

Introductory Section



1

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For details on the Bulletin, readers are directed to <https://diversity-fairs-virginia.org/bulletin-of-loudoun-county-history/>.

Introductory Section

Contents

Introduction:

| | |
|--|----|
| EDITORIAL STAFF..... | 3 |
| COVER PHOTOS | 4 |
| EXPANDING OUR VOLUNTEERS | 5 |
| \$1,000 WRITING CONTEST | 5 |
| DEDICATION | 6 |
| EVENTS in 2024 | 11 |
| HISTORICAL PHOTOS..... | 13 |
| SUBMITTING HISTORICAL PHOTOGRAPHS..... | 14 |
| LETTER FROM THE EDITOR IN CHIEF..... | 15 |
| BUYING THE BULLETIN..... | 16 |
| SUBMISSION GUIDELINES..... | 16 |
| ABOUT THE ARTICLES IN THIS ISSUE..... | 17 |

Articles:

| | |
|--|---------|
| The Upward Struggle Statue | 20-63 |
| Fighting Segregation at the Purcellville Library | 64-79 |
| Tracing on Enslaved Community Trafficked from Virginia to Louisiana | 80-111 |
| Exploring the Old Shop at Douglass | 112-118 |

Introductory Section

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COVER PHOTOS



Upward Struggle Statue, with Alumni members present. 5 Oct 2024.²



Office of the Bulletin of Loudoun County History and the Edwin Washington Society. Oct 2024. ³

EXPANDING OUR VOLUNTEERS

The Bulletin invites readers to become Editors of the periodical. If you have an interest in writing history, this could be the perfect volunteer post.

Our Bulletin is published annually in the October/November time frame. To apply, just send an email to edwinwashingtonprojects@gmail.com.

\$1,000 WRITING CONTEST

To spur literacy during the early days of education in Loudoun County, prizes were often offered for well-written essays. In that spirit, the Edwin Washington Society and the Loudoun Douglass Alumni Association, in partnership with Loudoun County Public Schools, are offering \$1,000 for first prize and \$400 for second prize for the best two essays written by a student in grades 8 through 12 enrolled in the Loudoun County Public School system.

Essays must be associated with at least one chapter of *Dirt Don't Burn*, published by Georgetown University Press. The book is available through the Georgetown University Press website and Amazon.com, as well as Loudoun County Public Libraries.

- **Length: 3000 – 6000 characters. No pictures.**
- **Submit in electronic format, Word for Windows, double space. Do not use google docs.**
- **Use Chicago Manual of Style for endnotes. Do not use footnotes.**

- **Each page should have a header with title and a footer with pagination.**
- **The cover page must contain the name of the author, contact information and a brief biography, saying something about the student's ambitions. Contact information will NOT be shared.**
- **The Edwin Washington Society can help students with research. Send questions to edwinwashingtonprojects@gmail.com.**
- **Submissions are due by 5pm on 1 April 2025. Send to edwinwashingtonprojects@gmail.com. A.I. submissions are not acceptable.**
- **The top two essays will be announced on 1 June 2025. In addition, EWS agrees to publish the top four essays on our website and in the Bulletin of Loudoun County History.**

DEDICATION

The Bulletin wishes to dedicate this issue to the many important non-profits and committees in Loudoun County that support an understanding of history. Our thanks to the Balch Library and its new Chief Librarian, Laura Christianson, for help with the list.

- **Aldie Heritage Association.** PO Box 20, Aldie, VA 20105. info@aldieheritage.com. Promotes the history, character, and heritage of Aldie, Virginia, and the surrounding area.
- **Thomas Balch Library.** 208 W. Market St., Leesburg, VA 20176. (703) 737-7195. balchlib@leesburgva.gov. The library is owned by Leesburg and is a great source of information on local history for the entire county. Contact them by phone, email, or visit

<https://www.leesburgva.gov/departments/thomas-balch-library> for research help. Many original documents are stored there, including newspapers, magazines and archives of clubs and other organizations with data useful to you

- **Friends of the Thomas Balch Library.** PO Box 2184, Leesburg, Virginia, 20177. [540-579-2825](tel:5405792825). [Black History Education Resources](#). To acquaint teachers with this rich archival resource and the educational materials that support the curriculum, tours and maps, community profiles, timelines, books, and oral histories have been developed.
- **The Black History Committee of the Friends of the Thomas Balch Library.** The Committee is the premier source of information on Black history in Loudoun. It meets monthly at the Balch and is open to the public. The BHC was founded by the Friends in 2000 “to preserve, collect, promote, and share the history of African Americans who contributed to the emergence and development of Loudoun County, Virginia.” The committee conducts research on African American life in Loudoun County and publishes books and monographs that shed light on Black heritage.

<https://friendsofbalch.org/friends/black-history-committee>.

- The archives of the **Circuit Court of Loudoun County**. Loudoun contains one of the most complete collections of court records in Virginia and is one of only a few of Virginia’s ninety-eight counties whose records have not been destroyed by fire, war, or environmental factors.

<https://www.loudoun.gov/2165/Historic-Records-Deed-Research> Contact: 703-737-8775 or CLERKS-ARCHIVES@LOUDOUN.GOV.

- **The Edwin Washington Society.** EWS is a 501(c)(3) and through its Edwin Washington Project is mandated to document what happened in the field of education to the Black Community during segregation up to 1968. This history is compared to the white experience. Volunteers stand ready to assist anyone. EWS assists students and educators interested in this aspect of Black history, lectures at universities around the nation.
- **Friends of Ball's Bluff.** The Friends of the Ball's Bluff is a private entity affiliated with the Northern Virginia Regional Park Authority, whose purpose is the stewardship and interpretation of the Ball's Bluff Battlefield Regional Park. friendsofballsbluff@gmail.com.
- **Goose Creek Association.** PO Box 1178, Middleburg, VA 20118. [540-687-3073](tel:540-687-3073) info@goosecreek.org Protects and preserves the natural resources, historic heritage, and rural quality of life found along Goose Creek.
- **Lincoln Preservation Foundation.** Lincoln, Virginia. Documents and preserves the unique historic heritage of Loudoun County, Virginia's Goose Creek Historic District, anchored by the early 18th-century Quaker village of Lincoln.
- **Loudoun Archaeological Foundation.** The Foundation is devoted to archaeological research and community outreach in Loudoun County, Virginia.

- **Loudoun County Civil War Roundtable. (LCCWRT).** The Roundtable promotes and further stimulates interest in all aspects and phases of the Civil War period.
- **Loudoun County Preservation and Conservation Coalition.** PO Box 226, Round Hill, VA 20142. It provides a strong voice in public forums and a convenient and effective way to share information, issues, and ideas. info@loudouncoalition.org.
- **Loudoun Freedom Center.** Identifies and memorializes historic Black heritage sites, sacred burial grounds, and communities in Loudoun. <https://lfcva.org/>.
- **Loudoun Preservation Society.** PO Box 351, Leesburg, Virginia 20178. Dedicated to preserving the county's historical, cultural, and natural resources. lps@preserveloudoun.org.
- **Lovettsville Historical Society and Museum.** PO Box 5, 4 East Pennsylvania Avenue, Lovettsville, VA 20180. [540-822-9194](tel:540-822-9194). Committed to preserving and promoting the heritage of Lovettsville and the surrounding area formerly known as “The German Settlement.”
info@lovettsvillehistoricalsociety.org.
- **Middleburg Museum.** 12 N. Madison Street, PO Box 106, Middleburg, VA 20118. Created for recording, preserving and sharing with residents and visitors the rich history of Middleburg. info@themiddleburgmuseum.org.
- **Purcellville Historical Society.** Values and preserves Purcellville’s unique historic character through education, community

Introductory Section

events and advocacy initiatives. PO Box 765, Purcellville, VA 20134.

- **Route 50 Corridor Coalition.** PO Box 1555, Middleburg, VA 20118. (540) 687-405. Preserves and enhances the scenic historic countryside, bounding a 20-mile stretch of rural Route 50. route50cc@erols.com.
- **Save Old Sterling.** Dedicated to preserving what remains of Guilford Station — the little town established when the railroad came through. info@SaveOldSterling.org.
- **Short Hill Historical Society.** P.O. Box 770, Purcellville, VA 20134. Dedicated to preserving and restoring historic landmarks in the Short Hill region of western Loudoun County, Virginia. ShortHillHistoricalSociety@gmail.com.
facebook.com/ShortHillHistoricalSociety.
- **Snickersville Turnpike Association.** PO Box 452, Philomont, VA 20131. Preserves the rural character of Snickersville Turnpike and explores the history related to this byway. info@snickersvilleturnpike.org.
- **Unison Preservation Society.** PO Box 606, Middleburg, VA 20118-0606. Protects and preserves the historic village and surrounding countryside of Unison. unisonpreservsoc@unisonva.org.
- **Virginia Piedmont Heritage Area Association (VPHA).** P.O. Box 1497, Middleburg, VA 20118. 461 Atoka Road, Marshall VA 20115. 540-687-6681.

Educates and advocates for the preservation of the extraordinary historical landscape and

culture of the Mosby Heritage Area for future generations. info@piedmontheritage.org.

- **Waterford Foundation.** 40222 Fairfax Street, PO Box 142, Waterford, VA 20197. 540-882-3018. oldschool@waterfordfoundation.org.

EVENTS in 2024

The Edwin Washington Society participates in many events related to historical research. In addition to occasional tours of Douglass High School for tourists in 2024, the most important events in 2024 were:

- Nov 17: Discussion on *Dirt Don't Burn* at the Thomas Balch Library.
- Nov 14, 2024: Broadcast discussion of *Dirt Don't Burn* at the Library of Virginia, as part of the 2024 Carole Weinstein Author Series!
- Nov 9: Briefing on *Dirt Don't Burn* and EWS at Sydenstricker School House to the Historical Schools of Northern Virginia (HSNVA) monthly meeting.
- Oct 22: Discussion with Unitarian Universalist Congregation of Sterling of reworking a play performed in 1941 at the "Ashburn Colored School."
- Oct 16: Discussion on *Dirt Don't Burn* and the Edwin Washington Society at George Mason University.
- Oct 5: Douglass Legacy Day.
- Sept 20-22: Bluemont Fair.
- Aug 15: LCPS Teacher Professional Day.
- July 18-20: Fairfax Resolves commemoration.
- June 20: Book Club discussion on *Dirt Don't Burn*.

Introductory Section

- June 16: Discussions on *Dirt Don't Burn* on the New Books Network Blog.
- June 9-2: Annual conference of the Country School Association of America (CSAA) in Toledo, Ohio, to discuss the segregated era in Loudoun County, Virginia, and discussions on one-room schools.
- June 5: Private dedication of the statue, the Upward Struggle, at Douglass High School.
- May 9: Discussion on *Dirt Don't Burn* at the Unitarian Universalist Congregation of Sterling.
- April 26: Meeting with Community Foundation Board in Leesburg.
- April 13: Discussion on Brown vs Board of Education and the importance of citizens studying constitutional law and civil rights.
- April 6: The Washington DC History Conference.
- April 2: Discussion at Afro-American Historical Association of Fauquier County.
- Feb 29: Briefing on *Dirt Don't Burn* at Banneker Elementary School.
- Feb 17: Briefing on *Dirt Don't Burn* with the Quaker community in Lincoln.
- Feb 3: Briefing on *Dirt Don't Burn* with the Black History Committee, the Balch Library.
- Jan 25: Briefing on *Dirt Don't Burn* to Foreign Affairs Committee of Northern Virginia.

HISTORICAL PHOTOS



Middleburg, 1920. ⁴

Introductory Section



Lincoln High School Home Economics Contest, 1938. Notice how blinds in the auditorium are controlled. The auditorium was also used for basketball.⁵

SUBMITTING HISTORICAL PHOTOGRAPHS

The bulletin invites anyone to send us historical photos “out of your attic” for consideration. Please include a story behind the photo.

Send to edwinwashingtonprojects@gmail.com.

LETTER FROM THE EDITOR IN CHIEF



10 November 2024

Leesburg, Virginia, Loudoun County, Virginia

Dear Readers:

We are pleased to present the 2024/2025 edition of the Bulletin of Loudoun County History. Our goal is to tell the stories of Loudoun County's past, as well as of its neighbors when of special interest to our residents.

We are non-partisan and dedicated to broadening our readership, and we invite anyone to collaborate by submitting articles and photographs for consideration, attending discussion groups, or joining us on Facebook. For details on how to make submissions,

Introductory Section

see SUBMISSION GUIDELINES pg. 17 or visit <https://diversity-fairs-virginia.org/bulletin-of-loudoun-county-history/>.

We are also the official journal of the Edwin Washington Society, named after a waiter who lived in Leesburg and was the first back youth we could document as wanting to go to school during Reconstruction while also keeping his job. A Bulletin such as ours is about educating the public about all aspects of our history, so it is altogether appropriate that the parent corporation take on Edwin's name in 2018. We invite readers to explore all our activities by going to (www.edwinwashingtonsociety.org).

Larry Roeder, MS
Editor in Chief

BUYING THE BULLETIN

Copies can be ordered from Amazon, Photo/Works in Leesburg or through the Edwin Washington Society Research Center in Leesburg. Free copies for loan can be found at the Balch Library, the county public libraries and the public high schools in Loudoun, as well as the Library of Virginia.

SUBMISSION GUIDELINES

Authors (including university students and high school seniors) are encouraged to submit unpublished manuscripts on a Loudoun County person, place, organization, or historical event.

Introductory Section

Portions of early diaries and letters are encouraged, also articles which advocate for the preservation of historical artifacts and documents.

Articles must be submitted by email to edwinwashingtonprojects@gmail.com and need to be in Word for Windows format. Do not use google docs. Further details on how to submit an inquiry are on our website. No specific length is recommended, but the Editors reserve the right to shorten or serialize articles. Page size must be 6x9”.

