

0	One Horse	10.	0.	0
0	do Cow	5.	10.	0
6	One Riding Chair	15.	0.	0
0	Library of Books	11.	19.	6
0	Half doz. Teaspoons	0.	15.	0
0	Half doz. Table Spoons	4.	0.	0
0	Tea Ware	1.	0.	0
0	One Negro Man	50.	0.	0
0	named Joseph			
3	One silver Watch	2.	10.	0
0	£ 161:15:0			
0	Ben ⁿ Brannan			

Slavery in the Greater Philadelphia Area

A DOCUMENTARY HISTORY

Colin McCrossan



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The Lower Merion Historical Society

2023

Cover Image: Estate Inventory of Rev. James Anderson, No. 33, November 11, 1793,
Letters of Administration, 1790-1950, Delaware County Archives, Lima, Pennsylvania.

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Slavery in the Greater Philadelphia Area

Introduction

The young women ran dreaming of freedom. On February 2, 1778, Poll and Phillis began their escape from their enslaver, Hugh Queen, on the plantation he rented from a Scottish sea captain named Charles Cruikshanks.¹ Cruikshanks owned three plantations that covered ground in Haverford Township, Lower Merion Township, and Philadelphia.² He had rented one to Queen for some time, and was also an enslaver, owning multiple enslaved men and boys.³ Poll and Phillis's escape from Hugh Queen would have been challenging – the plantation he rented was almost one hundred acres, it was cold outside, and they had little clothing and provisions with them.⁴ But despite the distance, the weather, and the struggle that laid ahead, Phillis (22 years old) and Poll (14 years old) kept going. They wanted to be free.

Hugh Queen wanted them back. He was a farmer who raised crops, cattle, and sheep, and had invested time and money on the plantation which he had rented since at least 1759.⁵ Poll and Phillis were two of Queen's most valuable pieces of property. Their

¹ "EIGHT DOLLARS Reward," *Pennsylvania Ledger: or the Virginia, Maryland, Pennsylvania, and New-Jersey Weekly Advertiser* (Philadelphia, Pennsylvania), February 11, 1778, 3.

² Cruikshanks advertised for these plantations in 1764, "To be LETT...", *Pennsylvania Gazette* (Philadelphia, Pennsylvania), November 1, 1764, 1. Also see portions of the plantations from the UPenn Mapping 1777 West Philadelphia Project, <https://maps.archives.upenn.edu/WestPhila1777/map.php>, search for Cruikshanks.

³ Cruikshanks advertised for enslaved men and boys for sale he owned in 1767, but did not specify how many people he was selling, "To be SOLD by the Subscriber," *Pennsylvania Gazette* (Philadelphia, Pennsylvania), April 16, 1767, 4.

⁴ "EIGHT DOLLARS Reward," *Pennsylvania Ledger: or the Virginia, Maryland, Pennsylvania, and New-Jersey Weekly Advertiser* (Philadelphia, Pennsylvania), February 11, 1778, 3.

⁵ "To Be Sold by Hugh Quin," *Pennsylvania Gazette* (Philadelphia, Pennsylvania), October 11, 1759, 4, Deed from John Wilcocks to Charles Cruikshanks, Chester County Deed Book T, Page 350, Chester County Archives, deed from Wilcocks to Cruikshanks Pennsylvania Tax and Exoneration Records, 1768-1801, Chester County Tax Assessments, Haverford Township, 26, 29, 32, accessed via Ancestry.com.

escape would have meant many things to him, including a loss of labor and a rejection of his authority and power. He quickly responded to their escape. Not long after Poll and Phillis took off, Queen wrote a fugitive slave advertisement describing them and offering a reward for their capture. Then he paid to post it in a Philadelphia newspaper, the *Pennsylvania Ledger*.⁶ Days passed, but Poll and Phillis remained at large. So, Queen paid to post the ad again, then again, and again.⁷ The frequency of Queen's posting over the course of February, 1778, reveals that Poll and Phillis remained free for at least a month in 1778. In creating the ads, Queen inadvertently registered their resistance, humanity, and desire for freedom.⁸

Poll, Phillis, and Hugh Queen's world is gone. The eighteenth-century landscape of their time is now the twenty-first of ours; the plantation a neighborhood and dirt paths paved roads. But there are still traces of their lives and world still here, most clearly in archival primary source materials and in contemporary space. Queen's ads are available in an online historic newspaper database called *Readex: America's Historical Newspapers*, and a portion of the land that Poll, Phillis, and Queen lived on is preserved in Haverford Township, at a historic site called the Grange Estate. The Grange is owned by Haverford Township, managed by a private, non-profit group called the Friends of the

⁶ "EIGHT DOLLARS Reward," *Pennsylvania Ledger: or the Virginia, Maryland, Pennsylvania, and New-Jersey Weekly Advertiser* (Philadelphia, Pennsylvania), February 11, 1778, 3.

⁷ "EIGHT DOLLARS Reward," *Pennsylvania Ledger: or the Virginia, Maryland, Pennsylvania, and New-Jersey Weekly Advertiser* (Philadelphia, Pennsylvania), February 14, 1778, 4, "EIGHT DOLLARS Reward," *Pennsylvania Ledger*, February 21, 1778, 4, "EIGHT DOLLARS Reward," *Pennsylvania Ledger*, February 25, 1778, 3, "EIGHT DOLLARS Reward," *Pennsylvania Ledger*, March 4, 1778, 2.

⁸ For more on fugitive slave advertisements and their evidence of enslaved resistance, see Charmaine A. Nelson, "A 'Tone of Voice Peculiar to New-England': Fugitive Slave Advertisements and the Heterogeneity of Enslaved People of African Descent in Eighteenth-Century Quebec." *Current Anthropology* 61, no. S22 (2020): S304-S316; Billy Gordon Smith and Richard Wojtowicz, *Blacks Who Stole Themselves: Advertisements for Runaways in the Pennsylvania Gazette, 1728-1790* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1989).

Grange, and sits on a 14-acre property that is a fraction of what the original three plantations were in size.⁹ The Grange has mainly been remembered as important only to the history of Haverford Township, yet, as previously mentioned evidence demonstrates, the historic property was located in Haverford, Lower Merion, and Philadelphia.¹⁰ The site has been interpreted as historically significant because of its wealthy white owners, but as the evidence shows many enslaved people were forced by their enslavers to live and work at the site. They also changed the space and made it historically important. The Grange was a space of enslavement, but its history of slavery – of Poll, Cruikshanks, Phillis, and Hugh Queen – is absent from site interpretation and missing from the landscape.¹¹

The Grange is not the only site of enslavement in the region. There are many other historic houses and sites in the Greater Philadelphia area (Philadelphia, Bucks, Chester, Delaware, and Montgomery Counties) where white people enslaved and owned Black people. Some sites interpret and acknowledge their histories of slavery, others have started doing research, and some places are not doing anything.¹²

⁹ Friends of the Grange Inc. "History," *The Historic Grange Estate*, accessed February 23, 2023, <https://thegrangeestate.net/welcome/child-page/>, Haverford Township, "Friends of the Grange, Boards and Commissions," *Haverford Township*, accessed February 23, 2023, https://www.haverfordtownship.org/Boards_and_Commissions.html#sec4, John L. Cotter, "An Archaeological Feasibility Study of the Grange in Haverford Township 1978," John L. Cotter Papers, Teaching Class Projects, Penn Museum Archives, 1-5, John L. Cotter, Daniel G. Roberts, and Michael Parrington. *The Buried Past: An Archaeological History of Philadelphia* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1992), 416-418.

¹⁰ For a current interpretation of the Grange, see Friends of the Grange Inc. "History," *The Historic Grange Estate*, accessed February 23, 2023, <https://thegrangeestate.net/welcome/child-page/>.

¹¹ For more on the history the Grange, see John M. Dickey and Reed L. Engle, "Historic Structure Report: The Grange Estate Haverford Township for The Friends of The Grange, April 20, 1981," Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission Cultural Resource Database, Nancy Lee Garrison, *The Transformation of a Country House: The Grange Estate, 1700-1850*, MA thesis, University of Delaware, 1988.

¹² See, for example, Cliveden and the Peter Wentz Farmstead, the Colonial Pennsylvania Plantation, and the Grange Estate, <https://cliveden.org/>, <https://www.montgomerycountypa.gov/929/Peter-Wentz-Farmstead>, <https://www.colonialplantation.org/>, <https://thegrangeestate.net/>.

Featuring the absence of the history of slavery at the Grange in this introduction is not meant to disparage the group that runs it, but rather to highlight a theme that motivated the creation of this reader: there is little public knowledge and awareness of the Greater Philadelphia area's long and complex history of slavery.

The history of slavery in the Greater Philadelphia area is everywhere — not just at the Grange — and an integral part of the region's history, but many people know nothing about it. Historians have studied slavery in the United States and Pennsylvania for decades, yet the majority of the general public in the Philadelphia region has never learned about their scholarly findings.¹³ Indeed, in recent years academics have even studied how and why people in the American North know little to nothing about slavery.¹⁴ Various authors have proposed different explanations for this general ignorance, and public historians have explored the politics, controversies, and challenges in researching, talking about, and interpreting slavery in the public sphere — in schools, at museums, and in government.¹⁵ There are also, of course, people in the region and throughout the country who are knowledgeable about slavery, its history, and

¹³ See, for example, Darold D. Wax, "The Negro Slave Trade in Colonial Pennsylvania, 1662-1763." PhD diss., The University of Michigan, 1973, Gary B. Nash, *Forging Freedom: The Formation of Philadelphia's Black Community, 1720-1840*. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1988, Gary B. Nash and Jean R. Soderlund, *Freedom by Degrees: Emancipation in Pennsylvania and Its Aftermath*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1991, Kali N. Gross, *Colored Amazons: Crime, Violence, and Black Women in the City of Brotherly Love, 1880-1910*. Durham: Duke University Press, 2006, Edward E. Baptist, and Stephanie M. H. Camp. *New Studies in the History of American Slavery*. Athens: University of Georgia Press, 2006, Erica Armstrong Dunbar, *A Fragile Freedom: African American Women and Emancipation in the Antebellum City*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 2008, Beverly C. Tomek, *Slavery and Abolition in Pennsylvania*. Philadelphia: Temple University Press in partnership with The Pennsylvania Historical Association, 2021.

¹⁴ Marc Howard Ross, *Slavery in the North: Forgetting History and Recovering Memory*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2018.

¹⁵ James Oliver Horton and Lois E. Horton. *Slavery and Public History: The Tough Stuff of American Memory*. New York: New Press : Distributed by Norton, 2006, Leah M. Worthington, Rachel Clare Donaldson, and John W. White. *Challenging History: Race, Equity, and the Practice of Public History*. Columbia, South Carolina: The University of South Carolina Press, 2021.

how enslaved people contributed to the foundation and growth of the United States. But there is unlikely to be much public awareness of the people and history featured in this reader — about the history of slavery in the Greater Philadelphia area — because almost no detailed research has been done about it.¹⁶

Overview of the Reader

This reader's goal is to introduce and help create knowledge about the history of slavery in the Greater Philadelphia area through primary source documents. The main argument throughout the reader is that slavery is an integral part of the history of the Philadelphia region. Primary sources are documents and other kinds of evidence that were created in a historic time period. This reader compiles different kinds of transcribed primary sources from the history of slavery in the Greater Philadelphia area to bring this evidence to the general public in a free and accessible way. The documents have been transcribed as closely to the originals as they could have been (some original documents contain illegible words, missing pages, or are damaged) and are each described and cited.¹⁷

The reader uses newer terminology to describe people and parts of slavery — mainly enslaver and enslaved — which may be new to some readers. The adoption of this language is to align with recent scholarly intervention in the field of slavery studies

¹⁶ Gary Nash and Jean Soderlund broadly examined the history of slavery in Chester County for their 1991 book, but sampled data from different townships and did not explore individual case histories in depth. See Gary B. Nash and Jean R. Soderlund, *Freedom by Degrees: Emancipation in Pennsylvania and Its Aftermath*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1991.

¹⁷ The model and structure of the reader is based on Harvey Amani Whitfield's *Black Slavery in the Maritimes: A History in Documents*, The Broadview Sources Series, Broadview Press, Peterborough, Ontario, Canada, 2018, <https://broadviewpress.com/product/black-slavery-in-the-maritimes/#tab-description>, and Brown, Victoria, and Timothy J. Shannon. 2016. *Going to the source: the Bedford reader in American history*. Boston: Bedford/St. Martins, Volume 1.

and to acknowledge the power language has in humanizing and dehumanizing people who were a part of the history of slavery. It also uses slaveowner, slaveholder, and slave at various times.¹⁸ This first introductory essay provides an overview of the history of slavery in the Greater Philadelphia area and is followed by a second, shorter essay describing the types of primary sources included in the reader. This is followed by the documents themselves.

The reader is designed to be a resource so people can learn more about slavery in this area, talk about it with others, and think about what, if anything, they might want to do to remember this history. It was created for the Lower Merion Historical Society and focuses on this entire region, not just Lower Merion, because enslavers and enslaved people were a part of this larger area historically and not contained by township borders. If the reader only focused on Lower Merion, it would ignore the diversity of experiences of enslavers and enslaved people in the region, how they lived in and were connected to others across multiple townships, and how they were a part of larger systems and structures. The Lower Merion Historical Society (LMHS) is also interested in learning about the history around Lower Merion Township and the greater area. This reader was completed as part of an internship through the Albert Lepage Center for History in the Public Interest at Villanova University during the summer of 2023. The writing and views expressed here are those of the author and not necessarily the LMHS or the Lepage Center.

¹⁸ For more, see P. Gabrielle Foreman, et al. "Writing about Slavery/Teaching About Slavery: This Might Help" community-sourced document, August 7, 2023, 2:39 PM, <https://docs.google.com/document/d/1A4TEdDgYsIX-hlKezLodMIM71My3KTN0zxRv0IQTOQs/mobilebasic>.

Slavery in the Greater Philadelphia area

The first people who occupied the Philadelphia region were the Lenni- Lenape. The Lenape are an Algonquian people who lived in the area that is now Southeastern Pennsylvania for thousands of years before encountering Europeans (Swedes, Finns) in the early 17th century.¹⁹ The Lenape had complex societies and beliefs and worked with and against European colonists. Colonists eventually dispossessed the Lenape of their lands and forced them to move west through violence and the spread of disease.²⁰ Englishman William Penn acquired a large portion of the Lenapes' land from the English King Charles II and founded the new colony of Pennsylvania in 1681.²¹ Penn advertised much of this land for sale and recruited settlers from the British Isles to move to the area.²² Several Welsh, Swedish, German and other Europeans settled in the area around Philadelphia during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.²³

Slavery had been a part of the Greater Philadelphia area's history since before the founding of Pennsylvania, as Swedish, Finnish, and Danish enslavers brought enslaved Africans to the Delaware Valley starting in the seventeenth century.²⁴ Some of

¹⁹ Jean R. Soderlund. *Lenape Country: Delaware Valley Society Before William Penn*. First edition. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2015, 6-8, Jean R. Soderlund, "Native Peoples to 1680," The Encyclopedia of Greater Philadelphia, 2014, <https://philadelphiaencyclopedia.org/essays/native-peoples-to-1680/>.

²⁰ Dawn G. Marsh, *A Lenape Among the Quakers: The Life of Hannah Freeman*. Lincoln ; London: University of Nebraska Press, 2014, 106-134, Soderlund, *Lenape Country*, 177.

²¹ Jean R. Soderlund. *William Penn and the Founding of Pennsylvania, 1680-1684: A Documentary History*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press: Historical Society of Pennsylvania, 1983, 39.

²² Soderlund, *William Penn and the Founding of Pennsylvania*, 7.

²³ Gary B. Nash and Jean R. Soderlund, *Freedom by Degrees: Emancipation in Pennsylvania and Its Aftermath*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1991, 32-33.

²⁴ Tomek, *Slavery and Abolition in Pennsylvania*, 7-9.

these enslaved Africans were brought by Europeans directly from Africa, though most were brought to places in the Caribbean first, and Philadelphia served as a major port where slave ships and ships carrying slaves disembarked.²⁵ After Pennsylvania was established as a British colony, white officials began to formalize and codify slavery. Slavery was legally defined as a lifetime condition, linked to race, and enslaved Black people were subject to different laws, codes, and social practices.²⁶ Laws regulated and restricted many aspects of enslaved people's lives.²⁷ Enslaved people, for example, were tried in separate courts for any crimes they committed, faced separate harsher punishments than white people, were forbidden to marry white people, and were restricted in their mobility.²⁸ The law recognized enslaved Black people as chattel; pieces of an enslaver's personal property that could be bought, sold, taxed, inherited, and mortgaged.²⁹

Slavery was a part of Pennsylvania's economy, society, and politics. The institution grew in Philadelphia and the city served as a key hub in the Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade – the international movement and trafficking of enslaved African and African descended peoples.³⁰ White enslavers could purchase enslaved Black people in the city and in the Greater Philadelphia area from a variety of locations. Enslaved Black people were advertised for sale at coffeehouses,

²⁵ Tomek, *Slavery and Abolition in Pennsylvania*, 5.

²⁶ Tomek, 13.

²⁷ Tomek, 12-14.

²⁸ Tomek 13-14.

²⁹ Tomek, 14, also see Walter Johnson, *Soul by Soul: Life Inside the Antebellum Slave Market*. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1999.

³⁰ See Darold D. Wax, "The Negro Slave Trade in Colonial Pennsylvania, 1662." PhD diss., The University of Michigan, 1973.

private homes, on the streets, and at public auctions.³¹ Enslaved Black people were born in and came from Africa, the Caribbean, the South, elsewhere in the mid-Atlantic, or from the Philadelphia area itself.³² Many enslaved people had survived the Middle Passage, the dangerous trip across the Atlantic Ocean from Africa on slave ships to the Americas, and others had survived the Middle Passage then successive trips from the Caribbean to Philadelphia.³³

White settlers and residents of the Greater Philadelphia area purchased and enslaved Black people in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, but slavery really expanded and grew in the area during the 1760s.³⁴ At this time, the amount of white indentured servants from Europe who came to the area decreased because of lower immigration rates due to the Seven Years' War.³⁵ White indentured servants were Europeans who agreed to work for people in the Americas for a set amount of time in exchange for passage across the Atlantic. They served as a main population of laborers in the Philadelphia region, along with enslaved people, but because of this international conflict traveled to the area in lower numbers starting in the 1760s. Slave ownership, in turn, increased, as more white people turned to buying and owned enslaved Black people whom they forced to labor for them.³⁶ Enslavers and enslaved people were never the majority of the population in Pennsylvania or the Greater

³¹ Tomek, *Slavery and Abolition in Pennsylvania*, 7-9.

³² Nash, *Forging Freedom*, 8-15, Tomek, 7.

³³ Tomek, 7-8.

³⁴ Nash and Soderlund, *Freedom by Degrees*, 35.

³⁵ Nash and Soderlund, 35.

³⁶ Nash and Soderlund, 34-37.

Philadelphia area, and exact numbers of how many enslavers and enslaved people lived in the area are hard to calculate, but they numbered in at least the thousands.³⁷

White enslavers were a diverse population and came from a variety of backgrounds. Enslavers were both men and women, ethnically and religiously diverse, and had various occupations. They were farmers, lawyers, carpenters, storeowners, innkeepers, ship captains, politicians, gentlewomen, coopers, iron forgers, blacksmiths, tanners, ministers, and weavers. They were generally wealthier than other white people, and usually owned land.³⁸ Enslaved Black people were also a diverse population and included men, women, and children. Enslaved people were ethnically and religiously diverse, and many spoke multiple languages. Enslaved people were also skilled in many different trades and forms of labor.

The type of work that enslavers forced enslaved people to perform varied based on location and enslaver occupations.³⁹ Most enslaved people in the Greater Philadelphia area performed both agricultural and domestic labor – working on enslavers' farms raising crops, livestock, and producing goods, and working in enslavers' homes cooking, cleaning, and taking care of enslavers' children.⁴⁰ Other enslaved people performed different kinds of work and wove cloth, drove their owners to meetings, milled flour, forged iron, and poured drinks in taverns.⁴¹ Enslavers also expected enslaved people to do anything they demanded them to do, and labor could

³⁷ Nash and Soderlund, 32. For one estimate and the challenges involved in making them, see Nash and Soderlund page 32 and the table on page 36.

³⁸ Nash and Soderlund, *Freedom by Degrees*, 36-37.

³⁹ Dunbar, 15,

⁴⁰ Nash and Soderlund, 37.

⁴¹ Tomek, 17-18.

change because of a variety of factors (weather, family growth, personal debt).⁴² An enslaver who was a carpenter likely forced an enslaved person they owned to perform carpentry, but also could have demanded they clean, harvest apples, or slaughter pigs. Enslavers also sometimes hired their enslaved people out to other white people, which created community investment in slaveholding among white people.⁴³ Enslaved people contributed to and were a part of every aspect of the economy, from manufacturing to artisanal craft-making.⁴⁴

Daily life for enslaved people was extremely difficult, and enslavers forced enslaved people to live under harsh conditions. While the specific conditions of life varied with each circumstance, most enslaved people, as Kali N. Gross has written, led “hard, isolated lives punctuated by hunger, disease, and degradation.”⁴⁵ Enslaved people in the Greater Philadelphia area worked and lived primarily alongside their enslavers and had little interaction with others. This proximity gave enslavers more power to surveil enslaved people, control their movements, and place limits on their lives. Enslaved people generally had few material possessions, could not read or write, and faced physical and psychological violence from enslavers and enslavers’ family members.⁴⁶

Life for enslaved people in the Greater Philadelphia area was especially isolating because of the region’s geography. Most enslavers and enslaved people lived on properties that were hundreds of acres in size, and the distance between properties

⁴² Dunbar, *A Fragile Freedom*, 15.

⁴³ Tomek, *Slavery and Abolition in Pennsylvania*, 20.

⁴⁴ Tomek, 19.

⁴⁵ Gross, *Colored Amazons*, 13.

⁴⁶ Tomek, 14-19.

could be miles. The natural environment of the region also made this isolation worse; enslaved people would have been surrounded by farmland, woods, and streams. Forming relationships or even getting to know other Black people – enslaved or free – in the area would have been especially challenging because of the environment and geography.⁴⁷ As historians have pointed out, life for enslaved people in the area outside of Philadelphia was drastically different than life for enslaved people in the city, who lived in a more densely populated area.⁴⁸ Enslaved people in Philadelphia might interact with each other and many other people throughout the course of the day, in taverns, shipyards, and on the streets. Enslaved people in an area like Chester County, however, could reasonably expect to only interact with their enslavers most days. The natural environment also affected experiences of enslavement – proximity or distance to a feature of the environment could change daily life. Being closer to the Delaware River in a place like Ridley Township, for example, might mean enslaved people had greater access to fishing and maritime activity, whereas enslaved people farther from the river, in a place like Tredyffrin Township, would not have had such access.⁴⁹

Slavery was a racist system of control based on violence. White people, who were enslavers and non-enslavers, tried to closely watch and monitor enslaved and free Black people's lives, and passed laws to "keep them under as much control as possible."⁵⁰ Laws "wove oppression deep into the fabric of life and culture" in the

⁴⁷ Nash and Soderlund, *Freedom by Degrees*, 38.

⁴⁸ Nash and Soderlund, 39.

⁴⁹ For more, see David Silkenat, *Scars on the Land: An Environmental History of Slavery in the American South*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2022 and Lindsey Wimpenny, 2022. "Enslaved People's Environmental Thought in the Antebellum American South." Apollo - University of Cambridge Repository. doi:10.17863/CAM.86982.

⁵⁰ Tomek, *Slavery and Abolition in Pennsylvania*, 23.

Philadelphia region, the mid-Atlantic, and throughout North America. Individually, enslavers could be unimaginably abusive and cruel to enslaved people. Enslaved people could be sold by enslavers at any time, separated from their families, and were physically exploited to such degrees that enslavers often physically disabled them through work or punishment.⁵¹ Enslavers whipped, beat, maimed, and terrorized enslaved people. They also raped them and inflicted sexual violence upon them in other ways.⁵²

Enslaved people, however, did not passively accept enslavement and actively resisted enslavers and the larger system of slavery.⁵³ Enslaved people resisted enslavers and slavery in numerous ways. First, the very fact that we know many enslaved people's names and that they appear in archival records at all is a sign of enslaved people's resistance in that they tried to survive enslavement in many ways. Enslaved people slowed in work, feigned injury and illnesses, and formed relationships with other people. They also practiced African cultural traditions and created new kinds of art, music, dance, dress, and personal grooming and style.⁵⁴ Enslaved people also freed themselves from their enslavers and escaped bondage, to which enslavers responded with fugitive/runaway slave advertisements in newspapers that

⁵¹ Tomek, *Slavery and Abolition in Pennsylvania*, 23, also see Jenifer L. Barclay, *The Mark of Slavery: Disability, Race, and Gender in Antebellum America*. 2021.

