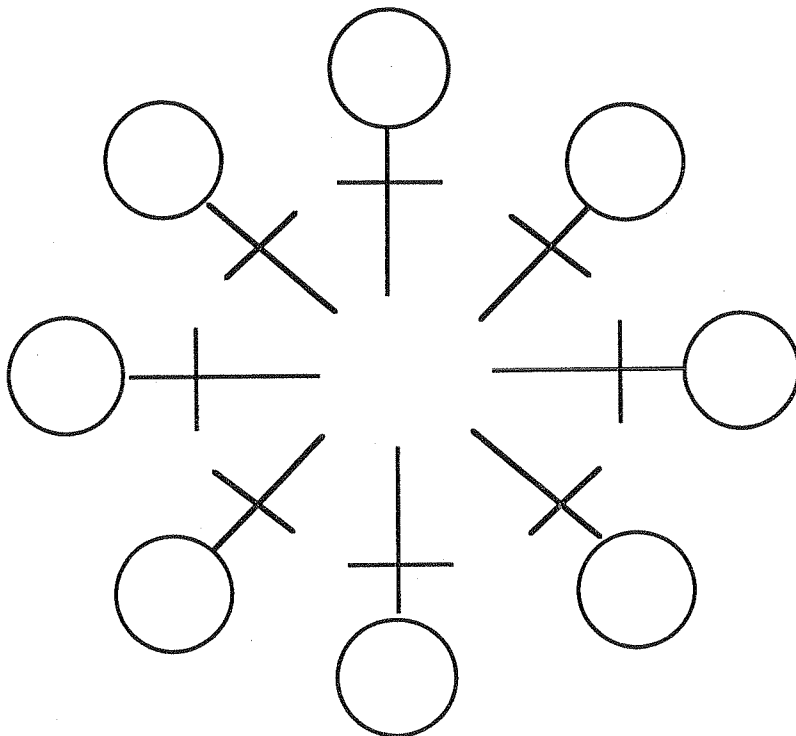


Center for Research on Women

Female Slave Participation in the Urban Market Economy: Richmond, Virginia, 1780 -1860

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Richmond, Virginia, 1780 - 1860

By

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Abstract

This paper discusses the unusual opportunities that accompanied the development of urban slavery in Richmond, Virginia during the antebellum era. Because of certain labor practices, African-American slave men who worked in factories and workshops enjoyed an unusual degree of control over their labor, some ability to choose their employer, negotiate wages, accumulate funds, and select their lodgings, diet, clothing and social activities. Historians have assumed that Black slave women had little or no access to such opportunities because they worked as domestic slaves in private homes, not in factories. My research, however, indicates that a small but significant minority of African-American slave women in Richmond did reap some of the benefits available to industrial slave men and did participate in the growing market economy by providing laundering and catering services for cash payments. Although there is some question as to whether participating in the market was an advantage or a burden for these women--often it required assuming a second or third job--many proved willing to sacrifice much for the chance to obtain their own money and a measure of autonomy.

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In 1862, in the middle of a Christmas party being given by the Castleton family, a Black* female slave domestic named Minsey entered the parlor and announced to the household mistress and guests that she would no longer be serving them because she had found another position in a different home. Before Mrs. Castleton could say a word, Minsey turned and left. As she departed, though, another Black slave woman entered the room saying, "I hear you are looking for a servant ... and I'd like to come live here ..."¹ As domestic slave hirelings in Richmond, Virginia, Minsey and her successor had the "right" to find new jobs and terminate old ones. Moreover, this "right" was but one of a range of privileges enjoyed by hired African-American urban slaves, whose ranks included a significant number of slave women. By 1860, roughly a third of the city's 5,000 slave women worked for someone other than their owner and, like Minsey, could exercise some control over their working conditions.² I begin with this anecdote because it illustrates one extreme of slave

