

- Arc of Justice
- Gentleman named Willis Ward
 - 1936 article
 - Willis Ward born in Birmingham, Alabama
 - Born in 1912, moves to Michigan in 1915 to Detroit, African-American
 - Dad is driven by the same push-pull factors that cause other African-Americans to depart the South
- Ward sets world records in track and field
 - Recruited by Dartmouth to play football
 - Roommate of Gerald Ford, teammate of Gerald Ford
 - Essentially, he's Jim Crowed in the big house
 - After he's told he will be benched, he's told he has an opportunity to quit
 - Tremendous support locally and nationally for him to quit - instead, Harry Kipkey convinces Ward that he should not quit
 - If you quit, I will never recruit another African-American to play here
 - Psychic racial terror that Ward has to endure
 - Harry Kipkey brings in Harry Bennet who is essentially Henry Ford's enforcer
 - He would come in and bludgeon people
 - Offers Ward a job at Ford motor company in exchange for Ward not quitting
 - The black press is deeply critical of Ward because at the time, African-Americans especially in the realm of sport but also for individuals like Ossian Sweet who are the embodiment of racial uplift
 - Are called upon to demonstrate the ability of African-Americans to contribute to American life when put on an equal footing
 - The idea of stomaching white racism in that way was not encouraged.
 - Willis Ward - hero or coward? Article
 - Tries to explain that Ward's actions were not that of a coward but that of someone who understood that in order to advance the race forward it might mean tolerating racial prejudice that caused him not to be forced to the sideline but also to suffer a sense of racial [enmity] when he stepped on the practice field

- Ossian Sweet, then, is not a person who just has his irrational fear of being looked upon as a coward.
- Ward is [1924], Ossian Sweet is [1935]
- [African-Americans not idly sitting by but not allowing white racism to persist]
- Risk that Ossian is willing to take
 - Even in departing the South, leaving the South
 - His particular migration story is different from many others.
 - Individual choice made to escape the South
 - See this as an opportunity for him to grow professionally, certainly educationally.
- Sent to live Zenio, Ohio [a place where none of his relatives lived]
- Religious commitments that his family had made to the Methodist /
Episcopalian church.
- It takes a measure of fortitude to be able to get on a train and go to a place you have no understandings of and don't know what will await you to start a life anew.
- There are moments where Ossian is sort of disappointing.
 - Ossian does not behave as other respectable African-Americans behave.
 - Irrational fear he has of being labeled a coward
 - Ossian keeps in company with the African-Americans
 - They have developed a sort of New Negro consciousness which may play out in a context that is still deemed respectable but they are still willing to challenge the status quo
- The groups that rally to his defense, he otherwise has no interest in
- The NAACP hires Clarence Darrow; he never enlists in the NAACP
- Is he playing it racially safe, even to the fact that he and his brother Odus are kind of at odds?
 - They are both committed to upward mobility, but Odus is more willing to be outspoken in the face of racial inequality than Ossian is.
 - Gladys doesn't care where they move, they just need a house
- Ossian recognizes that unlike Gladys and unlike other African-Americans where those middle-class virtues, that sort of upper-crust ethos does not come easily for him
 - That drives his ambitions for success
 - That does not drive his ambitions when it comes to New Negro activism.

- Ossian is kind of like Willis Ward
 - Many groups that come to his defense, especially Communist groups, Socialist groups
 - Becomes the same groups that he targets when he moves to Ford [Motor] Company.
- We don't consider what life is like for racial pioneers, we don't consider the difficulty of pioneering.
- If you look at most black sporting pioneers, by large they are moderate to conservative - I don't want you to look at conservative just in the political context, but that they are conservative in [challenging] the status quo
- If you look at Joe Lewis, Fritz Pauler, Jackie Robinson, Jesse Owens - all of those individuals are either moderate or conservative. Many of them are in the Republican party and embrace the kind of neoconservatism that would come to pervade the last four / five decades of the twentieth century.
- Because they're competing in segregated space, we ascribe significance to their political acts.
- That is to say that when Jesse Owens wins gold medals in the 192[6] Olympics, people claim that he's defeating notions of Nordic superiority.
 - You go to ask Jesse Owens, what are you doing? He says, I'm just running the race.
 - We ascribe a certain degree of political significance [whereas] the individuals who are responsible may be reluctant heroes.
- African-Americans within a racial hierarchy are driven by these racial commitments to racial solidarity
- Individuals cannot exercise their individuality, they have to be constantly reminded of their membership to a subordinated group
 - Any act or success is not just an individual act or success, but it becomes a success of the broader community.
- Ossian Sweet is kind of a tragic figure
 - Forced to do things in response to the color line, however informal it may be, in the North.
 - The idea that Ossian Sweet by the very decisions he made may be deemed a coward, demonstrates the kind of burden placed on African-Americans to be race-representative.
 - He embraces certain aspects of the talented ten, but he doesn't want the burden of having to be a race representative.
 - Voyage toward middle-class respectability
 - Doesn't feel the [burden] to support those endeavors when they are outwardly faced

