

- Amos n' Andy
- The first version of the KKK was largely a Southern vigilante group
  - Southern posse
  - Seen as backwards, stupid, working class
  - Not distinguished in any particular way
  - They were not professionals
  - Just a posse of white southerners who were squeezed [economically]
  - Lots of scholars who argue that those blackface minstrels were created by those poor whites who felt squeezed economically and politically
    - Wanted to demonstrate their belonging in the public space
    - As a way of expressing the oppression that they did not feel because of white racial identification
    - KKK
      - They would describe them professionally as poor and working class
      - Regionally as Southerners
- Second version of the KKK
  - Not only southerners but also northerners
  - Not only Democrats but also Republicans
  - Women who become a part of the KKK in the second variety
  - Why is this critical?
    - All throughout the North there are different branches of the KKK
    - The perception changed
    - The second version of the KKK helps people to understand that those politicians and members of the law enforcement who comprised the first version of the KKK were few and far in between.
    - By and large you would argue that most of those individuals are at the bottom realms of the economic ladder.
- You don't have a patrician class belonging to the KKK - they might turn their heads but the most prominent white southerners are not card-carrying members of the KKK
  - Second version - Indiana becomes the KKK capital of the world.
  - There are times in Theoharis' book or chapter where she mentions the moderate white

- Or she will discuss those different ideas that play into the persistence of the racial discrimination in the North
  - You certainly see [examples] of how African-Americans are going to threaten communities or white women
- You get the emergence of sundown towns as African-Americans [migrate]
  - A sundown town is any white municipality or white neighborhood that aims to keep African-Americans out.
    - They do it through zoning, they do it through restrictive covenants, they do it through violence
      - Ordinances, oral or cultural practice
      - That is not necessarily written / codified but these practices continue to maintain themselves.
      - They were named this way because there were signs saying "nigga, don't let the sun go down on you in Edina", or Mankato or wherever those towns existed
- Out of 621 incorporated districts in Illinois he found that 472 were sundown towns
  - Recently he's upped that number to 507.
  - [Sundown.tougaloo.edu](http://Sundown.tougaloo.edu)
- So you have African-Americans who have migrated north in search of political opportunity and what they have encountered are places that forbid their presence.
- The KKK
  - Their attention or sense of hatred is not only toward African-Americans but it is also toward Jews, Catholics
    - There's also sundown towns who keep those individuals out
      - Who keep those individuals out - there are sundown towns where Jews are not allowed, where Catholics were not allowed
      - If you were Japanese you could not be caught in Nevada
      - In [Colorado] there [were laws] saying no Mexican after dark.
      - Those laws sort of changed somewhere between late 1840s and late 1850s.
        - They found ways to erect ordinances that kept African-Americans and other groups out.
- Sundown towns become sundown suburbs - African-Americans face [difficulty moving in]
  - Places like Darrian Connecticut did not allow Jews

- Dearborn Michigan is a sundown town
  - Ironical because Dearborn today is heavily populated by Palestinians. I'll just say it has a huge Arab population.
- Henry Ford did not want African-Americans in Dearborn which is ironic
  - Henry Ford does not believe in racial equality
    - He believes that you should show some deference to black people as human beings
      - But he believes that the white race is superior to the black race
  - Eventually what you'll see is that a town in Michigan called Inkster, the city of Inkster, becomes the precinct that houses the majority of black workers at the Henry Ford [motor] company.
    - [Henry Ford did not create Inkster]
    - It was a way to keep African-Americans out of Dearborn.
- In the South [there were overt outbreaks of racism]
  - In the North it was a little more subtle
  - We think of driving while black a post-[1950s] phenomenon - it's not.
- The Negro motorist greenbook
  - A guide made by a New York travel agent called Victor Green
    - That green book was a way of informing African-Americans on how to travel from North to South or from East to West as they moved through society.
    - When we think about the Great Migration it's not as simple as African-Americans getting on a train and heading north there are inconveniences along the way.
    - As African-Americans become drivers as Ford workers buy the Model T as they are travelling across the country
    - That green book becomes useful, it is not until 1966 that that book comes out of date, [goes out of fashion].
- Tessler map
  - If you're traveling from California to New York they may say we have some stations in Colorado but not in Utah so you'd better make sure that you've fully charged up here, maybe in Nevada
    - It's designed in essence to give drivers of Tesslers a map of how to travel around the country.
- In a way that's precisely what the green book did.

- [Eugene] does a good job of explaining the white moderate
  - [and of explaining the ways that prejudice] survived [legal remedies]
- [We have a sort of] recalcitrant racism that is pervading the North, West and Midwest.
- They have created structures that over time prevent African-Americans from fully accessing those communities and securing those resources that other groups are able to secure.
- He says that some of these communities use police officers to stop or question motorists when they pass through
- As early as 1903 in Minnesota you had African-Americans who would get chased out of town
  - These two African-Americans were travelling through Minnesota and this group of white men said they had two days to leave town
  - During those two days hell mock lynchings just to give them a visible looming threat that would await them if they stayed around
- Suburbs use zoning and eminent domain to keep out would-be black residents.
- Some towns required residential areas to be covered by restrictive covenants.
  - This is from Edina
    - No lot should be [revealed] to anyone who is not of the white Caucasian race
    - Always lurking under the surface was violence or
    - Refusal to sell gasoline to newcomers
- The civil rights movement left these towns largely untouched
- Some localities forced out their black population in response to the Brown v. Board of Education decision
  - After the school board's decision to comply with Brown prompted a storm of protest
- Sundown towns continue to exclude (this is well after the classical civil [rights] phase) [African-Americans]
- 1960s and 1970s, Northern racial liberalism becomes a part of our national system of race management
  - In a way, so do these sundown towns
  - What I'm trying to draw your attention to is the way in which the North is influencing the South on the issue of race
- We have laws that mandate equality

