MAPPING THE TERRAIN OF BLACK RICHMOND

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The “city” stands at the intersection of several strands of current historiography. The new cultural history seeks the meaning of parades, ceremonies, and all manner of public ritual in the urban landscape, and the social geographer looks for the articulation of race, class, and gender in urban space. What is the importance of these trends in urban and cultural history for African American history? We explore this question by mapping the physical and social terrain of one southern industrial city: Richmond, Virginia. In doing so, we open up issues and debates specific to African American urban history and others that resonate throughout contemporary historical scholarship. For example, led by scholars in subaltern and cultural studies there is a lively debate over questions of hegemony and resistance,1 and recent works have begun to explore the ways in which historians might benefit from the poststructuralist emphasis on text and meaning while at the same time remaining focused on material reality.2 And while much of African American urban history has emphasized external spatial relationships through segregation and ghettoization, more recently hist-

rians have focused on intracommunity relations, raising new questions about the dynamics of spatial relations among African Americans.3 Our aim in this essay is not to provide a full discussion of these issues in Richmond, but to suggest the ways in which a closer reading of the spatial dimensions of the city may aid our exploration of the dynamics of power and culture, providing more nuanced ways of discerning the development of a discourse of class and gender among black Richmonders, and complicating our understanding of the changing racial discourse between black and white Richmonders. To do this, we look at the “black city,” focusing on three areas: civic space and public ritual, conceptualizations of the city, and the moral dimensions of urban spaces.4

THE GEOGRAPHY OF RICHMOND

Visitors to Richmond from other east coast urban areas in 1860 would not have been surprised by what they saw in the general outline of the city. Richmond was a classic mid-Atlantic “walking city” on the eastern fall line, with neighborhoods clustered tightly around a central core of industrial and commercial activity (see Map 1). Industries, large and small, hugged the riverfront, canal, and creeks, drawing water power from and moving raw materials and finished goods along these waterways. Industries not dependent on waterpower, such as tobacco manufacture, spread along the eastern end of Cary, Main, and Franklin Streets. In the center city, commerce and people mixed in Shockoe Valley, where Shockoe Creek originally meandered to the city warehouses and docks around 17th Street. Shockoe Creek passed within a few blocks of the old city market, of some of Richmond’s largest hotels, domestic spaces, and auction houses, and of Wall Street, an extension of 15th Street between Franklin and Main, the center of Richmond’s burgeoning domestic slave trade.

Moving west, visitors standing in Capitol Square could look down on the financial institutions of Main Street, liberally interspersed with dry goods stores and the shops of artisans, who often lived above their establishments. Just south stood the “great basin,” a man-made lake in the middle of the city where canal boats turned around after their
Map 1: Richmond, c. 1860

List of Sites:
1. Free black subscription cemeteries
2. Public free black and slave cemeteries
3. First African Baptist Church
4. Second African Baptist Church
5. Third African (Ebenzer) Baptist Church
6. Fourth African Baptist Church (basement of white-owned Leigh Street Baptist Church)
7. Third Street Bethel A.M.E. Church
8. Capitol Square
9. First Market
10. Second Market
11. Center of the Slave Trade
12. Tradegar Iron Works
13. Warehouse and Flour Mill District
14. Tobacco Factory District

SOURCE: M. Ellyson, Map of the City of Richmond, 1856; Maps of various cemetery properties (City of Richmond, Department of Public Works, Bureau of Survey and Design, 1934).
Map 2: Free Black Population, 1852

This map shows the location of approximately one-fifth of the total free black population in 1852.

journeys from western Virginia on the James River and Kanawha Canal. The smokestacks of several industries could be seen to the west between the canal and the river, including the massive Tredegar Iron Works.

In antebellum Richmond the differentiation of both public space by function and neighborhoods by race was less evident than it would be in the early years of the next century. Though there were distinct clusters of both white immigrants and African Americans in certain areas of Richmond by 1860, nothing approximating a "segregated" neighborhood existed. A rare listing of "Free Colored Housekeepers" in the 1852 city directory suggests the distribution of free black men and women (see Map 2). Clusters of free black residents along Broad and Main Street most likely represent the shops of artisans who jostled for business with white native and immigrant shopkeepers. The other major concentrations of free black men and women were in the low-lying areas of Shockoe Valley and Bottom and in the northwestern region of the city, an area later known as Jackson Ward.

The hiring-out and living-out systems of antebellum Richmond meant that numerous slave men and some slave women boarded out in a variety of arrangements including "in boarding houses owned by white or free Black proprietors, rent[ing] small, shack-like houses behind white residents' homes, and stay[ing] with family members who were employed as domestic servants." Some lived with, and sometimes were related to, free black men and women. Other slaves lived in the outbuildings of businesses and factories, although few manufacturers provided housing. The residences in the wealthier sections of Richmond were equipped with numerous outbuildings, and slaves working as domestics, even those hired-out rather than owned, most likely lived in white households or in such outbuildings. Within these shared living spaces white owners and black slaves lived separate lives, developing their own distinct social worlds. But they also interacted in many public areas such as theatres, where black and white audiences were segregated, and churches, especially before the beginning of separate black religious institutions in the 1840s.

By the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, Richmond developed a suburban periphery (Map 3). Richmond tripled its land size, and at the same time segregation of commercial, financial, industrial, and residential areas increased, especially among the white middle class. The 1888 introduction of the electric streetcar facilitated the development of white middle-class enclaves north and west of the city, among the more prestigious of which were Highland Park, Ginter Park, and Windsor Farms. These, as well as Manchester and adjacent suburbs south of the James River, such as Woodland Heights, were annexed into the city in the first two decades of the twentieth century. Although few black Richmonders could hope to share in suburban life, some black settlements outside the urban core did develop. One,
Washington Park, was home to domestic workers employed in suburban white homes; another, Zion Town, was an area of land owned by black men and women emancipated after the Civil War that survived the encroachment of white suburbs. Dairy farm workers from King William and Hanover counties developed Providence Park in the 1870s, continually moving between the employment and educational opportunities of the city and work in their native counties. The outlines of the physical development of the black urban core followed a familiar storyline—the dispersed residential pattern, the continuing concentration in the central city of not only working-class and artisan blackRichmonders but also business and professional people; the lack of basic city services—water, paved streets, street lights, adequate police protection, refuse collection—or of public recreational facilities—parks, playgrounds; and the dilapidated and overcrowded school buildings, one located directly across the street from the city jail.

