Gender and Lynching

Ewelyn M. Simica

Gender and Lynching

The Politics of Memory

Evelyn M. Simien





GENDER AND LYNCHING Copyright © Evelyn M. Simien 2011.

All rights reserved.

First published in 2011 by PALGRAVE MACMILLAN® in the United States—a division of St. Martin's Press LLC, 175 Fifth Avenue, New York, NY 10010.

Where this book is distributed in the UK, Europe and the rest of the World, this is by Palgrave Macmillan, a division of Macmillan Publishers Limited, registered in England, company number 785998, of Houndmills, Basingstoke, Hampshire RG21 6XS.

Palgrave Macmillan is the global academic imprint of the above companies and has companies and representatives throughout the world.

Palgrave® and Macmillan® are registered trademarks in the United States, the United Kingdom, Europe and other countries.

ISBN: 978-0-230-11270-4

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data

Gender and lynching: the politics of memory / edited by Evelyn M. Simien.

p. cm.

Includes bibliographical references and index.

ISBN 978-0-230-11270-4

- 1. Lynching—Sex differences—United States—History.
- 2. African American women—Violence against—United States—History.
- 3. Rape—United States—History. 4. Lynching in literature.
- 5. Lynching in art. 6. Sexism—United States—History.
- 7. Racism—United States—History. I. Simien, Evelyn M., 1974-

II. Title.

HV6457.G46 2011

364.1'34-dc23

2011016902

A catalogue record of the book is available from the British Library.

Design by Integra Software Services

First edition: November 2011

10 9 8 7 6 5 4 3 2 1

Printed and bound in Great Britain by CPI Antony Rowe, Chippenham and Eastbourne For my son, Roman Marcellus I love you very much, unconditionally.

Acknowledgements

This book evolved out of the 2008 National Endowment for the Humanities (NEH) Summer Institute entitled "African American Struggles for Civil Rights in the Twentieth Century," sponsored by the W.E.B. Du Bois Institute at Harvard University. The institute was managed and directed by Henry Louis Gates, Jr., Waldo E. Martin, Jr., and Patricia Sullivan. I owe a special debt to this group, including fellow participants and visiting faculty who provided me with an intellectually engaging and thoroughly rewarding experience that revitalized my approach to teaching civil rights history. Leon Litwack's guest lecture on lynching—particularly, his discussion of Mary Turner—inspired this project. The four-week program promoted collaboration between participants and visiting faculty, as evidenced by the working groups that took place on-site and continued long after we left Cambridge, MA. I wish to thank Todd Allen, Bill Huntzicker, Wanda Jackson, Erika Molloseau Pryor, Sherrow Pinder, Janie Ward, and Rychetta Watkins for their warmth and kindness. Our in-depth conversations were both meaningful and thoughtful, as we routinely reflected upon our classroom experiences over breakfast, lunch, and dinner. I am especially grateful to Brenda Edgerton-Webster, Frances Jones-Sneed, and Barbara McCaskill who met with me on a weekly basis to discuss the book project. They proofread the original call for papers and made editorial suggestions. They also commented on the earliest drafts of manuscripts. Barbara, in particular, read a disproportionate share and provided superb feedback.

Given the interdisciplinary focus of *Gender and Lynching*, I solicited the help of several readers from a range of disciplines outside my area of expertise so that the collection of essays would meet the highest intellectual standards. I am especially thankful to those readers who were not among my friends or colleagues, but were virtual strangers who willingly volunteered to review manuscripts both carefully and thoughtfully, often more than once. I owe a huge debt to all of the following, from close

xii • Acknowledgements

friends to mere acquaintances who obliged my requests: Lawrence Davis, Alice Deck, Tiffany Gill, Dayo Gore, Angeletta Gourdine, Micki McElya, Robin Muhammad, Shawn Salvant, Judith Stephens, Christel Temple, Bernell Tripp, Christopher Waldrep, and Stephanie Wright. I must also thank the contributors. If it were not for their original research and intellectual curiosity, this project would not have been made possible. For the privilege and opportunity to work with them, I am eternally grateful.

