A STUDY IN CIVIL RIGHTS

THE DELEGATES OF THE 1883 MASS MEETING

By Donna Bohanon

Introduction

This is a dramatic story and a mystery about America’s promises not kept and the effort on May 14, 1883, despite the risk of jail or being lynched, of seventeen Black men who held a Mass Meeting and decided to petition the courts for recognition of their rights under the 14th and 15th amendments to the United States Constitution. We intend to follow up this article with another to discover what happened to John Brooks, and other African Americans who were involved, so we invite readers to contact the Bulletin with their ideas on how to seek the truth. This is a fascinating, little discussed story, and the lives of the protagonists are virtually unknown. They wanted to secure their civil rights for all African Americans in Loudoun and their actions took enormous bravery, so we don’t want their legacy to be forgotten. Help us.
The men who held the Mass Meeting were Joseph Waters, Fielding Green, James Ball, William Waters, Joseph Rivers, Gregg Furr, James Bowman, James Hicks, Thomas Williams, Alfred Grigsby, William Morland, Jesse Moton, John Brooks, William Jackson, John Neal, Henry Howard and Lee Bryant. The outcome, as reported in a local newspaper “The Mirror,” was an agreement to petition county Judge James B. McCabe for their right to serve as jurors and election officials -- rights guaranteed them under the 14th and 15th amendments to the United States Constitution.3

Why did this event happen? Who were the men? What happened to them? While the why is clear, extensive biographical information that recognizes how much each man individually and as a group did to progress civil rights and improve the lives of the African American community in Loudoun County, before or after 1883, is not publicly available. For example, John Brooks seems to have left Loudoun in 1888, just before he was sentenced on charges for selling liquor without a license, as reported in the Mirror.4 The climate in race relations at the time was difficult and John Brooks was a known community leader, and by 1888 probably seen by some citizens as “dangerous.” In August 1883, he and other men helped organize the “Grand Excursion” to Leesburg, a gathering of the Capital City Guards. This was essentially an opportunity for citizens of color from Washington DC and other cities in Virginia to travel and gather with Loudoun citizens of color on August Court Day for a parade and Dress Drill. All the militia members of the District were invited to attend.5 Brooks was also an alternate to the 1884 Delegation to the Congressional District Convention for the Republican party. In addition, Brooks might have been a member of the Free Masons and Odd Fellows. The relationship between Whites and Blacks makes the charges against such a public figure suspect, when evaluated through a contemporary eye. Still, given that he was a leader and very public, what would have made a man of accomplishment who was accustomed to taking public stances, disappear from Loudoun just prior to his sentencing, never to be heard from again? Was it a fear of jail or perhaps something more menacing?
The Petition

What were the conditions that prompted and inspired the men, leaders in their respective communities, to address the court and did their activism after 1883 influence social changes within Loudoun County?

The petition began,

“We, the undersigned Delegates in mass meeting assembled, in Leesburg, May 14th, 1883, were duly authorized by the said meeting to present this Petition:

It then requested the county to recognize their rights and privileges.

“...Political society enjoins on us the same duties and requires of us the same that is exacted from its other members. For twenty years we have been trying to qualify ourselves for the duties of citizenship, we trust it is not presumption in us to say, our efforts have been unfailing; we desire in the future a fuller recognition of our rights and privileges which the laws of the land have guaranteed to us, hence we respectfully petition your Honor in the future, to recognize our rights, to serve as Jurors and Judges of Election.”

“OUR RIGHTS AND PRIVILEGES”

In the eloquent petition submitted to Loudoun County Judge James B. McCabe, the delegation alluded to rights codified in law for formerly enslaved and free Blacks. Ratification of the 13th amendment abolished slavery in 1865. Implementation was done by Congress after the Civil War through the “Reconstruction” legislation and passage of the Civil Rights Act of 1866 that provided for “…all Persons in the United States in their Civil Rights and liberties” and furnish the Means of their Vindication”. The promise of “full citizenship” and “equal protection of the law” came with ratification of the 14th amendment in 1868. It specifically identified the “formerly enslaved inclusive in granting citizenship to all persons, born or naturalized in the United States of America.” Two years later, the 15th amendment, ratified in 1870, provided that the “right of citizens of the United States to vote shall
not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any state on account of race, color, or previous condition of servitude.”