ABOUT THE ARTICLES IN THIS ISSUE

The “Upward Struggle Statue” by Larry Roeder

This is a discussion of the origin of the statue, dating back to a 2015 NAACP speech in Leesburg, as well as a review of suggestions by artists for a statue to be erected in front of the Douglass High School building, the debate leading to a final choice by the Commemorative Committee of Douglass High School,⁶ and the process by which the winning artist developed the structure.

Fighting Segregation at the Purcellville Library by Paul McCray.

This is the intriguing story of how a local Black couple, Samuel and Josie Murray, became early civil rights heroes by integrating the Purcellville Library, the first free public library (for whites) in Loudoun County, when dedicated in 1938. In January 1957, the Murrays, owners of a popular upholstery and sewing business in town, were told Blacks were not allowed to check out books. Instead, ‘You ask a white person to take it out for you.’ Murray declined the offer,

Introductory Section

stating that since he paid his taxes, he should be able to use the library.

With few allies beyond their attorney, thus began Samuel's and Josie's successful fight for equal rights against the county's white political establishment that was riddled with members of the "Defenders," a group in Loudoun working behind the scenes to keep the library segregated. The Defenders of State Sovereignty and Individual Liberties (Defenders) was created in Virginia in 1954 to resist the integration of Virginia's public schools.

Tracing One Enslaved Community Trafficked from Virginia to Louisiana by Emily Stanfill.

This research is a continuation of an ongoing effort to document the experiences of people enslaved by President James Monroe. The article focuses on the enslaved people who were at Oak Hill plantation in Loudoun County at the time of Monroe's death in 1831. Previously, little was known, but newly located documents have proven that Monroe's son-in-law, who inherited Oak Hill, sold the enslaved community "south" in 1838 to a Louisiana sugar cane plantation owner named Christopher Adams Jr. The author hopes that this work will provide a roadmap for others searching for their enslaved ancestors and encourage the tracing of entire communities and not just individuals or families.

Exploring the Old Shop At Douglass, by the Editors

Study of the history of the Daniel, Hankerson, Knox building on the Douglass compound in Leesburg and its teachers. Done with the help of William Gutshall, a Parks and Rec intern.

ENDNOTES

¹ Photo, courtesy of Larry Roeder.

² Photo, courtesy of Edwin Washington Society.

³ Photo, courtesy of Edwin Washington Society.

⁴ Photo, courtesy of Gertrude Evans.

⁵ Photo, courtesy of the Edwin Washington Society.

⁶ The Loudoun County School Board appointed the 17-member committee on 11 May 11, 2021.

The Upward Struggle Statue

The “Upward Struggle Statue”



Figure 1 Final Statue¹

Contents

| | |
|-----------------------------|----|
| Introduction: | 21 |
| History of the Statue | 34 |
| Design Suggestions | 39 |
| ENDNOTES..... | 62 |

The Upward Struggle Statue

Introduction:

Erected 10 May 2024 in front of the former Douglass High School in Leesburg is an iconic statue of two African-American youths, a young man and woman, climbing up a steep hill. What is the monument's purpose and what is its history? Called "Upward Struggle," the bronze edifice was sculpted by Jeff Hall, one of the best-known artists in Loudoun County, Virginia. He did an extraordinary job integrating his own design suggestions with elements proposed by members of the Loudoun Douglass Commemorative Committee of Douglass High School,² many of whom graduated during the era of segregation.

The Committee was tasked with determining how the history and importance of Douglass High School should be shared and to recommend commemorative components for School Board action in connection with the renovation, including the statue. They also considered a wide range of other features, an innovative playground, a time capsule, many historical plaques to educate the public, and general physical restoration. Renamed the Historic Douglass High School Education and Development Campus, the structure and grounds were rededicated on 21 May 2023.

The Upward Struggle Statue

Famous people are associated with the school. It is named after Frederick Douglass for example, and images of the great man are scattered about the compound, include a popular resting statue on the east side. Famed NAACP President Walter White³ even spoke at Douglass In 1942.⁴ However, rather than focus on a single inspirational figure or national stature, which is typical of public art, the approach towards agreeing on a statue at the front of Douglass sailed a different philosophical tack. The members wanted to honor all of the African-Americans who lived in Loudoun from enslavement into the present, whose names have often been forgotten, a proud people who, with many friends, especially the Quakers, struggled for educational equality and excellence during a dark time in our nation's history. Also, the hill upon which the youths climb doesn't slope downward at any point because the reality is that the struggle for equality continues for all "minorities."

The Upward Struggle Statue



Figure 2 Adjusting the statue in the rain 11am, 12 May 2024. .⁵

The Upward Struggle Statue



Figure 3 Inserting the statue 6:44pm, 10 May 2024. The hill's texture represents the hurdles Blacks climbed throughout segregation and was a specific recommendation by Committee members over the original design, which showed a smooth surface. ⁶

The Upward Struggle Statue



Figure 4 16 April 2024. Making color adjustments.⁷

The Upward Struggle Statue



Figure 5 20 July 2023. Early stages molding clay.⁸

The Upward Struggle Statue



Figure 6 30 Nov 2022 Scaling up from a small demonstration statue that had been used for Committee discussions.⁹

The Upward Struggle Statue



Figure 7 23 April 2023, Jeff Hall's Studio. Left to Right: Dwight Brooks, Donna Torraca, Jeff Hall, Larry Simms, Larry Roeder, Jim Roberts, Charles Avery, Helen Avery, Sarah Howard-O'Brien. Donna and Sarah were officials at LCPS who played major roles in the success of the Commemorative Committee¹⁰

The Upward Struggle Statue



Figure 8 5 June 2024. Jeff Hall (kneeling left) with some of the members of the Commemorative Committee during a private showing for Alumni Association members.

Left to Right. Jim Roberts, Gladys Burke, Helen Avery, Charles Avery, Mary Randolph, Michelle Thomas, Erica Bush, Gert Evans, Carlotta Coates, Tammy Carter (kneeling), Larry Simms, Larry Roeder, Valerie Bush, Sylvia Smith, Alvin Dodson.¹¹

The Upward Struggle Statue



Figure 9 5 June 2024. Valerie Bush and Charles Avery, co-chairs of the Douglass Commemorative Committee. The back row of historical photos of Frederick Douglass is a permanent exhibit. ¹²

The Upward Struggle Statue



Figure 10 5 June 2024. Jeff Hall explains the process of evolving the statue from a charcoal rendering to a bronze edifice.
13

The Upward Struggle Statue



Figure 11 5 June 2024 Tammy Carter and Larry Roeder, co-chairs of the Statue Committee.

Tammy explained the role of the Statue Committee.

Larry explained the statue's history, starting as a charcoal rendering at a 2015 NAACP rally by the courthouse in Leesburg, and then highlighted powerful elements of the current design suggested by members of the Commemorative Committee.¹⁴

The Upward Struggle Statue



Figure 12 23 April 2023. Looking down from a height. ¹⁵

The Upward Struggle Statue

History of the Statue

“Upward Struggle” was commissioned by Loudoun County Public Schools, based on a vote by the Commemorative Committee. The final recommendation took place after a long, friendly debate over a variety of excellent proposals by award-winning artists from Loudoun and around the nation. Eventually, the finalists were reduced to two contenders, and then “Upward Struggle,” proposed by Jeff Hall, was agreed upon. Hall also brought a model to the Committee to illustrate his interpretation of the Committee’s wishes, which became a frequent tool to stimulate additional improvement recommendations. Managing the process were the co-chairs of the Statue Sub-Committee, Larry Roeder, CEO of the Edwin Washington Society,¹⁶ and Tammy Carter, a Loudoun County Public School Teacher. Overseeing their efforts were the co-chairs of the Commemorative Committee, Charles Avery and Erica Bush.

Jeff Hall blended ideas proposed by the Committee and some of his own suggestions into the structure’s final design. In addition, he regularly invited Committee members and friends to his studio to ensure no idea was ignored. Public art is best when it is the product of an organized group of voices. That was the case here.

A wide range of recommendations were made by Committee members. One which was not used but might be in the future, was the notion of installing water features around the statue or in other locations

The Upward Struggle Statue

on the Douglass grounds. This was proposed by Tammy Carter.

The statue is a testament to the spirit of Democracy and determination for equality exhibited by the Black community as found in thousands of nearly lost records in the Training Center on Union Street and now being studied by the Edwin Washington Society. Those records, and others from different archives in Virginia and elsewhere in the country, documented a determined, peaceful struggle in a common direction by the Black community and their friends for equal education and an end to segregation. That realization led the Committee to also seek designs that exhibited a single, forward direction. As a result, several abstract designs were not approved, but the Committee agreed they were all excellent, innovative, and might be considered for future projects around the county.

Many discussions of Frederick Douglass took place, and inspirational figures of Douglass from Loudoun's past were also installed in the building, based on Committee. As a result, rather than focus on the contributions of one single inspirational figure for the statue, the final design symbolizes what all the ancestors of today's Black community heroically did right here in Loudoun – people whose names are often lost in history. Further, because the struggle was led by all elements of the community to advance education, an essential tool to political and economic advancement, the design showed two unnamed

The Upward Struggle Statue

youths walking up a steep hill in a common direction. The original charcoal rendering had the young woman following the young man, but the final design had both standing next to each other and of equal height because the struggle was about both racial and gender equality.

The winning charcoal rendering was based on a review of civil rights era photos found on the internet and at the Balch Library in Leesburg in preparation for a speech in 2015 at an NAACP rally in Leesburg. That speech was developed with the help of members of the Black History Committee of the Friends of the Balch Library.¹⁷

The Upward Struggle Statue



Figure 13 Original 2015 Charcoal and graphite rendering. Another version described text to be inscribed on the sides of the pedestal¹⁸

Many improvements to the original charcoal drawing were made by Committee members. For example, Larry Simms recommended that the young man wear a sweater instead of a shirt, giving movement and energy to the overall design. Jeff Hall added movement to the young woman's skirt. Others

The Upward Struggle Statue

proposed hairstyle changes, and one particular suggestion by Helen Wiggins and Mary Randolph was vital: that the hill upon which the children trod would be roughhewn to represent the extreme difficulty of the struggle for equality. The original charcoal drawing simply showed a slope.

There were many other important suggestions, like placing the word “History” on the book held by the young man, symbolizing the important nature of the struggle, which must not be forgotten, and “Science” on a book held by the young woman, partly represented the essential contribution of Black women to the NASA program.¹⁹

The conclusion was that the statue belonged to everyone on the Committee, but especially the ancestors of the current Black community because it was a truly collaborative project. For the rest of the lives of the Committee members, as they walk by, they should see a bit of each one in it, as well as the hopes and dreams of the entire community, before and now, and into the future. The exercise was also thought to be inspirational to other groups in Loudoun looking for equality. This experience made the members and members of the staffs of Loudoun County Public Schools and Parks and Recreation a “family” bound by the message of the statue, that everyone who struggles for equality and fairness needs recognition. In that vein, the Committee especially commended Donna Torraca and Sara Howard O’Brien of LCPS for their leadership and professional counsel.

The Upward Struggle Statue

Design Suggestions

The Top Two Finalists

Based on design concepts voted on by the Committee, eight artists became finalists in August of 2022, two of which reached final consideration, but they were all wonderful works of art that advanced the notion of the importance of qual, quality education.

The two finalists were Jeff Hall and Zachary Oxman. All photos in this section were shared with the Committee, and the public.

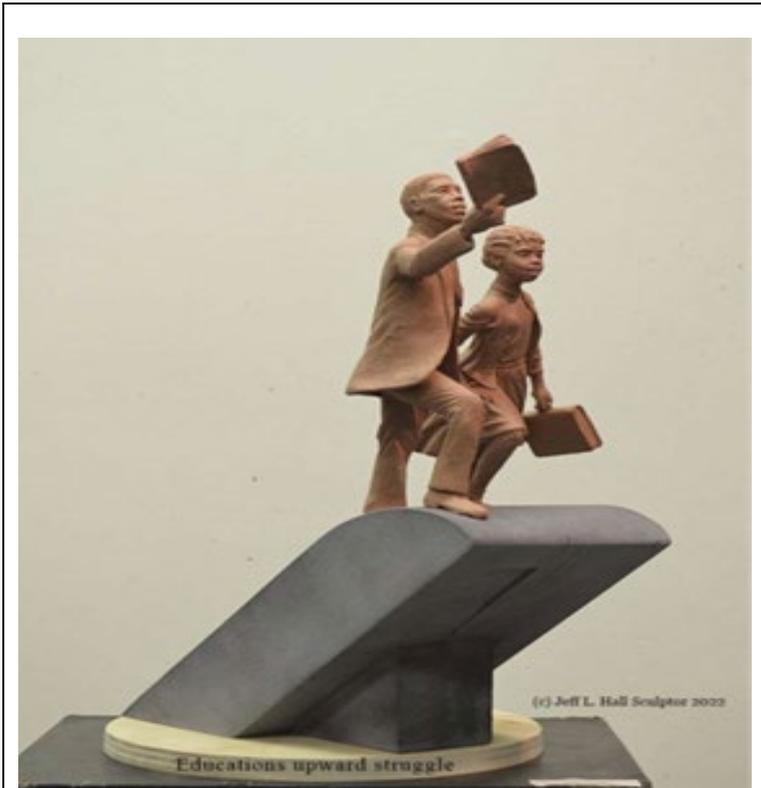
Jeff Hall is from Lovettsville, Virginia.

Jeff Hall tends to focus on monumental and heroic structures, taking in energy and imagery from his surroundings. He was raised in the country outside of Detroit where he learned woodworking from his stepfather and then refined his precision craftsman skills in industrial shops. He is also a self-taught Airbrush artist who worked his way through Art College in Baltimore working on sculptural curved metal of show cars and motorcycles. He has had many important commissions, often working with nationally-recognized sculptor Frederick Hart but also on his own, including bronzes of Stanley Caulkins in Leesburg, Virginia, Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. in Aurora Colorado, First Lady Hillary Clinton in Little Rock, Arkansas and President Kemal Ataturk in Washington, DC. For more information, see <http://www.jeffreyhallart.com/>.

