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Racial interference in the justice systems in John Grisham's A Time to Kill (1989) and The **Chamber** (1994)

Section: American Literature and Criticism

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Abstract

Premised on the tenets of intertextuality and structuralism, this study sought to examine how racism has influenced the administration of justice in the two selected texts of John Grisham, A Time to Kill, and The Chamber. It further sought to immerse the practice of law right inside the societal space where reality is supreme so that law is understood alongside human experiences and conditions. Law as it exists as written law is one thing; it is the other to juxtapose and read these set of rules together with the situations in real life. The main objective of this study was to carry out reading of legal representation in selected fiction of John Grisham and critically analyse the influence of legal fiction on law and justice. The study established that racism available within the judicial structures affected administration of justice in the selected texts. This paper after carrying out the study established that in the American society where John Grisham's texts are set, administration of justice was at different levels in the judicial systems interfered by socials aspects such as racism, organized crimes amongst other aspects but this paper will focus on racism.

Keywords: Black Americans, John Grisham, justice systems, law, legal representation, racial interference

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Public Interest Statement

John Grisham is an acclaimed legal novelist in the international literary scene. His oeuvre exhibits a profound interest in portrayal and reconstruction of law and justice through the lenses of a literary artist. The representation of law and justice is a dominant recurrent theme in Grisham's fiction. This to some extent justifies why the researcher in this study chose this writer in expense of other legal fictionists. This study sought to plug or immerse the practice of law right inside the societal space where reality is supreme so that law is understood alongside human experiences and conditions.

Introduction

This study sought to plug or immerse the practice of law right inside the societal space where reality is supreme so that law is understood alongside human experiences and conditions. Law as it exists as written law is one thing; it is the other to juxtapose and read these set of rules together with the situations in real life. The main objective of this study was to carry out reading of legal representation in selected fiction of John Grisham and critically analyze influence of legal fiction on law and justice. The selected texts by John Grisham used to carry out this study are: *The Chamber*, and *A Time to Kill*.

John Grisham is an acclaimed legal novelist in the international literary scene. His oeuvre exhibits a profound interest in portrayal and reconstruction of law and justice through the lenses of a literary artist. The representation of law and justice is a dominant recurrent theme in Grisham's fiction. This to some extent justifies why the researcher in this study chose this writer in expense of other legal fictionists.

Legal fiction gives lawyer writers an opportunity to take a break from their rigid strict environment into the world of imagination on what could be happening out there in the society. According to John Grisham as cited in Narayan (n.d), every lawyer has a good story. Grisham explains how they get involved with people who have messed up their lives and their mistakes make fascinating stories. Since Law Schools and bar exams require some measure of talent with the written word, lawyers think they can add a twist here and a sub-plot there and produce a real thriller, concludes Grisham. The novel *Lawyerland* by Joseph Lawrence appears to have recorded the author interviewing different lawyers from various practices asking them about what they think about law and lawyers. The author also seems to have eavesdropped on secret conversations going on among lawyers away from the earshot of their clients and laymen.

Literature Review

It is evident that few researches have been undertaken to interrogate legal representation and justice systems in John Grisham's texts. The two selected texts, *A Time to Kill (1989)* and *The Chamber (1994)*, however have proven useful to this study given the interests from the readers. This study reviewed research by Nicole Thompson that she submitted in 2012 titled, *Follow the Reader: Literature's Influence on Law and Legal Actors*. This researcher found out that there were credible arguments that literature could engage in legal change through its ability to be informative and persuasive and its ability to engender emotions in the reader that could lead to social activism. This study also reviewed Asthereni (2016) who did an analysis of irony in John Grisham's *The Rainmaker*. This researcher found out that irony influences flow of the plot, contributes to build the conflict and sets the plot twist by unfolding unexpected events or characters' actions in handling a given situation. Asthereni's work will be relevant since one of the objectives in this study is to analyze literary strategies that John Grisham has used to enhance legal representation in his texts. To put this study into clear perspective, several other relevant works have been reviewed that handle legal fiction in one way or the other. In the

interdisciplinarity between law and literature, the following scholars have looked at the interaction between the two disciplines: Posner (2009), Krakoff (2001), Luna (2009), Fish (1988), Kristeva (1980) amongst other scholars.

