities, attempting to make the Christlike natures as well as the racial identity of lynching victims transparently clear. Only the African American body hung on that charred cross. For whites it meant damnation, the perhaps permanent loss, as Johnson understood, of a large part of America's soul.[74]

tion, Rutgers University, 1995). On the image's role within the culture of segregation, see Chapter 5.

57. Stanton Diary, 1910, LMS-UGA.

58. The best source on Frances Newman is Anne Goodwyn Jones, *Tomorrow Is Another Day*, 271–312. The quotes are from Frances Newman to Susan Long, May 1927; and Frances Newman to Hudson Strode, 2 September 1927, in *Frances Newman's Letters* (New York: Horace Liveright, 1929), 254, 273; and Winifred Rothermel, "Aristocratic Writer, Daughter of the South, Taken By Death in Gotham," *Birmingham News–Age-Herald*, 28 October 1928, 4, quoted in Jones, *Tomorrow Is Another Day*, 279.

59. On the white community's attitude toward Stanton, see Francis Forbes Heyn, interview with the author, 2 November 1990, New Orleans; Paul Hodgeson, interview with the author, 25 October 1990, Athens, GA; and Susan Barrow Tate, interview with the author, 9 October 1990, Athens, GA; all in the author's possession. See also Hale, " 'Some Women Have Never Been Reconstructed.' " Many of Stanton's paintings of African Americans are in the Stanton Collection at Emory University. Color reproductions are available in Hale, " 'In Terms of Paint.' " On Newman, see Jones, *Tomorrow Is Another Day*, 298–310; Frances Newman, *The Hard Boiled Virgin* (New York: Boni and Liveright, 1926), and *Dead Lovers*.

60. See Box 3, KDL-UNC, for Lumpkin's thesis and dissertation. See the Laurel Falls Camp Collection, LS-UGA; and the Paula Smith Collection, Hargrett Rare Book and Manuscript Collection, University of Georgia, Athens, for Smith's life at camp and with Paula. Given the complexity and contradictions of white and black women's racial and gender identities in general and their relationships within white homes in particular, it is not surprising that many of the first white critics of segregation were white women like Lillian Smith and Katharine Lumpkin and that some of the first civil rights activists were African American women like Rosa Parks who had worked as domestic servants. For more on Smith and Lumpkin and their pioneering white attacks on segregation, see Chapter 6.

61. Smith, *Killers of the Dream*, 29.

62. Glasgow, *Woman Within*, 20–31, quotes, 20, 30.

63. Estelle T. Oltrogge, "My Old Black Mammy," *Confederate Veteran* 25 (January 1917): 45. This is the last stanza of the poem.

64. James Weldon Johnson, *All Along This Way: The Autobiography of James Weldon Johnson* (1933; rpt., New York: Penguin Books, 1990), 9–10.

CHAPTER FOUR: *Bounding Consumption*

1. Edgar Gardner Murphy, *The Basis of Ascendancy* (New York: Longmans, 1909), 122, 138.

2. Ralph Ellison, "Change the Joke and Slip the Yoke," *Partisan Review* (Spring 1958), reprinted in *Shadow and Act* (1964; rpt., New York: Vintage International, 1995), 54–55.

3. William Faulkner, *Go Down, Moses* (1942; rpt., New York: Vintage International, 1990), 324–25, 184, 326, 184.

4. Ibid., frontispiece, 185. Joel Williamson, *William Faulkner and Southern History* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1993), 264–66, 414–18; Eric J. Sundquist, *Faulkner: The House Divided* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1983), 131–59. On the hunt, see Ted Ownby, *Subduing Satan: Religion, Recreation, and Manhood in the Rural South, 1865–1920* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1990), 21–37; and Stuart A. Marks, *Southern Hunting in Black and White: Nature, History, and Ritual in a Carolina Community* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1991).

5. Faulkner, *Go Down, Moses*, 325, 185; Edward L. Ayers, *The Promise of the New South: Life After Reconstruction* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1992), 20, 55; William Faulkner, *The Sound and the Fury* (1929; rpt., New York: Modern Library, 1956), 10. Faulkner also explores the social and cultural transformation of southern life resulting from the move to town in *The Hamlet* (1940; rpt., New York: Vintage Books, 1956). Of course, Faulkner also peopled his Old South with "New Men," upwardly mobile planters like Thomas Sutpen, who live among and yet differ from the more established and more traditional planters.

6. Ayers, *Promise of the New South*, 9, 3–20, 25; Francis A. Doughty, "Life in the Cotton Belt," *Lippincott's* 59 (May 1897): 687. For other evidence of the decaying rural antebellum mansion as the most haunting symbol in the first half of the twentieth century of the changing South, see Faulkner's frequent use of these once-grand homes as setting and sometimes almost as characters in *Sanctuary* (1931; rpt., New York: Vintage International, 1993), *Light in August* (1932; rpt., New York: Modern Library, 1968), and *The Hamlet*. In the late 1930s and 1940s, many of the Farm Security Administration (FSA) photographers sent into the Deep South took pictures of these structures, often indicating in their captions that they were now inhabited by African American tenant families. See, for example, Jack Delano, "The old Branch home, on the Athens road, now occupied by a Negro family," LC-USF34-46193-D, Greensboro, GA, October 1941; Arthur Rothstein, "The old home of the Pettways which is now occupied by Negroes," LC-USF34-25380-D, and "John Miller and his family who are living in the old Pettway mansion," LC-USF34-25381-D, Gee's Bend, AL, April 1937; Russell Lee, "Entrance to the old Trepanier plantation house. This house is now occupied by Negroes," LC-USF34-31351-D, Norco, LA, September 1938; Walker Evans, "An abandoned plantation house," LC-USF342-8233-A, "Antebellum plantation house," LC-USF342-8052-A and LC-USF342-8050-A, Vicksburg, MS, March 1936, and "An abandoned plantation house," LC-USF33-9049-M2, Monticello, GA, March 1936; Dorothea Lange, "An antebellum plantation house," LC-USF34-17937-E, Green County, GA, July 1937; Marion Post Wolcott, "An abandoned plantation house," LC-USF34-51286-D, Green County, GA, May 1939; Jack Delano, "The old plantation house of Elisha Jarrell which now belongs to the FSA," LC-USF341-44252-A, White Plains, GA, May 1941, and "A deserted old plantation house that belonged to Rayburn Sanders, LC-USF34-44201-D, Penfield, GA, May 1941; Marion Post Wolcott, "The old Butler place . . . ," LC-USF34-51364-D, Social Circle, GA, May 1939, and "An old home built about 1850, called 'Silver Place,' " LC-USF34-51802-D, Alabama, March 1939. Prints of all FSA photographs are located in

the Prints and Photographs Division, Library of Congress. Further references will cite only LC numbers.

7. Harry Hammond, *Report of the Industrial Commission on Agriculture and Agricultural Labor*, vol. 10 (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1901), 820.

8. C. Vann Woodward, *The Strange Career of Jim Crow* (1955; rpt., rev. ed., New York: Oxford University Press, 1974), 67–147, and *Origins of the New South, 1877–1913* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1951), 353–56. For the argument in favor of continuity and against the 1890s as the key decade in the construction of a new racial order, see Howard N. Rabinowitz, *Race Relations in the Urban South, 1865–1890* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1980), and "More Than the Woodward Thesis: Assessing *The Strange Career of Jim Crow*," *Journal of American History* 75 (December 1988): 842–56. The weight of recent scholarship supports Woodward's version of segregation's origins and thus the 1880s as a period of relative racial fluidity. See Ayers, *Promise of the New South*; Joel Williamson, *The Crucible of Race: Black-White Relations in the American South Since Emancipation* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1984); Dewey W. Grantham, Jr., *Southern Progressivism: The Reconciliation of Progress and Tradition* (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1983), especially 126–27; Joseph H. Cartwright, *The Triumph of Jim Crow: Tennessee Race Relations in the 1880s* (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1976); and Glenda E. Gilmore, *Gender and Jim Crow: Women and the Politics of White Supremacy in North Carolina* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1996). On race relations within the national context, see the classic George M. Fredrickson, *The Black Image in the White Mind: The Debate on Afro-American Character and Destiny, 1817–1914* (1971; rpt., Hanover, NH: Wesleyan University Press, 1987).

9. On southern train stations, see the trade literature, especially *Railroad Magazine*, published from the 1890s onward, and photographs and drawings of southern stations in the Division of Transportation, National Museum of American History, Smithsonian Institution (hereafter, RR-NMAH). See also Jeffrey Richards and John M. MacKenzie, *The Railway Station: A Social History* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1986). Taking an international perspective, these authors argue that though stations were "extraordinary agent[s] of social mixing," they were also "designed to avoid these encounters across class and racial boundaries as much as possible" (137). I am indebted to the excellent Ayers, *Promise of the New South*, 3–33, 132–59, throughout my discussion of southern railroads.

10. Katharine DuPre Lumpkin, *The Making of a Southerner* (1947; rpt., Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1991), 133, 215. See also Box 4 and Box 7, Katharine DuPre Lumpkin Collection, Southern Historical Society, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill (KDL-UNC), for biographical materials on Lumpkin, and her *The South in Progress* (New York: International Publishers, 1940), 99–102. See the photographs of Jim Crow cars; the blue Pullman blanket (worn passenger blankets were dyed blue for use by African American porters); and the fiction about railroad travel in *Railroad Magazine* and *Saturday Evening Post*, which often included descriptions of segregation, all in RR-NMAH.

11. On the growing African American middle class, see E. Franklin Frazier, *Black Bourgeoisie: Rise of a New Middle Class* (New York: Free Press, 1957); and Paul K. Edwards, *The Southern Urban Negro as a Consumer* (1932; rpt., New York: Negro Universities Press, 1969), 1–45. On the growth of railroads in the South, see John F. Stover, *The Railroads of the South, 1865–1900* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1955); and Maury Klein, *History of the Louisville and Nashville Railroad* (New York: Macmillan, 1972).

12. Ida B. Wells, *Crusade for Justice: The Autobiography of Ida B. Wells* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1970), 18–20.

13. C. Vann Woodward, *Origins of the New South*, 216, and *Strange Career*, 23–24, 27–28, 38–40, 97, 140, 169; and Ayers, *Promise of the New South*, 16–20, 136–46. Other sources on railroad and streetcar struggles include August Meir and Elliot Rudwick, "The Boycott Movement against Jim Crow Streetcars in the South, 1900–1906," in August Meir and Elliot Rudwick, eds., *Along the Color Line: Explorations in the Black Experience* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1977), 267–89; Roger A. Fischer, "A Pioneer Protest: The New Orleans Street-Car Controversy of 1867," *Journal of Negro History* 53 (July 1968): 219–33; Neil McMillen, *Dark Journey: Black Mississippians in the Age of Jim Crow* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1989), 293–95; Lester C. Lamon, *Black Tennesseans, 1900–1930* (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1977), 20–36; John Dittmer, *Black Georgia in the Progressive Era, 1900–1920* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1977), 16–19; George C. Wright, *Life Behind a Veil: Blacks in Louisville, Kentucky, 1865–1930* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1985), 52–55, 191–92, 248–49. On the whites' denial of black mobility, see William Cohen, *At Freedom's Edge: Black Mobility and the Southern Quest for Racial Control, 1861–1915* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1987).

14. Wells, *Crusade for Justice*, 19–20, 20, n. 5.

15. Ayers, *Promise of the New South*, 136–46. On the importance of the visual in middle-class identity of the late nineteenth century, see Karen Halttunen, *Confidence Men and Painted Women: A Study of Middle Class Culture in Victorian America, 1830–1870* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1982); T. J. Jackson Lears, *No Place of Grace: Antimodernism and the Transformation of American Culture, 1880–1920* (New York: Pantheon, 1981), 1–47; and Henry Adams, *Mont-Saint-Michel and Chartres* (1904; rpt., New York: Anchor Books, 1959).

16. *Savannah Tribune*, 7 May 1887, in Horace Calvin Wingo, "Race Relations in Georgia, 1872–1908" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Georgia, 1969), 130; Mary Church Terrell, *A Colored Woman in a White World* (1940; rpt., New York: Arno Press, 1980), 296–98; Stephen J. Riegel, "The Persistent Career of Jim Crow: Lower Federal Courts and the 'Separate but Equal' Doctrine, 1865–1896," *American Journal of Legal History* 28 (January 1984): 25–27; Ayers, *Promise of the New South*, 141–42; Rabinowitz, *Race Relations*, 334–35.

17. Stereotypes of poorly dressed and poorly spoken African Americans were key figures in the development of an increasingly national and commercial popular culture. On the national context of whites' imagination of the black other, see Ellison, "Change the Joke"; Eric Lott, *Love and Theft: Blackface Minstrelsy and the American Working Class* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1993); Harriet Beecher Stowe, *Uncle Tom's*

Cabin (Boston, 1952); David Roediger, *The Wages of Whiteness: Race and the Making of the American Working Class* (New York: Verso, 1991); Alexander Saxton, *The Rise and Fall of the White Republic: Class Politics and Mass Culture in Nineteenth-Century America* (New York: Verso, 1990); Theodore W. Allen, *The Invention of the White Race: Racial Oppression and Social Control* (New York: Verso, 1994); David Nasaw, *Going Out: The Rise and Fall of Public Amusements* (New York: Basic Books, 1993); Robert W. Rydell, *All the World's a Fair: Visions of Empire at America's International Expositions, 1876–1916* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1984), and *World of Fairs: The Century of Progress Expositions* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1993); and Michael Rogin, " 'The Sword Became a Flashing Vision': D. W. Griffith's *Birth of a Nation*," in *Ronald Reagan, the Movie and Other Episodes in Political Demonology* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1987), 190–235. On the more specifically southern context, see Chapter 2.

Terrell, *Colored Woman*, 296–98; and Lumpkin, *Making of a Southerner*, 151–73.

18. *Chattanooga Times* quoted in *Nashville American*, 19 March 1889, quoted in Ayers, *Promise of the New South*, 139. On violence in southern race relations in general and in the case of African American men and white women in particular, see Chapter 5. On the centrality of sexuality to southern racial conflict, see Williamson, *Crucible*, 140–223; and Françoise Lionnet, *Autobiographical Voices: Race, Gender, Self-Portraiture* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1991), 1–29.

19. W. E. B. DuBois, *Dusk of Dawn: An Essay Toward an Autobiography of the Race Concept* (1941; rpt. in DuBois, *Writings*, New York: Library of America, 1986), 666. John Andrew Rice, *I Came Out of the Eighteenth Century* (New York: Harper, 1942), 41–42; Lumpkin, *Making of a Southerner*, 133; Ayers, *Promise of the New South*, 145, 136–46; John T. Cell, *The Highest Stage of White Supremacy: The Origins of Segregation in South Africa and the American South* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1982). Cell argues persuasively for the modernity of segregation, but his analysis breaks down in his functionalist assumption that a "power elite" created segregation solely for its own capitalist advancement. Railroad and streetcar owners protested segregation laws as too expensive for their capitalist advancement. See Ayers, *Promise of the New South*, 491, n. 35. I rely on Ayers heavily here, but I focus much more specifically on whites' sense of their own threatened racial identities.

I have not used the capitalized phrase "New South" unless referring to the program put forward by southern boosters like Henry Grady.

20. Flannery O'Connor, "The Artificial Nigger," in *A Good Man Is Hard to Find* (1955; rpt., New York: Harcourt Brace, 1983), 102–29, quotes, 109, 109–10, 110, 111, 112.

21. John Vachon, "A Railroad Station," LC-USF33-1172-M4, Manchester, GA, May 1938. Other photographs that provide evidence of segregation in railroad and bus travel include Jack Delano, "At the bus station," LC-USF33-20522-M2, and "A street scene near the bus station," LC-USF33-20522-M5, Durham, NC, May 1940; and Esther Bubley, "People waiting for a bus at the Greyhound bus terminal," LC-USW3-37973-E, LC-USW3-37986-E, LC-USW3-38020-E, and LC-USW3-37975-M, Memphis, September 1943. For more on the segregation of streetcars and buses, see "A Negro Car Line," *Horseless Age* 16 (20 September 1905): 347; and the trade journal *Bus Transportation* (1922–1949), in the Bus and Automobile Section, Segregation File, RR-NMAH. The

FSA photograph collections provide the best evidence of the impact of consumer culture within the region in the 1930s. Photographic evidence is central to my argument because the culture of segregation creates racialized spaces, making new racial signifiers whose power is visible and a new geography of racial difference.

For more on speech and dialect patterns as markers of racial identity, see Sterling A. Brown, "On Dialect Usage," in Charles T. Davis and Henry Louis Gates, Jr., eds., *The Slave's Narrative* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1985), 37–39.

22. W. E. B. Du Bois, *Darkwater: Voices From Within the Veil* (1921; rpt., Millwood, NY: Kraus-Thompson, 1975), 228–30. For other early twentieth-century descriptions of segregated railroad and streetcar travel, see the series T. Montgomery Gregory, "The 'Jim Crow' Car," *The Crisis* 11 (1915–1916): 87–89, 137–38, 195–98; Ray Stannard Baker, *Following the Color Line: American Negro Citizenship in the Progressive Era* (1908; rpt., New York: Harper and Row, 1964), 30–34; Bertram Wilbur Doyle, *The Etiquette of Race Relations in the South: A Study in Social Control* (1937; rpt., New York: Schocken, 1971), 147–50; and Lumpkin, *Making of a Southerner*, 133–39. For descriptions of segregated trains and streetcars in the 1930s, see George S. Schuyler, "Traveling Jim Crow," *American Mercury* (August 1930): 423–32; Allison B. Davis, Burleigh B. Gardner, and Mary R. Gardner, *Deep South: A Social Anthropology of Caste and Class* (1941; rpt., Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1969), 261; Charles S. Johnson, *Patterns of Negro Segregation* (New York: Harper, 1943), 44–51; and Gunnar Myrdal, *An American Dilemma: The Negro Problem and Modern Democracy* (1944; rpt., New York: Harper and Row, 1962), 576, 581, 588, 628, 634–35.