CIVIC SPACE AND PUBLIC RITUAL

Symbolic acts and public ceremony had deep meaning for North Americans in the nineteenth century. Social historians point to the reliance on public discourse, rhetoric, and ceremony in an age when literacy and mass communication were limited. Perhaps even more important, historians have begun to accept the idea that common people understood the complex meanings of political and artistic performances and events. Lawrence Levine, for example, has demonstrated that the denizens of the Bowery did not attend Shakespearean plays simply for their more bawdy or violent aspects; rather, they understood the subtle human drama drawn out in the tales of treachery, kinship, and flawed character. Susan G. Davis has focused on parades and other public festivities as symbolic presentations of the orders of society that in turn spawned “counter-parades” where those of different class, race, sex, and/or ethnicity revealed the inequities imbedded in official ceremonies and publicly set forth their own ideas about history, politics, and social hierarchy. These challenges to authority also could become contested in intracommunity struggles over history, politics, and social order. Tracing the history of celebrations and parades and one of their constitutive elements—militias—in the Richmond streets provides a venue for looking at black rights, citizenship rites, and ritualistic negotiations of manhood and womanhood.

John O'Brien has noted that in the immediate aftermath of emancipation, black Richmonders developed their own political calendar, celebrating four civic holidays: January 1, George Washington's birthday, April 3 (emancipation day), and July 4. They thus inserted themselves in preexisting national political traditions and at the same time expanded those traditions. White Richmonders watched in horror as former slaves claimed civic holidays white residents believed to be their own historic possession, and as black residents occupied spaces, like Capitol Square, that formerly had been reserved for white citizens. Following black residents’ July 4 parade and celebration in 1866, the Richmond Dispatch complained that Afro-Richmonders took “complete possession of the day and of the city. The highways, byways, Capitol Square, were black with moving masses of darkeys.” Following Washington’s birthday earlier that year white Richmonders had announced they would prefer “the Twenty-second of February and the Fourth of July . . . be abolished in this part of the country hereafter” than to have such desecrated by the “disorderly, disgraceful, indecent, and contemptible set of beings” who had taken over the national holidays and even dared decorate the Capitol Square statues of Thomas Jefferson and George Mason with wreaths and small flags. The complicated nature of such contests for civic space is particularly evident in the practices of black militias. The Freedmen and Southern Society project editors have observed that “[n]o greater than any other post-bellum figure, the black soldier represented the world turned upside down: the subversion of slavery, the destruction of the Confederacy, and the coming of a new social order that promised to differ profoundly from the old.” Throughout the late nineteenth century, first as self-defense units, then as official parts of state militia, and finally as ceremonial traditions, black men (and for a time women) took to the city streets in military style not only to claim civic space but also to challenge gendered exclusions within this arena of civic space.

By the summer of 1866, black men in Richmond had organized at least three voluntary militia units. These men marched, sabres drawn,
in the April 3 emancipation celebration parade and the July 4 parade that year. The militias’ nightly drills on city streets in preparation for these parades disturbed white Richmonders. This was especially true in the first decades of emancipation when such companies also served as self-defense units for Afro-Richmonders, guarding black residential areas and black schools against attacks, leading protests against segregated streetcars, rallying black voters and warning “would-be white aggressors against intimidating them.” White Richmonders expressed grave concern about the black militia units, and white newspapers regularly questioned the ability of black men to maintain military discipline (and even to wear appropriate attire), doubting such units would ever be called into active service. These companies nevertheless received official recognition both in December 1866, from Reconstruction Governor Pierpont, and in 1876, when a conservative government approved the organization of the First Colored Battalion of the Virginia State Militia.15 These governmental actions affirmed in part that the black militia fit into an existing ethnic tradition of pre-Civil War Irish and German units, which were as much ritualistic as they were militaristic. This tradition allowed participation in the black units to be officially recognized as part of men’s political liberties.16

Yet even as they claimed that masculine tradition, black militias in Richmond, at least for a time, also challenged the notion that this part of the civic domain was an exclusively male preserve. By the late 1870s, black women had also organized a militia company. This women’s militia was apparently for ceremonial purposes only since, reportedly, it was active only before and during emancipation celebrations. Its members conducted preparatory drills on Broad Street. Frank Anthony, the man who prepared and drilled the women’s company, demanded military precision and observance of regular military commands.17 Unlike militia men, who came from working-class, artisan, business and professional backgrounds, the women were, no doubt, working class. Although they served no self-defense role, their drilling in Richmond streets and marching in parades challenged ideas and assumptions about appropriate public behavior held by both white Southerners and white Unionists. While the men’s militias may have been acceptable in part because they fit into a masculine tradition, the women’s unit not only challenged the idea of black subservience, but also suggested wholly new forms and meanings of respectable female behavior. We do not know how long this women’s unit survived or the causes of its demise. But we can speculate that, in addition to horrifying white Richmonders, such a unit may have become unacceptable to a number of black Richmonders, since increasingly concerns about respectable behavior were connected to the public behavior of the working class and of women. This black women’s militia, however, suggests the fluidity of gender in the early years of emancipation. For a brief time, these women declared that no area of political participation or public ceremony was strictly a male domain.

The effort to claim civic space by participating in Richmond’s militia tradition had more than gendered problematic. In asserting their rights in the public domain, black militias demanded acceptance in the larger culture through biracial participation in public ceremony. However, many of the honorific occasions in Richmond that called for militia were events tied to the commemoration of the Confederacy. On one hand, to demand or accept inclusion in such was incongruous with many black Richmonders’ own political traditions. On the other hand, the lack of recognition and exclusion from civic rites were also problematic to some militiamen. Thus in October 1875, when Confederate General George E. Pickett was buried, black militia units joined white units in the procession, although the black men marched “without Arms.” Later that month, when Stonewall Jackson’s statue was unveiled in Capitol Square, black militias asked to participate and were assigned a position “in the rear of the whole, distinct from the white procession,” despite objections from some ex-Confederates. However, newspaper reports following the event suggest that the black units did not participate. In October 1887, black Richmonders debated the initial decision of black militias to participate in the cornerstone-laying ceremony for the Robert E. Lee monument. The militia eventually declined to attend, though the reason is unclear—perhaps it was the members’ own political opposition, community pressure, or, as reported, “the tardy invitation was an insult that did not allow them to practice their drills or clean their uniforms.”18

By the end of the century, in an era of increasing disfranchisement and segregation justified in gendered as well as racial terms, Virginia’s
black militias lost government approval. During the Spanish-American War, after controversy over the appointment of white officers and the resistance of the Virginia Sixth (composed of the former militia units) to racist practices in Tennessee and Georgia camps, the governor disbanded Virginia's black military units without sending them to active duty. Many black Richmonders perceived this as a denial not merely of black political rights but of manhood. Yet this official action did not remove uniformed black men from the city streets. The reenforcing of black men in military style in the city streets became a central concern of men such as John Mitchell, Jr., who promised that the January 1, 1899, emancipation celebration would “show up the largest quota of uniform men ever seen in Richmond on such an occasion.” Minus a state-sponsored militia, the vehicle for such a display was now the Uniformed Rank of the Knights of Pythias, which divided into battalions, wore full dress regalia, rode as cavalry or marched with military precision, engaged in military-style parades and mock battles that were community-wide entertainments, and even developed a cadet program to train young boys. All of these activities were intended to suggest the defensive preparation of black Richmonders and, by equating uniforms and military precision with respectability, to use the city streets to parade black manhood, thus reasserting black men’s rights in the political arena. As African American men were denied what they considered their citizenship rights to military participation, these ritualistic signifiers—once only one component of a wider definition of manhood—became crucial. In the process, reenforcing through ceremonial drills, parades, and mock battles took on an intracommunity meaning that made manhood more a matter of status, of one’s ability to purchase a uniform, and of one’s claim to be of the “best” class. Yet these drills publicly proclaimed that the dissolution of the black militia could not be accomplished by the government only; their authority existed as much within the black community.