These amendments and legislation formed the legal basis for the men to address the court with confidence that their right to participate fully in the legal and political process should not be denied. The above-mentioned legislation can also be interpreted, at least in part, as the basis for the court’s response. The Mirror reports,

“Judge McCabe granted all of the above Petition except the right of being Judges of Elections.” In denying the delegation’s request Judge McCabe stated that he did not know if “the colored people” had the right to be appointed election judges."

The Delegates of the 1883 Mass Meeting disagreed, stating that recognition of the right to appoint election judges should also be granted.

“OUR EFFORTS HAVE BEEN UNFAILING”

“...For twenty years we have been trying to qualify ourselves for the duties of citizenship...”

After emancipation, African Americans experienced a period of reunification that historian Leone Bennett in his book “Before the Mayflower” describes as “the gathering.” He states, “The first order of business was reuniting with loved ones. Then [they] took to community building for protecting and mutual support”.8

There was a relatively sizable free community of 1,251 in 1860 that despite an 1806 Virginia law requiring free people of color to leave the state, they defied the law by remaining. Many did so to be close to enslaved family members.9 In fact, in 1860, a few years prior to the start of the Civil War, the free and enslaved population totaled 5,501 or 31% of Loudoun’s total population of 21,774.10

With so many free and formerly enslaved, the process of “gathering” would have been of substantial importance in the development of community for Loudoun’s African Americans. By the time the delegation petitioned the court in 1883, Loudoun had more than twenty African American communities. Many were near the former plantations where work could be found, some
were enclaves consisting of a small group of family members. Some larger communities developed with all the elements necessary to nurture members and maintain a strong, self-sustaining environment -- land, family and fellowship, homesteads and culture, churches, schools, societies and work.  

1883 was a mere twenty years after emancipation and only six years after the end of reconstruction, the nation’s attempt to create a society without legal enslavement. African Americans made significant but limited social, economic and educational progress. That progress was being threatened by restrictions in the form of Jim Crow laws enacted throughout the south. Despite this growing White animosity and the loss of protection from federal troops due to their withdrawal from the south as a result of the “Compromise of 1877,” Loudoun’s African Americans focused on accommodating their needs and established sixteen churches and four fraternal or mutual aid societies by 1883.

One of the first aid societies, established in 1873, was the Grand United Order of the Odd Fellows. It had as its primary mission the “comforting of the sick, burying the dead and providing for widows and orphans.” This spirit of self-sufficiency would be duplicated in the formation of other fraternal and aid organizations that would follow. And in the post reconstruction era of increased intimidation and violence -- Loudoun’s first recorded lynching occurred three years prior to the 1883 Mass Meeting when the extrajudicial murder of Page Wallace occurred on the Loudoun side of the Potomac river in 1880, due to an unproven rape. African Americans, in general, focused on developing ways to leverage what was left of their political and economic power to protect themselves. This was post reconstruction reality, yet Loudoun’s African American community diligently moved forward.

The strength of conviction in their inherent worthiness as contributing members of Loudoun County, despite the risks, deserves acknowledgement. Especially, the delegation’s bold action to petition the court. Their pride, fortitude and responsiveness to community needs is further demonstrated by the fact that by the turn of the century approximately thirty churches and thirteen fraternal or mutual aid organizations had been established in Loudoun.
Striving for Education

Unrestricted by the pre-Civil War prohibitions on education, the formerly enslaved attended school where available and when other work or family duties allowed. They could and did openly advocate for the establishment of more schools in the county to accommodate their desire for education. At least nine schools had been established by 1883; most under the authority of the Freedmen Bureau. Of note are two schools that existed prior to implementation of the Freedmen Act of 1865. William O. Robey, a teacher who later became an ordained minister, started a school in his home in Leesburg as did Quaker Sarah Steer in Waterford. Each became Freedmen Bureau schools in 1866 after Loudoun’s first Bureau Office opened in Leesburg in 1865.  