Zachary Oxman is from Bethesda and Rockville, Maryland.

Zachary Oxman's figurative sculptures tend to have emotional resonance, especially his monumental works, which made the final choice difficult. Oxman, an internationally-recognized artist, acquired a BFA in 1990 from Carnegie Mellon University in Pittsburgh, Pa and studied at the Studio Arts Center International in Florence, Italy. For more information, see <https://www.zacharyoxman.com/bio-cv>.

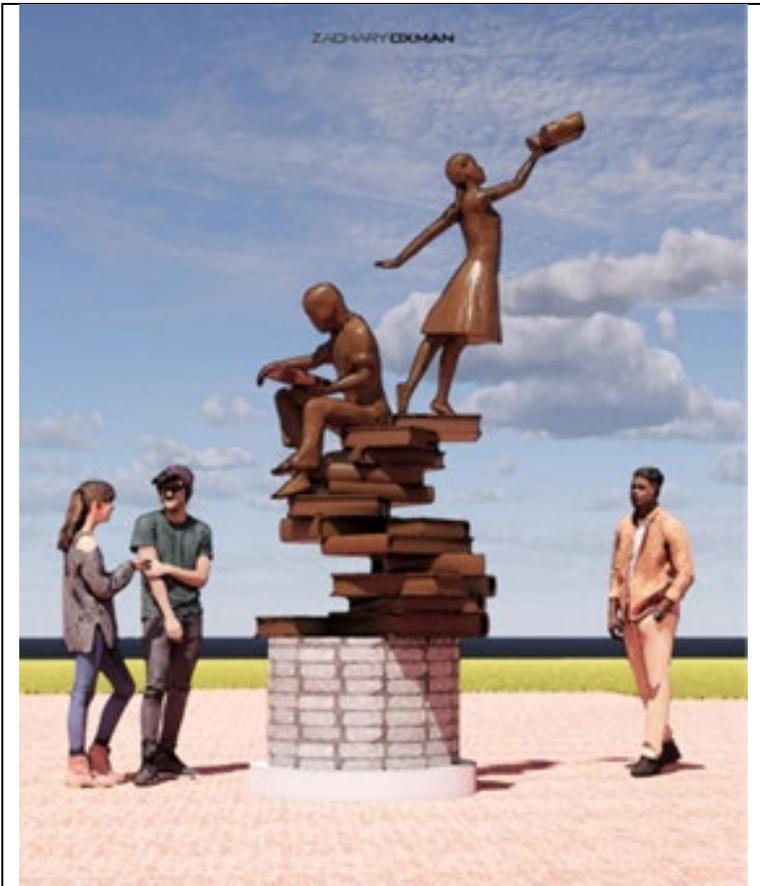
The Upward Struggle Statue



Proposal by Jeff Hall. The suggested size was 9.6'x8'.

One of the determining features of Hall's structure was that it showed both young adults moving in the same direction and upward. The final version was enhanced by showing both adults on the same level.

The Upward Struggle Statue



Proposal by Zachary Oxman. The suggested size was 12' high.

The young adults are facing different directions, one moving upward, the other sitting down in a contemplative manner.

The Upward Struggle Statue

Other Finalists

The editors wish to point out that other excellent proposals were also made, which need to be mentioned, as they might have applications in another future.²⁰

The artists were:

- Tomer Ben-Gal of Washington, DC.
- James Dinh of Cerritos, California.
- The Patrick Gabaldon studio of Wittman, Arizona.
- Jon Hair of Florida and North Carolina.
- Humanity Memorial team of Washington, DC and New York.
- Olivia Kim of Rochester, New York.

The Upward Struggle Statue

Tomer Ben-Gal

Tomer Ben-Gal's structure concept was an abstract and meant to be 30 feet tall, made of wood with red paint on top, and placed on a concrete base.

There is a negative and positive effect going on, as well as male vs female energy. Each piece is also having a conversation with the other, perhaps even an argument. The proposal also celebrated potential through transformation and needed to be seen from different angles to be fully appreciated.²¹



Figure 14 By Tomer Ben-Gal

The Upward Struggle Statue



Figure 15 By Tomer Ben-Gal

The Upward Struggle Statue

James Dinh

James Dinh submitted an abstract structure which included the innovation of an optional in-ground up light. Standing 9.5 feet in height with the concrete base and brick veneer, the idea was that people of all backgrounds could enjoy it from all angles, sitting or standing.

Mr. Dinh acquired a Master of Public Health in 1997, with a concentration in epidemiology from the University of California, Los Angeles, then in 2002 a Masters Degree in Landscape Architecture from the University of California, Berkeley. He also had major public art commissions from 2014 to 2018 and awards from 1995 through 2017 in fields such as ceramics and magazine design.

The Upward Struggle Statue



Figure 16 By James Dinh

The Upward Struggle Statue



Figure 17 By James Dinh

The Upward Struggle Statue

The Patrick Gabaldon Studio

The proposal below was to construct walls varying in height from 1'9" to 3' and between 9" and 1' in depth, along the perimeter of the plaza with 3 conical shaped tables within the plaza. There would also have been approximately 25 recessed rectangular spaces for names. Conical tables would have been moveable, with the material cast in concrete.

Mr. Gabaldon was born and raised in El Paso Texas, and his art is a product of the beautiful culture and spirit found here in the borderland. He also attributes his colorful and vibrant style to the splashes of color often found amongst the earthy tones that cover the Chihuahua desert.

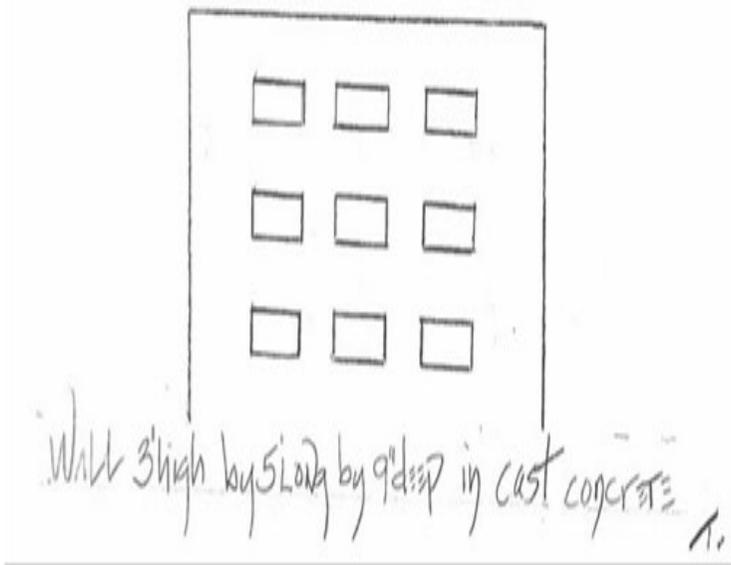


Figure 18 By Patrick Gabaldon

The Upward Struggle Statue

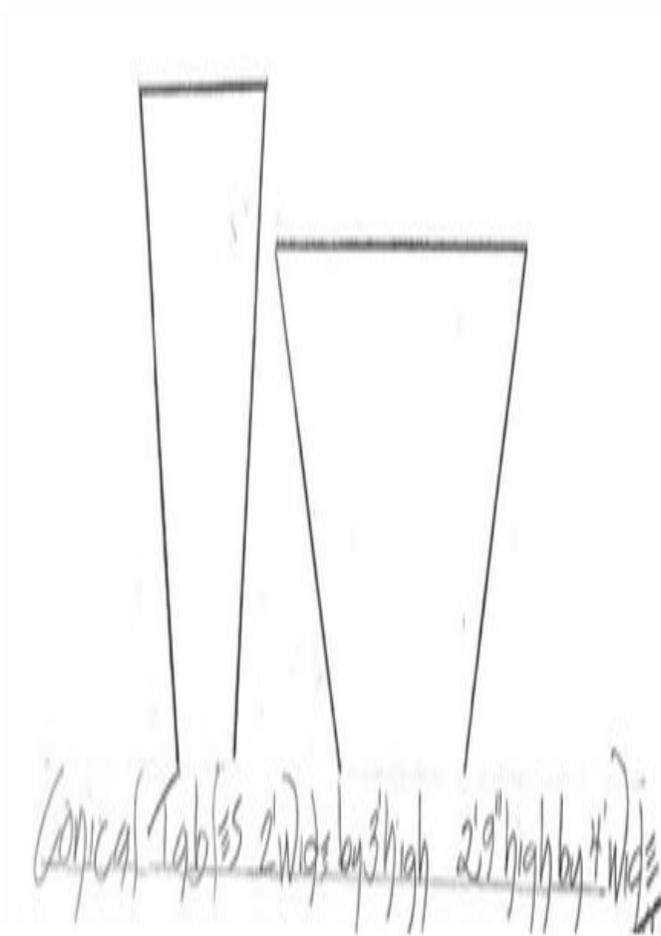


Figure 19 by Patrick Gabaldon

The Upward Struggle Statue

Jon Hair

Called “Discover our Roots,” the proposal by **Jon Hair** suggested using images from high school yearbooks and newspapers of important events, all fixed to metal panels. The photos were to be engraved or cast in bronze and then welded onto metal tree motif panels.

Mr. Hair, who once jammed with Jimi Hendrix, has been described as America’s most highly commissioned monumental sculptures. Working for over 24 years, Mr. Hair has fulfilled more than 150 public art commissions, including for the US Olympic Committee, the US Air Force Academy, Computer Sciences Corporation, the cities of Beijing and Shanghai, and the Emmys Hall of Fame, as well as fifty colleges, universities and schools.

The Upward Struggle Statue



Figure 20 By Jon Hair

The Upward Struggle Statue

The Humanity Memorial Team

Several excellent proposals were prepared by The Humanity Memorial Team, a minority woman-led public art design and installation firm with locations in Washington, DC and New York. They have won many awards, beginning in 2013 and believe that their multidisciplinary approach from diverse cultural backgrounds brings richness to art that promotes humanity and serves love and community

The underlying theme was that education equals emancipation. All had a religious aspect, with the first being quite similar to the proposals by the top finalists.



Figure 21 By the Humanity Memorial Team

The Upward Struggle Statue



Figure 22 By the Humanity Memorial Team

The Upward Struggle Statue

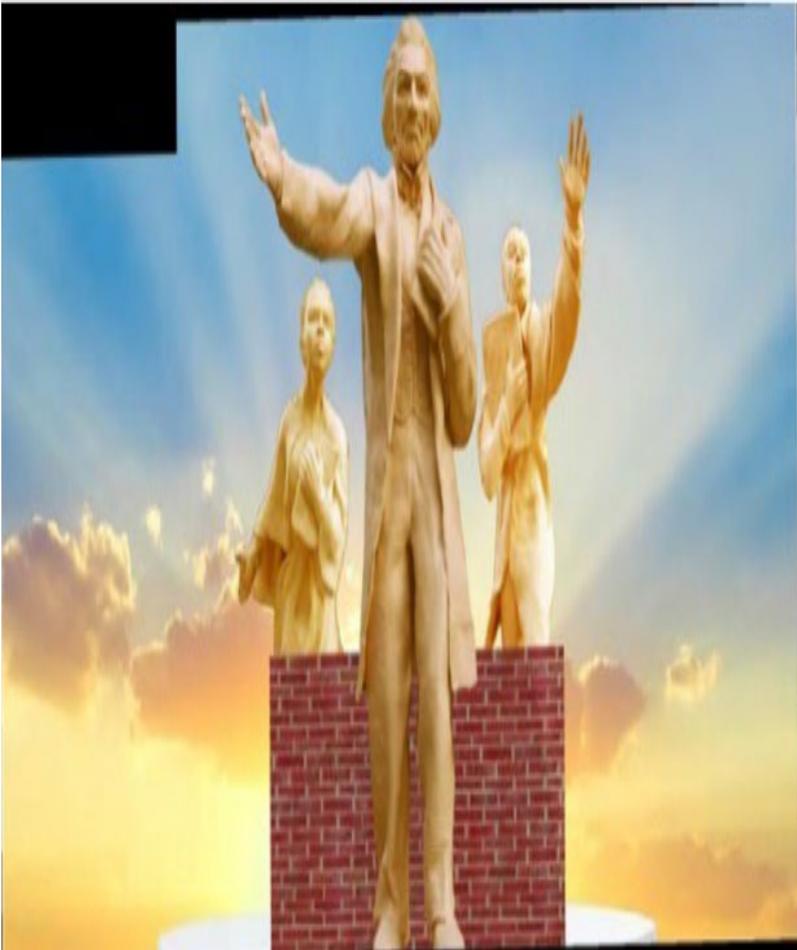


Figure 23 By the Humanity Memorial Team

The Upward Struggle Statue



Figure 24 By the Humanity Memorial Team

The Upward Struggle Statue

Olivia Kim

Ms. Kim was trained in print making, glass casting, glass enamel painting, welding and ceramics and has had many commissions and exhibits. She was also the recipient of numerous awards such as the Clare Katherine Nelson Prize for Printmaking and Painting (1999), Portfolio Scholarship from the Alfred University School of art and Design (1997-2001), Prize for Best Sculpture from the Florence Academy of Art (2004), Juror's Award from the Rochester Art Club (2014) and Reenergizing the Legacy of Frederick Douglas Award for Outstanding Partnership from Rochester Community Television (2018).

Ms. Kim submitted 3 interesting proposals including multiple bronze sculptures dedicated to each phase of the struggle for equality.

As a community project, living descendants of families who created Douglass HS were to be invited to place their handprints on freshly poured cement in the form of a blessing.

Braille or QR codes could also have supplemented the material with historical information.

