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 histo-

296

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
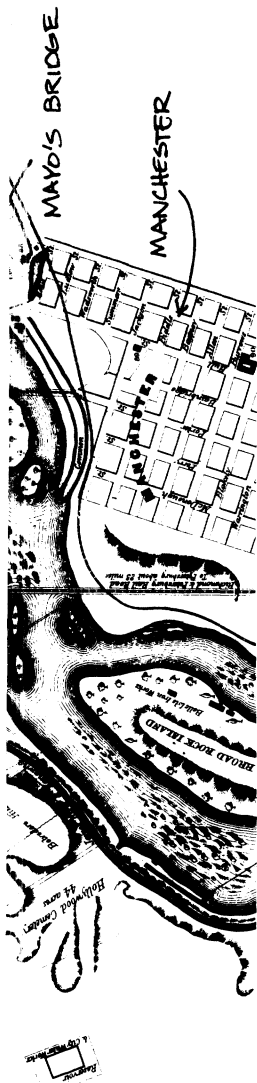
Map 1: Richmond, c. 1860
List of Sites:
1. Free black subscription cemeteries
2. Public free black and slave cemeteries
3. First African Baptist Church
4. Second African Baptist Church
5. Third African (Ebenezer) Baptist Church
6. Fourth African Baptist Church (basement of white-owned Leigh Street Baptist 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. Tredegar 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).

299

MAP OF THE CITY OF RICHMOND
HENRICO COUNTY
VIRGINIA

Prepared from actual Surveys, and published expressly for Subscribers to the Richmond Directory
BY M. ELLYSON 1856

Scale 1100 ft to an inch

NORTH

JAMES RIVER

● = 1-2

● = 3-5

● = 6 or more
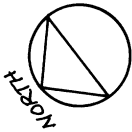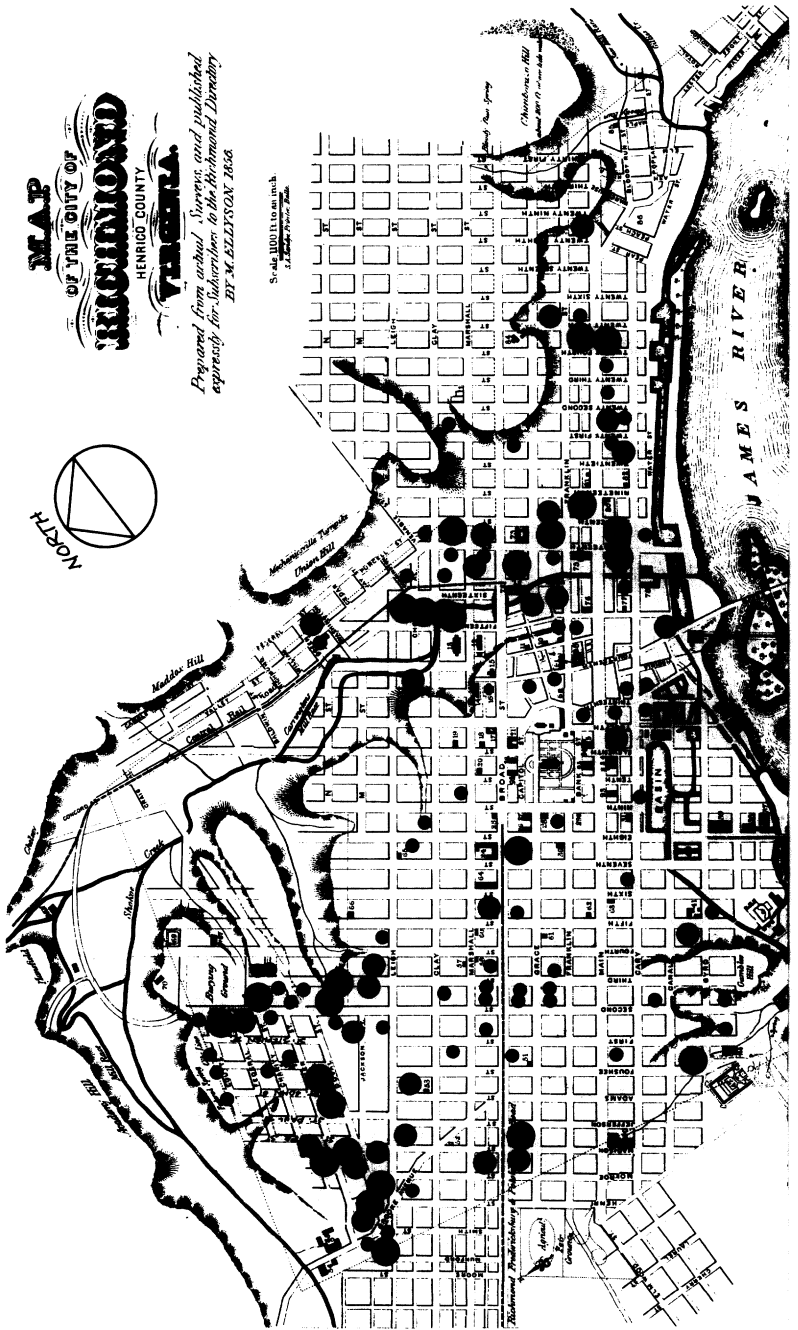
Map 2: Free Black Population, 1852
This map shows the location of approximately one-fifth of the total free black population in 1852.
SOURCE: M. Ellyson, *Map of the City of Richmond*, 1856. Addresses listed in William L Montague, *The Richmond Directory and Business Advertiser for 1852* (Richmond, 1852), section entitled "Free Colored Housekeepers."

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).[5] 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.[6] 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.[7]

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,
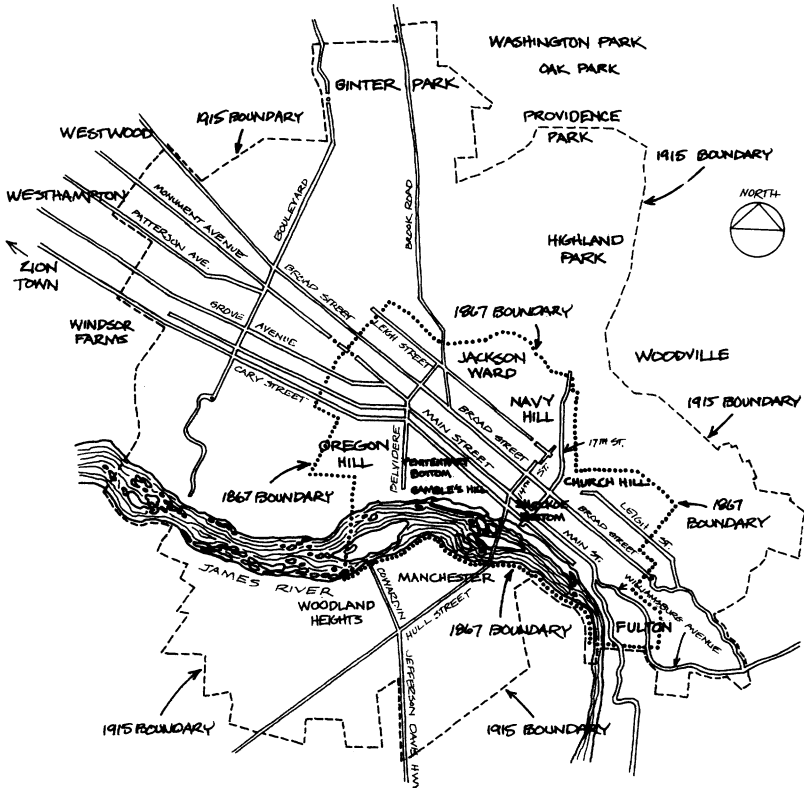
Map 3: Richmond Neighborhoods and Territorial Expansion, 1867-1915
SOURCE: *Clarke's New Guide Map of Richmond and Suburbs* (E.C. Clarke, 1920); *Map Showing Territorial Growth of Richmond* (City of Richmond Department of Public Works, Bureau of Survey and Design, July 1929, issue of 1931); Howard H. Harlan, *Zion Town—A Study in Human Ecology*, Publications of the University of Virginia Phelps-Stokes Fellowship Papers, Number Thirteen (Charlottesville, 1935).