Freedmen Bureau Officers were required to report on conditions within their districts. These reports provide insight on the attitudes of Loudoun’s Blacks and Whites and indicate how the information had to be taken into consideration when recommending where schools would be located. For example:

March 26, 1867 - Freedmen Bureau report submitted by Sidney B. Smith, Bvt Capt and Asst Sup

“In compliance with “Circular No 5 War Department Bureau of R F and A L Washington Feb. 20th 1867” I have the honor to report that I have visited the colored schools of this county, four (4) in number – and was much pleased to observe the improvement which most of the pupils have made since I last visited them. Three of these schools are taught by ladies whose hearts, as well as heads, are engaged in the discharge of their duties. As a general thing the schools are well attended. I do not think myself competent to suggest any improvement to the present system of teaching. I think, however, that they lack the order which is generally found in district schools in the northern states, but as many of these schools are so crowded and the scholars are so irregular in their attendance, I presume this deficit cannot well be remedied. Where schools should be established. The colored people at the village of Middleburg and vicinity are very desirous to have a school. I am informed that forty or fifty (40 or 50) pupils would attend. An old abandoned church in the village can be obtained for that purpose. In the village of Aldie there are probably twenty or
twenty-five (20 or 25) pupils, that would attend, but no building can be obtained for that purpose. In the village of Hamilton and vicinity it is thought that between twenty and thirty (20 or 30) pupils would attend a school if situated in that village. In the village of Lovettsville and vicinity there are probably about the same number (20 or 30) pupils who would attend a school if established in this village. A house in a very dilapidated condition but if repaired could be used for the purpose. The places above named, each most inviting, for the establishment of schools, but as this is one of the finest agricultural counties in the state, it is consequently quite thickly settled; and the colored population very evenly distributed over it. Hence a school established almost anywhere, would be very well attended – probably as many pupils as one teacher could attend to. I have conferred with some of the most influential men residing at the places above mentioned, who were either officers in the rebel army, or in sympathy with the rebels, and they assured me that if a school is established, it will no way be molested. As regards “Adult Freedmen” I know of no tutor or school but short of time and experience, which will meet their requirements under present circumstances.”

Smith’s assessment was a first-hand account of how much the African American community desired education, pursuing this desire with vigor, despite White animosity towards the establishment of “Colored school.” Clearly it was a factor for the Bureau when determining where schools could exist. It’s important to note that just a year prior, in 1866, several Bureau reports were submitted describing White animosity towards Blacks and the Freedmen Bureau. These reports described the freedmen as enterprising, industrious and willing to work, despite receiving lower wages. They were also remarkably composed when overcharged for goods, were subjected to insults and assaults and when reported to the authorities for redress, their complaints were ignored.

The African American community persisted in advocating for the educational needs of their children. Education was a priority and additional motivation to ensure that the opportunity was also protected. The efforts highlighted here began what would become a tradition in Loudoun – advocating for quality education – that has continued into the 21st century.
Seeking Political Influence

African American men in Loudoun, as throughout the south, when allowed to vote, did so enthusiastically despite the risks. In 1866, more Black men registered to vote in the Leesburg District than White men: 149 to 117. By 1880, Loudoun’s nineteenth century population peaked at 23,634. The racial demographics were 16,391 (69%) White and 7,243 (31%) Black. This high percentage of African Americans coupled with the desire and willingness to vote translated into political capital that was a threat to some and an opportunity for others. African Americans overwhelming supported the Republican party due to a sense of obligation and loyalty to the “Party of Lincoln.” Nationwide, the Republicans seized the opportunity to leverage this loyalty to increase their power.