23. Du Bois, *Darkwater*, 228, 229.

24. Ibid., 229, 230.

25. Ibid., 230. On Du Bois's attempt to gain from Booker T. Washington the funds and support to sue the Southern Railway, see David Levering Lewis, *W.E.B. Du Bois: Biography of a Race, 1868–1919* (New York: Henry Holt, 1993), 243–44.

26. Baker, *Following the Color Line*, 30, 31.

27. Lumpkin, *Making of a Southerner*, 133, 215; Doyle, *Etiquette of Race Relations*, 233, n. 66.

28. Marion Post Wolcott, "Passengers leaving the railroad station," LC-USF34-54336-E and LC-USF34-54335-E, northwestern Florida, October 1940. See also the photographs cited in note 21. On New Deal documentary photography, see Pete Daniel, Merry Foresta, Maren Strange, and Sally Stein, eds., *Official Images: New Deal Photography* (Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution, 1987); Nicholas Natanson, *The Black Image in the New Deal: The Politics of FSA Photography* (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1992); and William Stott, *Documentary Expression and Thirties America* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1973). Historians must be sensitive to the ways in which photographs, despite their seeming transparency, are like all historical documents constructed. Photographic theory and the methods of the new historicism in cultural criticism are helpful here. See especially Walter Benjamin, "The Work of Art in the Age of Mechanical Reproduction," in James Curran et al., eds., *Mass Communication and Society* (Beverly Hills: Sage, 1979, 384–408); Alan Trachtenberg, *Reading American Photographs: Images as History, Matthew Brady to Walker Evans* (New York: Hill and Wang,

1989); Miles Orvell, *The Real Thing: Imitation and Authenticity in American Culture, 1880–1940* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1989); Susan Sontag, *On Photography* (New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 1973); Roland Barthes, *Camera Lucida: Reflections on Photography* (1980; rpt., New York: Hill and Wang, 1993); and Neil Harris, "Iconography and Intellectual History: The Halftone Effect," in *Cultural Excursions: Marketing Appetites and Cultural Tastes in Modern America* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1990), 304–17.

29. Robin D. G. Kelley, *Race Rebels: Culture, Politics, and the Black Working Class* (New York: Free Press, 1994), 55–75; and Johnson, *Negro Segregation*, 44–51.

30. Doyle, *Etiquette of Race Relations*, 149–50; O'Connor, "The Artificial Nigger."

31. Lillian Smith, *Killers of the Dream* (1948; rpt., New York: Norton, 1978), 95–96.

32. Lumpkin, *Making of a Southerner*, 215. On the racial epiphanies Lumpkin experienced in her work in the first stages of the YWCA and YMCA interracial student movement in the 1920s, see the 1923 and 1924 letters from Lumpkin to other officers and staff of the YMCA and YWCA interracial student movement, especially Katharine D. Lumpkin, Atlanta, 12 March 1923, to Leslie [no last name given], a letter marked "Confidential–Very," all in Box 1, KDL-UNC. See also Chapter 6.

33. Doyle, *Etiquette of Race Relations*. According to C. Vann Woodward in the introduction to Rabinowitz, *Race Relations*, ix–xi, in 1890, 90 percent of all African Americans lived in the South, and while only 15 percent of southern African Americans lived in cities, they made up one-third of the total southern urban population. Ayers, *Promise of the New South*, 55, 467, stresses that between 1890 and 1910, five million southerners moved to town, and by 1910, a majority of southerners lived in towns and villages. For the national context in this period and the manner in which the new spaces of consumption "created a unique fusion of economic and cultural values" and became "the staging ground for the making and confirming of new relations between goods and people," see Alan Trachtenberg, *The Incorporation of America: Culture and Society in the Gilded Age* (New York: Hill and Wang, 1982).

34. Sources on consumer culture include Jackson Lears, *Fables of Abundance: A Cultural History of Advertising in America* (New York: Basic Books, 1994); Jackson Lears and Richard Wrightman Fox, *The Culture of Consumption* (New York: Pantheon, 1983); Jackson Lears, "Beyond Veblen: Rethinking Consumer Culture in America," in Simon J. Bonner, ed., *Consuming Visions: Accumulation and Display of Goods in America* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1990), 73–97; Lizabeth Cohen, *Making a New Deal: Industrial Workers in Chicago, 1919–1939* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990); Warren Susman, *Culture as History: The Transformation of American Society in the Twentieth Century* (New York: Pantheon, 1984); and Harris, *Cultural Excursions*. On railroads opening up the entire nation as a market for consumer goods, see Thomas J. Schlereth, "Country Stores, County Fairs, and Mail Order Catalogues: Consumption in Rural America," in Bonner, ed., *Consuming Visions*, 339–75.

35. Twelve Southerners, *I'll Take My Stand* (1930; rpt., Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1991), xlii, xxxvii, xlv–xlvi, xlvi, 8, 5, xllvii. The quotes are from the unsigned "Introduction," xxxvii–xlviii, written by John Crowe Ransom, and from Ransom's contribution, "Reconstructed But Unregenerate," 1–27. For the history of the collection, see Donald Davidson, *"I'll Take My Stand:* A History," *American Review* 5, No. 3 (Summer 1935). See also Daniel Joseph Singal, *The War Within: From Victorian to Modernist Thought in the South, 1919–1945* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1982), 198–264; Richard H. King, *A Southern Renaissance: The Cultural Awakening of the American South, 1930–1955* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1980), 51–57; and Michael O'Brien, *The Idea of the American South, 1920–1941* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1979), 117–212. For a thoughtful reassessment of *Stand*, see Jackson Lears, "Still Taking Their Stand," *Nation* (10–17 July 1982): 52–54.

36. Twelve Southerners, *I'll Take My Stand*, 328, 293, 288–89, 289, 296, 293. The first quote is from Stark Young's contribution to this volume, "Not in Memoriam, But in Defense," 328–59; the rest are from John Donald Wade, "The Life and Death of Cousin Lucius," 265–301. I am indebted here in my analysis of the Agrarians to the penetrating readings of earlier American anti-modernists in Lears, *No Place of Grace*.

37. Herbert Agar and Allen Tate, eds., *Who Owns America? A New Declaration of Independence* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1936), viii, 179, 188, 190. Quotes are from Herbert Agar, "Introduction," vii–ix, and John Crowe Ransom, "What Does the South Want?," 178–93.

38. Ibid., 92, 190. Wade, "Cousin Lucius," 296. The Amish, as Tate had conceded in "Remarks on the Southern Religion" in *I'll Take My Stand*, 155–75, were the only communities organized around religious imperatives that seemed able to resist the dynamic of capitalist economic development. Certainly religious fundamentalisms today do not shun such development.

39. H. Wayne Mixon, *Southern Writers and the New South Movement, 1865–1913* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1980), 33; Ransom, "What Does the South Want?," 188; Gerald W. Johnson, "Greensboro, or What You Will," *Reviewer* (April 1924), reprinted in Fred Hobson, ed., *South Watching: Selected Essays by Gerald W. Johnson* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1983), 47, 48, 49–50; and "Report to the President on the Economic Conditions of the South" (Washington, D.C., 1938), 58–60. For Johnson's specific critique of the Agrarians, see "No More Excuses," *Harper's* (February 1931), reprinted in Hobson, ed., *South Watching*, 129–36.

40. Edwards, *Negro as a Consumer*, vii, 11, 12.

41. Ayers, *Promise of the New South*, 33; Ransom, "What Does the South Want?," 190; and Edwards, *Negro as a Consumer*.

42. Eugene D. Genovese, *The Slaveholders' Dilemma: Freedom and Progress in Southern Conservative Thought, 1820–1860* (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1991); Woodward, *Origins of the New South*, 154–55, 157–58, and 145–47; Stark Young, "Not in Memoriam," 344. On the extended life of the pro-slavery argument, see John David Smith, *An Old Creed For the New South: Proslavery Ideology and Historiography, 1865–1918* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1985). On the Lost Cause, see Chapter 2.

43. Young, "Not in Memoriam," 355.

44. Williamson, *Crucible*; Fredrickson, *White Mind*; Cell, *White Supremacy*. On

the second Klan, see Nancy MacLean, *Behind the Mask of Chivalry: The Making of the Second Ku Klux Klan* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1993).

45. Robert Penn Warren, "The Briar Patch," in *I'll Take My Stand*, 246–64. A similar call for the reconstruction of a racially inflected hierarchy, and not the reinstitution of segregation as many commentators have insisted, is at work in the recent Richard J. Herrnstein and Charles Murray, *The Bell Curve: Intellectual and Class Structure in American Life* (New York: Free Press, 1994).

On the economic implications of the shift from agrarian self-sufficiency and production to a more urban domesticity and consumption, see Gavin Wright, *Old South, New South: Revolutions in the Southern Economy Since the Civil War* (New York: Norton, 1986), 1–123. On increasing consumption by sharecroppers and tenants of both races, see "Reports on Georgia Plantation Districts, 1911–1912," in the Robert Preston Brooks Collection, Box 28, Hargrett Rare Book and Manuscript Library, University of Georgia, Athens. The shift away from production and toward consumption began before the Civil War. See Lacy K. Ford, *Origins of Southern Radicalism: The South Carolina Low Country, 1800–1860* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1988), 219–77; and Steven Hahn, *The Roots of Southern Populism: Yeoman Farmers and the Transformation of the Georgia Upcountry, 1850–1890* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1983). I am not arguing here for the complete eradication of subsistence farming but for its continuing decline in relation to total agricultural production. Despite the fact that fewer southerners lived in urban areas between 1890 and 1940, segregation as a form of race relations developed earliest in southern cities and had a profound impact upon the southern future. Southern urban historians, however, continue to neglect the impact of consumer culture upon the region. See Blaine A. Brownell and David R. Goldfield, *The City in Southern History: The Growth of Urban Civilization in the South* (Port Washington, NY: Kennikat, 1977); David R. Goldfield, *Cotton Fields and Skyscrapers: Southern City and Region, 1607–1980* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1982); Don H. Doyle, *New Men, New Cities, New South: Atlanta, Nashville, Charleston, Mobile, 1860–1910* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1990); and Lawrence H. Larsen, *The Rise of the Urban South* (Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 1985).

46. Stark Young, "Not in Memoriam," 359; *Seeing Atlanta, Georgia By the Photographic Route* (Atlanta: P. and V., n.d., but early automobiles visible in some pictures), Georgia Box, Warshaw Collection, Archives Center, National Museum of American History (hereafter Warshaw, NMAH); and Woodward, *Origins of the New South*, 142–74.

47. *Bedford, Virginia, Offers Homes to All* (Bedford City: Bedford Index Print, n.d., but appears to be early 1900s), 8; *Virginia Real Estate Journal* (Richmond: R. B. Chaffin, 1912), both in Virginia Box, Warshaw, NMAH.

48. *Savannah: Indelible Photographs* (no publisher, 1892); *St. Augustine. Photographs in Black* (no publisher, 1892); *Souvenir Album of St. Augustine* (no publisher, n.d.); *Post Card Guide and History of Old St. Augustine* (no publisher, 1912); *Bloomfield's Illustrated Historical Guide, Embracing an Account of St. Augustine, Florida* (St. Augustine: Max Bloomfield, Bookseller, 1884); *Souvenir of Miami and Biscayne Bay* (no publisher, 1902), which also includes a photograph of "A Group of Seminoles" in which Indians are posed as yet another tourist attraction; *Richmond on the James* (Philadelphia: J. Murray Jordan, 1905); and *Plant System Budget*, vol. 1, no. 11, October 1896; in Alabama, Florida, Georgia, and Virginia Boxes, Warshaw, NMAH. See Clifton Johnson, *Highways and Byways of the South* (New York: Macmillan, 1904), for a travel book that presents both southern African Americans and rural southern whites as tourist attractions. An early twentieth-century advertisement for the Nodark Camera by Popular Photograph Company in *McClure's Magazine*, n.d., p. 32, Afro-Americana, Box 4, Warshaw, NMAH, also depicts an African American man as a tourist attraction worth capturing on film.

49. *Souvenir Folder of Dixieland* (Asheville, NC: Asheville Post Card Co., n.d.), postmarked 2 January 1930.

50. *Natchez Pilgrimage: Where the Old South Still Lives* (no publisher, 1941), Mississippi Box, Warshaw, NMAH. For Robert E. Lee flour, see Dorothea Lange, "A grocery store window," LC-USF34-20227-E, Mebane, NC, July 1939. "Furl that Banner," ad for the "Library of Southern Literature," with Mildred Rutherford's endorsement, "Do you realize the value of these books in your home?," endpaper to *Miss Rutherford's Scrap Book: The South's Greatest Vindication*, vol. 2 (October 1924); see also ads in other 1924 and 1925 issues and *Miss Rutherford's Historical Notes*, 1926 and 1927 issues, for other books endorsed as literature that should be in all white southern homes, all in author's collection.

51. Rydell, *All the World's a Fair*, 72–104; *Official Views: Cotton States and International Exposition, Atlanta, 1895* (St. Louis: C. B. Woodward, 1895), Georgia Box, Warshaw, NMAH; W. Y. Atkinson, "The Atlanta Exposition," *North American Review* 467 (October 1895): 385–93.

52. Turner is quoted in Rydell, *All the World's a Fair*, 80–81; see also 78, 52–53. Wells-Barnett, *Crusade for Justice: The Autobiography of Ida B. Wells* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1970), 115–19; Nasaw, *Going Out*, 47–61, 77–79, 92–93. On southern whites' having solved the "Negro Problem," see Atkinson, "Atlanta Exposition," 392–93.

53. Booker T. Washington, quoted in Rydell, *All the World's a Fair*, 83; see also 83–85. The "Atlanta Compromise" speech was reprinted in Washington's autobiography, *Up From Slavery* (1901; rpt., New York: University Books, 1993), 217–37, quote, 221–22.

54. The church congregation and the black paper are quoted in Rydell, *All the World's a Fair*, 85; and Atkinson, "Atlanta Exposition," 393.

55. *Official Views*; Rydell, *All the World's a Fair*, 80, 85–89.

56. Nasaw, *Going Out*. On lynching and consumption, see Chapter 5.

57. Certainly, the idea of "common progress," the degree to which the profits of economic development within the region would ever be shared between blacks and whites, was also problematic. For more on Washington, see Williamson, *Crucible*, 70–78; and August Meir, *Negro Thought in America, 1880–1915: Racial Ideologies in the Age of Booker T. Washington* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1963). The quotes are from Rydell, *All the World's a Fair*, 87.

58. Patricia A. Turner, *Ceramic Uncles and Celluloid Mammies: Black Images and Their Influence on Culture* (New York: Anchor Books, 1994), 45–50; Kenneth

W. Goings, *Mammy and Uncle Mose: Black Collectibles and American Stereotyping* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1994), 28–32; Marilyn Kern-Foxworth, *Aunt Jemima, Uncle Ben, and Rastus: Blacks in Advertising, Yesterday, Today, and Tomorrow* (Westport, CT: Praeger, 1994), 66–67; and Janice Jorgensen, ed., *The Encyclopedia of Consumer Brands* (Detroit: St. James, 1994), vol. 1, *Consumable Products*, 20–23. The term "Aunt Jemima" will not be put within quotes but always refers to the role as constructed in song and by the companies that owned the trademark and never to the women playing this character. On mammies, see Patricia Morton, *Disfigured Images: The Historical Assault on Afro-American Women* (New York: Greenwood Press, 1991); and Donald Bogle, *Coons, Mulattos, Mammies, and Bucks* (New York: Viking, 1973). See also Chapter 3.

59. M. A. I. Author, "Aunt Jemima's Plaster" (Philadelphia: William H. Shuster, 1855); James Grace, "Old Aunt Jemima" (no location: John F. Perry, 1875); J. W. Johnson and Fred S. Stone, "Aunt Jemima's Ragtime Walk" (Detroit: Broadwell and Wolf, 1899); Jack Mahony and Theodore Morse, "Jemima: A Sneezing Coon Song" (New York: Haviland, 1909); J. Will Callahan and F. Henri Klickmann, "Aunt Jemima's Picnic Day" (Chicago: McKinley Music, 1914); no author given, described as a "plantation melody," "Old Aunt Jemima," in Peter W. Dykema et al., eds., *Twice 55 Plus: Community Songs: The New Brown Book* (Boston: C. C. Birchard, 1919); William Tracey and Maceo Pinkard, "Aunt Jemima's Jubilee" (New York: Fred Fisher, 1921); Bud De Sylva, Bud Green, and Ray Henderson, "Alabamy Bound" (New York: Shapiro, Bernstein, 1925); and Raymond B. Egan and Richard A. Whiting, "Aunt Jemima" (New York: Jerome H. Remick, 1925), all in Box 75, the Sam DeVincent Illustrated Sheet Music Collection, National Museum of American History (hereafter DeVincent, NMAH).

60. Philip Ostermeyer Catalogue, Jersey City, New Jersey, 18–19, Afro-Americana, Box 4, Warshaw, NMAH. P. T. Barnum Collection, NMAH; obituaries, *New York Times*, 8 April 1891, and *New York Tribune*, 8 April 1891; Neil Harris, *Humbug: The Art of P. T. Barnum* (Boston: Little, Brown, 1973). See also Lears, *Fables*, 123–24, 164, 86–87; the sources on the construction of whiteness cited in note 17; Goings, *Black Collectibles;* and Turner, *Black Images*, 9–25, 41–50.