While commending the above-mentioned scholars in their attempt to tackle the interaction between law and literature in different perspectives and viewpoints, the researcher in this current study recognized a gap that has not been examined; that of how social aspects interact with legal structure in legal fiction. It is therefore the aim of this study to carry out legal representation in selected fiction of John Grisham. This will be done by first analyzing the legal structure that exist in the selected novels then this legal structure is studied together with social structure in an investigation to find out how they interact. The study will finally examine literary strategies that John Grisham has used to represent law and justice in his fiction.

On the works of Grisham & Nuryanto (2009) has done a translation analysis of phrasal verb in *The King of Torts* and its translation. The objectives of the study were: to classify the translation shift of phrasal verb in the novel of *The King of Torts* and its translation and to describe the equivalence of phrasal verb in the novel of *The King of Torts* and its translation. Although the study has a theoretical benefit, its scope was limited to grammatical issues of the English language and translation. No mention was made of issues to do with the legal fictionality of the text, the elements of the thriller that tend to attract rather than repel one from unethical legal behaviour, its representation of law and justice and the narrative strategies the author has used to represent law-related issues.

Fishman (2005) has also examined scandals as a catalyst of legal change and literary imagination in the nineteenth century England. The study found that the misuse of charitable endowments became a subject of widespread comment and public concern, and inspired literary imagination in the 19th century England. An example of the work inspired by these scandals is Trollope's 1985 The Warden. Its story concerns Hiram's Hospital, a charitable institution, whose income has grown in real terms through the centuries, but the twelve old bedesmen have not benefitted. The surplus has created a pleasant sinecure for the mild-mannered Warden, Reverend Septimus Harding, a fact which John Bold, a local surgeon with a passion for causes, makes known to the Jupiter, a national paper. Harding becomes the object of unpleasant publicity, and his son-in-law, the combative Archdeacon Grantly, bullies him to dispute the case along party lines. Reverend Harding sees the anomaly in his position, and with considerable personal courage resigns. Another example is a short story, The History of a Certain Grammar School, based directly upon the Whiston Affair as it so far had evolved, published in the 1851 Household Words, a magazine edited by Charles Dickens. According to Fishman (2005), Dickens maintained a dictatorial control over every detail in both publications; if Trollope was able to empathize with his characters and draw upon the moral ambiguities of his novels' protagonists, The History of a Certain Grammar School expressed, as in much of Dickens's own fiction, no normative doubts- the characters were good or they were bad, and the plot devices were familiar. The study is relevant to the current research in that, in a general sense, it admits that a legal problem (scandal) can create impetus for literary imagination. However, the study does not examine the nature of the work that emanates from this literary imagination, namely legal fiction. Neither does it examine how individuals involved in the legal issues perceive the law and justice and the social issues that inform their perception.

DeGenaro (1998) did a study entitled *The Nature of Working Class Literature: An Ecofeminist Critique*. DeGenaro refutes that John Grisham's *The Rainmaker* is not a working class novel. However, the study draws this conclusion based on a critique of the author ("an attorney and wealthy novelist and screen writer is not a member of the proletarian") and the historical context in which the novel

was written, rather than the text itself. Nevertheless, the study affirms the social significance of the text and its genre. According to DeGenaro, characters in *The Rainmaker* move between classes in interesting ways; those of lower classes break into middle-class and the rich suffer socio-economic downfalls; readers get a glimpse of the complicated ways corporations prey on neighbourhoods; the evil insurance companies sell bad policies door-to-door, and ignore all claims in hopes their 'ignorant' customers will give up. The study shows how works of fiction can serve to illuminate socio-historical and economic issues. Nevertheless, the research does not focus on the in-depth nature of this kind of fiction, nor does it shed light on the manner of representation of law and justice.