⁵² Gross, *Colored Amazons*, 22-23, also see Thomas A. Foster, *Rethinking Rufus: Sexual Violations of Enslaved Men*. Athens, Georgia: University of Georgia Press, 2019.

⁵³ Tomek, 21.

⁵⁴ Tomek, 21, Shane White and Graham White. "Slave Hair and African American Culture in the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries." *The Journal of Southern History* 61, no. 1 (1995): 45-76, also see Stephanie M. H. Camp, *Closer to Freedom: Enslaved Women and Everyday Resistance in the Plantation South*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2004.

described runaways, aspects of their escape, skills, and personhood.⁵⁵ Enslaved people also committed crimes against their enslavers, destroyed enslavers property, and some even died by suicide. Enslaved resistance could take many forms – from everyday actions, such as taking care of and styling one’s hair, to more dramatic acts, like trying to escape from enslavers.⁵⁶

Slavery ended very slowly in the Greater Philadelphia area and in Pennsylvania. During the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, many enslaved people never became free. They lived and died as someone else’s property. Enslaved people during this time could only become free if their enslaver agreed to free them, and enslavers usually, if they did at all, only agreed to free enslaved people when they died.⁵⁷ Enslavers who did manumit (free from slavery) enslaved people in their wills could also set conditions on the freedom of enslaved people. Some enslavers, for example, wrote that enslaved people would only become free after a set period of time (months, years) after their deaths.⁵⁸ By only agreeing to free enslaved people when they were dead, enslavers guaranteed that they could still exploit enslaved people while they were alive and ensure they never lost any of their labor.

Enslavers who freed enslaved people in their wills also, if they owned multiple enslaved people, freed some, but not others, further fracturing relationships and lives. Enslaved people faced uncertainty when their enslavers died, especially if enslavers made no provision for manumission in their wills, as estate executors and enslavers’

⁵⁵ See, for example, Billy Gordon Smith and Richard Wojtowicz. *Blacks Who Stole Themselves: Advertisements for Runaways in the Pennsylvania Gazette, 1728-1790*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1989.

⁵⁶ Tomek, *Slavery and Abolition in Pennsylvania*, 21.

⁵⁷ Nash, *Forging Freedom*, 32-33.

⁵⁸ Nash and Soderlund, *Freedom by Degrees*,

descendants could inherit and further disrupt enslaved people's lives by selling them, moving, or changing daily routines.⁵⁹

People in Pennsylvania had debated slavery and some activists had pushed for its abolition, or end, beginning in the late seventeenth century. The first religious group in the area to forbid its members from slaveholding was the Religious Society of Friends, or Quakers. Quakers in the area and beyond were involved with slavery in numerous ways – most notably by being enslavers and slave traders – and throughout much of the eighteenth century debated slavery and its relationship to their religion, economics, and politics. By 1776, Quaker leadership in Philadelphia decreed that slave owning was no longer compatible with Quakerism. They said that any Quakers who were enslavers needed to free the people they enslaved, or they would be excommunicated from the faith and not considered officially Quaker. To enforce this policy, local Meetings were to create committees to meet with enslavers and convince them to free the people they owned. Some Quakers complied, some did not. Enslavers who did comply usually either freed the people they enslaved immediately or gradually, meaning the enslaved person would become free after a period of time.⁶⁰

Slavery began to decline in Pennsylvania after 1780, when the state legislature passed a law that gradually began the end of the practice in the state and area. Anti-slavery activism, changing economics, and the American Revolution, among other

⁵⁹ Tomek, *Slavery and Abolition in Pennsylvania*, 16-24, Nash and Soderlund, *Freedom by Degrees*, 137-166.

⁶⁰ For more on this history, see Jean R. Soderlund, *Quakers & Slavery: A Divided Spirit*. Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1985, and Manumitted: The People Enslaved by Quakers, Haverford College Library, Quaker and Special Collections, Digital Scholarship, <https://manumissions.haverford.edu/>.

factors, led the Pennsylvania legislature to introduce, debate, and eventually pass a law called “An Act for the Gradual Abolition of Slavery” in 1780. The law decreed that any child born to an enslaved woman, after the date of its passage, would no longer be enslaved for life but instead be a servant to their mother’s enslaver until they turned 28, after which they would be free. The law freed no one immediately, and anyone who was enslaved before the passage of the law remained enslaved for life. It also stipulated that enslavers were required to register the people they enslaved with the counties they resided in. Enslaved people not registered would become free.⁶¹

The 1780 law ended the legal importation of enslaved people into Pennsylvania, but still permitted slave trading of registered enslaved people within the state. Previous laws that established and regulated slavery were also repealed. Enslavers exploited loopholes in the law and it was later amended. Recent historians have argued that the law actually helped slavery expand in the state’s central and western regions, and that children born to enslaved women, who fell under the law’s application, had significantly different experiences than white domestic servants. They argue that these children should be considered term slaves – people enslaved for a set amount of time instead of for life – instead of just indentured servants, because of the racist restrictions and legal maneuverings of enslavers who tried to keep these people unfree.⁶²

For enslaved people who became free due to their individual enslaver’s action, the 1780 law, or another way, life after enslavement was also difficult. What was

⁶¹ Nash and Soderlund, *Freedom by Degrees*, 99-136.

⁶² See, for example, Corey James Young, “For Life or Otherwise: Abolition and Slavery in South Central Pennsylvania, 1780-1847,” Georgetown University, 2021.

freedom like for formerly enslaved people in the Philadelphia region? Although no longer enslaved, Black people did not have citizenship, rights, respect, or social, political, and legal equality with white people. They could also be kidnapped by white people and re-enslaved. Many freed people lived with or worked for white people, sometimes with other formerly enslaved people. Few became independent landowners. Despite these challenges, formerly enslaved people often created new identities and relationships when they became free. They honed their skills, moved around, joined religious organizations, navigated the marketplace, and adopted new names.⁶³ Becoming free meant an end to enslavement, but formerly enslaved people still lived within a racist and oppressive world.⁶⁴ As Gary Nash and Jean Soderlund have written, for Black people living in the Greater Philadelphia area, “freedom came only in stages and opportunity was curtailed.”⁶⁵

It is unclear from the historical record what ultimately happened to Poll and Phillis, who were featured at the start of this introduction, and if they ever became free. They are among the countless enslaved people who lived in the Philadelphia region whose lives exist today only in archival fragments, produced by the very people who enslaved them. Despite this evidence, and its accessibility to historians, their lives and this history of slavery overall have been ignored for centuries. This reader’s purpose is to change that, in a small way, and to provide people with some sources from this history. It is not comprehensive, or perfect, and future historians or researchers may disagree with some of its findings. Ultimately, the hope is that people learn and think about the

⁶³ Nash and Soderlund, *Freedom by Degrees*, 182-187, Nash, *Forging Freedom*, 80-86.

⁶⁴ Nash and Soderlund, 187.

⁶⁵ Nash and Soderlund, 182.

people who make up this history, talk about what it means, and recognize the contributions and lives of enslaved people who have been forgotten for far too long.

The Historical Evidence of Slavery

This section introduces readers to some of the types of primary sources from slavery in the Greater Philadelphia area. The types of sources are listed below:

- County, provincial, and state tax assessments
- Slave sale advertisements
- Bills of sale
- Laws/Legislation
- Court cases
- County Slave registers
- “Negro servant” returns
- Fugitive slave advertisements
- Wills, Letters of Administration, and Estate Inventories
- Manumissions
- Deeds
- Religious records

These sources provide vital information about enslavers, enslaved and formerly enslaved people, and slavery overall in the Philadelphia region. Sources like wills and estate inventories can tell us who enslavers and enslaved and formerly enslaved people were, where they lived, and what they did. Other sources like bills of sale and tax assessments can help us determine how much enslaved people were worth as property, and slave sale advertisements about what enslavers forced and expected enslaved people to do. Fugitive slave advertisements provide some of the only details about enslaved people’s lives and are prime examples of how they resisted bondage. County slave registers note the names, ages and legal statuses of enslaved people and the occupations of their enslavers. Manumissions detail who and under what conditions enslaved were freed.

The documents in this section were mostly produced by enslavers and other white people. There is a dearth of enslaved and formerly enslaved made material in historical archives. Enslaved and formerly enslaved people lacked the resources, time, and power to create and keep records of their own. Few enslaved and formerly enslaved people could read and write, and even if they produced documents, they likely lacked the ability to preserve them. Moreover, white people and the cultural and social institutions they controlled – early archives, museums, and libraries – would have considered materials produced by Black people to be worthless and unworthy of study or preservation.

Yet just because enslaved and formerly enslaved people didn't create most of these documents doesn't mean that they can't tell us anything about them. For decades, scholars have used certain historical theories and methodologies - social, Black, and Black feminist - to analyze the documents of slavery and learn about enslaved and formerly enslaved people. These methods have made historians ask different questions of sources and learn new things about them.⁶⁶

When reading the following documents, think about them from different perspectives – enslavers and enslaved – and consider these questions:

- What are the documents? When were they made?
- Who created them and why?
- What can you learn about enslavers and enslaved people from them?
- What can't you learn from the source?

Glossary:

County, provincial, and state tax assessments: lists of people's property and how much tax they were required to pay to different governmental authorities. Enslaved people appear as taxable parts of enslavers' property in tax assessments and formerly enslaved people also appear in tax assessments as land owners.

-These sources are available online through databases like Ancestry.com, FamilySearch.com, and at Pennsylvania County Archives.

Slave sale advertisements: advertisements enslavers wrote and paid to post in newspapers that described enslaved people they were selling. Enslavers sold enslaved people alongside land, livestock, and material objects.

-These sources are available through online newspaper databases like *Readex: America's Historical Newspapers*.

Bills of sale: documents that formally stated and described the sale of enslaved people between enslavers. Bills of sale often note names, ages, and values of enslaved people.

-These sources are available at private and public archives and libraries, like the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, in County Archives and through online databases, like FamilySearch.com.

⁶⁶ See, for example, Marisa J. Fuentes, *Dispossessed Lives: Enslaved Women, Violence, and the Archive*. University of Pennsylvania Press, Inc., 2016.

Wills, Letters of Administration, and Estate Inventories: wills are documents that individuals create about their lives and their property which describe what they would like to happen to their property after their deaths. Letters of Administration are documents about someone and their property that were created by others when someone did not have a will, and estate inventories are lists of someone's property. Enslaved people appear in all three records and often contain important information about their value, future enslavers, or potential freedom.

-These sources are available through County Archives, private and public libraries and archives, and online through Ancestry.com and FamilySearch.com

Fugitive slave advertisements: advertisements enslavers wrote and paid to post in newspapers that described enslaved people who freed themselves from their enslavement. The advertisements range in length and amount of detail – some note methods of escape, clothing worn by enslaved people, and skills enslaved people had. Others provide little information other than a record that an enslaved person fled their enslaver. Enslavers usually listed a reward for the capture of their enslaved people and warnings to not help fugitives. Some enslavers paid to post advertisements several times, and the length and frequency of posting can help determine how long enslaved people remained free.

-These sources are mostly available through online newspaper databases like *Readex: America's Historical Newspapers*. There are also print and online books that are compilations of fugitive slave ads.

Laws/Legislation: formal rules and regulations that a body of government passes that can affect any aspect of daily life, commerce, or society. White colonial officials in Pennsylvania passed racist laws that restricted Black people's freedom and lives. White officials also

-These sources are available through the Legislative Reference Bureau of Pennsylvania.

Court Cases: legal proceedings between different parties usually arising from a conflict, dispute, or controversy. Court cases featured in this reader are criminal cases in which the colonial government charged enslaved and or free Black people with breaking certain laws.

-These sources are available through county archives.

County Slave Registers: lists of enslavers and the people they enslaved created by counties after the passage of the 1780 Gradual Abolition Act in Pennsylvania. The Act required enslavers to register the people they enslaved with the county governments in which they resided. The registers provide important information about enslavers and enslaved people.

-These sources are available through county archives.

“Negro servant” Returns: records created by enslavers about the children of women they enslaved, who, due to the 1780 Gradual Abolition Law, were to be enslaved for a term of years and not for life. An amendment to the 1780 law in 1788 required enslavers to register these children with county governments, in an effort to prevent enslavers from lying about the status of enslaved children and illegally enslaving them for life instead of for a term.

-These sources are available through county archives.

Manumissions: documents enslavers created that formally freed the people they enslaved. Some manumissions were produced in connection with religious or political organizations, others were made privately with no institutional affiliation. Manumissions and their terms varied. They could free enslaved people immediately or declare that enslaved people would become free at a later date, gradually, or after a period of continued enslavement or servitude.

-These sources are available through county archives, private and public libraries and archives, and through websites like Ancestry.com and FamilySearch.com.

Deeds: records proving ownership of land or property. Deeds sometimes contain information about formerly enslaved Black people who owned land and other property. They can also reveal how much property enslavers held and are a main source of evidence to track the histories of ownership of certain tracts of land and spaces. Sometimes, bills of sale or manumissions were recorded in county deed books.

-These sources are available through county archives and websites like FamilySearch.com. Many county governments also have separate offices called “Recorders of Deeds,” some of which have online databases of deeds dating back to the 18th century.

Religious Records: these are documents from organizations of faith that can mention or be about enslaved or free Black people.

-These sources are available through public and private libraries, religious archives, and online databases like Ancestry.com

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DOCUMENT 1: Provincial Tax Assessments for Lower Merion and Chester Townships, Pennsylvania, 1760/70s, Exact Date Unclear¹

Tax assessments provide crucial information about slavery. They show who some enslavers were, sometimes list the gender of enslaved people, and give us glimpses into most of the property holdings that enslavers and other non-enslaving white people had in a given area. Not every enslaver, however, was always taxed on the enslaved people they owned or all of their property and tax assessors and their assessments differed from year to year. The tax assessments are one of the most glaring examples of the dehumanization of Black people inherent to slavery. Enslaved people are listed as just “Negros” alongside animals, land, and objects. They were recorded as taxable pieces of enslaver’s property without names, identities, stories. These tax assessments were ordered by the Province of Pennsylvania and completed sometime in the 1760s or 1770s, the exact dates are unknown. Below are partial transcriptions of one year of the assessments for Lower Merion and Chester, PA. Notice the difference in the type of land enslavers owned in Lower Merion and Chester, which is located along the Delaware River. The natural environment affected experiences of enslavement.

Sample Tax Assessment

Name, occupation Property – Pounds, Sterling, Pence
(Amount of tax)

Lower Merion

John Roberts Miller [occupation] Page 1	250 Acres and Dwell £30	...18	“	“
	1 Servant	...1	10	“
	2 Negros	...8	“	“
	12 Horses	...8	“	“
	12 Cows	...4	“	“
	30 Sheep	...1	10	“
	a Grist Mill £50	.30	“	“
	32 Acres Dwell & Saw Mill 12	...7	4	“
	120 Acres and Dwell £14	..8	8	“

¹ Tax & Exoneration Lists, 1762–1794. Series No. 4.61; Records of the Office of the Comptroller General, RG-4. Pennsylvania Historical & Museum Commission, Harrisburg, Pennsylvania. Accessed via Ancestry.com.

Hannah Tunis Page 2	1 Negro	..4	“	“
	2 Horses	.1	6	8
	4 Cows	.1	6	8
	20 Sheep	1	“	“

Isaac Taylor Page 5	175 Acres and Dwell £20	...12	“	“
	1 Servant	...1	10	“
	1 Negro	...4	“	“
	4 Horses	...2	13	4
	3 Cows	1	“	“
	18 Sheep	...	18	“
	a Grist and Saw Mill £20	..12	“	“

Hugh Quinn Page 5	3 Horses	...2	“	“
	3 Cows	...1	“	“
	6 Sheep6	“
	1 Negro	...4	“	“

John Leacock Page 9	28 Acres and Dwell 8	...4	16	“
	1 Servant	...1	10	“
	1 Negro	4	“	“
	2 Horses, 1 Cow	..1	13	4

Stephen Carpenter Page 9	4 Horses	2	13	4
	8 Cows	2	13	4
	20 Sheep	1	“	“
	2 Negros	8	“	“

* <i>John Roberts</i>			
<i>Abraham Waller</i>			
	89 Acres and Dwelt. £12	7	4 "
	Ward and Cattle £1.5.0	8	9 "
2	<i>John Dickinson</i>		
2	<i>Isaac Warner</i>		
	1 Horse, 1 Cow	1	" "
28	<i>John Righter</i>		
	175 Acres and Dwelt. £20	12	" "
	1 Servant	1	10 "
	1 Negro	4	" "
	4 Horses	2	13 4
	3 Cows	1	" "
	15 Sheep	18	" "
	6 Grist and Saw Mill. £20	12	" "
	15-10 of John Righter	1	13 4
	<i>Incumbent</i>	£ 35	14 8
2	<i>Barthle Righter</i>		
	1 Cow	6	8 "
28	<i>Isaac Taylor</i>		
	175 Acres and Dwelt. £20	12	" "
	1 Negro	4	" "
	4 Horses	2	13 4
	4 Cows	1	6 8
	10 Sheep	10	" "
	£30 of Cattle Price	18	" "
	<i>gr Debt</i>	£ 38	10 "
<i>John Jacob Knoll</i>			
2	<i>Barbery Knoll</i>		
	4 Horses	2	13 4
	3 Cows	1	13 4
	6 Sheep	6	" "
	<i>Incumbent</i>	£ 4	12 8
6	<i>Alexander Cruckshanks</i>		
	70 Acres and Dwelt. £9	5	8 "
	2 Horses, 3 Cows	2	6 8
	<i>Incumbent</i>	£ 7	14 8
2	<i>John Walters</i>		
	1 Horse, 1 Cow	1	" "
5	<i>Hugh Quinn</i>		
50	3 Horses	2	" "
	3 Cows	1	" "
	6 Sheep	6	" "
	1 Negro	4	" "
	<i>Incumbent</i>	£ 7	6 "
15	<i>And for Charles Cruckshanks Estate</i>		
	£20 of Hugh Quinn	12	" "
	50 Acres in Blackley	3	" "
	<i>Incumbent</i>	£ 15	" "
	<i>Incumbent</i>	£ 22	6 0
3	<i>Mary Pogue</i>		
	4 Horses	2	13 4
	7 Cows	2	6 8
	15 Sheep	15	" "
	<i>Incumbent</i>	£ 5	15 "
12	<i>And for Mary Pogue Estate</i>		
	£30 of Mary Pogue	18	" "
	<i>Incumbent</i>	£ 23	15 0
<i>John William Pogue</i>			
2	<i>Martin Shalster</i>		
3	<i>Isaac Roberts</i>		
	2 Acres and Dwelt. £4	2	8 "
	1 Horse, 1 Cow	1	" "
	<i>Incumbent</i>	£ 3	8 "
5	<i>John Roberts Center</i>		
	50 Acres and Dwelt. £8	4	16 "
	3 Horses	2	" "
	3 Cows	1	" "
	6 Sheep	6	" "
	<i>Incumbent</i>	£ 8	2 "
5	<i>Tobias Townmiller</i>		
	3 Horses	2	" "
	3 Cows	1	" "
	7 Sheep	7	" "
	<i>Incumbent</i>	£ 3	7 "
3	<i>Henry Bier</i>		
	3 Horses, 4 Cows	3	6 8
2	<i>James Thomas</i>		
3	<i>And for James Davis Estate</i>		
	£5 of James Thomas	3	" "

Chester

David Cowpland Innkeeper Page 9	Dwelling House	1	16	-
	7 Acres March in Grass	-	5	9
	180 Acres of Land	1	7	-
	2 Horses 8 Cattle 15 Sheep	-	7	-
	1 Negro man 1 Wench	-	9	-
	An Innkeeper	-	10	-
	House not finished	-	1	-

Vallentine Weaver Page 10	1 Horse a Tavern Rented of Charles Thompson Philadelphia	1	7	-
	Rents a Lott of Jon. Mather	-	-	6
	1 Mare 2 Cows	-	3	-
	1 Negro man 1 Wench	-	9	-
	An Innkeeper	-	5	-

Adam Grubb Page 10	Dwelling House rents of William Pennel	-	9	-
	1 Horse 1 Cow 1 Negroman	-	7	6
	A Shallop Man	-	3	9

Samuel Shaw Miller Page 11	Dwelling & 135 Acres	1	7	-
	25 Uncultivated	-	5	3
	A Grist Mill	3	3	-
	3 Horses 8 Cattle 11 Sheep	-	7	9
	1 White Servant	-	2	3
	4 Negro men 1 Wench	1	7	-

Jonas Preston Page 15	Dwelling & Acres	-	18	-
	36 Acres Uncultivated	-	5	2
	½ a Saw Mill	-	4	6
	1 Acre improved Grass	-	2	-
	3 Horses 10 Cattle	-	8	-
	2 Negro boys 1 Wench	-	15	-

John Salheile Page 17	19 Acres Marsh in Grass	-	8	6
	Dwelling & 170 acres Cult.	1	7	-
	45 Do. Uncultivated	-	9	-
	1 Improved Grass Lott	-	2	-
	4 Horses 10 Cattle 19 Sheep	-	10	6
	1 Negro 1 Wench	-	9	-

Jonathan Hanleay Page 17	9 Acres Marsh	-	9	-
	Rents of Joseph Parket 70 /acres Land & Dwelling	1	11	6
	Dwelling House & 2 Improved Grass Lotts @ 25	1	2	6
	3 Horses 8 Cows 10 Sheep	-	7	9
	1 Servant 1 Negro Wench	-	5	3
	1 Negro 1 Wench	-	9	-

John? Coultas Page 18	20 Cattle 4 Horses 20 Sheep	-	15	6
	1 Negro	-	6	-
	A Shallop Man	-	3	9

Chester (Continued) 1701		
5	David Croftland	Dwelling House @ 40 £ Ann. 1 16 7 Acres Marsh in Grope @ 56 5 9 100 Acres of Land @ 30 £ Ann. 1 7 2 Horses & Cattle 15 Sheep 7 1 Negro man 1 Wench 9 an Innkeeper 10 a Lot near the River & a House not finished 1 1 Lot of 8 Acres @ 7 £ 6 3
6	Edw. Russell	10 Acres Marsh in Grope @ 56 8 3 11 Acres Cultivated @ 5 £ 4 6 10 Acres uncultivated @ 15 £ 2 3 1 Grope Lot @ 2.10 2 2 2 Cattle 10 Sheep 5 3 Dwelling House @ 10 £ 9
7	Philip Homon	3 1/2 Acres Marsh @ 50 £ 2 7 Dwelling & 30 Acres @ 10 £ 9 9 22 Uncultivated @ 14 £ 4 3 2 Horses & Cows 3 A Single man 15
8	Isaac Homon	3 1/2 Acres Marsh @ 50 £ 2 7 House & 50 Acres Land @ 12 £ 10 9 22 Uncultivated @ 20 £ 4 3 1 Horse & Cow 2 Sheep 3 1
9	Jno Mathot	Dwelling @ 20 £ 10 20 Acres Marsh in Grope @ 40 12 115 Acres of Cultivated @ 60 2 14 35 £ uncultivated @ 14 £ 5 2 20 Cattle 10

DOCUMENT 2: Advertisement for Enslaved Man, Woman, and Girl by Elizabeth Krewsen, Southampton Township, Bucks County, 1734¹

Elizabeth Krewsen provided few details about the enslaved man, woman, and girl she owned when she advertised for them in 1734. She wrote that the enslaved man was skilled in agricultural work, had tended a ferry, and that the enslaved woman could perform any kind of domestic work. The enslaved man and woman were apparently married, but it's unclear if this marriage was recognized by other white people or considered legal. The two-year-old enslaved girl Krewsen owned seems to have been the enslaved couple's child, though Krewsen did not say so.

TO be Sold by Elizabeth Krewsen, Widow, of *Southampton* Township in Bucks County a very likely Negro Man, fit for any Plantation Work, he can Reap, and Mow with either naked Sythe or Sythe and Cradle, he has also been used to tend a Ferry. Also a likely Negro Woman (who is his Wife) fit for any Household Work, and a Negro Girl about two Years of age.

¹ *American Weekly Mercury*, April 4, 1734, 4. Accessed via *Readex: America's Historical Newspapers*.

DOCUMENT 3: Advertisement for an Enslaved Man by David Wilson, South-Hampton, Bucks County, January 23, 1738¹

David Wilson provided few details about the enslaved man he advertised for sale in 1738. Wilson took space in the short advertisement to note that this enslaved man could speak Dutch, possibly indicating that he was previously enslaved by a Dutch-speaking person or in a Dutch-speaking place.

To be SOLD,

BY *David Wilson of South-Hampton* in Bucks County, a very **likely** Negro Man, about 23 Years of Age, he understands all Manner of Country Work, having been brought up to it from a Child, he can speak Dutch very well.