industrial, and residential areas increased, especially among the white middle class.[8] 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 subur-
ban 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.[9] 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
black Richmonders 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 facili-
ties—parks, playgrounds; and the dilapidated and overcrowded school
buildings, one located directly across the street from the city jail.[10]

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 demon-
strated 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 differ-
ent 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.[11] 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.[12] 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.[13]

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 "[m]ore 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."[14] 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 problematics. 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 incongruent 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.[19] 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 reuniforming 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.[20] 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, reuniforming 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.
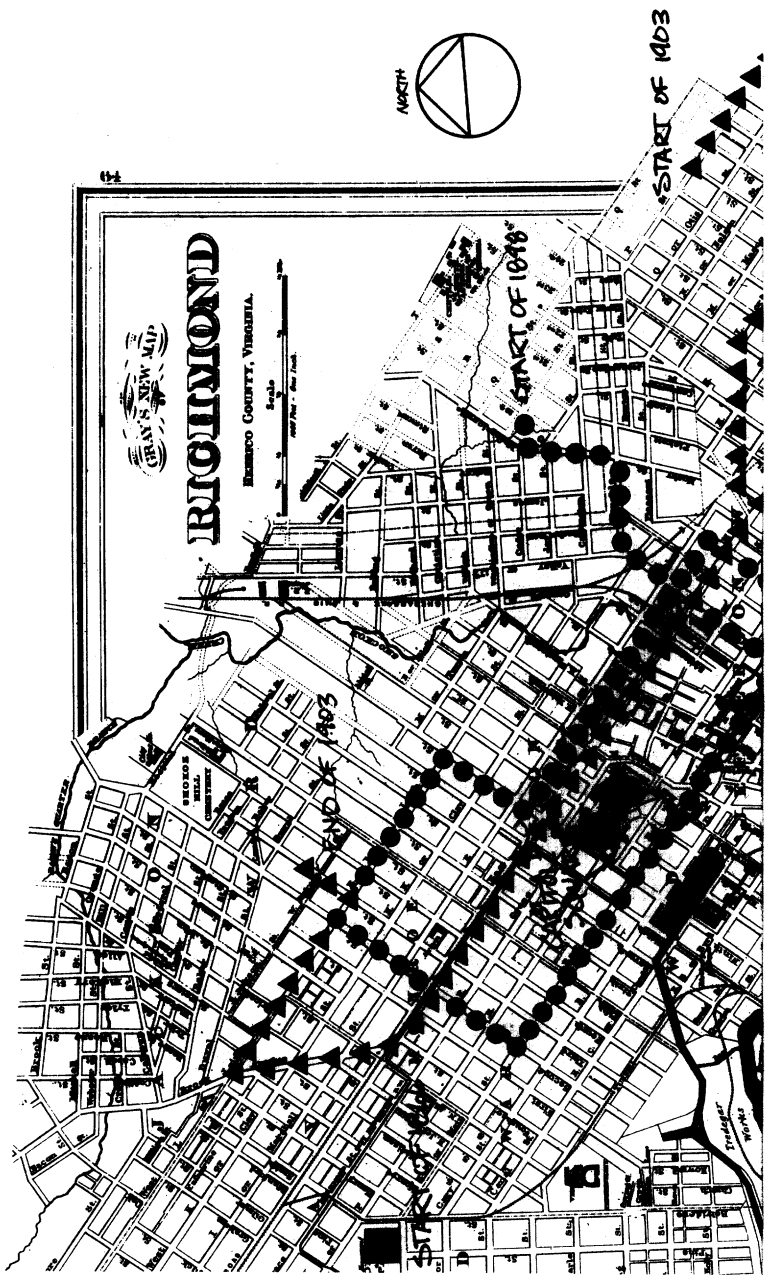
We can also trace the contests among black Richmonders for physical, civic, and historical space through their celebrations, parades, and other public rituals. Parades—big and small, for funerals, society mass meetings, fraternal conventions, holidays, or other occasions—were a central feature of black 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 antebellum law had defined this area off-limits to African Americans (see Map 4).[21] 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.[22]

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.[23]

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.[24] 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

Gray's New Map. RICHMOND. Henrico County, Virginia.

NORTH

START OF 1403

START OF 1898

END OF 1893

START OF 1893

Map 4: Parade Routes

■ = Start and End Point of Emancipation Day Parade, 1866.

◆ = Known Points of Emancipation Day Parade, 1868.

▲▲▲ = Route of Knights of Pythias Parade, 1903.

●●● = Route of Lilies of the Valley Parade, 1898.

SOURCE: *Gray's New Map of Richmond*, 1882; *Richmond Citizen*, April 4, 1866; *Richmond Republic*, April 9, 1866; *Richmond Dispatch*, April 9, 1866; April 7, 1868; *Richmond Planet*, September 17, 1898; September 19, 1903.

African American neighborhoods throughout the city and also march-
ing 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.[25] 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 twen-
tieth 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."[26] By constantly "reinventing" through ritual their organi-
zations 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).[27] 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 ceremo-
nial and ritualistic uses of the streets is an aspect of African American
urban history that promises rich rewards.[28]

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 nonliterate, the availability and use of the church for mass meetings enabled the development of political concerns in democratic space.[29]

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, streetcorners, kitchens, washtubs, 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 slavetrading 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

well as the telling of their tales of achievement in newspapers, books, speeches, poetry—was part of a ritual of memory, struggle, and hope.[37] Black men and women used major buildings as mnemonic devices. For example, the Grand Fountain United Order of True Reformers opened their bank on April 3, 1889, and their store on April 3, 1900. They waved the banner "In 1860 slaves, in 1890 bankers" at emancipation parades, and produced literature with titles like *1619-1907 From Slavery to Bankers*.[38] It would be a mistake to read the celebrations of economic mobility as merely part of the late nineteenth-century Horatio Alger-type emphasis on individualism and progress; black Richmonders often represented individual achievement as collective prosperity, not only removing the logic behind their social subordination in the larger society but also providing for each other "a new visual landscape of possibility."[39]

Exploring the cultural meanings of black urban space has opened up new understandings for us and presented us with new problems of interpretation and presentation. Our struggles to integrate the material, conceptual, and representational spaces all embodied in an entity called Jackson Ward are suggestive. We have often been unconscious of the contradictions within our own placements. Thus Elsa has been able to insist upon Jackson Ward as the creation of black Richmonders, arguing that one evidence for such is its continued political, social, and economic importance even after white city councilmen gerrymandered the district out of existence in 1903. At the same time, she has insisted that we map the ward by the boundaries created by the white city council. Gregg has insisted on Jackson Ward's origins in the 1871 gerrymandering by the white city council to insure black political impotence. Yet he has been emphatic that we could not literally map the ward's boundaries because Jackson Ward as a place has so many different meanings and boundaries based in black Richmonders' own images and landscaping. In reality Jackson Ward is, simultaneously, all of these literal and symbolic spaces. Should we now proceed to produce a visual representation of the ward, we could only do so by mapping many different spaces existing in legislative books, in autobiographies and interviews, in newspapers and elsewhere, seeing where these maps converge, overlap, diverge, and seeking meanings in the interstices.[40] Jackson Ward is a function of history, collective

memory, mythology, and power; it is also a function of legislation, politics, and inequality. In confronting black residents' conceptions of the boundaries and the nature of the ward, we have found it important not merely to understand how stories of this space became inflated but also to realize how some of these stories became their own history as black Richmonders created a "counter memory," rerembering the creation of the ward as an act undertaken by black people, a distinction that turned it into a place of congregation as well as segregation.[41] We have learned how necessary it is for students of African American urban history to recognize mythology and public memory not merely as useful historical sources but also as important historical forces.

