The Representation of the Southern Culture

in Grisham's Fictions: The Conflict among the Different

Culture Groups in the Deep South
The Representation of the Southern Culture in Grisham's Fictions: The Conflict among the Different Culture Groups in the Deep South

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Hirohito Onishi
(Student Number M 95455 B)

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Man cannot survive without culture. Thanks to culture, human beings have made a steady progress. Unlike this positive side of culture, it also has a negative side. In recent years, ethnic conflicts have greatly increased in number, especially since the collapse of the Cold War geopolitical structure. At the core of these ethnic strifes lies the question of culture, namely, that of the values. It goes without saying that it is important to contain the conflicts of the world as soon as possible, but it is also important to nip them in the bud through cross-cultural education at school and at every level of a society.

In this paper the intrinsic nature of culture is examined through the discourse analysis of John Grisham's two fictions, The Chamber and A Time to Kill. This thesis tries to clarify what culture has to do with people and how it influences them. This paper presents three hypotheses to prove. First, culture has a negative side which torments people. Secondly, the culture of American South is not a unified, solid one, but a battleground of a variety of culture groups clashing with one another. Thirdly, Grisham is more committed to the minorities' values than to the status-quo Southern Culture although he deliberately makes his position ambiguous. The general tone of this paper can be summarized as a new proposal.
for the interpretation of culture in a more realistic approach.

In Chapter One a couple of culture theories are introduced, and four approaches adopted here for analysis will be discussed. Then, in relation to the choice of the text for culture study, deciding what kind of text would be effective is elaborated. It is concluded that the literary text, especially popular literature, is best suited for culture studies through discourse since it reflects the ideology of the society in its greatest detail.

In Chapter Two, the best-seller writer John Grisham is introduced together with his writings. The two fictions used as the text are composed of a variety of culture groups, out of which the nine value groups are chosen. The values of each group would be discussed through discourse examples. The emphasis here is given to the fact that even a regional culture, the Southern Culture here, consists of a diversified group of values.

In Chapter Three, the origin of white supremacy is researched in its historical context. The fact that the dogma still exists will be clarified from an angle of assumptions hidden under some of the discourses in The Chamber. Next, the negative side innate in white supremacy is explained by decoding some symbols in discourse. It is concluded that its negativity arises from the directive force which a value group
exerts on individuals or the other value groups.

In Chapter Four, Grisham's attitudes toward the Southern Culture are pursued through the discourses involving Adam, his alter ego, a character from The Chamber. His position is skillfully made ambiguous. He conceals his position in a cover of his opposition to the death penalty or antipathy to the officers of the Federal government. It is to be concluded after a closer analysis of some discourses that he is more committed to the Northern Culture, that is, the values based in equality of races and interpreted via the Constitution.

Grisham deliberately stuck to the writing style of ambiguity when it comes to the question of the values. This strategy was essential for him to survive as a popular Southern writer when his individual values clash with those of the dominant ideology of the South.

In Chapter Five, the opposing groups of values are presented to show how these clashes of values are represented. The KKK group most frequently clashes with the minority group in The Chamber and with the Southerners group in A Time to Kill. The KKK group plays a major role in both of them. It seems that Grisham has made use of the KKK group to project his mental conflict between the PC values and the Southerners' values. The way various value groups clash with one another is clearly represented in the combinations of opposing value groups. When we refer to the Southern Culture, it would be
most appropriate to define it as a battleground where
different culture groups clash with one another.

The three hypotheses this thesis has proved are confined
to these two fictions, but the prospect that this would also
apply to the other texts is to be answered in the near future.
We hope this paper would give some hints for instructions to
those educators interested in cross-cultural understanding at
high school level.
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INTRODUCTION

Culture studies have gained a greater attention in recent years than at any other period in history, especially since the fall of the Berlin Wall on November 9, 1989. This is because various kinds of ethnic strifes have surfaced among the regional ethnic groups. Some conflicts are attracting world attention, while others are smoldering ready to flare up. It is difficult, therefore, to confirm exactly how many of these conflicts are in existence. George J. Church writes an article on the number of ethnic conflicts simultaneously in progress throughout the world, in which he introduces an estimate that "the U.S. Defense Department uses a figure of about 30; other calculations run as high as 46" (1995: 27). One of the prominent strifes is that of Bosnia-Hertzegovina. At the very core of these conflicts lurks the problem of the values held by each ethnic group. Here lies the importance of culture studies.

There have been presented a great number of definitions of culture so far. They vary from a broader definition of culture by Raymond Williams as "a whole way of life" (1993: 6) to a narrower one by Clifford Geertz as "a semiotic concept of culture" (1973: 14). It would be reasonable to define culture as the group values in a narrower way, considering the fact that these ethnic strifes originate in the difference of the group values.
Another urgent necessity to study culture is a domestic one. Japan is also faced with a grave problem concerning the values. Since her defeat in the Pacific War, the public opinion has been divided into the two camps, the right wing and the left wing. The conflicts between these two ideological wings have continued since then. Educators have had to avoid the issue of values in school education under this political climate. Thus, the Japanese people have drifted away in the sea of values and principles for more than fifty years in limbo. Japan cannot evade the problem of values in the post cold war era any more.

In this paper the interpretation of social discourses is attempting to analyze group values in a regional society. The American South is selected as the regional society to study what the culture is like and how the culture influences on its members. The selection of the Southern Culture has been made with a view that the Japanese and the Southerners have a couple of things in common.

First, they have both experienced defeat in the Pacific War and the Civil War respectively and experienced the occupations by the other parties. Some other common features are, to cite from a *Time* magazine article (1976: 22-25), "a strongly developed sense of family," "its gregariousness and attachment to community," "good manners," and "an almost tactile empathy with the land." Besides these, humid summer climate and hospitable nature might be in common too.
As for the social discourses, we have chosen two popular fictions by a Southern writer, John Grisham, *The Chamber* and *A Time to Kill*. The former is the main text to be studied and the latter is partly referred to as a supplementary one in order to support the arguments that follow. These two fictions have their setting in the Mississippi Delta and describe the Southern Culture as composed of various groups of values. Their plots evolve on such areas as civil rights, white supremacy, the death penalty and jury duty. Therefore, the issues of stereotypes and racism are also discussed in due course. The research here is to be made from a couple of perspectives by interpreting the discourses with the group values. This research is aimed not only at the pure academic study of culture but also at its possible application to cross-cultural education at a high school level.

It has generally been accepted before that a regional culture is one solid entity. But here it will be proved that a variety of culture groups are cohabiting there and, what is more, they are not in harmony and often in conflict with one another. These culture groups are found in the above-mentioned two fictions. The values of each group will be presented, together with the relationship which the values of a respective group produce.

The major framework of culture theories to be taken up here is the culture study as an interpretive science in search of meanings by Geertz's and the theory of cultural meaning.
systems by D'Andrade. But some cultural discourses are too diverse and complicated for one consistent approach to analyze and interpret them thoroughly. Therefore some other approaches, such as critical linguistics, intercultural linguistics and dialogism, are also adopted as working hypotheses in our discourse interpretation, depending on the nature of each discourse. This way the innate nature of culture would be analyzed from a different perspective.

The major hypotheses which this thesis is going to prove are the following three. First, culture will intrinsically accompany a certain aspect of negativity that torments people. Second, the author Grisham attempts an ambitious scheme to overcome negative stereotypes. Third, a given culture in a region is not one unified, solid entity, but a battleground where a variety of culture groups are in conflict with one another. This nature of culture also applies to an individual, the author Grisham, who seems to suffer inner conflicts as to whether he is a Southerner or a Northerner.
1.1. The Definitions of Culture as Working Hypotheses

The definition of culture has been presented by a great number of noted scholars. The number of its definitions is said to amount to at least 150. It varies from a broader definition to a narrower one depending on each school of thought. According to Mathew Arnold, a Traditionalist, culture is "the best that is known and thought in the world" (Culture and Anarchy, 1869). He regards only what is called high culture as culture. Another traditionalist, T. S. Eliot, defines culture as "unconscious manners and customs" (Notes towards the Definition of Culture, 1948). He thinks highly of the order of the society based on the class system.

Unlike Arnold, Raymond Williams defines culture as "the whole way of life including popular culture." Edward B. Tylor's definition is "a system of life style." On the other hand, the narrower definition by anthropologists has recently been more and more popular. There are three major ones. One of them is "a system of behaviors" by the behaviorists led by Skinner. Another is "a system of symbol or sign" by Clifford Geertz and his followers. A third is "a system of ideas" by W. Goodenough and his school.

Out of so many definitions of culture, the one by Geertz has been selected as the major working principle in this paper. The essence of his theory can be found in the
The concept of culture I espouse ... is essentially a semiotic one. Believing, with Max Weber, that man is an animal suspended in webs of significance he himself has spun, I take culture to be those webs, and the analysis of it to be therefore not an experimental science in search of law but an interpretive one in search of meaning. (1973: 5)

We borrow his definition of culture as the basic framework to analyze discourses and take advantage of some other theories, if necessary. His definition says that the cultural study would be considered as an interpretive science that searches for meaning by decoding the signs and symbols encoded in the discourse. This is why his approach could be called "Interpretive Anthropology."

The major approach taken here is by interpreting the group values hidden in fictional texts. In order to make its interpretation more reasonable, another similar cultural theory would also be borrowed. Roy G. D'Andrade says in his paper that cultural meaning systems have the following four functions:

Meanings in general, and cultural meaning systems in particular, do at least four different things. Meanings represent the world, create cultural entities, direct one to do certain things, and evoke certain feelings. These four functions of meaning—the representational, the constructive, the directive, and the evocative—are differentially elaborated in particular cultural meaning systems but are always present to some degree in any system. (1984: 96)

As far as culture is defined as signs and symbols, it is quite natural that it always has the representational function
as D'Andrade explains above. The constructive function is the one that a social structure has in guiding people in an organized and coordinated fashion. The directive function has a kind of binding force that materializes in the self-imposed form of needs, obligations or pressures to do something. The affective function is "an emotional side to meaning" (99). These three functions are intertwined with one another. The constructive function logically requires the directive function within a social structure. The affective function often blends with the directive function.

1.2. The Approaches to Cultural Values in Discourse

In addition to the approach through Interpretive Anthropology taken up above, some more approaches will be introduced. One of them is the pragmatic approach. It has produced remarkable achievements. It takes the position that the analysis of meanings should not be interpreted separate from the context but be grasped from a specific social and cultural context. This is because "ambiguity is inherent in all language use" as Scollon and Scollon point out (1995: 10). This approach could be termed as "Intercultural Pragmatics."

Secondly, G. N. Leech (1983: 8) provides us with analytical tools known as Cooperative Principle, Principle of Politeness and Principle of Irony, of which the Cooperative Principle (CP for short henceforth) is the most important since it covers the appropriate acts for communication. CP
The quality rule is defined as follows:

**QUALITY:** Try to make your contribution one that is true: i.e.
1. Do not say what you believe to be false.
2. Do not say that for which you lack adequate evidence.

When this principle is violated, it produces a specific meaning. Then its violation will give an effective clue to interpret some hidden meaning in discourse.

The two approaches, Interpretive Anthropology and Intercultural Pragmatics, might be said to be conservative or rather neutral. Compared with these, three more approaches are recently proposed. They are Critical Linguistics led by Roger Fowler and Paul Simpson, Dialogism by M. M. Bakhtin, and Orientalism by Edward E. Said. Here the first two will also be introduced later on when necessary.

According to Roger Fowler, critical linguistics does not necessarily mean a negative evaluation, but "simply means an inquiry into the relations between signs, meanings and the social and historical conditions which govern the semiotic structure of discourse, using a particular kind of linguistic analysis" (1991: 5). But Paul Simpson says that critical linguistics interprets discourses with the intention of changing the society:

Analysis for the sake of analysis is not sufficient; instead, the analyst makes a committed effort to engage with the discourse with a view to changing it. In other words, by highlighting insidious discursive practices in language, these practices
themselves can be challenged. (1993: 6)

He tries to "explore the value systems and sets of beliefs which reside in texts; to explore, in other words, ideology in language." He further explains: "An ideology therefore derives from the taken-for-granted assumptions, beliefs and value-systems which are shared collectively by social groups" (5). He points out the importance of assumptions in each discourse, where the group values are hidden.

Sperber and Wilson say that a communicated assumption consists of implicature and explicature, both of which are defined as follows:

... we will call an explicitly communicated assumption an explicature. Any assumption communicated, but not explicitly so, is implicitly communicated: it is an implicature. ... An explicature is a combination of linguistically encoded and contextually inferred conceptual features. (1986: 182)

The two levels of assumption, explicature and implicature, are very useful in analyzing discourses in the social context. Implicature should be especially paid attention to since that is the very place where group values remain hidden. These two theories on assumption will also be referred to later together with the implicature and explicature dimension.

Lastly Mikhail M. Bakhtin's dialogism is employed to analyze a regional culture as well as an author's attitude in the frame work of society. His theory is based upon "his Architectonics: the conflict between a set of values grounded in the self, and a set of values grounded in the other"
In other words, in every discourse there always exist a number of values, taking the form of dialogues in conflict with one another.

1.3. The Significance of Literary Texts in Culture Studies

In culture study, various kinds of texts are possible as far as they contain something cultural in them. The reason why the use of literary text is effective for cultural analysis is that it is art which is "a sector of culture" (Geertz 1983: 109). As Holquist insists from a dialogic point of view, "literature is a particularly potent means by which consciousness transmits itself in the form of coherent and durable patterns of culture" (1990: 83). This form of culture, or literary text, has its meaning potential as Widdowson points out:

But as a meaningful use of language, though deprived of any reference to external context, its meaning potential can only be realized as literary discourse. In this sense, every piece of language that appears as a sentence in structural presentation and practice is potentially a piece of prose fiction. (1984: 166)

In other words literary texts are most fitted to represent the complicated cultural meaning system of a human being. They "embody the relationship of all linguistic texts to cultural meanings but do so in a more concentrated, and therefore more accessible and rewarding form" (Byram 1989: 100).

Fictions are structured through language, the common property of the society, which is accumulated with the
patterns of values and ideas in the society. So they naturally reflect the values of the society. This is why literary texts are effective for culture study.