Chong (2009) conducted a study entitled *The Anthromorphization of Law: Fictional Judges and Laywers in Contemporary North American and European Settings*. The study examined the varying roles of lawyers and judges in Canada, the United States, England, France and Germany in a selection of "fictional legal narratives": novels, movies, television shows and plays that explore legal themes. The study focused on contemporary works after 1960, and explored the North American fascination with lawyers that saturated the major levels of culture, from the popular (including television shows, movies and novels) to the academic. According to Chong (2009), fictional images of lawyers and judges not only reflect but arguably also influence our attitudes towards the legal system, and offer a concrete way of conceptualizing abstract legal concepts. The study reveals how fictional characters, as persons representing lawyers and judges, can influence the process of interpretation of law and justice as they pursue their underlying interests. The study also sheds more light on the mutual interaction between law and literature in legal fiction and opens up ways in which law and justice can be represented in fiction by use of characterization among other techniques. However, the study does not give a background on the nature of legal fiction as a genre.

Methodology

The researcher applied textual analysis to collect and analyze data. According to Hodder (1994), textual analysis entails intensive reading of texts which are assigned labels to indicate presence of meaningful pieces of content. Textual analysis falls under qualitative research design. According to Babbie (2014), qualitative research is a scientific method of observation used to gather non-numerical data. This type of research refers to meanings, concepts, definitions, characteristics, metaphors, symbols and description of things and not to their counts or measures. The primary source of data for the study was obtained from selected fiction by John Grisham. This study used intertextual, postmodern and Russian formalism ideas to carry out analysis of the texts with close reference to the objectives of the study.

Analysis of the Findings

Racism in Judicial System in A Time to Kill and The Chamber.

John Grisham uses his two novels *A Time to Kill* and *The Chamber* to showcase the racial conflict and tensions pitying the black Americans and the white supremacists who are determined to keep the black Americans in 'their place'.

Racism in A Time to Kill

A Time to Kill is set in Clanton, Mississippi state, United States of America in 1989. The story revolves around a white attorney named Jake Brigance who has been contracted to defend an African American named Carl Lee Hailey, who faces prosecution for murdering two white supremacists responsible for rape and assault of his ten-year-old daughter, Tonya Hailey. John Grisham uses the character, Jake

Brigance, a white liberal lawyer, to deconstruct the Southern tradition where racism and segregation is deeply ingrained. The lawyer does this by representing a black American who is facing charges on murder of two white men.

The text *A Time to Kill* foregrounds two significant issues in Mississippi; racism and racial violence. The text handles racial violence and racism in Mississippi from the start of the novel. But it differentiates the two issues by making the two white rapists the agents of racial violence on one hand, and racism with the rest of the county's white American community, on the other. The novel portrays the two men as white supremacists whose violence, spurred by drug and alcohol abuse, is racist, ignorant and gratuitous (Laurent, 2009). Grisham wants the readers to determine who is guilty between a rapist who has defiled and terrorized a young girl or the victim's father who has taken his initiative to ensure justice is delivered though revenge. This is also what the jury will have to decide on at the climax and resolution stages of the conflict in the story. And they voted on it. All twelve said they would do the killing. Twelve to zero. (pp. 83). The reason why Carl Lee resorted to killing the two rapists, Billy Ray Cobb and Pete Willard, is because he knows that his daughter who is black will not get justice in a predominantly white region with a judicial system dominated by the whites.

To him it is difficult to get justice when you have a black skin as this will work out as a prejudicial factor to be considered during the hearing and determination of the case against him. 'The first was to find the people who would make the best jury for Carl Lee. They studied the list of names again and again, trying to decide which ones to choose. They knew that Buckley would look for an all-white jury that would find Carl Lee guilty. They needed to get some black people on the jury - but they also knew it would be difficult because there were so few blacks in Clanton.' (p. 47).

The black people in the text, *A Time to Kill*, being represented by Carl Lee Hailey, are trying to ensure they attain same rights and privileges as whites. This pursuit of equal rights has put them in a collision course with white supremacists who believe in white nationalism thus creating a conflict between the two races. Grisham has used the problem of racial inequality in this text to show how racial segregation in human race is destructive to the society and its individual members.