In Virginia an alliance formed between Black voters and the reformist Readjuster Party, named for its desire to re-adjustment debt Virginia owed before the Civil War. The Party also aimed to break the power of the traditional planter elite that had led the state into war. They also were strong advocates for public education. Based on those and other shared progressive objectives they gained Black support, built a successful multi-racial, multi-party alliance that won majorities in the General Assembly of Virginia in 1879. Their candidates also won all state elections in 1881. Those victories came because of African American votes throughout Virginia. Petersburg and Danville are examples of cities where African Americans successfully gained political power through the Readjuster Party. In Petersburg a multi-racial alliance of Readjusters and Republicans established a progressive agenda including initiatives that benefited African Americans. In Danville African American candidates won city council seats but the bi-racial Readjuster alliance also generated White resentment and increased tension in Danville as it was a city with an increasing Black population. There were no elected African American officials in Loudoun to influence agendas to address their needs. However, with a Readjuster appointed judge, there was an expectation that because African American supported Readjuster candidates there should at least be recognition of their constitutional rights. But this did not happen in Loudoun. Wynne Saffer notes in Loudoun Votes: “The power to appoint officers of elections was controlled by the county court
judge. When the Readjusters gained control of the legislature in 1879, they had removed the judge in Loudoun and other counties and replaced them with judges more favorable to their party. Although the Readjusters in Loudoun needed the support of Blacks and Republicans, they were not as generous in sharing power as the above indicates. (Refers to the 1883 Mass Meeting petition). 21

James B. McCabe was the Readjuster appointed judge referenced above, yet despite Black support for his party, he rejected the idea that black men could be appointed election officers, thus calling into question the fidelity of the party to full civil rights. The implication of McCabe’s rejection meant black men were denied the ability for oversight and the potential to prevent voter disenfranchisement at the ballot box. What the men so bravely challenged by filing the petition.

Organizing and Strategizing Through Mass Meetings

African Americans had a means to advocate for themselves prior to being allowed to join political parties and participate in the political process. Free Blacks in Philadelphia initiated the “Black Convention” movement in the 1830s focusing on the abolition of slavery. Forward-thinking Black abolitionists anticipated the needs of freed slaves by advocating for educational opportunities and land reform. Consequently, abolition, education and land ownership were discussed at the early national conventions. Conventions were held as both large formal national and state gatherings as well as community-based mass meetings with organizational structures in place to communicate and build coalitions at all levels. National conventions were well attended, attracting prominent speakers. For example, the National Colored Convention in Syracuse, NY, held in 1864 prior to the end of the Civil War, had Frederick Douglass as Presiding Officer. He introduced initiatives that focused on political rights, economic improvements and education. As the political and social climate changed for African Americans, the focus of National conventions changed as well.

During the more favorable progressive reconstruction era, National conventions focused on the need to secure political and civil rights. When reconstruction ended and Democrats regained
control of southern legislatures, leadership at Black National Conventions strategically shifted focus to reliance on self-help and gaining racial solidarity through education and economic advancement. These themes were advocated at the National Convention of Colored Men held on September 24, 1883 in Louisville, Kentucky. This convention was significant because it had the widest geographical representation of delegates from across the US. There were representatives from 26 states and the District of Columbia. A total of 282 delegates attended of which 243 were from the South. This represented a change from prior conventions where delegates from the North were in the majority. An increase of southern participation can be attributed to the impact civil rights reversals had in motivating community leaders from the South to attend conventions at the national level to build alliances and obtain inspiration and guidance that could then be shared within their own communities.