I must also thank my friends and colleagues: Michele Tracy Berger, Sharon Harris, Shareen Hertell, Shayla Nunnally, and Melina Pappademos for their professional guidance and collegial support. Michelle read the book's proposal before it was sent to the editor at Palgrave. Shareen was kind enough to proofread the introduction at a moment's notice, as did Sharon and Shayla. Melina lent me her ears when I needed to vent. I benefited enormously from our candid conversations about how to balance competing demands of work and family. An associate professor with tenure in the Department of Political Science, I hold a joint appointment with the Institute for African American Studies and I am affiliated with Women's Studies. I am also Acting Director of the University of Connecticut's Humanities Institute. I believe one of the greatest challenges facing joint hires like me is the ability to so manage time effectively and skillfully that you fulfill your service obligations, but not to the detriment of your research agenda or family. Pregnant with my first child, the book's proposal along with sample chapters were delivered to the press for external review days before I went into labor.

Finally, I must thank the two most important people in my life. First, I have to thank my husband, Steven, for the extra hours of sleep in the morning, his willingness to become a full-time stay-at-home dad to care for our son, and his unwavering support of my academic career. Secondly, I have to acknowledge the way in which our son, Roman Marcellus, has changed my life. I have never felt as productive as I do now. Every single day he greets me with the biggest smile and heartiest laugh. He brings me such joy. I never knew that I could love another human being quite so much, unconditionally.

Permissions

Grateful acknowledgment is made to the following for granting permission to quote from and reprint the copyrighted material listed below:

- Permission to use the photo of the Mary Turner Historical Marker is granted by Julie Buckner Armstrong.
- Permission to use the poem "dirty south moon" is granted by Honoreé Fanonne Jeffers and Southern Illinois University Press.
- "Mary Turner, Hidden Memory, and Narrative Possibility," is adapted from *Mary Turner and the Memory of Lynching* by Julie Buckner Armstrong and reprinted by permission of The University of Georgia Press.
- Permission to use the photograph of Rubin Stacy, a lynching victim, Fort Lauderdale, Florida, from the Ku Klux Klan & Lynching Photograph Collection dated July 19, 1935 is granted by Photographs and Prints Division, the Schomburg Center for Research in Black Culture, The New York Public Library, Astor, Lenox, and Tilden Foundations.
- Permission to use lines of poetry from the work entitled "Lines to Ida B. Wells" by Katherine Davis Chapman Tillman, published in July 5, 1894 is granted by *The Christian Recorder*.
- Permission to use lines of poetry from the work entitled "A Southern Incident" by Katherine Davis Chapman Tillman, published in her 1902 book *Recitations* (Philadelphia: A.M.E. Book Concern) is granted by the Moorland Spingarn Research Center at Howard University, Washington, DC 20059.
- Permission to use the Laura Nelson Photo, Without Sanctuary, Page 97 is granted courtesy of the National Center for Civil and Human Rights.

- Permission to use the photo of the sculpture of Mary Turner (A Silent Protest against Mob Violence) by Meta Wassick Fuller is granted by the Museum of African American History, Boston, MA.
- Permission to use the Image of Art Installation "A Woman Was Lynched the Other Day..." is granted courtesy of Kimberly Mayhorn, "A Woman Was Lynched the Other Day...," 1998–2001.
- Permission to use the photograph of Billie Holiday singing at Café Society in 1939 is granted by the Institute of Jazz Studies, Rutgers University.
- Permission to use song lyrics from "Strange Fruit", words and music by Lewis Allan Copyright 1939 (renewed) by Music Sales Corporation (ASCAP). All Rights for the US controlled by Music Sales Corporation (ASCAP) International. Copyright secured from Carlin America, Inc. All Rights Reserved. Reprinted with permission.
- Permission to use image VV1488, African Americans March in Protest (c) Underwood & Underwood/CORBIS and image U60270INP, Mob Beating Black Man (c) Bettmann/CORBIS.
- Permission to use the flag photo, A Man Was Lynched Yesterday, courtesy the Library of Congress, Prints & Photographs Division, Visual Materials from the NAACP Records.