The Upward Struggle Statue

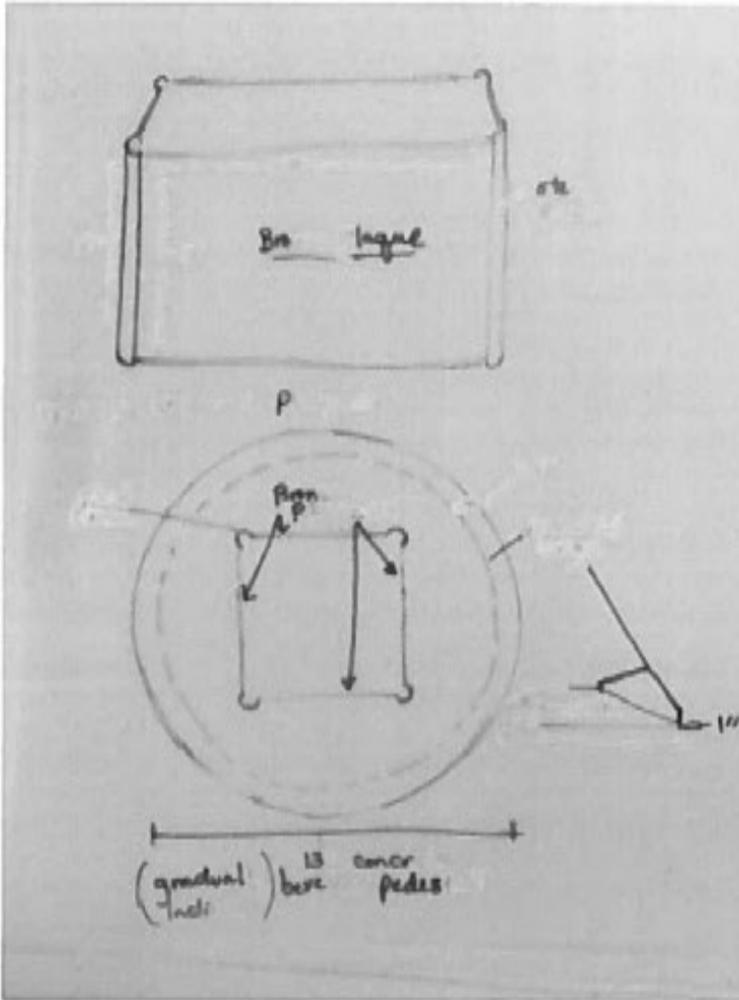


Figure 25 By Olivia Kim. In this option, Douglass's words are traveling in the air to a scene showing the communities' struggle for equal education facilities.

The Upward Struggle Statue



Figure 26 By Olivia Kim. This is a sketch of what the panels might have looked like in general.

The Upward Struggle Statue

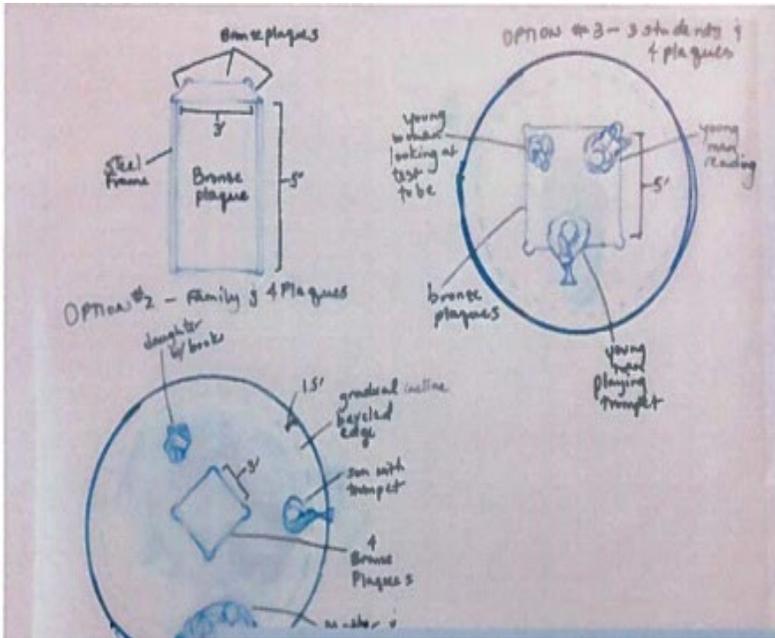


Figure 27 By Olivia Kim. Option 2 was for 4 plaques sitting on a concrete pedestal pad, 13' wide and 6' tall. 4 bronze African-American figures were envisaged,

- (1) a father and mother holding each other and welcoming viewers towards the school
- (2) daughter stepping towards the school with books and
- (3) son carrying books and a trumpet.

The Upward Struggle Statue



Figure 28 Option 3. By Olivia Kim. 4 plaques sitting on a concrete pedestal pad that is 13' wide and 6' wide. Adds 3 bronze African-American students, (1) Male student reading a book, (2) Female student wearing a lab coat and examining a test tube, (3) Male student.

The Upward Struggle Statue

ENDNOTES

¹ Photo, courtesy of Jeff Hall, 10 May 2024.

² The Loudoun County School Board appointed the 17-member committee on 11 May 11, 2021.

³ Mr. White led the NAACP for a quarter of a century from 1929 until 1955. Part of his legacy was his efforts to lead a broad set of challenges to segregation through the Legal Defense Fund. In his early career, Mr. White also investigated lynchings and race riots. In 1935 he protested President Roosevelt's blocking of anti-lynching legislation. Later, he worked with President Truman to desegregate the Armed Forces during World War Two

⁴ EWP 1.1.3 27 April 1942, Invitation to Emerick to Speak at Douglass.

⁵ Photo courtesy of Jeff Hall.

⁶ Photo courtesy of Jeff Hall.

⁷ Photo courtesy of Jeff Hall.

⁸ Photo courtesy of Jeff Hall.

⁹ Photo Courtesy of Jeff Hall.

¹⁰ Photo courtesy of Larry Roeder.

¹¹ Photo courtesy of Larry Roeder.

¹² Photo courtesy of the Edwin Washington Society.

¹³ Photo courtesy of the Edwin Washington Society.

¹⁴ Photo courtesy of the Edwin Washington Society.

¹⁵ Photo courtesy of Larry Roeder.

¹⁶ The Edwin Washington Society operates under an MOU with Loudoun County Public Schools to document the experience of former segregated African-American public-school students across the county. It also sponsored Dirt Don't Burn in 2023. Published by Georgetown University Press, it the first major study focused on the Black experience in segregated schools.

¹⁷ The speech, Jim Crow and the Struggle for Justice, done by Larry Roeder on 18 July 2015 in front of the Leesburg Circuit Court, is housed in the Balch Library.

¹⁸ Charcoal drawing by Larry Roeder

¹⁹ See the movie Hidden Figures, which focused on African-American women in 1961 working at the NASA Langley Research Center.

²⁰ Douglass High School Commemorative Committee Review, 8 August 2022.

The Upward Struggle Statue

²¹ Discussion between Tomer Ben-Gal and Larry Roeder. For further information on Mr. Ben-Gal and his studios in Massachusetts and Washington, DC. See <https://www.ben.gal/contact>.

Fighting Segregation at the Purcellville Library

Fighting Segregation at the Purcellville Library By Paul McCray



Josie and Samuel Murray with their son Samuel Keith Murray.¹

Contents

| | |
|--|----|
| Introduction..... | 65 |
| Catalyst for Change | 65 |
| Opposition to the Murrays..... | 69 |
| History of Social Justice | 72 |
| Options are Considered | 73 |
| Defenders Fight Back | 75 |
| Integration Comes to the Library | 77 |
| ENDNOTES..... | 78 |

Fighting Segregation at the Purcellville Library

Introduction

The Purcellville Library was the first free public library in Loudoun County when dedicated in 1938 and was also the only one for the next thirty-five years. The library was owned by the town and made possible through a donation of land by the Cornwell and Hampton families, along with locally raised funding equal to fifty-five percent of the building cost. The other forty-five percent was obtained through a Federal Public Works Administration grant.²

The library was operated by a private board of trustees and funded by a combination of state, county and town tax dollars along with fines, rentals and donations.³

For the first nineteen years of its existence, not everyone could use the library. Nearly every building, store, school and form of public transportation was subject to Virginia segregation laws, and in the case of the Purcellville Library, this meant Black residents were barred from entering the library or borrowing books.

Catalyst for Change

The catalyst for change came on January 10, 1957, when a Black couple from Purcellville sought to check out a book from the library. Samuel and Josie Murray ran a popular upholstery and sewing business in town, recovering furniture, creating slipcovers, and making draperies. Josie had been profiled a year earlier in a local paper for her sewing skills and

Fighting Segregation at the Purcellville Library

highlighting the success of their business serving customers in Loudoun, Arlington and Washington.⁴ In the 1960's, two of her clients were Senators Everett Dirksen and Howard Baker.⁵

The Murrays were contacted by Mabel Frances Moore, who asked them to make Austrian-style window shades for her home near Hillsboro. Since they were unfamiliar with that style, Moore suggested they get a book from the Purcellville Library to guide them. The Murrays knew that Black residents were barred from checking out books but were determined to try anyway.

They went to the Purcellville Library to ask for a book on window dressings but were told they were not allowed to check out books. When Samuel Murray asked why, the librarian said they should call Oscar Emerick, head of the Library Board. Murray reached Emerick using the library pay phone and was told that he would check out the book for the Murrays. According to Emerick, this was how it was done. "You asked a white person to take it out for you" and thus allowing the Murrays to check out the book "...would not be in the spirit of the citizens who organized the library." Murray declined his offer stating that since he paid his taxes, he should be able to use the library.⁶

The Murrays left the library and called Mrs. Moore to tell her they weren't successful in getting a reference book for her shades. When she asked why, they explained that the library was segregated. Mrs. Moore apologized and said she didn't realize that the library was not open to everyone.

Fighting Segregation at the Purcellville Library

Moore called back later saying she spoke to her brother-in-law, and he suggested they find a lawyer to gain the right to use the library. When Josie asked who her brother-in-law was, Moore replied that he was Dwight D. Eisenhower, the current President of the United States.⁷



President Eisenhower with his sister-in-law Mabel Frances Moore⁸

Not surprisingly, local attorneys had no interest in representing the Murrays, including E. B. White, who was mayor of Leesburg, and Wilbur Hall, who was one of the most respected lawyers in Loudoun. Both suggested that their practices would suffer if they represented someone trying to integrate the library. However, a Washington D.C. lawyer, Oliver Ellis

Fighting Segregation at the Purcellville Library

Stone,⁹ was recommended to the Murrays and he agreed to represent them.¹⁰

Stone confirmed that the library had been built with federal funds and that state and local funds were used to operate the library. On January 22, Stone sent a letter to the Purcellville Library Board of Trustees, the Purcellville Town Council, and the Loudoun Board of Supervisors. He gave them notice that on behalf of the Murrays, he would be filing a lawsuit against each entity unless the Murrays were given the right to use the library their taxes helped to fund. He also sent letters of notice to newspapers in Washington D.C., New York City, and throughout Virginia.

Stone found that the Virginia State Librarian notified the Library Board in 1947 that the library was to extend service to "...all persons, regardless of race." This had been ignored by the Board, yet the library continued to receive state funding.

The library's highly regarded bookmobile service visited white schools throughout the county and even brought books to patients at the Loudoun Memorial Hospital in Leesburg but it would not serve Black residents.

Meeting minutes of the Library Board showed that on two later occasions, service to Black residents was requested but no action was taken. The first was on April 16, 1953, when the principal of George Washington Carver School in Purcellville asked that bookmobile service be available for his Black students. The second was in early 1955, when the

Fighting Segregation at the Purcellville Library

Society of Friends in Loudoun sent a letter asking the library to serve Black residents.

Offering Black residents of Loudoun the opportunity to use the bookmobile was brought up by a library board committee later in 1955 when they recommended providing that service, but that was tabled. In July 1956, the Board voted to revisit the recommendation, but no action was taken.¹¹

Samuel and Josie Murray fought for equal rights with few allies beyond their attorney. Samuel belonged to the Community Study Group, an organization with members from the Waterford Quaker community, along with several prominent Black residents from Leesburg and western Loudoun whose goal was to foster understanding between the races. The group offered to support the Murrays by paying for their expenses in their effort to use the library, but Samuel said they'd pay the costs themselves.¹²

Opposition to the Murrays

There was a group in Loudoun working behind the scenes to keep the library segregated. The Defenders of State Sovereignty and Individual Liberties (Defenders) was created in Virginia in 1954 to resist the integration of Virginia's public schools. This followed the *Brown v. Board of Education of Topeka, Kansas* decision by the Supreme Court, which ruled segregating children in public school by race was unconstitutional. A Loudoun branch of that group was formed in 1956 by Stirling Harrison, the Commonwealth's Attorney for Loudoun.¹³ The Loudoun Defenders thought if integration came to the

Fighting Segregation at the Purcellville Library

library, it would spread in Loudoun until it reached the school system.

The application form for joining the Defenders asked prospective members to affirm that they were "...a white, law-abiding citizen of the United States of American..." and believed "...the segregation of the races is a right of the state government, in the sovereignty of the several states and in the freedom of the individual from government controls."¹⁴

The Defenders were emblematic of the powerful people of Loudoun who Josie and Samuel Murray were up against. Besides Harrison, many members of that group held public office, owned large businesses, or were influential in the Loudoun community. This included mill owner Howard Rogers, Loudoun District Judge Carleton Penn, Virginia General Assembly Delegate Lucas D. Phillips, Loudoun Board of Supervisors Chair Emory Kirkpatrick, Loudoun Board members S.D. Phillips, J. Terry Hirst, and Dr. W. P. Frazer. Two Loudoun mayors were leaders of the group, E. B. White of Leesburg and Albert Anderson of Purcellville.

