

- Faribault race relations are called deplorable
 - Law that [forbids housing if you have committed a crime]
- National system of race management
- Municipalities can create laws that are race-neutral but in effect accomplish the same sort of things that these individuals want, which is racial spatialization.
- Brief overview of remaking respectability.
 - Black migrants come under the influence of respectability politics and try to expand the meaning of it.
 - Respectability
 - Is emerging in a very dark period in the United States
 - I want you to think of respectability and uplift as emerging from a period of Reconstruction
 - America is turning back the hands of time toward a period of segregation and violence.
 - Reformers are viewing empowerment as an evolutionary struggle that celebrates hard work in the tradition of Protestantism and also stresses a bourgeois moral code of appropriate behavioral norms.
 - Notions of reform, bourgeois posture
 - In order to achieve empowerment, they believe that the individual has to evolve.
 - You have to improve the person, improve the community in order to achieve empowerment.
 - Therefore it operates out of this tradition of reform and evangelical process.
- Dealing with Victorian era which had lasted from the late 1830s to roughly the turn of the century.
 - The American Victorian era borrowed from the British Victorian era.
 - It also emerges during the age of Progressivism.
 - Respectability and uplift emerging during these two historical periods.
 - Degree to which that Victorian era and that age of Progressivism influences black elites' understanding of respectability and uplift – the way in which they are conceptualizing reform and conceptualizing those ideas are partnered with those historical moments and the ideas that emerge out of each.
 - By the turn of the 20th century, the Victorian notions of respectability had declined in white communities – the Victorian era is no more, women want to begin to live more emancipated

lives, they want to move beyond the cult of domesticity, of true womanhood – the Victorian era is no more.

- Despite the fact that these Victorian ideals had largely come into decline by the 1910s, they do not do so in the black community.
 - These Victorian ideals tend to be more prominent among black women who preach the importance of proper attire, mannerisms, and morality.
- Important to think about for two reasons
 - African-American women, it demonstrates their agency because even though they are not seen as possessing Victorian ideas they are keen on the ideas that are cycling through society and are interpreting them through their own racialized context.
 - Because African-Americans, particularly black women, view themselves as more respectable than their white counterparts.
- [Some say that] African-Americans are viewing respectability with an outward lense, doing it with respect to the dominant culture.
 - What I want to say is that African-Americans are viewing themselves as even more respectable, even more in possession of virtue than white Americans.
 - They also then believe that they're more deserving of civil rights, they're more deserving of civil rights, racial progress, and economic and political opportunities.
- Women make the argument that they are more fit for participation in a polity because men are so caught up in alcohol and saloon life that they're essentially becoming irresponsible and incapable of sound political representation.
- Many suffragists join temperance movements aimed at supporting Prohibition simply because women believe that they are again more fit, they are more qualified for political representation.
- Likewise, black women and African-Americans in general believe themselves to be more respectable than their white counterparts.
- Ossian Sweet case – more respectable than the mob that gathered outside his home.
- It shows the agency of black women to be in conversation with these larger movements that are occurring at the time
- Certainly, black women are working alongside white women
- African-American women are seeing themselves as more respectable than white
- Progressive reformers want to solve the problems of family, [women] and home through reorganization oftentimes characterized by a belief in the scientific management of the home. They believe women are key to this approach to reform.

- Black female up-lifters likewise want to create clean homes because they view social disorganization as an impediment to racial progress.
- As women influence and control and manage their homes and families, so is society capable of managing the different dilemmas it might face.
 - If they do not demonstrate the right manners, the right sense of morality – if they do not see themselves as derivative in their relationship to men then this can upset the social order, it can bring about a level of social disorganization so what African-American women are appealing to is this same sense of respectability and womanhood.
- Scientific management of the home
 - Progressives have a very warped understanding of how women should manage the home
 - They traded on that language of innovation to describe how women should approach the problems of family and home.
 - You have classes, you have trading sessions
 - Home economics courses become very critical during this era
 - The home economics major becomes really prominent during the 1910s. The idea behind those home economics majors is that for white women, it was really [for] marriage and maternity.
 - We're going to give them a very disciplined approach to how to manage home and family.
- Some individuals who espouse respectability are confrontational.
 - Ossian Sweet versus Idaby Wells.
 - Ossian Sweet believes in racial up-lift but he is not confrontational.
- The way in which we have conceptualized respectability is to assume that it is emergent among upper-crust members of the black community and that's not entirely true.
 - And in thinking that way, not especially different from the way that Baldwin and King approach it, is part of the reason that we have this binary between old settlers and new settlers
 - The reason that's not entirely true is that African-Americans who are of working-class origins are just as keen on respectable behavior as black elites.
 - And a lot of the influence comes from their relationship with the church.
- In the very same way that middle-class African-Americans are suggesting don't intoxicate yourself with alcohol, practice cleanliness, do not visit these red-light districts, do not engage in this kind of illicit behavior