All other material is in the public domain.

Contents

List of Figures	ix
Acknowledgements	
Permissions	
Introduction Evelyn M. Simien	1
1 Mary Turner, Hidden Memory, and Narrative Possibility Julie Buckner Armstrong	15
2 Sisters in Motherhood(?): The Politics of Race and Gender in Lynching Drama Koritha Mitchell	37
3 The Antislavery Roots of African American Women's Antilynching Literature, 1895–1920 Barbara McCaskill	61
4 "A Woman was Lynched the Other Day": Memory, Gender, and the Limits of Traumatic Representation Jennifer D. Williams	81
5 The Politics of Sexuality in Billie Holiday's "Strange Fruit" Fumiko Sakashita	103
6 Gender, Race, and Public Space: Photography and Memory in the Massacre of East Saint Louis and The Crisis Magazine Anne Rice	131
Notes on Contributors	
Index	

List of Figures

1.1	Historical marker describing the 1918 Brooks-Lowndes	
	lynchings (Photograph courtesy of Julie Buckner	
	Armstrong)	10
2.1	NAACP antilynching advertisement that aims to	
	mobilize readers by emphasizing that mob violence	
	harms whites	48
4.1	Kim Mayhorn, "A Woman Was Lynched the Other	
	Day," 1998 (Courtesy of Kim Mayhorn)	82
4.2	Flag, announcing lynching, flown from the window of	
	the NAACP headquarters on Fifth Ave., New York City	
	(Library of Congress Print and Photo Collection)	83
4.3	Postcard of the lynching of Laura Nelson in Okemah,	
	Oklahoma, May 25, 1911 (Courtesy of Twin Palms	
	Publishers)	85
4.4	Meta Vaux Warrick Fuller "Mary Turner (A Silent	
	Protest Against Mob Violence," 1919 (Courtesy of	
	Museum of African American History, Boston, MA.)	91
5.1	Billie Holiday at Café Society, 1939. Frank Driggs	
	Collection, Institute of Jazz Studies, Rutgers University	114
6.1	Silent Protest Parade 1917	132
6.2	Cover of September 1917 Crisis: Blanch Deas, of the	
	Negro Players. A study from life by Frank Walts	142
6.3	Cover image of NAACP special report on East St. Louis	143
6.4	"The Fire" as seen across the river from St. Louis	
	(St. Louis Star)	140
6.5	Broadway Opera House after the fire. \$700.000 damage	
	was done in this vicinity (St. Louis Globe-Democrat)	147
6.6	Looking for the bodies of victims. Six were found here	
	(St. Louis Star)	149

x • List of Figures

6.7	Colored man in front of car, being mobbed. Militia	
	looking on (International Film Service)	151
6.8	Composite image featuring six photographs of the riot's	
	aftermath	152
6.9	At the Municipal Lodging House, St. Louis, MO	
	(St. Louis Star)	153
6.10	Mineola McGee. Shot by soldier and policeman. Her	
	arm had to be amputated	154
6.11	Narcis Gurley. 71 next birthday. Lived in her home 30	
	years. Afraid to come out until the blazing walls fell in	155
6.12	The Negro Silent Parade, at Forty Second Street and	
	Fifth Avenue, New York City (C.T. Adams)	161
6.13	The Negro Silent Parade, Fifth Avenue, New York City	
	(Underwood and Underwood)	162

Introduction

Evelyn M. Simien

Mister, you ought to've heard the nigger wench how!!1

The conventional approach to (or master narrative of) American civil rights history has focused almost exclusively on Black male victimhood during the era of lynching, encompassing nearly five decades from 1880–1930. Rather than broaden and deepen our understanding of racial discrimination, however, such an approach often simplifies and distorts the more complex and devastating history of lynching in the United States.² Indeed, both academic and popular discussions of lynching are dominated by a static, fixed understanding of deprivation that is principally racially based. Far less common is an association of the era with a richer, more nuanced understanding of deprivation that is critical of hierarchal relationships determined by interlocking systems of oppression—namely, racism and sexism.