We can also trace the contests among black Richmonders for physical, civic, and historical space through their celebrations, parades, and other public rituals. Parades—big and small, for funerals, society mass meetings, fraternal conventions, holidays, or other occasions—were a central feature of black life in the city throughout the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. The emancipation day parades of April 3, 1866, and April 3, 1868, both went through the main streets of the city (although exact routes are not known) and terminated at Capitol Square, a particularly symbolic space because ante-bellum law had defined this area off-limits to African Americans (see Map 4). Through this restriction, white Richmonders had asserted not only physical control but also psychological control of the symbols and mythology of the state, constructing African Americans as outside the polity. Through these parades black Richmonders claimed the city as a whole, pronounced their rights to civic space, and also seized the power to define public memory, insisting that their version of the day’s history become public history:

NOTICE! THE COLOURED PEOPLE of the City of Richmond WOULD MOST RESPECTFULLY INFORM THE PUBLIC, THAT THEY DO NOT INTEND TO CELEBRATE THE FAILURE OF THE SOUTHERN CONFEDERACY, as it has been stated in the papers of this City, but simply as the day on which GOD was pleased to Liberate their long- oppressed race.

Later emancipation celebrations traveled shorter routes, often more confined to black neighborhoods. More importantly, they became arenas for black Richmonders’ struggles with each other. For example, when residents debated whether to celebrate January 1 or April 3, or in 1884, when some black Richmonders paraded on April 3 and others on April 20 to commemorate the ratification of the Fifteenth Amendment, the streets became the site of contests over differing conceptions of emancipation and freedom and over who would hold the power to define their history.

While these explicitly civic rituals provide insight into intra- as well as interracial political discourse, much can also be gained from mapping more routine public rituals as well. Lorenzo Jones, who grew up in Church Hill in the early twentieth century, recalled at least one society parade a week, usually held on Sunday. What might a mapping of these parades illuminate about black life in the city? Both an 1898 Lilies of the Valley mutual benefit society parade and a 1903 Uniformed Rank, Knights of Pythias parade left from and terminated at halls belonging to the organizations, traveling routes that connected
African American neighborhoods throughout the city and also marching down Broad Street through the central business district (Map 4). The Lilies of the Valley parade, for example, began in Church Hill, traveled to the outskirts of Penitentiary Bottom, and through Jackson Ward. These public rituals suggest ways in which black Richmonders worked to create a sense of community among a widespread and disparate people with competing needs and interests. At the same time they may provide a window on class and gender relations. Large numbers of black Richmonders in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries were chronically unemployed and underemployed, and may therefore, have experienced high degrees of geographic mobility. Ethel Thompson (Overby), for example, noted that her family moved frequently: “If you did not have the money to pay the rent, you moved about often.” By constantly “reinventing” through ritual their organizations and neighborhoods, might the society parades have served to diminish the degree of alienation historians sometimes attach to very mobile populations? Might the members of the Independent Order of Saint Luke have achieved a similar effect by performing the same rituals at the same time in different neighborhoods? In April 1900, they held simultaneous mass meetings in Jackson Ward and Church Hill, members assembling and marching short distances to the meeting sites. There were sex-based differences in each march route: the women and men gathered at different places, and the women marched shorter distances (in Jackson Ward the women did not march through the streets at all but started from the basement of the church and marched upstairs to the mass meeting). How might we explain this ritual pattern in the mutual benefit society that came as close as any Richmond institution to establishing female equality within the total organization? We have yet to fully discover the social, political, and cultural significance of such rituals or to fully examine the basis of participation. What might be learned from the dress, the banners in the parades and along the routes, the ceremonies at the beginning and end, the occasions for parading, and the participation of working and middle-class, men, women, and children? Full exploration of ceremonial and ritualistic uses of the streets is an aspect of African American urban history that promises rich rewards.

Struggles for civic space were fought not only in the streets but also within community institutions, such as the church. Attention to questions of space and the spatial construction of political, social, and even economic discourse suggests increasing class and gender differentiation among African Americans in the postemancipation South and opens up new ways to think about the negotiation of community. In the immediate post-Civil War era, black Richmonders enacted their understandings of democratic political discourse through intracommunity and Republican Party mass meetings at which men, women, and children fully participated (including voting). They carried these notions of political participation into the state capitol, engaging from the gallery in the debates on the constitutional convention floor. The church as a central foundation of the black public sphere was central to African Americans’ realization of a fully democratic political discourse. In the immediate postslavery era, church buildings doubled as meeting halls and auditoriums. As a political space occupied by men, women, and children, ex-slave and formerly free, literate and illiterate, the availability and use of the church for mass meetings enabled the development of political concerns in democratic space.

By the 1870s, white Republicans seeking to bolster their hold on party politics tried to remove political meetings from the black church. They relegated meetings to smaller spaces under their control, which precluded mass participation, and they closed the galleries, allowing only official delegates to attend and participate. Despite these efforts, black Richmonders continued to hold mass meetings, often when dissatisfied with the official Republican deliberations. Throughout the late nineteenth century, however, the use of church space became contested among black Richmonders, and in the process political participation itself became contested and increasingly class and gender based. By the 1880s, a series of debates within black Richmond over the use of church facilities led to a prohibition against mass political meetings at First African Baptist Church. Since no other facility within the community could accommodate a true mass meeting and those outside the community were closed to black Richmonders, the closing off of First African meant that indoor mass gatherings of Afro-Richmonders were no longer possible. At the same time debates
over appropriate behavior, preferred forms of worship, and the nature of rational discourse combined with the limited ability to hold true mass meetings to produce a discourse of entitlement in which some persons—those of education, those of learned speaking styles, and eventually those who were male and middle class—had greater authority and rights in this political arena. Increasingly, the more regular forums for political discussions were literary societies, mutual benefit societies and fraternal order meetings, women’s clubs, labor organizations, street corners, kitchens, washhubs, and saloons—all of which served to retain mass involvement in politics while transplanting political discussions to specialized places where working class and middle class, male and female were often set apart from each other. As this happened, political rhetoric and ideology became more class and gender stratified. The complicated issues of how southern African Americans moved to a more class- and gender-based politics while also seeking to maintain a democratic agenda can partially be explored through the changing geography of their political discourse.\[30\]

THE BOUNDARIES AND MEANINGS OF BLACK RICHMOND

In considering how black Richmonders conceptualized their urban environment, we interrogate the cultural meanings they gave to the spaces they shared and the rhetoric and ideologies of urban space they developed. We suggest not only the street maps but also something of the mental maps that black Richmonders may have laid out and traveled.\[31\] Our investigation treats city space as more than merely fixed residential and work patterns mapped on linear blocks; we see city space as an amalgam of fluid public spaces and institutions culturally defined by the inhabitants. Elizabeth Blackmar has noted how “the crafted landscape functions symbolically; it is the physical incarnation of social priorities.”\[32\] Similarly, we attend to the built environment as a means of exploring social, political, and economic ideology.