*With few exceptions slave workers in nineteenth century Richmond, Virginia, were people of African descent born in North America. The slave system in Richmond, as in other parts of the South, was based on racial subordination of Black people. I use nineteenth century terminology only when directly quoting a source from the period. In other instances I use the terms Black and African-American interchangeably. Although the hyphenated term African-American sometimes connotes citizenship, in this paper I use the term to describe slaves born in America, rather than the Caribbean islands or the African continent.

life for Black women in an urban industrial milieu. But the lives of urban slave women varied greatly depending on the circumstances of their employment. In the remainder of this paper, which is taken from my dissertation, I will attempt to put Minsey's experience in context by describing the impact that urban industrial development had on African-American slave women in Richmond, Virginia, between 1780 and 1860.

Historiography of Urban Slavery

It was during the late eighteenth and nineteenth centuries that Richmond's economy shifted its emphasis from commercial activities to manufacturing ventures based on Black slave labor. Accompanying this economic change was the development of certain unusual labor practices -- such as allowing slaves to work and live apart from their owners -- that helped slavery adapt to the urban industrial setting. These practices gave a significant number of slaves greater control over their lives by allowing them some choice in employment, residence, diet, clothing and social activities. Authors of previous studies have focused on determining whether, because of its novel slave labor conditions, urban slavery represented a "step toward freedom" for antebellum African-Americans or a sort of "twilight zone" between slavery and freedom.³ Though study of these questions has contributed greatly to our understanding of urban slavery, it also has led historians to downplay a key fact: in most antebellum Southern cities, the majority of slaves had little or no chance of

enjoying the potential "freedoms" of city life. This is because the majority of urban African-American slaves were women.⁴ More helpful in understanding urban slave women's experiences have been the studies specifically on bond women in the antebellum South.⁵ These works, however, tend to focus on conditions in the rural and not the urban setting and therefore are not entirely appropriate. What follows then is an attempt to fill a gap in urban slave history by examining the impact of industrialization on slave women, and by describing how economic change and concepts of gender shaped the working and living conditions of Richmond's female slave community.

Urban Slavery in Richmond, Virginia

Between 1780 and 1860, Richmond evolved from a sleepy town on the James River into what was arguably the most industrialized urban center in the South. Large workshops and factories producing boots and shoes, ropes, sails, brass and iron goods, flour and chewing tobacco emerged, grew, and became the very foundation of the city's economy.⁶ Essential to the success of this industrial economic development was slavery. Black bondmen were a crucial part of most factory work forces and were the dominant group of workers in the tobacco manufacturing industry.⁷

⁴When describing people held in slavery, indentured servitude or peonage, terms such as "freedoms," "autonomy" and "independence" are troublesome. Yet for the purposes of this study and for the lack of any other words to describe the benefits--however limited--that urban slaves received, I have decided to use these terms placing them within quotation marks to caution the reader and to emphasize their limited use.

Slave population changes during the nineteenth century demonstrate the increasing importance of slave labor in tobacco and other industries. Between 1800 and 1860 the slave community grew from 2,293 to 11,699, a fivefold increase. Despite the fact that most factory jobs were reserved for men, slave women, working as domestic servants, held a slight majority in the city until 1830. In 1820 there were 2,171 slave men and 2,216 women. By 1860 there were 6,636 men and 5,063 women.⁸ On average, however, the sex ratio within the slave community was fairly balanced throughout the antebellum era. This differs somewhat from the experience of cities such as Baltimore, Charleston and New Orleans, where slave women comprised a solid majority during the time period.⁹

Accompanying the rise of industries and the introduction of slaves into the factories was a system of leasing slaves to businesses called hiring out. Hiring contracts, which ranged from one day to one year, generally were negotiated by a slave trader or directly between owner and employer. This arrangement satisfied both owners and employers because it allowed the former to make a steady income from their slaves and the latter to secure a work force without a large capital investment or the long-term financial responsibility of ownership. For example, between 1800 and 1840, the average annual cost of hiring a slave in Richmond was approximately \$70 for a male and \$34 for a female.¹⁰ The average cost of purchasing an adult slave ranged from \$250 to \$900 for males and from \$100 to \$600 for females.¹¹