Another merit to use fictions for culture study is that they are the most effective form of discourse that describes vividly the attitudes of characters in persuasive ways. The question of attitudes is indispensable to inter-cultural education where "students should acquire the knowledge, attitudes, and skills needed to function effectively in each cultural setting" (Banks and Banks, 1993: 7). The question of the knowledge and skills is dealt with in other kinds of discourse as well as in fictions, but that of attitudes can best be handled by the genre of fictions.

1.4. Culture Studies and Popular Literature

Literature is commonly divided into two subdivisions, pure literature and popular literature. The former reflects more of individual values, while the latter more of group values. Therefore popular literature is more fitted and effective to interpret group values. This manner of division is supported by Easthope as follows:

In contrast to the 'subjective' domain of literature, the texts of popular culture were read—often read off (in the sense of simple conversion)—as effects of an 'objective' social structure (in consequence ... popular culture can be equated with ideology while literature, somehow, stands at a distance from it). (1991: 71)

As he points out here, pure literature is subjective while
popular literature is objective, reflecting ideology, that is, the social structure which is equivalent to group values. In short, popular literature represents more group values than pure literature. This is the reason why popular literature has been chosen as the text for culture study.

1.5. Conclusion

In this chapter it has been discussed how culture studies will be conducted, starting with the definition of culture. As the major framework we defined culture as group values. Then we borrowed the definition of culture as a system of symbol or sign from Geertz, together with the theory of the cultural meaning systems by D'Andrade. Besides these approaches of interpretive anthropology, three more approaches will be introduced as tools for analysis. They are intercultural pragmatics by Scollon, critical linguistics by Fowler and Simpson, and dialogism by Bakhtin.

Then the type of discourse text best suited for cultural analysis is explored. It is concluded that literary text is the most suitable for culture studies through discourse since it represents the patterns of values and ideas in the society together with the attitudes of characters. Literary text can be divided into two types, pure literature and popular literature. But the latter reflects the social structure, or group values, more than the former. This is why we chose the text of popular literature for culture studies in this paper.
2.1. Why John Grisham?

John Grisham (1955-) is a so-called defense lawyer-turned-politician-turned writer. According to Pamela Dear (1995: 151-52), he received a B.S. from Mississippi State University and a J.D. from University of Mississippi, and was admitted to the bar in Mississippi in 1981 and privately practiced in Southaven as a defense lawyer from 1981 to 1990. He also served in the Mississippi House of Representatives from 1984 to 1990. He has published seven fictions so far, all of which are best sellers. They have been translated into 31 languages, with more than 60 million in print worldwide. "In Forbes' most recent survey, Grisham was 31st among the world's wealthiest entertainers, with an estimated 1992-93 income of $25 million" (Pryor 1994: 16).

The fact that so many people read his fictions is a proof that they find a more plausible reflection of the society there. He is really a pop-culture demigod. His fictions are all legal thrillers. Their settings are always put in the law court where the values between the defendant and the plaintiff clash each other. So his fictions are a treasure house of group values, offering an effective text for culture studies.

2.2. The Chamber and Its Culture Groups

In this paper we take up A Time to Kill and The Chamber.
which are both suspense fictions based upon social issues. The Chamber (Chamber for short henceforth) is primarily taken up, although A Time to Kill (Kill for short henceforth) is referred to when necessary.

Let us look at the plot of Chamber briefly. In 1967 Sam Cayhall, a member of the Ku Klux Klan, was accused of bombing the law office of a Jewish civil rights lawyer, injuring him and killing his 5-year-old twins. Sam's first and second trials ended in a hung jury. A dozen years later, an ambitious district attorney re-opens the case and nails him, sending him to Death Row. At 70, Sam is waiting to be led to the gas chamber. Here comes a young lawyer, Adam Hall, working for a big firm in Chicago. He has become obsessed with the Cayhall case after he found out that Sam is his grandfather. When Adam confronts the grandfather whom he has never met, he finds out that the execution is scheduled to take place in a month. In spite of Adam's eleventh-hour efforts, Sam is sent to the gas chamber. This fiction deals with such sensitive issues as racism, vigilantism and the death penalty. They all concern the question of values.

American Culture is complicated indeed. James E. Banks explains the diverse nature of American culture and says that there are two levels of American culture; one is national Macroculture, and the other is a series of microcultures. What is important is that all those microcultures greatly share the values of Macroculture (1993: 11-12).
The microcultures defined by Banks refer to those of minority groups. Here his idea of microcultures will be modified a little bit to include a lesser level of value groups like a KKK group, a Southerners group and so on. We have set the nine value groups common to both Chamber and Kill for convenience sake. Out of the nine groups, the Federal government, family values, and part of the religion called the civil religion belong to Macroculture. The groups which include the KKK, the Southerners, the PC, the media, the lawyers and the politicians are part of microcultures. Their values are to be summarized below.

2.2.1. The Value of Ku Klux Klan Group

Sam Cayhall is the third generation of a radical, white supremacist group, the Ku Klux Klan. The values of this group are manifestly represented by Sam's reply to Adam's question as in No. 13.7 This group takes the position that whites should not be mixed with the other races, especially blacks, and that they must be both institutionally and socially separated from whites. This is the dogma of white supremacy which was dominant in the South even among ordinary people and is slowly dying even now.

This seems to be confirmed by the recent arsons of black churches in the Southern states. According to a recent Newsweek article,8 ATF lists 38 fires at predominantly African-American churches since Jan. 1, 1995 and one of the
suspects of the two 1995 arson cases of South Carolina was carrying a membership card of the KKK when arrested.

Historically speaking, the first Klan was organized by ex-Confederate elements at Pulaski, Tenn., in May, 1866, to oppose the radical Reconstruction policies and to reassert the political and social superiority of whites over blacks. The second Klan was founded by William J. Simmons on Stone Mountain, near Atlanta, Ga., in 1915. The new Klan added bias against Catholics, Jews and foreigners to that of blacks. The Southern civil rights activities during the 1960s gave the Klan a new impetus and led to revivals of scattered Klan organizations.

Their dogma is best summarized in the phrase "separate but equal." This phrase became more popularly known by the Supreme Court decision in the infamous Plessy v. Ferguson verdict in 1896. It had been the symbol of white supremacy until the Civil Rights Act of 1964 was enacted.

2.2.2. The Value of Southerners Group

All the Southerners do not believe in white supremacy. Some are sympathetic to such minority groups as blacks and Jews, while others are hostile, although their hostility is not so direct as the KKK's. In short, they are so diversified in the degrees of belief that it is difficult to generalize the values of the Southern people. The institutional racism (Bennet 1995: 48) is, however, extensively represented in the
attitudes of the Southerners, suggesting that every one is not immune to the social ideology.

In present-day America, there is no telling the bad feelings held by the Southerners against the "Yankees," or Northerners, originating from the Civil War. However, some subtle antipathy seems to linger on deep in their heart as in No. 24, where Lee, a Southerner, reveals her judgement by using "bastards" for the Yankees but "hero" for General Clanton. This is where a Southerner's sense of displeasure to the Yankees remains hidden very deep down in the unconsciousness level.

2.2.3. The Value of the PC and anti-PC Groups

The values of the minority groups are the extreme opposite of those of the KKK. Recently their values have often been expressed by the phrase "Political Correctness" or "Politically Correct," PC for short. One of the definitions of the idea "politically correct" says, "correct according to a set of liberal opinions, e.g. that black people and women should have equal chances to get jobs, education, etc."

Ruth Perry (1992: 71-77) says about its origin that "the phrase seems first to have gained currency in the U.S. in the mid to late 1960s within the Black Power movement and the New Left," and "it probably came into the New Left vocabulary through translations of Mao Tse-tung's writings, especially in 'the little red book' as it was known, Quotations from
Chairman Mao Tse-tung." She further adds that "The earliest textual reference to the phrase that I have found is in an essay by Toni Cade, 'On the Issue of Roles,' in the anthology she edited in 1970, The Black Woman."

It can safely be said that the phrase "PC" came into use during the civil rights movement and became a popular phrase by 1970s. As Perry explains, this phrase initially had "a kind of self-critical dimension to New Left politics, a flexibility, a suspiciousness of orthodoxy of any sort." But, it was also newly redefined by the Right as having the animosity against the liberal values, namely, the anti-PC. This is why PC is more frequently used by the Right and then with a disapproving or sarcastic tone or even a bellicose emotion of reverse discrimination in it.

No. 36 is a PC example, where the Indians are good guys and the white cowboys bad guys unlike in the conventional western movies. No. 29 is, on the other hand, the anti-PC example, where Sam complains of reverse discrimination. This is also the perception of conservative whites in general. The deep-seated anti-PC feelings against minority groups are also overtly expressed in Nos. 28 and 30 through the phrase, "politically correct."

2.2.4. The Value of Federal Government Groups

The values of the Federal government stand for freedom, democracy and human rights. The Federal government sees to it
that this American Creed should be realized for every level as citizens. Federalism historically delegates some of the authority closely connected with citizens to the State governments, but retains such vital spheres as national defense, foreign policies, law and order, and the like.

The Federal government groups here consist of the FBI, the IRS, the public prosecutor, the Mississippi Federal Penitentiary, and the Federal Court. The FBI seems to play a far greater role than any other group as the "Guardian Angel" of the Federal system as in No. 38, where the FBI are represented to never give up their investigation to bring the suspect to justice. They serve every citizen equally, irrespective of his political, social or ethnic background.

2.2.5. The Value of Religion Groups

The dominant religious groups of the United States are Protestants, Catholics and the Jewish. There is another level of religion common to all the Americans. It is what is known as "civil religion" or "civic religion."

Robert Bellah re-defined the phrase "civil religion" that Rousseau had outlined in chapter 8, book 4 of The Social Contract. Bellah says "Rousseau outlines the simple dogmas of the civil religion: the existence of God, the life to come, the reward of virtue and the punishment of vice, and the exclusion of religious intolerance" (1990: 264). Rousseau originally included "religious intolerance" but Bellah
excluded it. Bellah further explains the civil religion:

... there are, at the same time, certain common elements of religious orientation that the great majority of Americans share. These have played a crucial role in the development of American institutions and still provide a religious dimension for the whole fabric of American life, including the political sphere. This public religious dimension is expressed in a set of beliefs, symbols, and rituals that I am calling the American civic religion. (263)

The concept of God that Bellah holds is more related to order, law and justice than to Christian love and salvation. The civil religion originally derives from Christianity, but it is not Christianity itself. It forms Macroculture that unifies all Americans who are ethnically diversified.

The phrase "civic religion" is used by Will Herberg (1955: 262-72) and has almost the same idea as the civil religion by Bellah. Herberg regards the civic religion as "American culture-religion." He even equated it with "the American Way of Life." His idea seems to emphasize more nationalism than Bellah's and shares the same idea as "American ethos" by Max Weber. Robert Wuthnow (1988: 241) accepts the idea of the civil religion by Bellah and calls it "the institutional aspects of American religion" or "Public religion." Whatever it is called, this religion is shared by almost every American citizen.

No. 57 is the public statement by Governor McAllister right after the execution of Sam. The phrase "May God ~" can be interpreted as a semiotic code to represent the civil
religion. No. 53 shows that Sam's belief in "a higher being" is the one in his civil religion. Even an ex-KKK member shares it.

Besides the civil religion as Macroculture, there exist the Christian religious values as very dominant microcultures. In this fiction the Christian values are closely connected with the death penalty. No. 58 shows that Sam breaks his silence and tells the prison chaplain the truth about his alleged crime. Obviously, his Christian values have directed him to confess at the last moment. No. 55 shows Ralph's Christian values against the death penalty. But his values are closer to those of PC, judging from the line "It's also wrong for the government to kill you."

2.2.6. The Values of the Other Groups

The media people are supposed to guarantee the citizens' rights to know, as a deterrent against the dictatorship of the government. But here the reporters and photographers are described as the group hated by all the other groups, as is shown by the phrases like "a pack of wolves" in No. 62, "the vultures" in Nos. 66 & 69, and "obnoxious jerks" in No. 64. The media's sensationalism is represented in the use of the modal expression "as if" in No. 68, equating Sam's execution with Christmas shopping, a big deal for most Americans.

The image of lawyers is rather negative than positive. There appear two types of lawyers. One has the values of
money as is shown in No. 72. Lawyers are described to hire an expensive specialist witness who would tell anything as told. A judge in No. 75 admits that lawyers will do anything depending on the amount of money, even paying off a witness. The other type has the values of publicity. No. 71 describes those who seek for publicity. Sam's antipathy towards star lawyers is found in the phrase "real slimy snakes."

The politicians group values are determined by the prospect of getting more votes. This group also covers the judicial branch like judges and district attorneys as well as the executive and legislature branches. In No. 76 Governor McAllister is weighing which decision, to execute Sam or to suspend it, would most benefit him in the next election. He is, as it were, an epitome of the politicians' values.

The family values concern the smallest unit of the society, but they cover all the groups. How kids are brought up and educated occupies the core of the family values. No. 79 shows the family values that parents must protect children from outside threats. Eddie, Adam's father, successfully kept his children at bay from the connection with his ex-KKK father on death row, which stands for the family values.

2.3. Conclusion

Grisham provides us with a variety of culture groups, out of which we selected the nine groups. They form two levels of value groups; one is Macroculture and the other is
microcultures. The former is the Federal government, the
civil religion and the family value groups. The latter is the
KKK, the Southerners, the PC, the Christian religion, the
media, the lawyers and the politicians groups.

The values of the Federal government stand for the
American Creed and serve every citizen without any exception.
Those of the civil religion represent a kind of super-religion
embracing Americans. The family values involve raising and
protecting children from outside threats.

The KKK values are that blacks must be separated from
whites. Those of the PC group are to respect the minorities'
civil rights. Those of the media are to seek for
sensationalism under the pretext of guaranteeing the citizens'
right to know. The Christian values are love and salvation.
Those of the politicians are based on how to get more votes.