- o Harry Ward is making these same kinds of arguments to his children
 - o Just as Chicago has black belt, Detroit has black bottom
 - o The only time Ward family visits black bottom is when they're going to [Methodist] church.
 - o He's one of those migrants who moves North and is swept into this industrial order.
 - o So he's not of any kind of middle-class standings, yet he refuses to let his family reside in black bottom precisely because he doesn't want them to be influenced by the kind of degradations and illicit behavior that teams in that particular community.
 - o He is guided by his religious orientation, this degree of Christian universalism even to the degree that it influences the way in which he pushes back against this color line in a restrained way that is not unlike Ossian Sweet's.
 - o Because Ossian does not have the same kind of middle-class origins that Gladys does.
 - o What we know about Ossian Sweet and his parents is that while they might not have always had the means, had the resources, they always had the [AME] church.
 - o So for both Ossian Sweet and Harry Ward, they exercise restraint when it comes to dealing with race inequality, or race violence.
 - o Harry Ward tries to guard against his children being too vocal [and] outspoken against the color line.
 - He has this [belief] that those who suffer on Earth will get their [reward] in Heaven.
- So respectability politics is not just emerging out of this [Northern] context.
- When you read Remaking Respectability you get a sense of the vast number of reform groups and clubs that [African-Americans] have established.
 - o They are not new to reform groups because they have their own reform groups already existing in the South.
- Northern racial uplift [Ida] laws represented an image of black migrants, frequently described them as backwards and primitive.
 - o Henry Ward is anything but backwards, he may be working class but he is not primitive and backwards.
- Those who end up in Detroit and paving their own way
 - o Detroit becomes a second stop for those travelling North.
 - The experiences there are not going to help them quickly achieve the racial progress they envision when they leave

the South so they take their resources and head off to Detroit.

- Powerful display of agency that Northern uplift black ideologues are not fully willing to recognize.
- In order to construct a positive community identity, [Reformers] believed that the differences between these migrants and the [existing people] had to be erased.
- Yet by presenting a distorted view of black migrants' past, this discourse ignored the extensive experience many middle class and working class migrants had with Southern reform agents.
 - Even though your perception of these individuals [is that] they are backwards and primitive, they really have extensive experience dealing with these reform agents
 - Likewise, reformers exaggerated the advantages and opportunities available to Northern migrants who accepted bourgeois notions of respectability
 - Working-class were able to embrace solely because it helped them achieve mobility
 - Black northerners contrasted their behavior and demeanor with those of lower- and working-class African-Americans.
- You all have read about Du Bois' talented ten,
 - We still draw on the language of the talented ten today even though Du Bois himself eschewed its discourses.
 - If you take the ten percent of the African-American community that is able to achieve success
 - They are able to achieve education, get gainful employment
 - Then those ten percent will uplift the remaining 90%.
 - 45 years later, Du Bois is at the black boule (which is an elite organization sigma pi phi), he goes to this organization, you have black men of extraordinary prominence
 - You ask Du Bois to deliver some remarks, he says everything I said about the talented ten is bs. I learned that those who established a sense of success or prominence, those who are able to become viable through education and employment, are not necessarily concerned about the [other] 90%.
- The notion of uplift is [moot].
- Black Northerners are giving legitimacy to their own class status by contrasting their own behavior against the behavior of black migrants
 - In a sense this reveals a paradox

- On the one hand black elites were willing to help black [Americans] achieve respectability, on the other hand this would weaken the [power] that they had.
- The issue that black Northerners have is that insomuch as their class understandings of respectability hurt marginalized black people whether they are migrants or not, they almost have to commit themselves to it (it refers to this very class understanding of respectability) because whites (or their white counterparts) are going to look to those class distinctions as evidence of black progress.
- Preserving and protecting chastity
 - Black elites are blaming their own for racist treatment
 - As if that behavior becomes the prerequisite for racial discrimination.
 - This is why white Americans are treating us the way they are.
 - By attacking their race it would show that the race is not incorrigible.
 - If you stand on your perch and say it's these individuals have not become fit and you have become fit.
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