In the immediate post-Civil War era, black Richmonders erected buildings that tangibly testified to their emancipation. In December 1865, former slaves, who had been secretly worshipping together since 1860, transformed a stable on Main Street into the Fifth African Baptist Church. In the spring of 1866, members of Second African Baptist decided not only to rebuild their church, burned down by white residents angered by the church’s political and educational activities, but to construct “a substantial edifice” built “entirely of brick” to replace the former wooden structure. In the summer of 1866, black residents constructed the Navy Hill school while black militia stood guard to prevent its destruction by white Richmonders opposed to black education. In these and countless other ways, black Richmonders imprinted their freedom in the urban landscape. Imagine, for example, what particular meanings it must have given to black Richmonders’ images of freedom when, in 1867, black men, former slaves, “knocked out the cells, removed the iron bars from the windows, and refashioned” Lumpkin’s Jail, the old slave trading pen on Fifteenth Street between Broad and Franklin, into a school for freedmen.\[33\]

By the late 1880s, black Richmonders began emphasizing “race progress” as a way of giving African Americans a history and status through which they could claim their rights. The construction of a black urban environment of larger and more elaborate businesses, churches, and homes was used to signify this historical progress. Some of this, as Walter Weare has noted in his discussion of late nineteenth-early twentieth-century black expositions, had the purpose of “testify[ing] before skeptical whites . . . and placing the proof of ‘race progress’ on elaborate display.”\[34\] Black-owned banks, of which there were four in Richmond by 1903, took on an especially symbolic role, standing, according to Richmond schoolteacher, minister, and poet Daniel Webster Davis, as “conclusive evidence of a high degree of civilization.”\[35\]

The establishment of churches, banks, and businesses as the proof of “race progress” was not principally directed at white Richmonders, however. When newspapers and speakers heralded each new brick residence; each church organ, beaded ceiling, set of pews or stained glass windows; each business “erected by an Afro-American builder, assisted by Afro-American laborers and for Afro-Americans,” they proclaimed more than black Richmonders’ material worth.\[36\] Each visible evidence of progress—the construction of these buildings as
before they went off to one of the dance halls. The Sl. Juice Bank was
the place to go to meet girls. The SL. Juice Bank was, in fact, a
mix of a hip hop music club and a dance floor. People from all over
the city would come here to socialize and have a good time.

Now, let's talk about the housing market. The SL. Juice Bank
was located in a_freqently neglected area_of the city. The area
was home to many low-income residents and was often referred
to as "The Slums." The SL. Juice Bank was a symbol of resistance
against the prevailing demographics of the area. The club
provided a safe space for people to come together and enjoy
themselves.

In the mid-1990s, the Jackson Ward area was a center of hip hop
culture. It was here that many influential artists got their start.

The SL. Juice Bank was a place where people from all walks of
life could come together and celebrate their common experiences.

In the 1990s, the Jackson Ward area was transformed into a
multicultural hub. The SL. Juice Bank was one of the many
organizations that contributed to this transformation.

Today, the SL. Juice Bank is no more. The building has been
converted into a housing complex. However, the memory of the
place lives on in the hearts of those who were fortunate enough to
experience it.
Map 5 (continued)

7. Nickel Savings Bank, Jackson Ward branch
8. American Beneficial Insurance Company
9. National Ideal Benefit Society
10. Richmond Beneficial Insurance Company
11. Southern Aid Insurance Company
12. Richmond Hospital
13. Woman's Central League Training School and Hospital
14. Friends Asylum for Colored Orphans
15. Colored Women's Industrial Home and Nursery
16. Y.M.C.A.
17. Knights of Pythias Castle
18. Knights of Pythias Castle Hall
19. Hayes Hall
20. Price's Hall
21. Sixth Virginia Social Club
22. Richmond Athletic and Social Club
23. Hippodrome Theatre
24. Globe Theatre
25. Jamestown Pool and Billiard Parlor
26. Miller's Hotel
27. Mrs. P. C. Easley Confectionery
28. George Brown Photographic Studio
29. Negro Development Corporation
30. Negro Historical and Industrial Association
31. Richmond Planet

SOURCE: Sites listed in one or more Richmond city directories, 1905-1915.

close by, and Walker's short walk or ride to St. Luke Hall, the headquarters of the 100,000-member insurance company she headed, took her through some of the poorest streets in the city—unlike most white bankers and insurance executives who lived far removed from the downtown commercial district in a white world increasingly segregated by class. The St. Luke Emporium, a department store the Order opened on Broad Street, traditionally a center of white business, was still only three blocks from her home.\(^4\) Equally close were other black banks and insurance companies.

The question we would pose is how Walker's political and economic vision was shaped by the spaces she inhabited. We find a woman of privilege determined to maintain her privilege while at the same time working to eradicate the injustices that came from others' lack of privilege. We would suggest that a very distinct conception of race and class was bred in her daily geography. She talked and acted on a politics and economics that came very much out of thinking about how females and males of all ages and classes live with each other on a daily basis. Under her leadership, St. Luke Hall developed as a physical space that reproduced class, gender, age, and other distinctions within black Richmond; at the same time, the Order's regulation that meetings could not be held in private homes meant that the mutual space of St. Luke Hall brought all members together.\(^4\) We do not mean to reenforce the romantic contemporary discussions of some golden age of black life when the close proximity of the middle class and
The city's work provided black women less mobility through the urban terrain more confined in the late nineteenth century to prescribed spaces of activism founded in politics rather than community. Middle-class women who were active in politics, social and political knowledge and influence began to question the role of black women in the city. They may have been working-class women large gaps on the city map. The neighborhoods were associated with geographic and knowledge. These neighborhoods suggested a relationship between geography and knowledge. There are also areas of the city where the landmarks of black Richmond are not immediately apparent due to the insertion of large numbers of black women with large gaps of the female workforce. Black women are assimilated into the city as part of its machine, not as part of the city's culture. In these areas, the city's landmarks are not immediately apparent due to the size of the city. This is not to suggest any pre-existing position of these women in the city. The city's landmarks are not immediately apparent due to the size of the city. This is not to suggest any pre-existing position of these women in the city. The city's landmarks are not immediately apparent due to the size of the city. This is not to suggest any pre-existing position of these women in the city.
networks of contact between black Atlantans in cities and county

of the Pan-African Conference of the Organization of Negro

The Pan-African Conference is held to discuss issues of black

in cities and county.
continued in the saloon and on the sidewalks surrounding it; at the same time, the screen may have been a point of contention and open conflict if, for example, in a crowded saloon black and white patrons disagreed over moving the dividing line, providing more space on one side and lessening the space on the other. Close proximity could lead to political alliances; it could just as well lead to conflict. No doubt most of the time it did both.