- o These laws are not enforced and racism is perpetuating
  - o It's camouflaged because those individuals who are responsible
    - The key perpetrators of the northern racial color line, this informal Northern version of Jim Crow
    - Do so through those different kind of tactics that become a part of the color-blind discourse that you see emerge in the 1960s
      - That becomes nationalized in the 1960s
      - That color-blind discourse, those zoning laws those kind of tactics
        - o Neighborhood schools
      - Those are not a post 1960s phenomenon they have their basis their origin their nascent stage in places where African-Americans expected to have greater [racial equality]
- When you're reading Arc of Justice I think Boyle says something along the lines of one community
  - o Bristle or Alexander Turner
    - Where an African-American moves in white mobs gather
    - But two doors down there is an African-American family that is allowed to continue to live there
    - Those people have been around so long we know who they are, they're not really a threat
      - Honorary white person
      - You can accept the African-America who's not really a threat
      - But you cannot accept Ossian Sweet because he's achieved more economic mobility than other members of the community
- Martinsville
- 1990s, laws on Jim Crow
- Northern version of Jim Crow camouflaged by colorblind discourses
- Henry Ford
- Historians resist the temptation of thinking about contemporary issues because they want to avoid making those fictitious connections [between the past and the present]
- You have Henry Ford who has complete control over black churches and over the NAACP

- Because he doesn't want people to think he is anti-Semitic, throws support behind a candidate who he does not favor simply because he does not want people to know how invested he is in the KKK and in maintaining Dearborn as a sundown town
  - He's [employing African-Americans] because it supports his bottom line. Because African-Americans are so interested in being included and they're outside of the interests of labor unions
    - That's not to say that African-Americans do not want higher wages but at the end of the day you want inclusion, you want to be a part of the process
    - That's why when you look at the women's rights movement black women often had to remind their white feminist colleagues that we're not only women, we're black too
    - We're just trying to gain inclusion - you're talking about equal pay we're talking about can we get a job.
- You don't want to do anything that might compromise your position within the company
- If you could successfully achieve that you were paid the five dollars a day as promised
- Ford Motor company is not going to initially (changes once Willis Ward comes on the scene) enforce this
- When African-Americans initially come onto the Ford Motor Company they're initially given some opportunity, some apprenticeships
  - That quickly changes
  - Bates gives Henry Ford more credit than he deserves
  - You're initially led to believe that African-Americans are doing quite well at the Ford Motor Company
  - While they are given [opportunities at Ford]
  - African-Americans are not given the kind of opportunities that you're almost led to believe they're given
- You have church people who begin to sell jobs because Henry Ford is going to rely on the work of ministers who [retain] respectable non-complaining workers
- So respectability politics is going to become a tool for holding black Detroit back
- Detroit was one of the last places to embrace the burgeoning civil rights movement in the North
  - Black Detroit was behind other black northerners in terms of embracing the civil rights movement and that's in part because of the loyalty that black northerners had to Henry Ford
    - He was not entirely equal in his treatment but they had opportunities

- Because labor groups are by and large discriminating against African-Americans
- When labor leaders like Walter Ruther, Philip Randolph,
- When those individuals attempt to go into black churches in places like Detroit they are denied because the company-church alliance strips the church of its activist voice
  - If you allowed any of those individuals to come into the church, if you entertained them your church is going to get cut off and any worker who was recommended out of that church is going to be fired.
  - Stripping the black church of its activist teeth
  - Henry Ford is anti-union, anti-New Deal
    - He also sees Jews as communists, socialists
    - It's a weird sort of dichotomy - on one hand they're blood-sucking capitalists on the other hand they're also communist. Anything that he could disparage was a Jew.
  - He could make sure that Democrats with their New Deal commitments, and Jews and Communist-affiliated organizations have no influence on Detroit, especially black Detroit.
- [If your church voted Democrat, your church was cut off and all workers affiliated with the Church were fired]
- When you face racial exclusion your sense of fidelity increases because you owe the person who gives you opportunities
- Henry Ford hires Harry Bennett and those thugs go out and make sure that every single belief that Henry Ford had is respected, is esteemed, is not challenged
- They beat you up, that's what the Service Department is all about
- Don Marshall is brought in essentially running the negro employment division.
- The problem with Don Marshall is that he's this big burly fellow who has this notorious reputation among African-Americans - they don't like him and call him Simon McGree a character from Uncle Tom's cabin
  - He's mean, he's belligerent, he's despicable and is essentially taking the same approaches that the Service Department takes throughout Detroit and applies them to the Negro employment division
- Willis Ward is brought along to improve / enhance this image of the Service Department
- It doesn't take long before African-Americans begin to disparage Willis Ward as they did the deplorable Simon McGree of Uncle Tom.
- Willis Ward would show up unexpectedly at your home

- o Anything that might be in support of any notion of civil rights, labor unions [was found] you were fired
  - o Faith in the City book by Angela Deareer
- Church-company alliance denies African-Americans the right to [resist]
- Henry Ford is a complex individual - he believes that African-American workers are harder workers than white workers and don't need to be watched as carefully.
- In the movie when Willis Ward tells his father he is going to work in the Ford Motor Company he is outraged because his father worked in the Ford Motor Company to his death.
- Radical groups push progressive change in this country. The other group is black women
  - o Remember, it's World War II you have manpower shortages
  - o Ford Motor company is hiring [white rosies]
  - o No matter how much respectability those individuals gain it is not enough
  - o