



BLAIN ROBERTS

Pageants,
Parlors,
& Pretty
Women

Race and Beauty

in the Twentieth-Century South

BLAIN ROBERTS

Pageants, Parlors, & Pretty Women

Race and Beauty
in the Twentieth-Century South

THE UNIVERSITY OF NORTH CAROLINA PRESS *Chapel Hill*

*This book was published with the assistance of the
Z. Smith Reynolds Fund of the University of North Carolina Press.*

© 2014 The University of North Carolina Press

All rights reserved. Manufactured in the United States of America.
Designed by Sally Scruggs. Set in Miller and Meta by Tseng Information Systems, Inc.

The paper in this book meets the guidelines for permanence and durability
of the Committee on Production Guidelines for Book Longevity of the Council
on Library Resources. The University of North Carolina Press has been
a member of the Green Press Initiative since 2003.

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data
Roberts, Blain.

Pageants, parlors, and pretty women : race and beauty in
the twentieth-century South / Blain Roberts.
pages cm

Includes bibliographical references and index.

ISBN 978-1-4696-1420-5 (cloth : alk. paper) — ISBN 978-1-4696-1421-2 (ebook)

1. Civil rights movements—Southern States—History—20th century.
 2. Southern States—Race relations—History—20th century.
 3. Race awareness—Southern States—History—20th century.
 4. African American women—Southern States—Social conditions—20th century.
 5. Black race—Color—Social aspects—Southern States—History—20th century.
 6. Human skin color—Psychological aspects—Southern States—History—20th century.
 7. Cosmetics—Social aspects—Southern States—History—20th century.
 8. Beauty, Personal—Social aspects—Southern States—History—20th century.
 9. Beauty shops—Social aspects—Southern States—History—20th century.
 10. Beauty contests—Social aspects—Southern States—History—20th century.
- I. Title.

E185.615.R522 2014

323.1196'07300904—dc23

2013035602

18 17 16 15 14 5 4 3 2 1

Pageants, Parlors, and Pretty Women

Race and Beauty

in the Twentieth-Century South



Acknowledgments

It is with great pleasure, and relief, that I am finally able to acknowledge the many people who have made this book possible. The seeds of this project were planted years ago, in an undergraduate senior thesis. Very little of that thesis remains in these pages, but Nell Painter, my adviser at Princeton, showed me what historians do. When she asked where my sources were, and when I responded that they were in faraway places like Atlanta and Charleston, she said, "Well, get yourself down there!" And I did, taking a road trip over fall break to comb through dusty boxes in southern archives. That experience helped me see history as a process of discovery. My first debt is to her.

On that adventure, as well as on subsequent research trips I took as a graduate student and faculty member, an army of knowledgeable archivists connected me with traces of the story I wanted to tell. I would like to thank archivists at the Robert W. Woodruff Library at the Atlanta University Center; the Auburn Avenue Research Library; the Dolph Briscoe Center for American History at the University of Texas at Austin; the Southern Historical Collection and the North Carolina Collection at the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill; the Avery Research Center for African American History and Culture at the College of Charleston; the South Carolina Historical Society; the DeGolyer Library at Southern Methodist University; the Rare Books, Manuscripts, and Special Collections Library at Duke University; the Indiana Historical Society; the State Historical Society of Wisconsin; the Amistad Research Center at Tulane University; the Will W. Alexander Library at Dillard University; the Department of Archives and Special Collections at the University of Mississippi; the State Archives of North Carolina; the D. H. Hill Library at North Carolina State University; the W. S. Hoole Special Collections Library at the University of Alabama; and the William H. Sheppard Library at Stillman College.