President of Purcellville National Bank Clarence Robey and Purcellville mill owner Contee Adams, along with their wives, were also members. The Robeys and Mrs. Adams were on the Library Board and very active in the effort to maintain segregation at the library. The three Loudoun Board of Supervisor members in the Defenders were also on the Library Board.¹⁵

Fighting Segregation at the Purcellville Library



Library Trustee Gertrude Robey¹⁶

The Loudoun Defenders were advised by one of the most powerful members of Congress, Representative Howard W. Smith, who served from 1930 to 1967 representing Virginia District 10, which included Loudoun County. He assumed the chair of the rules committee in 1954 and in this position was able to stall much of the civil rights legislation of the 1950's and 1960's. He also signed the Southern Manifesto opposing integration of public schools.

In reaction to the Civil Rights Act of 1957, Smith said "The Southern people have never accepted the colored race as a race of people who had equal

Fighting Segregation at the Purcellville Library

intelligence and education and social attainments as the whole people of the South.”¹⁷

History of Social Justice

The Murrays were no strangers to activism and working on behalf of social justice. Josie Murray’s grandparents, Lena and Joseph Cook, were founding members of the Willing Workers Club, a group which created the first African American school in Purcellville and Joseph built the school himself. This was at a time when there were few educational opportunities provided for Black children by the county.¹⁸

Samuel Murray was known to the Purcellville Council from his attendance at their meeting on 12 June 1956. Murray spoke for a group of six Black residents protesting that a town police officer had not been terminated from employment. A Black taxi driver died after an accident on 15 May 1956 when Officer W. Jack Garrison hit the taxi while he was off duty and driving a private car. Taxi driver Linden McWashington was backing onto Route 7 just west of town when hit by Garrison. Earlier in the day, a grand jury failed to indict him on involuntary manslaughter charges. Garrison was represented by Lucas D. Phillips, while Stirling Harrison guided the grand jury – both members of the Defenders. Murray argued that the collision was so severe that Garrison must have been driving over the speed limit, which Councilman Ed Nichols said could not be proven. Murray also asked why they pay taxes only to have the police drive private cars. Mayor Anderson pointed out that the officer was driving a personal car since he was “...on the look-out...” for a runaway and wasn’t allowed to

Fighting Segregation at the Purcellville Library

transport a minor in a police car. The mayor suggested that civil action would be brought against the officer and the town at some point.¹⁹

After Attorney Stone notified the Library Board of a possible legal action against them, Murray's business did not suffer. Relationships with their clients remained cordial and professional. But there was harassment from some in town.

Josie and Sam had likely heard of the history of the Ku Klux Klan in Purcellville. Even though it was decades in the past, it might have been on their minds knowing that members of that racist group still lived in the area. In 1927, hooded KKK members burned a cross in the Ball family lawn next door to the Catholic Church, to which the family had given the land. Gertrude Ball confronted the men and named them out loud, having known them since they were boys.²⁰

An incident that was terrifying to the Murrays occurred one evening when a long line of cars came down the street in front of their house, honking their horns and revving their engines. The lead car was a town police officer. Sam Murray had everyone get on the floor and play games with their young niece to keep her calm.²¹

Options are Considered

After receiving the letter from Attorney Stone threatening legal action, the Purcellville Library discussed its options for preventing integration. These included shutting down the library, funding it privately, or integrating it. The members sent a request to the Loudoun Board of Supervisors and the

Fighting Segregation at the Purcellville Library

Purcellville Town Council, asking each body how they would react if the library were integrated. Trustees of the Library Board were to attend meetings of those elected officials.

On March 4, the Loudoun County Board of Supervisors heard the Library Board's request for an opinion on integrating the library. Board Trustee Douglas N. Myers made it clear that they weren't seeking views on segregation or integration but simply whether the County would continue to fund the library if it was integrated.

The Supervisors asked Commonwealth's Attorney Stirling Harrison for an opinion. He replied "If public funds are allocated to this library it means the integration of the library." Then Supervisor (and Defender) W. P. Frazer made a motion "that county library services must be conducted in accordance with the law of the State of Virginia." Supervisor J. T. Hirst, who was also a Library Board member and a Defender, seconded the motion, which carried unanimously.²²

The Council tried to stay out of the fray with Mayor Albert Anderson saying that the town had given the property title to a private, charitable organization. He also said he heard support for closing the library and Councilman Thomas Hatcher mentioned that option as his preference.²³

Council member Ed Nichols Jr. offered a resolution that the Purcellville Library would have to follow state law and that "his vote on an appropriation would depend on whether the library did obey Virginia law and acted according to provision of the library deed of

Fighting Segregation at the Purcellville Library

1936 if it expects any money in the future from the town for library operations.” The deed from 1936 specified the library must “... provide and maintain in the town of Purcellville a public library for the benefit of the citizens of the town...and the county of Loudoun.” The resolution passed unanimously.²⁴

Years later, Nichols said his actions likely were responsible for him losing reelection in the fall of 1957.²⁵

After hearing from the town and county that funding of the library would be conditioned on serving all residents, the Library Board met on March 21 to discuss options. With almost all of their funding in jeopardy if the library remained segregated, closing was the only alternative to integrating. Chairman Oscar L. Emerick had been steadfast in his belief that the library had to remain open but made his reasoning clear. “I’ve been looking at the problem from a realistic standpoint. We are threatened with a suit.

Commonwealth’s Attorney Stirling Harrison says we cannot use public funds without integration.” After that, Emerick offered a resolution to open the library to everyone and by a vote of 7 to 5, with one abstention, the Purcellville Library was integrated.²⁶

Defenders Fight Back

Stirling Harrison and the Loudoun Defenders were not done trying to defund the library. At a March 27 meeting of the group, Mrs. Contee Adams said that some of the trustees of the Purcellville Library working to keep the library segregated were told by U.S. Representative (Judge) Howard Smith to get it into

Fighting Segregation at the Purcellville Library

private hands and ownership. Adams then offered the following resolution:

“Be it resolved that this organization opposes the appropriation of public funds to the Purcellville Library since we prefer to close it and seek private funds with which to operate it than to have any integration in Loudoun County.”

Howard Ball, (Vice President of the Purcellville National Bank), seconded the motion. It was approved unanimously by 44 members, each of whom signed the resolution.²⁷ With this resolution, the Defenders demonstrated their fear that any integration in Loudoun could lead to the end of segregation in Loudoun’s schools.

Defenders representative S. Campbell Legard presented their signed petition to the Loudoun Board of Supervisors at a public budget hearing on April 1 and suggested that the library appropriation could be cut to keep the tax rate down.

Oscar Emerick, who was also the Superintendent of Loudoun County Public Schools, asked the supervisors to keep the library appropriation. “I have not changed in opposing integration in schools. The library situation is different. The State says that you can’t have integrated schools. The State law in 1946 provided library service to all people. We are inconsistent. Negroes go into banks, stores and other places of business.”

Another member of the Defenders who spoke at the hearing was Gertrude Robey, wife of the Purcellville National Bank president and a member of the Library

Fighting Segregation at the Purcellville Library

Board. She was known as the organizer of the library but was opposed to allowing Black residents to have access to it. She asked the supervisors to not fund the library because she opposed the Library Board vote. "I am ashamed of what the library trustees did to be the first in the State to vote for integration. Everyone was alarmed because they thought they would have to put their hands in their pockets to pay for a lawsuit. I am here to say I was one of the five who opposed integration. Mr. Emerick has made a contribution to the colored people of the county in the schools which he has provided for them. I have offered to match any contribution made by any one on the board of trustees for a library for Negroes. Give the \$6,000 for a library for Negroes."

Others spoke in favor of continuing the funding and keeping the library open. Perhaps because word of the Defender plan had leaked out, an alternate resolution from Loudoun citizens asking to fund the library was offered to the board by citizens with 366 signatures.²⁸

Integration Comes to the Library

At their 8 April 1957, meeting, the Loudoun Board of Supervisors voted on funding the library. The first vote ended in a 3-3 tie with two board members who were Defenders voting yes and one Defender voting no. Procedure required the Commonwealth's Attorney Stirling Harrison to break the tie, but he sent word through his secretary that he was ill. When another vote was taken, the third Defender changed his vote to yes and to fully fund the library.²⁹

Fighting Segregation at the Purcellville Library

The Murrays were finally able to borrow the book they needed to make the draperies their client ordered. Their courage at defying the White establishment proved that change and equality could come to Loudoun County.

The book the Murrays needed, *Drapery and Slipcover Cutting and Making* by John W. Stephenson, is still in the Purcellville Library collection.

ENDNOTES

¹ Source: Thomas Balch Library vc_003_2471_007.

² "Notables to Help Dedicate New Purcellville Library." The Washington Post, Washington D.C., 1938, September 3, Pg X4

³ "Stone Holds Up Action On Library Until Monday," Blue Ridge Leader, Purcellville, VA, 1957, March 28, Pg 1.

⁴ "To Josie Murray There's Something Wrong with a Window Without Curtains - She'd Rather Sew Than Eat." The Blue Ridge Herald, Purcellville, VA, 1955, April 14, Pg 9.

⁵ King, Linda Jackson, Interview by author. 2024, June 13.

⁶ Scheel, Eugene. "Couple Wrote the First Chapter of County's Civil Rights Movement," The Washington Post, Washington D.C. 2001, April 8, Pg J3.

⁷ (King, 2024)

⁸ Personal collection of Paul McCray.

⁹ Oliver Ellis Stone (1917 – 1992) was a member of the Friends Meeting of Washington from 1955. He specialized in cases involving conscience.

¹⁰ (Scheel, 2001)

¹¹ "Library Was Ordered 10 Years Ago To Serve All, Regardless of Race." The Blue Ridge Herald, Purcellville, Virginia, 1957, February 28, Pg. 1.

¹² (Scheel, 2001)

¹³ Roeder, Larry W. and Harrelson, Barry. *Dirt Don't Burn, A Black Community's Struggle for Educational Equality Under Segregation*. Washington, D.C., USA. Georgetown University Press. Pg. 210.

Fighting Segregation at the Purcellville Library

¹⁴ "Proposal for an Organization to Defend State Sovereignty and Individual Liberties: "Defenders of State Sovereignty and Individual Liberties." *LC214.22 .V8 D39 1954, Special Collections, University of Virginia, Charlottesville, Va.*

¹⁵ "Loudoun Defenders of State Sovereignty and Individual Liberties Records 1956-1960, Collection SC 0025," Thomas Balch Library, Leesburg, Virginia.

¹⁶ Source: Library of Congress.

¹⁷ "Howard W. Smith," Wikipedia,

https://en.m.wikipedia.org/wiki/Howard_W._Smith, 2024, June 18.

¹⁸ Kelly, Sheila Pinckney. *The Essence of a People*. Leesburg, Virginia, USA. The Black History Committee, Friends of Balch Library. Pg. 49.

¹⁹ "Garrison Freed by Grand Jury." *The Blue Ridge Herald*, Purcellville, Virginia. 1956, June 14, Pg. 1.

²⁰ "After 90 Years, Church to Lose Its Family Ties." *The Washington Post*, Washington, D.C. 2003, August 22, Pg. B4.

²¹ (King, 2024)

²² "Loudoun Backs Library Law." *The Evening Star*, Washington D.C., 1957, March 4, Pg 1.

²³ "Library Integration Suit Studied in Purcellville." *Burke, Tom, The Sunday Star*, Washington, D.C. 1957, February 24, Pg. 13.

²⁴ "Library Must Obey Law to Get Money From Town." *The Blue Ridge Herald*, Purcellville, Virginia, 1957, March 14, Pg. 1, 5

²⁵ Thomas, Meredith. *Images of America Purcellville*. Charleston, South Carolina, USA. Arcadia Publishing, Pg. 33.

²⁶ "Loudoun Library Opens to Negro, Averting Suit." *The Evening Star*, Washington D.C. 1957, March 22, Pg. A22.

²⁷ "Loudoun Defenders of State Sovereignty and Individual Liberties Records 1956-1960," Thomas Balch Library, Leesburg, Virginia.

²⁸ "Countians Speak Up on Tax Hike, Library at Hearing; Dog Control Law Extended," *The Blue Ridge Herald*, Purcellville, Virginia. 1957, April 4, Pg. 1.

²⁹ (Scheel, 2001). Note by Paul McCray "I never found any information about why he changed his vote. I think he really wanted to keep the library open since it had been such a valuable resource in Loudoun, although just to the white residents and schools. That was also Emerick's goal all along."

**Tracing One Enslaved Community Trafficked from
Virginia to Louisiana**

**Tracing One Enslaved Community
Trafficked
from Virginia to Louisiana**

By Emily Stanfill

Contents

| | |
|-------------------------------|-----|
| Introduction..... | 81 |
| Virginia | 82 |
| Trafficked to Louisiana | 92 |
| Before the Civil War..... | 98 |
| Freedom..... | 100 |
| Conclusion | 102 |
| Endnotes | 103 |

Tracing One Enslaved Community Trafficked from Virginia to Louisiana

Introduction

This research is a continuation and expansion of an ongoing effort to document the experiences of people enslaved by President James Monroe. Prior research by Lori Kimball and Wynne Saffer resulted in detailed documentation of the individuals enslaved at Monroe's Loudoun County property, Oak Hill.¹ Miranda Burnett and Martin Violette's research has focused on people from Monroe's Albemarle County plantation, Highland, and their experiences as they were trafficked to Monticello County, Florida, in 1828.² This article focuses on the enslaved people who were at Oak Hill at the time of James Monroe's death and in the subsequent years. Previously, little was known, but newly located documents have proven that Samuel Gouverneur, Monroe's son-in-law, inherited the Oak Hill plantation and sold the enslaved community to a Louisiana plantation owner named Christopher Adams Jr. The goal of this research is to assist living descendants tracing their family history, and foster connection between the descendant community in Albemarle County Virginia, with those in Florida, and those who were sold from Oak Hill in 1838.