Memory is, of course, contested. An examination of Maggie Lena Walker's neighborhood suggests the complexities of weaving together the threads of history and memory in Jackson Ward (Map 5). Walker, founder and president of the St. Luke Penny Savings Bank (now the Consolidated Bank and Trust Company, the oldest continuously existing black-owned and -run bank in the United States), is one of the iconic figures in this now national historic district; her home on Leigh Street is a National Park Service site. We began by plotting her neighborhood, getting a sense of her daily surroundings. We found that her block from First to Second Street on Leigh was an enclave of black professionals (including three professional couples) in the midst of working-class blocks sprinkled with other professionals. She lived just steps from "Two Street," the main business and entertainment thoroughfare of Jackson Ward, and a block from the Hippodrome, which opened in 1915 for vaudeville acts and later featured the new popular entertainment of movies along with a variety of shows. When the Rayo Theatre opened in 1924 on Second Street between Marshall and Clay, bringing Gippy Smith and his Six Kings of Jazz, Boisy DeLegge and his Bandana Girls, and "'Some Wild Oats'—The Picture They Fight to See," the Jazz Age was in Maggie Lena Walker's front yard.[42] Saloons were as prolific as churches in her neighborhood, and Leigh Street was a major thoroughfare to and from the nightlife of Jackson Ward. Those who could not afford a Hippodrome ticket might hang out on the corner of Second and Leigh, some of them singing or dancing till they procured the price of a ticket or practicing their steps before they went off to one of the dance halls. The St. Luke Bank was
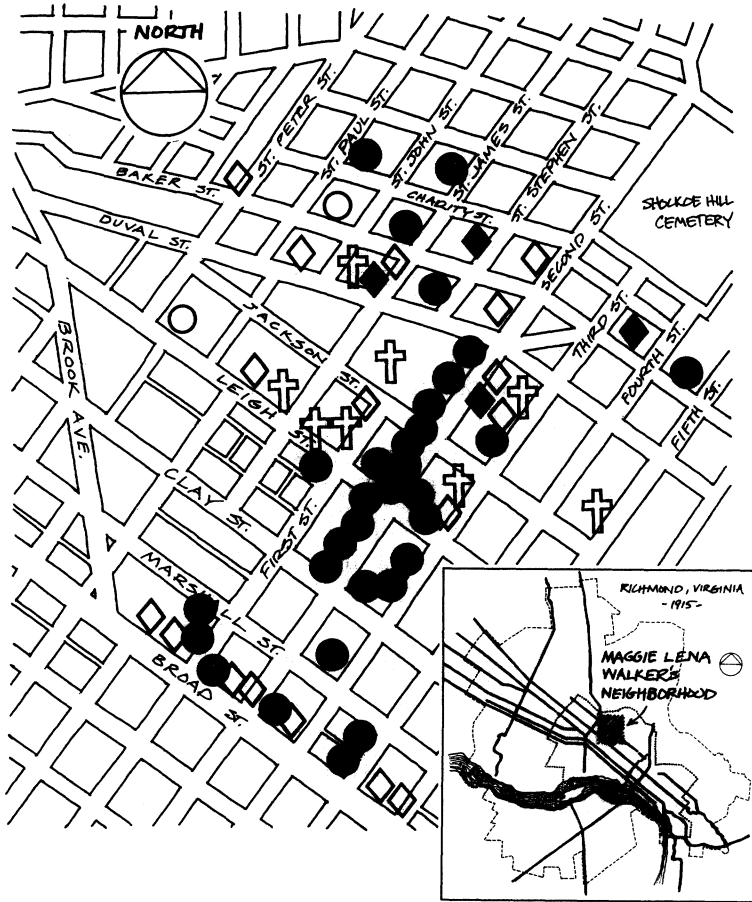
Map 5: Maggie Lena Walker's Neighborhood, 1905-1915

✝ = Churches, 1907

◯ = Public Schools, 1907

◆ = Saloons, black-owned, 1907

◇ = Saloons, white-owned, 1907

List of Sites, 1905-1915:
1. The Walker home
2. St. Luke Hall
3. St. Luke Penny Savings Bank
4. St. Luke Emporium

5. Grand Fountain United Order of True
   Reformers Bank, Hall, and
   Office Building
6. Mechanics Savings Bank

Map 5 (continued)

7. Nickel Savings Bank, Jackson Ward branch	18. Knights of Pythias Castle Hall
8. American Beneficial Insurance Company	19. Hayes Hall
9. National Ideal Benefit Society	20. Price's Hall
10. Richmond Beneficial Insurance Company	21. Sixth Virginia Social Club
11. Southern Aid Insurance Company	22. Richmond Athletic and Social Club
12. Richmond Hospital	23. Hippodrome Theatre
13. Woman's Central League Training School and Hospital	24. Globe Theatre
14. Friends Asylum for Colored Orphans	25. Jamestown Pool and Billiard Parlor
15. Colored Workingwomen's Industrial Home and Nursery	26. Miller's Hotel
16. Y.M.C.A.	27. Mrs. P. C. Easley Confectionery
17. Knights of Pythias Castle	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.[43] 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.[44] 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

working class translated into a homogeneous, nonconflictual commu-
nity, but to rather emphasize the need to place Walker's (or any other
person's) economic and political visions within her daily geography,
mapping her daily contact with other residents of similar and differing
statuses and with the broad range of street life in Jackson Ward.

We also consider the space Maggie Lena Walker has come to
occupy in public memory. We are intrigued by the "picture" of Walker
that has emerged as a mainstay of public memory—that of a plain,
even austere, businesswoman. We compare that picture with another
of Walker that suggests a woman of great style and some flair, a
high-spirited, fun-loving, as well as domineering and insecure, person
(Figures 1 and 2).[45] The "official" public memory of Walker has
removed much of the flair and dynamism of her life and has required
us to see her only as a businessperson, churchgoer, and social activist.
Invisible is the woman who frequented the Hippodrome and who built
a second story porch overhanging Leigh Street so she could still
engage in street life even while maintaining a respectable distance
from the street.[46] That street life included both legal and illegal
business ventures, those considered "uplifting" and "sinful." Just as
the memory of Maggie Walker has been sanitized, so too the "official"
public memory of Jackson Ward which rarely recognizes the en-
trepreneurship of the streetcorner vendors, numbers runners, and
prostitutes in its veneration of this black business district.[47] Of course,
the official and vernacular images of Walker are in part products of
her own self-fashioning. This suggests that one avenue for exploring
the "perils and prospects" of black business development, especially
for a woman, may be attention to how she created and recreated herself
in different spaces.

The question of daily geography and the creation of oneself and
one's community through spatial meanings raises questions of urban
spectatorship, social identity, and definitions of the city and of "black
Richmond." Except for the relatively small number of men engaged
in trades like huckstering, the black Richmonders who may have had
the widest gaze on the city were women, those thousands who worked
as laundresses or domestic servants, and who, by virtue of their
employment, had to traverse and were seen as "belonging in" the
widest range of spaces. For example, one woman living in Fulton did