The values of most of these groups are clear, but those
of the Southerners and the lawyers are diverse. The
Southerners range from white supremacists to civil rights
activists. All the lawyers are not after money. It is this
diversity of group values that reflects the reality of the
Southern Culture.
3.1. White Supremacy and Racism

In the American South and in South Africa, the phrase "white supremacy" is more commonly used than racism. The definition of white supremacy goes as follows:

a doctrine based on a belief in the inherent superiority of the white race over the Negro race and the correlative necessity for the subordination of Negroes to whites in all relationship; esp: one that seeks to perpetuate such alleged superiority by restricting political, economic, and social powers and opportunities to white persons.10

As for racism, Dinesh D'Souza defines it as follows:

First, one must believe in the existence of biologically distinguishable races. Second, one must rank these in terms of superior and inferior groups. Third, one must hold these rankings to be intrinsic or innate. Finally, one must seek to use them as the basis for denying other people their rights based on their membership in a particular racial group. (1995: 518)

White supremacy and racism are almost the same, but the latter seems to be more specific. As Fredrickson says, "No one, at least in our time, will admit to being a racist. The phrase white supremacy, on the other hand, is relatively neutral; both defenders and opponents of a fixed racial hierarchy have been willing to invoke it" (1982: 4). In this paper the two terms will be used with this difference in mind.

In both of the fictions, white supremacy forms the social background. This chapter clarifies how white supremacy historically came into being and what consequences it has
brought about to innocent people.

3.2.1. The Origin of White Supremacy in Europe

The origin of white supremacy dates back to the times when the Europeans came into contact with the new continents, the West Indies in the case of Christopher Columbus, for example. They found much of the new world uncivilized. Consequently, many Europeans came to view the non-whites as barbarians. Later, the industrial revolution, originating in England, accelerated this view. The invention of steam engine by James Watt in 1781 was a watershed victory of Western civilization over Nature. The obvious gap of civilization between Europe and the rest of the world made the Europeans believe in their biological superiority.

In the historical context of Western progressivism, white supremacy was found in the discourses of a great number of famous scholars. Immanuel Kant (1724-1804) remarked in 1764:

The Negroes of Africa have received from nature no intelligence that rises above the foolish. The difference between the two races is thus a substantial one: it appears to be just as great in respect of the faculties of the mind as in color. (D'Souza 1995: 519)

Similar views were held by Montesquieu, Voltaire, Hegel and Thomas Jefferson. Hegel wrote that "The negro is an example of animal man in all his savagery and lawlessness, and if we wish to understand him at all, we must put aside all our European attitudes" (1975: 177). Later Gobineau (1816-82)
published *Inequality of Human Races* in 1853 and said:

... the existence of advanced and backward races—the former who live by codes of civility, ingenuity, and technological comfort, the latter who live by laws of force at a subsistence level—proves that some races are naturally superior to others. (D'Souza 1995: 538)

Gobineau greatly contributed to spreading this world view to either side of the Atlantic. As D'Souza points out, white supremacy in time came to bear the same meaning as racism when "Europeans concluded that there must be some relationship between physical attributes, or race, and civilizational achievement" (1995: 536).

This view preached by those noted scholars was readily accepted by the Westerners for economic reasons. As Michael Banton pointed out, "Capitalism forced employers to treat labour power as an impersonal commodity... To make labour power a commodity, the capitalists had to dehumanize it by persuading themselves and others that their workers were subhuman, inferior, or not people like themselves" (1983: 86). There existed the necessity to invent the innate and intrinsic inferiority of black people. The racism thus established in Europe soon settled down in the New World.

3.2.2. White Supremacy in the American South

In Europe, many noted thinkers, as well as scientists, helped the spread of racism. People readily believed what scientists preached in the science-first ages. Carl von
Linné, well-known for his classification of plants, also classified the human races as Bennet points out as follows:

First, he links physical attributes such as skin color, hair texture, and facial features to personality, mental abilities, and behavior. Second, he classifies large segments of humanity into categories according to a few visible traits. And, third, he makes value judgments based on his own ethnocentric view of the world. (1995: 47)

Linné obviously classified races through the colored glass of Gobineau's view. He is the first pseudo-scientist with a racist orientation. In the American South, the Gobineau's view was vigorously spread by Josiah Nott (1804-73). He concluded by comparing brain sizes that "all scientific men concede that brains below a certain size are always indicative of idiocy, and that men of distinguished mental faculties have large heads" (1969: 463). Some other pseudo-scientists spread the same "scientific" theories too.

In times of social Darwinism, those theories were rapidly accepted in the South where the white capitalists and planters had to rationalize and maintain the slavery system. In constructing and solidifying white supremacy, "Government officials, social scientists, ministers, teachers, journalists and doctors have all played a part, as new and more sophisticated revisions of the myths and rationalizations of white supremacy keep reappearing" (Bennet 1995: 55).

In religion, the rationalization of black inferiority and slavery was made through a fabricated reinterpretation of Genesis 9:27 that "the Negro was a heathen and a barbarian, an
outcast among the peoples of the earth, a descendant of Noah's son Ham, cursed by God himself and doomed to be a servant forever on account of an ancient sin" (Myrdal 1944: 85).

Since 1830, when the earliest significant statement of the inferiority of the black people as a species was published in book form in New York (Banton 1983: 246), this racist dogma has gained more weight in the South. After the Civil War, white supremacy caught the heart of the war-broken, humiliated Southerners, supported by the pseudo-scientists of the succeeding generation, such as John H. Van Evrie and Samuel Gridley Howe. They concluded that the black race innately has crucial, biological flaws in their genes and intelligence.

The 'Redemption' of 1876 was achieved under the leadership of the Southern upper-class conservatives, ending the 12-year occupation by the North, but lower-class whites were quite dissatisfied. Their ill feelings led to the first revival of the KKK after World War I and the second in the 1960s, discriminating the weaker party, blacks. James C. Cobb writes about the Mississippi Delta in the early 60s:

In addition to heavy reliance on violence and economic reprisal across the Delta, the initial, almost instinctive, white reaction to black activism was often an attempt to reassert the rituals and stereotypes of the caste system. (1992: 237)

This explains how the white planters managed to maintain the caste system of white supremacy.

The conviction that genetic flaws are innate in blacks has occasionally surfaced since then. For example, Arthur R.
Jensen writes that "on the average, Negroes test about 1 standard deviation (15 IQ points) below the average of the white population in IQ" (1972: 161). In 1994 Charles Murray and Richard Hernstein assert in their book *The Bell Curve* that "blacks score significantly lower than whites on IQ tests and other measures of cognitive ability" (Morganthau 1994: 28). One literature after another like this shows how deep-seated and pervasive such a view still is among American people.

3.3. Present-day White Supremacy in *The Chamber*

Racist ideology is subtly represented throughout the discourses uttered by various characters in *The Chamber*.

Every now and then a trustee would volunteer to serve as the librarian, but good help was hard to find and the books were seldom where they were supposed to be. This irritated Sam immensely because he admired neatness and he despised the Africans, and he was certain that most if not all of the librarians were black, though he did not know this for a fact. (211)'

The explicature behind this view is that Sam despised the black librarians just because they seldom kept the books in order. The implicature is that he already had a picture in the head that the Africans were genetically inferior and that he worked out his judgment through this pre-conceived framework. His cognitive process of negative stereotyping is well illustrated in the last line "though he did not know this for a fact." This negative stereotype is also shared by Governor McAllister who wonders whether he should suspend
Sam's execution or not, as is seen in the discourse below.

He would die in Parchman soon enough anyway, so leave him alone. He was being persecuted for political reasons. Plus, he was white, and McAllister and his pollsters knew that factor was very important, if unspoken. (514)

The assumption behind the phrase "he was white" is that whites are more important than blacks in the South. Its explicature is that McAllister believes in white supremacy and the favorable treatment of whites. Its implicature is that he might lose minority voters and his re-election if he were too favorable to a white criminal. This line cynically plays down white supremacy although the negative stereotype does exist.

The next one is an opinion on Sam by Lucas Mann, a liberal attorney of the federal prison opposed to the death penalty. Liberal as he may be, his hidden racism is showing.

'... He gets some mail, but almost none from his family. Virtually no visitors, not that he wants any. But it's a bit unusual for such a noted inmate to be ignored by his family. Especially a white one. I don't pry, you understand.' (84)

The assumption here is that it is quite natural for blacks to have no mails and visitors from the family. Its implicature behind "especially a white one" is that black families are usually broken without any family tie.

The three pieces of discourse from three different persons, an ex-KKK member Sam, the Governor, and a federal prison officer all represent white supremacy in such implicit expressions as "if unspoken" and "especially a white one."
3.4. The Negativity of White Supremacy Encoded in Symbols

The consequences of white supremacy are ubiquitously reflected in the whole text. The dogma is represented through the following four symbols. One of them is the old photos to which Adam had access at his Aunt Lee's condominium.

Adam gaped at the horror of the picture, then turned the page to find the second lynching scene, this one almost tame compared to the first. Lynching in rural Mississippi, 1936, read the caption. Sam was in the front row, crouched and resting on a knee between two other young men, all three posing hard for the camera. ... (491-92)

The abstract ideology of white supremacy is fixed and turned into a concrete form in the photos. These old photos of the lynching scene by the KKK are not just past records, but the representation of white supremacy.

The second symbol is a little Confederate soldier toy, whose disappearance proved to be the cause of the quarrel between Eddie and his black friend Quince. This quarrel escalated to a showdown between both fathers, which led to Sam's shooting Quince's father Joe to death. Lee, who had happened to witness this tragedy, tells Adam about it years later.

'... He reached in his pocket and pulled out something. It was the little Confederate soldier he and Quince had fought over. He'd found it under his bed, and so he decided on the spot that everything was his fault. We swore each other to secrecy.... He threw it in the creek.' (320)

Behind the sign of a little Confederate soldier toy lie two assumptions, an explicature and an implicature. The
explicature is that the toy is only an excuse for Sam to punish Joe simply because he is a black. Its implicature is that the Confederate soldier toy symbolizes the Southern Culture, that is, white supremacy which torments people.

Eddie was sympathetic to black people, but Sam tried to change his son. This illustrates the negativity of culture in that he wants to live up to his belief in equality among races but his social community, his father in this case, suppresses him, as Freud insists that "the members of the community restrict themselves in their possibilities of satisfaction, whereas the individual knew no such restrictions" (1961: 95). This is how a tragedy is born. Eddie’s life eloquently talks of the overwhelming forces of culture and its negativity. It shows to us that we can resist them if we are incorrigible, but we "can become isolate ... or even not survive in a very real sense and die" (Banks et al 1993: 36).

The third symbol is the bomb. Adam visits the memorial park of the Kramer twins, and looks back on his life.

... The bomb had defined his life, he knew that much. It had taken him away from Mississippi and deposited him in another world with a new name. It had transformed his parents into refugees, fleeing their past and hiding from their present. It had killed his father, in all likelihood, though no one could predict what might have happened to Eddie Cayhall. ... (277)

The bomb is explosive, of course, but there lies an assumption behind it. Its implicature is based on white supremacy too. Grisham is sending a message to us that the
dogma is the roots of all evils since it is this ideology that set all the course of tragedy into motion. If Sam had not believed in white supremacy in the very beginning, he would not have been on death row. And Eddie would not have got away from Sam and would not have committed suicide. The bomb is a semiotic code for white supremacy and its negativity.

The last sign is a video of Sam's news clips that Adam scripted over a few years' period.

The video was one he'd pieced together over the years--The Adventures of a Klan Bomber, he called it. It started with a brief news report filed by a local crew in Jackson, Mississippi, on March 3, 1967, the morning after a synagogue was leveled by a bomb blast. ... This video was his creation. No one had seen it but him. And he'd watched it so many times that tears were no longer possible. ... (57-60)

Unlike the other signs, this one is not a fixed scene of a specific moment, but covers a historical flow of time and space. The tenaciousness of its dogma is amplified by this flowing scenes and the repeated showing of the video by Adam.

We have gone through four kinds of symbols that represent the negativity of white supremacy, all of which have their respective symbolic meanings. The photos of lynchings determined Sam's course of life. The Confederate soldier toy doomed Lee and Eddie. The bomb destroyed not only the Kramer family but also the Cayhall family. The video unfolds the whole tragic course of the Cayhall family. All these four discourses have the only one function of cultural meaning systems proposed by D'Andrade, the representational function.
3.5. Conclusion

In this chapter, the history of white supremacy from Europe to the American South was researched to prove its doggedness. This dogma has been so consistently constructed and accumulated in the minds of people that it still lives on as an ideology of the society. This fact has been made clear by analyzing three discourses in Chamber. Whether a discourse is uttered by a Southerner, Governor or a prison officer, people are not immune to racism, possibly because they have already built in the negative stereotype, namely, a picture in the head, thanks to the historical process of brainwashing.

Grisham also presents the negativity of white supremacy by using some symbols; the photos, a toy soldier, the bomb and the video. All these have changed the Cayhall family. If Sam had not been haunted by the dogma, the Cayhall family would have led quite a different course for almost three generations. Sam would not have been convicted. Eddie's family would not have led a gypsy's life and he would not have committed suicide. Lee would not have needed both psychiatric and alcoholic treatments. Even Adam would have led an innocent life without knowing about his family skeleton in the closet. All of these are represented by these signs. What they stand for is the negativity of white supremacy, and, of course, implicitly the negativity of culture too.
4.1. Grisham's Strategies to Overcome Negative Stereotypes

Grisham seems to have attempted to neutralize the doggedness of white supremacy. He adopts three strategies. As the first strategy, Grisham selected the question of stock and blood because it was the very biological weapon the pseudo-scientists used to "prove" the inferiority of blacks. This proof by those pseudo-scientists is arbitrary because the fact is that "less than 1 per cent of the total number of genes is involved in the differentiation between any two existent races" (Kluckhohn 1985: 122). He rightly thought it most effective to refute the proof on which this dogma is based upon. The next two discourses show Grisham's attitude to get rid of its genetic contention.

'According to my mother, Sam's father was an active Klansman, took part in lynchings and all that. So I come from pretty weak stock.' (37)

'... Where in the world did I go wrong? What happened to me? I've spent my life hating people, and look what I have to show for it. You, you don't hate anybody. And look where you're headed. We have the same blood. Why am I here?' (504)

Grisham lets Adam comment that the stock of a KKK member is inferior and lets Sam confess that those who hate people have bad blood. The implicature here is that white supremacy is wrong. It is very significant that Grisham who is a white has denied the superiority of whites, although indirectly. It is especially so in view of the insistence of Edward W. Said
that in all the discourses by Westerners there is found Orientalism, "a Western style for dominating, restructuring, and having authority over the Orient" (1995: 3).

As the second strategy, he describes the ironical relationship between an ex-KKK white and two minority groups of Jews and blacks in the setting of the law court: a big Jewish law firm defends an ex-KKK member, and a young black lawyer helps Sam as a volunteer.