Likely: a term that meant valuable in reference to enslaved people

N. B. Enquire of the Printer hereof, as to the Price.

¹ *The American Weekly Mercury*, January 23, 1738, 4. Accessed via *Readex: America's Historical Newspapers*.

DOCUMENT 4: Advertisement for the Estate of Dr. Edward Jones by John Jones, Lower Merion, March 20, 1740¹

In this advertisement, John Jones advertised for land, a house, outhouses, and an orchard that was a part of the estate of Dr. Edward Jones, who was likely a relative. John Jones also advertised for an enslaved man, woman, and teenager who he sought to “dispose of” and who were now his property. Jones’s placement of these human beings alongside buildings, plants, and land in the ad highlights the violent commodification of Black people inherent to slavery.

TO BE SOLD,

*A Tract of Land, late of the Estate of Dr. Edward Jones, deceas’d, lying in **Merion, Philadelphia County**, about 7 Miles from Philadelphia, and within a Quarter of a Mile of Merion Meeting House, containing 338 Acres, 150 of which is cleared, Twenty Acres of Meadow. The main Road to Conestoga runs through the Middle of the Tract, and within three Miles of the tract are three Merchant Mills and two **Fulling Mills**, A Dwelling House, Outhouses, and Orchard, also a young Peach Orchard of about 150 Trees on the said Tract. Any Person inclining to purchase may apply to John Jones living on the Premises, who has also a Negro Man, and Woman, and a Boy of about 16 Years of Age, who were brought up to County Work, to dispose of.*

Merion, Philadelphia: Lower Merion Township was officially a part of Philadelphia County until 1784, when Montgomery County was formed.

Fulling Mill: A mill that produces woolen cloth.

¹ *The Pennsylvania Gazette*, March 20, 1740, 3. Accessed via *Readex: America’s Historical Newspapers*.

DOCUMENT 5: Notice of Estate Closure and Sale of Enslaved Boy by William Smith and James Claxton, May 11, 1749¹

In this advertisement, William Smith and James Claxton requested that people associated with David Sandelands connect with them so they could fully close Sandelands' estate. Smith and Claxton explained that Sandelands had recently died, was a resident of Tinicum Island, and that they were the administrators of his estate. They also wrote that they were going to be selling a young enslaved boy who Sandelands owned at a public auction in Philadelphia. Their advertisement and sale of this boy, who was a part of Sandelands estate, highlights how enslaved people faced uncertain futures when their enslavers died – they could be passed onto enslaver's children, freed, or, as in this case, sold off by estate administrators.

All persons who have any demands against the estate of David Sandelands, deceased, late of **Tinnachum Island**, are desired to bring them in, that they may be settled; and those who are indebted to said estate, are likewise requested to come and settle. There is to be sold at publick vendue, by the subscribers, at the sign of the bear, in Market street, opposite to the Indian King, a very likely young negro boy, about seven years old, **country born**; the sale to begin on Wednesday, the 17th of this instant, at 2 o'clock in the afternoon. WILLIAM SMITH, JAMES CLAXTON, Administrators.

Tinnachum Island: Spelling of Tinicum Island, which today is Tinicum Township, Delaware County, and where the Philadelphia International Airport is located.

Country born: ambiguous term that could refer to enslaved people having been born in North America or literally the countryside of a given area.

¹ *The Pennsylvania Gazette*, May 11, 1749, 3. Accessed via *Readex: America's Historical Newspapers*.

DOCUMENT 6: Advertisement for Enslaved man by Thomas Wills, Lower Merion, Philadelphia County, May 2, 1754¹

In this advertisement, Thomas Wills described a young enslaved man he owned. Wills noted that the man was used to agricultural and plantation work and that he had suffered from both smallpox and measles. Enslavers disclosed the medical histories of the enslaved people they owned to inform potential buyers of acquired immunities from various illnesses that made enslaved people more valuable.

To be SOLD,
A Likely Negro man, about 22 years of age, and understands
plantation work; he hath had the smallpox and measles.
Enquire
of Thomas Wills, of Lower merion, near **John Roberts mill**.

John Roberts Mill:
Referring to John
Roberts who was a
white, Quaker
enslaver and miller in
Lower Merion.

¹ *The Pennsylvania Gazette*, May 2, 1754, 2. Accessed via *Readex: America's Historical Newspapers*.

**DOCUMENT 7: Advertisement for Enslaved Teenager and Woman by
Lawrence Growden, Bensalem Township, Bucks County, June 12, 1769¹**

In his advertisement for an enslaved teenager and woman, Lawrence Growden noted their approximate ages, that they had small-pox, and that they were skilled in farming. It is unclear if the boy and woman were related, and Growden did not list any price for them.

TO be sold, by LAWRENCE GROWDEN, in Bensalem township, in Bucks county, A YOUNG NEGRO LAD, about seventeen years old, and a YOUNG NEGRO WOMAN, about 20 years old, both brought up to **country business**, and have had the **small-pox**.

Country Business:
an ambiguous term
indicating general
work done on farms

Smallpox: an
infectious disease
caused by a virus
that left sufferers with
fevers, a rash, and
scarring

¹ *Pennsylvania Chronicle*, June 12, 1769, 164. Accessed via *Readex: America's Historical Newspapers*.

DOCUMENT 8: Advertisement for a Plantation and Enslaved Man by James Hunter, Newtown Township, Chester County, January 11, 1770¹

In this document, enslaver James Hunter advertised for a plantation he owned in Radnor Township and for an enslaved man he owned who he did not name. Hunter described the plantation and the enslaved man in the ad, and the ad highlights how enslaved people were commodified and sold alongside other property holdings such as tracts of land.

To be SOLD by the SUBSCRIBER,

A PLANTATION or tract of LAND, containing 82 acres, situate in Radnor township, Chester county, within 14 miles of Philadelphia ; there is on the premises, a log dwelling-house, 27 acres of clear land, the remainder good wood-land, it hath 65 rod front on Conestoga road, is within half a mile of Radnor Meeting-house and Church ; there is plenty of good timber and stone for building, and plenty of water.

Also to be sold, a lusty strong Negroe man, about 22 years old, has had the small-pox and measles, has been bred on a plantation, and is a good workman. Any person inclining to purchase the plantation or Negroe, may know the terms, by applying to the subscriber, in Newtown, Chester county. Credit will be given for one half of the purchase money, paying interest, and giving security, if required. JAMES HUNTER

¹ *The Pennsylvania Gazette*, January 11, 1770, 3. Accessed via *Readex: America's Historical Newspapers*.

DOCUMENT 9: Advertisement for an Enslaved Woman and her children
by Joseph Folwell, Moreland Township, Montgomery County, April 4,
1787¹

Joseph Folwell advertised for an enslaved woman and enslaved children he owned in 1787. He described the enslaved woman as strong and healthy, and offered “2 or 3” of the enslaved children he owned for sale as well. The children were likely the enslaved woman’s, and Folwell left it up to a potential buyer on how many of the children would be sold. He was willing to sell as many of the children as would “suit the purchaser,” which would mean separating the children from their mother.

TO BE SOLD,

A Hearty, strong, Negro, **Wench**, about 32 years of age, with 2 or 3 children, as may best suit the purchaser. She understands all kinds of house and kitchen work. For terms apply to the subscriber in Moreland township, Montgomery county, near the Billet. JOSEPH FOLWELL.

March 31, 1787

Wench: Derogatory term for an enslaved woman of reproductive age. Enslavers used the word to hypersexualize and denigrate Black women and girls.

¹ *Pennsylvania Packet*, April 4, 1787, 3. Accessed via *Readex: America’s Historical Newspapers*.

DOCUMENT 10: Advertisement for Enslaved Family by a Newspaper Printer, December 17, 1782¹

In this announcement, the printer of *The Pennsylvania Packet* advertised for an enslaved family – an enslaved man, woman, and boy. The printer wrote that the family were “field slaves” in an area south of Philadelphia, and that each family member had various skills. The enslaved man listed for sale was also apparently earning wages while still enslaved for some of his work. The printer also described the details of their sale. They were sold because their owner wanted cash and the sale would be private and for a limited time. Slave sale ads like this one – for an enslaved family – were uncommon in Philadelphia newspapers.

To be SOLD at Private SALE,

A Family of Negroes,

CONSISTING of one Negro Fellow about 28 years of age, a Wench about 27 years, and a Boy about 12 or 13 years. The above negroes were field slaves to the southward ; for about 18 months past the wench has been brought up to house work, such as washing and ironing and plain cloaths ; the negro man has worked some time with a bricklayer, and now is sawing wood about town, and brings in his wages ; the boy is a waiting boy and a good chimney-sweeper ; they are sold for not fault but for want of cash. If they are not sold in six days from this date they will be gone to the southward. For farther particulars enquire of the Printer. Philadelphia, Dec. 6.

¹ *The Pennsylvania Packet or the General Advertiser*, December 17, 1782, 1. Accessed via *Readex: America's Historical Newspapers*.

DOCUMENT 11: Slave Bill of Sale for Jack by Hannah Harrison, Lower Merion Township, 1750¹

In this document, Hannah Harrison, a wealthy white enslaver from Lower Merion, sold a young enslaved boy named Jack to a white farmer named Samuel Morgan, who lived in Radnor Township. Harrison listed virtually no details about Jack and most of the document is standard legal language for bills of sale. Hannah Harrison lived on a tobacco plantation in Lower Merion which today is the Harriton House historic site. Part of Samuel Morgan's land in Radnor Township later became the site of Villanova University.

Know all men by these presents that I Hanah Harison of Lower Merion in the County of Philadelphia, for an in consideration of the sum of twenty Nine pounds Current Lawfull Money of Pennsylvania to me in hand paid By Samuel Morgan of Radnor in the County of Chester and province of Pennsylvania, whereof I do here by acknowledge the Receipt and my Self therewith, fully and entirely satisfied have Bargained sold set over and Delivered and By these presents in plain and open marked according to the Just and due form of the Law in that Case made and promised to Bargain Set over and Deliver unto the said Samuel Morgan one Negro Boy Named Jack to have and to hold the said Negro unto the Said Samuel Morgan, his heirs executors administrators and assigns to the only proper uses and Behosf? Of the Said Samuel Morgan, his heirs executors and administrators and assigns forever, and I the said Hanah harison, for my self my heirs executors Administrators the said Bargained promises unto the Said Samuel Morgan, his heirs executor Administrators and Assigns against all and all Maner of persons Shall, and will, warent and forever Defend By these presents in Witness whereof together with the Delivery of the Said Negro Boy I have hereunto Set my hand and Seal, the Fifth Day of March, anno domini, 1749 50

Sealed and delivered

In the Presence of us

John Jerman

Hannah Harrison

Thomas Dommis

¹ "Sale of slave 'Jack' to Samuel Morgan (1750)." Chew Family Papers, Collection 2050, Series 11, Brown and Brown and Johnson Families, 1791-1926, Box 468 ff. 23, Historical Society of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania.

DOCUMENT 12: Slave Bill of Sale for Chloe by William Milchor, Tredyffrin Township, 1751¹

In this document a white blacksmith named William Milchor, from Tredyffrin, sold an enslaved woman named Chloe to Samuel Morgan, the same white farmer who bought Jack a year earlier [Document 11]. Morgan paid £35 for Chloe and after the sale would have brought her to his farm.

Know all men by these presents that I William Milchor of the Township of Tredyffrin in the County of Chester & province of Pennsylvania Blacksmith for & in Consideration of Thirty five Pounds Lawful money of the province aforesaid in hand paid to me By Samuel Morgan of Radnor in the County & province aforesaid, whereof I do hereby acknowledge the receipt, & myself fully satisfied, Have Bargained & Sold and Delivered & by these presents in plain and Open Market, according to the Just & Due form of Law in Case made & provided Do Bargain Set over & Deliver unto the Said Samuel Morgan One Negro Wench Named Cloe, To have and to hold the said Negro wench unto the said Samuel Morgan his heirs Executors & assigns, To the only proper use & behoof of the Said Samuel Morgan his heirs & assigns forever, And I the said William Milchior for my self my heirs Exectors & administrators The said Bargained Premises unto the said Samuel Morgan his heirs and assigns against all & all manner of persons Shall & will warrant & for Ever defend By these presents in witness whereof together with the Delivery of the said Negro Wench I have hereunto Set my hand & Seal this Twenty eight day of November

Anno Dom 1751

Sealed and Delivered

In the presence of

William Milchior

Thomas Dennis

Anne Dennis

¹ "Sale of slave 'Chloe' to Samuel Morgan (1751)." Chew Family Papers, Collection 2050, Series 11, Brown and Brown and Johnson Families, 1791-1926, Box 468 ff. 2, Historical Society of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania.

DOCUMENT 13: Bill of Sale for Poll and Peter by Robert Smith, Robert Law, and William Reed, Oxford Township, Chester County, 1788¹

In this bill of sale, William Reed loaned two people he enslaved, a 29-year-old woman named Poll and a 10-year-old boy named Peter, to another man named Robert Law. Reed owed Law £45, and loaned Poll and Peter to Smith for four weeks to cover his debt while he came up with the money to pay Law. William Reed agreed to this arrangement with Robert Law's lawyer, a man named Robert Smith. The bill of sale highlights how enslaved people could not only be bought and sold, but also loaned.

William Reed

To

Robert Smith

This Indenture Made &c Between William Reed of Oxford Township Chester County & State of Pennsylvania of the one part and Robert Smith Trustee Legally empowered by a power of Attorney from Robert Law formerly of Oxford of the said bearing date 9th day of October 1788 of the aforesaid Township County & State of the other part Witnesseth that the said William Reed for an in consideration of the sum of Forty pounds Lawful hard money as appears by a Judgement Bill bearing date the 22nd day of March 1788 from the said William Reed to Robert Law the receipt whereof the said William Reed doth hereby acknowledge, And also the said William Reed doth Stand bound unto the aforesaid Robert Smith in the Just and full sum of five pounds five shillings lawful hard money as appears by a Receipt bearing date the 27th day of October 1787 The receipt whereof the said William Reed doth hereby Acknowledge & both the aforesaid sum of money Amount to Forty five pounds five shillings lawful hard money are due to be Paid before this date He the said William Reed hath Bargained and sold and by these presents doth bargain and selling

¹ Chester County Mortgagor Index 1774-1794, Book C, Page 241, accessed via FamilySearch.com.

to the said Robert Smith One Negro Woman Slave named Poll aged Twenty nine Years and also one Negro Boy a Slave named Peter aged Ten years both the property of William Reed To Have and to hold the said two Slaves before mentioned by these presents bargained & sold unto the said Robert Smith his [page rip] Executors Administrators & Assigns forever Provided always & upon Condition that if the said William Reed His Heirs Executors Administrators & Assigns do and shall well and truly pay on cause to be paid unto the said Robert Smith in four weeks after this date the sums of money that are now due with the interest upon the before recited Judgement Bill & the receipt also that then these presents and everything herein Contained shall Ceased Determine and Void any think Contained to the Contrary in any wise Not withstanding But if upon nonpayment of the aforesaid sums of money the above described Slaves that is Poll & Peter is to remain the property of the said Robert Smith his Heirs Executors Administrators & Assigns to sell and Convey away the aforesaid two slaves to any Lawful purchaser of purchasers at anytime after the four Weeks above mentioned if necessity so requires returning the Overplus? If any to the said William Reed or his Order heirs & assigns But nevertheless I the said Robert Smith do promise for myself and whoever may be concerned for me as money is now scarce to indulge the said William Reed with longer time then is above mentioned for the payment of said two sums above mentioned as also the Benefit of the two slaves before described to be & remain in the service of their former Master & Mistress Reed so long as there is a probability of safety in the payment of the aforesaid debt In Witness whereof the aforesaid William Reed hath put to these presents his hand & seal this 28th day of October 1788 William Reed [seal] Sealed & Delivered in presence of us John Smith Rebekah Reed the aforesaid William Reed do acknowledge by this receipt to have received from Robert Law the sum of Forty Pounds lawful hard money and is mentioned in the aforesaid Indenture bearing date the 22nd March 1788 Witness my hand this 28th day of October 1788 William Reed Testes John Smith Rebekah Reed ~ Chester County April 23th 1789 Came the above mentioned William Reed before the subscriber one of the Justices of the peace for said County & in due form acknowledge the Executor of the above Bill of Sale unto Robert Smith Attorney of Robert Law Witness my hand & seal the day above written Philip Scott [seal]

Recorded the 7th day of May 1789

DOCUMENT 14: “An Act for the Trial of Negroes,” Pennsylvania Colonial Assembly, November 27, 1700¹

Slavery in Pennsylvania changed over time and many of its features, though they might seem timeless, did not always exist. Early Pennsylvania law did not allow or prohibit slavery and laws that would later define and regulate slavery had to be created. Before 1700, for example, enslaved and free Black people accused of crimes were tried in “the same courts and under the same laws” as white people.² In 1700, white politicians made important distinctions between servitude – which would last for a set amount of time – and enslavement – which would be for life, and created a new law which is reprinted in this document. That law, “An Act for the Trial of Negroes” established a separate court system for all Black people – enslaved and free – which would be comprised of 8 white men; two justices of the peace and 6 “freeholders.” Black people charged with criminal offenses such as burglary or rape would be tried by these white men – not by a jury – and faced severe punishments if found guilty that were different from punishments for white people. The law was later amended and eventually repealed in 1780.

AN ACT FOR THE TRIAL OF NEGROES.

Whereas some difficulties have arisen within this province and territories about the manner of trial and punishment of negroes committing murder, manslaughter, buggery, burglary, rapes, attempts of rapes and other high and heinous enormities and capital offenses, for remedy whereof and for the speedy trial and condign punishment of such negro or negroes offending as aforesaid:

[Section I.] Be it enacted by the Proprietary and Governor, by and with the advice and consent of the freemen of this Province and Territories in General Assembly met, and by the authority of the same, That from and after the publication of this present act, it shall and may be lawful for two justices of the peace of this province or territories, who shall be particularly commissioned by the proprietary and governor for that service within the respective counties thereof, and six of the most substantial freeholders of the neighborhood, to hear, examine, try and determine all such offenses

¹ “An Act for the Trial of Negroes,” November 27, 1700, Statutes at Large of Pennsylvania, Volume 2, Act Number 0061, Chapter LXI, <https://www.palrb.gov/Preservation/Statutes-at-Large/View-Documents/17001799/1700/0/act/0061.pdf>.

² Gary B. Nash and Jean R. Soderlund. *Freedom by Degrees: Emancipation in Pennsylvania and Its Aftermath*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1991, 12.

committed by any negro or negroes within this government, which said freeholders shall be by warrant, under the hands and seals of the respective justices commissioned as aforesaid, directed to the next constable, summoned to appear at such time and place as the said justices shall therein appoint; which freeholders the said justices shall solemnly attest well and truly to give their assistance and judgment upon the trial of such negro or negroes, who shall hold a court for the hearing, trying, judging, determining and convicting of such negro or negroes as shall be before them charged or accused of committing any murder, manslaughter, buggery, burglary, rapes, attempts of rapes or any other high or heinous offenses committed, acted or done in any the respective counties within this province or territories as aforesaid.

[Section II.] And be it further enacted by the authority afore-said, That upon the sitting of such court by the said justices and freeholders as aforesaid, it shall and may be lawful for the said justices and freeholders to examine, try, hear, judge, determine, convict, acquit or condemn according to evidence and full proof, any negro or negroes for any the crimes or offenses aforesaid, or any other high or capital offense; and upon due proof and conviction to pronounce such judgement or sentence in the premises as is agreeable to law and the nature of the offense, or otherwise to acquit, free and discharge such negro or negroes in case the evidence shall not be sufficient for a conviction therein.

[Section III.] And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, That where such negro or negroes shall be convict, and judgment or sentence shall be pronounced by the respective justices and freeholders as aforesaid, and a warrant by them signed and sealed, to be directed to the High Sheriff of the county where the fact was committed, for the execution of such negro or negroes, the same shall be duly executed or caused to be duly executed by the said sheriff, on pain of being disabled to act any longer in that post or office; and if any of the said justices or freeholders neglect or delay to do their duty herein, they shall be liable to be fined by the governor and council, in any sum not exceeding five pounds, to be levied by distress and sale of the goods and chattels of such justices or freeholders so refusing as aforesaid.

[Section IV.] And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, That if any negro or negroes within this government shall commit a rape or ravishment upon any white woman or maid, or shall commit murder, buggery or burglary, they shall be tried as aforesaid, and shall be punished by death; and if any negro shall attempt a rape or ravishment on any white woman or maid, they shall be tried in manner aforesaid, and shall be punished by castration; and if any negro shall be convicted of robbing, stealing or fraudulently taking or carrying away any goods living or dead, the master or owner of such negro shall make satisfaction to the party wronged, and pay all costs, to be levied by distress and sale of the said master's or owner's goods and chattels, and the negro to be whipped as the said justices and freeholders shall adjudge and appoint.

[Section V.] And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, That if any negro shall presume to carry any guns, swords, pistols, fowling-pieces, clubs or other arms or weapons whatsoever, without his master's special license for the same, and be convicted thereof before a magistrate, he shall be whipped with twenty-one lashes on his bare back.

[Section VI.] And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid (and for the preventing of negroes meeting and companying together upon First days or any other day or time in great companies or numbers), That if any person or persons give notice thereof, and to whom they respectively belong, to any justice of the peace within this government, the same being above the number of four in company and upon no lawful business of their masters or owners, such negro or negroes so offending shall be publicly whipped at the discretion of one justice of the peace, not exceeding thirty-nine lashes.

Document 15: “An Act for the Better Regulating of Negroes in this Province,” Pennsylvania Colonial Assembly, March 5, 1726¹

Many colonial governments wrote and passed slave codes – laws that regulated slavery and put many restrictions on enslaved and free Black people. Pennsylvania’s Colonial Assembly passed a slave code in 1725, which took effect in 1726, in which white legislators wrote white supremacy and social and political inequality into the law. The beginning of the law describes the supposed reason for creating the legislation, which was about enslaved people who broke criminal laws and the reactions of their enslavers. Enslaved people broke criminal laws, were found guilty, and then sentenced to death as punishment. Enslavers, the legislators wrote, did not want their enslaved people executed because they would lose valuable property, so many tried to conceal crimes by enslaved people which emboldened other enslaved people to commit crimes.

The assembly devised this law to regulate and restrict the lives of enslaved and free Black people. It attempted to prevent them from committing crimes and ordered that enslavers would be fully compensated for their enslaved people who were killed by the colonial government. The legislators made racist assumptions about enslaved and free Black people throughout the document, calling free Black people lazy and slothful. The law made manumitting enslaved people more difficult, forbade free Black and mixed-race people from interacting with enslaved people without enslavers’ consent, fined ministers who married Black and white people, and put severe restrictions on interracial relationships. Disturbingly, fines levied on people who broke the law were used to compensate enslavers whose enslaved people were executed.

AN ACT FOR THE BETTER REGULATING OF NEGROES IN THIS PROVINCE

Whereas it too often happens that negroes commit felonies and other heinous crimes which by the laws of this province are punishable by death, but the loss in such case falling wholly on the owner is so great a hardship that sometimes may induce him to conceal such crimes or to convey his negro to some other place and so suffer him to escape justice, to the ill example of others to commit the like offenses:

For remedy whereof:

[Section 1.] Be it enacted by Sir William Keith, Baronet, Governor of the province of Pennsylvania, &c., by and with the advice and consent of

¹ “An Act for the Better Regulating of Negroes in this Province,” March 5, 1725, 1726, Statutes at Large of Pennsylvania, Volume 4, Act Number 0292, Chapter CCXCII, <https://www.palrb.gov/Preservation/Statutes-at-Large/View-Document/17001799/1726/0/act/0292.pdf>.

the freemen of the said Province in General Assembly met, and by the authority of the same, That if any negro owned by any of the inhabitants of this province shall hereafter be convicted of any capital crime for which he or she shall suffer death, the justices with the freeholders before whom he or she shall be convicted shall immediately upon such conviction value such negro, which value by them set shall be allowed and paid to the owner out of the duties, fines and penalties arising from this and one other act laying a duty on negroes imported into this province and no otherways, and the provincial treasurer is hereby empowered and required to pay the same by order under the said justices' hands, which said order they are hereby required to make, seal and deliver to the owner of any negro executed as abovesaid.