Figure 1: This stylish image of Maggie Lena Walker is a rare glimpse of a woman usually pictured as plain and austere. (Reprinted by permission from the Valentine Museum, Richmond, Virginia)
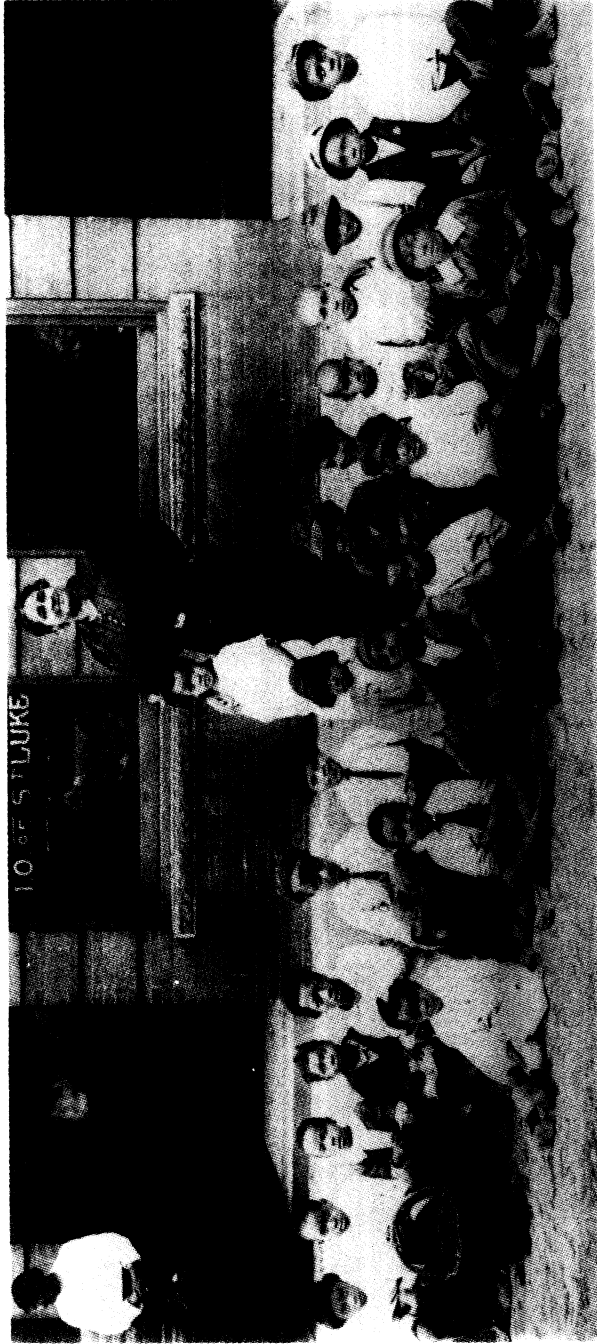
Figure 2: Styling herself the "St. Luke Grandmother," Maggie Lena Walker often invoked a maternal, authoritarian posture. (Reprinted by permission from the Valentine Museum, Richmond, Virginia)

laundry for white families on Fulton Hill and in Highland Park and Ginter Park; she also made meals and carried them to the factories to sell everyday at lunchtime (see Maps 1 and 3). One domestic servant, living in Jackson Ward, traveled by streetcar to the west end to work in the home of a white family but also traveled daily, again by streetcar, to the downtown business district to carry lunch to her employer. She may have also been required to market and perform other duties that would take her through other parts of the city.[48]

This is not to suggest any privileged positioning of these women in the urban landscape; in fact, their wide gaze on the city, their use of the streets, and their need to travel to their homes by night after a day's work were viewed by many white Richmonders as evidence of their immorality.[49] One white newspaper urged city officials to adopt a "curfew on disreputable women" and arrest "all unescorted black women on the streets after ten in the evening," thus implying that most black women were disreputable.[50] Given the long hours of domestic servants and the fact that those who did not live in were likely to return home late at night, such views classified a substantial number of working-class black women as immoral merely because their employment required late hours. At the same time, the use of the streets and familiarity of large numbers of black women with large parts of the city suggests that the notion of the city as male terrain does not adequately convey the landscape of black Richmond. Here we are also suggesting a relationship between geography and knowledge. Their large gaze on the city may have given working-class black women broader social and political knowledge and allowed them greater participation in politics than white middle-class women who were more confined in the late nineteenth century to prescribed spaces of the city.

If work provided black men less mobility through the urban terrain than it did women, leisure time may have provided men more and thus been central to their perception of the city. The diary of Edward McC. Drummond provides some insight into an extended black metropolis. Drummond was a seventeen-year-old porter at the Regal Shoe Store when he began his diary in 1910, recording his daily travels and activities. Drummond's everyday life in Richmond spanned a wide geographic area, bending neat concepts of "neighborhood" and "com-

munity." Drummond made his home on Brook Road just outside the city limits, and his daily afternoon and evening walks took him to Jackson Ward, Church Hill, Navy Hill, Manchester, Fulton, Gamble's Hill, and many other areas of the city (Map 3). Mutual benefit society meetings, lectures, movies, funerals, as well as parties, teas, and visits to a variety of churches took him far beyond the confines of his home neighborhood.[51]

Just as Drummond in his daily life laid claim to many parts of the city, numerous black Richmonders mapped their homes and neighborhoods in ways that ignored the corporate boundaries of the city or the social and ideological divisions between urban and rural. Even before Manchester (the city south of the James) was annexed by Richmond in the early twentieth century, African Americans residing within Richmond's corporate boundaries had made Manchester part of their extended community. A June 1865 petition to President Andrew Johnson considered Richmond and Manchester as an entity. Likewise, participants in an 1868 emancipation day parade crossed over the James, refusing to pay the toll on Mayo's Bridge, drawing residents of the two areas together and objecting to this arbitrary boundary (Map 4).[52] A variety of social and economic conditions reinforced the continued migration of Richmonders from countryside to city and back. Some white operators of highly diversified farms in the Richmond area turned to day labor in the postemancipation era and employed African Americans living in the city. Likewise, African Americans in surrounding counties were drawn to construction jobs and other seasonal employment in the city. The city markets daily drew men and women into town to sell their produce, small game, and flowers. The residents of suburban and nearby rural communities traveled to downtown Richmond as the streetcar system expanded; for many, Jackson Ward became the site of weekly shopping trips or afternoons out at the movies. Family and church connections as well as excursion trips regularly brought people in and out of the city.[53] The result was a constant discourse between rural, urban, and even suburban elements of black culture in the streets of Richmond.[54]

One of the primary achievements of large organizations such as the Independent Order of Saint Luke was the maintenance of regular networks of contact between black Virginians in cities and country-

side. Local St. Luke councils established in towns and villages across Virginia connected officials in Richmond with local affairs in places as remote as Covington and as small as Christian, Virginia, on a regular basis, and brought significant numbers of rural folk into the city to mix with their urban brothers and sisters for special celebrations and especially conventions. Chapters established in states along the eastern seaboard from North Carolina to Massachusetts served in part to help those who had migrated—seasonally or permanently—retain a connection to Richmond.[55]

All of this is to suggest that the boundaries of black Richmond cannot easily be drawn on a static map. Rather we want to understand the actual space in which people lived by focusing on their daily lives and activities and on how they understood the city. When we do so, we may also begin to reexamine the nature of race relations in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. For example, the spatial construction—at home and at work—of the nineteenth-century Richmond workforce facilitated interaction and potential political alliances among black and white working-class males. Yet it encouraged not only a physical but also an ideological distance between black and white working-class women, and provided no real living or working spaces that black and white middle-class Richmonders had in common. Because of the close proximity in which working-class black and white residents still lived in the late nineteenth century, working-class neighborhood saloons and groceries were often frequented by and became sites for interaction between black and white patrons. In 1891, for example, African Americans lived in 25.6 percent of the households on Williamsburg Avenue, a main street of the working-class neighborhood of Fulton, and resided in seven of the nine blocks.[56] John O'Grady, Jr., recalling his experiences growing up in Fulton in the early twentieth century, remembered his father's saloon, which served both black and white patrons. As segregation became more prevalent, the senior O'Grady was forced to find a solution to mixing at the bar: "the bar being long, there was a screen on rollers separating the two races, all served by the same bartender, and when there were more of one race at a time than the other, the screen would be moved up or down."[57] This screen could serve to mask the friendly interaction, discussions, recreation, and even political alliances that may have

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.[58] 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.[59] 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.[60] 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;[61] 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 neighbor-
hoods provided many opportunities for interaction, even after segre-
gation 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 con-
ditions and domestic chores; they could also be venues for working-
class women's recreation—perhaps an interracial recreation.[62] 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.[63]
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.[64] These relation-
ships of unequal power, and possible exploitation, shaped the interac-
tions 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 Read-
juster 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-

borhood 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'

children, working-class women also often conducted much of their leisure life in the streets or from their windows and doorways. White observers portrayed these "women of the negro laboring classes" as having "the . . . quality of careless, aimless happiness. They possess all the time there is. They hang out of windows, stand in doorways, on the street, careless of home, children, appearance, bubbling with laughter." Black reformers, such as a columnist of the *Richmond Planet*, railed against leisure time spent in the streets, admonishing young women, for example, to entertain their male companions at home rather than on streetcorners, advice that made courting on the street a sign of lax morality rather than insufficient domestic space. While working-class children most often played in the streets, some middle-class parents required their children to play inside fenced yards, not merely for safety purposes but to keep their children away from what they perceived as the bad influence of those children who used the streets as their playground.[70] Questions of space were thus projected as questions of respectability and morality.