In the late nineteenth century, thousands of black and white laboring and artisan men encountered each other daily in the iron and tobacco factories, on the docks, and in building trades such as plastering and bricklaying. Working-class women were less likely to have opportunities to socialize around common workplace experiences. Although the number of black and white women in the city's tobacco factories expanded in the late nineteenth century, the industry was rigidly stratified by race as well as gender, thus black and white women never worked in the same places. In various ways, white male employers and white female reformers portrayed white women as pure, innocent, moral, and endangered, in need of protection from the city and the factory. Black women were perceived as dirty and dangerous—to the city, to the factory, and to moral white women. White women needed to be segregated not only from men—white and black—but also from the dirty and dangerous black women as well. Black and white women's positions in the workplace itself were, therefore, separated not only by physical rifts but by large ideological canyons as well.

The degree to which black and white women socialized in their neighborhoods merits investigation. Certainly some did meet in dance halls and saloons, even though the police court judge in Richmond ruled it illegal for women to frequent barrooms. Late nineteenth-century social reformers—black and white—often saw the mixing of black and white men and women in dance halls as a sign of the unrespectability of such places and their patrons. For the most part, however, women—black and white—had fewer institutionalized public leisure spaces than did men. A larger portion of women's time away from places of paid employment was connected to their own domestic space; issues of social equality may have, therefore, been more pronounced in interactions between black and white women than in those between men which occurred in public and semipublic leisure spaces. Nevertheless, domestic chores in working-class neighborhoods provided many opportunities for interaction, even after segregation was more firmly established. It is likely, for example, that black and white families without indoor plumbing or backyard wells drew their water from the same springs or water troughs. Similarly, in working-class neighborhoods, black and white women may have patronized the same grocery stores or vegetable and fish trucks. They may have met as they supervised their children's play, picked rags or scavenged, frequented secondhand stores, or did their wash. No doubt many black and white working-class women frequented the city markets at the end of the day near closing time when the prices of meat, especially, were often lowered. Numerous sites of informal interaction may have highlighted working-class women's similar economic conditions and domestic chores; they could also be venues for working-class women's recreation—perhaps an interracial recreation. Just as easily, these sites could be places for conflict.

How easily working-class women's interactions translated into political alliances is less clear. Available sources shed little light on the interaction of women in Richmond's Knights of Labor. Black women, many of them employed as domestic workers, and white women organized a number of local assemblies, but on a segregated basis. In Richmond, as elsewhere in the South, one significant factor in black and white working-class women's domestic arrangements may have worked against political alliances. Scholars have noted the ability of white working-class women to hire black working-class women to do their household work or laundry. Those they hired often lived in their neighborhoods. When Maggie Alease Taylor (Jackson Howard), for example, who lived on the black side of 27th Street, had to leave school before graduation, she went to work cleaning houses and washing dishes for women on the white side of 27th Street. These relationships of unequal power, and possible exploitation, shaped the interactions of black and white working-class women.

Yet the continued attempts in the late nineteenth century at biracial political and labor coalitions such as the Republican Party, the Readjuster Party, and the Knights of Labor were made possible not merely by the continued interaction of black and white men at worksites but also by the reinforcement of these workplace connections in neigh-
neighborhood meeting places even in an overall context of distrust and violence. The Knights of Labor movement drew on the common ground of religious imagery and the language of fraternalism among black and white working-class families, sustaining biracial consumer boycotts and strikes in the 1880s.65

By the early twentieth century, working-class neighborhoods underwent changes that decreased the opportunities for interaction between black and white working-class men and women. As skilled white workers followed the new white middle class of clerks, salesmen, and professionals to the suburbs, the composition of older working-class neighborhoods such as Oregon Hill and Penitentiary Bottom, on the western and northern boundaries of the Tredegar Iron Works site, profoundly changed. By 1920, Oregon Hill remained white, but the skill level of residents had declined significantly. Penitentiary Bottom, which in the nineteenth century was home to both black and white residents, had evolved into an overwhelmingly black neighborhood of laborers, tobacco hands, and domestic workers.66

Even so, common interests and conditions could still draw people together. As Earl Lewis has noted in his study of Norfolk, Virginia, new forms of mass culture could create common spaces. The recollections of Lorenzo Jones and Bessie Bailey (Baldwin), both of whom grew up in Church Hill in the early twentieth century, are suggestive. Jones, who details which blocks were occupied by white families and which by black, still considered his neighborhood integrated in comparison to what would come later, and he remembered the crowds—black and white—who gathered on Fourth Street to watch wire service reports of the World Series games. Baldwin recalled that one of the few radios in her neighborhood was owned by a "couple who lived on 34th Street and people would come on a Sunday morning, people would come from Oakwood Ave., white people, to listen to this couple’s radio."67 Richmonders could simultaneously conceive of their neighborhoods in terms of interaction and within a system of segregation. The fact that working-class people, black and white, lived much of their life outdoors meant that the possibilities for interaction were frequent. Whether those interactions were friendly or hostile, they reinforced a vision of the late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century city as shared space.

The use of the sidewalks, streets, parks, and other public spaces by the working class sometimes led to condemnation of their activities as immoral and unrespectable by an increasingly privatized middle class. Debates over outdoor life, dancing, and dress, suggest some of the nuances of class, gender, respectability, and leisure in African American urban life.68

MORAL GEOGRAPHY: CLASS, GENDER, AND RESPECTABILITY

The landscape of urban leisure provides a venue for examining the everyday rituals of urban life and the "moral geography" of southern urbanization.69 Spatial inequalities made many activities engaged in by the working-class more visible because, lacking private facilities, their work and leisure were more public. Elite African Americans, as elite Euro-Americans, often naturalized ideologically and rhetorically their class and status privileges. Thus middle-class black Richmonders often spoke of working-class men’s and women’s inability (as well as unwillingness) to observe the more privatized and restrictive conventions as evidence of work ethics and morality, ignoring factors of time, space, and money. It was the public visibility of working-class activities that often made them threatening to a middle-class increasingly worried about image as a sign of progress and a means of obtaining rights. The public behavior of the working class was considered an affront to propriety and decorum by some African Americans and as a menace to public order and private property by white Richmonders. It was precisely white men’s and women’s perceptions of these activities that often concerned black middle-class reformers.