61. Ellison, "Change the Joke"; Lott, *Love and Theft*; Roediger, "White Skins, Black Masks: Minstrelsy and White Working Class Formation Before the Civil War," in *Wages of Whiteness*, 115–31; and Saxton, *White Republic*, 165–82.

62. Rydell, *All the World's a Fair*, 72–104; Nasaw, *Going Out*, 49–61. On the 1850 Zealy daguerreotypes of slaves, see Trachtenberg, *Reading American Photographs*, 53–58. On the power at stake between photographers and their subjects, see Sontag, *On Photography*, 1–22. For stereographs that depict African Americans, see the stereograph collection at the Schomburg Center for Research in Black Culture, New York Public Library, New York City. See Jack Delano, "Mr. Ward and his wife looking at stereographic pictures . . .," LC-USF34-44599-D, Green County, GA, June 1941, for a photograph of a black couple enjoying stereographs in their farm home.

63. On early films that used blackfaced characters, see, for example, the films advertised in *The Biograph*, 28 November 1914, 2; 16 January 1915, 3; 20 January 1915, 2; 30 January 1915, 3; 3 April 1915, 6; all in Motion Pictures, Box 1, Warshaw, NMAH. On early cinema, see Miriam Hansen, *Babel and Babylon: Spectatorship in American Silent Film* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1991). On *Birth of a Nation*, see Chapter 5.

64. Fleischmann's Yeast trade card, Yeast, Box Y, Warshaw, NMAH. For an advertisement with specifically Oriental subject, see the Palmolive ad, *Everybody's Magazine* (May 1904): 44; in Afro-Americana, Box 4, Warshaw, NMAH. On Oriental themes in advertising, see Lears, *Fables*, 18, 45, 51–52, 63, 64, 66, 96, 103–4. On the history of trade cards and the development of the advertising industry, see Robert Jay, *The Trade Card in Nineteenth Century America* (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 1987); Lears, *Fables*, 105–6, 111, 148–52; and Daniel Pope, *The Making of Modern Advertising* (New York: Basic Books, 1983). On the impact of advances in reproducing images on American culture, see Harris, "Iconography and Intellectual History," 304–17. See also Jan Nederveen Pieterse, *White on Black: Images of Africa and Blacks in Western Popular Culture* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1992); and William L. Van Deburg, *Slavery and Race in American Popular Culture* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1984). Advertisers did not use photographs in advertisements widely until the Depression, when the switch from custom artwork to photographs was made because photographs had become cheaper. By 1932, half the ads in national magazines used photographs. See Roland Marchand, *Advertising the American Dream: Making Way for Modernity, 1920–1940* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1984), 149.

65. For examples of samples of generic racialized black imagery, see Fireman sample and Stone Litho Co. sample, unlabeled picture of a black man reaching for a watermelon, both in Afro-Americana, Box 4. Rabineau trade card, Afro-Americana, Box 4; Trymby and Rehn Furniture trade card, Furniture, Box 7; Pomeroy Coal Company Trade Card, Afro-Americana, Box 4; McFerren, Shallcross and Company trade card, Meat, Box M; and Piqua Patent Pillow and Topsey Tablets trade cards, Afro-Americana, Box 4. See also Rich Novelties trade card, Afro-Americana, Box 3; and B. M. Weed and Co., Pictures and Picture Frames, Afro-Americana Box 4. For other examples of sentimental racist imagery, see the other trade cards for Piqua Patent Pillows and Topsey Tablets; Allen's Root Beer Trade Card, Beverages, Box 1; and R. T. White, product not identified, Afro-Americana, Box 4. All sources are in Warshaw, NMAH. On the origins and popularity of trade cards, see Lears, *Fables*. For use of racialized black images, see Goings, *Black Collectibles;* and Turner, *Black Image*. For the construction of the consumer as female, see Marchand, *Advertising*, 52–87; and Ellen Garvey, *Reading Consumer Culture: Gender, Fiction, and Advertising in American Magazines, 1880s to 1910s* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1995).

66. Union Pacific Tea Co. Trade Card, Afro-Americana, Box 3; I. M. Demming trade card, Vinegar, Box V.9; Walker, Stratman and Co. trade card, Fertilizer, Box 7.8; and Elson, Salisbury and Co. trade card, Afro-Americana, Box 4; all in Warshaw, NMAH. For a fascinating discussion of a particular genre of commercial black imagery that depicted alligators chasing or eating black children, see Turner, *Black Image*, 31–40.

67. "Sunny South Cigarettes" trade card, Afro-Americana, Box 4; George W. Boos Coffee trade card, Coffee, Box C.83; Vacuum Harness Oil and J. G. Crippen Hardware trade card, Afro-Americana, Box 4; Dannemiller's Cordova Coffee trade card, Coffee, Box C.84; and Sampson Brothers Clothiers trade card series, Afro-Americana, Box 4;

all in Warshaw, NMAH. See also Halttunen, *Confidence Men*; and Lears, *No Place of Grace*, on the confusion of appearances in white middle-class culture. These types of images were also used to portray Irish Americans in the late nineteenth century.

68. Tansill's Punch trade card, Afro-Americana, Box 3, Warshaw, NMAH. Lott, *Love and Theft*.

69. Glenwood Ranges and Parlor Stoves trade card, Stoves, Box S.T-Z; Mitchell's Kidney Plasters trade card, Afro-Americana, Box 4; Harrington and Company Merchants Tailors trade card, Dry Goods, Box D.66; all in Warshaw, NMAH. On nostalgia and advertising, see T. J. Jackson Lears, "Packaging the Folk: Tradition and Amnesia in American Advertising, 1880–1940," in Jane S. Becker and Barbara Franco, eds., *Folk Roots, New Roots: Folklore in American Life* (Lexington, MA: Museum of Our National Heritage, 1988), 103–40.

70. "Comic Series H," Afro-Americana, Box 4; "Political Orator," Dry Goods Ad Cards, Wisconsin, Box D.88; and "Strolling on the Sands," Harry Smith Hatter, 1877, Afro-Americana, Box 4; all in Warshaw, NMAH.

71. F. H. Brinkmann's Four Heart Crackers, Afro-Americana, Box 4; "I Likes the Best!," Purina Mills, Food Stuffs, Box 4; "American Negroes" and "Central Africa," Arbuckle Bros., Coffee, Box C.86; "Java and Mocha Coffee," Chase and Sanborn, Afro-Americana, Box 3; and "Magnolia Ham," McFerran, Shallcross, and Co., Box M.29; all in Warshaw, NMAH. For another ad card that implies that a particular product almost makes blacks civilized, see the Great Atlantic and Pacific Tea Company's 1884 trade card "Our Boarding House," Afro-Americana, Box 4, Warshaw, NMAH. See also "Maple Leaf Chewing Gum," Maple Leaf Gum Works, Ohio, Chewing Gum, Box C.56; "Fine Shoes," Edwin C. Burt, Lowell, MA, Afro-Americana, Box 4, also in Warshaw, NMAH. On the professionalization of advertising, see Lears, *Fables of Abundance*, 198–210.

72. "Nigger Head Tobacco," William S. Kimball and Co., Tobacco, Box H-M; and "Korn Kinks," H. O. Company, Cereal, Box C.41; both in Warshaw, NMAH. See also Kern-Foxworth, *Blacks in Advertising*, 30; and Goings, *Black Collectibles*, 20, 79. Darkie Toothpaste by Hawley and Hazel was still being sold in the 1970s.

73. "Automatic Window Attractions" advertisement in *Harman's Journal*, March 1898, 11–12; Afro-Americana, Box 4, Warshaw, NMAH. On p. 11 an article describing Easter displays for the "Grocery Department" suggested using "one of the mechanical nigger babies which sell for $6.50." See also unidentified advertisement for "Original Sambo and Dinah": "These lively 'cullud people' are exceedingly popular wherever introduced, both with young and old. They are eleven inches high, and are dressed in bright Southern costumes of the old plantation style . . . They will dance to music, bow, fall down, rise up, etc., without the manager being anywhere near them, and the secret of their movements can be discovered only by the closest examination." In Afro-Americana, Box 3, Warshaw, NMAH.

74. *Ladies' Home Journal*, October 1918. Goings, *Black Collectibles*, 19–50; Kern-Foxworth, *Blacks in Advertising*, 73–75, 107–8; Turner, *Black Images*, 9–61; and Frances Pendleton Gaines, *The Southern Plantation: A Study in the Development and the Accuracy of a Tradition* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1925), 11–12. On black-figured toys, see Doris Y. Wilkinson, "The Toy Menagerie: Early Images of Blacks in Toys, Games, and Dolls," in Jessie Carney Smith, ed., *Images of Blacks in American Culture* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1988).

75. Goings, *Black Collectibles*, 19–50 and plate 4; Kern-Foxworth, *Blacks in Advertising*, 74; and Gaines, *Plantation*, 11–12.

76. S. M. Bixby and Co. Blacking, Blueing, and Ink trade card, Inks, Box 1; Mason's Challenge Blacking trade card, Afro-Americana, Box 4; Diamond Dyes' Fast Black for Wool and Fast Stocking Black, Afro-Americana, Box 4; Nubian Dress Linings ad from the *Ladies' Home Journal*, April 1895, 18, Afro-Americana, Box 3; Black Satin Stove Polish ad in *Delineator*, May 1905, 902, Afro-Americana, Box 4; and "Onyx" Black Hosiery ad in the *Ladies' Home Journal*, April 1895, 30, Afro-Americana, Box 4; all in Warshaw, NMAH. The J and P Coates Black Thread trade card is from Goings, *Black Collectibles*, plate 2.

77. John Kirkman and Son's "Two Little Nigger Boys" advertisement for Wonder Soap, and Procter and Gamble's "Reclaimed" advertisement for Ivory Soap, both in Afro-Americana, Box 4, Warshaw, NMAH. See also Henry's Carbolic Salve, Cosmetics, Box 3, Warshaw, NMAH. For racial imagery in soap trade cards and other advertisements, see the nine boxes in Soap, Warshaw, NMAH. On the cultural meanings of cleanliness, see Ruth Schwartz Cowen, *More Work for Mother: The Ironies of Household Technology from the Open Hearth to the Microwave* (New York: Basic Books, 1983), 51–53; Claudia and Richard Bushman, "The Early History of Cleanliness in America," *Journal of American History* 75 (December 1988): 675–725; and Richard L. Bushman, *The Refinement of America: Persons, Houses, Cities* (New York: Knopf, 1992).

78. See the Fairbank's Soaps and their later specialized Gold Dust Washing Powder trade cards in Soap, Box 2, Warshaw, NMAH. Advertisements that stress the service of the product and the black twins include a December 1899 ad, "Scrubbing Floors," in an unidentified magazine; "The Passing of the Washboard," *The Delineator*, November 1902, 829; and "Three times a day, 1095 times a year," *The Delineator*, December 1901, no page number; all in Soap, Box 2, Warshaw, NMAH. Examples of trade cards with servant themes include Libby, McNeill, and Libby Meats' "Dinah keeps the children quiet"; Imperial Shirts' "Topsy's Delight"; Eureka Poisoned Fly Plate's "Golly, I wish missus would get . . ."; Rising Sun Stove Polish's "A Tale . . ."; and D. White and Sons' "What Brush You Usin Sae?"; all in Afro-Americana, Box 4, Warshaw, NMAH. Examples of other ads that equate the service of the servant pictured with the service of the product are the front cover of the new Columbia Music publication for its sales force, *The Columbia Salesman* (August 1907), which promises that the magazine will serve the salesmen like the black waiter depicted; and Chicago Great Western Railway's advertisement for its "A La Carte Dining Car Service," whose service, like the black waiter pictured, is "unexcelled." The Gold Dust Twins also had minstrel connections and even their own radio show. See Alfred Bryan, Arthur Terker, and Pete Wendling, "There's Something Nice About Everyone 'But' There's Everything Nice About You" (New York: Henry Waterson, 1927), as "featured by the Gold Dust Babes," two white men in blackface drag, Box 68, DeVincent, NMAH.

79. Coates Thread Trade Card in Goings, *Black Collectibles*, plate 2; Universal Clothes Wringer Trade Card, Afro-Americana, Box 3; Armour "Star" Hams and Bacon

advertisement, "The Why of 'The Ham What Am!,' " Afro-Americana, Box 3; in Warshaw, NMAH. Other trade cards using spokesservants include E. R. Durkee and Company trade card, "De Kurn'l done give me a bottle dis yere Durkee's salad Dressin'," Afro-Americana, Box 3; Fleischmann's Yeast trade card, "I can make anything in de bakin line wif . . . ," Afro-Americana, Box 4; in Warshaw, NMAH. For the letter from the twins, see the Gold Dust Twins pamphlet: N. K. Fairbank Company, "Who Are We?" (Chicago: N. K. Fairbank Company, n. d.), in Soap, Box 2, Warshaw, NMAH.

80. Pace, Talbott and Company trade card; Sapolio Soap Lithograph; Walker, Stratman and Company trade card; Buckeye Forge Pumps trade card; and Cream of Wheat ad, *Today's Housewife*, August 1917; all in Afro-Americana, Box 4, Warshaw, NMAH. Uncle Ben also had minstrel connections. See E. G. Samuel, "Uncle Ben's Lament" (New York: North American Music Co., 1906), Box 75, DeVincent, NMAH. See also Julian Lewis Watkins, *The 100 Greatest Advertisements: Who Wrote Them and What They Did* (New York: Moore, 1949).

81. Early Aunt Jemima ads include "I'se In Town, Honey," *Ladies' Home Journal*, November 1896, 32; and "The Best Breakfast," *What to Eat* (Minneapolis: Pierce and Pierce, 1897), no page number, in Afro-Americana, Box 4, Warshaw, NMAH. Other advertisements in which a domestic servant serves as mammy to the product include "Honey I's cooked for your granma and your ma . . . ," in E. R. Durkee and Company, *Salads: How to Make and Dress Them* (New York: Durkee, n. d.); Campbell's Soup's "Cook Could you spare me a little, please?," *Modern Priscilla*, October 1914, no page; both in Afro-Americana, Box 4; and Crisco's "Children Will Eat Pastry," *McCall's*, April 1913, 89; in Afro-Americana, Box 3; all in Warshaw, NMAH. On domestic service see Tera Hunter, "Household Workers in the Making: Afro-American Women in Atlanta and the New South, 1861–1920" (Ph.D. dissertation, Yale University, 1990), 1–5; Susan Tucker, *Telling Memories Among Southern Women: Domestic Workers and Their Employers in the Segregated South* (New York: Schocken, 1988), 1–18; and David M. Katzman, *Seven Days a Week: Women and Domestic Service in Industrializing America* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1978). See also Chapter 3.

82. The ad and its text are reproduced in Goings, *Black Collectibles*, 29–32. Nina Silber, *The Romance of Reunion: Northerners and the South, 1865–1900* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1993).

83. Goings, *Black Collectibles*, 29–31. Popular illustrated sheet music also changed its tone by the 1920s, replacing the often bluntly racist "coon songs" linked to minstrel performances with more nostalgic songs that longed for a return to the old southern home. The hundreds of "coon songs" include Jean Havez, "Everybody Works But Father" (New York: Helf and Hager, 1905); William Jerome and Jean Schwartz, "Back to the Woods" (New York: Shapiro Bernstein, 1902); Lew Dockstader and Karl St. Clair, "I Want My Lulu: A Disturbance in Coontown" (New York: W. B. Gray, 1897); and Irving Jones, "St. Patrick's Is a Bad Day for Coons" (New York: Sol Bloom, 1891); all in Box 69, DeVincent, NMAH.

84. Copy of N. K. Fairbank's 1910 billboard for Gold Dust Washing Powder, "Roosevelt scoured America," Soap, Box 2, Warshaw, NMAH. In another current events–oriented Fairbank's ad, the Gold Dust Twins ride an airplane and are billed as "The Right Brothers for Cleaning," also in Soap, Box 2, Warshaw, NMAH. On the connections between imperialism abroad and racism at home, see Nell Irvin Painter, *Standing at Armageddon: The United States, 1877–1919* (New York: Norton, 1987), 141–69. On the trope of the native bearer, see Marianne Torgovnick, *Gone Primitive: Savage Intellects, Modern Lives* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1990), 3–41.

85. Booker T. Washington, "Signs of Progress Among the Negroes," *Century Magazine* 3 (January 1900): 472; Woodward, *Origins of the New South*, 211–16; and Ayers, *Promise of the New South*, 326–27.

86. Nestle's Baby Food 1894–1895 calendar, Afro-Americana, Box 4, Warshaw, NMAH.

87. John N. Ingham, "Prejudice, Pride and Profits: African-American Business in the South, 1880–1929" (Wilmington, DE: Hagley Museum and Library unpublished seminar paper 16, 10 March 1994); Edwards, *Negro as a Consumer*, 120–50; Woodward, *Origins of the New South*, 353–54; and Myrdal, *American Dilemma*, 800–5, 815–17. See also the FSA photographs of African American business districts, especially Marion Post Wolcott's series shot on Beale Street, LC-USF33-30637-M3, LC-USF33-30369-M3, LC-USF33-30639-M4, and LC-USF33-30638-M2, Memphis, October 1939. Auburn Avenue in Atlanta was also an important African American business district. See the listings under Georgia for tourist-related enterprises serving African Americans in *The Negro Motorist's Green Book*, 1938 ed., copy in the Segregation File at the Division of Automobiles and Buses, NMAH, from the original at the Schomburg Center for Research in Black Culture, New York Public Library; and Clifford M. Kuhn, Harlon E. Joye, and E. Bernard West, *Living Atlanta: An Oral History of the City, 1914–1948* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1990), 10–12, 39, 95, 99–108; and Murphy, *Ascendancy*, 122, 138. See also Murphy, *Problems of the Present South* (New York: Macmillan, 1904); and Maud King Murphy, *Edgar Gardner Murphy* (New York: the author, 1943), which includes a complete biography.