[Section 2.] And be it enacted by the authority aforesaid, That from and after the twenty-fourth day of June, one thousand seven hundred and twenty-six, for every negro imported or brought into this province from the West Indies or any other place who shall or may have been transported or sent away for being principal or accessory to any felony or grand or petty larceny or other misdemeanors there shall be paid by the owner, importer or possessor the sum of five pounds over and above the five pounds duty laid by an act of assembly of this province passed this sessions, which said duty shall be paid to the officer appointed to collect and receive the said duty imposed by the said-recited act. And all masters of vessels or others bringing into this province any such negroes shall within the space of twenty-four hours make entry, and upon oath or affirmation give a true account to the said collector of the number of negroes by him or them imported or brought in and to whom they respectively belong, whereupon the said officer shall forthwith give notice thereof to any one or more of the justices of the peace for the city or county where such negroes are or shall be imported, which justice or justices are hereby empowered and required immediately by warrant or otherwise to call before him or them the said master, owner or other person or persons importing such negroes as aforesaid, and to examine him or them upon oath or affirmation in order to discover which or how many of the said negroes are liable to the said duty of ten pounds per head, and then the said justice or justices shall deliver or cause to be delivered to the said collector a certificate or list of the number of negroes so imported which shall appear to them or as they shall judge to be within the meaning of this act, and thereupon the

said officer shall proceed to collect and recover the said duty or take bond for the same; and all masters of vessels and others bringing into this province any such negroes, as likewise the said collector and all other persons, shall and are hereby required to observe and comply with the directions of the said act, in and about the execution of this part of this act, and under the same exceptions, restrictions and penalties as is appointed and set down in and by the said-recited act, excepting where the same is hereby expressly altered or supplied.

And whereas 'tis found by experience that free negroes are an idle, slothful people and often prove burdensome to the neighborhood and afford ill examples to other negroes:

[Section III.] Therefore be it enacted by the authority aforesaid, That if any master or mistress shall discharge or set free any negro, he or she shall enter into recognizance at the respective county court with sufficient sureties in the sum of thirty pounds to secure and indemnify the city, township or county where he resides from any charge or incumbrance they may bring upon the same in case such negro by sickness or otherwise be rendered incapable to support him or herself, but until such recognizance be given such negroes shall not be deemed free.

And if any negro be made free by the will or testament of any person deceased, then the executor or executors of the deceased or some other person shall enter into the like recognizance as above immediately upon proving the said will, or otherwise the said negro shall not be deemed free.

[Section IV.] And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, That if any free negro fit and able to work shall neglect so to do and loiter and misspend his or her time or wander from place [to place], any two magistrates next adjoining are hereby empowered and required to bind out to service such negro from year to year as to them shall seem meet.

And if any negro be set free under the age of twenty-one years, or where there be any children of free negroes, it shall and may be lawful for the overseers of the poor and they are hereby ordered, with the assent of two or more justices of the peace, to bind out to service such

negro or negroes, a man child until he comes to the age of twenty-four years, and a woman child to the age of twenty-one.

[Section V.] And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, That if any free negro or mulatto shall harbor or entertain any negro, Indian or mulatto slave or servant in his or her house without the leave and consent of their respective master or mistress, he or she shall forfeit and pay the sum of five shillings for the first hour and one shilling for every hour afterwards they shall be so harbored or entertained.

And if any free negro or mulatto shall barter, trade or anyways deal with any negro or other slave without license had as abovesaid, he or she shall make restitution to the party grieved and also be publicly whipped not exceeding twenty-one lashes.

[Section VI.] And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, That if any free negro or mulatto shall refuse or be unable to pay his or her fine or forfeiture as aforesaid, it shall and may be lawful to and for the justice before whom such matter is tried to order satisfaction by servitude.

[Section VII.] And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, That no minister, paster or magistrate or other person whatsoever who according to the laws of this province usually [join] people in marriage shall upon any pretense whatsoever join in marriage any negro with any white person on the penalty of one hundred pounds.

[Section VIII.] And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, That if any white man or woman shall cohabit or dwell with any negro under pretense of being married, such white man or woman shall forfeit and pay the sum of thirty pounds or be sold for a servant not exceeding seven years by the justices of the respective county court, and the child or children of such white man or woman shall be put out to service as above directed until they come to the age of thirty-one years; and if any free negro man or woman shall intermarry with a white woman or man, such negro shall become slave during life, to be sold by order of the

justices of the quarter-sessions of the respective county; and if any free negro man or woman shall commit fornication or adultery with any white man or woman, such negro or negroes shall be sold servant for seven years as abovesaid, and the white man or woman shall be punished as the law directs in cases of adultery or fornication.

And whereas a good regulation and suitable management of negroes is very much conducive to the safety and peace as well as advantage of those countries which are possessed of any number of them.

[Section IX.] Therefore be it enacted by the authority aforesaid, That if any negro shall at any time be found tippling or drinking in or near any house or shop where strong liquors are sold, or be found out of or absent from his master or mistress's house after nine-o'clock at night without license from his said master or mistress, [he] shall be whipped on his or her bare back at his master's or owner's own cost, not exceeding ten lashes, by order of any justice of the peace.

[Section X.] And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, That whoever shall take up any negro above ten miles from his or her master or mistress's habitation who hath not leave in writing from his or her said master or mistress or are not known to be on their service, he, she or they so taken up shall be whipped by order of any justice of the peace on the bare back at the owner's charge not exceeding ten lashes, and the taker-up shall have for his reward five shillings, with reasonable charge for carrying him or them home, paid by the master or mistress of the said negro.

[Section XI.] And be it enacted by the authority aforesaid, That no master or mistress of any negro shall hereafter for any reward, sum or sums of money stipulated and agreed upon betwixt them or upon any other pretense whatsoever permit or suffer his or their negroes to ramble about under pretense of getting work, give liberty to their negroes to seek their own employ and so go to work at their own wills, under the penalty of twenty shillings for every such offense.

[Section XII.] And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, That no person or persons whatsoever shall employ or knowingly harbor, conceal or entertain other people's slaves at their houses, out-houses or plantations without the master or owner's consent, excepting in distress of weather or other extraordinary occasion, under the penalty of thirty shillings for every twenty-four hours he or she shall entertain or harbor him or them as aforesaid.

[Section XIII.] And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, That all the fines, forfeitures and penalties arising by this act shall go, one-half thereof for and towards the paying for negroes executed for capital offense according to the direction of this act, to be paid into the hands of the provincial treasurer, and the other half thereof to the prosecutor; and shall be recovered in manner following, viz.: all those under forty shillings as other debts of the like value are recovered, and those above forty shillings to be recovered in any court of record in this province by bill, plaint or information, where no more than one imparlance shall be allowed.

DOCUMENT 16: The King v. Negro Abraham Johnson the Slave of
Humphrey Marshall, May 28, 1762¹

Although Pennsylvania's Colonial Assembly passed laws that restricted the lives of free and enslaved Black people, white legislators nor enslavers could ever fully control them. The following documents are court cases from Chester County involving free and enslaved Black people who were charged with breaking the law and tried in the separate courts for Black people first established under the 1700 "Act for the Trial of Negroes" [Document 14]. Per that law, the court consisted of two white justices of the peace, six white residents of Chester County, a lawyer for the British government, and a defense attorney. In the case printed below, an enslaved man named Abraham Johnson was tried for the murder of another enslaved man named Glasgow. Johnson pled not guilty, and was found innocent.

CHESTER County At a Special Court held and kept at Chester for the County of Chester in the Province of Pennsylvania the twenty Eight day of May in the Year of our Lord one thousand Seven Hundred Sixty two Before John Hannum and John Morton Esq two of his Majesty's Justices of the peace within the County aforesaid particularly Commissionated according to the Form and Effect of an act of General Assembly of the said Province entitled "an act for the tryal of Negroes" with the Assistance of John Salkeld, William Swaffez, Edward Russell, Joseph Ashbridge, Samuel Shaw and John Crosby Six of the most Substantial freeholders of the Neighborhood duly & legally Summoned Returned Sworn ^& affirmed well and freely their Assistance and Judgement on the tryal of such a Negro or Negroes as shall be charged or accused before them of committing any Murder Manslaughter Buggery Burglary Rapes attempts of Rapes or any other High or Heinous offence committed acted or done within the County of Chester aforesaid _____

The King ~~~~

v

Negro Abraham Johnson

¹ Dockets for Enslaved People in Delaware County, 1762-1831, Delaware County Bar Association, Delaware County Community College, DCCTO_02. Scan of dockets provided by Dr. Ife Williams.

the Slave of Humphery Marshall

Witnesses

Paul Jackson Esq.

Alexander Boyd

Sworn

}

Joseph Bailey ~~~~~Affirmed

On an Information exhibited by Benjamin Chew Esq attorney General of our Lord the King against the defendants for feloniously Murdering a certain Negro Man named Glascow the Slave of Alexander Boyd ~ The defendant being now arraigned pleaded Non Cul et de hoc & Attorney General Simillitez &c the Court Motion do Assign Joseph Gallow Esq~ Counsell for the defendant~And now hearing the proofs in this cause and the Arguments of Counsel thereon It is considered and adjudged by this Court that the defendant Negro Abraham Johnson is Not Guilty of the Felony and Murder aforesaid But that the said defendant Negro Abraham Johnson is Guilty of Homicide se defense And it is further considered by this court that the said defendant Negro Abraham Johnson be discharged paying the cost of Prosecution and to stand committed till Payment. -----

DOCUMENT 17: The King v. Negro Sam the Slave of Philip Ford and Negro Cambridge the Slave of Samuel Shaw Johnson the Slave of Humphrey Marshall, June 21, 1763¹

In this case from 1763, two enslaved men – one named Sam and the other named Cambridge – were charged with stealing rum and molasses from a white man named Gervase Burgess. At the first hearing of the case, both Sam and Cambridge plead not guilty to the charges, but the case was tried again by the colonial government, and, in the second trial, Sam pled guilty to the charges of stealing while Cambridge continued his plea of not guilty. In the second trial, both were found guilty and ordered to pay the cost of the goods they stole, the cost of prosecution, and were to be punished by public whippings.

CHESTER County At a Special Court held and kept at Chester for the County of Chester in the Province of Pennsylvania the twenty first day of June in the Year of our Lord one thousand Seven Hundred Sixty three Before John Hannum and John Morton Esq two of his Majesty's Justices of the peace within the County aforesaid particularly Commissionated according to the Form and Effect of an act of General Assembly of the said Province entitled "an act for the tryal of Negros" with the Assistance of Jonas Preston, Edward Russell, Charles Grantum, John Hanly, Isaac Weaver and Nathaniel Vernon, Six of the most Substantial freeholders of the Neighborhood duly & legally Summoned Returned Sworn ^& affirmed well and freely their Assistance and Judgement on the tryal of such a Negro or Negros as shall be charged or accused before them of committing any Murder Manslaughter Buggery Burglary Rapes attempts of Rapes or any other High or Heinous offence committed acted or done within the County of Chester aforesaid _____

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The King ~~~~

v

Negro Sam the Slave of Philip Ford
And

¹ Dockets for Enslaved People in Delaware County, 1762-1831, Delaware County Bar Association, Delaware County Community College, DCCTO_03. Scan of dockets provided by Dr. Ife Williams.

Negro Cambridge the Slave of Samuel Shaw

Witnesses

Gervase Burgess. Affirmed

Elizabeth Burgess

John Bore

Sworn

William Shaw

}

On an Information exhibited by Benjamin Chew Esq attorney General of our Lord the King against the defendants for feloniously and Burglarily breaking and entring the dwelling house of Gervase Burgess and stealing thereout one Gallon of Rum of the value of four shillings and one quart of Molasses of the value of Nine pence ~ The defendants being arraigned do severally plead Non cul et de hoc &c Attorney General Simillitez &c ~And now on fully hearing the proofs in this cause It is by this court Considered and adjudged that the defendants Negro Sam and Negro Cambridge are not nor is either of them Guilty of the Felony and Burglary aforesaid in the Manner & form &c and it's further considered by this court that the said defendants Negro Sam and Negro Cambridge be discharged paying the Costs of Prosecution and to stand Committed till payment. -----

The King

V

Negro Sam &

Negro Cambridge

Information for feloniously stealing one Gallon of Rum the value of four shillings and one quart of Molasses of the value of Nine pence of the Goods and Chattel of Gervase Burgess ~ The defendants being now Severally charged the said Negro Sam pleaded Guilty and the said Negro Cambridge pleaded Non cul et de hoc &c attorney General Smillillitez &c. And now on hearing the proofs in this cause it is considered and adjudged by this Court that the said Negro Cambridge is Guilty of the Felony aforesaid and in Manner & form &c. and therefore it is further considered

and adjudged by this court that the said Negro Sam and Negro Cambridge be each of them Whipped with thirty Nine lashes well laid on each of their backs at the Common Whipping post between the hours of 8 & 10 o'clock to Morrow Morning & pay to the prosecutor four shillings and Nine pence the value of the goods stolen & be discharged paying the Costs of Prosecution & to stand committed till Payment

DOCUMENT 18: The King v. Negro Phoebe the Slave of Joseph Richardson, March 2, 1764¹

In this case from 1764, an enslaved woman named Phoebe was charged with stealing goods from the mansion house of a white man named Thomas Barnard. Phoebe pled not guilty to the charges but the court found her guilty. After she was found guilty, she was ordered back to prison and then executed by the government. This case is just one example of the horrific violence inherent to slavery and the colonial legal system. For stealing material things, Phoebe was sentenced to death.

CHESTER County At a Special Court held and kept at Chester for the County of Chester in the Province of Pennsylvania the second day of March in the Year of our Lord one thousand Seven Hundred Sixty four Before John Hannum and John Morton Esq two of his Majesty's Justices of the peace within the County aforesaid particularly Commissionated according to the Form and Effect of an act of General Assembly of the said Province entitled "an act for the tryal of Negroes" with the Assistance of Jonas Preston, Elisha Price, David Cowpland, John Salkeld, George Grantham and Willaim Swaffer, Six of the most Substantial freeholders of the Neighborhood duly & legally Summoned Returned Sworn ^& affirmed well and freely their Assistance and Judgement on the tryal of such a Negro or Negroes as shall be charged or accused before them of committing any Murder Manslaughter Buggery Burglary Rapes attempts of Rapes or any other High or Heinous offence committed acted or done within the County of Chester aforesaid _____

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The King ~~~~

v

Negro Phoebe the slave
Of Joseph Richardson

¹ Dockets for Enslaved People in Delaware County, 1762-1831, Delaware County Bar Association, Delaware County Community College, DCCTO_04. Scan of dockets provided by Dr. Ife Williams.

Witnesses

Thomas Barnard

Christopher Dingee affirmed

Joseph Dutton

Archibald Dick Sworn

}

On an Information exhibited by Benjamin Chew Esq attorney General of our Lord the King against the defendants for feloniously and Burglarily breaking and entering the Mansion house of Thomas Barnard and Stealing thereout divers Goods and chattels the property of the said Thomas Barnard----- The defendant being now arraigned pleads Non cul et de hoc &c Attorney General Simittitez &c And now on hearing the proofs in this Cause It is considered and adjudged by this court that the said defendant Negro Phoebe is Guilty of the Felony & Burglary aforesaid in Manner and form &c And thereupon it is further considered and adjudged by this court that the said defendant Negro Phoebe be led to the prison from whence she came and from thence to the place of Execution and there be Hanged by the Neck till she be dead. -----

DOCUMENT 19: The King v. Negro Martin the Slave of Thomas Smith, March 3, 1770¹

In this case from 1770, an enslaved man named Martin was convicted of attempting to rape a white woman named Anne Forton. Martin plead not guilty to the charge, was found guilty, and sentenced to be whipped 39 times, branded with an “R” on his forehead, and exported from Pennsylvania. Until his “exportation,” he was to remain incarcerated. The case raises many questions about sexuality, power, gender, and race. Historians have shown that white colonial authorities were anxious about interracial sex and relationships, and Black men were often accused by white women of serious sexual crimes because they were Black men, not necessarily because of any evidence. Yet enslaved and free Black people, just like white people, could exert power over others in sexual situations and were capable of violence.²

Anne Forton’s race is not explicitly mentioned, but we can surmise she was white because colonial authorities only marked “othered” racial groups in official documents. Forton and the other white people involved in the case are not racially marked at all, while Martin is noted as a “Negro.”

CHESTER County At a Special Court held and kept at Chester for the County of Chester in the Province of Pennsylvania the third day of March in the Year of our Lord one thousand Seven Hundred Seventy Before William Parker and Richard Riley Esq two of his Majesty’s Justices of the peace within the County aforesaid particularly Commissionated according to the Form and Effect of an act of General Assembly of the said Province entitled “an act for the tryal of Negroes” with the Assistance of John Salkeld Robert Pennell Adam Grubb Joshua Cowpland John Taylor and David Jackson Six of the most Substantial freeholders of the Neighborhood duly & legally Summoned Returned Sworn ^& affirmed well and freely their Assistance and Judgement on the tryal of such a Negro or Negroes as shall be charged or accused before them of committing any Murder Manslaughter Buggery Burglary Rapes attempts of Rapes or any other High or Heinous offence

¹ Dockets for Enslaved People in Delaware County, 1762-1831, Delaware County Bar Association, Delaware County Community College, DCCTO_05. Scan of dockets provided by Dr. Ife Williams.

² For more, see Sharon Block, *Rape and Sexual Power in Early America*. Chapel Hill, [North Carolina]: Published for the Omohundro Institute of Early American History and Culture, Williamsburg, Virginia, by the University of North Carolina Press, 2006 and Thomas A. Foster, *Rethinking Rufus: Sexual Violations of Enslaved Men*. Athens, Georgia: University of Georgia Press, 2019.

committed acted or done within the County of Chester aforesaid -----

The King ~~~~

v

Negro Martin the slave

Of Thomas Smith

Witnesses

Anne Forton

Barbara Ketch

Sworn

}

On an Information exhibited by Andrew Allen Esq attorney General of our Lord the King against the defendants for attempting to committ a rape on Anne Forton ~ The defendant being now arraigned pleads non cul et de hoc &c Attorney General Similliter &c. and now on hearing the Proofs in this Cause it is considered & adjudged by this Cour that the Def. Negro Martin is Guilty of the attempt to commit a Rape on Anne Forton aforesaid in Manner & form & and thereupon it is further considered and adjudged by this Court that the said defendant Negro Martin be whipped with thirty nine lashes well laid on his bare Back at the common whipping post between the hours of one & three this Afternoon and be branded with the letter R on his forehead and be exported out of this Province by his Master within six Months never to return into the same upon pain of death and to be kept in Prison till Exportation at his Master Charge and to pay the Costs of Prosecution. _____

DOCUMENT 20: The King v Negro Philip the Slave of George Hunter and Jonathan Hunter, June 12, 1772¹

In this case, Philip, a man enslaved by George and Jonathan Hunter, was charged with stealing clothing, knives, rum, and bottles from the house of William Gibbons. In the first trial, Philip plead not guilty and was found innocent, but was found guilty of the charges in his second trial. He was sentenced to be whipped 39 times on his bare back and his enslavers were forced to pay £200 to Chester County as a payment to ensure that they would ensure Philip would not break the law again. From the case alone, it is unclear what Philip planned to do with the stolen goods, but it is possible that he might have used the objects and rum to potentially escape or socialize and entertain other enslaved people.

CHESTER County At a Special Court held and kept at Chester for the County of Chester in the Province of Pennsylvania the twelfth day of June in the Year of our Lord 1771 Before John Morton and William Parker Esq two of his Majesty's Justices of the peace within the County aforesaid particularly Commissionated according to the Form and Effect of an act of General Assembly of the said Province entitled "an act for the tryal of Negros" with the Assistance of Robert Pennell Hugh Lloyd Elisha Jones James Crozier John Thomson & Adam Grubb Six of the most Substantial freeholders of the Neighborhood duly & legally Summoned Returned Sworn ^& affirmed well and freely their Assistance and Judgement on the tryal of such a Negro or Negros as shall be charged or accused before them of committing any Murder Manslaughter Buggery Burglary Rapes attempts of Rapes or any other High or Heinous offence committed acted or done within the County of Chester aforesaid -----

The King ~~~~

v

Negro Philip the SLAVE
Of George Hunter and

¹ Dockets for Enslaved People in Delaware County, 1762-1831, Delaware County Bar Association, Delaware County Community College, DCCTO_06. Scan of dockets provided by Dr. Ife Williams.

Jonathan Hunter

Witnesses

William Gibbons

Warrick Miller Esq. affirmed

}

On an Information exhibited by Andrew Allen Esq attorney General of our Lord the King against the defendants for feloniously and burglariously breaking & entering the dwelling house of William Gibbons and stealing out one pair of worsted stockings of the value of six-Shillings two clasp Knives of the value of two Shillings two quarts of Rum of the value of two Shillings and two Glass Bottles of the value of one Shilling

The defendant being arraigned pleaded Non Cul et de hoc ---
Attorney General Similiter &c AND NOW on fully hearing the Proofs in this cause it is by this Court Considered and adjudged that defendant is not Guilty of the felony & Burglary in manner & form &c. -----

The King

Negroe Philip the SLAVE

of George Hunter and

Jonathan Hunter

Wits. Wm. Gibbons, Warrick Miller Esq. Attod.

On an Information exhibited by Andrew Allen Esq Attorney General of our Lord the King against the defendant for feloniously stealing one pair of wonsted stockings of the value of six shillings two clasp Knives of the value of two Shillings two Quarts of Rum of the value of two Shillings and two Glass Bottles of the value of one Shilling of the Goods and Chattles of William Gibbons

The defendant being charged pleads non Cul et de hoc Attorney General Similiter & and now on fully hearing the Proofs in this Cause it is Considered & adjudged by this Court that the said defendant Negroe Philip is Guilty of the Felony in Manner & Form aforesaid & and therefore it is further considered & adjudged by this Court that the said Negroe Philip be whipp'd with thirty nine lashes well laid on his bare back at the common whipping Post between the hours of 2 & 3 oclock this Afternoon and that his Masters pay the Costs of Prosecution and that the Freehold Security be given for the said Negroes good Behaviour for one Year and stand committed till this Judgement be complied with ---

Jonathan Hunter
in the sum of £200

On Condition that the said Negroe Philip keep the Peace and be of good Behaviour towards all of his Majesties liege Subjects

Acknowledged Oct. 26. 1771.

Before Me

John Morton

DOCUMENT 21: “An Act for the Gradual Abolition of Slavery,”
 Pennsylvania Assembly, March 1, 1780¹

In 1780, the Pennsylvania Assembly passed what became the first law to gradually end slavery in America. Legislators created the act in response to many factors which included anti-slavery activism, changing economics, and the American Revolution. The law slowly ended slavery in Pennsylvania by decreeing that any children born to enslaved women, after the date of its passage, would no longer be enslaved for life but instead be servants to their mother's enslavers until they turned 28, after which they would be free. The law freed no one immediately, and anyone who was enslaved before the passage of the law remained enslaved for life. It also stipulated that enslavers were required to register the people they enslaved with the counties they resided in. Enslaved people not registered would become free. The 1780 law ended the legal importation of enslaved people into Pennsylvania, but still permitted slave trading of registered enslaved people within the state. Previous laws that established and regulated slavery, like the “Act for the Trial of Negroes” were also repealed. Enslavers exploited loopholes in the law and it was later amended.

Recent historians have argued that the law helped slavery expand in the state and that children born to enslaved women, who fell under the law's application, had significantly different experiences than white domestic servants and should be considered term slaves – people enslaved for a set amount of time instead of for life – because of the racist restrictions and legal maneuverings of enslavers who tried to keep these people unfree.²

[Section 1.] When we contemplate our Abhorrence of that Condition to which the Arms and Tyranny of Great Britain were exerted to reduce us, when we look back on the Variety of Dangers to which we have been exposed, and how miraculously our Wants in many Instances have been supplied and our Deliverances wrought, when even Hope and human fortitude have become unequal to the Conflict; we are unavoidably led to a serious and grateful Sense of the manifold Blessings which we have undeservedly received from the hand of that Being from whom every good and perfect Gift cometh. Impressed with these Ideas we conceive that it is our duty, and we rejoice that it is in our Power, to extend a Portion of that freedom to others, which hath been extended to us; and a Release from

¹ “An Act for the Gradual Abolition of Slavery,” March 1, 1780, Statutes at Large of Pennsylvania, Volume 1, Act Number 0870, Chapter DCCCLXX, <https://www.palrb.gov/Preservation/Smith-Laws/View-Documents/17001799/1780/0/act/0870.pdf>.

² See, for example, Corey James Young, “For Life or Otherwise: Abolition and Slavery in South Central Pennsylvania, 1780-1847,” Georgetown University, 2021.

that State of Thralldom, to which we ourselves were tyrannically doomed, and from which we have now every Prospect of being delivered. It is not for us to enquire, why, in the Creation of Mankind, the Inhabitants of the several parts of the Earth, were distinguished by a difference in Feature or Complexion. It is sufficient to know that all are the Work of an Almighty Hand, We find in the distribution of the human Species, that the most fertile, as well as the most barren parts of the Earth are inhabited by Men of Complexions different from ours and from each other, from whence we may reasonably as well as religiously infer, that he, who placed them in their various Situations, hath extended equally his Care and Protection to all, and that it becometh not us to counteract his Mercies.