"Kerry is the black guy?" Adam said.
"Yeah, he's the director of the Southern Capital Defense Group. Very sharp."
"A black lawyer busting his butt to save Sam."
"It makes no difference to Hez. It's just another death case." (526)

In light of the history of white supremacy, it is unthinkable that an inferior and discriminated group of blacks would help a superior discriminating group of whites. So the assumption is that blacks never help KKKs, their former enemy. By reducing a white to the lower position that needs a black's favor, Grisham has attempted to get rid of the bigotry.

Lastly, Grisham sees to it that three black grave diggers bury Sam after his execution. At their ancestor's graveyard, Lee and Adam watch the black grave diggers set to their work.

They watched Herman and the other two across the valley of tombstones. They could barely hear their voices as the men deliberately went about their preparations. (596)

The story ends here with Sam about to be buried by the blacks. Whites are the helped while blacks are the helpers. The implicature is that blacks have contributed to the burial
of the ideology of white supremacy.

The four pieces of discourse seem to have attained his objective: overhauling the negative stereotype of white supremacy. Nevertheless he further reminds us how deep-seated it is. The next dialogue is between Lee and Adam after she has burned down her father's old home.

'But why?'
'I should've done it years ago.'
'That doesn't answer the question. Why?'
'Evil things happened there. It was filled with demons and spirits. Now they're gone.'
'So they died with Sam?'
'No, they're not dead. They've gone off to haunt someone else.' (595-96)

Grisham uses the sign of demons and spirits to signify the deep-seatedness of white supremacy and depicts the old Sam's home as symbolical of his KKK ancestors. He figuratively wiped out the dogma by burning it down. Then in the last line he suggests through Lee that the ideology is not completely dead, but haunts someone else. The reason why he warns like this is that stereotypes are parts of people's cognitive process (Leyens et al 1994: 204-6).

4.2. Grisham's Attitudes toward the Federal Culture

It could reasonably be understood that Adam reflects Grisham's values as his alter ego. His attitudes toward the Federal Culture can be studied through the way Adam reacts to the Governor, the prison officers, the judges and the death penalty. This is a description of Adam's visit to Governor
On the wall to the left was a large framed photo of a familiar face, a handsome young man with an earnest smile and strong chin. It was David McAllister, governor of the State of Mississippi. Adam suspected identical photos were hung in every state government office, and also plastered in every hallway, closet, and toilet under the state's domain. (81)

Adam's discomfort toward Governor can be perceived in the last sentence. What he suspected is an exaggeration, and cannot be true. Grisham breaks the quality rule of CP by Leech (1.2.). The violation of this rule has produced some implicature, Adam's disdain or irony towards the Governor.

His antipathy against the Governor is shown in Kill, too, where Jake is a young lawyer and Rufus is an ambitious district attorney who is aiming at governorship.

"There'll be others, Governor."
"Don't call me that," he shouted.
"It's true, isn't it, Governor. That's why you chase the cameras so hard. Everybody knows it. There goes old Rufus, chasing cameras, running for governor. Sure it's true."
"I'm doing my job. Prosecuting thugs." (193)

Jake refers to Rufus as "Governor" again and again in spite of his protest to stop it. The word "governor" is a semiotic sign of mockery which Jake is sending to Rufus. The assumption behind this word is a deep-seated distrust to governorship. It further implicates his tacit antagonism against the State of Mississippi which is partly the local branch of the Federal government.

One outstanding feature of Chamber is the meticulous
description of the procedures up to the execution of Sam and the gas chamber itself. The officers at the federal prison are described to follow the manual exactly. Nugent, a prison superintendent, is a faithful follower of the manual.

He loved details and regulations and rules. He devoured manuals, and was constantly writing new procedures and directives and modifications for the warden to ponder. (179)

He directs all his men to prepare for the execution without deviating from the manuals and checklists. Both his "manual-first attitude" and the prison environs under his supervision imply the very rigid, inhuman aspect of the Federal System. The gas chamber is described as follows:

It was all so sanitary! The freshly painted walls. The sparkling concrete floors. The doctor with his machines. The clean, sterile little chamber with its glowing luster. The antiseptic smell from the chemical room. Everything so spotless and hygienic. It should've been a clinic where people went to get themselves healed. (587)

Ordinarily the description of a gas chamber tends to be gloomy and depressing, but Grisham uses the adjectives with positive meanings, such as "sanitary," "sparkling," "sterile," "glowing," "antiseptic," "spotless," "hygienic," and so on. Even the words "clinic" and "healed" are added as if they were a fig leaf to cover up the cruelty of execution.

The ideology Grisham encoded in all these positive words is that the gas chamber is inhumane and the death penalty is cruel. From a critical linguistic point of view by Paul Simpson (1.2.), all these adjectives could be interpreted to
stand for "a committed effort to engage with the discourse with a view to changing" the death penalty with the gas chamber as a means of execution.

Adam's position is clear. He insists again and again that he is opposed to the death penalty. What is important is his reason for it. It is religious when Adam says: "I have a strong moral conviction against the death penalty" (97). It is political when he says: "Legal murder. It's wrong ..." (527). These two supposed reasons are given repeatedly, but it is difficult to decide which one is authentic. His repeated negative comments on the death penalty like these would suggest that Grisham skillfully hides his secret motive. He seems to protest against the Federal government by taking advantage of the issue of the death penalty. By opposing to the death penalty, he reveals a glimpse of sympathy to the Southern Culture and antipathy to the Federal Culture.

4.3. The Conflict of Two Cultures in Grisham

Which culture is Grisham more committed to, the Southern Culture or the Northern Culture? The question can be answered through the analysis of the discourses about Adam again.

'Thanks.' Adam was certain that somewhere deep in his genes he was supposed to crave turnip greens and corn bread. Today's menu should make his mouth drool and his stomach yearn. But he considered himself a Californian, and to his knowledge had never seen turnip greens. 'Maybe next week,' he said, hardly believing he was being offered lunch on the Row.' (118-19)
The first half of the passage explains that Adam is physically rooted in the Southern Culture. Turnip greens and corn bread are given as symbols of the Southern Culture. But the phrase in the second line "he was supposed to crave" is not strong enough to be qualified as a Southerner. The implicature here is that Adam is feeling some conflict in identity between a Californian and a Southerner, but seems to stand closer to a Californian with the Northern Culture.

Adam stared at them as he rolled to a stop at the front gate of Parchman. He lost track of time as he watched the Kluckers for minutes. So this was his heritage, his roots. These were the brethren of his grandfather and his grandfather's relatives and ancestors. .... Their placards demanded freedom for Sam Cayhall, a political prisoner. Gas the real criminals, but release Sam. For some reason, Adam was not comforted by their demands. (458)

The seven KKK members in front of the prison reminded Adam that he was related to those KKK demonstrators. It is obvious that he found himself resisting Sam's KKK connection. In other words, Adam's values are in conflict with Sam's. The implicature under the words "for some reason" is that he sides with the liberal values supporting the minorities. The phrase "for some reason" seems to be Grisham's favorite one, probably to make his ideology as a writer deliberately ambiguous.

He sped past cars parked on the shoulders for two miles, and soon Parchman was behind him. He pushed the turbo, and was soon doing ninety.

He headed north for some reason, though he had no intention of going to Memphis. (590)

After Sam's execution, Adam finds himself driving north to his ancestor's grave. The words "for some reason" here
stand for his roots, the Southern Culture. Grisham often uses this phrase to blur his ideological position. As Fowler points out, "Linguistic codes do not reflect reality neutrally; they interpret, organize, and classify the subjects of discourse. They embody theories of how the world is arranged: world-views or ideologies" (1986: 27). The linguistic code here embodies an excuse on the part of Grisham that he has not forsaken the Southern Culture, appeasing his fellow Southerners as well as protecting his reputation as a Southern writer.

The three discourses above are construed to reveal Grisham's inner conflict in value between a Northerner and a Southerner. This is what Holquist calls "the conflict between a set of values grounded in the self" (1986: 179). Apparently he seems to side with the Southern Culture, but a more careful observation would reveal that he supports the minorities' values, though implicitly.

4.4. Conclusion

In this chapter it has been explored in what position Grisham stands with regards to values. He brought up the issue of stock and blood to neutralize white supremacy, tacitly made use of the death penalty to suggest his opposition against the Federal penal system, and used an ambiguous phrase "for some reason" to muddy his real ideology. Thus, he has seen to it that each interpretation depends on
each reader. Grisham artfully provides each interpreter with a word or a phrase whose meaning is determined in the form of dialogues. His approach is close to Bakhtin's dialogic idea that "Each and every word expresses the one relation to the other. ... A word is territory shared by both addressee, by the speaker and his interlocutor" (1973: 86).

This ambiguous approach of his is also inevitable for a man to survive as a writer as Pratt points out as follows:

... as in many cases of implicature, more than one explanation is possible, a fact which is exploited a great deal by writers of literature and also by politicians, press agents, advertisers, and other speakers interested in multiple meanings. (1977: 155)

He has carefully evaded possible criticism from every possible quarter. This style of Grisham's is a strategy of writing which a writer has to stick to when his individual values clash with the dominant ideology of the current institutions or society, as Tzvetan Todorov pointed out (1993: 194-95).

This is why Grisham had to camouflage his ideological position to deal with the sensitive minority issue in the two fictions. Nevertheless these two fictions seem to be his favorite ones. According to Pryor, "he thinks The Chamber is his best work ever" (1994: 20), and as for the movie of Kill "he would insist on approval of the script, the director, and at least part of the casting" (19). This would be a proof how deeply he is attached to the minorities' values.
5.1. Conflicts among Group Values

Speaking of the Southern Culture, it is not composed of the single, unified culture, but of such a variety of cultures as explained in Chapter I. Not only are they interrelated together, but also they are often set in a theater where two opposing or different dominant groups of culture are placed in certain states of conflict. These conflicts could happen between the same groups of culture, and even within one and the same individual, within Grisham, for example (4.3.).

Out of the 81 discourses in Appendix I, those with certain kinds of conflicts, 42 in all, are classified into the 17 combinations of the two opposing groups in Table 1. Here the Northerners group was mentioned though it was not listed in the initial groups. According to the conflicting patterns in Table 1, the KKK group causes frictions with as many as six other groups, while the Southerners group causes frictions with four other groups. The other groups do so with less than two groups. Roughly speaking, the KKK group and the Southerners group are the major sources of conflicts.

5.1.1. The Groups in Conflict with the KKK Group

Naturally the KKK group is most often in conflict with the PC group, since the KKK seeks to ignore or limit the
minorities' rights while the PC group tries to protect and advance them. In Chamber the KKK group antagonizes the Jews who help blacks in the civil rights activities.

No. 11 says that the Jews promoted an interracial society by financing and stirring up the Africans while the KKK tried to keep the Africans "where they belonged." This is exactly where the values of the two microcultures clash head on. The KKK group also clashes with the Federal government group, here the FBI, as is seen in No. 14. The FBI must contain the KKK activities to enforce the civil rights programs, while the KKK had no choice but to resist them. This is the conflict between Macroculture and a microculture. As for the clash with the religious value, it happens within an ex-KKK individual, Sam. In No. 59, Sam suffered a conflict in value between a KKK member and a man of religion. After a long period of agony, he became aware of the Christian value and came to repent his crime and accept the death penalty.

In No. 67 the KKK refer to the media as ruthless and stupid. In No. 71 the famous and rich lawyers are shown as real slimy snakes by an ex-KKK member. In No. 79 the family values are incompatible with the KKK ideology, leading to the clash in value between Eddie, the son, and Sam, the father. The KKK group causes some kind of frictions with a variety of groups.

5.1.2. The Groups in Conflict with the Southerners
The Southerners clash not only with some other groups, but also within themselves, as is seen in Nos. 15 and 16. The jurors are all Southerners, but one or two jurors stuck to the PC values. This is a conflict between a few Southerners and the majority. This also tells us that the Southern culture is not unified but diversified. No. 22 shows that though the FBI tried to convict the KKK, the public opinion of the South was hostile and made their conviction very difficult. It further shows that not only ordinary people but also the police and the legal system itself conspired to set the indicted free with a minor charge (Cobb 1992: 236-37). This could be called a conflict between the civil rights movement and institutional racism.

In No. 34, within Adam the PC values are in conflict with the Southerners values, which is implicitly expressed by the word "guilty." The Southerners responded to the media indifferently or ignored them as in No. 21. Their attitude even reminds us of that the Sicilians called "omerta" which is an iron rule of not speaking to the outsiders. This is also a kind of clash within individual Southerners.

The cultural clash between the Southerners and the Northerners is found in No. 18, where Chicago represents the North, as Memphis does the South. Both the Chicago main office and the Memphis branch office belong to the same firm, but a lawyer of the Memphis office tacitly disagrees with the way they do business in the North, showing his unfavorable
feelings against the Northerners. It might not be denied that deep down at the core of those feelings there exist the bitter experiences of the Civil War where more than six hundred thousand soldiers were killed in all, even if about one hundred and thirty years have passed since then.

5.1.3. The Conflict in the Form of Irony among the PC Groups

The clashes between the PC and the anti-PC happen mostly between two individuals, Adam and Sam. In the next discourses Adam stands for the PC, while Sam represents the anti-PC as a spokesman for the conservative WASP group. Sam often uses the word 'nigger' or the word 'bitch' as in No. 28, No. 30, No. 31 or No. 35. Then Adam would often ask him to refer to them as blacks, which shows his PC position.

In those discourses Sam obviously dissociates himself from the word nigger, not as 'use' but as 'mention' (Lyons 1977: 7-8). Sam is just repeating 'nigger' someone else has been using. In other words, he is echoing an opinion of others who believe in the anti-PC values, supposedly that of the conservative Southerners. Therefore the way Sam expresses his attitudes is well explained by what Wilson and Sperber call "irony as echoic mention" (1992: 57-62). His conflict with the PC is shown in the form of irony.

The utterance "Ooops, sorry" in both No. 30 and No. 35 is not actually that of apology, but a kind of banter. This can be regarded as a variation of "the Banter Principle" (1983: -47-
142-44) by Leech. Though this utterance is not an offensive way of being friendly, it implicitly reveals his displeasure as if to say he would not change his mind, but at the same time it is a testimony of trying to be friendly to his grandson and lawyer, Adam.