Some slave hiring transactions were handled directly by slaves themselves, a practice that became known as "hiring one's own time." Under this system, owners would allow their slaves to go to Richmond to find work. The slaves were required to "pay their masters a stipulated sum of money ... but whatever they could earn above that amount was theirs to do as they wished."¹²

Accompanying the hiring out and the self-hiring systems was the practice of living out, which allowed Black slaves to secure their own lodgings apart from both their owner and employer. This system was developed because employers commonly lacked the extra space and funds to build housing for their slave hirelings. Instead, employers gave their slave workers money to pay for food and lodgings. Slaves living out found a variety of accommodations. They stayed in boarding houses owned by white or free Black proprietors, rented small, shack-like houses behind white residents' homes, and stayed with family members who were employed as domestic servants.¹³

Urban industrialization and the new labor practices that accompanied it affected the slave community by giving Black bondmen increased control over their lives. Many slave artisans and factory workers had a limited ability to choose their employer and workplace, and to negotiate their wages. A large number of these slaves also were allowed to accumulate small sums of cash from their wages -- money that a few used to purchase their freedom. Perhaps most important, many slaves were allowed to live with families and friends rather than with their owners

or employers. This privilege helped establish a community in which African-American slave families could live together and interact with minimal intrusion by white authorities. The urban setting also made it easy for slaves to meet and socialize with free and enslaved friends with little white supervision. Moving about in a densely populated area provided slaves with anonymity and ready access to meeting places, including illegal grog shops where many gathered for a quick brandy and some conversation.¹⁴

Sexual Division of Labor

The urban industrial work experience described above did not affect Black slave men and women uniformly, however. Slave owners and employers, seeking to maximize profits, quickly introduced male slave workers to factories and offered them certain privileges as incentives to be productive. But gender conventions largely excluded African-American slave women from factory work and kept them from receiving most of the benefits enjoyed by their male counterparts. Census figures show that the majority of slave women worked as household domestics. In 1860, more than 45 percent of 6,600 slave men worked in factories and workshops, compared with just 6 percent of 5,000 slave women.¹⁵

Such inequality was not unique to Richmond or to the urban setting. Slave women traditionally were locked out of highly skilled occupations by slave owners who chose only men to learn crafts such as blacksmithing, carpentry and coopering. Owners sustained the sexual division of labor over generations by encouraging skilled workers to hand their trades down from father

to son. Black bondwomen were denied the opportunity to acquire such skills because owners believed female slaves were incapable of handling complex jobs and were more valuable as mothers than skilled workers. It is also possible that owners chose not to train slave women because it would have been costly to do so in view of the fact that their duties as craftsmen would have been frequently interrupted by pregnancy and nursing.¹⁶

In Richmond, rapid industrialization produced an extraordinary demand for workers of all skill levels and created jobs that women, children, and the elderly could perform at lower cost than could adult free and enslaved men. With such strong economic incentives, conditions favored the elimination of illogical and inefficient gender-based divisions. Plantation slave studies even suggest a precedent for adjusting gender beliefs to boost profits. As the study by Teresa Amott and Julie Matthaei states:

slave owners abandoned notions of female difference and fragility when these conflicted with the profit motive. Much field and industrial work was not sex-typed, but rather assigned according to the availability and strength of slaves.¹⁷

In Richmond, however, my research indicates that slave owners and employers continued to select workers on the basis of gender, rather than ability for reasons that are not entirely clear. Only in rare cases did the profit motive outweigh gender conventions, and even then sex differences were not entirely discarded. The unequal treatment of African-American male and female slaves is demonstrated by the conspicuous absence of

female workers in various state industries during the Revolutionary War. At a time when labor demands were great and hundreds of slave workers, skilled and unskilled, young and old, were being purchased, hired and impressed into the workshops, only a handful of women could be found on the rolls. These few bondwomen generally performed domestic chores such as cooking and washing for the male slave workers and military officers.¹⁸ The two slave women who worked at the public foundry, for example, were specifically hired to "answer the purposes for which women are wanted ... to cook and wash for the tradesmen"¹⁹