- In many ways that is an underlying theme of this story
 - Boyle gives you a sense that there is something wrong with the kind of racial thinking that Ossian has.
 - You get the feeling that Ossian is letting the race down.
- The fact that we're dealing with an American racial hierarchy and the need to resist this hierarchy gives individuals the burden of representation.
- The fact that Ossian Sweet worries about being viewed as a coward points to the burden of representation that can be placed on an individual's shoulder.
- The Autobiography of a Colored Man by Johnson
 - The anonymous protagonist in that book is not an ex-colored man because he has become white. What he's trying to draw attention to is this idea that I should be able to be whoever I want to be without the kind of constraints placed on what I do or even because of that racial order, how I'm able to interact with the society around me.
 - On the one hand, I don't want to have racial restrictions placed on my life simply because of my racial identification but I also do not want the burdens of being a member of a subordinated group to force me to have to then exercise [a notion of] agency and racial solidarity.
- African Americans say when and where I enter my race enters with me
- Ossian is committed to a kind of rugged individualism that allows him to see his successes as apart from the kind of successes that [other members of his race could achieve given the same opportunity]
- Northern racial liberalism is a system of race management
- Northern race liberals have committed themselves to this statutory equality, this equality that is driven by law alone.
 - Not enforced but is there on the books
 - When you get raceliberals who advocate against a state intervening into existing political and social relations such that [racial equality] becomes a failed project
 - It is individuals such as Ossian Sweet and [Willis Ford] who become directly or indirectly supporters of that system of race management, they help to buttress that system of race management.
- When Ossian Sweet moves into Garland, he is moving into Garland as someone who has achieved professional status, he was a doctor [with a sense of upward mobility]
 - Does not see that as attached to the racial destiny of all African-Americans
 - The NAACP sees this as a test case for the ways they could pursue a national movement to challenge racial inequality

- o For him, it's totally cast in racial terms.
- Racial liberalism
 - o Notion of bootstrap agency
 - o The law supports equality. For African-Americans who are able to achieve success they achieve success like any other person, through hard work
 - o The counterargument is that there's no Jim Crow
 - Any inequities that African-Americans face is due to their own laziness, lack of hard work, lack of education, lack of fortitude
- You see this in the media today
 - o Whenever someone points out existing racial inequalities, people say look at Oprah Winfrey, she's the richest person in the world
 - o Oprah has success, this individual has success
 - o Almost as a way to say this individual's success is a way to dismiss any concerns that systemic inequality still exist
 - o One of the things you saw in the wake of Obama's presidency is a rush to claim that we have achieved a sense of post-raciality.
- Arthur was arguing, African-Americans can't complain anymore. By achieving the highest office in the land, it demonstrates that the inequalities of the past are no more
 - o Any inequalities that are faced are that of individual acts.
- In the South, African-Americans understand that the racial restrictions they face are buttressed by law
- In the North, there is an informal color line
- What you see here for Ossian then, is a person who's mired in those many conflicts and at times disappoints but only disappoints because he's living in an era where the color line that is in place forces upon him and others the need to be more resistant.
- Washington is pilloried as an accommodationist. Du Bois is certainly advocating for African-Americans to be extended the same rights that are afforded to white Americans
- Booker T. Washington is a bit more reserved
- Du Bois is a Northerner, Booker T. Washington is a Southerner.
- The way that African-Americans are willing to challenge the color line is going to be different than someone whose quotidian realities were marked by extreme racial violence.

- Loving v. Virginia in 1937, Little Rock Nine
- All of these different moments that provide legislative remedies
- The reason that Northern Jim Crow proves so durable is that it's so informal
 - You can't point to a specific law and say this is why people are still suffering
 - But you can recognize that there's a legacy that allows for continuing discriminatory practices to persist.
- I essentially argue in the book that by the 60s and 70s Northern liberalism is the law of the land
 - Michelle Alexander's the New Jim Crow
 - I said by all respects there is no new Jim Crow
 - The inequality we see is a byproduct of that system of Northern racial liberalism that has become a part of our national fabric.
 - There are inequities that are never grappled with. Oftentimes because we don't get enforcement, those problems go on.
- Northern racial liberalism
 - Race liberals did not wake up one day and decide they want to pursue racial equality
 - This system of race management was intended to ensure urban order and peace
 - You don't want individuals stepping out of line, you certainly do not want these black migrants who are flooding into the North sort of running around challenging these systems of racial inequality that pervaded the North
 - By creating laws that were in support nominally of equality, you get people to conduct themselves in a way that you did not see taking place in the South
- Michelle's book in many ways tries to portray mass incarceration as a new way in which African-Americans are being targeted in what she determines to be a caste that is not unlike the caste system that people associate with slavery and segregation.
- Police brutality, mass incarceration
- In one year, 55 [million] African-Americans were shot by police
- Something like police brutality
 - In the 1960s, for instance, in Detroit there was a group that was started called Detroit Stress within the police department
- The acronym was like Stopping the robberies ensuring safe streets

- What Detroit Stress would do was like a guerilla unit that would without provocation target African-Americans, not just target
 - Kill African-Americans, besiege black communities
 - In fact, Coleman Young, his rise as the first black mayor of Detroit comes on the heels of the kind of degradations that had been caused by Detroit Stress.
 - When he comes to office he bans Detroit Stress
 - You have the '67 Detroit race riot
- What we see in the 1920s are not this iconic moment but a long continuum in which African-Americans have an unfavorable relationship with law enforcement
 - Extrajudicial violence - lynchings
- Even initially when the cops knock on his door and go inside, [all they can say is] they saw somebody shooting
- Because the mayor of Detroit, in an effort to preserve racial order and peace, encourages the police to go out
- I understand the argument that Michelle is trying to make.
 - The fact that we have [underscored] the impact that Northern racial liberalism has had [over the last century]
 - Moving from a regional system of management to a national one
- Two things
 - One
 - The police brutality
 - Why do you think Boyle writes the chapter on America?
 - The America that he chronicles in the introduction is not America, it's really the North
- You have here a typical microhistory
- Nativism, distrust of whites toward outsiders
 - Gives you an understanding of how [violence and prejudice] happened
- You've taken slavery away, so now we are forced to erect barriers that will allow us to maintain that sense of white supremacy
 - In the North however, we get all of these laws that are again at least statutorily in support of political equality but underlie distrust for outsiders.
 - These individuals are going to subvert what it means to be American, our democracy
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