Dancing, for example, was a common leisure activity of both working-class and middle-class men and women. The spaces in which dancing occurred could help to determine its relative respectability. In the immediate post-Civil War period, when church buildings were the only public spaces owned by African Americans, churches stood as democratic political space and fairly democratic leisure space as well. Every week churches hosted grand festivals, lawn parties, juvenile operettas, musicales, military drills, cake walks, or debates and other literary entertainments. In the arena of the church, cake walks were a respectable activity. As the leisure landscape changed in the late nineteenth century and as more facilities—saloons, billiards halls, dance halls, society halls, parks, and picnic grounds—became available to African Americans, church authorities were able to limit the activities held in their buildings. They also believed these limits necessary to clearly distinguish the church from these secular places. By the 1880s, many activities, such as dancing, were barred from many church facilities, and the issue of whether it was immoral for church members to dance became a matter of serious debate.[71]

Church records, ministers' sermons, newspaper reports, and personal accounts reveal the dynamics of these debates and suggest

something of the class and gender dimensions of the geography of leisure.[72] In April, 1884, when the Invincible Social Club held a party at Evan's Hall, the attendees who "danced to the entrancing strains of sweet music" included three of Richmond's black physicians and two of its newspaper editors.[73] Elite men and women believed respectability could be maintained when dancing was done at private parties where one's partners would all be acquaintances there by invitation (even when a fee was charged those who could attend were still limited to those approved by the hosting organization). They assumed respectability was easily compromised at public dance halls where one might dance with any stranger who laid out the price of the ticket. The Reverend Anthony Binga, Jr., pastor of First African, Manchester, for example, cited as one of the signs of the immorality of dancing the "unholy passions" it could excite in strangers:

> Look at the young girl or some one's wife borne around the room in the arms of a man; his arms are drawn around her waist; her swelling bosom rests against his; her limbs are tangled with his; her head rests against his face; her bare neck reflecting the soft mellow light of the chandelier, while the passions are raging like a furnace of fire. But who is the individual with whom she is brought into such close contact? She does not know; neither does she care. The most she cares to know just now is, that he is a graceful dancer.[74]

Binga's sermon also highlights the importance of gender in the discussion of public morality. While church prohibitions on dancing applied to all members, women were more likely to be excluded for engaging in it.[75] As Ellen Ross has observed in her work on the London working class, it was women who "indeed *embodied* respectability or the lack of it, in their dress, public conduct, language, housekeeping, childrearing methods, spending habits, and, of course, sexual behavior."[76] Thus prohibitions against dancing and drinking were greater for women. The clearest evidence of the ways in which attitudes toward dancing often reflected different expectations for men and women may be found in one report regarding late nineteenth-century militia-sponsored events. As churches began to prohibit dancing, one militia, the Petersburg Blues, decided "that for the sake of the many married and unmarried females, whose presence was desired to grace the

occasion," dancing would be eliminated from their socials. Soon, however, the command agreed that this was too big a sacrifice to require of the militiamen, and the Blues adopted a new plan:

> our socials were to last till 10:30 P.M. Announcement would be made that the entertainment by the command was at end. Those morally obligated to their churches or having personal conscientious scruples against dancing would leave. Men with friends who desired to remain for an hour and dance could do so upon their personal responsibility.[77]

Given the clear assumption that the morality of dancing was an issue for women only, one can only wonder how those female friends who did remain after 10:30 were perceived by the women who left and the men who stayed. Yet the Blues affairs were private, by invitation, and sponsored by the "best" people and thus faced less opposition than did the public dance halls.

Of course, as Brian Harrison has pointed out, "respectability was always a process, a dialogue with oneself and with one's fellows, never a fixed position."[78] A middle class that heralded public displays of material consumption, as in the construction of larger homes "suitable for race advancement," could at the same time denounce as wasteful working-class displays, such as popular excursion trips. Many working-class families may have seen the ability to travel together on these one-day trips as important signs of their standing rather than as extravagance.[79] For many working-class women in neighborhoods where survival depended upon mutuality, how a woman kept her house and children, managed her finances, and participated in the sharing network that paid rent, watched children, cared for sick, and fed each other, were far more important indicators of respectability than whether or not she "wiggled" when she danced. In 1896 when Mrs. Harriet Beverly and other women of her neighborhood, seeing a white man carrying a nine-year-old girl away and believing he would sexually assault her, followed and rescued her, the importance of work and sociability in public space was reinforced. They and other women like them, no doubt rejected not merely the practicality but also the desirability of ensconcing themselves and their families in private space.[80]

White Richmonders used public space to construct black women in masculine or at least unfeminine and immoral ways—as in public

whippings for crimes, refusing to allow them to ride in parts of the streetcars reserved for white "ladies," outrage over elegant feminine dress, and relegation to sex-integrated workplaces in factories. Many African Americans sought to use public space and behavior to reconstruct black women in "feminine" and "respectable" ways. The emphasis on dress was part of this concern. White observers remarked upon black women in the streets and factories with their "brilliantly colored turbans," or on working-class women's Sunday clothes, which were "a riot of color." But black women perceived as well-dressed could also become a point of antagonism for white Richmonders. In 1892, for example, the *Richmond Dispatch* reported displeasure at "white ladies" being "crowded out of the seats in the public parks by colored teachers clothed in 'purple and fine linen' bought with money which might more properly [have] gone in the pockets of the white young ladies." The *Dispatch* saw black women teachers as "wearing this apparel at the expense of white tax-payers," evidence that white citizens' money was being used to finance an extravagant, wasteful, and most important, nonsubservient lifestyle of black women who more appropriately belonged in domestic service. Among black Richmonders, however, especially the elite, these women's elegant dress was a sign of status and respectability, not of extravagance. Some observers questioned the Reverend John Jasper's refusal to adopt a dress code for his Sixth Mount Zion Baptist Church congregation that would prevent women from wearing loudly colored hats. Jasper answered that women so dressed should be welcomed in church as the ones in the greatest need of religion, and in so doing defended the women's presence by pronouncing them sinners rather than believers. For some observers the "unrespectability" of the women's apparel overrode the "respectable" behavior of attending church.[81]

These examples should alert us to the fluidity of definitions of respectability and suggest that people—men and women, working-class and middle-class—defined their own standards partly from dominant codes but largely from their own experiences. In much African American history, "respectability" has often been spoken of as a middle-class value. But, as Roy Rosenzweig reminds us in his study of white workers in Massachusetts, "respectability [was] perfectly compatible with the maintenance of ethnic and working-class

values . . . respectability was not necessarily a strategy for individual advancement into the middle class. It could be a part of a world view that emphasized church, home, family, ethnic community, group solidarity, and a stable working-class identity."[82] Some working-class Afro-Richmonders did seek social and economic mobility and acceptance within the middle class and the larger society through the adoption of a set of personal behaviors; but others sought to adopt the same set of personal behaviors in the maintenance of their working-class family and neighborhood. Who, if not a domestic worker subject to constant sexual harassment, might have more reason to proclaim a Victorian desexualized persona in hopes of bringing protection to herself and stability to her job and family? Who would have more reason to advocate temperance than those working-class people whose families might be devastated by the loss of valuable financial resources, strained family relations, and even violence that sometimes resulted from drink? That many working-class people supported more restricted sexual behavior or temperance does not suggest their aspiration to or imitation of the middle class, but rather the degree to which such reforms could speak to realities and values that could be as deeply embedded in working-class culture as in middle-class.