Another instance of slave owners and employers refusing to abandon gender-based divisions occurred during the brief period that slave women were employed in the tobacco factories during the 1820s. Up to that time (and immediately following it), tobacco manufacturers employed slave men almost exclusively. But during the 1820s, when the costs of hiring and purchasing a slave male worker skyrocketed, tobacconists began introducing slave women, girls, and boys into the lesser skilled positions. Although fewer than 100 slave women (and close to three hundred children) were hired, it was clear that workers other than men could perform these jobs and at lower cost.²⁰ But as soon as male slave labor prices declined, nearly all of the women and girls were replaced by men. Slave boys, however, remained in the factories, suggesting that gender, not aptitude or profit potential, was the deciding factor.²¹

The most obvious effect of Richmond's gender conventions was to send most male slaves to the factories and most female slaves to the homes of wealthy city dwellers. But this did not mean that all female slaves worked as domestics or that bondwomen as a group were denied any of the opportunities unique to an urban industrial setting. In fact, the experiences of Richmond's slave women varied greatly depending on the place and conditions of their employment.

Black slave women who worked as domestics made up Richmond's largest group. Studies indicate that more than 90 percent of the city's 5,000 female slaves fit this job description in 1860.²² These women usually were owned by their employers and enjoyed few of the privileges granted to slave men. Most received no cash payments, could not live apart, and had little control over their free time. It was not unusual for bondwomen to be on-call 24 hours a day and to be required to reside on the premises, sometimes within the mistress's room. Trips to the market or other errands were among the few activities that allowed these domestics to leave the household during the day. And even when their duties did not keep them homebound, female slave domestics often were constrained by their responsibilities as mothers and wives. "Double day" chores that included childcare and preparing food often consumed whatever free time these women might have had.

Within the broad category of domestic slaves, though, was a smaller group of African-American women who did not work for

their owners. By 1860 these hired-out women constituted as much as 32 percent, or 1,600, of the city's female slaves.²³ In general, hired domestic slaves performed the same duties as their directly owned counterparts and had to live within the employers' household. But they also had some modest privileges. A female slave hireling was able to collect cash payments for her services and had the right--within limits--to reject a potential employer or not to return to a previous employer. There is abundant evidence that hired female domestics took this right quite seriously. The story about Minsey, the hired household slave who quit her job during a Christmas party clearly demonstrates how one African-American bondswoman exercised her "right."

The third and smallest category of female slaves consisted of women who were either hired or directly owned by industries and firms. As noted earlier, only 6 percent, or 300, slave women in Richmond held such positions on the eve of the Civil War.²⁴ Yet, this small group of Black women probably had the greatest access to the privileges and opportunities frequently given to Black male urban industrial slaves. They were in the likeliest position to receive cash payments, live apart, and have a significant degree of control over their free time. Unfortunately, details of their lives can only be inferred because few documents even mention their existence. In most cases Population Census and Manufacturing Census records are our only clues that slave women worked in or were held by manufacturing firms. Many Richmond business records did not

survive the Civil War. As a result I can only assume that slave women working in industries received benefits similar to their male counterparts, but I will never be sure.