88. Susan Atherton Hanson, "Home, Sweet Home: Industrialization's Impact on Rural Households, 1865–1925" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Maryland, 1986); Thomas D. Clark, *Pills, Petticoats, and Plows: The Southern Country Store* (1944; rpt. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1989); Ayers, *Promise of the New South*, 13–19, 81–103; Schlereth, "Country Stores, County Fairs, and Mail Order Catalogues," in Bonner, ed., *Consuming Visions*, 339; and Gerald Carson, *The Old Country Store* (New York: Dutton, 1965).

89. Hanson, "Home," 64–70; Clark, *Southern Country Store*, 99–217. On advertising and patent medicines, see Lears, *Fables*, 41–45, 65, 69, 83–101, 141–61, 201–2. On the history of the patent medicine business, see James Harvey Young, *The Toadstool Millionaires: A Social History of Patent Medicine in America Before Federal Regulation* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1961).

90. Hanson, "Home," 64–70; Clark, *Southern Country Store*, 118–35.

91. Clark, *Southern Country Store*, 9–10, 33, 113. Faulkner, *Light in August*, 22, 23, 23–24, 26.

92. Clark, *Southern Country Store*, 34, 55–59, 76; Ayers, *Promise of the New South*, 13–19, 81–103; Hanson, "Home, Sweet Home," 7–8, 54–56. On the continuity-versus-

change debate about the persistence of planter power after the Civil War, see Harold D. Woodman, "Economic Reconstruction and the New South," in Jon B. Boles and Evelyn Thomas Nolen, eds., *Interpreting Southern History: Historiographic Essays in Honor of Sanford W. Higginbotham* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1987), 254–307. In *Promise of the New South*, 458, n. 51, Ayers asserts that by 1895, planter power had greatly eroded.

93. Clark, *Southern Country Store*, 9–10, 35, 55–57; Edwards, *Negro as a Consumer*, 159; Johnson, *Negro Segregation*, 63–65. Photographs of southern country stores taken by the FSA in the late 1930s often depict integrated shopping or socializing. See Russell Lee, "A Negro Woman trading a sack of pecans for groceries," LC-USF34-31759-D, and "A Negro Woman waiting for groceries in a general store," LC-USF34-31757-D, Jarreau, LA, October 1938; Jack Delano, "On the porch of a general store," LC-USF33-20816-M3, Hinesville, GA, April 1941; Dorothea Lange, "A country store located on a dirt road, on a Sunday afternoon," LC-USF34-19911-E, Gordonton, NC, July 1939; Jack Delano, "A general store . . . ," LC-USF34-43438-D, Manchester (vicinity), NC, April 1941; and Marion Post Wolcott, "A part of the interior," LC-USF34-52678-D, "The front of the general store," LC-USF34-52655-D, and "The front of the Whitley general store," LC-USF34-52677-D, Wendell, NC, November 1939. For an account of African Americans only being able to buy at white-owned stores with landowner's store orders, see John Dollard, *Caste and Class in a Southern Town* (1937; rpt., New York: Doubleday Anchor, 1957), 126. For an account of a white man keeping a store in a black section of a small southern town in the 1940s and 1950s, see Melton A. McLaurin, *Separate Pasts: Growing Up White in the Segregated South* (Athens: University of Georgia, 1987). Some African Americans also ran general stores, although they too were rare. See Davis, Gardner, and Gardner, *Deep South*, 258, for an account of poor whites' deferential treatment of an African American store owner from whom they hoped to get credit. See Maya Angelou, *I Know Why the Caged Bird Sings* (New York: Random House, 1969) for a discussion of her grandparents' store in the 1930s.

94. Charles A. Le Guin, ed., *A Home-Concealed Woman: The Diaries of Magnolia Wynn Le Guin, 1901–1913* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1990), 29; Clark, *Southern Country Store*, 84–97, quotes, 88, 90; Ownby, *Subduing Satan*, 38–55; and Carson, *Old Country Store*, 162–67. See also Timothy B. Spears, *100 Years on the Road: The Traveling Salesman in American Culture* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1995).

95. Photographs of general stores covered with advertising include Dorothea Lange, "The daughter of a sharecropper at a country store," LC-USF34-19740-E, Gordonton, NC, July 1939; Russell Lee, "A store front," LC-USF33-11695-M2, Altheime, AK, September 1938; Lee, "A sign in a country store," LC-USF33-11805-M5, Vacherie, LA, September 1938; Lee, "The interior of a general store," LC-USF33-11797-M1, Pilottown, LA, September 1938; Cox (no first name given), "The interior of a general store," LC-USF34-15763-D, Florence, SC, Summer 1938; Walker Evans, "The interior of a general store," LC-USF342-8164-A, Moundville, AL, 1935; and Jack Delano, "Mr. Jackson in his general store," LC-USF34-44483-D, Siloam, GA, June 1941. For the sale of Aunt Jemima products, see Russell Lee, "The owner of the general store slicing bologna," LC-USF34-31747-D, Jarreau, LA, October 1938, which shows these items on the store shelves. Particularly in rural North Carolina, tobacco and other ads covered over barns and even a privy as well. See, for example, Dorothea Lange, "A hillside farm . . . ," LC-USF34-19995-C, Person County, NC, July 1939; Arthur Rothstein, "U.S. Resettlement administration tenant farm . . . ," LC-USF34-5764-C, Johnston County, NC, December 1936; and John Vachon, "A privy," LC-USF34-8366-C, Greensboro, NC, April 1938. The 1908 postcard is reproduced in Guy C. McElroy, *Facing History: The Black Image in American Art, 1710–1940* (San Francisco: Bedford Arts, 1990), xxxii. Clark, *Southern Country Store*, 18–22.

96. See FSA photos of integration and advertising at general stores cited in notes 91 and 93. Clarence Poe, "Flashlights on the Negro Problem in Southern Farm Life," *Progressive Farmer*, 12 July 1913; "South Carolina Views on Grouping the Races," *Progressive Farmer*, 26 July 1913; "A South-Wide Campaign for Racial Segregation," *Progressive Farmer*, 2 August 1913; "Racial Segregation Necessary to Education and Co-operation," *Progressive Farmer*, 9 August 1913; and "Rural Land Segregation between Whites and Negroes: A Reply to Mr. Stephenson," *South Atlantic Quarterly* 13 (1914): 207–12. Jack Delano, "A general store . . . ," LC-USF34-43438-D, Manchester, NC, April 1941. On integration at a country fair, see Louise Schmier and Denise Montgomery, "The Other Depression: The Black Experience in Georgia Through an FSA Photographer's Lens," *Georgia Historical Quarterly* 78 (Spring 1994): 141. For firsthand accounts by whites of frequent interactions with blacks in the rural South, see William Alexander Percy, *Lanterns on the Levee: Recollections of a Planter's Son* (1941; rpt., Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1994), especially ch. 25, "A Bit of Diary," 322–31; LeGuin, *Diaries*, 15–17, 24, 44–45, 71–73, 82–84, 167, 178–79, 183–87, 192, 255–56, 279, 299–300, 314. See also Clark, *Southern Country Store*, 9–10, 18–22, 34–35, 54, 76, 82, 103, 111–42, 189–211; Jack Temple Kirby, "Black and White in the Rural South, 1915–1954," *Agricultural History* (July 1984): 411–22; and "Clarence Poe's Vision of a Segregated 'Great Rural Civilization,'" *South Atlantic Quarterly* 68 (Winter 1969): 27–38.

97. Carson McCullers, *Ballad of the Sad Cafe* (1951; rpt., New York: Bantam Books, 1971).

98. Ibid. 54, 54, 55, 55, 55, 22, 71.

99. LeGuin, *Diary*, 196; Stuart and Elizabeth Ewen, *Channels of Desire: Mass Images and the Shaping of American Consciousness* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1982), 63–68; Schlereth, "Country Stores, Country Fairs, and Mail Order Catalogues," in Bonner, ed., *Consuming Visions*, 364–72; and Wayne E. Fuller, *RFD: The Changing Face of Rural America* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1964). On Montgomery Ward and Sears, see Frank B. Latham, *A Century of Serving Customers: The Story of Montgomery Ward* (Chicago: Montgomery Ward, 1971); Nina Baker, *Big Catalogue: The Life of Aaron Montgomery Ward* (New York: Harcourt, Brace, 1956), and *Our Silver Anniversary: Being a Brief and Concise History of the Mail-Order or Catalog Business Which Was Invented by Us a Quarter of a Century Ago* (Chicago: Montgomery Ward, 1897). On Sears, see David L. Cohen, *The Good Old Days: A History of American Morals and Manners as Seen through the Sears, Roebuck Catalogs, 1905 to the Present* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1940); Gordon L. Weil, *Sears, Roebuck, U.S.A.: The Great American Catalog Store and How It Grew* (New York: Stein and Day, 1977); Boris Emmet and John E.

change debate about the persistence of planter power after the Civil War, see Harold D. Woodman, "Economic Reconstruction and the New South," in Jon B. Boles and Evelyn Thomas Nolen, eds., *Interpreting Southern History: Historiographic Essays in Honor of Sanford W. Higginbotham* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1987), 254–307. In *Promise of the New South*, 458, n. 51, Ayers asserts that by 1895, planter power had greatly eroded.

93. Clark, *Southern Country Store*, 9–10, 35, 55–57; Edwards, *Negro as a Consumer*, 159; Johnson, *Negro Segregation*, 63–65. Photographs of southern country stores taken by the FSA in the late 1930s often depict integrated shopping or socializing. See Russell Lee, "A Negro Woman trading a sack of pecans for groceries," LC-USF34-31759-D, and "A Negro Woman waiting for groceries in a general store," LC-USF34-31757-D, Jarreau, LA, October 1938; Jack Delano, "On the porch of a general store," LC-USF33-20816-M3, Hinesville, GA, April 1941; Dorothea Lange, "A country store located on a dirt road, on a Sunday afternoon," LC-USF34-19911-E, Gordonton, NC, July 1939; Jack Delano, "A general store . . . ," LC-USF34-43438-D, Manchester (vicinity), NC, April 1941; and Marion Post Wolcott, "A part of the interior," LC-USF34-52678-D, "The front of the general store," LC-USF34-52655-D, and "The front of the Whitley general store," LC-USF34-52677-D, Wendell, NC, November 1939. For an account of African Americans only being able to buy at white-owned stores with landowner's store orders, see John Dollard, *Caste and Class in a Southern Town* (1937; rpt., New York: Doubleday Anchor, 1957), 126. For an account of a white man keeping a store in a black section of a small southern town in the 1940s and 1950s, see Melton A. McLaurin, *Separate Pasts: Growing Up White in the Segregated South* (Athens: University of Georgia, 1987). Some African Americans also ran general stores, although they too were rare. See Davis, Gardner, and Gardner, *Deep South*, 258, for an account of poor whites' deferential treatment of an African American store owner from whom they hoped to get credit. See Maya Angelou, *I Know Why the Caged Bird Sings* (New York: Random House, 1969) for a discussion of her grandparents' store in the 1930s.

94. Charles A. Le Guin, ed., *A Home-Concealed Woman: The Diaries of Magnolia Wynn Le Guin, 1901–1913* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1990), 29; Clark, *Southern Country Store*, 84–97, quotes, 88, 90; Ownby, *Subduing Satan*, 38–55; and Carson, *Old Country Store*, 162–67. See also Timothy B. Spears, *100 Years on the Road: The Traveling Salesman in American Culture* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1995).

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96. See FSA photos of integration and advertising at general stores cited in notes 91 and 93. Clarence Poe, "Flashlights on the Negro Problem in Southern Farm Life," *Progressive Farmer*, 12 July 1913; "South Carolina Views on Grouping the Races," *Progressive Farmer*, 26 July 1913; "A South-Wide Campaign for Racial Segregation," *Progressive Farmer*, 2 August 1913; "Racial Segregation Necessary to Education and Co-operation," *Progressive Farmer*, 9 August 1913; and "Rural Land Segregation between Whites and Negroes: A Reply to Mr. Stephenson," *South Atlantic Quarterly* 13 (1914): 207–12. Jack Delano, "A general store . . . ," LC-USF34-43438-D, Manchester, NC, April 1941. On integration at a country fair, see Louise Schmier and Denise Montgomery, "The Other Depression: The Black Experience in Georgia Through an FSA Photographer's Lens," *Georgia Historical Quarterly* 78 (Spring 1994): 141. For firsthand accounts by whites of frequent interactions with blacks in the rural South, see William Alexander Percy, *Lanterns on the Levee: Recollections of a Planter's Son* (1941; rpt., Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1994), especially ch. 25, "A Bit of Diary," 322–31; LeGuin, *Diaries*, 15–17, 24, 44–45, 71–73, 82–84, 167, 178–79, 183–87, 192, 255–56, 279, 299–300, 314. See also Clark, *Southern Country Store*, 9–10, 18–22, 34–35, 54, 76, 82, 103, 111–42, 189–211; Jack Temple Kirby, "Black and White in the Rural South, 1915–1954," *Agricultural History* (July 1984): 411–22; and "Clarence Poe's Vision of a Segregated 'Great Rural Civilization,'" *South Atlantic Quarterly* 68 (Winter 1969): 27–38.

97. Carson McCullers, *Ballad of the Sad Cafe* (1951; rpt., New York: Bantam Books, 1971).

98. Ibid. 54, 54, 55, 55, 55, 22, 71.

99. LeGuin, *Diary*, 196; Stuart and Elizabeth Ewen, *Channels of Desire: Mass Images and the Shaping of American Consciousness* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1982), 63–68; Schlereth, "Country Stores, Country Fairs, and Mail Order Catalogues," in Bonner, ed., *Consuming Visions*, 364–72; and Wayne E. Fuller, *RFD: The Changing Face of Rural America* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1964). On Montgomery Ward and Sears, see Frank B. Latham, *A Century of Serving Customers: The Story of Montgomery Ward* (Chicago: Montgomery Ward, 1971); Nina Baker, *Big Catalogue: The Life of Aaron Montgomery Ward* (New York: Harcourt, Brace, 1956), and *Our Silver Anniversary: Being a Brief and Concise History of the Mail-Order or Catalog Business Which Was Invented by Us a Quarter of a Century Ago* (Chicago: Montgomery Ward, 1897). On Sears, see David L. Cohen, *The Good Old Days: A History of American Morals and Manners as Seen through the Sears, Roebuck Catalogs, 1905 to the Present* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1940); Gordon L. Weil, *Sears, Roebuck, U.S.A.: The Great American Catalog Store and How It Grew* (New York: Stein and Day, 1977); Boris Emmet and John E.

Jeuck, *Catalogues and Counters: A History of Sears, Roebuck and Company* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1950); and Robert Hendrickson, *The Grand Emporiums: The Illustrated History of the Great Department Stores* (New York: Stein and Day, 1979).

100. Schlereth, "Country Stores, County Fairs, and Mail Order Catalogues," in Bonner, ed., *Consuming Visions*; LeGuin, *Home-Concealed Woman*, 192; Hendrickson, *Grand Emporiums*, 205–06.

101. S. and E. Ewen, *Channels of Desire*, 63–68, quotes, 64, 65–66; Weil, *Sears, Roebuck, U.S.A.*, 5, 25–27; Cohen, *Good Old Days*; and Hendrickson, *Grand Emporiums*.

102. Clark, *Southern Country Store*, 72–75; Sears, Roebuck and Co. Catalogue no. 113 (Spring 1904), 1, and no. 126 (Spring 1913), 2, both in NMAH; Fuller, *RFD*, 250–52; Schlereth, "Country Stores, Country Fairs, and Mail Order Catalogues," in Bonner, ed., *Consuming Visions*, 370–71.

103. S. and E. Ewen, *Channels of Desire*, 67–68; Weil, *Sears, Roebuck, U.S.A.*, 62–64; Hendrickson, *Grand Emporiums*, 236–53. See Dollard, *Caste and Class*, 48–49, for a description of a white northerner living in Mississippi who hated southern whites so much that he made all his purchases from the Sears Roebuck catalog.

104. Ben Shahn, "A Medicine Show," LC-USF34-6164-M3, "A Medicine Show and Audience," LC-USF34-6165-M5, "A Medicine Show," LC-USF34-6164-M5, "A Medicine Show Puppet," LC-USF34-6167-M4, and "Watching a Medicine Show," LC-USF34-6165-M1, all Huntingdon, TN, 1935. Natanson, *Black Image*, 100–6. For the quotes from the Federal Writers' Project interview with medicine show pitchman Josiah Roberts, see Natanson, *Black Image*, 100, from Ann Banks, ed., *First-Person America* (New York: Random House, 1981), 188–89. I rely here on Natanson's excellent discussion of the Shahn series but with a different emphasis on the racial meanings involved and a skepticism about Natanson's assumptions of photographic transparency. See also Marion Post Wolcott, "Men outside a tobacco warehouse, listening to a patent medicine salesman during a tobacco auction," LC-USF33-30699-M5, Durham, NC, November 1939. On medicine shows see also N. T. Oliver, as told to Wesley Stout, "Med Show," *Saturday Evening Post* 202 (14 September 1929): 12, 13, quoted in Lears, *Fables of Abundance*, 141–42.