We esteem a peculiar Blessing granted to us, that we are enabled this Day to add one more Step to universal Civilization by removing as much as possible the Sorrows of those, who have lived in undeserved Bondage, and from which by the assumed Authority of the Kings of Britain, no effectual legal Relief could be obtained. Weaned by a long Course of Experience from those narrow Prejudices and Partialities we had imbibed, we find our Hearts enlarged with Kindness and Benevolence towards Men of all Conditions and Nations; and we conceive ourselves at this particular Period extraordinarily called upon by the Blessings which we have received, to manifest the Sincerity of our Profession and to give a substantial Proof of our Gratitude.

[Section II.] And whereas, the Condition of those Persons who have heretofore been denominated Negroe and Mulatto Slaves, has been attended with Circumstances which not only deprived them of the common Blessings that they were by Nature entitled to, but has cast them into the deepest Afflictions by an unnatural Separation and Sale of Husband and Wife from each other, and from their Children; an Injury the greatness of which can only be conceived, by supposing that we were in the same unhappy Case. In Justice therefore to Persons so unhappily circumstanced and who, having no Prospect before them whereon they may rest their Sorrows and their hopes have no reasonable Inducement to render that Service to Society, which they otherwise might; and also ingrateful Commemoration of our own happy Deliverance, from that State of unconditional Submission, to which we were doomed by the Tyranny of Britain.

[Section III.] Be it enacted and it is hereby enacted by the Representatives of the Freemen of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania in General Assembly met and by the Authority of the same, That all Persons, as well Negroes, and Mulattos, as others, who shall be born within this State, from and after the Passing of this Act, shall not be deemed and considered as Servants for Life or Slaves; and that all Servitude for Life or Slavery of Children in Consequence of the Slavery of their Mothers, in the Case of all Children born within this State from and after the passing of this Act as aforesaid, shall be, an hereby is, utterly taken away, extinguished and for ever abolished.

[Section IV.] Provided always and be it further enacted by the Authority aforesaid, That every Negroe and Mulatto Child born within this State after the passing of this Act as aforesaid, who would in Case this Act had not been made, have been born a Servant for Years or life or a Slave, shall be deemed to be and shall be, by Virtue of this Act the Servant of such person or his or her Assigns, who would in such Case have been entitled to the Service of such Child until such Child shall attain unto the Age of twenty eight Years, in the manner and on the Conditions whereon Servants bound by Indenture for four Years are or may be retained and holden; and shall be liable to like Correction and punishment, and intitled to like Relief in case he or she be evilly treated by his or her master or Mistress; and to like Freedom dues and other Privileges as Servants bound by Indenture for Four Years are or may be intitled unless the Person to whom the Service of any such Child Shall belong, shall abandon his or her Claim to the same, in which Case the Overseers of the Poor of the City Township or District, respectively where such Child shall be so abandoned, shall by Indenture bind out every Child so abandoned as an Apprentice for a Time not exceeding the Age herein before limited for the Service of such Children.

[Section V.] And be it further enacted by the Authority aforesaid, That every Person who is or shall be the Owner of any Negroe or Mulatto Slave or Servant for life or till the Age of thirty one Years, now within this State, or his lawful Attorney shall on or before the said first day of November next, deliver or cause to be delivered in Writing to the Clerk of the Peace of the County or to the Clerk of the Court of Record of the City of Philadelphia, in which he or she shall respectively inhabit, the Name and Sirname and Occupation or Profession of such Owner, and the Name of the County and

Township District or Ward where he or she resideth, and also the Name and Names of any such Slave and Slaves and Servant and Servants for Life or till the Age of thirty one Years together with their Ages and Sexes severally and respectively set forth and annexed, by such Person owned or statedly employed, and then being within this State in order to ascertain and distinguish the Slaves and Servants for Life and Years till the Age of thirty one Years within this State who shall be such on the said first day of November next, from all other persons, which particulars shall by said Clerk of the Sessions and Clerk of said City Court be entered in Books to be provided for that Purpose by the said Clerks; and that no Negroe or Mulatto now within this State shall from and after the said first day of November be deemed a slave or Servant for life or till the Age of thirty one Years unless his or her name shall be entered as aforesaid on such Record except such Negroe and Mulatto Slaves and Servants as are hereinafter excepted; the said Clerk to be entitled to a fee of Two Dollars for each Slave or Servant so entered as aforesaid, from the Treasurer of the County to be allowed to him in his Accounts.

[Section VI.] Provided always, That any Person in whom the Ownership or Right to the Service of any Negro or Mulatto shall be vested at the passing of this Act, other than such as are herein before excepted, his or her Heirs, Executors, Administrators and Assigns, and all and every of them severally Shall be liable to the Overseers of the Poor of the City, Township or District to which any such Negroe or Mulatto shall become chargeable, for such necessary Expence, with Costs of Suit thereon, as such Overseers may be put to through the Neglect of the Owner, Master or Mistress of such Negroe or Mulatto, notwithstanding the Name and other descriptions of such Negroe or Mulatto shall not be entered and recorded as aforesaid; unless his or her Master or Owner shall before such Slave or Servant attain his or her twenty eighth Year execute and record in the proper County, a deed or Instrument securing to such Slave or Servant his or her Freedom.

[Section VII.] And be it further enacted by the Authority aforesaid, That the Offences and Crimes of Negroes and Mulattos as well as Slaves and Servants and Freemen, shall be enquired of, adjudged, corrected and punished in like manner as the Offences and Crimes of the other Inhabitants of this State are and shall be enquired of adjudged, corrected

and punished, and not otherwise except that a Slave shall not be admitted to bear Witness against [sic] a Freeman.

[Section VIII.] And be it further enacted by the Authority aforesaid That in all Cases wherein Sentence of Death shall be pronounced against a Slave, the Jury before whom he or she shall be tried shall appraise and declare the Value of such Slave, and in Case Such Sentence be executed, the Court shall make an Order on the State Treasurer payable to the Owner for the same and for the Costs of Prosecution, but in Case of a Remission or Mitigation for the Costs only.

[Section IX.] And be it further enacted by the Authority aforesaid That the Reward for taking up runaway and absconding Negroe and Mulatto Slaves and Servants and the Penalties for enticing away, dealing with, or harbouring, concealing or employing Negroe and Mulatto Slaves and Servants shall be the same, and shall be recovered in like manner, as in Case of Servants bound for Four Years.

[Section X.] And be it further enacted by the Authority aforesaid, That no Man or Woman of any Nation or Colour, except the Negroes or Mulattoes who shall be registered as aforesaid shall at any time hereafter be deemed, adjudged or holden, within the Territories of this Commonwealth, as Slaves or Servants for Life, but as freemen and Freewomen; and except the domestic Slaves attending upon Delegates in Congress from the other American States, foreign Ministers and Consuls, and persons passing through or sojourning in this State, and not becoming resident therein; and Seamen employed in Ships, not belonging to any Inhabitant of this State nor employed in any Ship owned by any such Inhabitant, Provided such domestic Slaves be not aliened or sold to any Inhabitant, nor (except in the Case of Members of Congress, foreign Ministers and Consuls) retained in this State longer than six Months.

[Section XI.] Provided always and be it further enacted by the Authority aforesaid, That this Act nor any thing in it contained shall not give any Relief or Shelter to any absconding or Runaway Negroe or Mulatto Slave or Servant, who has absented himself or shall absent himself from his or her Owner, Master or Mistress, residing in any other State or Country, but such Owner, Master or Mistress, shall have like Right and Aid to demand, claim and take away his Slave or Servant, as he might have had in Case this Act

had not been made. And that all Negroe and Mulatto Slaves, now owned, and heretofore resident in this State, who have absented themselves, or been clandestinely carried away, or who may be employed abroad as Seamen, and have not returned or been brought back to their Owners, Masters or Mistresses, before the passing of this Act may within five Years be registered as effectually, as is ordered by this Act concerning those who are now within the State, on producing such Slave, before any two Justices of the Peace, and satisfying the said Justices by due Proof, of the former Residence, absconding, taking away, or Absence of such Slave as aforesaid; who thereupon shall direct and order the said Slave to be entered on the Record as aforesaid.

[Section XII.] And Whereas Attempts may be made to evade this Act, by introducing into this State, Negroes and Mulattos, bound by Covenant to serve for long and unreasonable Terms of Years, if the same be not prevented.

[Section XIII.] Be it therefore enacted by the Authority aforesaid, That no Covenant of personal Servitude or Apprenticeship whatsoever shall be valid or binding on a Negroe or Mulatto for a longer Time than Seven Years; unless such Servant or Apprentice were at the Commencement of such Servitude or Apprenticeship under the Age of Twenty one Years; in which Case such Negroe or Mulatto may be holden as a Servant or Apprentice respectively, according to the Covenant, as the Case shall be, until he or she shall attain the Age of twenty eight Years but no longer.

[Section XIV.] And be it further enacted by the Authority aforesaid, That an Act of Assembly of the Province of Pennsylvania passed in the Year one thousand seven hundred and five, intituled "An Act for the Trial of Negroes;" and another Act of Assembly of the said Province passed in the Year one thousand seven hundred and twenty five intituled "An Act for "the better regulating of Negroes in this Province;" and another Act of Assembly of the said Province passed in the Year one thousand seven hundred and sixty one intituled "An Act for laying a Duty on Negroe and Mulatto Slaves imported into this Province" and also another Act of Assembly of the said Province, passed in the Year one thousand seven hundred and seventy three, intituled "An Act for making perpetual An Act for laying a duty on Negroe and Mulatto "Slaves imported into this Province and for laying an

additional "Duty on said Slaves;" shall be and are hereby repealed annulled and made void.

John Bayard, Speaker

Enacted into a Law at Philadelphia on Wednesday the first day of March,
Anno Domini One thousand seven hundred Eighty
Thomas Paine, Clerk of the General Assembly

DOCUMENT 22: Entries from the 1780 Chester County Slave Register¹

In this document, various enslavers from Chester County registered the people they enslaved with the Chester County government to comply with the 1780 Gradual Abolition Law [Document 21]. County slave registers provide important information about enslavers and enslaved people. They list enslaver's occupations, genders, names, and enslaved people's names, approximate ages, and whether or not they were enslaved for life or for a term. The Chester County Slave Register is one source that shows how diverse enslavers and enslaved people were in the area outside of Philadelphia. Enslavers were men and women and had a variety of occupations. They were carpenters, lawyers, gentlewomen, seamstresses, farmers, and tavernkeepers. Though the register did not list what skills or labor enslaved people performed, we can interpret from information about enslavers what enslaved people likely did – enslaved people owned by farmers, for example, likely performed agricultural work on their owner's land and domestic work inside their homes. Enslaved people were young and old, men and women, and some created their own names which enslaver's recognized recorded in the register.

Enslaver	Township	Occupation	Enslaved People	Register Description	Ages and Status
William Twaddle	Aston	Forge Master	Saal	Negro Wench	19, Slave for life
			Tom	Mulatto Boy	6, Slave for life
			Sam	Negro Man	35, Slave for life
John Odenheimer	Chester	Farmer	Anthony Welsh	Negro Man	45, Slave for life
Elisha Price	Chester	Lawyer	Peter	Negro Man	24, Slave for life
Captain Edward Vernon	Chester	Inholder	Jinn	Negro Woman	21, Slave for life

¹ 1780 Chester County Slave Register, Chester County, Chester County Archives, West Chester, Pennsylvania, <https://www.chesco.org/4572/1780-Slave-Register>.

			[name left blank]	Mulatto Servant Boy	12, Till he attains the age of 24
			Kate	Mulatto Woman	20, Slave for life
			Dann	Male Negro Child	9 Months, Slave for life
			Jym	Negro Man	65, Slave for life
			[name left blank]	Mulatto Boy	16, Slave for life
Valentine Weaver	Chester	Inholder	Peter	Negro Boy	13, Slave for life
			Violet	Negro Girl	11, Slave for life
			Dinah	Negro Woman	60, Slave for life
			Joe	Negro Man	60, Slave for life
			Jack	Negro Boy	15, Slave for life
Mary Withy	Chester	Gentlewoman	Phillis	Negro Woman	58, Slave for life
			Sophiah	Negro Woman	32, Slave for life

Mark Wilcocks	Concord	Papermaker	Pegg	Negro Woman	30, Slave for life
			Hick	Negro Girl	3, Slave for life
			Luke	Negro Boy	8, Slave for life
			Tim	Negro Boy	8, Slave for life
			Prince	Negro Man	55, Slave for life
			Caesar	Negro Man	25, Slave for life
Mark Wilcocks/Thomas Wilcocks	Concord		Luce	Negro Girl	14, Slave for life
David Gill	East Caln	Blacksmith	Herculas	Negro Boy	17, Slave for Life
William Starrett	East Nantmeal	Yeoman	George	Negro Boy	4, Slave for Life
			Phebe	Negro Girl	13, Slave for Life
			Cate	Negro Woman	40, Slave for Life
Branson Vanleer	East Nantmeal	Doctor	Meely	Negro Woman	35, Slave for Life
			Will	Negro Boy	11 Months,

					Slave for Life
			Edetha	Negro Girl	5, Slave for Life
			Cudgo	Negro Man	24, Slave for life
			Caesar	Negro Boy	3, Slave for life
Anthony Wayne	Easttown	General	Toby	Negro Man	40, Slave for life
Jonathan Hunter	Edgemont	Yeoman	Paddy	Negro Lad	16, Slave for life
			Phillis	Negro Woman	30, Slave for life
			Samson	Negro Boy	10, Slave for life
			Prude	Negro Girl	6, Slave for life
			Phillis	Negro Girl	3, Slave for life
Mary Garrett	Goshen	Farmer	Margery	Negro Girl	2, 6 months, Slave for life
			Rina	Negro Girl	4, 6 months, Slave for life

			Sue	Negro Woman	35, Slave for life
Josiah Hains	Goshen	Yeoman	Abraham	Negro Man	16, Slave for life
Hannah Moore	Goshen	Gentlewoman	Teen	Negro Woman	32, Slave for life
Joseph Moore	Goshen	Doctor	Face	Negro Girl	11, Slave for life
			Essex	Negro Boy	2, Slave for life
			Jehu	Negro Boy	9, Slave for life
Edward Hughes	Haverford	Carpenter	Will	Negro Boy	1, 8 Months, Slave for life
Charles Humphreys, Elizabeth Humphreys, and the Estate of Rebecca Humphreys, deceased	Haverford	Miller	Nancy	Negro Woman	44, Slave for life
			Dolly	Mulatto Woman	20, Slave for life
			Alice	Mulatto Girl	10, Slave for life
			Fanny	Mulatto Female Child	13 Months,

					Slave for life
			Judy	Mulatto Woman	25, Slave for life
			Tone	Negro Man	34, Slave for life
			Cesar	Negro Man	36, Slave for life
			Nanny	Negro Woman	70, Slave for life
			Tommey	Mulatto Boy	8, Slave for life
Samuel Johnson	Haverford	Farmer	Dinah	Negro Woman	45, Slave for life
			Sall	Negro Girl	14, Slave for life
			Jim	Mulatto Boy	8, Slave for life
			Joe	Mulatto Boy	5, 6 Months, Slave for life
			Peter	Mulatto Boy	2, Slave for life
Hester Kortright	Haverford	Gentlewoman	Joe	Negro Boy	15, Slave for life
Hugh Queen	Haverford	Farmer	Poll	Mulatto Servant Girl	16, Till she attains

					the age of thirty one year
			Phillis	Mulatto Woman	21, Slave for life
			Peter	Negro Boy	7, Slave for life
Richard Willing	Haverford	Farmer	Ishmeal	Negro Man	28, Slave for life
			Harry	Negro Man	21, Slave for life
			Dick	Negro Man	40, Slave for life
			Molly	Negro Woman	50, Slave for life
Rev. Daniel Jones	Londonderry	Clerk	Doll	Mulatto Girl	4, Slave for life
			Poll	Negro Woman	27, Slave for life
			Beck	Mulatto Girl	2, Slave for life
			Rachel	Negro Girl	4, Slave for life
			Dick	Negro Boy	8, Slave for life

Montgomery Kennedy	Londonderry	Farmer	Jude Leiper	Negro Girl	13, Slave for life
			Gabriel Moore	Negro Man	23, Slave for life
George Craig	Marcus Hook	Clerk	Jack	Mulatto Boy	3, 6 Months, Slave for life
			Thomas	Negro Man	50, Slave for life
			Phebe	Negro Woman	32, Slave for life
			Phill	Negro Boy	7, Slave for life
			Amy	Mulatto Girl	1, 9 Months, Slave for life
Bernard Vanleer	Marple	Doctor	George	Negro Boy	15, Slave for life
Richard Baker	Middletown	Yeoman	Kassee	Negro Girl	13, Slave for life
			Phineas	Mulatto Servant Boy	17, till he attains the age of 31
Rev. James Anderson	Middletown	Reverend	Ceaser	Mulatto Man	20, Slave for life

			George	Negro Boy	3, Slave for life
			Dinah	Negro Woman	30, Slave for life
			Joe	Negro Boy	5, Slave for life
James McDowell	Oxford	Storekeeper	Flora	Negro Girl	1, 2 Months, Slave for life
			Tom	Negro Man	34, Slave for life
			Hannah	Negro Girl	3, Slave for life
			Cloe	Negro Woman	27, Slave for life
			Rachel	Girl	5, Slave for life
Job Ruston	Oxford	Miller	Jim	Mulatto Boy	2, 6 Months, Slave for life
			Bess	Mulatto Woman	60, Slave for life
			Flora	Mulatto Girl	12, Slave for life
			Bell	Mulatto Girl	8, Slave for life

			George	Mulatto Boy	17, Slave for life
			Will	Mulatto Man	62, Slave for life
			Pegg	Negro Woman	70, Slave for life
			Dinah	Mulatto Girl	14
			Nell	Mulatto Woman	25, Slave for life
			Bill	Mulatto Boy	8 Months, Slave for life
Isaac Hendrickson	Ridley	Yeoman	Frank	Negro Boy	12, Slave for life
			Nance	Negro Woman	36, Slave for life
			Bett	Negro Girl	10, Slave for life
			Jos	Negro Boy	5, Slave for life
			Pol	Negro Girl	3, Slave for life
			Tone	Negro Man	40, Slave for life
			Dine	Negro Girl	6 Months,

					Slave for life
			Tone	Negro Boy	7, Slave for life
Morton Morton	Ridley	Yeoman	Samuel	Negro Boy	8, 7 Months, Slave for life
			John	Mulatto Boy	6 4 Months, Slave for life
			Jacob	Mulatto Boy	6, 4 Months, Slave for life
			Sarah	Mulatto Girl	3, 3 Months, Slave for life
			Liz	Negro Woman	30, Slave for life
			Caesar	Negro Man	28, Slave for life
			Annias	Negro Boy	8, 7 Months, Slave for life
			Peter	Mulatto Boy	1, 10 Months
John Worrall	Ridley	Yeoman	Philip Brown	Mulatto Servant Boy	3, 9 months, til age of 31

Rev. William Foster	Sadsbury		Jean	Female Negro Child	1, Slave for life
			Will	Negro Boy	14, Slave for life
			Violet	Negro Woman	24, Slave for life
Agness McPherson	Sadsbury	Farmer	Jack	Negro Servant Man	25, till he attains the age of 33
Joseph Park Esq.	Sadsbury		Hannah Hall	Mulatto Woman	44, Slave for life
			Lucy	Negro Girl	14, Slave for life
			Adam Hall	Mulatto Boy	9, Slave for life
			Jupetor	Negro Boy	16, Slave for life
James Crozer	Springfield	Farmer	Anthony Walsh	Mulatto Servant Man	22, until he attains the age of 31
			Amelia	Negro Woman	19, a servant until the age of 21
Samuel Levis	Springfield	Papermaker	Flora Knox	Negro Girl	10, Slave for life

			James Knox	Negro Boy	18, Slave for life
Nicholas Diehl	Tinnicum	Grazier	Sonnon	Negro Man	21, Slave for life
			Caesar	Negro Boy	5, Slave for life
			Cojo	Negro Man	24, Slave for life
			Dinah	Negro Girl	7, Slave for life
Lewis Gronow	Tredyffrin	Yeoman	York	Negro Man	32, Slave for life
			Moses	Negro Boy	12, Slave for life
			Amos	Negro Boy	3, Slave for life
			Aaron	Negro Boy	14, Slave for life
			Simon	Negro Boy	10, Slave for life
Ann Havard	Tredyffrin	Seamstress	Judith	Negro Woman	20, Slave for life
Sarah Havard	Tredyffrin	Seamstress	Dorothy	Negro Girl	17, Slave for life
			Jeffrey	Negro Man	27, Slave for life

Boaz Matthews	Upper Darby	Blacksmith	Caeser	Negro Man	37, Slave for life
Elizabeth Smith	West Nottingham	Spinster	Bett	Negro Girl	15, Slave for life
Heirs of Margaret Smith	West Nottingham		Scimbo	Negro Woman	45, Slave for life
Estate of John Jacobs	West Whiteland		Dinah	Negro Girl	5, Slave for life
			Ishmael	Negro Boy	12, Slave for life
			Phillis	Negro Girl	8, Slave for life
			Zoreda	Negro	10, Slave for life
			Dorothy	Negro Girl	17, Slave for life
			Precilla	Negro Woman	51, Slave for life
			Tom	Negro Man	20, Slave for life

DOCUMENT 23: “An Act to Explain and Amend an Act, entitled ‘Act for the gradual abolition of slavery,’” Pennsylvania General Assembly, March 29, 1788¹

Pennsylvania's 1780 Gradual Abolition law was flawed in several ways, and enslavers exploited loopholes in the law for their own benefit. One major problem with the original law was that it did not require enslavers to register the children born to enslaved women (after the law's passage) with county governments. In the absence of this requirement, many enslavers lied about the legal statuses of children born to enslaved women and considered them slaves for life instead of term slaves as the law required. Enslavers weakened the 1780 law and held people in bondage for longer than they should have. The General Assembly passed a series of amendments to the 1780 in 1788 law to fix this problem and others. The 1788 Act required that enslavers also register the children born to enslaved women after the passage of the 1780 Act with county governments. Registrations of these children included basic information about them.

An ACT to explain and amend an act, entitled “An act for the gradual abolition of slavery.”

SECT. 1. FOR preventing many evils and abuses arising from ill disposed persons availing themselves of certain defects in the act for the gradual abolition of slavery, passed on the first day of March, in the year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and eighty,

SECT. II. *Be it enacted, and it is hereby enacted by the Representatives of the Freemen of the commonwealth of Pennsylvania, in General Assembly met, and by the authority of the same,* That the exception contained in the tenth section of the aforesaid act, relative to domestic slaves attending upon persons passing through or sojourning in this state, and not becoming resident therein, shall not be deemed or taken to extend to the slaves of such persons as are inhabitants of or resident in this state, or who shall come here with an intention to settle and reside, but that all and every slave and slaves who shall be brought into this state, by

¹ “An Act to Explain and Amend an Act, entitled ‘Act for the gradual abolition of slavery,’” March 29, 1788, Statutes at Large of Pennsylvania, Volume 2, Act Number 1334, Chapter MCCCXXXVII, <https://www.palrb.gov/Preservation/Smith-Laws/View-Document/17001799/1788/0/act/1334.pdf>.

persons inhabiting or residing therein, or intending to inhabit or reside therein, shall be immediately considered, deemed and taken to be free, to all intents and purposes.

SECT. III. And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, That no negro or mulatto slave, or servant for term of years, (except as in the last exception of the tenth section of the said act is excepted,) shall be removed out of this state, with the design and intention that the place of abode or residence of such slave or servant shall be thereby altered or changed, or with the design and intention that such slave or servant, if a female, and pregnant, shall be detained and kept out of this state till her delivery of the child of which she is or shall be pregnant, or with the design and intention that such slave or servant shall be brought again into this state, after the expiration of six months from the time of such slave or servant having been first brought into this state, without his or her consent, if of full age, testified upon a private examination, before two Justices of the Peace of the city or county in which he or she shall reside, or being under the age of twenty-one years, without his or her consent, testified in manner aforesaid, and also without the consent of his or her parents, if any such there be, to be testified in like manner aforesaid, whereof the said Justices, or one of them, shall make a record, and deliver to the said slave or servant a copy thereof, containing the name, age, condition, and then place of abode, of such slave or servant, the reason of such removal, and the place to which he or she is about to go. And if any person or persons whatever shall sell or dispose of any such slave or servant, to any person out of this state, or shall send or carry, or cause to be sent or carried, any such slave or servant out of this state, for any of the purposes aforesaid, whereby such slave or servant would lose the benefits and privileges, which by the laws of this state are secured to him or her, and shall not have obtained all such consent as by this act is required, testified in the manner before mentioned, every such person and persons, his and their aiders and abettors, shall severally forfeit and pay, for every such offence, the sum of seventy-five pounds, to be recovered in an court of record, by action of debt, bill, plaint or information, at the suit of any person who will sue for the same, one moiety thereof, when recovered, for the use of the plaintiff, the other moiety for the use of the poor of the city, township or place, from which such slave or servant shall be taken and removed.