One thing records do make clear is that even African-American bondwomen working outside the home were constrained by owners' and employers' "notions of female differences" and by sex discrimination. Black women held by firms during the nineteenth century, for example, generally were assigned to "female" jobs, working as seamstresses in tailor shops²⁵ or as chambermaids in hotels.²⁶ But even within the hotel, restaurant and tavern industries, which offered an abundance of "female" jobs, slave women were relegated to housecleaning and kitchen services and were not allowed to rise to such jobs as servers in the dining rooms.²⁷ The few slave women who worked in the tobacco and other industries often fared no better. Most received less cash for their work than their male counterparts and these women apparently were not awarded the overtime bonuses offered to Black male slaves.²⁸

Degree of Opportunity in Urban Slave Life

Much of the information about urban Black slave women suggests that they lived in communities in which there was a reversal of the social hierarchy many historians ascribe to the plantation. Studies of plantations often suggest that domestic slaves were "near the pinnacle of the slave labor system" and that field hands frequently aspired to work in the "Big House."²⁹ But in the urban industrial setting, being a

household slave meant giving up a wide range of opportunities, such as cash payments, overtime cash bonuses and "mobility." These opportunities were important because they gave many slaves the ability to make decisions about their employment, living situations and free time. "Hiring one's own time," for example, allowed a slave to reject an undesirable employer. The practice also gave men the ability to live with family and friends. Black slave factory workers enjoyed greater control over their free time than their domestic counterparts and were able to spend free time at the theater, circus or race track.³⁰ Accumulation of cash payments allowed slave workers to "purchase small luxuries ... [which] greatly enhanced their self-esteem in the family and in the quarters"³¹ Some slave men used their cash payments and overtime bonuses to purchase family members or buy their own freedom.³² Such discretionary funds also allowed male slave community members to help purchase a separate, all-Black Baptist church, fund mutual-aid and secret fraternal societies, and financially assist fellow slaves escaping to the North.

On the surface it seemed that the majority of urban Black slave women enjoyed none of the advantages of city life. They received few, if any, employment benefits, were burdened with "double day" duties, and were vulnerable to the sexual advances of their owner or employer. Indeed, my initial research suggested that slave women domestics were completely by-passed by urban industrialization and did not participate in the growing market economy. Upon closer examination of certain records,

receipts and passes, however, I found hints that slave women did become involved in the market economy, and created opportunities for themselves through what Evelyn Nakano Glenn refers to as the "commodification of social reproductive labor."³³ During the late antebellum era there was growing demand for services such as laundering, ironing, repairing clothes, and preparing and serving foods. The demand came especially from boarding houses, businesses that employed only men, and male households that lacked both the facilities and implements to cook or wash.

Though documentation is scarce, there is evidence that African-American slave women provided these household services to Black and white Richmond residents for cash payments.³⁴ Reverend Amasa Converse's household records, for example, indicate he regularly paid a slave laundress twenty-five cents for washing, even though he held two servants in his household.³⁵ Surviving documents from the period include a number of passes drawn up by owners to allow female domestics to travel to and from night jobs as laundresses.³⁶

Female slave domestics also participated in the market economy by using their free time to bake foods that they would sell to fellow slave and free Black residents near the marketplace and factories.³⁷ Some women went so far as to transform their owners' kitchens into illegal "cook shops" offering slave workers cheap hot meals. Others were paid to work in "snack shops" owned by free Black proprietors.³⁸

Participation in the market economy through these social reproductive activities provided Black slave women with cash to buy a range of items. These included fancy foods, clothes, small trinkets, and, in some cases, their freedom.³⁹ The main point that historian Peter Rachleff emphasizes, "is that these decisions were theirs to make."⁴⁰ Cash could add to a slave woman's strength and standing within the community by allowing her to become a financial backer of the church, a contributor to a support society,⁴¹ or an organizer of social celebrations. Moreover, in seeking extra income, slave women exercised a degree of control not found in the rest of their lives. They had the choice of accepting or rejecting certain jobs, and had the ability to negotiate the terms of their work and wages.

The benefits and opportunities of these extra jobs were not without heavy penalties, however. For many African-American slave women, laundering or catering was a third job, performed after a long day working in the masters' household and taking care of their own families. Given the long hours women worked and the heavy burdens they shouldered there is reason to question whether extra income gave many of them the sort of "mobility" and "autonomy" commonly enjoyed by slave men. For some slave women, participating in the market economy clearly offered a way to improve their lives. For others, the extra work seemed to have provided little discernable benefit.