105. See Shahn photographs cited in note 103.

106. Ibid.; Natanson, *Black Image*, 100–6, quote, 100. Oliver, "Med Show," 12.

107. Edwards, *Negro as a Consumer*, 151–60, 214–51, quote from Burroughs, 235, quotes about the Gold Dust Twins, 250. See also Melvin Patrick Ely, *The Adventures of Amos and Andy: A Social History of an American Phenomenon* (New York: Free Press, 1991).

108. On the contradictions between segregation and the profit motive, between the demands of white supremacy and black customers, see Davis, Gardner, and Gardner, *Deep South*, 258–63; Dollard, *Caste and Class*, 126–30; Johnson, *Negro Segregation*, 56–77; Myrdal, *American Dilemma*, 636–39; Doyle, *Etiquette of Race Relations*, 146–56.

109. Descriptions in sociological studies of racial mixing in the commercial districts of southern towns and cities on Saturdays and at other times include Johnson, *Negro Segregation*, 63–77; Dollard, *Caste and Class*, 4–5; Davis, Gardner, Gardner, *Deep South*, 15–16, 22–23, 54–55, 253–80; Myrdal, *American Dilemma*, 627–38. Fictional accounts include Faulkner, *Sanctuary*, 11–13.

110. Mrs. W. H. [Rebecca Latimer] Felton, "The Country Home: Women on the Farm," *Atlanta Journal Semi-Weekly*, 24 May 1901; LeGuin, *Diaries*, 299.

111. Dollard, *Caste and Class*, 4–5; Johnson, *Negro Segregation*, 63–77; Faulkner, *Sanctuary*, 111; Kirby, "Rural South," 420–21.

112. Dollard, *Caste and Class*, 4.

113. Johnson, *Negro Segregation*, 63.

114. Marion Post Wolcott, "Saturday afternoon in the Delta area," LC-USF33-30640-M5, Clarksdale, MS, October 1939; "On the main street," LC-USF34-51879-D and LC-USF34-51878-D, Greensboro, GA, Spring 1939; "Main street on Saturday afternoon," LC-USF33-30592-M1, Belzoni, MS, October 1939; "Selling apples on Main street on Saturday afternoon," LC-USF33-30587-M1, Lexington, MS, October 1939; and "A street scene on Saturday afternoon," LC-USF33-30520-M4, Yanceyville, NC, September 1939. On the administration of the FSA project in general and attitudes among photographers including the one African American, Gordon Parks, toward photographing southern blacks, see Natanson, *Black Image*, 49–84.

115. Natanson, *Black Image*, 49–84; and Marion Post Wolcott, "Grocery store on a Saturday afternoon," LC-USF33-30409-M5, Greensboro, GA, June 1939; "A street corner," LC-USF34-56719-D, Starke, FL, December 1940; and "An advertisement on the side of a drug store," LC-USF34-52631-D, Wendell, NC, November 1939. Jack Delano, "Saturday afternoon," LC-USF34-46401, LC-USF34-46421-D, and LC-USF33-20891-M2, Greensboro, GA, November 1941; "A Saturday afternoon crown in the town," LC-USF34-44171-D and LC-USF34-44651-D, Siloam, GA, May 1941. Dorothea Lange, "Appliquéd embroideries for sale on the street in front of the 10 ct. store on a Saturday afternoon," LC-USF34-20217-E.

116. John Vachon, "A drinking fountain on the county courthouse lawn," LC-USF33-1112-M1, Halifax, NC, April 1938; Arthur Siegel, "A drinking fountain," LC-USW3-26442-D, Bethlehem-Fairfield shipyards, Baltimore, May 1943; and Esther Bubley, "Tobacco sales. Drinking fountains at a Lumberton warehouse," Milton Meltzer Collection, Schomburg Center for Research in Black Culture, New York Public Library; Jack Delano, "A street scene near the bus station," LC-USF33-20522-M5. See also Russell Lee, "Man drinking at a water cooler in the street car terminal," LC-USF33-12327-M5, Oklahoma City, July 1939; John Vachon, "A railroad station," LC-USF33-1172-M4, Manchester, GA, May 1938; and Esther Bubley, "A rest stop for Greyhound bus passengers on the way from Louisville, KY, to Nashville, TN, with separate accommodations for colored passengers," LC-USW3-37919-E, September 1943.

117. Jack Delano, "A cafe near the tobacco market," Durham, NC, May 1940, LC-USF33-20513-M2; Dorothea Lange, "A fish restaurant for Negroes in the section of the city where cotton hoers are recruited," LC-USF34-17593-E, Memphis, June 1937; Marion Post Wolcott, "A lunch room," LC-USF34-50500-D, Belle Glade, FL, January 1939; Johnson, *Negro Segregation*, 59; and Doyle, *Etiquette of Race Relations*, 146–47.

118. Dollard, *Caste and Class*, 4; Jack Delano, "The movie house," LC-USF33-20963-M4 and "The new moving picture theater," LC-USF33-20956-M4, Greensboro,

GA, May 1941; Johnson, *Negro Segregation*, 72–74, quote, 73; Marion Post Wolcott, "The Rex theatre for Negro people," LC-USF34-52508-D, Leland, MS, November 1939; Dorothea Lange, "The Rex theatre for colored people," LC-USF34-17417-E, Leland, MS, June 1937; and Marion Post Wolcott, "Negro man entering movie," LC-USF33-30577-M2, Belzoni, MS, October 1939. On this famous FSA image, see Natanson, *Black Image*, 1–3.

119. Myrdal, *American Dilemma*, 627–39; Baker, *Following the Color Line*, 34–35; Johnson, *Negro Segregation*, 56–77.

120. Jack Delano, "The 'gossip corner,' " LC-USF33-20540-M1, Stem, NC, May 1940; and John Collier, "A drugstore," LC-USF34-80516-D, LC-USF34-80523-D; and LC-USF34-80540-D, Haymarket, VA, August 1941. Doyle, *Etiquette of Race Relations*, 146–59, quote, 143; Davis, Gardner, and Gardner, *Deep South*, 15–24, quote, 22–23. For the Commission on Interracial Relations, a region-wide body that developed out of the Atlanta Interracial Committee and its findings in the 1920s that African Americans objected to "For Whites Only" signs and being called "Uncle" or "John" in southern stores, see George Brown Tindall, *The Emergence of the New South, 1913–1945* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1967), 177–81.

121. Johnson, *Negro Segregation*, 63–65; Myrdal, *American Dilemma*, 627–39.

122. Doyle, *Etiquette of Race Relations*, 146–47; Johnson, *Negro Segregation*, 71, 249–51; and Dollard, *Caste and Class*, 4.

123. Davis, Gardner, and Gardner, *Deep South*, 272; Johnson, *Negro Segregation*, 65–70; Myrdal, *American Dilemma*, 637–38.

124. Davis, Gardner, and Gardner, *Deep South*, 16; Johnson, *Negro Segregation*, 65–70, 296–97; Dollard, *Caste and Class*, 127; Myrdal, *American Dilemma*, 636–39.

125. John Crowe Ransom, "What Does the South Want?," 178–93; Marion Post Wolcott, "The post office, general store, and filling station," LC-USF34-52116-D, Bynum, NC, September 1939; Russell Lee, "The general store with a cow eating in the foreground," LC-USF34-31749-D, Jarreau, LA, October 1938; John Vachon, "A general store," LC-USF341-15631-B, Diascond, VA, October 1937; Jack Delano, "Garage and general store," LC-USF34-44619-D, Penfield, GA, June 1941. See also Russell Lee, "Negro children coming out of the store . . . ," LC-USF33-11890-M1, Mix, LA, November 1938; and Dorothea Lange, "A country store . . . ," LC-USF34-19989-C, Gordonton, NC, July 1939. Dorothea Lange, "A country filling station . . . these small independent stations have become the meeting place for farmers in the countryside," LC-USF34-20207-E, Granville County, NC, July 1939; John Vachon, "A filling station," LC-USF33-112-M3, Enfield, NC, April 1938; and Jack Delano, "Men sitting on a bench outside a filling station," LC-USF34-40647-D, Stem, NC, May 1940. All these gas stations were covered with advertising. On automobiles in the rural South, see Kirby, "Rural South," 420–21; Joseph Interrane, "You Can't Go to Town in a Bathtub: Automobile Movement and the Reorganization of American Space, 1900–1930," *Radical History Review* 21 (March 1980): 151–68; Steve Gurr, "Toy, Tool and Token: Views of Early Automobiling in Georgia," *Georgia Historical Quarterly* 77 (Summer 1993): 383–94.

126. Johnson, *Negro Segregation*, 71–74; Kirby, "Rural South," 420–21.

127. Marion Post Wolcott, "A used car lot. Big sales start after the cotton picking season to get the money the pickers have earned," LC-USF33-30641-M1 and LC-USF33-30642-M3, Clarkesdale, MS, October 1939. On segregation of tourist facilities, see the *Negro Motorist Green Book*; and Marion Post Wolcott, "A highway sign advertising tourist cabins for Negroes," LC-USF34-51945-D, SC, June 1939. Davis, Gardner, and Gardner, *Deep South*, 261; Johnson, *Negro Segregation*, 270–71; Kirby, "Rural South," 420–21; Dollard, *Caste and Class*, 126.

128. Lillian Smith, *Killers of the Dream* (1949; rpt., New York: Norton, 1978), 95–96. Other sources on Smith include the Lillian Smith Collection (LS-UGA) and the Paula Snelling Collection, Hargrett Rare Book and Manuscript Collection, University of Georgia, Athens, especially biographic papers and notes on the preparation of *Killers of the Dream* in Box 1, LS-UGA; Roseanne V. Camacho, "Race, Region, and Gender in a Reassessment of Lillian Smith," in *Southern Women: Histories and Identities* (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 1992), 157–76; Bruce Clayton, "Lillian Smith: Cassandra in Dixie," *Georgia Historical Quarterly* 78 (Spring 1994): 92–114; Margaret Rose Gladney, ed., *How Am I to Be Heard? Letters of Lillian Smith* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1993); Fred Hobson, *Tell About the South: The Southern Rage to Explain* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1983), 307–22; and Anne C. Loveland, *Lillian Smith: A Southerner Confronting the South* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1990). See Chapter 6.

129. Al-Tony Gilmore, "The Black Southerners' Response to the Southern System of Race Relations," in Robert Haws, ed., *The Age of Segregation: Race Relations in the South, 1890–1945* (Jackson: University Press of Mississippi, 1978), 67–88, quote, 81; Baker, *Following the Color Line*, 39–44; Johnson, *Negro Segregation*, 268–310.

130. *Athens* (Georgia) *Clipper*, 31 August 1901, 1, advertisement for the Newtown Colored Enterprise, a grocery store, photograph of this page of the paper in the Vanishing Georgia Collection, Hargrett Rare Book and Manuscript Library, University of Georgia, Athens; Dollard, *Caste and Class*, 87; Myrdal, *American Dilemma*, 638; Johnson, *Negro Segregation*, 272; Baker, *Following the Color Line*, 39–44.

131. Johnson, *Negro Segregation*, 77; Myrdal, *American Dilemma*, 627–39; Pete Daniel, "Black Power in the 1920s: The Case of Tuskegee Veterans Hospital," *Journal of Southern History* 36 (August 1970): 368–88.

132. On the racial contradictions in the soft drink business, see the descriptions of Pepsi-Cola in the 1930s as "nigger Coke" and problems with white southern bottlers and their black customers in Harvey Russell interview, 15 November 1984, Pepsi-Cola Advertising History Collection, NMAH. Dollard, *Caste and Class*, 92–93. On whites' experience of the shock of sameness, see Flannery O'Connor, "Everything That Rises Must Converge," in *Everything That Rises Must Converge* (New York: Noonday Press, 1956), 3–23. In this story an elderly white woman desperately trying to keep up the pretensions of her genteel past gets on a bus and meets an African American woman wearing the same expensive purple hat.

133. Johnson, *Negro Segregation*, 286; James Weldon Johnson, *All Along This Way* (New York: Viking, 1933); Walter White, *A Man Called White* (New York: Viking, 1948);

and Ridgely Torrence, *The Story of John Hope* (1948; rpt., New York: Arno Press, 1969). On the ease of passing in the almost complete anonymity of New York City in the early twentieth century, see Chapter 1. See also the fictional accounts in James Weldon Johnson, *Autobiography of an Ex-Colored Man* (1912; rpt., New York: Penguin Books, 1990); and Langston Hughes, "Passing," in *The Ways of White Folks* (New York: Knopf, 1934), 49–53.

134. Dollard, *Caste and Class*, 44; Davis, Gardner, and Gardner, *Deep South*, 31–39, quote, 33; Poe, "Negro Problem in Southern Farm Life," quoting a letter from "A North Carolina Negro."

135. See FSA photographs cited in note 6. Clarence Cason, *Ninety Degrees in the Shade* (1935; rpt., Westport, CT: Negro Universities Press, 1970), photographs by J. Edward Rice between pp. 8 and 9, pp. 168 and 169. Dollard, *Caste and Class*, 64.

CHAPTER FIVE: *Deadly Amusements*

1. W. E. B. Du Bois, "Georgia, Invisible Empire State," *Nation* 120 (21 January 1925): 63–67.

2. Allen Tate, "Remarks on the Southern Religion," in Twelve Southerners, *I'll Take My Stand* (1930; rpt., Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1991), 174.

3. Du Bois, "Georgia," and *The Souls of Black Folk* (1903; rpt., New York: Library of America, 1990), 7–48, 59–67. In 1901, Du Bois, exasperated with segregated facilities, asked for Booker T. Washington's financial help in filing suit against the Southern Railway concerning segregation in interstate travel. See David Levering Lewis, *W. E. B. Du Bois: Biography of a Race, 1868–1919* (New York: Henry Holt, 1993), 243–44. On pre–World War I court victories of the NAACP against segregation, see Walter White, *A Man Called White* (1948; rpt., New York: Arno Press, 1969), 39–58. In 1884, Ida B. Wells was the first African American to file a discrimination suit against a railroad. See Ida B. Wells, *Crusade for Justice: The Autobiography of Ida B. Wells* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1970), 18–20.

On blacks' desire for separation from whites in southern urban areas, see Howard N. Rabinowitz, *Race Relations in the Urban South, 1865–1890* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1980), 125–254, and "More than the Woodward Thesis: Assessing *The Strange Career of Jim Crow*," in *Race, Ethnicity, and Urbanization: Selected Essays* (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 1994), 23–41. But see C. Vann Woodward, *The Strange Career of Jim Crow* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1974), for a convincing view of a relative degree of integration before 1890. Recent scholarship has supported Woodward's argument and found a rising black middle class striving for a more racially integrated future and white recognition of class commonalities across the color line. See Glenda Gilmore, *Gender and Jim Crow: Women and the Politics of White Supremacy in North Carolina, 1896–1920* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1996); and John William Graves, "Jim Crow in Arkansas: A Reconsideration of Urban Race Relations in the Post-Reconstruction South," *Journal of Southern History* 55 (August 1989).

On sex and modernism, see Jacquelyn Dowd Hall, *Revolt Against Chivalry: Jesse Daniel Ames and the Women's Campaign Against Lynching* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1974), 147–48; and Joel Williamson, *The Crucible of Race: Black-White Relations in the American South Since Emancipation* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1984), 115–17.

4. Miriam Hansen, *Babel and Babylon: Spectatorship in American Silent Film* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1991), 2. See also Jacquelyn Dowd Hall, "Private Eyes, Public Women: Images of Class and Sex in the Urban South, Atlanta, Georgia, 1913–1915," in Ava Baron, ed., *Work Engendered: Toward a New History of American Labor* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1991), 262–71; Daniel J. Singal, *The War Within: From Victorianism to Modernist Thought in the South, 1919–1945* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1982), 8.

Ida B. Wells claimed that when African Americans stopped riding the streetcars and trains as they saved money to leave Memphis in the wake of the 1893 lynching of three black grocery store owners, one streetcar company faced bankruptcy. See *Crusade for Justice*, 53–64.

A form of violence with a long history in America, lynchings have nevertheless occurred within vastly different social and economic spaces and asserted widely varying cultural meanings. The term "lynching" covers a variety of practices of mob murder; definitions have changed as investigators focused on different characteristics. Stressing "popular justice," James Elbert Cutler, *Lynch-Law: An Investigation into the History of Lynching in the United States* (1905; rpt., Montclair, NJ: Patterson Smith, 1969), defines lynching as "the practice whereby mobs capture individuals suspected of crime, or take them from the officers of the law, and execute them without any process at law, or break open jails and hang convicted criminals, with impunity" (1). Cutler's work was the first academic investigation of lynching. See also Ray Stannard Baker, "What Is a Lynching?: A Study of Mob Justice, South and North," *McClure's Magazine* 24 (January 1905): 299–314, and *McClure's Magazine* 25 (February 1905): 422–30. By 1929, Walter White had decided that lynching needed no definition; see *Rope and Faggot: A Biography of Judge Lynch* (New York: Knopf, 1929). Arthur Raper, *Tragedy of Lynching* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1933) and the related Southern Commission on the Study of Lynching, *Lynchings and What They Mean* (Atlanta: The Commission, 1933) followed Walter White's lead and gave no definition. In a popularized account of the practice published in 1938, Frank Shay defined lynching as "an execution without process of the law, by a mob, of any individual suspected or convicted of a crime or accused of an offense against prevailing social customs." See Frank Shay, *Judge Lynch: His First Hundred Years* (New York: Ives Washburn, 1938), 7. But by 1940, confusion reigned, and the NAACP, the Tuskegee Institute (an important collector of data on lynchings), and the Association of Southern Women for the Prevention of Lynching (ASWPL) got together to develop a common definition. They stressed that "the group [conducting the lynching] must have acted under pretext of service to justice, race, or tradition." See Jesse Daniel Ames, *The Changing Character of Lynching: Review of Lynching, 1931–1941 with a Discussion of Recent Events in this Field* (Atlanta: Commission for Interracial Cooperation, 1942), 29–30. The ASWPL, however, came to feel that

this definition was too broad. Ames also quotes the definition developed by authors of various federal anti-lynching bills, which stressed death or maiming by a mob, defined as three or more persons acting outside the law (22).