Working-class women, for example, often did their laundry or other chores outdoors because of the small space of their homes, the lack of indoor plumbing, and because they could oversee their children’s play and socialize with their neighbors as they worked. Having the responsibility of caring for their own, their relatives’, or their neighbors’
choke and undetected female's whose presence was desired to grace the
Reverend Anthony Bagan, Pastor of First African Baptist Church for
several reasons. The蛋or for the article, as mentioned
in the previous pages, was to provide a profile of the urban woman as
may be found in urban textbooks under the untraditional category
women. The greatest evidence of the ways in which antithetical
views were expressed for "Third World" environments, such as "ethnic
areas" and "southern black communities" is that the lack of a clear
definition of "urban woman" allowed for the kinds of assignments
which resulted in her work on the London geographical assignment
in an "ideal" setting. Ross has observed in her work on the London
equations that the process of defining the terms of inclusion for
women in the geographical assignment, as more accurately
"southern illiterate" will be a deeper exploration of the
women's roles within the urban context, and the ways in which
women and men are influenced in the geographical assignments
of the craft.

"Now is that an ecological dilemma?"

"...unless possession..."

"Now is that an ecological dilemma?"

"...unless possession..."

"...unless possession..."
ecologically compatible with the maintenance of the home and the world economy.

Finally, what is the role of the "rescued" woman in the context of these discussions? While the term "rescued" often implies an act of saving or liberation, it also suggests a form of dependence that may perpetuate the power structures that cause the need for rescue in the first place. This dynamic raises questions about the ethics and implications of "rescuing" women from harmful situations, particularly in the context of public discourse.

In conclusion, the "rescued woman" narrative is a complex one that reflects broader social and cultural issues. It is important to consider the implications of this narrative on women's autonomy and agency, as well as on the broader discourse of gender, power, and liberation.
The designation of these districts as "improved" allowed police to enforce territorial boundaries and control workers' movement. The presence of domestic workers, "Chinatown" poor area, and "slum districts" meant that police could more easily monitor and control workers. The "neighboring" schools and factories made it easier for police to oversee the area. The police's ability to enforce their presence in these districts was enhanced by the presence of schools and factories, where they could easily monitor and control workers. The police's goal was to maintain order and prevent any potential incidents.
make “wholesale arrests” on “no other charge than that” the arrested “lived in a certain street.” One such incident occurred in August, 1910, when numerous black men and women in one of these districts were “herded together like cattle,” and “hurried away to jail after being hustled out of their beds at midnight, absolutely with out any warrant or right to search their premises.”

How people who lived in these areas were or were not incorporated into black community institutions is a question that merits study. We do know that some black people shared a view of certain areas as immoral. When insurance executive B.L. Jordan asked the police to arrest a white man for attempting to molest his fourteen-year-old sister-in-law, his primary evidence was a letter from the man requesting the girl meet him. Jordan successfully argued that merely the neighborhood the man chose for the meeting was evidence of his bad intentions, as no respectable person would go there or even know of it. Similar protection from the law was not forthcoming for the ten-year-old girl sexually molested by a white insurance collector; the fact that she was home alone caring for her baby brother in a poor neighborhood allowed her to be categorized as unrespectable, and her charges against the respectable white man were dismissed. While B.L. Jordan was no doubt right about the man’s intentions toward his sister-in-law, this incident along with indiscriminate arrests by the police and the lack of protection afforded to many working-class people by the judicial system suggests the degree to which a significant number of black Richmonders may have been viewed as unrespectable solely on the basis of their address.

NOTES


2. See, for example, the essays in Lynn Hunt, ed., The New Cultural History (Berkeley, 1989). For an insightful analysis of the debates about poststructuralist theory and historical


4. Particularly helpful to our understanding of urban space has been Elizabeth Blackmar, "The Urban Landscape," Journal of Architectural Education 30, 1 (September 1976), 12-14; Robert Rotenberg and Gary McDonough, eds., The Cultural Meaning of Urban Space (Westport, 1993); and D. W. Meinig, ed., The Interpretation of Ordinary Landscapes: Geographical Essays (New York, 1979). We focus herein on issues of public and semipublic space but we recognize the need to more fully interrogate issues of private space as well.

5. The addresses of approximately one-fifth of the total free black population were listed in William L. Montague, The Richmond Directory and Business Advertiser for 1852 (Richmond, 1852), section entitled "Free Colored Housekeepers." See also, Marie Tyler-McGraw and Gregg D. Kimball, In Bondage and Freedom: Antebellum Black Life in Richmond, Virginia, 1790-1850 (Richmond, 1988), 48-52.


8. For the development of Richmond, see Christopher Silver, Twentieth-Century Richmond: Planning, Politics, and Race (Knoxville, 1984).


10. Thomas J. Wooster, Jr., Negro Problems in Cities (Garden City, 1928); Gustavus A. Weber, Report on Housing and Living Conditions in the Neglected Sections of Richmond, Virginia (Richmond, 1913); Charles L. Knight, Negro Housing in Certain Virginia Cities (Richmond, 1927); Silver, Twentieth-Century Richmond; W.T.B. Williams, "Colored Public Schools in Southern Cities," Ninth Annual Report of the Hampton Negro Conference (Hampton, 1905), 36.


13. Richmond Dispatch, July 6, 1866; Richmond Enquirer, February 23, 1866.


16. In antebellum Richmond all white men were liable for militia muster every year, although they could obviate this duty by paying a fine. Some of Richmond's more prosperous citizens formed elite units such as the Richmond Light Infantry Blues, which performed ceremonial duties and were mustered to suppress insurrectionary activity such as the John Brown raid in 1859. Other antebellum units rallied around ethnic identities, such as the Richmond German Rifles, later known as the Virginia Rifles, and the Montgomery Guards, an Irish unit. The German Rifles took part in ceremonies and celebrations with both German and American themes and also served a protective function in the German community, especially during the Know-Nothing agitation in the 1850s. Both the Montgomery Guards and the Virginia Rifles served in the Confederate Army during the Civil War. See Louis H. Mammano and Lee A. Wallace, Jr., Richmond Volunteers: The Volunteer Companies of the City of Richmond and Henrico County, Virginia, 1861-1865 (Official Publicaion No. 26, Richmond Civil War Centennial Committee (Richmond, 1969); John A. Cutchings, A Famous Command, the Richmond Light Infantry Blues (Richmond, 1934); Klaus G. Wust, "German Immigrants and Nativism in Virginia, 1840-1860" in Twenty-ninth Report, Society for the History of the Germans in Maryland (Baltimore, 1956), 31-50; Herman Schuricht, History of the German Element in Virginia 2 vols. (Baltimore, 1898); James Henry Bailey II, A History of the Diocese of Richmond: The Formative Years (Richmond, 1956), 145-148.


19. The story of the Sixth Virginia Volunteers can be followed in the Richmond Planet, April, 1898-May, 1899.
20. See, for example, Richmond Planet, January 11, September 19, 1902. Quote is from Richmond Planet, September 17, 1898.