Similarly, many in the middle class defied the standards of respectability often ascribed to those in their position. In the early twentieth century, both Mrs. Johnson and Mrs. Price supervised the dance floors above their husbands' funeral parlors. Johnson ejected any dancers who engaged in that "new kind of dancing that called for shaking and clutching and stepping high." Price, on the other hand, not only allowed that "funny walking dance," but actually invited it by playing the "wigglin'" music that Johnson and others no doubt thought unrespectable, even immoral, indicative of "joy boys" and "easy ladies." Price did, however, pull apart any couples who danced too closely together.[83] Among those who most vigorously questioned, opposed, or defied the church's prohibitions against dancing, theatre going, and other entertainments were middle-class women and Virginia Union University students, many of whom were preparing for the ministry.[84] Helen Jackson (Lee)'s parents prevented her from sitting on the front porch of their Third Street home "listening to the syncopated sounds coming through the open doors and windows" of the corner saloon

where that "loose woman," Queenie Ross, played ragtime piano. They also perceived the foot-stomping, tambourine-playing "Holy Rollers who had a store-front church in the next block" as uncultured. Yet they could not keep these sounds from reaching their daughter, "who many nights . . . fell asleep to the combined sounds of the Holy Rollers' hollers and Queenie's piano." It was not just from the streets that Helen and her brother absorbed this music, however. In their home they heard not only classical music but also race records—jazz and blues; and her parents enjoyed it as much as Helen when they could get her talented but shy brother to "rock" the piano. Charles and Nanny Jackson's principal concern was with Helen enjoying such music in the neighborhood rather than in their home; they worried about the publicness, the indiscriminate mixing, and the lifestyle that they assumed went with the enjoyment—as audience or entertainer—of these rhythms in public spaces. Some condemned the music itself as primitive or immoral, but the Jacksons and many other well-to-do black Richmonders taught their children to enjoy the music while condemning the public venues in which it was often presented.[85]

The idea that certain spaces were safe and respectable—that is, moral—and that therefore the people and activities within them were more moral carried over to entire areas of town. White Richmonders, for example, used a geographic terminology for rowdy, boisterous, violent behavior, referring to such as the "Jackson Ward yell."[86] In Richmond, as elsewhere, prostitution was carefully contained by the police to areas of town away from elite, white residential areas. By the late 1870s, a red-light district had emerged in the city, bounded by 14th, 15th, Main, and Broad streets. Even within these four blocks, "streets, lanes, and alleys devoted to Negro prostitutes for white men . . . Negro prostitutes for colored men," and "white prostitutes for white men, some of whom secretly sold their favors to colored men" were clearly delineated. Surrounded by the old, decaying hotel district, by factories, and by the remains of Richmond's slave markets, this area was also home to many factory workers, day laborers, and domestic workers. Other low-lying, poor areas such as "Chinch Bottom" below Jail Alley or "Cash Corner" near the Cary Street tobacco factories, also housed prostitutes along with other working-class people. The designation of these districts as immoral allowed police to

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."[87]

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.[88]

CONCLUSION

Our aim has been to suggest the ways in which a broad focus on the historical, cultural, and social mappings of the city may enrich our work in African American history. Further investigation of street rituals, architectural interventions, and public memory will enable us to understand more fully the varied conceptualizations of history that have shaped African American culture. Additional explorations will illuminate the ways in which the city appeared as text in African

American rhetoric and political ideology, for example, investigating the changing perceptions of the city as a place of opportunity and hope, or a place of danger and despair for differing groups of people. The city, its spaces, its forbidden and inviting areas, its pleasures and dangers, even its boundaries existed in people's minds as much as on street maps. We have tried here to limn the form and dimensions of the "'invisible landscapes' that people carr[ied] in their heads" as well as the physical landscapes they had to negotiate daily. Black Richmonders inhabited a landscape "dense with historical imagery," but they also used the urban landscape to articulate their own stories of emancipation, freedom, progress, and success.[89] Like all histories, these too, were contested. Black Richmonders not only manufactured a built environment that could generate new meanings of possibilities, they also struggled for control of those meanings and symbols. Among the principal places in which they did so were the contested arenas of leisure space and public behavior. We also have tried to recognize that Jane and Jim Crow were not only "city slickers,"[90] they were also natty dressers, appearing in a variety of sophisticated attire. It is, therefore, necessary for historians to pay close attention to the actual spaces in which black and white residents carried out their daily lives, seeing the possible simultaneity of relationships of hierarchy and relationships of camaraderie. We hope in these ways to more fully and centrally situate African American urban history in the city.

NOTES

1. See, for example, James C. Scott, *Weapons of the Weak: Everyday Forms of Peasant Resistance* (New Haven, 1985); James C. Scott, *Domination and the Arts of Resistance: Hidden Transcripts* (New Haven, 1990); Rosalind O'Hanlon, "Recovering the Subject: *Subaltern Studies* and Histories of Resistance in Colonial South Asia," *Modern Asia Studies* 22 (February 1988), 189-224; Robin D. G. Kelley, "An Archaeology of Resistance," *American Quarterly* 44, 2 (June 1992), 292-298; Lila Abu-Lughod, "The Romance of Resistance: Tracing Transformations of Power through Bedouin Women," *American Ethnologist* 17, 1 (1990), 41-55; Stuart Hall, "Notes on Deconstructing the Popular," in Raphael Samuel, ed., *People's History and Socialist Theory* (London, 1981), 227-241.

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

research see Kathleen Canning, "Feminist History after the Linguistic Turn: Historicizing Discourse and Experience," *Signs: Journal of Women in Culture and Society* 19, 2 (Winter 1994), 368-404.

3. "Roundtable: The Recentering of Twentieth Century African American History," Social Science History Association annual meeting, Minneapolis, Minnesota, October 1990; see especially Thomas C. Holt, "Comment" (cited with permission of Holt); also, Henry Louis Taylor, Jr. and Vicky Dula, "The Black Residential Experience and Community Formation in Antebellum Cincinnati," in Henry Louis Taylor, Jr., ed., *Race and the City: Work, Community, and Protest in Cincinnati, 1820-1970* (Urbana, 1993), 96-125.

4. Particularly helpful to our thinking about urban space has been Elizabeth Blackmar, "The Urban Landscape," *Journal of Architectural Education* 30, 1 (September 1976), 12-14; Robert Rotenberg and Gary McDonogh, 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, 1790-1860* (Richmond, 1988), 48-52.

6. Midori Takagi, "Female Slave Participation in the Urban Market Economy: Richmond, Virginia, 1780-1860," *Southern Women: The Intersection of Race, Class and Gender Working Paper No. 8* (Memphis, 1994), 6; Gregg D. Kimball, "African-Virginians and the Vernacular Building Tradition in Richmond City, 1790-1860," *Perspectives in Vernacular Architecture*, IV, Thomas Carter and Bernard L. Herman, eds., (Columbia, 1991), 121-129; Tyler-McGraw and Kimball, *In Bondage and Freedom*, 48-52.

7. On black and white audiences at antebellum Richmond theatres see Patricia C. Click, *The Spirit of the Times: Amusements in Nineteenth-Century Baltimore, Norfolk, and Richmond* (Charlottesville, 1989), 34-38. On churches, see John T. O'Brien, "Factory, Church and Community: Blacks in Antebellum Richmond," *Journal of Southern History* 44, 4 (November 1978), 509-536; and Tyler-McGraw and Kimball, *In Bondage and Freedom*. The tour of the Valentine Museum's Wickham House is organized to emphasize the related but separate lives of all the inhabitants—white and black, free and enslaved—of this home and neighborhood. See Gregg D. Kimball and Barbara C. Batson, "Shared Spaces, Separate Lives," Gallery Guide (Richmond, 1993).