By the late nineteenth century, lynchings both occurred more often in the South and mainly claimed black victims. For an excellent theoretical and historical overview of lynching, see Hall, *Revolt Against Chivalry*, 129–57. For white American conceptions of blackness in general, see George M. Fredrickson, *The Black Image in the White Mind: The Debate on Afro-American Character and Destiny* (1971; rpt., Hanover, NH: University Press of New England, 1987). Sources for lynching statistics include the NAACP's *Thirty Years of Lynching* (1919) and *Supplements* (1919–1928) and Monroe Work, ed., *Negro Year Books*, 11 vols. (Tuskegee, AL, 1912–1956). These sources in turn drew from lists kept by the *Chicago Tribune* beginning 1 January 1894 as well as their own research. See also Ida B. Wells, *A Red Record: Tabulated Statistics and Alleged Causes of Lynchings in the United States, 1892–1893–1894* (Chicago: Donohue and Henneberry, 1895). Cutler also compiled lynching statistics through 1903. See *Lynch-Law*, 155–92. See Hall, *Revolt Against Chivalry*, 134–35, for compilations by region, race, and state.

On the lynching of whites, see "Georgia's Body-Blow at Mob Murder," *Literary Digest*, 4 December 1926, 10, for a premature celebration of the end of lynch law because the leader of a mob that lynched a white man was sentenced to life in prison. In 1903 Cutler convincingly argued that the lynching of whites and blacks took place in very different geographies, the settled community versus the frontier community: "There is no psychic connection between the lynching of a negro in the South and the lynching of a [white] murderer or cattle thief in the West" (*Lynch-Law*, 171). For the declining practice of lynching whites after 1900, see W. Fitzhugh Brundage, *Lynching in the New South, Georgia and Virginia, 1880–1930* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1993), 86–102. Between 1880 and 1930, Brundage counts fifteen lynchings in Virginia and nineteen in Georgia.

5. For the NAACP's extensive case files, see NAACP Papers, Part 7, "The Anti-Lynching Campaign, 1912–1953," Series A, "Anti-Lynching Investigation Files, 1912–1953." These records contain news clippings and lynching studies dating back to 1885, but the case files begin in 1912. See also case studies provided in White, *Rope and Faggot*, 23–39; James Weldon Johnson, "The Practice of Lynching: A Picture, the Problem, and What Shall Be Done About It," *Century Magazine* (November 1927): 65–70; Raper, *Tragedy of Lynching*, 59–440; and Shay, *Judge Lynch*, 153–204. See also W. E. B. Du Bois, *Dusk of Dawn: An Essay Toward an Autobiography of a Race Concept* (1940), reprinted in *W. E. B. Du Bois: Writings* (New York: Library of America, 1986), 602–3, 716–39; and W. J. Cash, *The Mind of the South* (1941; rpt., New York: Vintage 1991), 43–45, 116–23, 170, 299–310, on the changing practice of lynching in the South.

6. On contemporary sources on African American women and the ever-present threat of rape by white men, see W. E. B. Du Bois, "Damnation of Women," in *Darkwater: Voices From Within the Veil* (1920; rpt., Millwood, NJ: Kraus-Thompson, 1975), 163–86; and White, *Rope and Faggot*, 62–66. See also Jacquelyn Dowd Hall, " 'The Mind That Burns in Each Body': Women, Rape, and Racial Violence," in Ann Snitow, Christine Stansell, and Sharon Thompson, eds., *Powers of Desire: The Politics of Sexuality* (New York: Monthly Review Press, 1983): 329–49; Catherine Clinton, "Bloody Terrain: Freedwomen, Sexuality, and Violence During Reconstruction," *Georgia Historical Quarterly* 76 (Summer 1992): 313–32; and Darlene Clark Hine, "Rape and the Inner Lives of Southern Black Women: Thoughts on the Culture of Dissemblance," in Virginia Bernhard, Betty Brandon, Elizabeth Fox-Genovese, and Theda Purdue, eds., *Southern Women: Histories and Identities* (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 1993) 177–90. On violence in general and lynching in particular as a form of labor control and as a weapon whites used against black economic competitors, see Nell Irvin Painter, " 'Social Equality': Miscegenation, Labor, and Power," in Numan Bartley, ed., *The Evolution of Southern Culture* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1988), 47–67; Wells, *Crusade for Justice*, 35–67; and Brundage, *Lynching in the New South*, 57, 62–63, 111–13. Flogging and tar-and-feathering were also used in this way. See William F. Holmes, "Whitecapping in Mississippi: Agrarian Violence in the Populist Era," *Journal of Southern History* 35 (May 1969): 165–85, and "Moonshining and Collective Violence: Georgia, 1889–1895," *Journal of American History* 67 (December 1980): 589–611.

7. Cash, *Mind of the South*, 118–19. Tate, "Remarks," 174. General studies of southern violence include Sheldon Hackney, "Southern Violence," *American Historical Review* 74 (February 1969): 906–25; and John Hope Franklin, *The Militant South, 1800–1861* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1956). On race relations in colonial America, see Edmund S. Morgan, *American Slavery, American Freedom: The Ordeal of Colonial Virginia* (New York: Norton, 1975); and Peter H. Wood, *Negroes in Colonial South Carolina from 1670 through the Stono Rebellion* (New York: Norton, 1975).

On the intertwined racial and political motives for violence during Reconstruction, see George C. Rable, *But There Was No Peace: The Role of Violence in the Politics of Reconstruction* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1984). Also see Allen W. Trelease, *White Terror: The Ku Klux Klan Conspiracy and Southern Reconstruction* (New York: Harper & Row, 1971). On the history of lynching before the 1880s, see Cutler, *Lynch-Law*, 41–154. See also George C. Wright, *Racial Violence in Kentucky, 1865–1940* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1990).

Brundage's *Lynching in the New South*, an excellent social history of lynchings in Georgia and Virginia, focuses on the composition of mobs in his attempt to find an interpretation of lynchings "broad enough to explain banal lynchings as well as those laden with symbolism" (15). Delineating different types of lynchings by examining the size and intent of the mob involved, he describes small mobs, less than fifty participants, as "terrorist"—no pretense of upholding the law—or "private"—bent on punishing some alleged offense. Posses, a third type of mob, varied widely in size and were distinguished instead by their overstepping of their "quasi-legal" function. Finally, mass mobs numbered from fifty to thousands of members and punished their victims "with extraordinary ferocity and, on occasion, great ceremony" (19). For my purposes, Brundage's rigid distinction between mass mobs and posses, mob members and spectators, does not always hold. The difference between women who gathered wood and cheered on the torture and the men who lit the fire seems more one of gender than mob member versus spectator. Though there were certainly differences of degrees between those whites who carried out the torture and killing and other whites who taunted and cheered their actions

and scrambled for souvenirs, mob members blended into spectators along a continuum, without sharp divisions. Also, both mass mobs and posses conducted what I have called spectacle lynchings. See my discussion of the lynching of Sam Hose.

For a statistical study of lynching, see Stewart E. Tolnay and E. M. Beck, *A Festival of Violence: An Analysis of Southern Lynchings, 1882–1930* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1995).

8. Michel Foucault, *Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison*, Alan Sheridan, trans. (New York: Vintage Books, 1979), 3–72. See Michael McKeon, *Origins of the English Novel, 1600–1740* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1987), 98–100; and Lincoln B. Faller, *Turned to Account: The Forms and Functions of Criminal Biography in Late Seventeenth and Early Eighteenth Century England* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1987), for an explanation of the ways in which the proliferation of the press changed the spectacle of violence and its effects in the early modern period in England, transforming earlier public tortures and executions like the auto-da-fé, the ritualized practice of the Inquisition. According to Faller, "criminals lived their lives over in readers' imaginations, committed their crimes and met their deaths again and again . . . the res publica—less 'total,' more flexible, inventive, and 'modern'—had more than the criminal's body on which to figure (and refigure) its particular concerns. It also had the 'literary' corpus which, in effect its own creation, it stood in his place . . ." (xi). I argue in this chapter that the proliferation of images, particularly in the form of photographs, transformed the life of the spectacle of lynching in the South in particular and violence in general as greatly again as had the printed word three hundred years earlier.

9. For the modern economy argument, see Raper, *Tragedy of Lynching*, 3–40; and James R. McGovern, *Anatomy of a Lynching: The Killing of Claude Neal* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1982), 1–41. For an argument about white male sexuality, see Williamson, *Crucible*, 140–223. H. L. Mencken is quoted in White, *Rope and Faggot*, 9: "lynching often takes the place of the merry-go-round, the theatre, the symphony orchestra, and other diversions common to larger communities." See also Gunnar Myrdal, *An American Dilemma: The Negro Problem and Modern Democracy* (New York: Harper and Row, 1944), 563–64.

10. Hall, *Revolt against Chivalry*, 129–57. Brundage, *Lynching in the New South*, 15; and Edward L. Ayers, *The Promise of the New South: Life After Reconstruction* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1993), 155–59.

11. Cash, *Mind of the South*, 115; Ida B. Wells, *On Lynchings: Southern Horrors; A Red Record; Mob Rule in New Orleans* (New York: Arno Press, 1969); Frederick Douglass, *Why Is the Negro Lynched?* (Bridgewater, England: John Whitby and Sons, 1895); W. E. B. Du Bois, "Georgia" and "Jesus Christ in Texas," in *Darkwater*, 123–33; Du Bois, *Dusk of Dawn*, 602–3, 716–39; Du Bois, "Lynchings," *The Crisis* (August 1927); Mary Church Terrell, "Lynching from a Negro's Point of View," *North American Review* 178 (June 1904): 853–68, quote, 865; James Weldon Johnson, *Lynching: America's National Disgrace* (New York: NAACP, 1924), and "The Practice of Lynching," 65–70; and White, *Rope and Faggot*.

12. Spectacle lynchings of African Americans were in no way the most common form of lynching, but they captured public attention and became a central narrative in the culture of segregation. A partial list of these lynchings includes the 1893 lynching of Henry Smith in Paris, Texas; the 1899 lynching of Richard Coleman in Maysville, Kentucky; the 1899 lynching of Sam Hose in Newnan, Georgia; the 1904 lynching of Luther Hobert and his wife near Vicksburg, Mississippi; the 1916 lynching of Jesse Washington in Waco, Texas; the 1918 lynching of Jim McIlherron in Estill Springs, Tennessee; the 1921 lynching of Henry Lowery in Nodena, Arkansas; the 1921 lynching of John Lee Eberhart in Oconee County, Georgia; the 1925 lynching of Bertha Lowman and her seventeen- and twenty-one-year-old sons in Aiken, South Carolina; the 1925 lynching of J. P. Ivy in Rocky Ford, Mississippi; the 1930 lynching of George Hughes in Sherman, Texas; the 1931 lynching of Matthew Williams in Salisbury, Maryland; the 1934 lynching of Claude Neal in Marianna, Florida; and the 1937 lynchings of two black men in Duck Hill, Mississippi. See the NAACP case files, Part 7; Johnson, "Practice of Lynching," 65–67; White, *Rope and Faggot*, 23–27, 29–33, 35; White, *Man Called White*, 40–42, 56, 58–59; Du Bois, *Dusk of Dawn*, 602–3, 716–39; Raper, *Tragedy of Lynching*, 319–55; Shay, *Judge Lynch*, 168–204; Brundage, *Lynching in the New South*, 34, 82–84; and Nancy MacLean, *Behind the Mask of Chivalry: The Making of the Second Ku Klux Klan* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1994), 150–51. Ames, *Changing Character of Lynching*, gives only a minimal amount of information about lynchings occurring between 1931 and 1941, but she lists eleven where the lynchers are reported as the entire community and one where several thousand people participated and watched. These lynchings include the last three lynchings listed above. Whites in the South were rarely lynched by large mobs and were not tortured. See Brundage, *Lynching in the New South*, 91–92.

Spectacle lynchings claimed at least three African American victims outside the South: in Marion, Indiana, where two men were lynched, and in Coatesville, Pennsylvania. See White, *Rope and Faggot*, 36–37; Raper, *Tragedy of Lynching*, 387–406; Shay, *Judge Lynch*, 149; and Dennis B. Downey and Raymond M. Hyser, *No Crooked Death: Coatesville, Pennsylvania and the Lynching of Zachariah Walker* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1991).

13. On contributions of early cinema to violence as entertainment, see Hansen, *Babel and Babylon*, 1–20. However, with lynchings, at least for the thousands of white spectators and participants, the violence was unmediated.

Literary critic and historian Trudier Harris found that in the early twentieth century the practice of lynching was changing, shifting from an act of vigilante justice carried out by a few white men in an isolated place to a ritualistic event in which masses of whites responded "in community spirit" to an alleged black offense "with burning, mutilation, gathering trophies, and initiating children." Brundage, *Lynching in the New South*, 36–37, however, has demonstrated that what he calls mass mobs and posses committed a small percentage of the total number of lynchings, and yet southerners had mass mobs in mind when discussing lynchings. See his breakdown of Georgia and Virginia lynchings by type (21). What Harris is responding to, then, is less the actual transformation of the practice and more the increasing standardization and circulation of a dominant narrative of spectacle lynching and its growing cultural power within the region and even the nation. See Trudier Harris, *Exorcising Blackness: Historical and Literary Lynching and Burning Rituals* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1984), 2.

Lynchings existed as both physical practice and as written and photographic representations. I use the term "cultural form" instead of the more often used "text" because I want to stress the dialectic between practice and representation and because I do not want to abandon the world in which African Americans died real, very painful deaths in favor of an analysis that recognizes only the realm of representations, even though my investigation must find its evidence there. For thousands of white southerners and some African American southerners, spectacle lynchings existed as rituals observed and participated in firsthand.

14. Richard Wright, *Black Boy: A Record of Childhood and Youth* (1937; rpt. Harper and Row, 1989), 190; and White, *Rope and Faggot*, viii. For African Americans as members of lynch mobs and as spectators at lynchings, see Shay, *Judge Lynch*, 82–83; and Brundage, *Lynching in the New South*, 45, 178–79. Cash, *Mind of the South*, 118. For lynching as southern exceptionalism, see Cash, *Mind of the South*, 118; and Brundage, *Lynching in the New South*, 3.

15. See David Nasaw, *Going Out: The Rise and Fall of Public Amusements* (New York: Basic Books, 1993) 72–79, 92–94. On consumer culture, see Richard Wrightman Fox and T. J. Jackson Lears, *The Culture of Consumption* (New York: Pantheon, 1983); Lizabeth Cohen, *Making a New Deal: Industrial Workers in Chicago, 1919–1939* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990), 99–158; and Warren Susman, *Culture as History: The Transformation of American Society in the Twentieth Century* (New York: Pantheon, 1984).

16. On consumption, see Chapter 4.

17. On the swift standardization of the lynching ritual, see Williamson, *Crucible*, 184–85. On the cultural power of spectacle lynchings apart from narrative developments and journalistic innovations, see Hall, " 'Mind That Burns,' " 331.

Historians have only the mediations, and our studies, whether we acknowledge it or not, are studies not of lynchings but of representations of lynchings. At best we can study documents constructed at one remove from the actual lynching, and many of our sources are double or triple mediations. Thus, we can never uncover what actually happened, only how a variety of reporters, photographers, newspaper artists, witnesses, and investigators represented the event. I am not arguing that actual lynchings followed a particular script, then, but that representations of them did.

18. For the history of lynching and its development out of frontier vigilantism, regulator movements, and the violence inherent in slavery, see Cutler, *Lynch-Law*, 41–154; John Ross, "At the Bar of Judge Lynch: Lynching and Lynch Mobs in America" (Ph.D. dissertation, Texas Tech University, 1983), 1–27; and Mary Elizabeth Hines, "Death at the Hands of Persons Unknown: The Geography of Lynching in the Deep South, 1882–1910" (Ph.D. dissertation, Louisiana State University, 1993). On lynching during Reconstruction, see Rable, *No Peace*. See Cutler, *Lynch-Law*, 227–28, and Williamson, *Crucible*, 185–223, on the 1890s. On the New Orleans lynchings, see Richard Gambino, *Vendetta: A True Story of the Worst Lynching in America, the Mass Murder of Italian-Americans in New Orleans in 1891, the Vicious Motivations Behind It, and the Tragic Repercussions That Linger to This Date* (Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1977). Despite

Cutler's racism, relatively mild for the first decade of the twentieth century (the height of what Williamson called radical racism and Du Bois called the nadir of American race relations), Walter White found him "a careful scholar" (*Rope and Faggot*, 252), and all subsequent investigators of mob violence have relied on his path-breaking research.

19. Sources on the 1893 lynching of Smith include no author given, *The Facts in the Case of the Horrible Murder of Little Myrtle Vance, and Its Fearful Expiation, at Paris, Texas, February 1, 1893* (Paris, TX: P. L. James, 1893); Cutler, *Lynch-Law*, 228; Shay, *Judge Lynch*, 92; Williamson, *Crucible*, 185–87; and Ross, "At the Bar of Judge Lynch," 28. For the quote on modern trainmen, see Shay, *Judge Lynch*, 92.