While James Monroe was one of the most influential individuals of the Founding Era, primary sources written by Monroe documenting his personal life, and the enslaved people he legally owned, are limited, especially in comparison to Thomas Jefferson and

Tracing One Enslaved Community Trafficked from Virginia to Louisiana

James Madison. This is due in part to the multiple homes that Monroe owned, and travel that he engaged in. Additionally, Monroe was often frustrated with the management of his plantations. As a result, he hired a different overseer every year or every other year.³ Today, Monroe's records are in a variety of locations including the College of William and Mary, the James Monroe Museum and Library, the University of Virginia, the National Archives, and the New York Public Library. Many of these records were not donated until decades after Monroe's death, resulting in a high potential for missing, incomplete, or inaccessible documentation. Finally, few of the records created by his immediate and extended family survive. Therefore, the majority of records related to James Monroe are either records created for state or federal use or professional correspondence leaving many unanswered questions about daily life on the properties that James Monroe owned.

Virginia

In 1831, James Monroe, former President of the United States, died at his daughter's home in New York City. His will was not immediately filed in Virginia, and it was not until 1836 that the inventory of Monroe's property, including the enslaved people, was recorded. This delay was noted by James Monroe's oldest daughter, Eliza Monroe Hay, in a draft of a letter from 1839 that is today part of the William and Mary collection.⁴

Tracing One Enslaved Community Trafficked from Virginia to Louisiana

“To give you some idea of the affair G. would not record the will, & after a while he said it was lost, he was ignorant of the laws of Virginia, & found that unless ~~he could~~ he did produce it, that he could not sell ~~anything~~^{the} slaves on the estate. ~~he insisted that I had purloined it, I had never seen it but once, & that such being the case he produced it~~^{did bring it forward}. ~~but~~ he had made way, with most valuable property, & to a great amount, which can never be recovered. To end, it was a very black business & one from which a deep stain will be fixed on his honor, if I had been rich I would have been given the affair up^{to save him}: but I could not give up my support, & the interest of my grand children”

The “G” that Eliza was referring to was Samuel Lawrence Gouverneur. He was James Monroe’s nephew. In 1820, Gouverneur married his cousin and James Monroe’s youngest daughter, Maria.⁵ At the time of Monroe’s death, Gouverneur was 36 years old, the father of four children, the Postmaster for New York City, and the sole male inheritor of Oak Hill.⁶ Samuel Gouverneur had extensive assets at his disposal with the inheritance of Oak Hill. Anytime Gouverneur needed money, he would have known that enslaved people were one of the largest financial resources he had, and as his father-in-law had done, he would use the enslaved people to make money as he needed.

Tracing One Enslaved Community Trafficked from Virginia to Louisiana

By 1808, the Atlantic slave trade had ended, and with the decrease in tobacco and wheat production in Virginia, many enslavers found financial resources through the sale of enslaved people into the South and Southwest. Many Virginians began to head south and started plantations as the agricultural center of the country shifted to the sugar and cotton industries in Louisiana, Mississippi and Florida. In 1823, Monroe had considered selling enslaved people to the South. Writing to Fulwar Skipwith, he said:

“It was with a hope of keeping my slaves together, who having been long in our possession, have grown up in families, many of them, and of making a profit from their labour, that I entertained thoughts of sending them to the waters of the Mississippi, in Louisiana. But your letter discourages me from that project.”⁷

He regularly hired out or sold enslaved people within the state of Virginia and ultimately, he sold enslaved families to Jefferson County, Florida, in 1828.⁸

During the 1830’s, major recessions and greed led many plantation owners in Virginia, Maryland, and North Carolina to sell enslaved people into the domestic slave trade. The estimated number of enslaved people trafficked across state lines from the early 1800’s until the start of the Civil War was nearly double the estimate of those kidnapped from the African continent.⁹ Many were sent to central Louisiana as the plantation culture of the Upper South slowly died.

Tracing One Enslaved Community Trafficked from Virginia to Louisiana

In addition to the general recessions, Samuel Gouverneur faced litigation on several occasions. In August 1826, Gouverneur was indicted by a grand jury for conspiracy to defraud the Tradesman's Bank.¹⁰ The district attorney decided not to pursue the case further. In 1839, Gouverneur again found himself in a legal scandal. In *United States v. Samuel L. Gouverneur*, he was accused of using federal funds to cover up debts of the US Postal Service.¹¹ His defense stated that he used personal money to pay the debts and that his predecessor was the cause of the debts, not him. Ultimately, Gouverneur was found guilty on this count and ordered to pay \$26,000.¹² It's possible that this financial pressure motivated Gouverneur to sell the enslaved people.

Gouverneur said of his financial situation:

"Had the verdict of the Jury swept every dollar from my family and myself, my honor would have been promptly redeemed. You will learn with pleasure, which ought to animate the heart of one who presides [sic] over the destinies of many, that event will not desolate our home, or bring affliction to our hearth."¹³

Prior to Gouverneur's sale few documents record the entire community of enslaved people at Oak Hill. In 1830, there were 66 people enslaved at Oak Hill plantation.¹⁴ By 1836 only 32 remained. This drop in the number of enslaved people suggested that some people were sold, but at this time, no sale or auction

Tracing One Enslaved Community Trafficked from Virginia to Louisiana

documentation has been found. There is documentation that one enslaved person, Peter Marks, was given his freedom, and some members of the enslaved community passed away between 1830 and 1836, but it does not account for a decrease this large. For the purposes of this research the author focused on the 32 people documented Oak Hill as part of the probate of James Monroe.

Inventory of Enslaved People 22 January 1836¹⁵

| <u>Name</u> | <u>Age</u> |
|---|-----------------------------|
| Natus Berryman | 24 yrs |
| George Harris | 55" |
| Sam Jackson | 46" |
| Anderson Harris | 16" |
| James Carr | 63" |
| Saml Love | 49" |
| George Williams | 50" |
| Harry Short | 36" |
| Peter Malery | 72 yrs old |
| Zachariah Root | 45" |
| Joseph Short | 30" |
| John Harford (crippled) | 25" |
| Alfred Gantt | 16" |
| Ralph Gantt | 14" |
| Molly Jackson | 65" |
| Judy Gantt | 36 yrs old & her 6 children |
| James (Catherine has fits) Henry Edmond Washington crippled) | |
| Nancy Gantt | 18 yrs & her infant child |
| Mema Baker | 22 yrs old & her 2 children |

Tracing One Enslaved Community Trafficked from Virginia to Louisiana

| | |
|----------------------|---------------------------------|
| John & Sally | |
| Nancy Harris | 42 yrs old & her 2 children |
| Priscilla & Cornelia | |
| George Harris | 18 yrs old crippled in the knee |
| Betey Thompson | 40 yrs old too fat for any use |
| Solomon Green | 65 yrs old |
| Nancy Green | 75 “ “ |
| Scy Harris | 60 “ “ |
| Tamer Derry | 60 “ “ (crippled) |

Knowing Monroe’s views and perhaps sharing them, Samuel Gouverneur began a conversation with Christopher Adams Jr. to sell the enslaved people. Gouverneur was likely introduced to Christopher Adams Jr. by Thomas McCall Cadwalader. Cadwalader was the cousin of Adams’ wife; he was also married to Maria Gouverneur, Samuel’s sister. The Cadwalader family was a prominent merchant family in Philadelphia. No documents have been found by the author describing the early conversations and motivation of Gouverneur and Adams, but ultimately, the enslaved families were sold for \$25,000.¹⁶ Because this was a substantial sum of money, and because so many people enslaved were involved, someone created an inventory of the enslaved people and their financial value at Oak Hill. This document called “Schedule A & Estimate of Ages” brackets group families together and confirms some of the familial relationships that were previously described in the 1836 inventory.¹⁷ The schedule also reveals enslaved people that were not listed in the 1836 inventory.

**Tracing One Enslaved Community Trafficked from
Virginia to Louisiana**

“Schedule A & Estimate of Ages”¹⁸

| <u>Name</u> | <u>Age</u> |
|-----------------------|------------|
| John Baker | 28 |
| Minnie Baker his wife | 25 |
| Johnny | 10 |
| Sally | 5 |
| Nicholas | 1 |
| Sam Jackson | 45 |
| Molly, his wife | 50 |
| Joe Lumpkin | 34 |
| John Richards | 33 |
| Lewis Baker | 25 |
| George Dabney | 26 |
| Jerry Dabney | 22 |
| Natus | 22 |
| Harry Jones | 34 |
| Joe Short | 32 |
| Geo Harris | 45 |
| Nancy, his wife | 42 |
| Geo. Harris Jr. | 20 |
| Anderson | 18 |
| Priscilla | 15 |
| Cornelia | 12 |
| Judy | 38 |
| Albert | 19 |
| Ralph | 17 |
| Jim | 12 |
| Catherine | 11 |
| Henry | 7 |
| Edmond | 5 |
| Washington | 4 |
| Frederick | 2 |

Tracing One Enslaved Community Trafficked from Virginia to Louisiana

| | |
|-----------------|----|
| Nancy West | 21 |
| William | 5 |
| Rachel | 21 |
| Moses | 6 |
| Thomas | 4 |
| Claiborne | 2 |
| George Williams | 45 |
| Zackary | 45 |
| Cyrus Harris | 45 |
| Betsey | 50 |
| Peter Malory | 60 |

[note at bottom] Sam Love left with me for [?] of Mr. Adams

George Dabney, Jerry Dabney, Joe Lumpkin, John and Lewis Baker, and John Richard were not originally the legal property of James Monroe and were not listed on the 1836 inventory of the Oak Hill estate. Instead, they were purchased by George Hay, Monroe's other son-in-law. These men were named in a legal deed between Monroe, George Hay, Eliza Monroe Hay on the one part and Robert Stannard on the other.¹⁹ In it, Hay contracted Robert Stannard, who was a lawyer in Richmond, to manage Hay's plantation Ashfield, and the deed listed which enslaved people labored on the property.²⁰ John Baker and Lewis Baker were also listed in the early 1820's at Oak Hill.²¹ Monroe moved enslaved people between his properties according to which needed the labor force. For example, Peter Mallory and George Williams, who were two enslaved men, purchased by Monroe along with their families to work as carpenters on his plantation Highland, but both were listed in the 1836 Oak Hill inventory.²² He also hired out enslaved people to his family members' plantations.

Tracing One Enslaved Community Trafficked from Virginia to Louisiana

The “Schedule A & Estimate of Ages” indicates several enslaved people that were previously listed at Oak Hill were not there by 1838. James Carr, Tamer Derry, Solomon and Nancy Green, and John Harford were not part of the schedule.²³ These individuals may have died or been sold between 1836 and 1838. John Harford was only 25 years old. He was described as “crippled,” but that does not necessarily indicate that John passed away. John may have been sold between 1836 and 1838. It is also possible that he was freed.

Nicholas Baker was only one year old when the schedule was taken.²⁴ His position in the schedule, in conjunction with other documents, indicates that he was the child of Mema or Minny Baker and John Baker and that Johnny and Sally were his older siblings. He was born after the 1836 inventory was taken.

Rachel, Thomas, Moses, and Claiborne are a mystery. In subsequent records, Rachel and the children have the surname Baker, but they are not in either the Oak Hill inventory or in the few records that exist from George Hay’s plantation, Ashfield, in Henrico County, Virginia. Rachel was 21 years old at the time the schedule was taken. Therefore in 1836, when the estate inventory was recorded, she would have been 17 or 18 and old enough to have been listed by name at Oak Hill if she had been there. Instead, she likely came from Ashfield along with John and Lewis Baker. Given her close age to John and Lewis, Rachel may have been a sister of either or both of them. It is unlikely that she was the wife of Lewis Baker because, in the schedule, she was not

Tracing One Enslaved Community Trafficked from Virginia to Louisiana

listed with him, and consistently marriages were acknowledged; for example, John Baker was listed with his wife Minny, and George Harris with his wife Nancy. George Hay owned other Bakers in addition to Rachel, John, and Lewis. In 1826, George Hay took possession of Sally Baker and her children, Mary, Jeffry, and Nicholas.²⁵ Given the overlap in names, it is possible that all of the Bakers legally owned by George Hay were related, but more research is needed to determine those relationships.

Peter Mallory was the oldest person listed in the inventory. He had been purchased by Monroe and had worked as a carpenter at Monroe's Highland plantation; he and his wife were sent to Oak Hill in the 1820's.²⁶ Peter Mallory did not appear on the ship manifest to Louisiana as the other people enslaved did. He did appear in the initial sales contract between Gouverneur and Adams, which suggests that Mallory passed away before the enslaved people were trafficked to Louisiana.

In total, 41 people were sold to Christopher Adams Jr. Their average age was just 23 years old, the youngest person sold was Nicholas Baker, who was a year old or younger. The oldest person was 60-year-old Peter Mallory. The enslaved people were not sold locally, instead, to maximize the amount of money he made, Samuel Gouverneur sold all of the people to Adams, who started a plantation in Iberville Parish, Louisiana.

Tracing One Enslaved Community Trafficked from Virginia to Louisiana

Trafficked to Louisiana

To ensure that the enslaved community made it to Louisiana and that he was paid, Samuel Gouverneur turned to his neighbor for help. George Kephart was a well-known slave trader living in Northern Virginia.²⁷ He was initially employed by John Armfield and his partner, Isaac Franklin, who owned the company Armfield and Franklin at 1315 Duke Street in Alexandria, Virginia.²⁸ They ran ships between Baltimore, Alexandria, Richmond, and Charleston, ending their route in New Orleans or Natchez, Mississippi.²⁹ Kephart sought to maintain the positive reputation of Armfield and Franklin as a mainstream business and did not want to be viewed as the owner of a black market trafficking operation.³⁰ By purchasing and selling entire family groups together, and therefore creating a perception of “morally good slave dealers,” Armfield, Franklin, and later Kephart continued to do their work without the scrutiny that other enslavers and traffickers faced.³¹ For Kephart, Gouverneur’s proposal was simple. There was no challenge to find someone to buy; it was only the transportation of the enslaved people that Kephart was responsible for. Kephart owned several ships, and at the end of September 1838, Kephart had the 41 people from Oak Hill loaded onto one of them, the *Isacc Franklin*. From Alexandria, the ship headed north to Baltimore where additional enslaved people were loaded onto the ship.³² In total, 83 people were loaded onto the *Isacc Franklin*; their names, ages,

Tracing One Enslaved Community Trafficked from Virginia to Louisiana

heights, and skin color were recorded on the manifest of the ship. Next to each name was an 'X' marking that they had survived the voyage. All 41 enslaved people from Oak Hill stepped off the ship onto the noisy, crowded docks of New Orleans at the beginning of October. Despite what must have been a terrifying experience, they were together, and together, they forged a new community that outlasted slavery.