The latter part of No. 30 is just the representation of the frustrated feelings of the WASP against the PC, seeing that Sam is ranting by using the terms like Female-Americans and White-Male-Americans. This part exactly applies to the Banter Principle mentioned above. In No. 29, another gush of WASP frustrations and hostilities against the PC is found in Sam's lines: "They have more rights, you know. It's much harder to execute one of them because whatever they did was someone else's fault." This shows the mentality of so-called "reverse discrimination" held by WASPs in the South.

No. 33 is about the collision caused between Eddie's PC values and his father's anti-PC values. In spite of Sam's efforts to educate him into a full-fledged KKK member, Eddie resisted his father and this clash never came to an end.

Historically, the Federal government and the PC groups have a lot in common and no room to clash with each other in civil rights. In No. 49, however, when it comes to the issue of the death penalty, the PC suddenly takes a collision course with the Federal government. The death penalty is a kind of wedge driven between the two groups. This clearly demonstrates that the values of the Federal government group
sometimes clash with those of the PC depending on an issue.

5.1.4. The Other Groups in Conflict

The values of the Federal government and the Christian values share the American Creed. But in No. 55, these two values produce some frictions concerning the issue of the death penalty. On the Government's side, the death penalty is the system to keep law and order, while on the Christian side it is wrong for the government to kill people since Jesus "taught love and forgiveness," not punishment. This kind of clash happens even within a prison officer employed by the Federal government. In No. 52 Packer believes in the death penalty, but he prefers executions "carried out somewhere else by other people." These two values clash in his mind, too.

The Federal government group treats the media group as a troublesome one. In No. 64 Lucas Mann, a prison attorney, describes reporters to be obnoxious jerks. In No. 69 Nugent refers to reporters as vultures. The media tend to be described as gadflies, causing the frictions between all the groups. This trend is likely to be emphasized when they are the reporters from the North, showing an implicit discomfort on the part of the Southerners against the media group.

5.2. The Conflict of Values in A Time to Kill

The other fiction, Kill, also deals with a serious issue concerning minorities. To introduce its plot briefly, it
"centers around the trial of a black Vietnam veteran who murders two white men after they brutally rape his ten-year-old daughter. The novel relates attorney Jake Brigance's defense of the grieving father before an all-white jury as well as the numerous attempts made on Brigance's life by the Ku Klux Klan" (Draper 1995: 189). The story ends when the jury reaches the verdict of "not guilty" and the father is set free after many twists and turns around that trial.

Chamber and Kill have a lot in common about the issue of values. So the value groups of Kill were classified into nine and listed in Appendix II in the same way as Chamber. Then the combination of the two conflicting value groups is analyzed and listed in Table 2. In Chamber, the most conspicuous patterns of clashes were those between the KKK and either the PC or the Federal government, and those between the PC and the anti-PC. In Kill, the KKK plays a dominant role in terms of clashing with the other groups indeed, but the clash between the Southerners and the Northerners is the most prominent.

5.2.1. The KKK Group and Its Opponents

The KKK clashes with the PC, the Federal government and the religion groups. In No. 84 the KKK members in a small meeting show some hatred towards "the liberal nigger-loving politicians" since they "keep making more laws against white people." Unlike the type of clash above, Nos. 82, 86 and 87 describe the nasty and violent part of clashes where the KKK
intimidate and try to kill a lawyer and his employees. They are literally physical clashes.

The KKK also clash with the system of the Federal government, here, the jury system. In Nos. 88 and 89 they intimidate some jurors and even resort to physical violence against one of them. This is an outright challenge to the Federal government itself. The KKK thus described might seem too powerful beyond control, but this is not always the case. In No. 90, on the other hand, they are afraid of the marchers of the black church members and obediently follow the black sheriff's direction to leave before they get into trouble. Here exists a three-party clash among the KKK, the black church demonstrators and the legal authority.

5.2.2. The Clash between the Southerners and the Northerners

The feelings that the Southerners hold to the Northerners seem difficult to examine these days. Unlike in Chamber, their emotions are clearly manifested on several occasions here. In No. 96 and No. 97, Jake, born and bred in the South, clashes with a reporter from the North. The voices of the Southerners are represented in Jake's emotional utterance that "For years you pious bastards pointed your fingers and noses at us down here and demanded that we desegregate." The reporter quickly senses the lingering grudges the Southerners still hold against the Northerners and referred to Gettysburg\(^5\) to bury that issue in a joking way, as if to say
"Give me a break." His reference to Gettysburg cooled off Jake and compromised the clash of the two values.

In Nos. 93, 94, 95 and 103, the Southerners' attitudes toward the Northerners are shown in the phrases "this ain't New York or California", "the strangers" and "foreigners." New York and California are used as the semiotic signs to signify the Northerners' values. Their disgust is also shown in their attitude to the "Yankee accent" in Nos. 98 and 99.

There is another important symbol to show the Southern values, the vigilante. Vigilantism is a traditional idea common to all the Americans since the times before Independence. It is summarized in the phrase "to take the law into their own hands" in No. 103. Traditionally, this idea was more dominant in the South where the planters were the law. In No. 102, this Southern value, the vigilante, and the civil rights of blacks, in other words, the PC, clash in the court of law where two opposing parties always square off.

In present-day America, the ill feelings that the Southerners hold against the Northerners are latent in ordinary daily lives, but this fiction shows that those feelings will sometimes come out at such a place as a court of law where a clash of values is always the case.

5.2.3. The Other Kinds of the Opposing Values

In No. 108, the two parties are both jurors in a trial in the South. But within the Southerners, there is a
confrontation between the anti-PC values and the PC values, the former being a lady who repeatedly uses the word 'nigger' and the latter another lady who finds it personally offensive. They are individuals, but are also the spokespersons of their respective value group. This discourse forms a kind of two-layer structure of the value groups, a clash in value between the anti-PC and the PC within the group values of the Southerners.

Vigilantism is a traditional value shared by the Southerners, and to a lesser degree by the Federal system found in the Second Amendment of the Constitution. But, the Federal government group clashes head-on with the vigilante ideology of the Southerners in both No. 109 and 110 as seen in the comments by District Attorney Buckley.

The media group clashes with those of the Federal government and the Southerners, as it does in Chamber. In No. 118, Moss, a deputy sheriff who belongs to the Federal group, refers to them as "a buncha vultures." The local Southerners describe them as "idiots" or "wolves" in No. 123. They are described as troublesome gadflies here, too.

The value to the lawyers is generally money. Some lawyers, however, buy the jury vote as in No. 130, others prefer publicity to money as in No. 125. This shows that the value clash happens even within the same lawyer group.

The politicians group has an intrinsic conflict in themselves arising from their values based on vote-getting.
Whether he is a judge or a mayor, his decision is always made either at the cost of blacks in No. 133 or in favor of the law and order in No. 136, thanks to his vote counting.

The family values are shown in No. 139, where Jake sends his wife and daughter away to his parents' to protect them from the KKK's threats. His judgement resulted from the clash between the two values, the KKK's and the family's.

5.3. Conclusion

In this chapter, the discourses with the group values from the two fictions were studied to find out how the clashes of values are represented. The KKK group value is generally said to be white supremacy. But, they vary from radical terrorists to ordinary rednecks. They are not summed up as a unified and solid group. This observation is true of such other groups as the Southerners, the politicians and the lawyers. On the other hand, the values of such groups as the PC, the Federal government, the religion, the media and the family values group are not diversified but unified. This contrast seems to point to the moral attitudes of Grisham. The message he sends to us is that he favors the values of the latter groups as the established ones, but regards those of the former groups as the complicated and debatable ones. He tends to describe them in a little negative touch.

In the process in which Grisham sends that message to us, he described the real world in a complicated and diversified
way. Some Southerners are sympathetic to the minority groups, for example. He pictures the conflicting values of both groups and individuals through the context of dialogues exchanged among a variety of people. Grisham seems to take advantage of this dialogic approach (Holquist 1986: 179).

The conclusion drawn from our careful analyses of the clash patterns of values would be that the culture of a certain group is not one and the same, but is rightly defined as a battleground of several value groups clashing with one another. As Graff and Robbins point out, the term culture might be reasonably used to refer to "a battleground of social conflicts and contradictions" (1992: 421).

The number of clashes and the clash rates among the value groups were taken into consideration in order to clarify the clash patterns. It should be noted that both the number of discourses and the clash rate are taken into account. The conspicuous groups having these two aspects are the KKK and the PC in Chamber, and the KKK and the Southerners in Kill. These figures show that the former deals with the conflicts between the KKK and the PC values as the main theme of a novel, and the latter those between the KKK and the Southerners. The KKK group plays a major role in both of them. It might reasonably be concluded that Grisham used the KKK group as a tool, or a kind of catalyst, to get his tacit opinion across, namely, his mental conflict between the PC values and the Southerners' values.
In this thesis the culture study through discourse analyses has been attempted by employing some anthropological and linguistic approaches. To start with, culture was defined as group values, within the framework of which we took the position that culture study is the interpretive, not experimental, science to seek for meaning. Then, it was proved that popular literature is most appropriate for our culture study since it reflects group values.

The area for culture study in this thesis is the Culture of the American South. John Grisham's two fictions, The Chamber and A Time to Kill, have been selected as social discourses since they deal with the groups of values in the South. The culture groups in the two fictions were first classified into nine groups, and then each group value was explained according to some of the discourses in Chamber. They are the KKK group, the Southerners group, the PC and anti-PC groups, the Federal government groups, the religion groups, the media group, the lawyers group, the politicians group and the family values group. It is generally believed that the Southern Culture consists of the one solid culture. But actually it consists of a variety of culture groups, forming quite a complex regional texture of society.

Both of the fictions incorporate the dogma of white supremacy in their stories like a backbone. So the history of
White supremacy dating back to its origin has been researched to explain how deep-seated the dogma has been. Then, the present-day negative stereotype of white supremacy is studied according to some discourses in Chamber. The bottom line is that even now the dogma is described to live on latently in the minds of people as an ideology of the society.

Next, it was clarified how its dogma brought about a tragedy to innocent ordinary people. In Chamber it sent Sam to death row, drove Eddie to his suicide and Lee to alcoholism. This way we illustrated the negativity of white supremacy, and consequently that of its culture in general.

Grisham interwove various culture groups in these two fictions. All the discourses with cultural values have two types. One represents just a group value. The other involves the two opposing groups of values in conflict. We focussed on the latter type and studied how such a conflict is represented by setting the combination patterns of the opposing groups. Seeing that the latter type occupies more than half of all the discourses listed there, it is evident that such a conflict happens quite often among the value groups. As a result of the close analyses in Chapter V, a variety of value groups clash with one another in a very complicated manner. Therefore, the more appropriate way to interpret culture is that the culture of a certain region is "a battleground of social conflicts and contradictions." It is to be concluded that the Southern Culture is a battleground of a variety of
value groups clashing with one another, whether they are Macroculture or microcultures.

Grisham depicted the Southern Culture introducing different value groups in his fictions, where he sends his messages which might reveal the group he commits himself to. As we have pursued in Chapter Ⅺ, one of the evidences that he belongs to the PC group is found in his strategies to neutralize the negative stereotype of white supremacy. He indirectly negated the ideology that blacks are biologically inferior. On the other hand, he describes Adam, his alter ego, as if he belonged to a Southerner by letting him drive to his roots, his ancestors' grave after Sam's execution, for example. This way he always gets his messages across in an indirect and implicit way.

The question as to whether he takes the position of a Northerner or a Southerner seems to be debatable. Or more precisely, it is described so on purpose by the author himself. In the United States, the issues of race are very sensitive ones. It is quite understandable, therefore, that Grisham has had to adopt a cautious style to write about these issues. It is especially so when his individual values clash with the dominant ideology of the American South.

When he refers to the PC values or the Federal government, he sounds that he knows what he is saying in spite of its vague way of writing. When he does so to the Southern Culture, he seems not confident enough to impress readers.
When we put all pieces of evidences about his position together, it can be concluded that Grisham is more committed to the minorities's values than to the Southern Culture.

Concluding this paper, three things are emphasized. First the Southern Culture, and culture in general, have the directive function that torments innocent people, and that is the negativity of culture. Secondly, it is revealed under the cover of his ambiguous style of writing that Grisham commits himself to the minorities' values.

Lastly, and most importantly, the Southern Culture is not one solid monolith, but it is a battleground where a variety of group values clash with one another. This kind of clash happens within an individual. Grisham also exhibits clashes with a couple of values within himself. The clash patterns are so complicated that there is no establishing the formulation. The world according to Grisham seems an epitome of our real world because of this complexity of group values. Grisham writes his fictions in such a complicated way that they are virtually free from negative stereotypes. He is the writer who practices what Geertz calls "thick description" (1973: 6). His style reminds us of the realities that we are unconsciously negotiating the frictions we encounter in the sea of a variety of group values, both hostile and friendly. In this sense Grisham's world is sure to give us a new perspective not only in culture studies but also in intercultural education.
NOTES

1 D'Andrade (1984: 101) uses "affective" and "evocative" in the same meaning.


3 "Dialogism" is a term, never used by Bakhtin, though, for his philosophy of epistemology specified by the dialogic concept of language he proposes as fundamental. Cf. Michael Holquist, Dialogism: Bakhtin and His World (London: Routledge, 1990) 14-15.


5 The Island Books edition, 1989, is used as the text.

6 The Arrow edition, 1994, is used as the text.

7 Henceforth the number refers to the one of each discourse listed in Appendix I and II.


11 The discourses not listed in Appendix I and II are cited from the text directly with their pages given in the parenthesis.

12 See Table 1.


14 See Table 2.

15 The battle of Gettysburg, which started on July 1, 1863
and lasted for three days, was the bloodiest of all in the Civil War, leaving over 50,000 soldiers killed or injured. This was called the watershed battle since Washington would have fallen to the Confederates if the Federals had lost it. Cf. Emory M. Thomas, The Confederate Nation 1861-1865 (New York: History Book Club, 1993) 242-43.

\[16\] See Table 3.
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-63-


Time 27 Sept. 1976. "The South Today (Special Issue)."


APPENDIX I

Major Groups of Values Found in Grisham's The Chamber

All the discourses representing group values were selected and then classified into the nine major value groups. The page reference of each discourse from this work (London: Arrow, 1994) appears in the parenthesis at the end.