A Time to Kill centers on the issue of racial injustice in Mississippi's judicial system in the eighties. The defilement of Tonya Hailey epitomizes reckless hatred that accrues from racism. Angered by the heinous act of rape, Tonya's father, Carl Lee goes on mission to personally avenge for his daughter by killing the two white rapists. Carl Lee is arrested and faces two counts of murder. He is set to appear in a courtroom to be taken through a judicial system that has racism deeply rooted in its structures.

In *A Time to Kill*, Carl Lee's lawyer, Jake Brigance is told how the jury arrived at a decision to acquit Carl Lee. He is told that one of the jurors, Wanda Womack, a white woman, asked them to imagine of a situation where the rapists were black and the victim was white. The jury arrives at a decision to acquit Carl Lee after being invited to imagine that the victim of rape, Tonya Hailey, is white. The jury is touched by the atrocities meted on Tonya Hailey who has now been 'made white' by the jury's imagination. On this approach by the jury, Leonard Baynes states that:

...the main message in *A Time to Kill* is perhaps that only White men have legitimate reasons for taking the life of another White man [...], and [that] the only way that an all-White jury can justify the African American man's actions is by imagining that he is White. (Baynes, 1997).

Sarah Projansky on her part, has the following observation on the method used by the jury to arrive at the decision to acquit Carl Lee Hailey:

By asking the jurors to imagine a white girl being raped, [...] he simultaneously racializes and deracializes Tonya: he reminds the jury (and the audience) that she is African American and that the rape was racist, but he also insists that the violation of a man's child goes beyond race and racism, is a moral crime (against the father as much as against the daughter) that calls for the rapist's death (at the hands of the father). (Projansky, 2001)

Projansky further observes that the novel epitomisation of race, the staging of the rape and the characterization of the two white constructs a plot of a novel in which an African American creates awareness and educates a white man about his right to protect his daughter and to stand with any other man who does so, irrespective of racial difference. Therefore, while the novel appears to "shout" "this story is about race!" throughout and while it depends on a gendered and racialized rape as narrative catalyst, in the end the film is most concerned with Jake's imagined role as avenger of the imagined rape of his (white) daughter. (Projansky, 2001).

John Grisham chose a white lawyer, Jake Brigance, to defend a black man who is facing charges on two counts of murder. Grisham's intention while doing this is to portray Jake Brigance as a white hero who successfully defends a black man in a white dominated judicial system. The trial is not about Carl Lee being acquitted but it is more of Jake Brigance winning the case. Grisham has individualized Jake Brigance as a white hero while trivializing black characters. According to Roger Ebert, in his movie review of A Time to Kill Grisham has portrayed white characters as people and the black characters (apart from Carl Lee Hailey) as props. Despite this negative perception of character development by Grisham, it is also possible that this approach by Grisham can be viewed from a different standpoint where there is change in Mississippi as portrayed by interracial relationship between Jake Brigance who is white and his client, Carl Lee who is a black American. Although they come from different racial divides, both characters are able to transcend racial and social difference to work in pursuit of Carl Lee's acquittal. This brings hope that there is a possibility of racial unity between the White and African American communities. According to Crespino (2000), having a white American hero at the center of the story allows the reader to conceptualize race issues within an individual, moralistic framework. If racism exists only on an individual basis, then racial reform can occur only through individual moral reform – not through social or structural change that might challenge the legal, economic, or political status quo. The testimonies during trial proceedings attract sympathy from both the African American community and the Whites. Deputy Looney is a white sheriff but testifies in favor of Carl Lee even though Carl Lee had injured him during the shootout in the courthouse.

The presence of the white supremacist secret group, KKK, features majorly in the text *A Time to Kill* as an agent of racism. The function of the KKK is to frighten the African Americans and keep them in an inferior social position. KKK members carry out attacks, burnings and murders of the African Americans. They have been used in the text as an instrument of violence and attacks against everyone involved in the defense of Carl Lee Hailey. This white supremacist group has fueled racial conflicts between black Americans and the Whites. The KKK group believes that the laws have been legislated in such a manner that they favor African American people. "Hell, white people aren't got a chance, except for the Klan. Who else will march and stand up for white people? All the laws work

to help the niggers. That's why we called the Klan." (p. 22). The KKK draws a plan on how to regain the white supremacy through terrorist activities against the black to frighten them into silence and put them in their 'social lane'.