21. Richmond Citizen, April 4, 1865; Richmond Republic, April 9, 1866; Richmond Dispatch, April 9, 1866; April 7, 1868; O'Brien, "From Bondage to Citizenship," 327-328, 334-342; "An Ordinance Concerning Negroes," in The Charters and Ordinances of the City of Richmond (Richmond, 1859).


23. The changing story of emancipation, reflected in black Richmonders' parades, is examined in Elsa Barkley Brown, "Teeling Stories: The Invention of Black Richmond" (paper presented at Colloquium Series, W.E.B. Du Bois Institute for Afro-American Research, Harvard University, March 1994). Parades were also used to connect African Americans residing within the corporate limits of the city with those outside and even in other cities. See, for example, the 1890 Knights of Pythias parade, which began in Petersburg, marched to and through Manchester, across the bridge to Richmond, through Church Hill, and ended in Jackson Ward. Richmond Planet, August 23, 1890.

24. Interview with Lorenzo Jones by Barbara Roane, July 17, 1979, Richmond Independence Bicentennial Commission Oral History Program, Series IV, Special Collections and Archives, James Branch Cabell Library, Virginia Commonwealth University, Richmond, Virginia (hereafter VCU).

25. Richmond Planet, September 17, 1898, September 19, 1903.


27. Richmond Planet, April 15, 1900.


30. Barkley Brown, "Negotiating and Transforming the Public Sphere," 126-141.


32. Blackmar, "Urban Landscapes," 13. See also Jane Jacobs's exploration of the conflicts between city planners' layout of streets, parks, neighborhoods, shopping districts, and cultural centers, and urban residents lived mapping of areas for work and play in The Death and Life of Great American Cities (New York, 1961).


34. Walter B. Weare, "New Negroes for a New South: Adaptability on Display," in Elizabeth Jacoway, Dan T. Carter, Lester C. Lehman, and Robert C. McMath, Jr., eds., The Adaptable South: Essays in Honor of George Brown Tindall (Baton Rouge, 1991), 90-103. Black Richmonders led the construction of the "Negro Building" and organization of its exhibits for the 1907 Jamestown Tercentennial Exposition. When it was closed, they attempted to have the exhibits permanently reinstalled in Richmond as a Negro National Museum. The space they hoped it would occupy is telling; to get white Richmonders' support, the organizers agreed not to attempt to place it on Grace or Franklin streets but also made it clear that they "did not want it set way back in Jackson Ward." See Daniel Webster Davis and Giles Jackson, The Industrial History of the Negro Race of the United States (Richmond, 1908); Peabody Clipping File, No. 93, Collins P. Huntington Library, Hampton University, Hampton, Virginia; quote is from Vol. 1, 169.


36. Richmond Planet, January 4, February 15, March 15, 22, 29, May 10, 13, June 7, 28, July 12, November 5, 15, December 6, 1890; January 10, May 16, 23, 1891; January 5, 1895; September 10, November 12, 1898; August 26, 1899.

37. See, for example, the Richmond Planet's front page coverage of the True Reformers' new bank building in 1891; the newspaper's regular front page picture biographies in 1895; biographies of black Richmonders written by other black Richmonders; the writings of popular poets; or, see William Richardson Williams, Richmond Planet, May 16, 28, 1891; James A. Williams, A Sketch of the Life and Times of Capt. R. A. Paul; Davis, Life and Public Services of Rev. Wm. Washington Browne; Wendell P. Darby, Maggie L. Walker and the I.O. of St. Luke: The Woman and Her Work (Cincinnati, 1927); R. J. Chiles, "He Saw the Point," Richmond Planet, May 16, 1891; Speeches in Maggie Lena Walker Papers, Maggie L. Walker National Historic Site, Richmond, Virginia (hereafter MLW Papers).

38. W. P. Burrell and D. E. Johnson, Sr., Twenty-Five Years History of the Grand Fountain of the United Order of True Reformers, 1881-1905 (Richmond, 1909); Richmond Dispatch, October 17, 1890; Grand Fountain United Order of True Reformers, 1619-1907 From Slavery to Bankers (Richmond, 1907).

39. This is Elizabeth Ewen's phrase for an entirely different phenomenon, the symbols of mass consumer culture, such as billboards and electric lights. "City Lights: Immigrant Women and the Rise of the Movies," in Catharine R. Stimpson, Elsa Dichter, Martha J. Nelson, and Kathryn B. Yasziski, eds., Women and the American City (Chicago, 1981), 43.

40. Janice L. Reiff suggests computerized graphics as one means of exploring the various geographic boundaries of community articulated in oral histories, diaries, and other sources. Overlaysing these images one could, for example, compare men's and women's descriptions of
community, or see "If people who have jobs inside it describe the community the same way as people who don't?"/ Structuring the Past: The Use of Computers in History (D.C., 1991), 35-37.

41. We draw here on Earl Lewis's discussion of how African Americans in Norfolk, Virginia, used the language of space to translate segregation into congregation; Earl Lewis, In Their Own Interests: Race, Class, and Power in Twentieth-Century Norfolk, Virginia (Berkeley, 1991), chapter 4. On Richmond's conceptions of Jackson Ward, see video created for the exhibition "Jackson Ward: A Century of Community" (Richmond, 1987), and "Two Street," video created for the exhibition "Second Street" (Richmond, 1989).

42. Bernadine Simmons, "A Street Second To None," Richmond Celebrates, Special Arts Issue, 1987, 60-61.

43. The Emporium was intended as a space where women could participate in the growing consumer culture as customers, salesclerks, and managers, without suffering the indignities of second-class service and menial jobs in white establishments. One strategy of white businessmen who opposed the store was to turn the space into a "rough" rather than a "respectable" area by opening up barrooms on each side. For a discussion of the Emporium, see Elsa Barkley Brown, "Womanist Consciousness: Maggie Lena Walker and the Independent Order of St. Luke," Signs: Journal of Women in Culture and Society 14, 3 (Spring 1989), 610-633.

44. Barkley Brown, "Not alone to build."

45. We speak here not only of the most frequently reproduced visual images of Walker but also of the ways in which she is envisioned in historical studies and contemporary lore. Our alternative image is based in part on a reading of her diaries as well as in our mapping of her daily life.


47. Public comment on the "Second Street" exhibition, which was sponsored by the Black History Museum of Virginia, Richmond Renaissance, and the Valentine Museum, testifies to the wide range of memories about Jackson Ward and Second Street. Visitor comment books posted in the exhibition and videotapes of public comment sessions contain many discussions of the major business and entertainment enterprises of Second Street, but also a significant number revealed concerns about the moral atmosphere on the street. One person noted, "When I was growing up in Richmond 1934-53 my parents didn't allow me to go on 2nd St. We used to sneak down there to the Globe and Hipp Theatres and to the Skating Rink." Visitor comment books for "Second Street" exhibition, Archives, Valentine Museum, Richmond, Virginia. For a discussion of prostitution, see "Murder in a Jackson Ward Assignment House," The Idea 5, 12 (October 7, 1911), 3-4.