Slave Manifest for the *Isaac Franklin*³³

| <u>Name</u> | <u>Age</u> | <u>Height</u> | <u>Color</u> |
|--------------------|------------|-----------------------------------|--------------|
| Frederick Gant | 3 | 2'9" | Black |
| George Harris | 43 | 5'6" ¹ / ₂ | Black |
| Nancy D[itto] | 42 | 5'1" | Copper |
| George D[itto] Jr. | 19 | 5'6" | Brown |
| Anderson D[itto] | 17 | 5'6" | Brown |
| Priscilla D[itto] | 16 | 4'11" ¹ / ₂ | Black |
| Cornelia D[itto] | 11 | 4'5" ¹ / ₂ | Black |
| George Dabner | 25 | 5'11" ¹ / ₂ | Black |
| Si Harris | 47 | 5'9" ¹ / ₄ | Black |
| Joe Lumpkin | 35 | 5'9" | Black |
| Zachariah Roots | 45 | 5'8" ¹ / ₂ | Black |
| Jerry Dabney | 23 | 5'7" ¹ / ₂ | Black |
| George Williams | 45 | 5'8" ¹ / ₄ | Black |
| Harry Shorts | 30 | 5'6" ¹ / ₂ | Black |
| Joe Shorts | 28 | 5'5" ¹ / ₄ | Black |
| Lewis Baker | 25 | 5'6" | Brown |
| Natus Berryman | 22 | 5'1" ¹ / ₄ | Black |
| Molly Jackson | 50 | 5'1" ¹ / ₄ | Black |
| John Baker | 27 | 5'5" ¹ / ₄ | Black |

Tracing One Enslaved Community Trafficked from Virginia to Louisiana

| | | | |
|--------------------|------|-----------------------------------|--------|
| Mimy D[itto] | 27 | 4'11" | Black |
| John D[itto] | 8 | 4'1" ¹ / ₂ | Black |
| Sally D[itto} | 4 | 2'1" | Black |
| Nicholas D[itto] | 4/12 | " " " | Black |
| John Richards | 34 | 5'3" ¹ / ₄ | Black |
| Betsey D[itto] | 50 | 5'5" | Brown |
| Rachel Baker | 20 | 4'11" ¹ / ₂ | Brown |
| Moses D[itto] | 6 | 3'5" | Yellow |
| Thomas D[itto] | 4 | 2' ¹ / ₂ " | Yellow |
| Clabourn D[itto] | 2 | " " " | Yellow |
| Judy Gant | 36 | 5'2" | Yellow |
| Nancy West | 20 | 5'2" ¹ / ₄ | Black |
| William D[itto] | 4 | 2'2" ¹ / ₄ | Yellow |
| Albert Gant | 20 | 5'7" | Black |
| Ralph D[itto] | 18 | 5'5" ¹ / ₄ | Black |
| James D[itto] | 11 | 4'7" ¹ / ₂ | Black |
| Catherine D[itto] | 9 | 4'5" | Black |
| Henry D[itto] | 8 | 2'11" ¹ / ₄ | Black |
| Edmund D[itto] | 6 | 2'7" ¹ / ₄ | Black |
| Washington D[itto] | 5 | 2'1" ¹ / ₄ | Black |

Iberville Parish Louisiana

Henry McCall, neighbor of Christopher Adams and uncle of Adams' wife, Harriot, acted as intermediary between Samuel Gouverneur and Christopher Adams Jr.³⁴ When the 41 people arrived in Louisiana, he recorded their names and ages. McCall later delivered the payment to Gouverneur, and he likely transported the enslaved community 70 miles north from New Orleans to the plantation owned by Christopher Adams Jr. in Iberville Parish.

Christopher Adams Jr. was born in Kentucky around 1808 and, in childhood, had moved with his family to Louisiana.³⁵ As an adult, he was described as "about

Tracing One Enslaved Community Trafficked from Virginia to Louisiana

six feet in height, of a slender form, but with a sinewy frame-denoting great bodily strength and activity. Nearly all the education he ever received was obtained in the counting-room, which he entered in New Orleans while a boy, and continued in the mercantile business, as a clerk and a merchant, upwards of 20 years.”³⁶

Christopher Adams married Harriot Gage McCall and shortly thereafter maintained residences in New Orleans, in addition to owning land in Iberville Parish.³⁷ The purchase of enslaved people from Oak Hill coincided with the construction of a main house for Adams’ Iberville Parish property.

Iberville Parish is located just to the west of Baton Rouge. The Parish curves to the east and wraps around the south end of Baton Rouge, crossing the Mississippi River in the southern end of the Parish. The western part of the Parish is almost entirely bayou, with the Atchafalaya to the north and Bayou Sorrel and Little Tensas Bayou running northwest to southeast.

Spanish and French exploration beginning in the mid-16th century described a landscape already populated with indigenous people from the Bayougoula and Mougoulacha tribes.³⁸ By the time Europeans began to settle in what became Iberville Parish, the Chitimachas were the most prominent indigenous group.³⁹ Over time, the Spanish established military settlements in the area. The Spanish ultimately ceded Louisiana to the French, and by 1767, Acadians and Maryland Catholics began to establish communities.⁴⁰ Today, the names of the communities reflect the

Tracing One Enslaved Community Trafficked from Virginia to Louisiana

complex history of human occupation within the area. Bayou Goula and Plaquemine reflect the indigenous people's history. St. Gabriel has French origins, and Rosedale has Anglo-American origins.⁴¹ The plantation owned by Christopher Adams was located along the western bank of the Mississippi River near the southern end of the Parish between White Castle and Donaldsonville in Ascension Parish in the southeast.⁴² His brother, William Clark Adams, had a plantation just north, located between Plaquemine and White Castle to the south and across the river from St. Gabriel.⁴³

The mansion and plantation the enslaved people built for Christopher Adams Jr. was called 'Alhambra,' or Red Castle, because the stone facade was painted red.⁴⁴

This plantation was not a wheat or tobacco plantation like Oak Hill but a sugar plantation. The property was narrow and ran perpendicular to the Mississippi River.⁴⁵ Maps indicate that the main house sat at the front of the property, and the rows of buildings enslaved people lived in were behind with the cane fields in the back. The plantation had a substantial steam-powered sugar boiler towards the back of the property as well. The same map from the 1870's indicates that there was potentially a cemetery on the edge of the property where enslaved people buried their dead.⁴⁶

Sugar plantations were notoriously brutal for the enslaved people who worked them. Studies suggest that the life expectancy of an enslaved person who worked in a sugar cane plantation was less like that

Tracing One Enslaved Community Trafficked from Virginia to Louisiana

on a cotton plantation and closer to that of a Jamaican cane field, where the most overworked and abused could drop dead after seven years.⁴⁷ Harvesting sugar cane resulted in injuries that were prone to infection, working in the cane mills resulted in crushing injuries, and working in the boiling room resulted in heat exhaustion and burns. No one was immune from working in these brutal conditions. The youngest and oldest, men, women and children, all labored on sugar cane plantations.

For enslaved people from the Upper South, the stories of the enslaved experience in the Deep South were told as warnings and seen as a punishment. How must the enslaved from Oak Hill have felt to arrive in Iberville Parish and to understand the full horrors of a sugarcane plantation? It was no longer a threat told by parents to rambunctious children that if they didn't behave, the "Georgia Man" would take them. It was their reality. Their reality was shared by many hundreds of enslaved people who were now their neighbors. The majority of the enslaved people in this part of Louisiana were from Virginia, Maryland, or North Carolina. Almost all African Americans living in the Parish by 1870 could trace their origins back to one of those states.⁴⁸ Just a month after the Oak Hill community arrived at Alhambra, enslaved people from Maryland arrived via the ship *Katherine Jackson*.⁴⁹ They were sold by the Jesuit priests to finance the creation of Georgetown University.⁵⁰ There must have been a comfort to find people who had gone through similar experiences, knew similar places, or even shared surnames and cultural practices.

Tracing One Enslaved Community Trafficked from Virginia to Louisiana

Before the Civil War

By the 1840's both Christopher Adams and his brother, William Clark Adams, had plantations located in Iberville Parish. However, in the 1840 Census population schedule, neither Christopher nor William are listed. It is possible that they maintained their primary residences in New Orleans until their plantations were completed, or their plantations may be listed under the name of an unknown overseer.

Christopher Adams defined himself as a planter in the 1850 U.S. federal population census.⁵¹ By then, he legally owned 42 enslaved people.⁵² However, the plantation was only one aspect of his life. In 1839, thirty-two year old Christopher Adams became the President of the Union Bank of Louisiana and eventually was a member of the Board of Commissioners for the Citizens' Bank of Louisiana.⁵³ When the enslaved people were sold to his plantation, Christopher Adams was one of the most well-known members of the white community in Iberville Parish. By 1845, Adams ran for office in the State Senate to represent Iberville and West Baton Rouge and won on the Whig platform.⁵⁴ In 1852, he also served as the first President of the Western Railroad Company and Opelousas Railroad Company.^{55, 56} Adams had numerous real estate investments, and in the fall of 1851, he was nominated "Collector of New Orleans," with an estimated net worth of half a million dollars.⁵⁷

Tracing One Enslaved Community Trafficked from Virginia to Louisiana

Christopher's brother, William, was also listed as a planter in the 1850 census with 32 enslaved people on his plantation.⁵⁸ His plantation was located further north along the Mississippi, closer to Plaquemine between Rebecca plantation owned by Mrs. Cropper and Dr. J.P.R. Stone's plantation. Subsequent records indicate that some of the enslaved people from Virginia were sent to William's plantation.⁵⁹

Christopher Adams died July 28, 1852, in Philadelphia.⁶⁰ He had been ill for some time, and his doctor had advised him to go north. Alhambra and the enslaved people there were inherited by his wife, Harriot. Two years later, William also died leaving his plantation to his wife, Eliza.^{61, 62} By 1860, these two women took very different approaches to managing their plantations. Eliza remained in Iberville Parish and managed the plantation with her son-in-law, John Austin.⁶³ There were two different plantations managed by "Adams & Austin" one with 19 people and one with 26 people.^{64, 65} It's possible Eliza and her son-in-law were sharing enslaved people and moving them between her plantation and his depending on their wants. Alhambra, on the other hand, had over 100 enslaved people laboring, but Harriot was no longer in Louisiana.⁶⁶ In May of 1860, Harriot applied for a passport for her and her children, and the entire family sailed for England, where Harriot lived the rest of her life.^{67 68} When Harriot left, she left her cousin William Read as overseer of Alhambra and the enslaved people there.⁶⁹

Tracing One Enslaved Community Trafficked from Virginia to Louisiana

Freedom

After the Civil War, the records of the Bureau of Freedmen, Refugees, and Abandoned Lands showed that many of the members of the community from Oak Hill survived to see freedom. Families like the Gants, Shorts, and Dabneys stayed in the area where they had been enslaved and continued to work for the overseer who had held them in bondage. Miamie Baker stated her previous owner was W. Adams, Christopher Adams' brother, but she chose to leave that plantation and head south to work at Alhambra, perhaps to reconnect with the family she had been separated from.⁷⁰ Still, other families like the Harris family have not been found in any records after the 1838 *Isaac Franklin* transport list.

In the 1870 U.S. federal population schedule, the first census to list freedmen by name, Ralph Gant and his wife Mary lived with their children Anthony, Niney, Douglas, Thomas, and Katherine in Bayou Goula, Louisiana.⁷¹ Ralph was identifiable in records because of his occupation as a blacksmith.⁷² The Gants lived next door to Joe Short who was living with seven-year-old Suzana Short. They were just a few houses down from Edmond Gant, Ralph's brother, and Nicholas and John Baker.⁷³

In 1878, the Mississippi River valley residents faced an epidemic of Yellow Fever unlike they had seen previously.⁷⁴ Over 20,000 people died.⁷⁵ George Dabney's wife, Emily, died during that period. She and George had at least nine children: George Jr., James, Will, Alex, Anna, Charlotte, Mary, Dennis, and

Tracing One Enslaved Community Trafficked from Virginia to Louisiana

Emma.⁷⁶ George worked at the Cora Texas sugar plantation until he was murdered on May 12, 1884. While the papers were quick to suggest that someone would be held responsible for George's death, no records have been found to indicate that happened.⁷⁷

George Williams, the oldest individual transported on the *Isaac Franklin*, was in his mid-forties to early fifties when he stepped on board the ship.⁷⁸ Much of his experience of enslavement was marked with sale and separation from his family. He was purchased by James Monroe about 1817 or early 1818.⁷⁹ George had a wife, Ann, and two children by 1823 when he lived at Highland.⁸⁰ George was moved to Oak Hill in the 1820's to work as a carpenter building Monroe's retirement home. As of today, his children's names are lost. He was transported without Ann to Louisiana. George died in October 1869 at the age of about 83, but he was not alone.⁸¹ At the time of his death, he lived with twenty-one-year-old Tom and nineteen-year-old Louisa Williams and two doors down from twenty-one-year-old Luvinia Williams.⁸² George was surrounded by people with his surname. Were Tom and George related? Maybe, maybe not, but it's clear that Tom and Louisa cared about George and that the community cared about George.

Tracing One Enslaved Community Trafficked from Virginia to Louisiana

Conclusion

The history of the enslaved community from Oak Hill plantation is in many ways a reflection of the experiences of many enslaved Americans. However, because this community stayed together, because so many of the members of this community had documented surnames, which they held onto for decades, it was possible to find them and follow them from slavery into freedom. That the community stayed together, even after the Civil War, is a testament to the strong bonds they built.