I have benefited from the kindness of many institutions whose financial support helped me finish the manuscript. Two Mowry Research Grants from the University of North Carolina History Department, a Summer Research Grant from the Center for the Study of the American South,

and a Newcomb College Travel Grant made possible early research trips. A University-Wide Dissertation Research Fellowship provided funding for a semester of research travel during which I drove from North Carolina to Texas and back again. A Royster Society of Fellows University-Wide Dissertation Completion Fellowship, awarded by the graduate school and the Center for the Study of the American South, gave me the freedom to write for an entire year, free of teaching responsibilities. The Citadel, where I took my first job, has an impressive research program for faculty members funded by the generosity of its alumni. In my two years there, The Citadel Foundation provided three grants that allowed me to work on the manuscript. At California State University, Fresno, Dean Luz Gonzalez and the College of Social Sciences have been especially supportive, awarding two course releases that gave me time to revise the manuscript. Two research grants from Provost William Covino, one given in conjunction with the College of Social Sciences, defrayed the costs associated with acquiring illustrations.

During my time on the road, family and friends provided room, board, and outstanding company. For their hospitality, I thank Geoffrey Kay, David Kay, Mitch Dean, Jo Ann Hengst, Laura, Joe, Will, and John DiCaro, Ray Hengst, Amy and Franklin Caputo, Chris Mogridge, Gail Quarles and the late John Quarles, Amy Burton Storey, Lisa Burton, Amy Moser Harrison, Kristin Hebert-Fisher and Lenzy Fisher, and John Zeigler. Outstanding company is one of the many fine things you will find in Chapel Hill, North Carolina. There may be better places to be in graduate school, but it sure would take a lot to convince me. For helping me become a better historian and quasi-respectable pool player, I thank Matthew Brown, Leah Potter, Joel Revill, Susan Pearson, Mike Kramer, Matt Andrews, Natalie Fousekis, Adam Tuchinsky, Jen Tuchinsky, Hans Muller, Jen Muller, David Sartorius, Josh Nadel, Eva Canoutas, Mariola Espinosa, Spencer Downing, Mike Ross, Stacy Braukman, Kerry Taylor, Bruce Baker, Marko Maunula, and Kevin Clark. Leah, Matt, and Mike, my writing group, read early versions of chapters and provided insightful criticism. There were many times in the years after we all went our separate ways that I wished we could gather to share a chapter and some beers.

At The Citadel, Bo Moore, the chairman of the history department, was a wonderful mentor during my first years as a faculty member. I also valued the friendship of Joelle Neulander, Kurt Boughan, Kathy Grenier, Keith Knapp, Jason Solinger, and Jack Porter, whose enthusiasm for happy hour I miss every Friday. In California, I am grateful for the sup-

port of my colleagues in the history department, including our two recent chairs, Michelle Denbeste and Bill Skuban, who accommodated this project's voracious appetite for photocopies despite our anemic budget. An entertaining and always distracting circle of friends has made living in the "other" part of California a pleasure. In particular, I would like to thank Brad Jones, Flo Cheung, Dan Cady, Lisa Bennett, Alex Espinoza, Kyle Behen, Lori Clune, Maria Lopes, Alice Daniel, Ben Boone, Nora Chapman, and Bill Skuban.

Anthony Stanonis, Vernon Creviston, Kyle Behen, and Jack Kytle took time out of their own busy schedules to read the manuscript in part or in its entirety, offering astute observations and drawing connections I had not. Two anonymous readers for the University of North Carolina Press provided criticisms that have improved the book substantially. Panelists and audiences at conferences have given valuable feedback over the years. Thanks especially to the participants at the Civil Rights and the Body in the American South Symposium in Chapel Hill; the Southern Historical Association Conferences in New Orleans and Richmond; the New England American Studies Association Conference in Portland, Maine; and the St. George Tucker Society Conference in Atlanta, Georgia. My editor at UNC Press, Chuck Grench, expressed interest in this book when I was still a grad student, which kept me motivated in the years thereafter. Chuck has been a steadfast supporter, sticking with me through the disruptions caused by two new jobs, and two new babies. I appreciate his patience. His assistants Sara Cohen, Alison Shay, and Lucas Church graciously shepherded me through the ins and outs of the publishing process.

Finishing a book about the South while living in California comes with some challenges. For visiting archives and libraries when I could not, I wish to acknowledge Anna Krome-Lukens in Chapel Hill, Laura Cunningham in Memphis, and Tyler Greene in Philadelphia. Here in Fresno, Cherith Fleming, Art Mendoza, and the rest of the Henry Madden Library interlibrary loan staff tracked down a variety of obscure sources. Steven Rendon proved a creative and enthusiastic digital archives researcher during a critical stage in the manuscript's final phase.