Conclusion

Overall, it is clear that the differences between life in an

urban industrial setting and life on a plantation were far less dramatic for Black slave women than for Black slave men. Urban slave women rarely lived and worked under the conditions that have prompted historians to wonder whether some urban slaves took a "step toward freedom." For some slave women, the larger impact of urban industrialization and the market economy did bypass them. Yet in many subtle ways, urban slave women were unquestionably affected by industrialization and life in the city. Though relatively few Black bondwomen had the opportunity to choose their own jobs and housing, many found other ways to participate in the market economy, and all became aware that a range of privileges connected with industrialization was within the reach of slaves. And in this sense, the differences between city and country bondwomen's experiences were significant, which suggests that models used to understand plantation slavery, such as the one offered by Deborah Gray White, might not be useful.⁴² Studies on urban free Black women have been more helpful, but still do not fully capture the experience of urban slave women. My research on Black slave women in Richmond describes the conditions in just one city, and so far has produced more questions than answers. But this work should demonstrate the importance of studying urban bondwomen as a distinct group and of expanding our understanding of these women's role in industrialization.

1. S.L. Jones, Life in the South: From the Commencement of the War by a Blockaded British Subject, (London: Chapman and Hall, 1863), pp.165-166.
2. Rodney Dale Green, "Urban Industry, Black Resistance, and Racial Restriction in the Antebellum South: A General Model and a Case Study in Urban Virginia," (Ph.D. dissertation, American University, 1980), pp.257-8.
3. Clement Eaton, "Slave-Hiring in the Upper South: A Step Toward Freedom," Mississippi Valley Historical Review, 46 (1959-1960); Richard B. Morris, "The Measure of Bondage in the Slave States," Mississippi Valley Historical Review, 41 (1954-1955).
4. Older seminal works such as Richard C. Wade, Slavery in the Cities: The South: 1820-1860, (New York: Oxford University Press, 1964), Robert Starobin, Industrial Slavery in the Old South, (New York: Oxford University Press, 1970) and Claudia Goldin, Urban Slavery in the American South, 1820-1860, (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1976), have paid little attention to slave women's experiences as do more recent studies including: Barbara J. Fields, Slavery and Freedom on the Middle Ground: Maryland During the Nineteenth Century, (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1985), Rodney Dale Green, "Urban Industry, Black Resistance, and Racial Restriction in the Antebellum South: A General Model and a Case Study in Urban Virginia," (Ph.D. Dissertation, American University, 1980), Rodney Dale Green, "Industrial Transition in The Land of Chattel Slavery: Richmond, Virginia, 1820-1860," International Journal of Urban and Regional Research, (1984):238-54.
5. Works by Jacqueline Jones, Labor of Love, Labor of Sorrow: Black Women, Work and the Family From Slavery to the Present, (New York: Vintage Books, 1985) and Deborah Gray White, Ar'n't I a Woman? Female Slaves in the Plantation South, (New York: W.W. Norton & Co., 1985) and Deborah Gray White, "Female Slaves: Sex Roles and Status in the Antebellum Plantation South," Journal of Family History, Volume 8 (Fall 1983), for example, are important studies of slave women's conditions on plantations and in rural areas. Their analyses, however, cannot completely explain urban slave women's experiences.
6. Manufacturing Census, 1820-1860, Richmond, Virginia, Virginia State Library and Archives, Richmond, Virginia.
7. Ibid.
8. Population Census, 1820 & 1860, Richmond, Virginia; Richard C. Wade, Slavery in the Cities: The South: 1820-1860, (New York: Oxford University Press, 1964), p.330.