It is the author's hope that this work will perhaps provide a roadmap for others searching for their enslaved ancestors and encourage others to trace entire communities and not just individuals or families. While this work answered the question of what happened to the enslaved population at Oak Hill plantation, not every family group sold to Louisiana by Samuel Gouverneur was located after 1838. Families like the Harrises or individuals like Zachariah Root and Natus Berryman have not been located, but there are answers, and those answers will likely be found in Louisiana.

Tracing One Enslaved Community Trafficked from Virginia to Louisiana

Endnotes

¹ Lori Hinterleiter Kimball and Wynne C. Saffer, "...The Slaves, Whom I Wish to Sell in Private Sale, in Families: The People Enslaved by Present Monroe," *The Bulletin of Loudoun County History* 2020-2021 Edition, pp. 55-79.

² Randy W. Burnett, "Casa Bianca Plantation's Enslaved People," *The Florida Historical Quarterly* vol. 98 no. 2 (Fall 2019), pp. 79-104.

³ Gerard W. Gawalt, "James Monroe, Presidential Planter," *The Virginia Magazine of History and Biography* 101 no. 2 (April 1993): pp. 251-272.

⁴ Hay, Eliza Kortright Monroe. (Paris, France) to Unknown [St. Petersburg, Russia]. Draft of letter. 02 October 1839. Held by Special Collection Research Center, Swem Library, College of William and Mary. Online, William and Mary Digital Archive, ([https://digitalarchive.wm.edu/ >special collections> James Monroe Project> Eliza Kortright Monroe Hay to ?, October 2, 1839](https://digitalarchive.wm.edu/>special%20collections%20James%20Monroe%20Project%20Eliza%20Kortright%20Monroe%20Hay%20to%20%2C%20October%202%2C%201839%202023)) 2023.

⁵ Barber, Gertrude A., comp. *Marriages taken from the "Brooklyn Eagle."* Volumes 1-14. n.p.: 1963-66. Online *Ancestry* (<https://www.ancestry.com/search/collections/8936/>). 2023.

⁶ "U.S., Appointments of U. S. Postmasters, 1832-1971," Saml L Gouverneur, 19 Nov 1828; online, *Ancestry.com*; pg. 300, image 336 of 515; original source, The National Archives in Washington, DC; Washington, DC; Record of Appointment of Postmasters, 1832-Sept. 30, 1971; Record Group: Records of the Post Office Department; Record Group Number: 28; Series: M841; Roll Number: 88.

⁷ "Letters of James Monroe," *Bulletin of the New York Public Library* VI (January 1902): 247-273, specifically 269; online HathiTrust. (<https://babel.hathitrust.org/cgi/pt?id=nyp.33433081925004&view=1up&seq=11> :accessed 7 July 2023).

⁸ James Monroe (Oak Hill) to "Dear Sir" [James Madison], letter, 28 March 1828; retrieved from the Library of Congress, <www.loc.gov/item/mjm020202/>.

⁹ Joshua D. Rothman, *The Ledger and the Chain How Domestic Slave Trade Shaped America* (New York: Hachette Press, 2021), 3.

Tracing One Enslaved Community Trafficked from Virginia to Louisiana

¹⁰ *The New York Evening Post*, 12 December 1826, pg. 2, col. 1; digital images, *Genealogybank* ([genealogybank.com](http://www.genealogybank.com)): accessed 21 Feb 2021).

¹¹ "The Developments of the Gouverneur Case," *The Hudson River Chronicle*, Ossining, New York; 4 June 1839, pg.2, cols. 1-2; digital images, *genealogybank.com*> image 2 of 4: accessed Jul 2021).

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Tracing One Enslaved Community Trafficked from Virginia to Louisiana

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²⁰ Ibid.

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²⁵ Washington, District of Columbia, Circuit Court Case Files. Digital scans of original images. Sally Baker Jeffry Baker, & Mary Baker v. Charles Hay; online, *O Say Can You See: Early Washington and D.C., Law and Family*. (<https://earlywashingtondc.org/cases/oscys.caseid.0068>).

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²⁷ Joshua D. Rothman, *The Ledger and the Chain: How Domestic Slave Traders Shaped America* (New York: Basic Books, 2021), pg. 273.

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Tracing One Enslaved Community Trafficked from Virginia to Louisiana

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³⁴ Orleans Parish, LA, "Adolphe Maureau, Notarial, June 1829–July 1874," vol. 21, Act 325, pg. 326 D, Christopher Adams Jr. & W.C. Adams to Maria H. Gouverneur's Trustee.

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Tracing One Enslaved Community Trafficked from Virginia to Louisiana

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Tracing One Enslaved Community Trafficked from Virginia to Louisiana

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⁵⁸ 1850 U.S. census, Iberville County, Louisiana, slave schedule, [place not stated], p. 11, W C Adams, owner or manager; NARA microfilm publication M432, record group 29; online images, *Ancestry.com*

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Tracing One Enslaved Community Trafficked from Virginia to Louisiana

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⁶⁵ 1860 U.S. census, Iberville Parish, Louisiana, population schedule, [place not stated], p. 34 (penned), dwelling 409, family 409, E S Adams; NARA microfilm publication M643, roll 411; online images, *Ancestry.com* (<https://www.ancestry.com/search/collections/7667/> >Louisiana>Iberville>Not Stated, image 54 of 74 :accessed September 2023).

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Tracing One Enslaved Community Trafficked from Virginia to Louisiana

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⁷² 1870 U.S. census, Iberville Parish, Louisiana, population schedule, Ward 1, pg. 13 (penned), dwelling 137, family 182, Ralff Gant; digital images, *Ancestry.com*.

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Tracing One Enslaved Community Trafficked from Virginia to Louisiana

⁷⁵ PBS, *American Experience*, website (<https://www.pbs.org/wgbh/americanexperience/features/fever-1878-epidemic/#:~:text=The%20New%20Orleans%20health%20board,yellow%20fever%2C%20with%2020%2C000%20deaths.&text=In%20New%20Orleans%2C%20the%20city's,quell%20future%20yellow%20fever%20outbreaks.>), *The Greatest Fever: 1878 Epidemic*.

⁷⁶ 1880 U.S. census, county of Iberville, Louisiana, population schedule, First Ward, enumeration district [ED] 73, pg. 38C [stamped], pg. 3A [penned], line 3-11, George Dabney; online images, *Ancestry.com* (<https://www.ancestry.com/search/collections/6742/> >Louisiana> Iberville> 1st Ward> 073>image 3 of 16; citing NARA microfilm publication T9, roll 454).

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⁷⁸ Slave Manifest, Brig *Isaac Franklin*, September 1838. Digital images, *Ancestry.com*.

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Exploring the Old Shop At Douglass

Exploring the Old Shop At Douglass

A forthcoming study by the Edwin Washington Society



Students at Douglass Studying Carpentry¹

Contents

| | |
|--|-----|
| A Painting..... | 113 |
| Researching a Building | 113 |
| The Role of Industrial Education..... | 114 |
| Special Thanks to William Gutshall | 116 |
| Endnotes: | 117 |

Exploring the Old Shop At Douglass

A Painting

Several years ago, the Edwin Washington Project discovered in the archives of Virginia State University a photograph from Douglass High School showing students learning carpentry. The photograph was reproduced in oil for a wall mural at the Daniel, Hankerson, Knox building on the Douglass compound in Leesburg as part of the general restoration sponsored by recommendations of the Douglass Commemorative Committee.²

We don't know who took the picture nor its exact date, but it was in the files of Archie Richardson, once the most senior African American educator in Virginia.³ Richardson toured the commonwealth supporting Black education and in April of 1940, while conversing with the local Black community in Loudoun, recommended that the School Board and Superintendent listen to the advice of Jeanes Supervisor Gertrude Alexander, who was pushing for an accredited High School for Blacks. That school became Douglass High School.

Researching a Building

Next to the former Douglass High School building in Leesburg is the Daniel, Hankerson, Knox building (aka the workshop), which is frequently used for meetings and small conferences today. In the past, it was used to teach carpentry, masonry and music. In the forthcoming edition of the Bulletin, to be published in the fall of 2025, we plan to publish a story exploring the history of the space, its instructors, and the man who built it, with the help of students. The builder was Moses Knox. Readers of this edition are invited to offer thoughts, because there are people in Loudoun

Exploring the Old Shop At Douglass

County today who knew the Knox family, as well as other instructors who worked in the building. We also want to explore all the courses taught in the building and are looking for photographs.

The Editors and a former intern from Loudoun Parks, Recreation and Community Services have been collaborating on the research, which will include a field trip by the Edwin Washington Society to Emporia, Virginia, home of Moses Knox. We also invite the alumni of Douglass High School to offer memories.

The Role of Industrial Education

In a study from January 1940, a white citizen in Loudoun lamented that he had not been well prepared for life because he had not been trained in such practical skills as carpentry.⁴ This observation was a common part of the debate on the relative value of “industrial education” vs liberal arts and sciences. The shop at Douglass, used for music and other purposes, was designed to address this need. Enter Moses Knox.

Mr. Knox (1 July 1919 - 3 Aug 1981) is an example of the excellent talent Douglass High School attracted. He lived across the street on the east side and built the shop with the help of students. One can still see his former home from the windows of the Edwin Washington Society offices. He also instructed at Douglass from 1941 to 1946. Previously, he taught at Virginia State University and later built a successful

Exploring the Old Shop At Douglass

masonry business in his hometown of Emporia, Virginia.

Mr. Knox was also a great example of why someone who worked in the “trades” could also make a significant difference enhancing the social fabric of a society. This is because the gentleman was never far from civil rights or education. He created on his death a scholarship fund. At one point, he even mortgaged his firm to support the state chapter of the NAACP, the oldest non-partisan civil rights organization in Virginia. He was also on the Executive Committee. In 1970, noting that the roads in Black neighborhoods of Emporia were impassable, he led a successful effort with the county Board of Supervisors to have them paved. As a result of these and other efforts, the annual NAACP fundraising dinner in Emporia is named after Mr. Knox. Douglass attracted many fine educators while operating as a school, some who even went on to work with NASA. Mr. Knox was another one who saw no conflict between being a “blue-collar” worker and a vibrant, creative community leader.

Many adventures took place in the Daniel, Hankerson, Knox building. We want to hear about yours and how classes offered there advanced your life. For example, what can you tell us about Isaac J. Daniel, who taught industrial arts at Douglass, as well as Civics, Math, US History and Geography, and served in the US Navy during World War Two? How about Charles Edward Hankerson, Jr., who taught Band and Chorus from 1951 to 1965?

Exploring the Old Shop At Douglass

Special Thanks to William Gutshall

The editors wish to thank William Gutshall for his assistance in this project, in particular, despite his busy schedule, researching the America First concept in its many iterations, which will be further explored in the next issue. We encourage other Parks and Rec interns to also participate in Bulletin publications.

This assistance came about because in the original photo which was reproduced by a wall painting was a poster for the America First Committee. That was a surprise to the editors. The concept of America First today is generally considered to about protectionist trade policies, nativism and non-interventionism, perhaps even withdrawal from military alliances set up in the wake of World War Two to protect the western democracies and the United States.

The term America First was used by Woodrow Wilson to keep the United States neutral in World War One. In the 1920's, the term was used by the KKK (Ku Klux Klan) to promote xenophobia and white supremacy. Representative Albert Johnson in 1924 used it to promote anti-immigrant legislation. The America First Committee, which the poster promoted, was formed just before World War Two when many Americans were worried about entering a conflict that might be similar or greater than the carnage associated with the trench warfare of World War One. That conflict also introduced poison gas and effective aerial combat. The Committee focused on promoting a non-interventionist foreign policy and also used some anti-Semitic and fascist rhetoric.

The question for the Editors was, why was the poster on the carpenter shop wall of a school designed to

Exploring the Old Shop At Douglass

bolster Black education. We were surprised about the inclusion of the poster, since going back as far as 1933, newspapers catering to Blacks regularly made them aware of the risks posed by Nazi Germany, drawing a parallel between that country's treatment of Jews and how Blacks were treated under Jim Crow. Also, despite a reluctance by some to become involved in a European conflict, Blacks wanted to join the military, seen as a path to equality and recognition as true citizens.⁵

Placing the poster in the photo was important to someone, perhaps only the photographer or some student. That specific connection has been lost in the mists of time. Did members of the committee meet at Douglass, unlikely given Black views on the military.⁶ To study these questions for the next issue, we approached William Gutshall, an intern with Loudoun County Parks and Recs. We also plan to make a field trip to Emporia.

Endnotes:

¹ Photo by Larry Roeder.

² The Douglass High School Commemorative Committee was appointed by the Loudoun County School Board on 11 May 2021. Its charge was to develop options to be incorporated in the renovation of the Douglass High School (DHS) building. It considered relevant historic artifacts, memorabilia, and other possible interpretive building displays to tell the story of Douglass High School. The Committee's mission was to determine how the history and importance of Douglass High School should be shared and to recommend commemorative components like the painting of the carpentry shop for School Board action and funding, as necessary.

³ In 1976, Richardson wrote [The Development of Negro Education in Virginia 1831-1970](#), published by the Richmond

Exploring the Old Shop At Douglass

Chapter of Phi Delta Kappa. A copy can be read in the research room of the Edwin Washington Society in the Douglass HS building.

⁴ EWP 2-5B Survey, Edwin Washington Archives.

⁵ The readers might consider studying research on this important topic by Professor Mathew Delmont of Dartmouth College. In "Half American," historian tells the story of World War II from Black Perspective. NPR broadcast, 25 October 2022, 12:2PM.

⁶ The readers might consider studying research on this important topic by Professor Mathew Delmont of Dartmouth College. In "Half American," historian tells the story of World War II from Black Perspective. NPR broadcast, 25 October 2022, 12:2PM.