Frederick Douglass was the Convention Chairman of the 1883 Convention in Louisville. His keynote speech addressed the need for African Americans to secure economic, civil and political rights. Douglass asserted that the only way to overcome White's adverse sentiments to Black upward mobility was for African Americans to be politically engaged, and for White Americans to accept the right of African Americans to vote and hold political office. Following Douglass' lead, one of the resolutions adopted at the 1883 convention called for African Americans to defend their civil rights through the courts.22

The 1883 Mass Meeting convened in May with representatives from the Loudoun districts of Unison, Mount Gilead, Leesburg, Lovettsville, Silcott Springs, Middleburg, Hamilton, Snickersville, Lincoln and Hughesville. Comfortable using their political influence, these men, as already discussed, had the legal basis to petition the court and the pride in their community’s accomplishments as additional motivation. It can be speculated that due to the men’s social activism and political awareness they knew, as reported in the March 1880 edition of the Mirror, that the U.S. Supreme Court ruled “colored men” had the right to serve as jurors. The article went on to report that 25 names were placed in the jury pool. Clearly the delegation of men would have been aware and concerned that no Blacks were selected.23 In fact, Loudoun would not have an African American sit on a jury until well into the 20th century. Consequently, three years after the Supreme Court ruling that “colored men” had the
right to be jurors, the Black community's concerns escalated and then prompted action. The Bee, an African American newspaper published in Washington, D.C reported that in Leesburg, VA the exclusion of “colored” men from jury duty in the county had become a bone of contention and a large number of “colored” citizens held meetings to discuss the matter. The Bee was describing the events and actions that lead to the 1883 Mass Meeting.24

Possibly sensing that more oppressive state-wide leadership would prevail in the next election, it is plausible that during discussions at the mass meeting the decision was made to petition Judge McCabe, expecting he as a Readjuster appointment to the court would provide a favorable response and a decision that would be rendered well before the upcoming November elections where afterwards a new, perhaps unfriendly judicial appointment would be made.

Urgency in timing was well-founded because nationally and in Virginia, race relations worsened. In October 1883, the U.S. Supreme Court declared the Civil Rights Bill of 1875 unconstitutional, thus weakening the impact of the 14th amendment. In November, a race riot occurred in Danville which had been one of the cities under bi-racial Readjuster political control. The riot occurred a few days before local and state elections, so Democrats used that incident to scare both Black and White voters. Democrats then won control of the House of Delegates, which had been Republican since 1870. 25

Out of necessity, Black political activism did not end with the fall of reconstruction. Instead, due to the emergence of Jim Crow legislation, strategies for activism changed. Black National Conventions provided guidance and inspiration for local community leadership. It is interesting to note that seven years after petitioning the court for recognition of their civil rights, an effort made in vain, the African American community founded a stronger community support system -- the Emancipation Association, an organization with a mission perfectly aligned to the resolutions approved at the 1883 National Black Convention in Louisville that promoted reliance on self-help, racial solidarity through education and economic advancement.

The Emancipation Association formed in Hamilton, Virginia in 1890 was a county-wide organization that on the
surface appeared to be one that focused primarily on coordinating the annual Emancipation Day celebrations in recognition of slavery’s end. It was, however more than that. It was unique in that the organizers established it as a shareholding corporation, they purchased property and built a twelve hundred seat tabernacle to serve the community\textsuperscript{26}. Local historian, Elaine Thompson in her book, "In the Watchfires, The Loudoun County Emancipation Association, 1890-1971" describes the founders’ impact.

"...they fostered racial pride and, in their own way, agitated for social change. Contrary to what many believe, they were not a typical civil rights organization. Both as an institution and as individual members, their primary goal was not integration, but rather economic equity and educational advancement which they believed would bring about social justice."

Although we have no evidence that indicates any of the seventeen men attended Black National conventions, it is plausible that the ideals addressed there influenced their actions and they had access to this information through African American newspapers that covered and reported on the conventions also through word of mouth from those that did attend.