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

9. The other black settlements were Oak Park, Woodville, and Westwood. The suburban development and later annexation is traced in Silver, *Twentieth-Century Richmond*. Howard H. Harlan, *Zion Town—A Study in Human Ecology*, Publications of the University of Virginia Phelps-Stokes Fellowship Papers, Number Thirteen (Charlottesville, 1935); Miles B. Jones, "The Providence Park Baptist Church, 1876-1976," *Journal of the Richmond Oral History Association* 1, 3 (Winter 1977), 23-28.

10. Thomas J. Woofter, 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.

11. Lawrence Levine, *High Brow/Low Brow: The Creation of Social Hierarchy in America* (Cambridge, 1988); Susan G. Davis, *Parades and Power: Street Theatre in Nineteenth-Century Philadelphia* (Philadelphia, 1986). See also, Mary Ryan, "The American Parade: Representations of the Nineteenth-Century Social Order," in Hunt, ed., *The New Cultural History*, 131-153; David Glassberg, *American Historical Pageantry: The Uses of Tradition in the Early Twentieth Century* (Chapel Hill, 1990).

12. John Thomas O'Brien, Jr., "From Bondage to Citizenship: The Richmond Black Community, 1865-1867" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Rochester, 1974), 326.

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

14. Ira Berlin, Joseph Reidy, and Leslie S. Rowland, eds., *Freedom: A Documentary History of Emancipation, 1861-1867*, Series II: *The Black Military Experience* (New York, 1982), 735.

15. O'Brien, "From Bondage to Citizenship," 320-323, 363-364, 366-369, 379, 478n; Peter Rachleff, *Black Labor in the South: Richmond, Virginia, 1865-1890* (Philadelphia, 1984), 40, 53; Michael B. Chesson, *Richmond After the War 1865-1890* (Richmond, 1981), 193; Michael B. Chesson, "Richmond's Black Councilmen, 1871-96," in Howard N. Rabinowitz; ed., *Southern Black Leaders of the Reconstruction Era* (Urbana, 1982), 213-214; D. B. Williams, *A Sketch of the Life and Times of Capt. R. A. Paul* (Richmond, 1885), 44-45; *Richmond Dispatch*, January 24, February 26, 1878; Virginia, *Report of the Adjutant General of the State of Virginia for the Year 1897* (Richmond, 1897), 38-39; Virginia, *Report of the Adjutant General of the State of Virginia for 1898-1899* (Richmond, 1899), 6; *Richmond Planet*, June 21, July 5, 1890, December 21, 1895. For a history of the black militia in the state see, William Henry Johnson, *History of the Colored Volunteer Infantry in Virginia, 1871-1899* (Richmond, 1923).

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 celebrations and ceremonies 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. Manarin and Lee A. Wallace, Jr., *Richmond Volunteers: The Volunteer Companies of the City of Richmond and Henrico County, Virginia, 1861-1865* Official Publication 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.

17. Wendell P. Dabney, "Rough Autobiographical Sketch of his Boyhood Years," (typescript, n.d.), 17-18, microfilm copy in Wendell P. Dabney Papers, Cincinnati Historical Society, Cincinnati, Ohio.

18. *Richmond Daily Dispatch*, October 22, 25, 26, 27, 1875; Virginius Dabney, *Richmond: The Story of a City* (Garden City, 1976), 232-233; Michael B. Chesson, "Richmond After the War 1865-1890" (Ph.D. dissertation, Harvard University, 1978), 350-351.

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, 1866; *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).

22. Broadside number 1866:13, dated April 2, 1866, Virginia Historical Society, Richmond, Virginia.

23. The changing story of emancipation, reflected in black Richmonders' parades, is examined in Elsa Barkley Brown, "Telling 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.

26. Ethel Thompson Overby, *"It's Better to Light a Candle Than Curse the Darkness": The Autobiographical Notes of Ethel Thompson Overby*, edited by Emma Thompson Richardson (1975), 1.

27. *Richmond Planet*, April 15, 1900.

28. On antebellum rituals and celebrations, see Geneviève Fabre, "African-American Commemorative Celebrations in the Nineteenth Century," in Geneviève Fabre and Robert O'Meally *History and Memory in African-American Culture* (New York, 1994), 72-91; Shane White, "'It Was a Proud Day': African Americans, Festivals, and Parades in the North, 1741-1834," *Journal of American History* 81, 1 (June 1994), 13-50. Robert A. Hill contends that the 1920s Universal Negro Improvement Association allowed women a public leadership role in political rituals held inside Liberty Hall but cast them in a subordinate and supportive role in those political rituals, such as parades, which took place on New York City streets. Robert A. Hill, "Making Noise: Marcus Garvey in Procession, August 1922," in Deborah Willis, ed., *Picturing Us: African American Identity in Photography* (New York, 1994), 181-205. Elsa Barkley Brown explores the importance of ritual in the Independent Order of Saint Luke in "'Not alone to build this pile of brick': Institution Building and Community" (paper presented at "The Age of Booker T. Washington: Conference in Honor of Louis Harlan," University of Maryland, College Park, May 1990).

29. Elsa Barkley Brown, "Negotiating and Transforming the Public Sphere: African American Political Life in the Transition from Slavery to Freedom," *Public Culture* 7, 1 (Fall 1994), 109-125.

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

31. For the concept of mental maps, see Roger M. Downs and David Stea, *Maps in Minds: Reflections on Cognitive Mapping* (New York, 1977) and Peter R. Gould and Rodney White, *Mental Maps*, 2nd ed. (Boston, 1986). For two different but equally informative analyses of the relationship between imagining and mapping, see Florence Ladd, "A note on the 'world across the street,'" *Harvard Graduate School of Education Association Bulletin* 12 (1967), 47-48, and

Larry Wolff, *Inventing Eastern Europe: The Map of Civilization on the Mind of the Enlightenment* (Stanford, 1994).

32. Blackmar, "Urban Landscape," 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 arenas for work and play in *The Death and Life of Great American Cities* (New York, 1961).

33. *Inventory of Church Archives of Virginia. Negro Baptist Churches in Richmond* (Richmond, 1940), 18; O'Brien, "From Bondage to Citizenship," 354-355, 364; Leon S. Litwack, *Been in the Storm so Long: The Aftermath of Slavery* (New York, 1979), 172.

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, Collis P. Huntington Library, Hampton University, Hampton, Virginia; quote is from Vol. 1, 169.

35. The Savings Bank of the Grand Fountain United Order of True Reformers opened in 1889; the Nickel Savings Bank in 1898; Mechanics Savings Bank in 1902; and the St. Luke Penny Savings Bank in 1903. Daniel Webster Davis, *The Life and Public Services of Rev. Wm. Washington Browne* (Philadelphia, 1910), 108; Browne was the leader of the True Reformers in the late nineteenth century.

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 the speeches of businesswomen. *Richmond Planet*, May 16, 23, 1891; 1895 *passim*; 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. Dabney, *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 Dixler, Martha J. Nelson, and Kathryn B. Yatrakis, 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. Overlaying 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 Richmonder'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.

46. Diaries, MLW Papers; Bruce Potter, "Maggie Walker House to open," *Richmond News Leader*, July 12, 1985.

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 Assignation 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 Delight: Narratives of Sexual Danger in Late-Victorian London* (Chicago, 1992). See also Mary P. Ryan, *Women in Public: Between Banners and Ballots, 1825-1880* (Baltimore, 1990).

50. *Richmond Republic*, August 29, 1865, cited in O'Brien, "From Bondage to Citizenship," 199.

51. Diary of Edward McC. Drummond, 1910-1912, Drummond Papers, Valentine Museum, Richmond, Virginia.

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*.

53. Gregg Michel, "From Slavery to Freedom: Hickory Hill, 1850-1880," in Edward L. Ayers and John C. Willis, eds., *The Edge of the South: Life in Nineteenth-Century Virginia* (Charlottesville, 1991), 123; W. P. Burrell, "Report of the Committee on Business and Labor Conditions in Richmond Va.," *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 Calvacade* 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.