48. Scott C. Davis, The World of Patience Gromes: Making and Unmaking a Black Community (Lexington, 1988), 31; Richmond Planet, April 30, May 14, 1904. Daphne Spain has argued that domestic work "kept women safely within the private sphere." We are suggesting that it took women fully into the public sphere not only because of their travels through the city but also because these work spaces became public space. See Daphne Spain, Gendered Spaces (Chapel Hill, 1992), 172.

49. For an insightful discussion of the assumption that the city was male terrain and that those women who "gazed back" were immoral, see Judith R. Walkowitz, City of Dreadful Delights: Narratives of Sexual Danger in Late-Victorian London (Chicago, 1992). See also Mary P. Ryan, Women in Public: Between Banners and Bullets, 1825-1880 (Baltimore, 1990).


52. See also the Baptist Ministers Association and the Mothers League, late nineteenth-century organizations that incorporated residents within the boundaries of both Richmond and Manchester. New York Tribune, June 17, 1865; Richmond Dispatch, April 7, 1868; Richmond Planet, 1890s, passim.


54. Proceedings of the Hampton Negro Conference, no. 6, July 1902 (Hampton, 1902), 43; Richmond Times-Dispatch, May 8, 1949; Elizabeth Dabney Coleman, "Richmond's Flowering Second Market," Virginia Calvadocos 4, 4 (Spring 1955), 8-12; Interview with Mrs. Estelle F. Carter and Mrs. Sadie C. Sears, April 5, 1980, Henrico County, Virginia, VCU; Richmond Planet, September 13, 1898.

55. For one example of this discourse, see Earl Lewis's discussion of food patterns in Norfolk, In Their Own Interests, 92-93.


58. The type of reminiscences of John O'Grady, Jr., 6 (copy in possession of authors, courtesy of Nora Witt).


61. The evidence of black and white women's contact in dance halls and saloons is contained primarily in newspaper accounts throughout the late nineteenth century of police arrests for disorderly conduct. For Judy John Grachfield's view on women in barrooms, see, for example, Richmond Times, September 2, 1899.

62. For an insightful commentary on the difficulty of defining leisure in studies of working-class women given the degree to which their domestic work and leisure were intertwined see Elizabeth Roberts' review essay in Gender and History 6, 2 (August 1994), 303-305.

63. On leisure and household shopping see, Melanie Tebbutt, "Women's Talk? Gossip and 'women's words' in working-class communities, 1880-1939," in Andrew Davies and Steven


66. For the changing face of Richmond neighborhoods, see Silver, *Twentieth-Century Richmond*. The source for the neighborhoods around Tredegar is Richard Love, "From the Hilltop to the Bottom: Trajectories in Urban Development" (unpublished paper, cited by permission of Love).

67. Lewis, *In Their Own Interest*, 96; Interview with Lorenzo Jones; Interview with Mrs. Besse Bailey Baldwin by Akida T. Munsah, October 9, 1982, The History of Church Hill Project, Series XII, VCU.

68. Our discussion of respectability is most directly informed by Ellen Ross, "‘Not the Sort That Would Sit in the Doorstep’: Respectability in Pre-World War I London Neighborhoods," *International Labor and Working Class History*, no. 27 (Spring 1985), 39-59; Ellen Ross, "Survival Networks: Women’s Neighborhood Sharing in London Before World War I,", *History Workshop Journal*, no. 15 (Spring 1983), 4-27; Peter Bailey, "‘Will the Real Bill Banks Please Stand up?’: Towards a Role Analysis of Mid-Victorian Working-Class Respectability," *Journal of Social History* 12, 3 (Spring 1979), 336-353; Christine Stannell, *City of Women: Sex and Class in New York, 1789-1860* (New York, 1986); Roy Rosenzweig, *Eight Hours for What We Will: Workers and Leisure in an Industrial City, 1870-1920* (Cambridge, 1983); and discussions with Victoria Wolcott, Tera W. Hunter, and Jorna Jackson.


70. Lillian W. Betts, "The Richmond of To-Day," *The Outlook* 65, 17 (August 25, 1900), 977; *Richmond Planet*, September 17, 1898; July 15, 1899; Dabney, "Rough Autobiographical Sketch," 10. Christine Stannell, in a study of antebellum New York, examines the way white middle-class women’s prescription against white working-class women’s and children’s use of the streets turned "a particular geography of sociability" into "evidence of a pervasive urban pathology." *City of Women*; quote is on 203.

71. In 1883, for example, a dispute arose in Ebenezer Baptist when some members allowed dancing at an entertainment the proceeds of which were to benefit the church. *New York Globe*, September 29, 1883.

72. Focusing on Atlanta, Tera W. Hunter analyzes the geography of urban leisure, exploring "the relationship between work and play; class conflict among African Americans; and, competing concepts of gender, godliness, and sexuality" in "‘Sexual Pantomimes,’ ‘Hurtful Amusements,’ and the Blues Aesthetic" (unpublished paper, cited with permission of Hunter).

73. *New York Globe*, April 26, 1884. Throughout the late nineteenth century, elite black Richmonders put their quiet, demure social life on public display in the pages of the *Richmond Planet*. These elaborate details of the dress, food, entertainment, and guest lists at their private affairs were intended as evidence of respectability and race progress.

74. A. Binga, Jr., "Dancing and Evil Fruits," in Binga, *Sermons on Several Occasions*, I (Richmond, 1889), 195.

75. This is based on our reading of Minutes, First African Baptist Church, Books II and III, 1875-1930, microfilm copy in Archives, Virginia State Library, Richmond, Virginia.

76. Ross, "‘Not the Sort That Would Sit in the Doorstep’," 39.

77. Johnson, *History of the Colored Volunteer Infantry*, 41-42. Although this refers specifically to the policy of the Petersburg militia, the units in Richmond and Petersburg shared many of the same rules; additionally, since militia units shared many social activities it is likely that a number of Richmonders were present at these functions.


79. While excursions remained a popular activity throughout the late nineteenth century, often sponsored by churches, clubs, and mutual benefit societies, they also came under attack by those who thought working-class people should save the money spent on such and should save their energies so as to be more productive laborers. See, for example, the heated debate over excursions at the Acme Literary Society meeting reported in *New York Globe*, August 18, 1883. For more of these discussions on the national level, with an emphasis on the moral as well as financial dangers of excursions, especially for "our girls," see Margaret Murray Washington, "Club Work as a Factor in the Advance of Colored Women," *Colored American Magazine* 11, 2 (August 1906), 85.


82. Rosenzweig, *Eight Hours for What We Will*, 78-79.


84. Minutes, Book III, First African Baptist Church; *The University Journal* 5, 5 (March 1905), 74.