{A} Ku Klux Klan Groups

1. ... Here was a radical Jew lawyer with a beard and a bleeding heart, educated by Jews up North and now marching with and representing Negroes in the Mississippi Delta. It would not be tolerated. (2)

2. ... He said he was from Louisiana, now lived somewhere in the mountains where no one could find him, and though he never boasted, he had told Sam Cayhall several times that he fully expected to be killed in the struggle for white supremacy. (4)

3. 'Kill 'em while they're young,' Rollie said. 'Little Jew bastards grow up to be big Jew bastards.' (5)

4. ... They had bombed a real estate office in Jackson because the realtor had sold a house to a black couple. A Jewish realtor. They had bombed a small newspaper office because the editor had uttered something neutral on segregation. They had demolished a Jackson synagogue, the largest in the state. (6)

5. ... He wanted to run for governor, said his platform would stand for the preservation of the white race, that the FBI was satanic, that blacks should be protected but not mixed with whites, and so on. (18)

6. ... We'll get us a jury full of patriots, your kind of people, Sam. All white. All worried about their little children being forced to go to schools with little nigger kids. Good people, Sam. We'll pick twelve of 'em, put 'em in the jury box, and explain to 'em how these stinkin' Jews have
encouraged all this civil rights nonsense. Trust me, Sam, it'll be easy.' (19)

7. ... They shipped in Klansmen from other states, even had a list of guest speakers. Sam Cayhall and Jeremiah Dogan were seized as symbols of white supremacy, and their beloved names were called a thousand times by their hooded admirers. (20)

8. ... The district attorney made no promises of a new trial. Sam Cayhall went quietly to Clanton with a solemn vow to avoid any more dealings with Jeremiah Dogan. And the Imperial Wizard himself made a triumphant return to Meridian where he boasted to his people that the battle for white supremacy had just begun, good had defeated evil, and on and on. (22)

9. 'Just great. The Jewish bastards have sent a greenhorn to save me. I've known for a long time that they secretly wanted me dead, now this proves it. I killed some Jews, now they want to kill me. I was right all along.' (96)

10. '... For two centuries the U.S. Supreme Court allowed legal executions. Said they were constitutional, covered nicely by the Eighth Amendment. Then, in 1972 the U.S. Supreme Court read the same, unchanged Constitution and outlawed the death penalty. Then, in 1976 the U.S. Supreme Court said executions were in fact constitutional after all. Same bunch of turkeys wearing the same black robes in the same building in Washington. Now, the U.S. Supreme Court is changing the rules again with the same Constitution. ...' (99)

11. 'What were you trying to do?'
   'Intimidate. Retaliate. Keep the damned Jews from financing the civil rights movement. We were trying to keep the Africans where they belonged—in their own schools and churches and neighborhoods and rest rooms, away from our women and children. Jews like Marvin Kramer were promoting an interracial society and stirring up the Africans. Son of a bitch needed to be kept in line.' (160)

12. 'What was Mr Pinder's sin?'
   'Just overall general Jewishness. Loved niggers. Always embraced the radical Africans when they came down from the North and agitated everybody. He loved to march and boycott with the Africans. We suspected he was financing a lot of their activities.' (163)

13. 'Such as the need to keep the races separate. There's nothing wrong with separate but equal schools. Nothing wrong with laws prohibiting miscegenation. Nothing wrong with
keeping the Africans in their place.' (258)

14. 'They needed help. The Fibbies had infiltrated so deep hardly anyone could be trusted. The civil rights movement was snowballing fast. Something had to be done. I'm not ashamed of it.' (260)

(B) Southerners Groups

15. ... Remarkably, two of the jurors boldly dug in their heels and pressed to convict. After a day and a half of deliberations, the jury reported to the judge that it was hopelessly deadlocked. (21)

16. Sharon Culpepper was the only one of the twelve who initially voted to convict. For two days she was verbally abused and harangued by her peers. They called her names and made her cry, but she doggedly held on. (22)

17. ... 'Don't get me wrong, Adam. I'm opposed to the death penalty. I'm probably the only fifty-year-old white woman in the country whose father is on death row. It's barbaric, immoral, discriminatory, cruel, uncivilized--I subscribe to all the above. But don't forget the victims, okay. They have the right to want retribution. They've earned it.' (75)

18. 'And you don't want your clients tainted by mine?' 'Look, Adam, you're from Chicago. Let's keep this matter where it belongs, okay? It's a Chicago case, handled by you guys up there. Memphis has nothing to do with it, okay?' 'This office is part of Kravitz & Bane.' 'Yeah, and this office has nothing to gain by being connected to scum like Sam Cayhall.' (126)

19. 'He never thought about leaving?' 'Not seriously. He was convinced his legal problems were over. He'd had two trials, and walked away from both of them. No jury in Mississippi was going to convict a Klansman in the late sixties. He thought he was invincible. ...' (131)

20. 'Why didn't you testify at trial?' his lawyer asked through the screen. 'Which trial?' 'Good point. The first two trials.' 'Didn't need to. Brazelton picked good juries, all white, good sympathetic people who understood things. I knew I wouldn't be convicted by those people. There was no need to testify.' (169)

21. '... From time to time, a pesky reporter or journalist
would show up in Clanton and ask questions, but nobody spoke to them. They were always from up North, dumb as hell, rude and ignorant, and they never stayed long. ...' (174)

22. '... We'd have never found those three boys had we not dropped some cash. About thirty thousand, as I remember it, though I didn't deal directly with the informant. Hell, son, they were buried in a levee. We found them, and it made us look good, you understand. Finally, we'd accomplished something. Made a bunch of arrests, but the convictions were difficult. The violence continued. ...' (236)

23. ... Lee pointed to a row of trees across the street on another hill. 'That's where the blacks are buried,' she said. 'Under those trees. It's a small cemetery.' 'You're kidding? Even today?' 'Sure, you know, keep 'em in their place. These people couldn't stand the idea of a Negro lying amongst their ancestors.' (305)

24. Lee was suddenly a tour guide and historian. The Yankees had burned Clanton in 1863, the bastards, and after the war, General Clanton, a Confederate hero whose family owned the county, returned, with only one leg, the other one lost somewhere on the battlefield at Shiloh, and designed the new courthouse and the streets around it. (311)

25. 'What did the sheriff do?' 'Nothing, really. He and Sam talked for a bit. Sam showed him Joe's shotgun and explained how it was a simple matter of self-defence. Just another dead nigger.' 'He wasn't arrested?' 'No, Adam. This was Mississippi in the early fifties. I'm sure the sheriff had a good laugh about it, patted Sam on the back, and told him to be a good boy, and then left. He even allowed Sam to keep Joe's shotgun.' (321)

26. Adam glanced at the floor, away from the eyes, and tried to think of something noninflammatory. 'Yes sir,' he said, very much aware that he was in the Deep South where politeness went a long way. 'I understand how you feel. I don't blame you, but I just wanted to talk to you for a few minutes.' (353)

27. ... Three black men slowly scooted out and stretched their backs. 'That's Herman,' she said. 'Who?' 'Herman. Don't know his last name. He's been digging graves here for forty years.' 'They watched Herman and the other two across the valley
of tombstones. They could barely hear their voices as the men deliberately went about their preparations. (596)

(C) PC and anti-PC Groups

28. 'A dozen,' Sam repeated, barely moving his lips. His hands were folded and still, and his eyes did not blink. 'So, less than ten percent of your partners are women. How many nigger partners do you have?

'Could we refer to them as blacks?'

'Oh sure, but of course that too is an antiquated term. They now want to be called African-Americans. Surely you're politically correct enough to know this.'

Adam nodded but said nothing. (95)

29. '... Why should I be next? I've been here for nine and a half years. Treemont's been here for fourteen years. Of course, he's an African-American and that always helps. They have more rights, you know. It's much harder to execute one of them because whatever they did was someone else's fault.' (100)

30. 'That's correct. No one at Kravitz & Bane touches my file. That place is crawling with Jews, and they don't get involved, okay? Same for niggers and women.'

'Look, Sam, can we lay off the slurs? How about we refer to them as blacks?'

'Ooops. Sorry. How about we do the right thing and call them African-Americans and Jewish-Americans and Female-Americans? You and I'll be Irish-Americans, and also White-Male-Americans. If you need help from your firm, try to stick with German-Americans or Italian-Americans. Since you're in Chicago, maybe use a few Polish-Americans. Gee, that'll be nice, won't it? We'll be real proper and multicultural and politically correct, won't we?' (148-49)

31. ... 'Not far from our house was a nigger family--'

'Could we just call them blacks, Sam? I've asked you this already.'

'Forgive me. There was an African family on our place. The Lincolns. Joe Lincoln was his name, and he'd worked for us for many years. ...'(258)

32. '... He (=Eddie) was always asking me questions about why the Africans in Ford County were so poor, and lived in run-down houses, and didn't have nice clothes, and had so many children in each family. He really suffered over it, and that made him different. As he got older, he grew even more sympathetic toward the Africans. I tried to talk to him.' (258)
33. 'By the time he was finishing high school he was spouting off like that, talking about how badly the Africans were being mistreated. He left home when he was eighteen.' (259)

34. How could Sam have done this? Why was Sam Cayhall his grandfather and not someone else's? When did he decide to participate in the Klan's holy war against Jews? What made him change from a harmless cross-burner to a full-fledged terrorist?

Adam sat on the bench, stared at the statue, and hated his grandfather. He felt guilty for being in Mississippi trying to help the old bastard. (276)

35. Sam contemplated the names for a moment. 'McNeely's an old warrior who'll help us. Judy's a conservative bitch, oops, sorry, I mean a conservative Female-American, a Republican appointee. I doubt if she'll help. I'm not familiar with Robichaux. Where's he from?' (392)

36. ... The movie was Adam's idea. She'd spent three days in her room, with the virus, and by Saturday morning the binge was over. He had selected a family restaurant for dinner, one with quick food and no alcohol on the menu. She'd devoured pecan waffles with whipped cream.

The movie was a western, politically correct with the Indians as the good guys and the cowboys as scum. All pale faces were evil and eventually killed. (398)

(D) Federal Government Groups

37. ... He (= Jeremiah Dogan) also suspected he was being followed by the FBI, and he was correct. They watched him, but they had no idea where the call was going. (3)

38. Despite pressure from the FBI, a third trial did not materialize. There was no new evidence. The judge would no doubt change venue again. A prosecution looked hopeless, but still the FBI did not quit. (23)

39. To prod him along, the IRS attached all of his assets, and planned a nice little fire sale. And to help with his decision, David AcAllister convinced a grand jury in Greenville to indict him and his pal Cayhall once again for the Kramer bombing. (24)

40. 'Sort of a blueprint for death.'

'Something like that. Don't think we enjoy it.'

'I guess everybody here is just doing their job, right?'

'It's the law of this state. If our society wants to
41. He (Phillip Naifeh) hated the death penalty. He understood society's yearning for it, and long ago he had memorized all the sterile reasons for its necessity. It was a deterrent. It removed killers. It was the ultimate punishment. It was biblical. It satisfied the public's need for retribution. It relieved the anguish of the victim's family. If pressed, he could make these arguments as persuasively as any prosecutor. He actually believed one or two of them. (104)

42. 'You heard me. Sam Cayhall is Adam Hall's paternal grandfather. We were doing a routine background on Adam Hall yesterday, and noticed a few gray spots. I called the FBI in Jackson, and within two hours they had plenty of circumstantial evidence. I confronted him this morning and he confessed. I don't think he's trying to hide it.' (106)

43. '... Someone was always watching and listening. Then, he got sloppy, and the IRS stepped in. They, along with the FBI, told him he was looking at thirty years. Dogan cracked under the pressure. ...' (170)

44. '... First, McAllister got elected with all his promises. Then, a few months later Dogan got nailed by the IRS. I started hearing rumors and reading little things in the newspapers. But I simply refused to believe it could happen. Before I knew it, the FBI was following me and I couldn't run.' (174)

45. ... He (Nugent) loved details and regulations and rules. He devoured manuals, and was constantly writing new procedures and directives and modifications for the warden to ponder. (179)

46. '... We'd learn that some guy was in the Klan, and so we'd trail him. We'd follow him home at night, flashing our lights behind him, parking in front of his house. It'd usually scare him to death. Then we'd follow him to work, sometimes we'd go talk to his boss, flash our badges around, act like we were about to shoot somebody. We'd go talk to his parents, show them our badges, let them see us in our dark suits, let them hear our Yankee accents, and these poor country people would literally crack up right in front of us. ...' (237)

47. Nugent sat stiffly in his chair. 'Two things. First, here is a manual I've put together for executions. A protocol. From A to Z. Completely organized, indexed, cross-indexed. I'd like for you to review the statutes contained
herein and make sure they're current.' (412)

48. The officers trooped back and forth with Sam's assets until cell six was bare. It was quick work. They arranged things in his new home without the slightest care. (511)

49. 'Because there has to be an ultimate punishment for murder. Put yourself in Ruth Kramer's position, and you'd feel differently. The problem you have, Adam, and people like you, is that you forget about the victims.' (528)

50. Nugent was wearing a terribly pained expression. He placed a hand on Sam's knee, and said, 'Sam, we're gonna get through this together. Now--' (578)

51. The man who was the sheriff of Washington County in 1967 had been dead for fifteen years, but the current sheriff was not about to miss this event. He had informed Lucas Mann earlier in the day that he fully intended to provoke the power of the law. Said he felt like he owed it to the people of Greenville and Washington County. (579)

(E) Religious Value Groups

52. Packer hated executions. He believed in the death penalty because he was a religious man, and when God said an eye for an eye, then God meant it. He preferred, however, that they be carried out somewhere else by other people. (138)

53. But the State of Mississippi could not control the weather, and when the rains came and cooled the air, Sam smiled to himself and offered a small prayer of thanks. A higher being was in control after all. The state was helpless when it rained. It was a small victory. (206)

54. 'Not very well. He's a political animal with great ambitions, and I wouldn't trust him for a minute. He does, however, have the power to grant clemency. He can commute the death sentence. He can impose life, or he can set him free. The statute grants broad discretionary authority to the governor. He'll probably be your last hope.' 'God help us.' (388-89)

55. 'Yes, I do. Do you believe in the death penalty?' 'No, I don't.' Sam studied him for a while, then said, 'Are you serious?' 'Killing is wrong, Mr Cayhall. If in fact you are guilty of your crime, then you were wrong to kill. It's also wrong for the government to kill you.'