**The Men of the Delegation**

Political and legislative setbacks did not deter them from advocating for progress. Of the seventeen men, records show that two of the men continued to be involved in local politics.

**Fielding Green** - Vice President of the Delegates of the 1883 Mass Meeting representing Unison was the 1884 alternate to the Delegation to Republican Congressional District Convention and was the 1892 Delegate to the Republican District Convention.

**John Brooks** – 1883 Mass Meeting delegate representing Leesburg was also the 1884 alternate to the Delegation to Republican Congressional District Convention.

As community leaders the men were most assuredly active in their churches and aid societies. In fact, it is through these venues where organizational, leadership skills could be refined. It’s through churches and aid societies that spiritual,
social and economic support was sustained. In fact, three of the delegation became founding members of the Emancipation Association.

The three were: 

**James Hicks** – First President of the Emancipation Association. He represented Mt. Gilead at the 1883 Mass Meeting.

**Jesse Moton** – Founding member of Emancipation Association. He represented Leesburg at the 1883 Mass Meeting.

**Lee Bryant** – Founding member of Emancipation Association. He represented Hughesville at the 1883 Mass Meeting.

**Gregg Furr** – Served as the Assistant Secretary of the 1883 Mass Meeting representing Silcott Springs. Even though he was not a founding member of the Emancipation Association, he most certainly influenced activism in his son, John Henry Furr, a stockholder and an active association director. 

Bravery was a value the men had to possess in order to navigate any negative response to their action to the action they took in May 1883 to protect their civil rights. Across the nation disenfranchisement, terrorism and violence, particularly lynching was on the raise. As mentioned previously a mere three years prior to the delegation’s petition, Wallace Page was lynched in Loudoun County. Each of the seventeen men are to be commended for their bravery, especially considering that their demands were printed in the local paper along with their names, an action that made them targets.

Records reveal just how brave two of the delegation members were prior to 1883; during the Civil War.

**Fielding Green** – Based on his Southern Claims petition, he served as a guide for the Union Army during the Civil War.

**Joseph Rivers** – In 1861 a free man, he worked on the farm of Armistead Filler. When Confederates pressed Black and White militiamen to work on building fortifications in the county, this anecdote from Chamberlin & Souders, “Between Reb and Yank,” p. 82 describes his reaction. The quote identifies Joseph Rivers as a slave, but he was not.
“One enterprising slave, Joseph Rivers of Lovettsville, found a way to avoid working on the fortifications without leaving the state. He had been hired out to Armistead Filler (and was probably the same slave who had helped Geary’s men bring out Benjamin Grubb’s cattle the previous fall). When Rivers learned that Blacks in his neighborhood were being pressed to construct the breastworks, he complained to Filler that he was contracted to work for him, not the Confederate army. A compromise was worked out, whereby he would spend a month hauling corn for the Southern soldiers but dodged manual labor on the forts. Afterward, he was allowed to return home and thus avoided the fate of many other slaves, who were later sent South.”

Another anecdote from “Between Reb and Yank,” p. 252 comes directly from Joseph River’s words, as recorded in a Southern Claims Commission Case.

“Joseph Rivers, a free Black man who worked during the war on Armistead Filler’s farm across the river from Berlin, frequently provided information about ‘the “Bushwhacker” chief Mobley [John Mobberly]’ and other Rebels in his neighborhood ‘at the risk of my life – they would have shot me as quick as a rabbit had they known it. I don’t want this known now [1872].’”

River’s daughter Annie would later have the rare opportunity for an African American in Loudoun County to attend an upper branch class. Such classes were equivalent to high school at the time.

**Final Thoughts**

The seventeen men that petitioned the court in 1883 took all measures within their control to advocate for their rights, despite the risks; they were brave enough to act. Although the judge’s decision was an outright denial of one of the two requests; an agreement to the other but with no action taken to ensure Black jurors would serve, some remained engaged in local politics and they all used the experience to strengthen resolve in building self-reliant organizations for the betterment of their community. This
tenacity is a long-standing tradition of Loudoun’s African Americans that continues to this day.  