At the University of North Carolina, many professors supported my apprenticeship as a historian-in-training. Peter Coclanis was an early ally and champion of my work. He and Deborah also rescued me from the poverty of graduate student life more times than I can count by inviting me to dinner. John Kasson, Joy Kasson, Peter Filene, and Laura Edwards of Duke shaped this project in ways that I can still see. Jacquelyn Hall

deserves much more than the thank you I can offer here. Jacquelyn is legendary, and rightfully so, for her commitment to her graduate students. She read everything I ever gave her, and returned it all, quickly, and with copious comments. During our conversations, she asked pointed questions that saved me from dead ends and redirected me down more fruitful paths. Indeed, I am especially grateful to her for encouraging me to return to southern beauty after a master's thesis on southern conservatism threatened to take me in a direction I didn't really want to go. She has continued to support me all these years later, providing revisions suggestions from afar. I value my friendship with her and Bob Korstad immensely.

I owe the most, of course, to my family. For years, my in-laws, Jack Kytle and Tari Prinster, have selflessly given of their time while pursuing their own intellectual projects. Josi Kytle is a fabulous friend and aunt whose visits we all cherish. Amazingly, my parents, Ron and Martha Lou Roberts, always told me that going to school for a long time was not a bad thing. In fact, they said it was good thing, and as it turned out, they meant it. How many children are so lucky? Even while they knew that a career in academia would likely take me far away from Louisiana, they cheered me on, believing that it was worth it. They were right. I am also fortunate to have embarked upon this career with my husband, Ethan Kytle, by my side. To have found two jobs not just in the same state, not just in the same city, but in the same department—how many academics are so lucky? The arrival of Eloise and Hazel has made our lives together all the more rich and, at least on most days, all the more enjoyable.

Pageants, Parlors, and Pretty Women

Contents

Acknowledgments :: ix

Introduction :: 1

ONE. Making Up White Southern Womanhood
The Democratization of the Southern Lady :: 16

TWO. Shop Talk
Ritual and Space in the Southern Black Beauty Parlor :: 57

THREE. Homegrown Royalty
White Beauty Contests in the Rural South :: 105

FOUR. Thrones of Their Own
Body and Beauty Contests among Southern Black Women :: 149

FIVE. Bodies Politic
Beauty and Racial Crisis in the Civil Rights Era :: 192

Conclusion :: 257

Notes :: 279

Bibliography :: 323

Index :: 349

Illustrations

- Eliza Ripley, ca. 1854 :: 20
- Arkansas sharecropping woman, ca. 1935 :: 26
- University of Texas campus beauty, 1918 :: 34
- Rammer Jammer* drawing, University of Alabama, 1925 :: 35
- Southern Flowers Face Powder advertisement, 1924 :: 43
- Nadinola Bleaching Cream advertisement, 1924 :: 45
- Slave woman braiding her mistress's hair, n.d. :: 61
- Brass pressing comb, ca. early 1920s :: 64
- Nannie Helen Burroughs, ca. 1900–1920 :: 67
- Madam C. J. Walker “before and after” advertisement, ca. 1906 :: 69
- Black Skin Remover advertisement, 1900 :: 76
- Fort Worth Cosmetology School, 1946 :: 87
- Black beauty shop in Memphis, ca. 1940s :: 95
- United Daughters of the Confederacy monument
dedication, Marietta, Georgia, 1908 :: 110
- Galveston International Pageant of Pulchritude, 1927 :: 114
- Louisiana State Fair Better Baby Contest, 1908 :: 120
- 4-H health pageant winners, North Carolina, 1923 :: 123
- Wilson Tobacco Festival “auction,” North Carolina, n.d. :: 132
- Wilson Tobacco Festival Queen contestant,
North Carolina, ca. 1940 :: 133
- North Carolina tobacco queen pictured with the Union Jack, 1941 :: 135
- National Cotton Council pamphlet, 1940 :: 142