Although the ritual of lynching claimed many lives, Gender and Lynching is not so much about Black female victimhood as it is about reclaiming the life stories of African American women via public remembrance, oral history, and community narratives. This book examines the musical, theatrical, literary, photographic, and artistic representations of women and lynching that involved either black-white audiences or coalitions between black and white women against lynching. This volume also recognizes the efforts of individual African American women as well as those of institutional actors such as the Association of Southern Women for the Prevention of Lynching (ASWPL) and the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) to properly document and spotlight lynching. In doing so, the essays that follow reveal the unique ways in which African American women's victimization at the hands of angry mobs and their participation in anti-lynching campaigns alter our popular understanding of lynching in the United States.

Rather than sidestep or avoid some of the most vexing or controversial issues inherent in civil rights history, this introduction will explore how scholars of lynching have typically ignored the ways in which African American women experienced racial-sexual violence in the South, where at least 150 women were lynched between 1880 and 1965. In fact, the overwhelming majority of these cases involving African American female victims—that is, 130 in total—occurred before 1930.3 For the most part, historians who write about lynching address the practice as it occurred during the post-Reconstruction era and when it was geographically limited to the South: the primary targets were African American men, and the punishment inflicted resulted in death to the victims. It is therefore essential that we re-conceptualize such extralegal violence as both gendered and racialized for the purpose of writing a corrective history that accounts for ways in which African American women have been erased from the extant literature on lynching. To date, African American women have suffered racial-sexual violence without explosively emerging as the most gripping examples of hate crimes, even as stories of extraordinarily heinous offenses against African American men-from Emmett Till to James Byrd, Jr.—have left an indelible mark on civil rights history.

Public memory, created by newspaper accounts and oral testimony, has remembered lynch victims who were African American and female in specific ways, featuring both racial and sexual terms. Described as "fiends," "assassins," "prostitutes," and "negress brutes," African American women lived under the shadow of assumption that, by virtue of their race, they were so morally deprived and violent that they seemed as dangerous as their male counterparts. Their rape and torture were ideologically sanctioned to enforce white supremacy. Mary Turner was eight months pregnant when a mob of several hundred men and women murdered her in Valdosta, Georgia. The Associated Press reported that she had made "unwise remarks" and "flew into a rage" about the lynching of her husband, Hayes, insisting that she would press charges against the men responsible. Her death in May of 1918 prompted a widespread, multifaceted response that continues to evolve today. Laura Nelson confessed to shooting a sheriff to protect her son, L.W. The officer was searching her cabin for stolen goods as part of a meat pilfering investigation. Members of a mob seized Laura along with her son, and both were lynched in Okemah, Oklahoma, in May of 1911—however, not before Laura had been raped by several men. Their bodies were hung from a bridge for hundreds to view. 4 To the extent that Turner and Nelson are symbolically represented among other masculine narratives of lynching, it is as tragic characters or "collateral victims" whose supportive efforts were aimed at defending the men in their lives. Such deaths, however, were not incidental. They were essential to maintain white supremacy, as a form of punishment for defying the social order.

Though women represent a minority of lynching victims, their stories challenge previous interpretations and dominant conceptualizations of lynching as justified protection for white women from Black male rapists. If we are to fully understand lynching and the motives behind it, scholars must begin to include analyses of African American women who were robbed of dignity, respect, and bodily integrity by a weapon of terror used to maintain a caste system that assigned inferior roles to African American men and women alike. By including women centrally within the historical narrative of lynching, we not only avoid reinforcing the rape/lynch myth (i.e., the emasculated Black man as the only visible victim) but, in doing so, also reveal a more complete understanding of this devastating social practice.