-76-
'Hallelujah, brother.'
'I've never been convinced that Jesus wanted us to kill as a punishment. He didn't teach that. He taught love and forgiveness.' (404)

56. 'I'm sure it'll mean something to the Lincolns.'
'Maybe. In the letter I ask them for forgiveness, which I believe is the Christian way of doing things. When I die, I'd like to have the knowledge that I tried to say I'm sorry.' (466)

57. 'It is my fervent hope that the execution of Sam Cayhall will help erase a painful chapter in our state's tortured history. I call upon all Mississippians to come together from this sad night forward, and work for equality. May God have mercy on his soul.' (571)

58. Sam breathed deeply and was silent for several minutes. Ralph was praying hard. Adam just waited.
'And I didn't kill those Kramer boys,' Sam said, his voice shaking. '... But it was wired by someone else, not me. I was just a lookout, a driver, a flunky. This other person rigged the bomb to go off much later than I thought. ...' (575-76)

59. 'You're dying for someone else's crime.'
'No. I could've saved those little boys. And God knows I've killed my share of people. I deserve this, Adam.'
'No one deserves this.' (581)

60. Lucas lifted the piece of paper, and read from it:
'Pursuant to a verdict of guilty and a sentence of death returned against you by the Circuit Court of Washington County on February 14, 1981, you are hereby condemned to die by lethal gas in the gas chamber at the Mississippi State Penitentiary at Parchman. May God have mercy on your soul.' (587-88)

(F) Media Group

61. ... Between the jail and the car, he had his picture taken by a small army of photographers. Another group of these assertive people were waiting at the courthouse when Sam arrived with his entourage. (19)

62. 'Maybe hell. Just before they kill him, they'll make him a celebrity. The media will surround him like a pack of wolves. You'll be discovered, Mr Hall.' (48)

63. Naifeh now raked both hands through his hair and shook
his head. 'How wonderful. As if we needed more publicity, more idiotic reporters asking more asinine questions.' (106-7)

64. 'The decision of the Fifth Circuit hit the wire at mid-morning, and we've already had at least three phone calls from reporters. They smell blood, of course, and they want to know if this might be the end for Sam. I know some of these people, dealt with them before on other executions. A few are nice guys, most are obnoxious jerks....' (120)

65. ... The kid repeated the date, August 8, as if his viewers should circle their calendars and plan to take the day off. Then they were on to the weather. (143)

66. '... The warden, a Lebanese-American by the way, has some discretion in picking the rest. They usually conduct a lottery with the press to choose which of the vultures are allowed to gawk at it.' (149)

67. After the first one was properly lit, Sam said, 'Stay away from the press. They're ruthless and they're stupid. They lie and they make careless mistakes.' (213-14)

68. ... One station began its own countdown--twenty-three days until execution, the anchorperson rattled off, as if reciting the number of shopping days left until Christmas. The number 23 was plastered under the same overworked photo of Sam Cayhall. (276)

69. '... Most of these reporters are not from around here, and they get their jollies making us look like a bunch of ignorant rednecks. So don't talk to them. No exceptions. I'll issue the appropriate releases when I deem necessary. Be careful with these people. They're vultures....' (448)

{G} Lawyers Groups

70. ... Cayhall was actually employed by Dogan, who'd sent him to Greenville on an errand, and he just happened to be near the Kramer building at a most unfortunate moment. Clovis almost cried when he thought of those two precious little boys. (20)

71. 'Free of charge,' Sam repeated. 'How generous. Do you realize, son, that I get at least three offers a week now from lawyers who want to represent me for free? Big lawyers. Famous lawyers. Rich lawyers. Some real slimy snakes....' (97)

72. Cooley took a step closer and crossed his arms on his chest. 'Look, Adam, we're not trial lawyers, you know. We do
the corporate work. Money's great. We're very low key, and we avoid publicity, you know.' (126)

73. ... Hank and his motley gang had hijacked an eighteen-wheeler one night, planning only to steal its cargo. The driver produced a gun, and was killed in the ensuing shootout. Hank's family was paying good lawyers, and thus he was not expected to die for many years. (141)

74. 'Yes, we're assuming that. This psychiatrist will examine you tomorrow, then he'll quickly prepare a report to the effect that you're senile and insane and just a blithering idiot, and who knows what else he'll say.'
   'How do you know he'll say this?'
   'Because we're paying him to say it.' (417)

75. Roxburgh glanced at his notes, then said, 'Your Honor, we're attempting to discredit this witness.'
   'I know that. But it's not working, Mr Roxburgh. This court knows that the witness has testified in many trials around the country. What's the point?'
   'We are attempting to show that he is willing to state some pretty wild opinions if the money is right.'
   'Lawyers do that every day, Mr Roxburgh.' (534)

{H} Politicians Group

76. A lot of people in this state do not wish to see Sam executed, he'd said, as if he was already weighing the votes he'd lose against those he might gain. (287)

77. And because he had more ambition than fortitude, McAllister and his staff tracked the phone calls on a daily basis. He was a follower, not a leader. He spent serious money on polls, and had proven adept at quietly discovering the issues that bothered people, then jumping out front to lead the parade.
   Both Goodman and Adam suspected this. McAllister seemed too obsessed with his destiny to launch new initiatives. The man was a shameless vote-counter, so they had decided to give him something to count. (467-68)

78. ... Nugent asked if there was anything he could fetch for the governor.
   'Popcorn,' McAllister cracked, but no one laughed. Nugent frowned and left the room. (584)

{I} Family Value Group
79. 'I am Adam Hall, and I don't plan to change it. I'm also your grandson, and we can't change that, can we? So what's the big deal?'

'It'll be embarrassing for your family. Eddie did a great job of protecting you. Don't blow it.'

'My cover's already blown. My firm knows it. I told Lucas Mann, and--' (110-11)

80. '... He was the only father I've had, so I don't know how to rate him. He didn't smoke, drink, gamble, do drugs, chase women, beat his kids, or any of that. He had trouble keeping a job, but we never went without food or shelter. ... He looked and dressed normal. He was almost always there if we needed him. We played baseball in the backyard and rode rides at the carnival. He took us to Disneyland a couple of times. I guess he was a good man, a good father who just had this dark, strange side that flared up occasionally.' (263-64)

81. 'Anyway, Sam would take me and Eddie there on our birthdays. Place has been here for a hundred years. We'd eat these huge biscuits and drink hot cocoa. Let's go see if it's open.' (597)
APPENDIX I

Major Groups of Values Found in Grisham's A Time to Kill

All the discourses representing group values in this fiction were listed here in the same way as in The Chamber. The serial number in front of each discourse is continued from Appendix I to make it easier to refer to it by its number. The page reference of each discourse in this work (New York: Island Books, 1989) appears in the parenthesis at the end.

(A) Ku Klux Klan Groups

82. At eleven-fifteen it rang again, and Jake received his first death threat, anonymous of course. He was called a nigger-loving son of a bitch, one who would not live if the nigger walked. (85)

83. ... The men talked about niggers in general, and chewed Red Man and sipped whiskey, and reminisced about the other days when niggers knew their place. Now they were just pampered and protected by the government and courts. And there was nothing white people could do. (90-91)

84. ... The niggers have plenty of protection nowadays—the NAACP, ACLU, a thousand other civil rights groups, plus the courts and the government. Hell, white folks ain't got a chance, except for the Klan. Who else would march and stand up for white people. All the laws favor the niggers, and the liberal nigger-loving politicians keep making more laws against white people. Somebody's got to stand up for them. (140)

85. ... What Kluxer would miss this golden moment? And new recruits? Why, this case could fuel the fires of racism and bring nigger haters out of the woods and onto the streets. Membership was down. Hailey would be their new battle cry, the rallying point. (141)

86. "How many phone calls?"
"Several. They threaten to burn our house or blow it up. They always tell us they know where we live, and if Hailey is acquitted, then they'll burn it or stick dynamite under it while we are asleep. A couple have threatened to kill us. It's just not worth it." (253-54)

87. "Two weeks ago, they planted dynamite outside my bedroom window. They beat to death my secretary's husband. Yesterday they shot at me and hit a guardsman. Now they grab my law clerk, tie her to a pole, rip her clothes off, cut her hair, and she's in the hospital with a concussion. I wonder what's next." (453)

88. "Was it the Klan?"

"Yes, Judge. The same Klan that tried to kill me. Same Klan that lit up the county with crosses and who knows what else for our jury panel. Same Klan that's probably intimidated most of those jurors sitting out there. Yes, sir, it's the same Klan." (468)

89. "If that nigger walks free, you'll be sorry. Your family will be sorry. It may take years, but you'll be awfully sorry."

He dropped him to the floor and grabbed his hair. "You breathe one word of this to anyone, and you'll lose a kid. Understand?" (489)

90. ... While Agee and the marchers were turning onto Washington Street, Ozzie met with the handful of Kluxers. In a sincere and diplomatic way, he convinced them things could get out of hand, and he could no longer guarantee their safety. He acknowledged their right to assemble, said they had made their point, and asked them to get away from the square before there was trouble. They huddled quickly, and disappeared. (494)

(B) Southerners Groups

91. Willard asked Cobb if he thought she was dead. Cobb opened another beer and explained that she was not dead because niggers generally could not be killed by kicking and beating and raping. It took much more, something like a knife or a gun or a rope to dispose of a nigger. (2)

92. ... General Clanton had laid out the town with much thought, and the square was long and wide and the courthouse lawn was covered with massive oak trees, all lined neatly and spaced equally apart. The Ford County courthouse was well into its second century, built after the Yankees burned the first one. It defiantly faced south, as if telling those from
the North to politely and eternally kiss its ass. (21)

93. Jake walked to the door next to Carl Lee. "It's different with me. I could probably get off."
   "How?"
   "I'm white, and this is a white county. With a little luck I could get an all-white jury, which will naturally be sympathetic. This is not New York or California. A man's supposed to protect his family. A jury would eat it up."
   "And me?"
   "Like I said, this ain't New York or California. Some whites would admire you, but most would want to see you hang. It would be much harder to win an acquittal." (48)

94. The Coffee Shop on Wednesday was silent. The regulars, including Jake, eyed the strangers who had invaded their sanctuary. Most of them had beards, spoke with unusual accents, and did not order grits. (92)

95. Two foreigners sat near the cash register and watched Claude fearfully as he directed lunch. Probably reporters, thought Jake. Each time Claude drew nigh and glared, they obediently picked up and gnawed a rib. They had not experienced ribs before, and it was obvious to everyone they were from the North. They had wanted chef salads, but Claude cursed them, and told them to eat barbecue or leave. Then he announced to the crowd these silly fools wanted chef salads. (112)

96. "You don't trust me, do you, Mr. Brigance?"
   "Hell no. And my name is Jake."
   "Why don't you trust me?"
   "Because you're a reporter, you're from a New York paper, you're looking for a sensational story, and if you're true to form, you'll write some well-informed, moralistic piece of trash depicting us all as racist, ignorant rednecks."
   "You're wrong. First of all, I'm from Texas."
   "Your paper is from New York."
   "But I consider myself a Southerner."
   "How long have you been gone?"
   "About twenty years."
   Jake smiled and shook his head, as if to say: That's too long. (115)

97. "I'm saying there's as much racism in New York as in Mississippi. Look at our public schools--they're as desegregated as any."
   "By court order."
   "Sure, but what about the courts in New York. For years you pious bastards pointed your fingers and noses at us down here and demanded that we desegregate. It happened, and it
has not been the end of the world. But you've conveniently ignored your own schools and neighborhoods, your own voting irregularities, your own all-white juries and city councils. We were wrong, and we've paid dearly for it. But we learned, and although the change has been slow and painful, at least we're trying. Y'all are still pointing fingers."

"I didn't intend to refight Gettysburg." (117)

98. ... He hated Marsharfsky. He recalled the many times he had seen Marsharfsky parade in and out of Memphis courtrooms proclaiming the innocence and mistreatment of his pitiful, oppressed clients. Dope dealers, pimps, crooked politicians, and slimy corporate thugs. All guilty, all deserving of long prison terms, or perhaps even death. He was a yankee, with an obnoxious twang from somewhere in the upper Midwest. It would irritate anybody south of Memphis. (188)

99. "I know he did. I know these rednecks around here, Ozzie, and I know how they act when you put them on a jury. They won't be impressed by some slick-talking foreigner. You agree?"

"I don't know. You're the lawyer. I don't doubt what you say, Jake. I've seen you work." (195)

100. ... They were nice people, the Swedes, and they would treat him like family if he allowed it. But they were different, and it wasn't just their whiteness. He grew up with whites in the South and knew them. He didn't like them all and didn't like most of their feelings toward him, but at least he knew them. But the Northern whites, especially the Swedes, were different. Their customs, speech, food, almost everything was foreign to him, and he would never feel comfortable with them. (210)

101. This was Hailey. The vigilante. The father driven to revenge. The most famous criminal case in the country at the moment. This was Mississippi, where for years whites shot blacks for any reason or no reason and no one cared; where whites raped blacks and it was considered sport; where blacks were hanged for fighting back. And now a black father had killed two white men who raped his daughter, and faced the gas chamber for something that thirty years earlier would have gone unnoticed had he been white. (261)

102. "Sounds like fun. I'll be here. What's your model juror?"

"I'm not sure. I think the vigilante would appeal to rednecks. Guns, violence, protection of women. The rednecks would eat it up. But my man is black, and a bunch of rednecks would fry him. He killed two of their own." (308)
103. "I'd let the courts handle it. When we catch a rapist around here, especially a nigger, we generally lock him up. Parchman's full of rapists who'll never get out. This ain't New York or California or some crazy place where criminals go free. We've got a good system, and old Judge Noose hands down tough sentences. You gotta let the courts handle it. Our system won't survive if we allow people, especially niggers, to take the law into their own hands. That's what really scares me. Suppose this nigger gets out, walks out of the courthouse a free man. Everbody in the country will know it, and the niggers will go crazy. Evertime somebody crosses a nigger, he'll just kill him, then say he was insane, and try to get off. That's what's dangerous about this trial." (322)


"Yeah, he banks with us. He's about forty, married, three or four kids. White. From somewhere up North. Runs the truck stop on the highway north of town. He's been here about five years."

"I wouldn't take him," Lucien said. "If he's from up North, he doesn't think like we do. Probably in favor of gun control and all that crap. Yankees always scare me in criminal cases. I've always thought we should have a law in Mississippi that no certified yankee could sit on a jury down here regardless of how long he's lived here." (330)

105. Jake never missed a beat. Suppose, he said, your ten-year-old daughter is raped, and you're a Vietnam vet, very familiar with an M-16, and you get your hands on one while your daughter is lying in the hospital fighting for her life. Suppose the rapist is caught, and six days later you manage to maneuver to within five feet of him as he leaves court. And you've got the M-16.