20. *Facts*, no page numbers. See also the photographs of the Smith lynching in the Pictures of Lynchings file, the Division of Prints and Photographs, Library of Congress. Though the victims of lynch mobs do not often live to tell their stories, at least two accounts of lynchings have been written by men who have escaped from lynch mobs. See Irenas J. Palmer, *The Black Man's Burden; or the Horrors of Southern Lynchings* (Olean, NY, 1902); and James Cameron, *A Time of Terror* (Milwaukee: the author, 1982). See also Raper, *Tragedy of Lynching*, 387–406, on the 1930 lynching in Marion, Indiana, from which Cameron escaped.

21. Wells, *Crusade for Justice*, 47–72. See Paula Giddings, *When and Where I Enter: The Impact of Black Women on Race and Sex in America* (New York: Bantam, 1988), 17–31, 89–94; and Gail Bederman, " 'Civilization,' the Decline of Middle-Class Manliness, and Ida B. Wells's Anti-Lynching Campaign," *Radical History Review* 52 (Winter 1992): 5–30. See also Patricia Ann Schechter, " 'To Tell the Truth Freely': Ida B. Wells and the Politics of Race, Gender, and Reform in America, 1880–1913" (Ph.D. dissertation, Princeton University, 1994).

22. Wells, *Crusade for Justice*, 65–66.

23. Ibid.

24. Newspaper sources on the Hose lynching include the *Atlanta Constitution*, 14 April 1899, 1–2, and 24 April 1899, 1–2; the *Atlanta Journal*, 15 April 1899, 1, 3, and 24 April 1899, 1, 3; the *Macon Telegraph*, 24 April 1899, 1, and 25 April 1899, 6; the *Birmingham News*, 24 April 1899, 1; and the *New York Times*, 25 April 1899, 2. See also Mary Louise Ellis, " 'Rain Down Fire': The Lynching of Sam Hose" (Ph.D. dissertation, Florida State University, 1992); Williamson, *Crucible*, 204; and Brundage, *Lynching in the New South*, 34, 82–83. See Mary Church Terrell, "Lynching," 859–60, for African American anti-lynching activists' efforts to challenge white southerners' descriptions of Hose's crimes. See also the *New York Age*, 22 June 1899.

25. See the newspaper sources cited in note 24. Hose was accused of committing the "Most Atrocious crime in Georgia's Criminal Record." Yet the next article over on the *Constitution*'s front page described a white man's confession that he had murdered his wife at the insistence of his mother by repeatedly pushing her down a well and beating her when she tried to climb out. This brutal murder of a wife by her own husband was only the worst crime in "that section" of Tennessee, and law officers had conscientiously moved him to another county to prevent a lynching. The murderer lamented that he had been unable despite his mother's demands to kill his father as well. Quotes in the

first sentence are from the *Constitution*, 14 April 1899. The rest are from the *Journal*, 15 April 1899.

26. See the newspaper sources cited in note 24.

27. Ibid.

28. For Lost Cause images of blackness, see Chapter 2.

29. *Atlanta Constitution*, 14 April 1899; and *Atlanta Journal*, 15 April 1899. The quote is from the *Constitution*. The *Constitution* claimed he blackened his own face as a disguise. The *Journal* said his white captor applied the lampblack. On the details about the trains from Atlanta, see the *Atlanta Constitution*, 14 April 1899, 2. On minstrel traditions, see Eric Lott, "Love and Theft: The Racial Unconscious of Blackface Minstrelsy," *Representations* 39 (Summer 1992): 23–50; and Alexander Saxton, *The Rise and Fall of the White Republic: Class Politics and Mass Culture in Nineteenth-Century America* (New York: Verso, 1990), 165–82.

30. See the newspaper sources cited in note 24. The first quote is from the *Constitution*. The rest are from the *Journal*.

31. Ibid. On a market for lynching "souvenirs," see the *New York Tribune*, as quoted in Shay, *Judge Lynch*, 109: "those unable to obtain the ghastly relics directly, paid more fortunate possessors extravagant sums for them." All quotes are from the *Journal* except the last one, which is from the *Constitution*. Many opponents of lynching attacked this most obvious contradiction of spectacle lynchings, that southern whites claimed to uphold "civilization" when acting in such an uncivilized manner. See Ida B. Wells, *Southern Horrors: Lynch Law in All Its Phases* (1892), reprinted in *On Lynchings*; Walter Hines Page, "The Last Hold of the Southern Bully," *Forum* 16 (November 1893): 303–14; and Thomas Nelson Page, "The Lynching of Negroes—Its Causes and Its Prevention," *North American Review* 566 (January 1904): 33–48. See also Bederman, "Wells's Anti-Lynching Campaign," 5–30.

32. Du Bois, *Dusk of Dawn*, 602–3.

33. Ibid. From this point on, Du Bois turned away from his academic work and toward activism, leaving his life as a scholar for the editorship of the *Crisis* and a more direct battle with the evils of racism. See Lewis, *Du Bois*, 226–27. On the display in a drugstore in Milledgeville, Georgia, of a finger and an ear in a large bottle labeled, "What's left of the niggers that shot a white man," see Brundage, *Lynching in the New South*, 43. On general stores as places of display and even as informal rural museums, see Thomas J. Schlereth, "Country Stores, County Fairs, and Mail-Order Catalogues: Consumption in Rural America," in Simon J. Bonner, ed., *Consuming Visions: Accumulation and Display of Goods in America, 1880–1920* (New York: Norton, 1989), 353.

34. "Negro Confesses to Terrible Crime at Robinsonville," *Waco Times-Herald*, 9 May 1916; "Negro Burned to a Stake in the Yard of City Hall," *Waco Semi-Weekly Tribune*, 17 May 1916; "Who Will Cast the First Stone?" *Waco Morning News*, 24 May 1916. An NAACP press release, "Waco Horror Stirs to Action," quotes a now unavailable *Times-Herald* article, probably 16 May 1916. All these sources are available in NAACP Papers, Part 7, Series A, the Library of Congress, Group 1, Box C-370, Subject Files, Lynching—Waco, TX, Folders 1-3, and microfilm reel 19. See also "The Waco Horror," special supplement to the *Crisis* 12 (July 1916): 1–8.

35. On the Leo Frank case, see Nancy MacLean, "The Leo Frank Case Reconsidered: Gender and Sexual Politics in the Making of Reactionary Populism," *Journal of American History* 78 (December 1991): 917–48; Leonard Dinnerstein, *The Leo Frank Case* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1966); White, *Man Called White*, 25–26; Shay, *Judge Lynch*, 153–61; and Brundage, *Lynching in the New South*, 91. MacLean argues that economic development, acting "as a solvent of older relations of power and authority," created popular anxieties that both made class hostilities "more volatile and more amenable to reactionary solution." She uses the term "reactionary populism" to describe how anti-elitism could support "a political agenda that enforces the subordination of whole groups of people" (920–21). See also MacLean, *Mask of Chivalry*. The culture of segregation, then, made a collective racial identity that narrowed the possibilities for class politics. Whiteness, I have argued in previous chapters, denied the instrumental expression of class divisions but certainly did not abolish them. On the film *Birth of a Nation*, see Michael Rogin, " 'The Sword Became a Flashing Vision': D. W. Griffith's *The Birth of a Nation*," in *Ronald Reagan, the Movie and Other Episodes in Political Demonology* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1987), 190–235, quotes, 219, 220. The castration scene was cut out of the film by the censors, but the final version hints at it, prompting viewers to imagine Gus's torture (221).

36. On the Washington lynching, see the series of letters between Elisabeth Freeman, NAACP investigator, Waco, TX, and NAACP head Roy Nash, New York City, dated 21–29 May 1916 and undated (the description of the Waco Hotel is taken from Freeman's stationery letterhead); ten black-and-white photos, some made into postcards, taken by Gildersleeve of the town and of the lynching; "The Waco Lynching," a typed report by Elisabeth Freeman, NAACP investigator sent to Waco; a copy of Jesse Washington's official confession; and the local newspaper clippings cited in note 34. Quote from "The Horror at Waco," *Houston Chronicle and Herald*, 16 May 1916. All of these sources and clippings from nonlocal papers cited in the following notes are in the NAACP Papers, Part 7, Series A, the Library of Congress, Group I, Box C-370, and microfilm reel 19. See also James M. SoRelle, " 'The Waco Horror': The Lynching of Jesse Washington," *Southwestern Historical Quarterly* 86 (April 1983): 517–36.

Freeman claimed that her informants originally admitted 15,000 spectators at the lynching and then reduced this number as they became suspicious. When she left, her informants had reduced the crowd to only 500. See her report, 20. Newspaper accounts gave many different estimates of the crowd size. The photographs, however, show that the crowd was extremely large and numbered in the thousands.

37. Freeman report, 14; NAACP Press Release, "Waco Horror Stirs Action"; *Waco Semi-Weekly Tribune*, 17 May 1916; Freeman report, 4; Elisabeth Freeman, Waco, TX, to Roy Nash, not dated; Freeman report, 2.

38. *Waco Semi-Weekly Herald Tribune*, 17 May 1966; Freeman report, 15, 14.

39. Freeman report, 15, 21.

40. Freeman report, 15, 21. The ten photographs NAACP acquired are in the Lynching Pictures file, NAACP Collection, lot 10647-4, the Division of Prints and Photographs, Library of Congress.

41. *Waco Semi-Weekly Tribune*, 17 May 1916. An NAACP press release quotes the

Waco Times Herald on Washington's torture, but other Waco papers did not provide any details. Freeman reported that the *Waco Morning News* had no stories on the lynching and only reprinted a poem, "Vengeance Is Mine" (Freeman report, 21).

42. *Houston Chronicle and Herald*, "The Horror at Waco," 16 May 1916; *San Francisco Bulletin*, "The Background of Lynching," 16 May 1916. Ignoring the effect on the African American community entirely in the first editorial, the *Bulletin* later nodded to the fact that "negroes are lynched on evidence that would not convict a dog in any pound in Christendom" in a second. Still, even this second editorial, "Does It Pay?," 18 May 1916, emphasized that the welfare of the white Waco community was most importantly at stake. *Chicago Defender*, "Police Jail Husband of Dead Woman . . . ," 10 June 1916; *Waco Morning News*, "Who Will Cast the First Stone?," 24 June 1916.

43. The NAACP stepped up its investigations of lynchings in the 1910s and published its important anti-lynching book, *Thirty Years of Lynching*. On the fight for the Dyer Anti-Lynching Act, see Walter White, *Man Called White*, 42, and Robert L. Zangrando, *The NAACP Crusade Against Lynching* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1980), 51–71. For the most recent and forceful argument that modernization, urbanization, and technological advances were responsible for the decrease in the practice of lynchings, especially after 1934, see McGovern, *Anatomy of a Lynching*. Interestingly, though McGovern compares what he considers the almost complete powerlessness of southern blacks in the 1930s and the situation of Jews in Nazi Germany, he fails to recognize that modernization and technological advances were central to the success of the Holocaust and contributed to the very powerlessness of the Jews he describes. See 151–53.

44. Dana B. Polan, " 'Above All Else to Make You See': Cinema and the Ideology of Spectacle," in Jonathan Arac, *Postmodernism and Politics* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1986), 62, quote, 59. By looking, I mean here a variety of experiences: reading voyeuristic descriptions and seeing photographs of the spectacle, physically watching the murder occur, and seeing preserved "souvenir" body parts. In this sense, reading my reconstruction of the newspapers' eyewitness accounts of the Hose lynching is an example of looking at the spectacle, an experience perhaps not entirely contained by my positioning of myself and my audience as morally repulsed by the murder. We, too, are looking and thus also contributing to the power of the lynching narrative.

45. On the Spanish-American War and expanding American imperialism in the late 1890s as increasing northern acceptance of white southern racism, see Nell Irvin Painter, *Standing at Armageddon: The United States, 1877–1919* (New York: Norton, 1987), 141–69; and Walter LaFeber, *The New Empire: An Interpretation of American Expansion, 1860–1898* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1963), 38–39, 78–79, 305–6, 363. Both regions then came to share "the white man's burden" as the "little brown brother" overseas joined southern African Americans at home.

See Chapter 2 for a discussion of white southerners' racializing of Reconstruction history. On the implementation of segregation in Washington, D.C., see "Jim Crowing Has Begun at Washington," *New York Age*, 7 May 1913; and "Are the Negroes Cowards?," *New York Age*, 8 May 1913; both in Tuskegee Institute News Clipping File, Series 1, Reel 1. George Creel is quoted in Rogin, " 'Sword Became a Flashing Vision,' " 230. This entire paragraph draws heavily from Rogin's excellent analysis of *Birth* within the context of American culture.

46. On the Salisbury lynching, see NAACP Papers, Part 7, Series A, Group 1, Box C-358, and Reel 12; H. L. Mencken, "The Sound and the Fury," *Baltimore Evening Sun*, 14 December 1931; and Broadus Mitchell's report on the lynching for Mencken, in Broadus Mitchell Papers, file 61, box 6, the Southern Historical Collection, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill. On the Duck Hill, Mississippi, lynching, see NAACP Papers, Part 7, Series A, Group 1, Box C-360, and Reel 13; White, *Man Called White*, 123, 172; and Shay, *Judge Lynch*, 247–48. On the Scottsboro case, see Dan T. Carter, *Scottsboro: A Tragedy of the American South* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1969); James Goodman, *Stories of Scottsboro* (New York: Pantheon, 1994); White, *Man Called White*, 125–33, and "The Negro and the Communists," *Harper's Magazine* 164 (December 1931): 62–72.

The NAACP had been moving toward greater publicity of individual lynchings before Neal. After the 1916 lynching of Washington, Elisabeth Freeman's report of it circulated widely, both as a speech she gave and as excerpted in an NAACP press release. Details of individual lynchings were also cited in *Thirty Years of Lynching*.

47. The NAACP files contain more information on the Neal lynching than on any other. See NAACP Papers, Part 7, Series A, Group 1, Box C-352, and Reel 9. Local newspaper sources include a series of articles in the *Marianna Daily Times-Courier*, 20–27 October 1934; and the *Dothan* (Alabama) *Eagle*, 26 October 1934. Most large American newspapers carried the story. See also McGovern, *Anatomy of a Lynching*.

48. Walter White, New York City, to Howard "Buck" Kester, Nashville, 31 October 1934 (quote); Howard "Buck" Kester, Nashville, to Walter White, New York City, 1 November 1934; and Howard "Buck" Kester, Marianna, FL, to Walter White, New York City, 7 November 1934, NAACP Papers. See also Kester's report, published by the NAACP as a report by a "southern white university professor whose entire life has been spent in the South and whose family for generations has occupied high rank there." NAACP, *The Lynching of Claude Neal* (New York: NAACP, 1934). The NAACP also publicized the Neal lynching through extensive press reports, examples of which are NAACP, "Florida Officials Ignored NAACP Plea to Halt Advertised Lynching" (n.d. but after 27 October 1934), and "NAACP Investigator Says Secret Interracial Romance Was Basis of Florida Lynching" (n.d. but after 16 November 1934), in NAACP Papers, Part 7, Series A, Group 1, Box C-341, and Reel 4. McGovern, *Anatomy of a Lynching*, 126–30.

49. H. L. Mencken, Baltimore, to Walter White, New York City, 30 November 1934 and 26 December 1934, NAACP Papers. NAACP, *Claude Neal*. The first quote is from p. 1, the rest are from p. 2. For accounts of turn-of-the-century lynchings, see my discussion of the lynching of Sam Hose. On Kester's report, see McGovern, *Anatomy of a Lynching*, 126–30.

50. NAACP, *Claude Neal*, 1–8, quote, 2. On the art exhibit, see NAACP Part 7B, Reels 2 and 3, especially the exhibit catalog, *An Art Commentary on Lynching*. See NAACP Part 11, Series B, Reel 28, for an example of a petition with two photographs of the bodies of lynch mob victims circulated by the NAACP and the American Society for Racial Tolerance. See the Pictures of Lynchings from the NAACP archives, Division of

Prints and Photographs, Library of Congress, for a postcard with a picture of a lynch mob victim circulated to raise funds for the NAACP. For another example of a picture of a lynch mob victim circulated by an unidentified group to protest lynching, see SC-CN-80-0188, photograph of the lynching of Rubin Stacy, Fort Lauderdale, FL, 19 July 1935, Schomburg Center for Research in Black Culture, New York Public Library. On the anti-lynching crusade, see Zangrando, *NAACP Crusade*; Wells, *Crusade for Justice*, 87–200; White, *Man Called White*, 3–173; and Hall, *Revolt Against Chivalry*, 159–266. See also the materials on the Writers' League Against Lynching, an organization that included many prominent white and black writers, in NAACP, Part 7, Series B, Reel 4. Other efforts in the publicity for the anti-lynching crusade included a radio play, "Death at the Hands of Persons Unknown," performed over station WEVD in New York City, 1 August 1939, NAACP, Part 7, Series A, Reel 5.

51. For an example of a letter written by a southern white to protest northern reformers' antagonism toward the white South, see Josiah Moore, Professor of Psychology and Philosophy, University of South Carolina, Columbia, to Florence Kelley, 3 March 1917, Nicholas Kelley Papers, Box 62, New York Public Library. I am indebted to Beatrix Hoffman for this reference.

Cash, *Mind of the South*, 116–22. The image of the "black beast rapist" has remained powerful in our culture long after the practice of lynching was driven underground and even stopped. See Hall, *Revolt Against Chivalry*, 149; and Robyn Wiegman, "The Anatomy of Lynching," in John C. Fout and Maura Shaw Tantillo, eds., *American Sexual Politics: Sex, Gender, and Race Since the Civil War* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1993), 244–45.