9. Richard C. Wade, Slavery in the Cities: The South: 1820-1860, (New York: Oxford University Press, 1964), p.330.
10. The costs of hiring highly skilled slaves (men and women) was significantly higher than the average figures given. Carpenters, blacksmiths and cooks, for example, were hired at rates ranging from \$100 to \$160 per year. But in spite of the higher rates, hiring was still less expensive than purchasing a slave.
11. All of these figures are based on my own compilation of the cost of slave purchases and hires taken from newspapers, court records, wills and deeds and private papers. For comparative slave prices see: Ulrich B. Phillips' work, Life and Labor in the Old South and Lewis Cecil Gray's History of Agriculture in the Southern United States to 1860, Volume II, which both indicate that slave costs were even higher on the state-wide level.
12. Kenneth M. Stamp, The Peculiar Institution, Slavery in the Antebellum South, (New York: Vintage Books, 1956), p.72.
13. Details concerning slave residential patterns are from depositions given by slave workers in the court records. In the case involving the death of one slave resident, slave neighbors gave testimonies and specified where they lived and with whom. See: "Commonwealth versus Daniel," January - June 1830, Hustling Court, Suit Papers, Virginia State Library and Archives, Richmond, Virginia.
14. Richard C. Wade, Slavery in the Cities: The South, 1820-1860, (New York: Oxford University Press, 1964), Chapter Six.
15. Population Census, 1860, Richmond, Virginia; Manufacturing Census, 1860, Richmond, Virginia; Rodney Dale Green, "Urban Industry, Black Resistance, and Racial Restriction in the Antebellum South: A General Model and a Case Study in Urban Virginia," (Ph.D. dissertation, American University, 1980), pp.257-8.
16. Jacqueline Jones, Labor of Love, Labor of Sorrow: Black Women, Work and the Family From Slavery to the Present, (New York: Vintage Books, 1985), p.18. For additional details see: Lois Carr and Lorena Walsh, "Economic Diversification and Labor Organization," in Work and Labor in Early America, ed. Stephen Innes, (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1988), p.175-178; Eugene D. Genovese, Roll, Jordan, Roll: The World the Slaves Made, (New York: Vintage Books, 1976).
17. Teresa Amott and Julie Matthaei, Race, Gender, and Work: A Multicultural Economic History of Women in the United States, (Boston: South End Press, 1991), p.146.

18. "Listing of Slaves in Staff Dept Rolls," 25 July 1782, Calendar of State Papers, Volume III (Richmond, VA: Virginia State Library, 1883), p.200.
19. This quote was taken from Colonel George Muter's correspondence with Governor Jefferson concerning slave women for the foundry. For source see: Kathleen Bruce, Virginia Iron Manufacture in the Slave Era, (New York: Augustus M. Kelley, 1968), p.56.
20. Manufacturing Census, 1820, Richmond, Virginia, Virginia State Library and Archives, Richmond, Virginia.
21. Population Census, 1820-1840, Richmond, Virginia; Personal Property Tax Lists, 1820-1840, Richmond, Virginia, Virginia State Library and Archives, Richmond, Virginia.
22. Rodney Dale Green, "Urban Industry, Black Resistance, and Racial Restriction in the Antebellum South: A General Model and a Case Study in Urban Virginia," (Ph.D. dissertation, American University, 1980), pp.257-8.
23. Ibid.
24. Rodney Dale Green, "Urban Industry, Black Resistance, and Racial Restriction in the Antebellum South: A General Model and a Case Study in Urban Virginia," (Ph.D. dissertation, American University, 1980), pp.257-8.
25. Slave studies have generally assumed slave workers' jobs to have been connected with their owners' or the firm's primary occupation. In this case a fairly large group of slave women were held by various local tailor shops and I am assuming that they worked as seamstresses. It is also possible that they worked as domestic servants for the tailor shops as well.
26. Manufacturing Census, 1840-1860, Richmond, Virginia; Population Census, 1840-1860; Frederick Law Olmsted, A Journey in the Seaboard Slave States in the Years 1853-1854, (New York: G.P. Putnam's Sons, 1904), p.53. Travelers' journals have provided details that slave women were chambermaids, and only male slaves were servers. See: William Chambers, Things As They Are in America, (London: William and Robert Chambers, 1857), p.271.
27. Ibid.
28. Joseph Clarke Robert, The Tobacco Kingdom: Plantation, Market, and Factory in Virginia and North Carolina, 1800-1860, (Gloucester, Mass: Peter Smith, 1965). Of the business records that exist there are plenty of entries indicating slave men receiving overtime bonuses, but I have never come across an entry for women.