What do you do?

....

What would Jake do? If he had the M-16? Blow the bastard's head off! (483)

106. "Okay. When it came time to start school, Willie Ray and the rest of my little buddies got on the bus headed for the black school. I jumped on the bus too, and the driver very carefully took my hand and made me get off. I cried and screamed, and my uncle took me home and told my mother, 'Lucien got on the nigger school bus.' She was horrified, and beat my little ass. The old man beat me too, but years later admitted it was funny. So I went to the white school where I was always the little rich kid. ..." (506)
107. "Do you have any Jewish friends?"
    "I don't know of any in Ford County. I had a real good friend in law school, Ira Tauber, from New Jersey. We were very close. I love Jews. Jesus was a Jew, you know. I've never understood anti-Semitism."
    "My God, you are a liberal. How about, uh, homosexuals?"
    "I feel sorry for them. They don't know what they're missing. But that's their problem." (354)

110. Surrounded by dozens of cameras and reporters, Buckley stood on the front steps of the courthouse and waved copies of the indictments. He preached, lectured, moralized, praised the grand jury, sermonized against crime and vigilantes, and condemned Carl Lee Hailey. Bring on the trial. Put the jury in the box. He guaranteed a conviction. He guaranteed a death penalty. (139)

111. Fresh troops from the Clanton City Police arrived. In the center of the battle, Nesbit, Prather, and Hastings came together, stood with their backs to each other, and began firing their Smith & Wesson .357 magnum service revolvers into the air. The sound of the gunfire quelled the riot. The warriors froze and searched for the gunfire, then quickly separated and glared at each other. They retreated slowly to their own groups. The officers formed a dividing line between the blacks and the Klansmen, all of whom were thankful for the
truce. (339-40)

112. Everything was okay until a handful of Klansmen made their routine appearance. The sight of the white robes was new to many of the blacks, and they reacted loudly. They inched forward, screaming and jeering. The troops surrounded the robes and protected them. The Kluxers were stunned and scared, and did not yell back. (491)

(E) Religious Value Groups

113. Jake was content not to be a Baptist. They were a bit too narrow and strict, and they were forever preaching about Sunday night church, a ritual Jake had always struggled with. Carla was raised as a Baptist, Jake a Methodist, and during the courtship a compromise was negotiated and they became Presbyterians. They were happy with their church and its activities, and seldom missed. (118)

114. The purpose of the meeting, he explained, was to organize moral, political, and financial support of Carl Lee Hailey, a member in good standing of his church. A legal defense fund must be established to assure the best legal representation. Another fund must be established to provide support for his family. He, Reverend Agee, would chair the fund-raising efforts, with each minister responsible for his own congregation, as usual. A special offering would be taken during the morning and evening services, starting next Sunday. (176)

115. "Let me make it real simple, preacher, so you won't have trouble understandin' it. You raised that money in my name, for the benefit of my family. You took it from the black folk of this county, and you took it with the promise that it'd go to help me and my family. You lied. You raised it so you could impress the NAACP, not to help my family. You lied in church, you lied in the newspapers, you lied everywhere." (318)

116. ... Oddly, they would close again at six in the afternoon, as if the same folks should then be denied beer as they returned to church for the Sunday night services. On the other six days beer was sold from six in the morning until midnight. But on Sunday, the selling was curtailed in honor of the Almighty. (462)

117. Agee took the platform on the front steps and announced the jury was ready. He asked for quiet, and instantly the mob grew still. They moved toward the front columns. Agee asked them to fall to their knees and pray. They knelt obediently and prayed earnestly. Every man, woman, and child on the
front lawn bowed before God and begged him to let their man go. (507)

(F) Media Group

118. Ozzie and Moss Junior and the deputies watched the parking lot and quietly cursed the mob of reporters and cameramen. It was one forty-five, time to transport the prisoner to court.

"Kinda reminds me of a buncha vultures waitin' for a dead dog beside the highway," Moss Junior observed as he gazed through the blinds. (94)

119. ... A noisy cafe would become instantly silent when a stranger walked in and took a seat. Merchants around the square offered little assistance to anyone they did not recognize. The employees in the courthouse had become deaf to questions asked a thousand times by nosy intruders. Even the Memphis and Jackson reporters had to struggle to extract anything new from the locals. The people were tired of being described as backward, redneck, and racist. They ignored the outsiders whom they could not trust and went about their business. (238)

120. ... The demonstrators noticed their spectators, and the attention fueled the chanting, which increased in tempo and volume. The vultures had loitered about waiting and watching, and the noise excited them. They descended upon the front lawn of the courthouse with cameras and microphones. (327)

121. ... Instead of running for cover, the vultures darted crazily through the midst of the smoke and violence valiantly trying to capture yet a better shot of the blood and gore. They were sitting ducks. One cameraman, his right eye buried deep in his camera, caught a jagged piece of brick with his left eye. He and his camera dropped quickly to the sidewalk, where, after a few seconds, another cameraman appeared and filmed his fallen comrade. A fearless, busy female reporter from a Memphis station charged into the melee with her microphone in hand and her cameraman at her heels. (339)

122. ... Things stirred a little when a few of the vultures in their compact wagons and minivans with fancy logos on the doors appeared at seven-thirty. The troops surrounded the vehicles and informed everyone there would be no parking around the courthouse during the trial. The vultures disappeared down the side streets, then moments later reappeared on foot with their bulky cameras and equipment. (374)
123. The locals had watched them as they scrambled like idiots around the square chasing the sheriff, the prosecutor, the defense lawyer, or anybody who might know anything. They watched them wait at the rear of the courthouse like hungry wolves to pounce on the defendant, who was invariably surrounded by cops, and who invariably ignored them as they yelled the same ridiculous questions at him. The locals watched with distaste as they kept their cameras on the Kluxers and the rowdier blacks, always searching for the most radical elements, and then making those elements appear to be the norm. (417)

(6) Lawyers Groups

124. ... Jake thought he looked great on TV, and he was excited to be there. There had been one other brief appearance, after Lester's acquittal, and the regulars at the Coffee Shop had kidded him for months.

He felt good. He relished the publicity and anticipated much more. He could not think of another case, another set of facts, another setting which could generate as much publicity as the trial of Carl Lee Hailey. (84)

125. "Publicity. Exposure. That's the name of the game for lawyers, Jake. If you're unknown, you starve. When people get in trouble they call a lawyer, and they call someone they've heard of. You must sell yourself to the public, if you're a street lawyer. Of course it's different if you're in a big corporate or insurance firm where you sit on your ass and bill a hundred bucks an hour, ten hours a day, ripping off little people and --" (105)

126. "Sure. Take the Sullivan firm. I despise every lawyer in that firm, but I'm jealous to an extent. I wish I had some of their clients, some of their retainers, some of their security. They know that every month they'll get a nice check, it's guaranteed almost, and every Christmas they'll get a big bonus. They represent old money, steady money. That would be enjoyable for a change. ..." (113-14)

127. Jake was beat and he knew it. "I can't do it for nine hundred dollars, Carl Lee. I can't let this case bankrupt me. I'm a lawyer. I'm supposed to make money." (123)

128. "Why does he want my case so bad?"

"Publicity. You know how lawyers are. Look at how much press this kid's already made off you. It's a lawyer's dream. We gotta deal?" (171)

129. "You wanted too much money, Jake. You're always gripin'
over the money. Here I am sittin' in jail and you're bitchin' 'bout somethin' I can't help."

"Money. You can't afford to pay me. How can you afford Marsharfsky?"

"I ain't gotta pay him." (173)

130. "No. How do you know he can be bought?"

"Because I bought him once. In a civil case, ten years ago. He was on the jury list, and I got word to him that I'd give him ten percent of the jury verdict. He's very persuasive."

Jake dropped the jury lists and rubbed his eyes. He knew this was probably true, but didn't want to believe it. (332)

131. "You can still win the case, Jake. It'll take a miracle, but those things happen sometimes. I've snatched victory from the jaws of defeat many times with an effective closing argument. Zero in on one or two jurors. Play to them. Talk to them. Remember, it just takes one to hang the jury."

"Should I make them cry?"

"If you can. It's not that easy. But I believe in tears in the jury box. It's very effective." (466)

\(\text{(H) Politicians Group}\)

132. ... The white kids loved him because he was a hero, a football star who had played on TV and had his picture in magazines. Their parents respected him and voted for him because he was a tough cop who did not discriminate between black punks and white punks. The white politicians supported him because, since he became the sheriff, the Justice Department stayed out of Ford County. The blacks adored him because he was Ozzie, one of their own. (9)

133. ... The bail bondsmen loved Bullard for his outrageous bonds. They watched with delight as desperate families scraped and mortgaged to collect the ten percent premiums they charged to write the bonds. Bullard would be high, and he didn't care. It was politically safe to set them high and keep the criminals in jail. The blacks would appreciate it and that was important even if the county was seventy-four percent white. He owed the blacks a few favors. (66)

134. Half a million dollars bond! Anything less would be too little, and the blacks wouldn't like it. The judge had new reason to hate Childers. But he liked the blacks because they elected him last time. He received fifty-one percent of the vote countywide, but he got all the nigger vote. (70)
135. "You know how bad he wants to win this trial. If he wins, he thinks it will launch his campaign for attorney general."
    "Governor," said Jake.
    "Whatever. He's ambitious, okay?" (288)

136. "Whatta you think, Jake?" asked the mayor, looking for help.
    "I don't think you have a choice, Mayor. We can't stand another riot. It could hurt you politically."
    "I'm not worried about politics," the mayor replied angrily, knowing Jake and Ozzie knew better. The mayor had been reelected last time by less than fifty votes and did not make a move without weighing the political fallout. (359-60)

(Family Value Group)

137. Jake adored the two women in his life. He kissed the second one goodbye and went to the kitchen to make coffee for Carla. On his way out he released Max, the mutt, into the backyard, where she simultaneously relieved herself and barked at Mrs. Pickle's cat next door.
    Few people attacked the morning like Jake Brigance. He walked briskly to the end of the driveway and got the morning papers for Carla. It was dark, clear, and cool with the promise of summer rapidly approaching. (20)

138. They drove to Karaway for Sunday lunch with Jake's parents. Gene and Eva Brigance lived in the old family house, a sprawling country home on five acres of wooded land in downtown Karaway, three blocks from Main Street and two blocks from the school where Jake and his sister put in twelve years. Both were retired, but young enough to travel the continent in a mobile home each summer. .... Little of it would be eaten, and the leftovers would be neatly packaged by Eva and Carla and sent to Clanton, where it would last for a week. (118-19)

139. "You and Hanna fly to North Carolina and stay with your parents until after the trial. They'd love to have you, and we wouldn't worry about the Klan or whoever likes to burn crosses." (218)

140. ... She was a Dean's List scholar in liberal arts with no intention of ever doing more than teaching school for a few years. Her family had money, and her mother had never worked. This appealed to Jake--the family money and the absence of a career ambition. He wanted a wife who would stay home and stay beautiful and have babies and not try to wear the pants. It was love at first sight. (286)
TABLE 1

The Combination Patterns of the Two Conflicting Value Groups from the 81 Discourses of Appendix I

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Two Conflicting Value Groups</th>
<th>Discourse No.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. KKK vs PC</td>
<td>1, 3, 4, 5, 6, 9, 11, 12, 13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. KKK vs Federal Government</td>
<td>14, 37, 44, 46</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. KKK vs Religion</td>
<td>58, 59</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. KKK vs Media</td>
<td>67</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. KKK vs Lawyers</td>
<td>71</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. KKK vs Family</td>
<td>79</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. Southerners vs PC</td>
<td>23, 34</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. Southerners vs Federal Government</td>
<td>22, 41</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9. Southerners vs Media</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10. Southerners vs Politicians</td>
<td>76</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11. PC vs anti-PC</td>
<td>28, 29, 30, 31, 33, 35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12. PC vs Federal Government</td>
<td>49</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14. Federal Government vs Media</td>
<td>64, 69</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15. Lawyers vs Lawyers</td>
<td>72</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16. Southerners vs Southerners</td>
<td>15, 16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17. Southerners vs Northerners</td>
<td>18, 24</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

TOTAL 17 Combinations 41 Discourses out of 81 (50.6%)
TABLE 2

The Combination Patterns of the Two Conflicting Value Groups from the 59 Discourses of Appendix II

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Two Conflicting Value Groups</th>
<th>Discourse No.</th>
</tr>
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<tr>
<td>1. KKK vs PC</td>
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<tr>
<td>2. KKK vs Federal Government</td>
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<tr>
<td>3. KKK vs Religion</td>
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<td>4. Southerners vs Northerners</td>
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<td>97, 98, 99, 100,</td>
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<td></td>
<td>103, 104</td>
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<tr>
<td>5. Southerners vs PC</td>
<td>102</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. PC vs anti-PC</td>
<td>108</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. Federal Government vs Southerners</td>
<td>109, 110</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. Media vs Federal Government</td>
<td>118</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9. Media vs Southerners</td>
<td>119, 123</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10. Lawyers vs Lawyers</td>
<td>125, 130</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11. Politicians vs PC</td>
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<td>12. Politicians vs Federal Government</td>
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<td>13. Family vs KKK</td>
<td>139</td>
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<td>TOTAL 13 Combinations</td>
<td>31 Discourses</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>out of 59 (52.25%)</td>
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</tbody>
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TABLE 3

The Comparison of "Clash Rate" between The Chamber and A Time to Kill

The discourses with a certain clash of values are listed up from all the discourses in Appendix I and II. Then the percentage that each group clashes with the other groups is worked out as the clash rate, Rate for short below.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Value Group</th>
<th>The Chamber</th>
<th></th>
<th>A Time to Kill</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>All</td>
<td>Clash</td>
<td>Rate</td>
<td>All</td>
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<tr>
<td>A. KKK</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>71.4%</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B. Southerner PC and C. anti-PC</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>53.8%</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D. Government</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>77.8%</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E. Religion</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>33.3%</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>F. Media</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>33.3%</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G. Lawyer</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>33.3%</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>H. Politician Family</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>33.3%</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I. Value</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>33.3%</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL</td>
<td>81</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>50.6%</td>
<td>59</td>
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</table>