- Lumberton Tobacco Festival Queen, North Carolina, 1947 :: 147
- Home demonstration club meeting, North Carolina, ca. 1930s :: 161
- Mamie Garvin Fields, 1913 :: 165
- Dancing at a juke joint in Memphis, Tennessee, 1939 :: 169
- Spelman Seminary High School graduates, 1887 :: 180
- Spelman College Senior Class, 1929 :: 184
- Bennett College May Day court, ca. 1930 :: 186
- Dillard University homecoming court, New Orleans, 1950 :: 187
- Anne Moody at a Jackson, Mississippi, sit-in, 1963 :: 193
- Homecoming celebration for Mary Ann Mobley,
Jackson, Mississippi, 1959 :: 212
- Southern Methodist University sorority girls in blackface, 1956 :: 218
- Southern Methodist University sorority girls
in antebellum dress, 1956 :: 219
- Bernice Robinson and Septima Clark at a
citizenship school training workshop, ca. 1961 :: 234
- Vera Pige's beauty shop, Clarksdale, Mississippi, 1963 :: 235
- Miss Maroon and White court, Spelman College, 1970 :: 248
- Miss Maroon and White queen contestants,
Spelman College, 1970 :: 249
- Gayle Ransom, University of South Carolina
homecoming queen, 1973 :: 251
- Gayle Ransom being crowned as homecoming queen, 1973 :: 252
- "Freedom trash can," Miss America Pageant protest, 1968 :: 258
- Miss America protester and ram, 1968 :: 259
- Saundra Williams, Miss Black America, 1968 :: 262
- Mary Kay Ash with pink Cadillac, 1978 :: 273

Introduction

In her autobiographical novel, *The Bondswoman's Narrative*, fugitive slave Hannah Crafts provides a damning portrait of the planter class that kept her in bondage until her escape to the North in 1857. Although a few of the white women for whom Crafts worked displayed a paternalistic kindness that softened the cruelties of her life's station, most were consumed by the evils of slavery. Mrs. Wheeler, the last mistress Crafts served before escaping, was one of these. From the moment the two women met, Crafts felt uneasy. "Notwithstanding her sociality and freedom of conversation," Crafts writes, "there was something in her manner that I did not like." Crafts's suspicions were well-founded. Mrs. Wheeler was an impulsive, manipulative mistress, the embodiment of the excesses of power afforded by her class and race. After just a few days in her service, Crafts concluded that "[t]here seemed no end to her vanities, her whims, and caprices."

But Mrs. Wheeler got her comeuppance, one that nearly ruined her life. It came in a small box sold by a chemist to Crafts. And it was not, as we might expect, a poison, at least not in the traditional sense. The Wheelers had moved to Washington, D.C., from their plantation in North Carolina so that Mr. Wheeler might secure a position in the federal government. Having had no luck himself in the matter, the hapless Mr. Wheeler convinced his wife that she, as a beautiful woman, might succeed where he had not by persuading the gentleman in charge of patronage that her husband was deserving of an office. She agreed, but before undertaking the mission she asked that Crafts retrieve the box recently procured from the chemist. In it was a very fine and soft white face powder, which when applied, Mrs. Wheeler had been told, would produce a "most marvellous [*sic*] effect." "The skin, however sallow and unbeautiful," Crafts wrote of the product's promise, "would immediately acquire the softness and delicacy of childhood. Tan, or freckless [freckles], or wrinkles, or other unseemly blotches would simultaneously disappear." Wanting to look her best before going out into the world to attend to this most important task, Mrs. Wheeler applied the powder. According to Crafts, it seemed to work: "I had never seen her look better."

Two hours later, Mrs. Wheeler returned, frustrated by her inexplicable failure to acquire a position for her husband. For Mr. Wheeler, Crafts, and the rest of the household, the reason was obvious enough: Mrs. Wheeler's face had turned completely black. The transformation was shocking. "Heaven help me," Mr. Wheeler cried, "I fear that her beauty has gone forever." Oblivious to her altered appearance, Mrs. Wheeler had pleaded her husband's case as a black woman, unrecognized by her audience, mocked for her insolence. She returned with nothing to show for her effort, save her new black skin. Although the blackness gradually washed off with soap and water, the incident became the talk of Washington, D.C.—a "bit of scandal, so fresh and original," Crafts reported, "how the fashionable world loved it."