The KKK plans to attack and harass not only African Americans but also the whites who support the acquittal of Carl Lee Hailey. They begin their terrorism with the burning of crosses at the compound of Jake Brigance. 'The Ku Klux Klan had decided that it was time to show him their feelings about nigger-loving lawyers. Several hours before the sun rose on Monday morning, three Klan members put up a wooden cross in the front yard of Jake's house on Adams Street and set fire to it. It was a warning.' (pp. 28–29). Jake was not frightened into surrender. The KKK decided to make good their threats. They plan how to plant a bomb outside Jake's bedroom window. Fortunately, authorities got intelligence on this plan in advance and evacuated Jake and his family. (pp. 33–35). Apart from Jake Brigance who is Carl's attorney, another white person in the defense team being sought after by KKK is Jake's research assistant named Ellen Roark. She is ambushed as she drives her BMW tied down, raped and assaulted by the KKK members.

Superficially, *A Time to Kill* appears to handle mainly the issue of administration of justice; however, the main conflict in the novel seems to be dealing more on the issue of racism and less on justice. The act of the two white men, Billy Ray Cobb and Pete Willard, raping an assaulting the innocent black girl, Tonya Hailey, the terrorist activities of the KKK and the judicial system that is all white, are all illustrations that demonstrate that the novel goes beyond the issue of justice to deal with the matter of racism. The prosecution of Carl Lee Hailey as portrayed by John Grisham is not just about pursuit of justice but driven by racism. To the African American community, Carl Lee Hailey is being prosecuted for being black. Though he killed the two white rapists and stand charged for two counts of murder, he is not being charged for murder. Instead, he is on trial because he has a black skin.

Racism in The Chamber

In the text, Sam Cayhall explains why they carried out racial attacks against the Jews and black Americans. "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." (p. 215). In *The Chamber*, Ku Klux Klan is responsible for the bombing of an office building of a Jewish lawyer, Marvin Kramer. Sam Cayhall, Jeremiah Dogan and Rolley Wedge are members of this group who participate in planning and execution of the bombing. KKK accused Marvin Kramer of many misdemeanors.

Sam Cayhall was a man who combined racism, violence and murder. His terrorist group, KKK, also advocated for these acts of mistreating black Americans. Sam is from a family that has had members that belonged to KKK. "Why did you become a Klansman?" "Because my father was in the Klan." "Why did he become a Klansman?" "Because his father was in the Klan." "Great. Three generations." (p. 205). When Sam Cayhall was young he witnessed the black Americans being terrorized and he was taught that such acts were acceptable as long as they were meted against the black Americans.

When he grew up, he became part of the white supremacists who lynched and murdered African Americans. So, it's just you, right. It's your character, 'your composition, same as your height and! Blue eyes. It's something you were born with '.and can't change. It was passed down in the

'genes from your father and grandfather, faithful Kluckers all, and it's something you'll proudly take to your grave, right?" "It was a way of life. It was all I knew." (p. 342). Sam Cayhall however did not manage to pass down the racist KKK's ideologies to his children. His son, Eddie Cayhall, did not like the way African Americans were being treated. Eddie had a friend from a black family who lived in their neighborhood. "Sam mentioned his name the other day when we were talking about Eddie. He said Quince and Eddie were good friends when they were kids." (p. 421). Sam tried to make him stay away from the boy and the family but he did not succeed.

Eddie witnessed as his father killed the father of his black friend. "Where was Eddie?" "Inside the house, in his room with the door locked." She pointed to a window with broken panes and a shutter missing. "That was his room. He told me later that he looked outside when he heard the shot, and he saw Quince clutching his father.' (p. 426). The relationship between his father and him deteriorates making Eddie leave his father's household in Mississippi and settle in California. To completely cut ties with father Sam Cayhall, he changes his surname from Cayhall to Hall. When Eddie's children grow up, he does not tell them anything to do with his family. When Sam Cayhall is convicted and sent to death row, Eddie is so offended that he commits suicide.