SECT. IV. And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, That all persons who now are, or hereafter shall be possessed of any child or children, born after the first day of March, one thousand seven hundred and eighty, who would by the said act be liable to serve till the age of twenty-eight years, shall, on or before the first day of April, one thousand seven hundred and eighty-nine, or within six months next after the birth of any such child, deliver, or cause to be delivered, in writing, to the Clerk of the Peace of the county, or the Clerk of the Court of Record of the city of Philadelphia, in which they shall respectively inhabit, the name, surname and occupation or profession of such possessor, and of the county, township, district or ward, in which they reside, and also the age, (to the best of his or her knowledge,) name and sex of every such child or children, under the pain and penalty of forfeiting and losing all right and title to every such child and children, and of him, her or them immediately becoming free, which said return or account in writing shall be verified by the oath or affirmation of the party, which the said Clerks are hereby respectively authorized and required to administer, and the said Clerks shall make and preserve records thereof, copies and extracts of which shall be good evidence in all courts of justice, when certified under their hands and seals of office. For which oath or affirmation, and entry or extract, the said Clerks shall be respectively entitled to one shilling and six-pence, and no more, to be paid by him or her, who shall so as aforesaid make such entry or demand the extract aforesaid.

And whereas it has been represented to this House, that vessels have been fitted out and equipped in this port, for the iniquitous purpose of receiving and transporting the natives of Africa to places where they are held in bondage, and it is just and proper to discourage, as far as is practicable, such proceedings in the future:

SECT. V. *Be it therefore enacted, and it is hereby enacted by the authority aforesaid,* That if any person or persons shall build, fit, equip, man, or otherwise prepare any ship or vessel, within any port of this state, for the purpose of carrying on a trade or traffic in slaves, to, from, or between Europe, Asia, Africa or America, or any places or countries whatever, or of transporting slaves to or from one port or place to another, in any part or parts of the world, such ship or vessel, her tackle, furniture, apparel, and other appurtenances, shall be forfeited to the commonwealth,

and shall be liable to be seized and prosecuted by any officer of the customs, or other person, by information *in rem* in the Supreme Court, or the county court of Common Pleas for the county wherein such seizure shall be made, whereupon such proceedings shall be had, both unto and after judgement, as in and by the impost laws of this commonwealth, in cases of seizures, is directed. And, moreover, all and every person and persons so building, fitting out, manning, equipping, or otherwise preparing or sending away, any ship or vessel, knowing or intending that the same shall be employed in such trade or business, contrary to the true intent and meaning of this act, or any wise aiding or abetting therein, shall severally forfeit and pay the sum of one thousand pounds, one moiety thereof to the use of the commonwealth, and the other moiety thereof to the use of him or her who will sue for the same, by action of debt, bill, plaint, or information.

And whereas the practice of separating, which is too often exercised by the masters and mistresses of negro and mulatto slaves, or servants for a term of years, in separating husbands and wives, and parents and children, requires to be checked, so far as the same may be done without prejudice to such masters or mistresses:

SECT. VI. *Be it enacted by the authority aforesaid*, That if any owner or possessor of any negro or mulatto slave or slaves, or servant or servants for a term of years, shall from and after the first day of June next, separate or remove, or cause to be separated or removed, a husband from his wife, a wife from her husband, a child from his or her parent, or a parent from a child, or any or either of the descriptions aforesaid, to a greater distance than ten miles, with the design and intention of changing the habitation or place of abode of such husband or wife, parent or child, unless such child shall be above the age of four years, or unless the consent of such slave or servant for life or years shall have been obtained, and testified in the manner herein before described, such person or persons shall severally forfeit and pay the sum of fifty pounds, with costs of suit, for every such offence, to be recovered by action of debt, bill, plaint or information, in the Supreme Court, or in any court of Common Pleas, at the suit of any person who will sue for the same, one moiety thereof, when recovered, for the use of the plaintiff, the other moiety for the use of the poor of the city, township or place, from which husband or wife, parent or child, shall have been taken and removed.

SECT. VII. *And be it further therefore enacted by the authority aforesaid*, That if any person or persons shall, from and after the passing of this act, by force or violence, take and carry, or cause to be taken and carried, or shall by fraud seduce, or cause to be seduced, any negro or mulatto, from any part or parts of this state, to any other place or places whatsoever, with a design and intention of selling and disposing, or of causing to be sold, or of keeping and detaining, or of causing so to be, as a slave, or servant for term of years, every such person and persons, their aiders and abettors, shall on conviction thereof in any court of Quarter Sessions for any city or county within this commonwealth, forfeit and pay the sum of one hundred pounds to the overseers of the poor of the city or township, from which such negro or mulatto shall have been taken or seduced as aforesaid, and shall also be confined at hard labour for any time not less than six months, nor more than twelve months, and until the costs of prosecution shall be paid.

[SECT. VIII. *And be it further therefore enacted by the authority aforesaid*, That the justices of the courts of Common Pleas for the counties of this state, respectively, be, and they are hereby required and enjoined to cause this act to be publicly read, at least twice in each term, for the two terms next following the passage of this act.]

DOCUMENT 24: “Negro Servant Returns” from Delaware County¹

In this document, various white enslavers from Delaware County registered children who were their term slaves. These enslavers recorded the names, approximate ages, and sexes of these children to comply with the 1788 Amendment to the 1780 Gradual Abolition Law.

[First Page]

Delaware County

Be it Remembered that on the first Day of February Anno Domini 1792 William Twaddle of the Township of Birmingham in the County of Delaware Iron Master makes return upon his Solemn Oath of a Negro Male Child named Samuel Aged about five Months the property of him the said William Twaddle to be registered agreeable to the Acts of Assembly in Such case made & Provided &c.

Feb. 1st, 1792

On the Eleventh Day of July Anno Domini 1792 Elizabeth Willcox upon her Solemn Oath makes return to the Clerk of the court of General Quarter ^ Session of the Peace for the County of Delaware of a female Negro Childe named Kate born the Seventh Day of August Ano Domini 1789 the property of the said Elizabeth Willcox to be registered agreeable to the Acts of the Assembly in such case made and provided

July 11th, 1792

On the Eleventh Day of July Anno Domini 1792 Elizabeth Willcox of the Township of [left blank] in the County of Delaware upon her solemn Oath makes return to the Clerk of the Court of General Quarter Sessions of the

¹ Dockets for Enslaved People in Delaware County, 1762-1831, Delaware County Bar Association, Delaware County Community College, DCCTO_10, DCCTO_11, DCCTO_12. Scan of dockets provided by Dr. Ife Williams.

peace for said County of a negro female Child named Sal born January the twelfth Anno Domini 1792. The property of her the said Elizabeth Willcox to be registered agreeable to the Acts of Assembly in such Case made & provided

July 11th, 1792

On the twenty sixth Day of July Anno Domini 1793. William Twaddle of the Township of Birmingham in the County of Delaware Iron Master makes return upon his solemn Oath to the Clerk of the Court of General Quarter Sessions of the peace for said County of a Negro Male Child named Isaac born February the fourteenth anno Domini 1793. The property of the said William Twaddle to be registered according to law

July 26, 1793

[Second Page]

Delaware County

Be it Remembered that on the twenty eighth day of January Anno Domini 1794. Adam Deihl of the Township of Tinicum in the County aforesaid Grazier upon his solemn Oath makes return to the Clerk of the Court of General Quarter Sessions of the peace for said County of a Negro feaml Child named Nancy Morris born the twenty fourth Day of September Anno Domini 1794. The property of the said Adam Deihl to be registered according to Law

Jan. 28th, 1794

On the twenty Nineth day of April anno Domini 1794 William Burns of Marcus Hook in the County of Delaware Innholder upon his solemn oath makes return to the Clerk of the Court of General Quarter Sessions of the Peace for said County of two negro Children the one a female named Floras born the fourteenth Day of January Anno Domini 1794 the other a male named Cuff born the Sixteenth Day of March Anno Domini 1794 the property of the said William Burns; to be registered according to Law

April 29, 1794

On the sixty Day of January Anno Domini One thousand seven hundred & ninety five Israel Elliott Esquire of Tinicum in the County of Delaware on his solemn Affirmation makes return to the Clerk of the Court of General Quarter Sessions of the peace for said County of a Negro female child named Phebe Daughter of Dina McCormick born the tenth day of September 1794 a slave of the said Israel Elliott to be registered according to Law

Jan. 6th 1795

[Third Page]

Delaware County

Be it Remembered that on the Twelfth day of November Anno Domini 1796 Israel Elliott Esqr. Of the Township of Tinicum in the County of Delaware Grazier upon his solemn affirmation makes return tot eh Clerk of the Peace of said County of a Negroe female Child named Elizabeth born the Twenty third day of May Last the Daughter of Dina McCormick the Property & Slave of said Elliott to be registered According to Law

November 12, 1796

Delaware County Be it Remembered that on the twenty seventh day of February Anno Domini 1799 Mark Willcox Esqr of the Township of Concord, in the County aforesaid, upon his solemn Oath makes return to the Clerk of the Court of General Quarter Sessions of the Peace for said County of a Negroe Maile Child, named Charles Gibson Born the second day of September Anno Domini 1798 Son of Susanna Gibson the property of said Willcox to be registered according to Law

Feb. 27th, 1799

On the second day of July Anno Domini 1806 William Anderson of the Borough of Chester makes return, on oath, of a Male mulatto bastard child,

named Francis, born the 17th day of February last, in order that the said child may be entered & registered according to law WB Dick Clk.

DOCUMENT 25: Fugitive Ad for Gloster, Corke, Bristor, and two enslaved men and a woman by Justice Farmer, John Petty, John Baily, the Widow Bird, and John Noble, Whitemarsh and Philadelphia, October 11, 1733¹

In this document, multiple white enslavers advertised rewards for the people they enslaved who had escaped bondage together. Advertisements for groups of runaways were uncommon in the Philadelphia area. The enslaved men and woman featured in this ad must have made some sort of plan and communicated with each other before their flight. Though the ad does not say this, we can surmise they must have been in contact in some way because they were all enslaved by different white people and would not have lived together.

RUN away from Justice Farmer's of Whitemarsh a Negroe Man named Gloster, from John Petty, Indian Trader, a Negroe Man and Woman, from John Baily of Philadelphia Shoemaker, a Negroe man named Corke, from the Widow Bird of Philadelphia a Negroe Man, and from John Noble of Philadelphia, a Negroe Man called Bristor. They all went away last Saturday, and took Guns with them, and have been seen going up Perkiomy Road last Monday Night. Whoever takes up the said Negroes or any of them so that they may be had again, shall have from Justice Farmer's Five Pound, from the Widow Bird's Three Pounds, and from the other Two Pounds, and reasonable Charges paid by, Justice Farmer, John Petty, John Baily, Widow Bird, and John Noble. October 11, 1733.

¹ *The Pennsylvania Gazette*, October 11, 1733, 4. Accessed via *Readex: America's Historical Newspapers*.

DOCUMENT 26: Bucks County Sheriff's Notice, December 16, 1736¹

In this newspaper notice, the sheriff of Bucks County wrote that an enslaved man named Charles was incarcerated in the jail of New-Town. The sheriff wrote that Charles had escaped from his enslaver named Darby Handy who lived near Baltimore, Maryland, and that Handy or anyone else who may have claimed Charles as their property could go to the jail, pay fees for his incarceration, and enslave him again.

NOTICE is hereby given,

THAT there was lately taken up in the County of *Bucks*, and committed to the *New-Town* **Goal**, a run-away NegroMan, who says his Name is *Charles*, and that his Master's Name is *Darby Handy*, and lives in *Baltimore* County near *Gun-powder*. If the said *Darby Handy*, or any other Person, hath lost such Negro, let them apply to the Sheriff of Bucks County, and they may have him again, paying the Charges.

Gaol/Goal:
alternative
spelling for
the word jail.

¹ *American Weekly Mercury*, December 16, 1736, 4. Accessed via *Readex: America's Historical Newspapers*.

DOCUMENT 27: Fugitive ad for Hercules by William Bird, Union Township, Berks County, November 15, 1759¹

In this document, enslaver William Bird advertised for an enslaved man he owned named Hercules. Hercules escaped from Bird on July 26, and was still free when he posted this advertisement months later in November. Bird described Hercules's clothes and appearance, and wrote that he could speak Dutch. He also gave some biographical information about him. Hercules was previously owned and enslaved by John Potts, who was an ironmaster and the founder of Pottstown, Pennsylvania.² Hercules escaped from Potts in 1758, and Potts, like Bird, wrote and posted fugitive slave advertisements to try and recapture him. Hercules was one of many enslaved people in the Philadelphia area who escaped from bondage multiple times.

RUN away on the 26th July, 1759, from the Subscriber, living in Union Township, in Berks County ; a Negroe Man named Hercules ; had on when he went away, an Ozenbrige Shirt and Trowsers, his other clothes not known ; he is about five Feet ten Inches high, pretty well set, the lower Part of one of his Eyes hangs down, and looks ghastly, he speaks Dutch. It is the same Negroe that run away last Year from John Potts, Esq. of Pottsgrove, and was so long continued in these Papers. Whoever takes up said Negroe, and brings him to his Master, or secures him in any Goal, so that his Master may have him again, shall have Forty Shillings Reward, and reasonable Charges, paid by me,

WILLIAM BIRD

¹ *Pennsylvania Gazette*, November 15, 1759, 5. Accessed via *Readex: America's Historical Newspapers*.

² "About the Site," Pottsgrove Manor, Montgomery County Parks, Trails, and Historic Sites, Montgomery County, Pennsylvania, <https://www.montgomerycountypa.gov/930/Pottsgrove-Manor>.

DOCUMENT 28: Fugitive Ad for Phebe/Sarah by Thomas Barnard, Marcus-Hook, Chester County, August 23, 1763¹

In this document, a white enslaver named Thomas Barnard advertised for Phebe, an enslaved Black woman he owned. Phebe, Barnard noted, sometimes called herself Sarah, and tried to pass as a free woman. She had multiple scars on her forehead, which Barnard described as “Negroe,” and which were likely evidence of African scarification practices – a sign that Phebe/Sarah was either born in Africa or had continued African cultural traditions. Barnard thought Phebe/Sarah was being harbored by free Black people in the Philadelphia area.

Marcus-Hook, Chester County, August 23, 1763.

Run away from the Subscriber, the First of this Inst. A Negroe Wench, named Phebe, about 30 Years of Age, of a small Stature, has three or four large **Negroe Scars** up and down her Forehead, but is apt to wear a Handkerchief round her Head to hide them: Had on, and took with her, Three fine Shifts, and one coarse Ditto, a Calicoe Gown and Bed gown, a striped Linsey Bed gown and three Petticoats. She sometimes calls herself Sarah, and pretends to be free. Whoever takes up and secures said Wench in any Goal, so that the Subscriber may have her again, shall have Thirty Shillings Reward, and reasonable Charges, paid by

THOMAS BARNARD .

Negroe Scars: scars that enslaved and formerly enslaved people had on their bodies from African scarification practices, which were cultural traditions where people scarred their bodies for various purposes.

N.B. It is supposed that she is harboured by some of the free Negroes in or near Philadelphia or Germantown.

¹ *The Pennsylvania Gazette*, September 1, 1763, 4. Accessed via *Readex: America's Historical Newspapers*.

DOCUMENT 29: Fugitive Ad for Pedro by Robert Powell, East Whiteland, Chester County, April 12, 1770¹

In this document, a white enslaver named Robert Powell advertised for Pedro, an enslaved Black man he owned who escaped in April, 1770. Pedro spoke English poorly and was formerly owned by Spanish enslavers. Powell noted the clothing he took with him and that he also brought a violin with him, but that Powell thought he could not play it well.

FOUR DOLLARS reward.

RUN away, on the 5th of this instant April, from the subscriber, living in East Whiteland, Chester county, a Negroe man, named Pedro, about 26 years of age, about 5 feet 10 inches high, a well set stout active lively cunning fellow, very mannerly when abroad, and addicted to lying, talks but poor English, being brought up among the Spaniards; had on, and took with him, a blue napt cloth coat, with yellow metal buttons and red lining, an old brown great coat, a callicoe jacket, and a lead coloured cloth ditto, with sleeves, an under cloth ditto, without sleeves, a fine hat, about half worn, a fine shirt, with ruffles at the bosom, one homespun coarse ditto, good buckskin breeches, white sailortrowsers, brown yarn stockings, two pair of worsted ditto, one deep and the other pale blue, a pair of ribbed thread stockings, two pair of good shoes, with plated buckles, one silk cap, and one white ditto, ruffled, but perhaps he may change his clothes; also took with him a violin, but is no great player thereon. Whoever apprehends said Negroe, and secures him in any goal, in this or the neighbouring provinces, so that his master may have him again, shall have the above reward, and reasonable charges, paid by me **ROBERT POWELL** .

N.B. All masters of vessels and others are forbid to harbour or carry him off at their peril.

¹ *The Pennsylvania Gazette*, April 12, 1770. Accessed via *Readex: America's Historical Newspapers*.

DOCUMENT 30: Fugitive Ad for Dick by Nathaniel Parker, Lower Makefield, Bucks County, November 6, 1770¹

In this advertisement, enslaver Nathaniel Parker described an enslaved man he owned named Dick who ran away in October, 1770. Parker wrote about Dick's clothing and that it was "supposed" that Dick had obtained a forged pass that would have helped him escape. The pass could have been for permission to travel away from Parker or could have claimed Dick was free. Parker offered a reward of thirty shillings for his capture and return.

RAN AWAY from the subscriber, on the 26th day of last month, a Negro slave that goes by the name of DICK, about five feet six inches high, and upwards of 30 years of age, very much marked with the small-pox, has lost all his teeth before, and is of a yellow oast. Had on, when he went away, a blue coat, lined with red, light coloured cut velvet vest, red kersey trowsers, old shoes, and wore on his head a Scotch bonnet. It is supposed that he has procured a forged pass. Whoever takes up and secures said slave, so that his master may have him again, shall receive a reward of Thirty Shillings, and reasonable charges, by applying to NATHANIEL PARKER, at Yardley's ferry.

N.B. All masters of vessels are forbid taking him off.

¹ *Pennsylvania Chronicle*, November 26, 1770, 178. Accessed via *Readex: America's Historical Newspapers*.

DOCUMENT 31: Fugitive Ad for Jack/John Richison by William Bean, East Nottingham Township, Chester County, November 22, 1770¹

In this document, enslaver William Bean advertised an enslaved man he owned named Jack/John Richison. The ad provides an important detail about how weather conditions affected enslavement and escapes; Bean noted that Jack/John was suffering from frost bite. Bean wrote that Jack/John also had a plan to remain free. Jack/John had a letter that claimed he was free, likely a forged travel pass, and a supposed goal of going to Philadelphia “for justice” where he would try to prove his freedom with the letter.

FORTY SHILLINGS Reward.

RUN away from the subscriber, in East Nottingham, Chester county, on the 18th of this instant November, a Negroe man, known by the name of Jack, or John Richison, about 5 feet 7 inches high, a well set fellow, about 30 years of age, and speaks good English; he is supposed to have on a short brown coat, and buckskin breeches, or black stocking pattern breeches; he is marked on the forehead, and one of his feet frost bitten, and has a lump on one of his wrists; he is a smart active fellow, and will endeavour to pass for a free man, and has a letter for that purpose, which he reports he got from Ireland, and probably a forged pass, supposed to be given him by some of my honest neighbours, and will pretend he is going to Philadelphia for justice, as some of his confederates persuaded him the letter will set him free. Whoever secures the said Negroe in any goal or workhouse, so as his master may have him again, shall have the above reward, and reasonable charges, paid by

WILLIAM **BEAN** .

N.B. It is supposed he may endeavour to get to sea, all masters of vessels are forbid to carry him off at their peril.

¹ *The Pennsylvania Gazette*, November 22, 1770. Accessed via *Readex: America's Historical Newspapers*.

DOCUMENT 32: Fugitive Ad for Jack/John Richardson by William Bean, East Nottingham Township, Chester County, September 5, 1771¹

In this document, enslaver William Bean advertised again for an enslaved man he owned named Jack/John Richardson. Bean advertised for his escape a year before and this advertisement provides more details about Jack/John Richardson's history. Bean wrote that Jack/John Richardson had tried to prove his freedom in court, but was unsuccessful in his efforts and "sent home." Bean enslaved him again, Jack/John Richardson escaped from him, then was employed by a man named James Rigbee in Maryland, who then brought him back to Bean. When Rigbee returned him to Bean, Jack/John Richardson escaped again.

Chester county, August 21, 1771.

RUN away last night, from the subscriber, living in East Nottingham township, a Negroe man, known by the name of JACK or JOHN RICHARDSON, he is a smart likely fellow, about 5 feet 6 inches high, and about 30 years of age; had on, when he went away, a dark coloured cloth jacket or coat, a white linen shirt, ozenbrigs trowsers, grey yarn stockings, good shoes, and an old hat; he has a lump on the under part of one of his wrists, and wants the first joint of one of his great toes; he is well known about Chester, by a trial he had for his freedom, but being disappointed of his expectations, he was sent home, and continued till about the 13th of November last, when he absconded from his master, and was put in the public gazettes; but a few days before they came from the press, he was met by a certain public friend, known by the name of James Rigbee, who took him into Maryland, and kept him in his employ for near 9 months, but finding he could no longer keep him, without being put to trouble, or his ungenerous actions appearing more in the public, he delivered him up to his master, on the 17th of this instant---- Whoever takes up said Negroe, and secures him, so as his master may have him again, shall have SIX DOLLARS reward, and reasonable charges, paid by me **WILLIAM BEAN** .

N. B. It is possible the Negroe may endeavour to pass for a freeman, by

¹ *The Pennsylvania Gazette*, September 5, 1771, 3. Accessed via *Readex: America's Historical Newspapers*

some writings he may have for that purpose; therefore, all masters of vessels are forbid to carry him off, at their peril. W.

DOCUMENT 33: Advertisement for Stolen Property by John Barnesley, Bristol Township, Bucks County, July 30, 1776¹

In this document, a white man named John Barnesley wrote about property that had been stolen from him in Bristol Township. Barnesley claimed that a multiracial man named Charles was the thief, and that Charles had been in Bristol with a pass that proved he was a “free Negro.” It’s unclear from the ad if Barnesley or someone else enslaved Charles, but Barnesley offered a reward for his capture and incarceration.

Bristol Township, Bucks County, July 30, 1776

EIGHT DOLLARS *Reward,*

WAS Stolen, on the 30th of this instant July, from the house of JOHN BARNESLY in *Bristol township, Bucks county*, near *Nishameny*, the following articles, viz. two gold rings, one plain and the other a set stone one, one pair of gold sleeve buttons, marked E V C, one pair of silver double rimm’d shoe buckles, one pair of knee ditto, one silver dollar, one pair of white ribb’d silk stockings, one pair of small ribb’d cotton ditto, one blue broad cloth surtout coat with pinchbeck basket buttons one muslin cravat, two home made shirts almost new, one bought ditto half worn, one pair of nankeen ditto, one pair of blue and white striped trowsers, and a number of other small articles.

The above articles were stolen by a **Mulatto** man named CHARLES, about 5 feet 9 or 10 inches high, well set, has an impediment in his speech and sour look, with his hair turned up before. The Mulatto had a pass as a free Negro signed by *Samuel Rhoads* in Philadelphia. Whoever takes up the said Mulatto, and secures him in any goal so that the owner may have him again shall receive the above reward by JOHN BARNESLEY

Mulatto: an offensive and racist term to describe someone with both white and Black ancestry

¹ *The Pennsylvania Ledger: or the Virginia, Maryland, Pennsylvania, & New-Jersey Weekly Advertiser*, August 17, 1776, 4. Accessed via *Readex: America’s Historical Newspapers*.

DOCUMENT 34: Fugitive Ad for Jack Jones by Elisha Price, Chester, Chester County, February 5, 1777¹

In this document, enslaver Elisha Price [see his entry in Document 22] advertised for a man named Jack Jones who ran away from him. It's unclear if Jones was enslaved, indentured, or employed in some other way by Price. The advertisement provides remarkable details about Jones's escape, skills, and physical appearance.

Chester, November 23, 1776.

FIVE POUNDS Reward.

RUN away from the subscriber, living in the Borough of Chester, in the beginning of August last, a Mulattoe man, named Jack Jones, upwards of 24 years of age, a Cooper by trade, about 5 feet 7 inches high, wears his hair tied in a cue behind, has a hobbling gait when he walks, occasioned by the rheumatism formerly in his hips, this country born, speaks good English, can read, and write a tolerable hand, and can play pretty well on a fife, is a sly, smooth tongued fellow, and may probably forge a pass, and pretend to be a freeman; he went on board the Providence privateer, commanded by Captain Jones, when she lay opposite to Chester, outward bound on her cruize, and am since informed by one of the hands, that he escaped from on board the first prize taken by the privateer, when she was retaken by the English, and came ashore at or near Egg harbour, in Jersey, so that it is supposed he is lurking somewhere in Jersey, or perhaps may have come to Philadelphia in expectation of getting his prize money. Whoever takes up said fellow and brings him home, or secures him in any goal in this province, so that his master may have him again, shall receive the above reward, and reasonable charges, paid by **ELISHA PRICE**.