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

55. On the St. Lukes, see *Fiftieth Anniversary—Golden Jubilee Historical Report of the R.W.G. Council of I.O. St. Luke, 1867-1917* (Richmond, 1917); MLW Papers; Lillian Payne Papers, Valentine Museum, Richmond, Virginia; *Richmond Planet*, 1890-1930, *passim*.

56. Gregg D. Kimball, "Race and Class in a Southern City: Richmond, 1865-1920" (paper presented at Organization of American Historians annual meeting, Louisville, Kentucky, April, 1991).

57. Typescript reminiscences of John O'Grady, Jr., 6 (copy in possession of authors, courtesy of Nora Witt).

58. For a description of black men in the building trades, see Kimball, "African-Virginians and the Vernacular Building Tradition." In 1890, black workmen still made up 29 percent of the brick- and stonemasons and 89 percent of the plasterers in Richmond. Department of the Interior Census Office. *Compendium of the Eleventh Census: 1890. Part III* (D.C., 1897), 718-719.

59. The late nineteenth-century opposition of endangered versus dangerous women is developed by Mary Ryan, *Women in Public*; the late nineteenth- early twentieth-century opposition of morality and dirt by Mary Douglas, *Purity and Danger: An Analysis of Concepts of Pollution and Taboo* (London, 1966). Dolores E. Janiewski, drawing on Douglas, notes the symbolic roles that occupational hierarchies play, stratifying workers by "varying degrees of purity." *Sisterhood Denied: Race, Gender, and Class in a New South Community* (Philadelphia, 1985). See also Dolores Janiewski, "Subversive Sisterhood: Black Women and Unions in the Southern Tobacco Industry," Southern Women: The Intersection of Race, Class and Gender Working Paper No. 1 (Memphis, 1984), esp. 1-6. Tera Hunter applies these concepts to understanding the context of black women's labor in white households throughout the New South. Tera W. Hunter, "Household Workers in the Making: Afro-American Women in Atlanta and the New South, 1861 to 1920" (Ph.D. dissertation, Yale University, 1990). See also, Phyllis Palmer, *Domesticity and Dirt: Housewives and Domestic Servants in the United States, 1920-1945* (Philadelphia, 1989).

60. 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 Judge John Crutchfield's view on women in barrooms, see for example, *Richmond Times*, September 2, 1899.

61. 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.

62. 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

Fielding, eds., *Workers' Worlds: Cultures and Communities in Manchester and Salford, 1880-1939* (Manchester, England, 1992), 49-73; Andrew Davies, *Leisure, Gender and Poverty: Working-Class Culture in Salford and Manchester, 1900-1930* (Buckingham, England, 1992), 130-138.

63. Jonathan Garlock, *Guide to the local assemblies of the Knights of Labor* (Westport, 1982).

64. Dolores Janiewski, "Seeking 'a New Day and a New Way': Black Women and Unions in the Southern Tobacco Industry," in Carol Groneman and Mary Beth Norton, eds., *'To Toil the Livelong Day': American Women at Work* (Ithaca, 1987), 168; Hunter, "Household Workers in the Making," 142-147. Interview with Mrs. Maggie Alease Taylor Jackson Howard, n.d., The History of Church Hill Project, Series XII, VCU.

65. See Peter J. Rachleff, *Black Labor in the South: Richmond, Virginia, 1865-1890* (Philadelphia, 1984), chapters 7-11.

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 Interests*, 96; Interview with Lorenzo Jones; Interview with Mrs. Bessie Bailey Baldwin by Akida T. Mensah, 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 Stansell, *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 Jerma Jackson.

69. The scholarly emphasis on moral regions is longstanding; see, for example, Robert Park, "The City: Suggestions for the Investigation of Human Behavior in Urban Environment," *American Journal of Sociology* 20 (1916), reprinted in Richard Sennett, ed., *Classic Essays on the Culture of Cities* (New York, 1969), esp. 128-130. More recently, see for example, Neil Larry Shumsky, "Tacit Acceptance: Respectable Americans and Segregated Prostitution, 1870-1910," *Journal of Social History* 19, 4 (Summer 1986), 665-679; Joanne Meyerowitz, "Sexual Geography and Gender Economy: The Furnished-Room Districts of Chicago, 1890-1930," *Gender and History* 2, 3 (Autumn 1990), 274-296; Timothy J. Gilfoyle, *City of Eros: New York City, Prostitution, and the Commercialization of Sex, 1790-1920* (New York, 1992). We have borrowed the term *moral geography* from Perry R. Duis, *The Saloon: Public Drinking in Chicago and Boston 1880-1920* (Urbana, 1983); our definition, however, differs somewhat from Duis's. By moral geography we mean both the coding of some behaviors as immoral and the confinement of these activities to certain regions of the city, and the adoption of a moral mapping which codes neighborhoods and their residents as moral and immoral, respectable and not, by virtue of their location rather than their behavior.

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 Stansell, 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 Fruit," 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.

78. Brian Harrison, "Traditions of Respectability in British Labour History," in Brian Harrison, *Peaceable Kingdom: Stability and Change in Modern Britain* (Oxford, 1982), 16.

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 an example 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.

80. *Richmond Planet*, October 31, 1896.

81. Betts, "Richmond of Today," 977; "A Ramble in Virginia: From Bristol to the Sea," *Scribner's Monthly* 7, 6 (April 1874), 664; *Richmond Dispatch*, September 1, 1982. See also Orra Langhorne, a southern white woman's address to the 1899 Hampton Negro Conference wherein she advocated "thick-soled shoes and simple dresses, and hats . . . as necessary factors in the improvement of the race." *Hampton Negro Conference Number III. July 1899* (Hampton, 1899), 45. A useful discussion of dress and morality is Mariana Valverde, "The Love of Finery: Fashion and the Fallen Woman in Nineteenth-Century Social Discourse," *Victorian Studies* 32, 2 (Winter 1989), 169-188.

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

83. Simmons, "A Street Second to None," 19, 60-61; *Richmond Afro-American*, March 7, 1981. For a social history of African American vernacular dance and the locations in which it developed see Katrina Hazzard-Gordon, *Jookin': The Rise of Social Dance Formation in African American Culture* (Philadelphia, 1990).

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

85. Helen Jackson Lee, *Nigger in the Window* (Garden City, 1978), 26-29. Similarly, Elizabeth and John Dabney's adherence to their church's prohibition had kept them from dancing as their children were growing up in the 1870s and 1880s, but they watched with keen interest every new step performed by their children's friends at entertainments in their home. Dabney, "Rough Autobiographical Sketch," 60-62.

86. *Richmond Times*, April 4, 1899. Similarly, Victoria Wolcott identifies a dichotomous "language of geographic identity" in the twentieth century "discourse of urban migration and resettlement": southern and rural life were equated with "disorder, dirt, and licentiousness" and northern, urban life with "self-restraint . . . cleanliness," and "respectability." "Mediums, Messages, and Lucky Numbers: African-American Female Leisure Workers in Inter-War Detroit" in Patricia Yaeger, ed., *The Geography of Identity* (Ann Arbor, forthcoming).

87. Dabney, "Rough Autobiographical Sketch," 69-70; "Still Another Red-Light District," *The Idea* 4, 14 (April 2, 1910), 8-9; "Wholesale Arrests: Negroes Treated Like Cattle," *The Idea* 4, 30 (August 13, 1910), 4.

88. *Richmond Planet*, October 25, November 1, December 20, 1902. See also "Resolutions," *Ninth Annual Report of the Hampton Negro Conference*, 13, for the assumption that alley homes were inherently immoral and unfit places to properly rear and train children.

89. Gould and White, *Mental Maps*, preface; Glassberg, *American Historical Pageantry*, 1.

90. Hunter, "Household Workers in the Making," 140; John Cell, *The Highest Stage of White Supremacy: The Origins of Segregation in South Africa and the American South* (Cambridge, 1982), 134.