The term "lynching" evokes an image derived from a collective memory which African American men and women both share, but to which only African American men claim entitlement—i.e., a charred male figure swinging from a tree or telegraph pole amidst an angry mob. Such an image has overshadowed the equally representative experience of African American women who were similarly tortured and mutilated, as well as raped and killed, by angry mobs. Moreover, this highly stylized, one-dimensional form of representation also fails to capture contemporary forms of lynching, such as the Jena Six episode and the Megan Williams case discussed below, which critically connect the past with the present and contextualize the ongoing legacy of lynching.

In August 2006, Kenneth Purvis—an African American high school student in Jena, Louisana—asked his principal whether Black students could sit beneath a tree that most believed was reserved for whites only at the local high school in Jena.⁵ In this case, the separation of the two races was widely accepted by the majority of teachers, parents, school administrators, and the student body. The tree marked the separation and re-inscribed the lack of social equality between the two races. Thus, it is significant that white students hung nooses from the tree on the very next morning after their African American classmates—Kenneth Purvis and his cousin Bryant Purvis—sat under the tree and violated norms of social etiquette that directly invoked Jim Crow. Three nooses were

found hanging from the tree's branches, draped in school colors.⁶ A flagrant act, it was dismissed by the local superintendent and majority white school board, which overturned the principal's original decision to expel the culprits involved and, instead, imposed suspensions on the grounds that the tree display was an innocent, youthful prank. The fact remains, however, that the noose invokes a torrid history of lynching in the United States.

Between the late 1800s and early 1900s, the reported incidents of lynching rose sharply and occurred most frequently in the southern states—namely, Georgia and Mississippi. The term "lynching" has been used to denote hanging and other types of executions carried out with inhumane cruelty by self-appointed mobs to assert the supremacy of white masculinity for a presumed offense. Such offenses included, but were not limited to, arson and poisoning, as well as burglary and self-defense. Allegations of rape involving Black male offenders and white female victims resulted in cruel and unusual punishment—specifically, castration—and figure most prominently in narrow discussions of lynching that invoke the sole image of African American men as primary targets.

The myth of the Black male rapist functioned as a means of social control as it served to regulate the behaviors of African American men and white women in relationship to each other. African American men lived under the shadow of assumption that, by virtue of their race, they were so bestial and immoral that lynching was ideologically sanctioned to enforce white supremacy. In light of the rape myth, lynching has been interpreted as a sexually perverse public performance of hegemonic masculinity spawned by both repulsion and desire between men on account of racist stereotypes that evoke envy on the part of white men for the supposed sexual potency and virile strength of Black men.⁹

As African American men had been denied the rights of manhood and the privileges of patriarchy, the violent act of lynching made it possible for white men to exhibit exaggerated masculinity before a live audience that exalted them for serving as guardians of white womanhood. Scholars have considered such a ritualistic practice of public emasculation and sadistic torture an extralegal means to affirm the supremacy of white masculinity and to reinforce the African American male's inferior status in the social, economic, and political structure of the United States. Lynching differed from ordinary murder or assault. The individual victim was denied due process and equal protection under law, as evidenced by mob coercion of judicial proceedings, special doctrinal rules, and the language of court opinions.

Like execution by guillotine, lynching was celebrated as a spectacular event and drew large crowds of people who tortured, burned alive, and dismembered their victims. Participants and onlookers left the scene with grisly souvenirs, mostly body parts, including genitalia. People fought each other for bits of burnt flesh, teeth, nails, and hair. Photographs were taken, and postcards were mailed to friends and family. Mothers held their babies in tow, standing next to the corpse of a dead body and smiling for a photo opportunity. Such a gruesome spectacle gripped the imagination and enjoyed widespread public approval with extensive media coverage in local and national newspapers.