N.B. His clothes cannot be well described, as he left the most of his clothes at home, and is supposed to have got new.

¹ *The Pennsylvania Gazette*, February 5, 1777, 4. Accessed via *Readex: America's Historical Newspapers*.

DOCUMENT 35: Fugitive Ad for Caesar and Anthony Welsh by James Crozer and James Anderson, Springfield Township, Chester County, August 6, 1777¹

In this document, two enslavers named James Crozer and James Anderson advertised for Caesar and Anthony Welsh, two enslaved men who escaped from them in the summer of 1777. Crozer and Anderson described Caesar and Anthony Welsh's appearances, the clothing they took with them, and noted that they were both "careful" in taking care of their hair. Crozer and Anderson thought that Caesar and Anthony Welsh had headed to British forces – who were in the area in 1777 during the Revolutionary War – and offered a reward of fifteen dollars for either man. Both men were eventually recaptured, as Crozer and Anderson registered them as their slaves in 1780 [Document 22].

THIRTY DOLLARS Reward.

RUN away from the subscribers, living in Springfield township, Chester county, Pennsylvania, on the night of the 4th instant, two Mulattoe young men, one named **Caesar**; about 18 years of age, 5 feet 7 inches high, a well set, good looking active fellow; had on, and took with him, two tow shirts, two pair of tow trowsers, a white hunting shirt of the same, two jackets, without sleeves. of thick cloth, are grey and the other a reddish colour, a new wool hat, cocked, a red and yellow handkerchief, and good shoes. The other named **Anthony Welsh**, but is commonly called Tone, about 18 years of age, 5 feet 9 inches high, a likely fellow, two fingers on his right hand very crooked; had on, when he went away, a new wool hat, cocked, tow shirt and two pair of trowsers, one striped lincey jacket, without sleeves, good shoes, and a silk handkerchief. It is probable they will change their names. They are both very careful in combing their wool; the latter keeps his mostly tied. It is thought they are gone towards the camp with a design to enlist, but it is hoped they will not meet with a Dunmore there. Whoever secures said Mulattoes, so that their masters may have them again, shall have the above reward for both, or Fifteen Dollars for either of them, and reasonable charges, from
JAMES CROZER , JAMES ANDERSON.

¹ *Pennsylvania Gazette*, August 13, 1777, 3. Accessed via *Readex: America's Historical Newspapers*.

August 6, 1777.

DOCUMENT 36: Fugitive Ad for Peg by Persifor Frazer, Thornbury Township, Chester County, July 7, 1779¹

In this document, Persifor Frazer, an enslaver from Thornbury Township, advertised for an enslaved woman he owned named Peg. Peg escaped from Frazer over a year before he posted the article. Frazer believed she was either in Philadelphia or the area, and noted that she fled to the city when it was occupied by British forces. He offered a large reward of one hundred dollars for her capture. Frazer wrote that people who caught and held Peg could bring her to him in Thornbury or to another man named William Henry in Philadelphia.

RUN away about 14 months ago, and went into Philadelphia, whilst the British troops were there, a young Negroe Wench, named PEG, about 20 years old, very lusty of her age, was born in Chester county, there is great reason to believe she is in, or at no great distance from Philadelphia, possibly in the Jerseys, as she was seen last winter in the market. Whoever takes up and secures said Wench, so that I may have her again, shall have One Hundred Dollars Reward, and all reasonable charges paid, on applying to Colonel WILLIAM HENRY, in Philadelphia, or the subscriber, in Thornbury, Chester county. PERSIFOR **FRAZER**.

Any person who harbours or conceals her may depend upon the severest prosecution.

¹ *The Pennsylvania Gazette*, July 7, 1779, Accessed via *Readex: America's Historical Newspapers*.

DOCUMENT 37: Fugitive Ad for Thomas Bucher by John Starrett, East Nantmell Township, Chester County, November 1, 1770¹

In this document, enslaver John Starrett advertised for a multiracial enslaved man named Thomas Bucher. Starrett owned him and described his appearance and clothing in the ad. He also noted that Bucher “took with him” a white woman, who Bucher claimed was his wife, and Starrett insulted the woman’s appearance and behavior. Starrett thought that an “evil designing person” may have helped create a fake pass for Bucher. Such a pass could have claimed he had permission to travel away from Starrett or that he was free.

RUN away on the 25th day of August last, from the subscriber, living in East Nantmell township, Chester county, a Mulattoe man, named Thomas Bucher, aged 35 years, about 5 feet 10 or 11 inches high, hath short black curled hair, very large feet, his legs not equal, the one considerably thicker than the other, is pretty much marked with the small pox; had on, and took with him, when he went away, a whitish coloured thick cloth coat, with mohair buttons, one under jacket, without sleeves, one fine linen shirt, one tow ditto, one pair of tow trowsers, one pair of coarse leather shoes, with brass buckles, one new castor hat, and one half worn ditto. Said Mulattoe took with him a white woman, which he says is his wife, she is very remarkable, as all the fingers are cut off her right hand, and is a thickset, chunky, impudent looking, red haired hussey, pretty much given to strong drink. Whoever takes up said Mulattoe man, and secures him in any of his Majesty goals, shall have Eight Dollars reward, and reasonable charges, paid by

JOHN STARRETT .

N.B. It may be supposed some evil designing person hath drawn him a pass.

¹ *The Pennsylvania Gazette*, November 1, 1770. Accessed via *Readex: America’s Historical Newspapers*.

DOCUMENT 38: Fugitive Ad for Tom by Charles Humphreys, Haverford Township, Chester County, September 29, 1781¹

Charles Humphreys was a wealthy white politician, enslaver, and miller who lived primarily in Haverford Township but whose land holdings extended into Radnor and Lower Merion Townships. He, along with his sister Elizabeth, owned nine enslaved people who they registered with Chester County in 1780 [Document 22]. Their names were Nancy, Dolly, Alice, Fanny, Judy, Tom, Ceasar, Nanny, and Tommey. One year after they registered these enslaved people, one of them – Tom – freed himself from the Humphreys in July, 1781. In the fugitive ad he wrote about Tom, Charles Humphreys described his physical appearance, clothing, and thought that Tom was in Philadelphia, Chester, or Marcus-Hook passing himself as a freeman. Humphreys offered a reward of three silver dollars for his capture and return. It's unclear when or how, but Tom was eventually captured and re-enslaved by Humphreys, who later freed him gradually in his will in 1786.²

RAN AWAY,

The 22nd day of July, 1781, from the subscriber, living in
Haverford township, Chester county,

A Mulatto Man named TOM,
strong and well set, thick arms and legs, &c.
and a blemish on the sight of one eye, caused by the sting of
a wasp, black busy hair, and rather dark complexion;
had on a light coloured cloth coat, and well dressed when
he left home; he has been mowing about Philadelphia and
in the marsh-meadows as low as Chester and the Hook,
and passes himself for a freeman. Any person bringing the
said fellow home, or securing him in the Work-House or
Gaol, so that his master shall have him again, shall have
Three Silver Dollars Reward, besides reasonable charges.

¶ 3w.

CHARLES HUMPHREYS

¹ *Pennsylvania Journal, or, Weekly Advertiser*, September 29, 1781, 4. Accessed via *Readex: America's Historical Newspapers*.

² Will of Charles Humphreys, *Wills and Administrations, 1714-1923*, page 577 on online index pdf, Charles Humphrey, year 1786, file number 3759, Chester County Archives, West Chester, Pennsylvania.

DOCUMENT 39: Note from Jonathan Mifflin to Charles Humphreys,
September 11, 1781¹

Description: In this short note, Jonathan Mifflin, a white man who lived in the area, wrote to Charles Humphreys about an amount of rye he sent to be sold by Humphreys. Mifflin wrote that a man Humphreys enslaved named Ceasar informed him about his order. Only a short time before Mifflin wrote this note, Tom, another enslaved man Humphreys owned, escaped from him.

Sir,

Ceasar informs me you have not sold my Rye, the Price is now so low that it is better to make Horse Feed of it Please to grind it for me & I will send Bags for it as soon as it is ready

September 11, 1781

I am Sir

PS. Please to give me
An Accot. Of the Wheat
Rye you have received? The
Flour & Horse Feed you
Have delivered

Your Servant
Jonathan Mifflin

¹ Joshua Humphreys Papers, 1660-1931, Collection # 306, Miscellaneous documents (1702-1931), Box 3, Historical Society of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania.

DOCUMENT 40: Notice about Caesar by William Starrett, East Nantmill, Chester County, June 5, 1782¹

In this notice, enslaver William Starrett wrote about a Black man named Caesar who had come to his property injured and sick. Caesar told Starrett that he had fought in the “southern army” during the Revolutionary war and that he was born in Guinea and a freeman. Starrett, as he wrote in the notice, did not believe that he was free and wrote this advertisement so that his enslaver, if he did have one, could come and claim his property. If no one came to claim Caesar as their slave within three weeks, Starrett would sell him as a slave. Starrett, according to the 1780 Chester County Slave Register [Document 22], enslaved three Black people: a boy named George, a girl named Phebe, and a woman named Cate.

CAME to the house of the subscriber of the subscriber, living in East Nantmill, Chester county, some time in April last, A Negroe Man, called CAESAR, about 22 years of age, five feet six inches high, marked with the small pox, was born in Guinea, and speaks very much in that dialect; says he came last from the southern army, and that he is a freeman: Had on, a blue regimental coat, faced with red, black worsted breeches, light coloured jacket, tow cloth shirt, and an old hat; has sundry other clothes, such as, one pair buckskin breeches, one tow cloth hunting shirt, and one scollophat, pretty good; was much indisposed with sickness when he came to my house; is now under a surgeonhands, and is much recovered; therefore as I doubt the truth of his being free, his master, if any he has, is desired to come, prove property, pay charges and take him away, otherwise he will be sold for the same, in three weeks from the date hereof.

May 22, 1782. WILLIAM **STARRETT**.

¹ *The Pennsylvania Gazette*, June 7, 1782, 3. Accessed via *Readex: America's Historical Newspapers*.

DOCUMENT 41: Fugitive Ad for Cudjo by David Kennedy, Philadelphia, December 12, 1783¹

In this document, an enslaver named David Kennedy from Philadelphia advertised for Cudjo, an enslaved man he owned who escaped from Kennedy in November, 1783. Kennedy described his personality, habits, clothing he took with him, and hairstyle. Kennedy thought Cudjo may have been headed towards Bucks County, where his parents apparently lived, or towards a ship to escape from him by sea.

Philadelphia, Nov. 27.

Thirty Dollars Reward.

RAN-AWAY on Sunday last, a Negro MAN, named CUDJO, about 21 years of age, 5 feet 10 or 11 inches high : he is very strong and active, and fond of shewing the same; he loves strong drink but seldom gets drunk ; much addicted to swearing when with his companions ; has a pleasant countenance and innocent appearance; the cloaths he took with him are, a good new hat, a suftian coattee, three shirts, a pair of leather breeches and green cloth overalls, a good pair of shoes, two or three pair of stockings, and a pair of boots : he has lately worn a frizet, or hair sewed to tape, in imitation of white men's false curls, in order to make his hair appear long; his father and mother live in Bucks county, between Bennet's tavern and Carrel's ferry, and it is probably he may go that way, or endeavour to get on board some vessel to go to sea. Whoever will apprehend said Negro, and secure him so that I may get him again, shall have the above reward and reasonable charges. DAVID KENNEDY.

N. B. All masters of vessels are forbid to take off said Negro at their peril.

¹ *Pennsylvania Packet*, December 12, 1783, 4. Accessed via *Readex: America's Historical Newspapers*.

DOCUMENT 42: Fugitive Ad for Bob by Daniel and Jeremiah Evans, Uwchland Township, Chester County, July 13, 1784¹

In this document, Daniel and Jeremiah Evans advertised for an enslaved man named Bob who they claimed ownership of. Daniel and Jeremiah's father, John Evans, enslaved and owned Bob, but had recently died. Daniel and Jeremiah were the administrators to their father's estate, and included Bob as a part of their father's property that they inherited. Bob, however, as the two brothers wrote, said that John Evans promised him "he should be set free," and took matters into his own hands by escaping. The ad provides important biographical details about Bob and highlights an important part of slavery; when enslavers died, enslaved people's lives changed in dramatic and uncertain ways. It seems likely that Bob fled with a woman named Dina, whose enslaver posted a fugitive ad for her in the same paper during the same time [Document 43].

RUN away, last night, from the Administrators to the estate of John **Evans**, of Uwchland, deceased, a Negroe man, named BOB, about 38 years old, imported from Guinea, and marked in his face, of a middle stature, has learned the tanning business, and is very handy at farming, says that his late master promised he should be set free; had on, when he went away, a tow shirt and trowsers, a new wool hat, and a paid of good shoes with strings. Whoever takes up said Negroe and secures him in any goal, so that the subscribers may him get again, shall have Three Pounds reward, and reasonable charges, if brought to DANIEL **EVANS** of Uwchland, Chester county, or to EDWARD CARTER of Chester, or JEREMIAH **EVANS** of East Nantmell, in said county, Administrators. N.B. It is supposed that there is a Negroe woman with him, as they went both together.

¹ *The Pennsylvania Gazette*, July 13, 1784, 3. Accessed via *Readex: America's Historical Newspapers*.

DOCUMENT 43: Fugitive Ad for Dina by David Carson, Uwchland Township, Chester County, July 13, 1784¹

In this document, enslaver David Carson advertised for an enslaved woman he owned named Dina. Carson described her briefly and offered a reward of three pounds for her capture and return. Though he did not say so, it is highly likely that Dina was the same woman who Bob, an enslaved man, ran away with in Uwchland Township [Document 42].

RAN AWAY, on the night of the 12th instant, from the subscriber, living in Uwchland township, Chester county. A Negroe Woman, named **DINA**, about 30 years of age, of a middle stature, short visage, and naturally of a sour countenance. Had on when she went away, a brown short gown and petticoat, both of linsey, a tow shirt, and may have many other articles of cloathing not yet discovered; she has either silver ear-rings or holes for them. Whoever takes up said Negroe Woman and secures her in any goal, so that her master may have her again, shall have **THREE POUNDS** reward, and reasonable charges, if brought home, paid by **DAVID CARSON**.

¹ *The Pennsylvania Gazette*, July 13, 1784, 3. Accessed via *Readex: America's Historical Newspapers*.

DOCUMENT 44: Fugitive Ad for Peter by Elisha Price, Chester, Chester County, August 4, 1784¹

In this document, enslaver Elisha Price advertised for an enslaved man he owned named Peter. Price had enslaved Peter since at least 1780, and recorded him that year in the Chester County Slave Register [Document 22]. In this ad, Price described Peter's appearance, skills, and provided important details about Peter's life; Price had hired him out to farmers in Chester County, Peter had lived in Delaware, and had tried to pass as a freeman before.

TWENTY DOLLARS Reward.

RAN away on the second day of May last, from the subscriber, living in the borough of Chester, a Negroe man named PETER, about 27 years of age, 5 feet 6 or 7 inches high, a square well built fellow, a little bow-legged, had on his dirty working cloths, viz. a coarse shirt and trowsers, old hat and jacket, and old shoes with strings, though he possibly may have taken better cloaths with him; he has been used to all kinds of farming work, is a great liar, and boasts much of what he can do. He has been hired with farmers in different parts of Chester county, and lived two years with Mr. Thomas Watson, near Newark, in New-Castle county: He is an artful fellow, can play on the fife, and may probably change his name, and pass for a freeman, as he did once before on a like occasion. Whoever takes up said Negroe and brings him home, or secures him in any goal in this state, so that his master may have him again, shall have the above reward, besides reasonable charges, paid by ELISHA **PRICE**.

Chester, July 26, 1784.

N.B. All masters of vessels, and others, are forbid to harbour or carry him off, at their peril.

¹ *The Pennsylvania Gazette*, August 4, 1784, 2. Accessed via *Accessible Archives Inc.*

DOCUMENT 45: Fugitive Ad for Kent by John Jones, Lower Merion, Montgomery County, June 21, 1786¹

Kent, an enslaved man, escaped from his enslaver John Jones in Lower Merion in the summer of 1786. In this advertisement, Jones noted Kent's age, that he was born in North Carolina, and the clothing he had on "when he went away." He offered a reward of eight dollars for his capture and return.

EIGHT DOLLARS Reward.

RAN away from the subscriber, in Lower Merion township, Montgomery county, state of Pennsylvania, on the 15th of this instant, a NEGRO MAN, named Kent, a well made likely young fellow, about 19 years of age, 5 feet 9 or 10 inches high, he is rather impudent, born in North Carolina: had on when he went away a light coloured homespun jacket, much worn, ticklenburg tow linen shirt and trowsers, a felt hat much worn, an old waistcoat of superfine cloth, the skirts cut short. Whoever secures the said negro in any gaol, so that the subscriber may have him again, shall have the above reward and reasonable charges.

June 20th, 1786. JOHN JONES.

N.B. All masters of vessels, and others are forbid to carry him off at their peril.

¹ *The Pennsylvania Gazette*, June 21, 1786, 3. Accessed via *Accessible Archives Inc.*

DOCUMENT 46: Fugitive Ad for Caesar/Jacob Holy by James Anderson, Middletown Township, Chester County, May 30, 1787¹

In this document, enslaver James Anderson advertised for an enslaved man he owned named Caesar. Anderson previously advertised for his escape from him in April, 1787, and Caesar had also escaped from him in 1777. In this ad, Anderson provided more details about Caesar's life and his escape in 1787. He noted that Caesar had adopted a new name, Jacob Holy, and that to escape Anderson surmised some of Caesar's "associates" had helped him forge a fake travel pass. Anderson again noted, as he did in a previous ad from 1787, that Caesar/Jacob Holy could read and that he was a "great professor of religion" and that he had "much to say on the subject." It is unclear if Anderson was ever able to recapture Caesar/Jacob Holy.

FIVE POUNDS Reward.

RAN away on the 31st of March last, from this subscriber, now living in Middletown township, Chester county, State of Pennsylvania, a MULATTO MAN, named Caesar; but some of his associates having formed a pass for him, he has changed his name and calls himself Jacob Holy; to this pass is annexed the subscriber's name and Thomas Levis, Esquire. His clothes cannot well be described, having changes thereof, and in all probability will purchase more, as he was furnished with money, which he procured by disposing of his master's property. He is twenty-five years of age, about 5 feet 9 inches high, is thick and strong made, walks very straight, with a short quick stop, and is very proud. He can read, is a great professor of religion, and has much to say on the subject. Whoever will apprehend said person and secure him, so that the subscriber may get him again, shall receive the above reward.

May 22, 1787 James Anderson

¹ *Pennsylvania Gazette*, May 30, 1787, 2. Accessed via *Accessible Archives Inc.*

DOCUMENT 47: Fugitive Ad for Cesar and Dina by James Anderson, Middletown Township, Chester County, April 6, 1787¹

In this document, an enslaver named James Anderson advertised for two enslaved people he owned named Cesar and Dina. Anderson was a Presbyterian minister, and wrote that Dina had escaped from him in 1786, that she spoke English poorly, and that she had been seen in Philadelphia selling pepper-pot soup as a free woman. Cesar, Anderson wrote, escaped in March, 1787, and was a “very proud” man who could read and write. Anderson noted that Cesar was very religious and could “converse well on the subject” but dismissed his beliefs as inauthentic – Cesar, according to Anderson, “pretends much to religion.” He thought Cesar was also in Philadelphia.

Three Pounds Reward.

RAN AWAY on the 31st of March last from the subscriber, now living in Middletown township, Chester County, State of Pennsylvania, a Mulatto man named CESAR, 25 years of age, above 5 feet 9 inches high, stout built, and very strong, he walks very straight, with a short quick step; he is a sensible smart fellow, and very proud, he pretends to much religion, and can converse well on the subject; he can both read and write, and will endeavour to pass for a free man. He took with him two hats, one a black castor, the other a white wool; an old cloth coloured great coat, an old strait coat of grey coating, a white woolen jacket, woolen trousers of purple colour, a blue cotton coatee, a linen jacket striped with blue, several shirts, stockings of different kinds, and new shoes. There is a great reason to believe that he is in Philadelphia.

LIKEWISE ran away from the subscriber, about a year and a half ago, a Negro woman named DINA, above 40 years of age, she is a middling sized woman, fat and lusty, speaks very broke English, she is in the city of Philadelphia, and passes for a free woman, and is often seen in the market selling Pepperpot – Whoever will apprehend said slaves, shall receive the above reward, or four Dollars for each of them. From me

April 6, 1787 James Anderson

¹ *Freeman's Journal or the North-American Intelligencer*, April 11, 1787, 3. Accessed via *Readex: America's Historical Newspapers*.

DOCUMENT 48: Notice of Incarceration of Henry Hart by Gaoler William Stroud, Norristown, Montgomery County, March 7, 1787¹

In this newspaper notice, William Stroud, the head of Norristown jail, wrote that he had incarcerated a Black man named Henry Hart, who Stroud suspected was a runaway slave. Stroud wrote that Hart claimed he was a free man, but Stroud evidently did not believe him, as he held him in jail and advertised for white people to come and claim him as their slave. If no one came to claim Hart within three weeks, Stroud wrote, he would sell him as a slave to pay for the costs of holding him.

Norris-Town Goal, Montgomery-County, March 5, 1787

A NEGRO MAN, who calls himself Henry Hart, was committed to the custody of the subscriber, on suspicion of being a RUNAWAY. He is about five feet five inches high, a well set fellow, about twenty three years of age, and says he was born in Newcastle-county, and is now a free Negro.—His Master, if he has any, is desired to apply for him, pay charges, and remove him in three weeks from this date, otherwise he will be sold to pay charges.

WILLIAM STROUD, Gaoler.

¹ *Pennsylvania Evening Herald*, March 7, 1787, 3. Accessed via *Readex: America's Historical Newspapers*.

DOCUMENT 49: Fugitive Ad for Chloe by Benjamin Rittenhouse,
Worcester Township, Montgomery County, August 18, 1787¹

In this ad, enslaver Benjamin Rittenhouse wrote about Chloe, an enslaved woman who had escaped from him. Rittenhouse spent considerable time in the ad describing her hair, appearance, and personality. He suspected that Chloe fled to Philadelphia and was relying on other Black people in the suburbs to help her in her escape.

Twenty Dollars Reward.

RAN-AWAY from the subscriber, living in Worcester township, Montgomery county, on *Tuesday* night last, a mulatto *WENCH*, named *CHLOE*; took with her a blue and white striped long gown, a good black silk bonnet, a red calamanco skirt, aprons and handkerchiefs, &c. She is a stout, well feature Wench, nearly 22 years of age, a countenance rather resembling and Indian than a Negro, has a remarkable spot or sear under one of her eyes, black curly hair, generally frizzed up to imitate a cushion; she has been taught to read; and is a plausible, cunning hussy; when she smiles or laughs an extravagant degree of pleasure diffuses itself over her face; she has been registered according to law: it is suspected she has come to this city, and that some of the Negroes in the suburbs will endeavour to secret her. All masters of vessels are forbid to carry her off at their peril. Any person apprehending the said Wench, and securing her so that her master may get her again, by giving information to *David Rittenhouse*, esquire, or the subscriber, shall receive the above Reward, paid by

Aug. 16 12fp *BENJAMIN RITTENHOUSE*.

¹ *Pennsylvania Packet*, August 18, 1787, 3. Accessed via *Readex: America's Historical Newspapers*.

DOCUMENT 50: Fugitive Ad for Kate by John Wilson, Tredyffrin Township, Chester County, September 1, 1790¹

In this document, enslaver John Wilson advertised for an enslaved young woman he owned named Kate who escaped from him. He described the clothing that she took with her and thought that she “went off” with a Black man named Charles, who was either enslaved or indentured to a white man named Dr. Vanleer, who was probably Dr. Branson Vanleer, an enslaver in East Nantmell Township [Document 22]. Ads like this one for Kate provide evidence of enslaved and formerly enslaved people’s resistance and the relationships they formed.

RAN away, in the night of the 23d of August, from the subscriber, living in Tredyffrin township, Chester county, a Mulatto Girl, named Kate, about 21 years of age; had on, and took with her, an old black bonnet, a long gown striped red, blue and white, two short ditto striped blue, copperas and white, a red petticoat, a lincey ditto striped blue, red and white, a large white shawl, also Russia sheeting for two shirts, one part made up, the other not made. It is supposed she went off with a black man, named Charles, who served his time with Dr. Vanleer, and stole and took with him a jean coattee, and a pair of overhalls and jacket, with small white metal buttons.