I would also like to add that this study generated more questions about the men of the delegation, the larger African American community in Loudoun and their relationships with the power structures in the county. Consequently, in addition to the mystery centered around John Brooks, it would be interesting to learn more about each of the seventeen men’s involvement in their churches and other social organizations to understand how it influenced their leadership. I’m curious about how the 1883 Mass Meeting petition got reported in The Mirror; who provided the information to the newspaper and what was the motive? Also, how often did mass meetings occur in Loudoun; and for what purpose? How often did African Americans use petitions for activism? It is interesting to note that additional information and research is emerging on the use of petitions. The Edwin Washington Project has found a box of mostly handwritten petitions wrapped in butcher paper. Each is a vivid statement of determination by educators, parents and friends to make sure that the Black community had an opportunity for quality schooling.

As mentioned in the Introduction, if you have more information that would shed a light on the questions raised, contact the Bulletin. This could lead to another article and community discussions centered around the collective tenacity of Loudoun’s African American community as demonstrated in this study of the actions taken by the “Delegates of the 1883 Mass Meeting”.

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Endnotes

1 Lynching was not outlawed in Virginia until 1928.
4 “Made Himself Scarce”, Loudoun Telephone, June 15, 1888.
5 “Look! Look! Co B, Capital City Guard Will Give a Grand Excursion to Leesburg, Va.”, The Bee, August 4, 1883
6 “A Colored Mass Meeting”, The Mirror, May 17, 1883
7 14 Stat. 27–30, enacted April 9, 1866, the first United States federal law to define citizenship and affirm that all citizens deserve equal protection under the law.
9 The General Assembly of Virginia passed the law on January 25, 1806. See also Stevenson, Brenda, Life in Black & White, Family and Community in the Slave South. (New York: Oxford University Press. 1996.) Chapter 9 is an excellent comprehensive study on the free Black population in Loudoun.
10 Souder, Bronwen, Enslavement, Freedom and The Courthouse – 1757-1861, The History of Loudoun County Courthouse and Its Role in the Path to Freedom, Justice and Racial Equality in Loudoun County, Report of the Loudoun County Heritage Commission. Also, statistics of Loudoun’s population can be found in the census records at archives of the Loudoun County Circuit Court.
11 Black History Committee, Friends of the Thomas Balch, African American Communities, A Tour Map and Guide, PP. 1-4.


14 Black History Committee, Friends of the Thomas Balch Library, *Journey Through Time Events Affecting African Americans In Loudoun County, Virginia*, Pg. 10.


17 The Loudoun County Public School system, recognizing how little scholarship existed on Loudoun's pre integration education, commissioned a study which became the Edwin Washington Project (www.edwinwashingtonproject.org).


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26 The term Tabernacle has both a religious and historical significance. This facility was similar to the Bush Tabernacle also built in Purcellville which hosted temperance rallies, called bush meetings, which were organized by the Good Templars of Loudoun County.

27 Additional Biographic information, “In The Watchfires, The Loudoun County Emancipation Association, 1890-1871; James Hicks - Pg. 47, Jesse Moton - Pg. 52, Lee Bryant - Pg. 63.

28 Additional Biographic information, In “The Watchfires The Loudoun County Emancipation Association, 1890-1971, page 61


30 Chamberlin & Souders, *Between Reb and Yank*, p. 82. That account, in turn, was taken from Joseph Rivers' Southern Claims Commission case no. 11656, RG 217, National Archives.


34 White petitions were also uncovered in the same cache, and they too speak of the determination of those parents to support their own children. The entire package will be combined and analyzed in a book authored by Edwin Washington Project volunteers David Prebich and Delores Grigsby in 2020. It will essentially be a monument to African Americans that resisted discrimination in writing, despite the risks.