It is interesting to speculate about the relationship between consumer culture and a much older Catholic tradition of reliquaries and sacred body parts. The difference, of course, is that the technology to mass-produce representations of the event both transforms people's experience of it and democratizes the ownership of the "relics."

52. Mell Marshall Barrett, "Recollections of My Boyhood: The Picnic at Pitman's Mill," 49–50, quoted in Ayers, *Promise of the New South*, 159.

53. A "graphophone record" was reportedly made of the Smith lynching as well. See Williamson, *Crucible*, 186. The best discussion of the symbolic function of lynching is Hall, *Revolt Against Chivalry*, 129–57. I am indebted to her analysis in the arguments that follow.

54. Page, "Last Hold," 303–14; Terrell, "Negro's Point of View," 860–61; Cutler, *Lynch-Law*, 269–70, 279; Raper, *Tragedy of Lynching*, 46–47; "A New Public Opinion on Lynching: A Declaration and a Pledge" (Atlanta: Association of Southern Women for the Prevention of Lynching, 1935); Jesse Daniel Ames, "Toward Lynchless America" (Atlanta: Association of Southern Women for the Prevention of Lynching, 1940); Cash, *Mind of the South*, 113–22; Lillian Smith, *Killers of the Dream* (1949; rpt., New York: Norton, 1978), 68, 97–98; and Hall, *Revolt Against Chivalry*, 139–42. See NAACP Papers, Part 7, Series A, Group 1, Boxes C-348 through C-370 and reels 7–19 for lynching case studies filed under the names of the communities where they occurred. In the Neal case, "all the white people" in northwestern Florida and southern Alabama were invited by the local papers and at least one radio station, but in the interests of "safety," "a well organized orderly mob" actually lynched Neal. See NAACP, *Claude Neal*, 2, and *Marianna Daily Times-Courier*, 27 October 1934.

55. The exploration of the function of popular rituals and what theorist M. M. Bakhtin in *The Dialogic Imagination: Four Essays* (Austin: Texas University Press, 1981) called the carnivalesque in upholding the status quo by allowing for a controlled transgression of boundaries was begun by Natalie Zemon Davis in "Women on Top," a chapter in *Society and Culture in Early Modern France* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1975), and expanded in Peter Stallybrass and Allon White, *The Politics and Poetics of Transgression* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1986). The most sophisticated interpreters of Bakhtin emphasize the ambivalent and contradictory nature of the rituals and the fact that they do not always contain the violence. See also Mary Douglas, *Purity and Danger: An Analysis of the Concepts of Pollution and Taboo* (1966; rpt., New York: Routledge, 1991), 7–40, for a discussion of how the categories at the center of a given cultural order are maintained. For a provocative discussion of how sacrificial rituals create the very categories, and of how the process of symbol making itself, the foundation of culture, is rooted in ritualistic violence, see René Girard, *Violence and the Sacred* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1977). For Girard, "there can be nothing in the whole range of human culture that is not rooted in violent unanimity—nothing that does not find its source in the surrogate victim" (297). The culture of segregation is created in the communal, ritualistic killing of African American men. No one is ever more white than the members of a lynch mob.

In insisting that spectacle lynchings are modern, I am not denying their roots in American frontier and even European charivari practices. My insistence on their modernity is instead an insistence on white responsibility, a foregrounding of the complicity of all white Americans and a recognition that violence is central to our twentieth-century social order. For more here, see the Epilogue.

56. Three examples of lynching stereographs, LC-USZ62-26548, LC-USZ62-2462, and LC-USZ62-26548, are in the Pictures of Lynchings file, Division of Prints and Photographs, Library of Congress. Two show the bodies of lynched black men surrounded by the mob; the other shows a picture of a lynch mob. The stereographs are dated 1882 and 1907. For raids on black-owned stores, see Wells, *Crusade for Justice*, 47–52; and Shay, *Judge Lynch*, 203–4.

57. H. L. Mencken, "The Sound and the Fury," *Baltimore Evening Sun*, 14 December 1931; NAACP, *Claude Neal*; Du Bois, *Dusk of Dawn*, 602–3. Photographs and postcards of lynchings have remained valuable items, selling for high prices among collectors at historical document shows even today. Interview with John Gingrich, August 1993, Lexington, GA, historical document dealer.

58. Rogin, " 'Sword Became a Flashing Vision,' " 220–21. Wiegman, "Anatomy of Lynching," in Fout and Tantillo, eds., *American Sexual Politics*, 224.

59. Nancy MacLean, "Leo Frank," 947. See also her "White Women and Klan Violence in the 1920s: Agency, Complicity, and the Politics of Women's History," *Gender and History* 3 (Autumn 1991): 285–303, and her *Behind the Mask of Chivalry*. Other works situate a southern gender crisis in the immediate post–Civil War era. See Drew Faust, "Altars of Sacrifice: Confederate Women and the Narratives of War," *Journal of*

American History 76 (March 1990): 1200–28; LeeAnn Whites, "The Civil War as a Crisis in Gender," in Catherine Clinton and Nina Silber, eds., *Divided Houses: Gender and the Civil War* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1992), 3–21; and Suzanne Lebsock, *The Free Women of Petersburg: Status and Culture in a Southern Town, 1784–1860* (New York: Norton, 1984), 237–49.

60. Jean Toomer, *Cane* (1925; rpt., New York: Liveright, 1975), 27.

61. William Faulkner, *Light in August* (1932; rpt., New York: Modern Library, 1968), 147. See also Joel Williamson, *William Faulkner and Southern History* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1993), 365–98; Rogin, " 'Sword Became a Flashing Vision,' " 219–23; and Wiegman, "Anatomy of Lynching," in Fout and Tantillo, eds., *American Sexual Politics*, 227. On the connections between gender, sexuality, and race in lynchings, see Hall, " 'Mind That Burns,' " 329–49; Smith, *Killers of the Dream*, 161–63; and Wiegman, "Anatomy of Lynching," in Fout and Tantillo, eds., *American Sexual Politics*, 223–45. Wiegman argues that "castration literalizes the association of 'womanshenegro' " (227). Another powerful, fictionalized account of a lynching originally considered factual is James Weldon Johnson, *The Autobiography of an Ex-Colored Man* (1912; rpt., New York: Penguin Books, 1990), 134–38.

62. Cash, *Mind of the South*, 116.

63. Cash, *Mind of the South*, 84–87, 113–22. For an early examination of the gender implications of lynching, see Jane Addams, "Respect For the Law," *The Independent*, 3 January 1901; and in response, Ida B. Wells-Barnett, "Lynching and the Excuse for It," *The Independent*, 16 May 1901. Walter White was the first scholar to write explicitly about the connections between lynching and sex; see *Rope and Faggot*, 16, 54–75. Black women, though less vulnerable to sexual assault or being drawn into prostitution for white men than before emancipation, nevertheless were still vulnerable. See my discussion in Chapter 4 about crossroads stores as places where white men preyed on young black women, and where black women prostitutes were picked up by their white clients. On the reconstruction of white gender relations, see Chapter 3.

64. Williamson, *Crucible*, 115–17, 140–41, 169–76, 183–89, 306–10.

65. U. B. Phillips, "The Plantation as a Civilizing Factor," *Sewanee Review* 12 (July 1904): 257–67, on slavery as a school for "civilization"; Jean Toomer, *Cane*, 27; Hall, " 'Mind That Burns,' " 337. See also Chapter 3.

66. Freeman report, 16. On Rebecca Felton, see Chapter 2; John E. Talmadge, *Rebecca Latimer Felton: Nine Stormy Decades* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1960); Williamson, *Crucible*, 124–30; and Lee Ann Whites, "Rebecca Latimer Felton and the Wife's Farm: The Class and Racial Politics of Gender Reform," *Georgia Historical Quarterly* 76 (Summer 1992): 354–72. The quote is from Rebecca L. Felton to the *Atlanta Constitution*, 19 December 1898, clipping in Scrapbook 24, 76–77, Rebecca Latimer Felton Papers, University of Georgia. On white women's exploiting of the myth of their own innocence and the guilt of the black man as rapist to satisfy their own sexual desires, see Harris, *Exorcising Blackness*, 26–28.

67. White southern men's condemnation of lynching on the grounds that it brutalized women hinted at this potential masculinization of white women. See Henry M. Edmonds, "Let'er Burn Down; the Taxpayers Will Put'er Back!: The Cost of the Mob," *Birmingham Age-Herald*, 8 October 1933.

68. Smith, *Killers of the Dream*, 97–98.

69. NAACP, *Claude Neal*. See Marjorie Spruill Wheeler, *New Women of the New South: The Leaders of the Woman Suffrage Movement in the Southern States* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1993), on southern white women in the suffrage movement. On the ASWPL campaign, see Hall, *Revolt Against Chivalry*, 159–266; and Lewis T. Nordyke, "Ladies and Lynchings," *Survey Graphic*, November 1939. Yet their success must be put in context of the NAACP crusade and other efforts.

70. Raper, *Tragedy of Lynching*, 47. Many scholars and activists argued that lynchings occurred because the white community countenanced them. For a sample, see Johnson, "Practice," 67–70; White, *Rope and Faggot*, viii–ix, and "Georgia's Body Blow at Mob Murder," *Literary Digest*. For an interesting examination of the way in which southern industrialists attempted to submerge class difference in a rhetoric of race and gender divisions, see Dolores Janiewski, "Southern Honor, Southern Dishonor: Managerial Ideology and the Construction of Gender, Race, and Class Relations in Southern Industry," in Baron, ed., *Work Engendered*, 70–91. For middle-class African Americans' call for the elevation of class over racial difference, see Terrell, "Negro's Point of View," 856–58.

71. On southern elites' changing attitudes toward lynching, see Brundage, *Lynching in the New South*, 161–90, 208–59, on Virginia and Georgia; and Robert P. Ingalls, *Urban Vigilantes in the New South: Tampa, 1882–1936* (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 1993), 163–68, on Florida. On the Wilmington Riot of 1898, see Williamson, *Crucible*, 195–201; and C. Vann Woodward, *Origins of the New South, 1877–1913* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1951), 350. On the Atlanta race riot, see Ray Stannard Baker, "Following the Color Line," *American Magazine* 63 (April 1907): 564–79, for a nationally read piece that blamed the riot on poor whites; Charles Crowe, "Racial Violence and Social Reform: Origins of the Atlanta Race Riot of 1906," *Journal of Negro History* 53 (July 1968): 234–56; Woodward, *Origins of the New South*, 350–57; and Williamson, *Crucible*, 209–23. On the violence after World War I, see NAACP Press Release, 29 October.1919, NAACP Papers, Part 7, Series A, Group 1, Box-C338 and reel 2; Robert T. Kerlin, *The Voice of the Negro, 1919* (1920; rpt., New York: Arno Press, 1968); and Tera W. Hunter, "Household Workers in the Making: Afro-American Women in Atlanta and the New South" (Ph.D. dissertation, Yale University, 1991), 231–92. On loss of property and other financial losses as a result of lynchings, see Raper, *Tragedy of Lynching*, 41–42; and Edmonds, "Let'er Burn Down."

72. On Leo Frank, see MacLean, "Frank," 917–48. See Mencken, "The Sound and the Fury," and *Atlanta Constitution*, 28 October 1934, for condemnation of lynchings in southern city newspapers. The large southern dailies had taken a stand on their editorial pages against lynching early, except for cases of rape. After 1936, most southern dailies condemned the practice editorially regardless of the crime. The problem was that the news columns often supported the mob. After the 1940s, however, few lynchings made the front page and even fewer were announced in banner headlines. See Ames,

Changing Character of Lynching, 15; and Raper, *Tragedy of Lynching*, 23–24. See also Virginius Dabney, "Dixie Rejects Lynching," *Nation* 145 (November 1937): 582.

73. For the decline of spectacle lynchings, see Ames, *Changing Character of Lynching*, 2, 5; McGovern, *Anatomy of a Lynching*, 140–41, and Brundage, *Lynching in the New South*, 37. Only four lynchings occurred in southern cities—Vicksburg, Jackson, Birmingham, and Tampa—between 1931 and 1935. See Commission on Interracial Cooperation, *The Mob Still Rides: A Review of the Lynching Record, 1931–35* (Atlanta, n.d.), 15. On the continuation of a much more private practice of lynching past 1940, see Stephen J. Whitfield, *A Death in the Delta: The Story of Emmet Till* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1991), on the 1955 lynching of Emmet Till near Glendora, MS; and Howard Smead, *Blood Justice: The Lynching of Mack Charles Parker* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1986), on the 1959 lynching of Parker near Poplarville, MS.

74. Woodward, *Origins of the New South*, 353, and *Strange Career of Jim Crow*, 108. James Weldon Johnson is quoted in White, *Rope and Faggot*, 33. On nationalism, see Amy Kaplan, "Romancing the Empire: The Embodiment of American Masculinity in the Popular Historical Novel of the 1890s," *American Literary History* 2 (1990): 659–90; and Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism* (1983; rpt., New York: Verso, 1993).

CHAPTER SIX: *Stone Mountains*

1. Margaret Mitchell, *Gone With the Wind* (hereafter GWTW) (1936; rpt., New York: Warner Books, 1993), 765.

2. Lillian Smith, "Buying a New World with Old Confederate Bills," *South Today* 7 (Winter 1942–1943): 8, 11.

3. Mildred Lewis Rutherford, "The History of Stone Mountain" (no location: the Georgia Division of the UDC, 1923); handwritten chronology and notes; and Ralph T. Jones, "Man's Brain Cannot Measure the Myriad Ages of Time Needed to Make That Block of Granite. The Monument Now Being Cut Will Remain for Millions of Years," *Atlanta Constitution*, 5 August 1923; all in the Stone Mountain File, Hargrett Rare Book and Manuscript Collection, University of Georgia, Athens (hereafter SM-UGA). See also Historical Note for the Stone Mountain Collection, and the correspondence of the SMCMA, 1915, in Box 1, Stone Mountain Collection, Robert W. Woodruff Library, Emory University, Atlanta (hereafter ST-EU).

4. Gaines M. Foster, *The Ghosts of the Confederacy: Defeat, the Lost Cause, and the Emergence of the New South, 1865–1913* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1987), 40–45, 128–31, 158, 167–68, 175–78, 273; Catherine W. Bashir, "Landmarks of Power: Building a Southern Past, 1885–1915," *Southern Cultures* 1 (Inaugural Issue): 5–45. For race relations and the Great War, see George Brown Tindall, *The Emergence of the New South, 1913–1945* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1967), 33–183; and George M. Fredrickson, *The Black Image in the White Mind: The Debate on Afro-American Character and Destiny, 1817–1914* (1971; rpt., Hanover, NH: Wesleyan University Press, 1987), 283–332.

5. Rutherford, "History of Stone Mountain"; and Craig F. Thompson, "The Stone Mountain Fiasco," *Plain Talk*, undated clipping circa 1928; both in SM-UGA.

6. On the cultural context of the 1920s and 1930s South, see W. T. Couch, *Culture in the South* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1934); Fred C. Hobson, Jr., *Serpent in Eden: H. L. Mencken and the South* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1974), and *Tell About the South: The Southern Rage to Explain* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1983), 180–322; Daniel Joseph Singal, *The War Within: From Victorian to Modernist Thought in the South, 1919–1945* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1982), 115–372; Richard H. King, *A Southern Renaissance: The Cultural Awakening of the American South, 1930–1955* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1980); Michael O'Brien, *The Idea of the American South, 1920–1941* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1979); and John Egerton, *Speak Now Against the Day: The Generation Before the Civil Rights Movement in the South* (New York: Knopf, 1994). Scholars have examined the male members of the generation of 1900, particularly the literary critics and sociologists associated with the Agrarian-versus-regionalist debate and the writers linked together as a literary renaissance; but women have been neglected, studied separately as a category, or tacked on to arguments constructed around white men. While both Hobson and King examine Lillian Smith, Hobson proves unable to distance himself from Smith's southern white liberal male contemporaries' opinions of her. King provides an insightful reading of her magazine and book-length works, but does not account for her close personal and often intimate relationships with other women. See Autobiographical Materials, Box 1, Lillian Smith Collection, Hargrett Rare Book and Manuscript Library, University of Georgia, Athens (hereafter LS-UGA); and Margaret Rose Gladney, ed., *How Am I to Be Heard? Letters of Lillian Smith* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1993); Roseanne V. Camacho, "Race, Region, and Gender in a Reassessment of Lillian Smith," in Virginia Bernhard, Betty Brandon, Elizabeth Fox-Genovese, and Theda Perdue, eds., *Southern Women: Histories and Identities* (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 1992), 157–76; and the excellent Bruce Clayton, "Lillian Smith: Cassandra in Dixie," *Georgia Historical Quarterly* 78 (Spring 1994): 92–114. On Mitchell, see Darden Asbury Pyron, *Southern Daughter: The Life of Margaret Mitchell* (New York: Harper Perennial, 1992); Richard Harwell, ed., *Margaret Mitchell's Gone With the Wind Letters, 1936–1949* (New York: Macmillan, 1976); and Ann Goodwyn Jones, " 'The Bad Little Girl of the Good Old Days': Gender, Sex, and the Southern Social Order," in *Tomorrow Is Another Day: The Woman Writer in the South* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1981), 313–50. Lillian Smith, *Strange Fruit* (1944; rpt., New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1992).

7. "A Few Facts about Lillian Smith"; "Biographical Data: Lillian Smith, 12 December 1956"; and "Miscellaneous information, Lillian Smith," all in Autobiographical Materials, Box 1, LS-UGA; and Gladney, ed., *Letters*, 1–2.

8. The quote is from Finis Farr, *Margaret Mitchell of Atlanta* (1965; rpt., New