Explanations and interpretations abounded. Some speculated that Mrs. Wheeler had blackened herself on purpose, to win a wager. Others argued that she had done so in the playful spirit of "a little masquerade." A local minister gave the episode a serious spin, turning it into a morality tale. Crafts heard that he "held forth for two whole hours on the sin and wickedness of wantonly disguising the form or features and suggested it was a wonder of mercy that the presumptuous lady had not been turned irrecoverably black."

The gossip proved so malicious that the Wheelers left the city in disgrace, retreating to their North Carolina plantation. Mrs. Wheeler blamed Crafts for her misfortune, as well as for spreading rumors about the incident in North Carolina among the plantation slaves. She banished Crafts, a house slave her entire life, to labor in the fields. "With all your pretty airs and your white face, you are nothing but a slave after all," Mrs. Wheeler reminded her, "and no better than the blackest wench." Crafts was devastated at the prospect of her new fate. Her soul, she said, "actually revolted with horror unspeakable."

What do we make of this story? Although it is difficult, as Henry Louis Gates Jr. has noted, to determine which parts of Crafts's autobiographical novel are embellished, the story of Mrs. Wheeler and the face powder seems far-fetched, if intriguing.¹ Mrs. Wheeler was Crafts's mistress in Washington, D.C., and North Carolina, and she may have used face powder as a part of her toilet preparations, as grooming rituals were called during her day. But no powder would have changed the pigmentation of her skin so that she became black beyond recognition. The story is a momentary detour into allegory, and yet, as such, it presents its own truths, especially about one of its themes: female beauty. Indebted to centuries-

old beliefs that prevailed on both sides of the Atlantic, most white southerners in the antebellum era held that elite white southern women were inherently beautiful because of their class status and moral superiority. Their defining physical marker was their whiteness, a trait secured by their privileged position atop the social and racial hierarchy. Theologians, proslavery apologists, and artists alike praised southern ladies' beauty in the most extravagant terms. Antebellum plantation novels, for example, widely read in the South as well as the North, depicted the southern lady—and the belle, her younger, unmarried counterpart—as one of God's most beautiful creatures. Caroline Lee Hentz, a plantation novelist who was one of the three most popular writers in the United States as late as 1892, described the appearance of one of her heroines in typical fashion in 1852.² Of the young Eoline Glenmore, Hentz wrote that her complexion "had the fairness of the magnolia blended with the blush of the rose. Her hair, of a pale golden brown, reminded one of the ripples of a sunlit lake by its soft waves, giving beautiful alterations of light and shade. . . . Her eyes, blue, soft, and intense as the noonday sky in June, had a kind of beseeching loving expression—an expression that appealed for sympathy, protection, love. . . . Such was Eoline in repose, a fair, delicate, and lovely young girl."³ She was beautiful and fragile, worthy of admiration and yet in need of male protection, mindful, presumably, of the sexual subordination on which that protection was premised. Hentz's was the kind of description that slipped easily into prescription, an ideological construct that served the needs of patriarchy and white supremacy, gaining currency by force of repetition. It was also in large part a fantasy. Most white southern women were not of elite birth, and many of those who were would have been a far cry from the physical ideal.

If few women managed to embody the ideal of beauty, it was not for lack of trying. Mrs. Wheeler hoped the chemist's powder would even out a complexion made sallow by the passage of time and, Crafts suggests, by indiscretions in the sun. The tragedy that befell her was thus what someone of her position might have seen as the ultimate physical punishment. The face powder completely took away her beauty, which Crafts reports had been considerable during her days as a belle. Mrs. Wheeler became black—"black as Tophet," or hell, according to her stunned husband—the opposite of beautiful. And when her beauty disappeared into blackness, so, too, did her standing and social status.