29. Leslie Howard Owens, This Species of Property: Slave Life and Culture in the Old South, (New York: Oxford University Press, 1976), p.106; Robert W. Fogel and Stanley L. Engerman, Time On the Cross: The Economics of American Negro Slavery, 2 Volumes (Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1974).

30. This was a constant source of concern to both local authorities and to the deacons at the First African Baptist Church. Daily Dispatch, 1852-1853; First African Baptist Church, Minutes, 1835-1865, Virginia State Library and Archives, Richmond, Virginia.

31. Ronald L. Lewis, "Slave Families at Early Chesapeake Ironworks," Virginia Magazine of History and Biography, Volume 86 No. 2 (April 1978):171

32. Luther P. Jackson, "Manumission In Certain Virginia Cities," Journal of Negro History, Volume XV (1930); John T. O'Brien, "Factory, Church and Community: Blacks in Antebellum Richmond," Journal of Southern History, Volume XLIV, No. 4 (November 1978):509-37.

33. Evelyn Nakano Glenn, "From Servitude to Service Work: Historical Continuities in the Racial Division of Paid Reproductive Labor," Signs, Volume 18 No.1 (Autumn 1992):1-43.

34. Census records and Business Directories for the 1850s, for example, indicate that free Black women in Richmond were primarily employed as washerwomen.

35. The Converse family regularly paid a laundress for their wash even though two servants lived within the household. See: Paul D. Converse, "How a Family Lived in the 1830s," Current Economic Comment, (February 1950):3-11; Marie Tyler-McGraw and Gregg D. Kimball, In Bondage and Freedom: Antebellum Black Life in Richmond, Virginia, (Richmond, VA: Valentine Museum, 1988), Part Two.

36. Hustings Court, Suit Papers, 1830-1860, Virginia State Library and Archives, Richmond, Virginia.

37. This trade prompted the passage of several laws banning slaves from "selling any refreshments" or "pies, fruits or other eatables" within the city. City Council, Ordinances, 13 March 1829; 26 August 1829; 10 May 1830, Virginia State Library and Archives, Richmond, Virginia.

38. "Memoirs of Reverend Walter Brooks, Brooks Family Records, n.d., Virginia Historical Society, Richmond, Virginia; Michael B. Chesson, Richmond After the War, 1865-1890, (Richmond, VA: Virginia State Library, 1981), p.16; Daily Dispatch, 24 December

1852, 20 August 1853; J.E. Bruce, "A Sketch of My Life," [found in] Gerda Lerner, ed., Black Women in White America: A Documentary History, (New York: Pantheon Books, 1973), pp.33-4.

39. A quick review of the city deeds shows that many slaves had to purchase their freedom. Richmond City, Deeds, 1800-1860, Virginia State Library and Archives, Richmond, Virginia.

40. Peter Rachleff, Black Labor in Richmond, 1865-1890, (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1989), p.7.

41. Peter Rachleff, Black Labor in Richmond, 1865-1890, (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1989), Chapter Two.

42. Deborah Gray White, Ar'n't I a Woman? Female Slaves in the Plantation South, (New York: W.W. Norton & Co., 1985); Deborah Gray White, "Female Slaves: Sex Roles and Status in the Antebellum Plantation South," Journal of Family History, Volume 8 (Fall 1983).