One of the reasons of the reasons why Sam Cayhall carried out murders was to revenge. Some two white men had killed his father and he decided with his brothers to kill them. "And there were two men, white men, who killed my father at a funeral, many years ago. They served some time in jail, and when they got out, me and my brothers waited patiently. We killed both of them, but I never felt that bad about it, to be honest. They were scum, and they'd killed our father." (pp. 663-664). Another reason why Sam Cayhall murdered black Americans was just because of sheer racial hatred towards the blacks. "But why'd you plant the bomb? Why'd you bomb the Pinder house, and the synagogue, and the real estate office? Why were you bombing, innocent people?" Sam just puffed and looked at the floor. "Why do you hate, Sam? Why does it come `so easy? Why were you taught to hate blacks and Jews and Catholics and anyone slightly different from you? Have you ever asked yourself why?" "No. Don't plan to." (p. 342). Another reason why Sam Cayhall carried out the murders was just for pure hatred against the Jews, black Americans and anyone who supported or fought for their rights." 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." (p. 220).

It was difficult for the black Americans to get justice in nineteen fifties and sixties. The government authorities and agencies were dominated by the whites who identified with the ideologies of KKK who wanted African Americans to be kept in their place. "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." (p. 345). When Sam Cayhall murdered his black neighbor named Joe Lincoln, he was not arrested. A sheriff who turned up immediately after the killing at the crime scene instead seems to congratulate him on what he had done. 'Sam showed him Joe's shotgun and explained how it was a simple matter of self defense. 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." (p. 428). The judicial system during this time was no different. The judges and those selected as jurors to decide on the trial fate of the accused where whites who sympathized with the white supremacists on trial. The black Americans therefore could not expect justice from such courts. When Sam Cayhall had been

arrested and brought before the white judge and white jurors, he was set free due to mistrial. 'Inside the courtroom, things were going smoothly for Cayhall and Dogan. Brazelton worked his magic and seated twelve white patriots, as he preferred to call them, on the jury, then began poking rather significant holes in the prosecution's case.' (p. 27). 'There were complaints of Klan harassment of prospective jurors in the first trial, so the judge, for reasons that were never made clear, changed venue to an area crawling with Kluckers and their sympathizers. The jury again was all-white and certainly non-Jewish.' (pp. 28 – 29). The jury finally returned a not-guilty verdict on Sam Cayhall and the only juror who dissented by voting to have Sam Cayhall sent to jail was frowned upon and harassed by his colleagues and the KKK members:

However, one young lady, Sharon Culpepper, mother of twin boys, could not help herself. She glanced at Marvin repeatedly, and many times their eyes locked. He pleaded with her for justice. 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. The second trial ended with a jury hung eleven to one. The judge declared a mistrial, and sent everybody home. (pp. 29–30).

What the African Americans were subjected to was not just denial of their rights. They were brutalized in the most horrific manner in the state of Mississippi and other states in Deep South. In his article, Racial Violence Lynching Era, Villeneuve Todd defines lynching as mob killing of a person or a group of individuals often done by members of the white American community. In the text, The Chamber, the book titled 'Southern Negroes and the Great Depression' found by Adam in Lee's shelf paints a grotesque picture of how the black Americans where lynched in the fifties and sixties. John Grisham's The Chamber, can be viewed as a legal fictional legal novel but it is more than that. On deeper analysis, Grisham has used The Chamber to show how racial violence, murder and terrorism meted on black Americans were deeply rooted in the American southern states. Grisham has shown how segregation and racial discrimination of black Americans had been institutionalized in Mississippi and Southern states of America. The government agencies and authorities through its officials who condoned racial violence and killings seemed to have legalized these acts against black Americans. The sheriff who was supposed to have arrested Sam Cayhall after shooting his black neighbor, Joe Lincoln, ended up congratulating him instead. The jury that decided on the fate of Sam Cayhall was all-white and in most cases those who were responsible for the selection ensured those picked were sympathizers to the white supremacists who were on trial.

Conclusion

In the two texts by John Grisham; *A Time to Kill* and *The Chamber*, this paper concludes that racism affected the administration of justice. The agents of justice who in most cases where white could render an unfair judgment to those seeking justice especially if they are black.

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