For blackness was actually much more than the opposite of whiteness. Since the beginning of European exploration in the fifteenth century,

blackness had represented a negation of those qualities associated with civilization, morality, and beauty. European and American thinkers saw blackness as a degeneration not simply from "original color," as Winthrop Jordan has written, but also from the original state of man.⁴ Just as a kind of circular logic governed whites' views of themselves, so, too, did it determine how whites viewed blacks. Dark skin and "African" features were a sign of supposed moral depravity and baseness; meanwhile, blacks' supposed moral depravity and baseness manifested itself in the aesthetically unattractive black body. In the slave South, the presumption of hypersexuality that was part and parcel of this black subhumanity was especially pronounced, serving to justify white men's rape of female slaves and, thus, the appreciation of their property.

Slaveholder Thomas Jefferson gave voice to these popular views of blackness in his *Notes on the State of Virginia*. "Is it not," he asked, "the foundation of a greater or less share of beauty in the two races?" And to skin color could be added "flowing hair, a more elegant symmetry of form, and [blacks'] own judgment in favour of the whites," which Jefferson argued was as certain "as is the preference of the Oran-ootan for the black women over those of his own species."⁵ In this scheme, black women fared even worse than their male counterparts. Unattractive by virtue of their black skin, libidinal to the point of being animals (according to Jefferson, black women were prone to relations with apes), female slaves were the aesthetic and moral foils of their white mistresses.

And yet Crafts's story also shows that black women's homeliness fell along a continuum, something that Jefferson himself would likely have admitted. Black skin may have been repulsive to whites such as Mrs. Wheeler, but there were degrees of blackness. There were therefore degrees of unattractiveness as well. Crafts apparently boasted both "pretty airs" and light skin—Mrs. Wheeler went so far as to charge her with having a "white face"—both of which raised the ire of an already angry mistress. Crafts had white ancestry and had also enjoyed the material advantages that came with being a slave in the master's house. Mrs. Wheeler would probably have been in good company in seeing Crafts as more physically attractive than the "blackest wench." She did not, of course, say this directly. But her banishment of Crafts to the fields and her insistence that she was "no better" than the blackest female slave are suggestive, revealing an anxiety over a perceived threat to her own beauty and her status within the household.

Crafts's tale contains other intriguing glimpses into the meaning of

beauty among antebellum women. Mrs. Wheeler felt she simply needed a bit of touching up before leaving home. Others, however, believed that her recourse to face powder represented an act of “sin and wickedness” and that her black complexion was divine retribution for attempting to be something that she was not—for attempting to construct a disguise of sorts. Or perhaps the real issue was that this disguise had emboldened her to enter the public sphere of politics, albeit briefly and informally, a place off-limits to ladies, desperate husbands aside. Another possibility was whispered. Some thought that Mrs. Wheeler might have deliberately pretended to be black, to have engaged, as they put it, in a “little masquerade.” Crafts herself does not give much credence to this theory, but that some of the Wheelers’ acquaintances could conceive of such a desire at all is fascinating. Why would a plantation mistress want to look like a black woman, given the widespread disparagement of black features?

Long before the emergence of modern department stores with their glittering cosmetic counters, of beauty pageants with their scantily clad young contestants, and of beauty parlors with their noisy hairdryers and chattering women, beauty occupied a conspicuous place in the actual and imaginative worlds of white and black southern women. Their pursuit of beauty, moreover, was far from a frivolous act undertaken merely to pass the hours. These facts did not change once the social order to which Crafts and Wheeler belonged died. Indeed, the dynamics that underpinned Crafts’s story lived on, proving a complex inheritance for southern women of the Jim Crow South, women born into a society that was at once so different from, yet so similar to, the one that had bound together slave and mistress.

Pageants, Parlors, and Pretty Women examines the legacy of these ideas, uncovering how the female heirs of Hannah Crafts’s and Mrs. Wheeler’s Old South experienced beauty in their lives. I argue that beauty, at its core, was about power and, therefore, a hotbed of contention. As Crafts’s story suggests, some conflicts arose from the South’s racial politics. But there were also those that dealt less with race than with other forces that for so long made the region different: the entrenched class divisions in both the white and black communities that race leaders preferred to ignore; the agricultural rhythms that shaped southern life and that begrudgingly gave way to urbanization and modernization; and the conservative gender mores that determined what white and black women could and, more often, could not do. This book shows how, by pursuing beauty, southern women mediated the crises of modern southern history, a period book-