Lynching thereby constituted a form of domestic terrorism that inflicted individual harm upon the African American male and collective injury upon an entire race of people simultaneously, with the purpose of instilling fear. It served to give dramatic warning, emphasizing the fact that the iron clad system of white supremacy was not to be challenged by word, deed, or even thought.¹⁴ Lynching could therefore be understood as the ritualistic reenactment of a historically scripted and rehearsed hierarchy that oppressed the Black male victim and empowered the white assailant in the most masculine terms, using honor and chivalry as well as white female frailty as a defense for mob violence. Yet such an explanation or interpretation of lynching effectively conceals the fact that not all victims were African American men, and rape was not the leading motive. African American men, women, and children were lynched for a range of alleged crimes and social infractions—from petty theft to labor disputes over debt, credit or wages, as well as arson and murder. Thus, the designation of African American women as symbolic representatives of lynching challenges often taken-for-granted assumptions about lynching and its victims.

Today, the noose has come to symbolize an era of terror when lynching was used as a tool of oppression to maintain white supremacy. The act of hanging nooses from a tree presumably reserved for white students in Jena, Louisana, served a similar purpose: it gave dramatic warning to African American students like Kenneth Purvis and his cousin, Bryant Purvis, who dared to resist marginalization in public spaces. The case of the Jena Six spotlights the dynamic interplay between race, crime, and punishment in the United States, invoking three salient themes: an earlier era of Jim Crow, when separate but equal accommodations were legally sanctioned by the Supreme Court's *Plessy v. Ferguson* decision; the legacy of lynching, when African American men, in particular, were punished excessively for a presumed offense without due process of the law;

and racial disparities in the US criminal justice system, whereby judges and juries imposed harsher sentences upon African American men who stood trial for crimes committed against white victims than they did upon whites.

Mychal Bell, one of the African American students involved in the Jena Six case, was initially arrested and charged with attempted second-degree murder (though this charge was later reduced to aggravated battery and conspiracy). Tried as an adult, Bell was age 16 at the time of the assault, when he and other members of the Jena Six reportedly beat their white classmate, Justin Barker, on school grounds. Accused of ambushing Barker and knocking him unconscious, Bell was convicted by an all-white jury and faced up to 22 years in prison. 15 Such a charge as aggravated battery requires the use of a dangerous weapon, and District Attorney Walters argued that the shoes Bell wore and used to kick his victim (Barker) were deadly weapons. Mychal Bell's African American public defender, Blane Williams, urged him to accept a plea bargain versus going to trial. Unlike civil rights attorneys of the past—namely, Thurgood Marshall and Robert Carter—Williams was not hailed as a hero by the African American community as he failed to challenge the composition of the all-white jury pool and rested the defense's case without calling upon any witnesses or offering counter evidence.16 Fortunately, Louisiana's Third Circuit Court of Appeals overturned Bell's battery conviction as the minor had been tried as an adult.

Had District Attorney Walters had his way, however, Bell would have surely been made an example of, taught a lesson, and punished excessively for a presumed offense—i.e., a crime committed against his white classmate. In fact, Walters forewarned Bell and his accomplices of the unusually harsh punishment that awaited them upon conviction and following criminal sentencing. He is quoted as having stated that "I can be your best friend or your worst enemy...I can take away your lives with a stroke of my pen" in the context of a public forum on school grounds.¹⁷ Such a powerful statement served to remind the African American community in general, and African American men, in particular, of their disparate treatment in the American criminal justice system. At once, the privileges and immunities of putative first-class citizenship were trumped by the penalties and restrictions of second-class citizenship in Jena, Louisiana.

Yet, the most disappointing feature of the Jena Six case was neither the mean-spirited attacks of the local District Attorney, J. Reed Walters, nor the racial bias evident in the criminal sentencing of Mychal Bell.