Whoever will secure said girl in any gaol, or bring her home to her master, shall have FOUR DOLLARS reward, and reasonable charges, paid by JOHN **WILSON**.

¹ *The Pennsylvania Gazette*, September 1, 1790. Accessed via *Accessible Archives Inc.*

DOCUMENT 51: Advertisement and Fugitive Ad for John Beard by Francis Lee, Haverford Township, Delaware County, January 20, 1790¹

In this document, enslaver Francis Lee advertised for both his plaster business and for an enslaved man he owned named John Beard, who escaped from him in late December/early January of 1790. Lee described Beard's appearance, his many skills, a possible destination, and offered a reward of four dollars for his capture and return. The ads highlight how ubiquitous fugitive ads and the dehumanization of Black people were. To Lee, Beard was property to be advertised alongside plaster.

Plaster of Paris

JUST imported from Havre-de-Grace, and now manufacturing at the Subscriber's Mills, on the Haverford road, ten miles from Philadelphia, and within half a mile of the sign of the Buck on the old Lancaster road, and to be sold at three shillings and nine pence per bushel. Purchasers may be assured it is the genuine French Plaster. Persons living in the back counties may be supplied by applying to Mrs. Miller, at the sign of the Buck, or Mr. James Elliot, at the sign of the Sorrel Horse, both living on the Lancaster road. Gentlemen purchasing the stone may have it manufactured at said place on the most reasonable terms. FRANCIS LESS

RAN away from the subscriber, about three weeks ago, A Negroe man, named JOHN BEARD, about 35 years old, 5 feet 10 inches high, of a yellow complexion, has a halt in his walk, occasioned by his right leg having been broke, plays on the fiddle, sings very well, and is much addicted to liquor. He is a good farmer, is very handy, and can make baskets. Had on, when he went away, a brown short jacket with light coloured sleeves, and overalls of the same, a pair of new shoes, a coarse shirt, and an old wool hat. He is supposed to be gone to Bucks county or the Jersies, and will probably try to pass for a free man. Whoever takes up said Negroe man, and brings him to his master, or secures him in any gaol,

¹ *The Pennsylvania Gazette*, January 20, 1790, 3. Accessed via *Accessible Archives Inc.*

shall have FOUR DOLLARS reward, and all reasonable charges, paid by **FRANCIS LEE** . Jan. 16, 1790.

DOCUMENT 52: Fugitive Ad for Bachus Kennedy by Christopher Stuart, Norriton Township, Montgomery County, August 25, 1790¹

Christopher Stuart, an enslaver from Norriton Township, wrote this ad in 1790 describing Bachus Kennedy, an enslaved man he owned who escaped from him. Kennedy was a young man, knew how to play the fiddle, and Stuart thought he was on his way to New-York. He offered a reward of three pounds for his capture and incarceration.

Three Pounds Reward.

RAN-AWAY from the subscriber living in Norriton township, and county of Montgomery, a NEGRO MAN, named Bachus Kennedy, 22 years of age, about 5 feet 10 inches high, and stout made; plays on the fiddle: had on when he went away, a short blue coat and a large cocked hat; the rest of his cloaths not known. It is supposed he is gone towards New-York. Whoever will secure him in any Work-house, so that his master may get him again, shall receive the above reward and reasonable charges, by

Aug. 23. CHRISTOPHER STUART.

¹ *Pennsylvania Packet*, August 25, 1790, 3. Accessed via *Readex: America's Historical Newspapers*.

DOCUMENT 53: Fugitive ad for Will by Edward Shippen, Upper Merion Township, Montgomery County, July 25, 1791¹

In this advertisement from 1791, Edward Shippen described a man he enslaved named Will who ran away from him. Will, he said, was about 28, wore a false curl on his head, and took clothing with him when he escaped.

Eight Dollars Reward.

RAN-AWAY from the subscriber living in Upper Merion township, county of Montgomery, on the 10th instant, a Negro MAN, named WILL: he is a smart, active, well made Fellow, about 28 years of age, 5 feet 8 or 9 inches high; has very red eyes, large lips and bad teeth; generally wears a false curl on the hinder part of his head: had on or took with him, a round felt hat, almost new, half worn coattee, of a pearl colored, home-made coating, a fearlet flowered everlasting waistcoat with nankeen backs, white thread stockings, old shoes with brass buckles, two good shirts of flax and tow linens, and one pair of tow trowsers. Whoever apprehends the said Fellow, and secures him so that his Master shall get him again, shall have the above Reward.

EDWARD SHIPPEN, Junr.

June 13

20w2w

¹ Dunlap's *American Daily Advertiser*, July 25, 1791, 4. Accessed via *Readex: America's Historical Newspapers*.

DOCUMENT 54: Fugitive Ad for Jeffery Butcher by John Odenheimer, Chester, Delaware County, September 26, 1792¹

In this document, John Odenheimer, a farmer from Chester, advertised for a fugitive enslaved man he owned named Jeffery Butcher. Odenheimer described his appearance, the clothing he took with him, and noted that Butcher was seen in Philadelphia and was thought to be trying to get on a ship. Odenheimer enslaved another man named Anthony Welsh, who he registered with Chester County in 1780 [Document 22].

TWENTY DOLLARS Reward.

RAN AWAY from the subscriber, living in Chester, Delaware county, on Sunday, the 12th instant, a Negroe Man, who calls himself JEFFERY BUTCHER, 24 years of age; about 5 feet 11 inches high, straight in his carriage, a pleasant countenance, shews his teeth when he laughs; had on and took with him one new striped nankeen coat of a greenish colour; one half worn green do. one brownish **do.** one new pair of nankeen breeches, one new yellow jacket, bound with green ribband; one half worn red calimanco do. two pair of trowsers, one of topsail duck; several pair of cotton stockings, one new pair of pumps and one pair of shoes, with large plated buckles; two hats, one almost new. He has been seen along the wharves of Philadelphia and is supposed to have endeavoured to get on board some vessel, or else concealed in some free negroe's house, until opportunity offers. Therefore, all captains of vessels and others are forbid to harbour him at their peril; if the above negroe will return to his master, he shall be used as formerly, which was with the most lenity. The above reward will be given to any person or persons, who will secure him so that his master shall have him again.

Do.: short for ditto, meaning the same

JOHN ODENHEIMER.

N.B. He has money with him, and will probably change his cloaths.
Chester, August 21, 1792.

¹ *The Pennsylvania Gazette*, September 26, 1792, 2. Accessed via *Readex: America's Historical Newspapers*.

DOCUMENT 55: Fugitive Ad for Hillaire and Enslaved Boy by Citizen La Salle, Philadelphia, August 9, 1793¹

In this document, an enslaver by the name of “Citizen La Salle” advertised for an enslaved man he owned named Hillaire and an enslaved boy who escaped from him in 1793. La Salle was from what is now Haiti, and likely fled the island during the Haitian Revolution which began two years earlier in 1791. He described Hillaire as being from Africa and of “the Congo Nation” and that he could speak French “indifferently.” Hillaire escaped from La Salle with a boy who La Salle also enslaved but who he did not name.

RAN-AWAY on Saturday last, the 3d instant, from Citizen *LA SALLE* of Cape Francois, living at the House of Mr. Mercier, near the Hospital—A NEGRO MAN, named *Hillaire*, of the Congo nation, speaks French indifferently, is about 17 years of age, about 4 feet 10 inches high, and has thick lips; had on when he went away, a red striped calico jacket, a handkerchief tied round his head, and overalls of yellow linen ; was branded on the side ; he had a little tuft of beard on the extremity of his chin.

Likewise, another NEGRO, of the Congo nation, about 13 years of age; had on when he went off, a shirt and breeches of blue strip-ed check, and a hat much powdered by the hair. Any Person who may dicover them, by taking them into custody and bringing them to their Master, shall receive 16 Dollars, or 8 for reach.

August 6.

¹ *Dunlap's American Daily Advertiser*, August 9, 1793, 4. Collection of the Lower Merion Historical Society.

RAN-AWAY on Saturday last, the 3d instant, from Citizen *LA SALLE* of Cape Francois, living at the House of Mr. *Mercier*, near the Hospital—A NEGRO MAN, named *Hillaire*, of the Congo nation, speaks French indifferently, is about 17 years of age, about 4 feet 10 inches high, and has thick lips; had on when he went away, a red striped calico jacket, a handkerchief tied round his head, and overalls of yellow linen; was branded on the right side; he had a little tuft of beard on the extremity of his chin.

Likewise, another NEGRO, of the Congo nation, about 13 years of age; had on when he went off, a shirt and breeches of blue striped check, and a hat much powdered by the hair. Any Person who may discover them, by taking them into custody and bringing them to their Master, shall receive 16 Dollars, or 8 for each.

August 6. wfm

Fugitive Ad for Hillaire and Enslaved Boy by Citizen La Salle, *Dunlap's American Daily Advertiser*, August 9, 1793, 4. Collection of the Lower Merion Historical Society.

DOCUMENT 56: Fugitive Ad for Pad by Jonathan Hunter, Edgemont Township, Delaware County, March 6, 1793¹

In this document, enslaver Jonathan Hunter advertised for an enslaved man he owned named Pad who freed himself from Hunter in 1793. Hunter described Pad's appearance and the clothing he had on when he escaped. Hunter enslaved four other Black people in Edgemont Township – Phillis, Samson, Prude, and Phillis – who he recorded along with Pad in the 1780 Chester County Slave Register [Document 22]. In the register, he referred to Pad as "Paddy."

FOUR DOLLARS Reward.

RUN AWAY from the subscriber, on the 28th of February, a Negro Man, called Pad, about 25 years of age, a stout likely fellow, and talks good English: Had on when he went away, an old great coat of a light colour, a good nankeen coat, striped jacket, buckskin breeches, and a pair of black velvet ditto, 2 or 3 pair of yarn stockings, one pair of shoes with buckles, and one pair with whangs half soaled and nailed, an old castor hat. Whoever apprehends said negro, and lodges him in any prison, or brings him home, shall have the above reward, and reasonable charges, paid by **JONATHAN HUNTER**.

Edgmont township, Delaware county, March 1, 1793.

¹ *The Pennsylvania Gazette*, March 6, 1793, 3. Accessed via *Accessible Archives Inc.*

DOCUMENT 57: Fugitive Ad for Peter and Frank by Samuel Cook and James Anderson, Donegall Township, Lancaster County, August 9, 1793¹

In this document, enslavers Samuel Cook and James Anderson advertised for two enslaved men they owned named Peter and Frank, who escaped from them in 1793. Anderson and Cook described their appearances, language skills, clothing, and they wrote that they thought Peter and Frank had “gone towards Philadelphia,” as they had frequently “driven waggons towards that place.”

Sixty Dollars Reward.

RAN-AWAY, from the subscribers, in Donegall township, Lancaster county, on the night of the 20th instant, *two likely, active Negro Men*: They are stout well made fellows, and very much alike The one named PETER, about 25 years of age, 5 feet 9 or 10 inches high, and of a pleasant, open countenance. He had on and took with him, three new shirts, and one old fine one; a wool hat, much worn; a very good homespun cloth coat, with short skirts and flip pockets ; one striped vest pattern jacket, and one of calfskin, dressed with the hair on and much worn ; one pair red and white striped cotton trowsers, and two pair of coarsetow linen; and other cloathing not known. He speaks the English and German languages.

The other named FRANK, about 21 years of agae, 5 feet 8 or 9 inches high, and looks down when spoken to. Had on and took with him, a new wool hat, a grey coating coat and waistcoat, and a striped cotton waistcoat; one pair of narrow black and white striped cotton trowsers, and one pair of tow cloth, dyed olive-green; one pair of white woollen stockings, a pair of thread soaled with linen, and one pair of cotton.

It is supposed the above fellows are gone towards Philadlephia, as they have frequently driven waggons towards that place

Whoever secures said negroes, so that their masters may have them again, shall receive the above reward, or *Thirty Dollars* for either of them, and reasonable charges, from

¹ *Dunlap's American Daily Advertiser*, August 9, 1793, 4. Collection of the Lower Merion Historical Society.

July 23

SAMUEL COOK

JAMES ANDERSON

Sixty Dollars Reward.

RAN-AWAY, from the subscribers, in Douglass township, Lancaster county, on the night of the 20th instant, *two likely, active Negro Men*: They are stout well made fellows, and very much alike. The one named PETER, about 25 years of age, 5 feet 9 or 10 inches high, and of a pleasant, open countenance. He had on and took with him, three new shirts, and one old fine one; a wool hat, much worn; a very good homespun cloth coat, with short skirts and slip pockets; one striped vest pattern jacket, and one of calfskin, dressed with the hair on and much worn; one pair red and white striped cotton trowsers, and two pair of coarse tow linen; and other cloathing not known. He speaks the English and German languages.

The other named FRANK, about 21 years of age, 5 feet 8 or 9 inches high, and looks down when spoken to. Had on and took with him, a new wool hat, a grey coating coat and waistcoat, and a striped cotton waistcoat; one pair of narrow black and white striped cotton trowsers, and one pair of tow cloth, dyed olive-green; one pair of white woollen stockings, a pair of thread soled with linen, and one pair of cotton.

It is supposed the above fellows are gone towards Philadelphia, as they have frequently driven waggons towards that place.

Whoever secures said negroes, so that their masters may have them again, shall receive the above reward, or *Thirty Dollars* for either of them, and reasonable charges, from

July 23
6t, 2aw

SAMUEL COOK,
JAMES ANDERSON.

DOCUMENT 58: Fugitive Ad for John Beard by Francis Lee, Haverford Township, Delaware County, February 27, 1793¹

In this document, enslaver Francis Lee again advertised for John Beard, an enslaved man he had owned and who escaped from him in 1790. Lee's ad provides evidence that Beard was free for at least "about two years," a remarkable feat. He described Beard's appearance, habits, and skills again, and thought he was living in Bucks County.

SIX DOLLARS Reward.

RAN AWAY from the subscriber, about two years ago, a Negroe MAN, named JOHN BEARD, he is about 45 years of age, 5 feet 6 or 7 inches high; he is much addicted to liquor, and has a halt in his walk, occasioned by his right leg being broke; he is an exceeding good farmer, and understands playing on the violin very well, he is supposed to be in Bucks county, as he has been seen there lately. Whoever brings home the said Negroe to his master, living in Haverford township, Delaware county, ten miles from Philadelphia, shall have EIGHT DOLLARS reward, or if lodged in any goal, and information given, shall have SIX DOLLARS and all reasonable charges, paid by the subscriber.

February 23d, 1793. **FRANCIS LEE** .

¹ *The Pennsylvania Gazette*, February 27, 1793, 3. Accessed via *Accessible Archives Inc.*

DOCUMENT 59: Fugitive Ad for Alexander Grimes by John Grier, Warwick Township, Bucks County, 1793¹

In this document, John Grier advertised for an enslaved man named Alexander Grimes who ran away from him in the summer of 1793. Of particular note in this ad is Grier's mention of a relationship Grimes had with a Black woman named Issabel, who had apparently been with him since his escape.

Eight Dollars Reward.

RAN AWAY from the Subscriber in Warwick, township, Bucks county on the 15th instate a Negro man named Alexander Grimes, about 25 years of age, about 5 feet 8 or 9 inches high, has lost one sore tooth is a stout well sett man—wears a steel truss, has remarkable large feet, had on when he went away a gram cloth coat, black and red strip'd vest, the stripes round, blue strip'd linen trowsers wool hatt &c. Any person who secures said Negro, or delivers him to the subscriber shall receive the above reward and reasonable charges JOHN GRIER, Wolwich, Bucks County, June 20.

N. B. It is supposed that there is a Negro woman, about the same age, of the name of Issabel who is or has been in company with him since his Elopement for which a reward of 8 dollars is offered.

¹ *Supplement to Dunlap's American Daily Advertiser*, July 2, 1793, 2. Accessed via *Readex: America's Historical Newspapers*.

DOCUMENT 60: Fugitive Ad for Pad, Sampson, Pru, Phin, and Child by Jonathan Hunter, Edgemont Township, Delaware County, April 17, 1794¹

In this document, enslaver Jonathan Hunter advertised for multiple enslaved people he owned who escaped from him together in the spring of 1794. Two men named Pad and Sampson, and two women named Pru and Phin, along with Phin's two-month-old son, fled from Hunter. Hunter provided few details about them or their escape. The ad is noteworthy because it is of a group of enslaved people who ran away and because these appear to be the same people Hunter enslaved fourteen years before in 1780, as he recorded in the Chester County Slave Register. The ad provides evidence that Pad, who escaped from Hunter in 1793, was captured and reenslaved, as he is escaping from Hunter again, and a testament to his and the entire group's determination to become free. The specific reasons for the group's escape are unknown, but it is possible that Hunter was a particularly cruel and abusive enslaver and or that he tried to sell these enslaved people as he noted in the ad he was willing to sell them "on very moderate terms."

FIVE DOLLARS REWARD

Ran away from the Subscriber,

LIVING in Edgmont township, Delaware county, FOUR NEGROES, of the following description—Two negro men, one named PAD, and the other SAMPSON ; and two negro women, one named PRU, and the other named PHIN, who carried with her a young negro male child about two months old. Whoever secures the above negroes In any goal, so that their master may have them again, shall be entitled to the above reward, or one dollar for each of them.

JONATHAN HUNTER .

N.B. The above negroes will be sold on very moderate terms. Apply as above.

April 14.

¹ *General Advertiser*, April 17, 1794, 1. Accessed via *Readex: America's Historical Newspapers*.

DOCUMENT 61: Fugitive Ad for Caleb Brown by Frederick Bicking, Lower Merion Township, Montgomery County, March 15, 1795¹

In this advertisement, Frederick Bicking, a white papermaker in Lower Merion, described Black teenage boy named Caleb Brown who ran away from him.² Bicking described his physical appearance and clothing. It's unclear from the ad alone if Caleb Brown was enslaved by Bicking, indentured to him, his term slave, or something else.

Twenty Dollars Reward.

RAN AWAY on Sunday, the 15th instant, from the subscriber, living in Lower Merion township, Montgomery county, a Negro LAD, about 16 years of age, and goes by the name of CALEB BROWN, about 5 feet 5 or 6 inches high, has a round face, and somewhat of a down look, a mark near one of his temples, speaks coarse, and leans forward in his walk; had on when he went away, a blue sailor jacket lined with white flannel, a lincy under jacket, striped brown linsey trowsers, Russia sheeting shirt, two pair of stockings, one pair blue, the other brown, calfskin shoes, and an old wool hat. Whoever secures said Negro in any gaol, so that his master gets him again, shall have the above reward, and reasonable charges, paid by

FREDERICK BICKING.
March 15, 1795.

N.B. All masters of vessels, and others, are forbid to harbour or carry him off at their peril.

¹ *The Pennsylvania Gazette*, March 18, 1795, 3. Accessed via *Readex: America's Historical Newspapers*.

² Will of Frederick Bicking, October 28, 1809, Montgomery County Wills Book 3, No. 108.

DOCUMENT 62: Fugitive Ad for Tom by Isaac Wynkoop, Northampton Township, Bucks County, September 24, 1796¹

In this document, Isaac Wynkoop, from Northampton Township, advertised for the capture and return of an enslaved man he owned named Tom.

Three pounds reward.

RAN AWAY from the subscriber, about the first of June last, living in Northampton township, Bucks county, Pennsylvania, a NEGRO MAN, named Tom, about twenty three years of age, and about five feet high, thick set, of a middling dark complexion, very much pitted with the small pox; had on when he went away a lead coloured broadcloth coat, a pattern waistcoat, striped nankeen trowsers, a pair of calf skin shoes, &a new woold hat. Whoever will take up said negro man, and bring him to his master, or secure him in any goal, so that his master may get him again, shall receive the above reward, and reasonable charges paid, by

ISAAC WYNKOOP.

September 24

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¹ *The Philadelphia Gazette & Universal Daily Advertiser*, September 24, 1796, 3. Accessed via *Readex: America's Historical Newspapers*.

DOCUMENT 63: Notice of Incarceration of enslaved man named George by Abraham Dicks, Chester, Delaware County, January 26, 1797¹

In this newspaper notice, Abraham Dicks, the sheriff and jailer of Delaware County, wrote that he had incarcerated an enslaved man named George. George told Dicks that he was enslaved by a man named William Hors, who lived in Virginia, and that he had been hired out by Hors to work for a man named George Richardson, who also lived in Virginia. In December, 1796, George told Dicks he fled from Richardson. George had traveled over 150 miles from Virginia to Delaware County.

A Runaway Slave,

WAS committed to the Goal of Delaware County, in the Borough of CHESTER and Commonwealth of PENNSYLVANIA, on the 6th instant, a NEGRO MAN, named GEORGE, and who confessed himself to be a slave of a certain WILLIAM HORS, Esq. of King George's County, in Virginia, and that he ran away on the 25th of last month, from the service of one GEORGE RICHARDSON, of Stafford County, in Virginia aforesaid, to whom his master had previously hired him. The Master of the said Negro (if any he has) is hereby notified to come within one month from the date hereof, pay charges and take him out of gal, otherwise he will be discharged by course of law.

ABRAHAM DICKS, SHERIFF,
& GAOLER OF DELAWARE COUNTY.

Jan. 23.

¹ *Aurora General Advertiser*, January 26, 1797, 1. Accessed via *Readex: America's Historical Newspapers*.

DOCUMENT 64: Fugitive Ad for Sambo/Sam Harris by Thomas Henderson, New-London Township, Chester County, July 21, 1802¹

In July, 1802, an enslaver named Thomas Henderson from New-London Township posted this fugitive slave advertisement for a man named Sambo/Sam Harris. Henderson described the clothing he took when he left, his physical appearance, and wrote that Sambo referred to himself as Sam Harris. Sambo/Sam Harris, Henderson noted, had obtained a fake pass that declared him a free man, and he thought Sambo/Sam Harris was heading east. He offered a reward of thirty dollars for his capture and return.

Thirty Dollars Reward.

RAN-AWAY, on the first of March last, from the subscriber, living in New-London township, Chester county, Pennsylvania, a negro man, named SAMBO (sometimes calls himself *Sam Harris*) about twenty-five years of age; he is upwards of six feet high, strong made, large feet, thick lips, broad teeth before, with some space between each of them; had on and took with him a light coloured cottee of home-made cloth, fine and well dressed, almost new, drab coloured coating trowsers, two cassimere jackets, one scarlet the other cross barred, two half worn hats, one castor the other wool, two shirts, one fine the other coarse, old shoes and stockings. He has procured a counterfeit pass as a freeman, signed John Smith, Justice of the Peace, and it is supposed that he will go the neighbourhood of Reading, or New-Jersey. Whoever takes up said negro, and secures him in any gaol in the United States, so that I may have him again, shall receive the above reward, and reasonable charges, paid by

THOMAS HENDERSON.

¹ *The Pennsylvania Gazette*, July 21, 1802, 4. Accessed via *Accessible Archives Inc.*

DOCUMENT 65: Sale Advertisement for Glasgow, Quaco, Deb, Moll, 8-Month-old child, 4-Year-old Boy, and an Indentured Servant's time, by Rev. William Currie, The Great-Valley, July 18, 1754¹

In this advertisement, Scottish enslaver William Currie described enslaved people he offered up for sale in the summer of 1754. Currie wrote that he was selling two men named Glasgow and Quaco, and two women named Moll and Deb, both of whom had a child. He also offered for sale the indenture of a Dutch "lad" who had five years and four months left to serve Currie. Currie was a reverend of the Church of England, and served as the pastor of different churches in the Philadelphia area, including what is now St. David's Episcopal Church in Wayne, where he is buried.²

To be sold by

WILLIAM CURRIE,

In the Great-Valley,

TWO likely Negro Men, both compleat Farmers, named Glasgow and Quaco; Glasgow is about 21 Years of Age, and Quaco about 36: Likewise two Negro Wenches, named Deb and Moll; Deb is about 24 Years of Age, and has a fine Child, about 8 months old; Moll is about 40, and has a fine Bou, past 4 years old, both to be sold with the Mothers: A also a Dutch Servant Lad's Time, who has been 7 Years in the Country, and has 5 Years and 4 Months to serve; all which are sold for no Fault, but because their Master intends to quit Farming. The Purchaser may have a Year's Credit, giving security, and paying interest.

¹ *Pennsylvania Gazette*, July 18, 1754, 3. Accessed via *Readex: America's Historical Newspapers*.

² For more on Currie's life, see Mike Bertram, "Reverend William Currie," *Tredyffrin Easttown Historical Society History Quarterly Digital Archives*, Spring 2005, Vol. 42, No. 2, Pages 49-65, <https://www.tehistory.org/hqda/html/v42/v42n2p049.html>.

DOCUMENT 66: Excerpts from the Will of Samuel Morgan, Radnor Township, Chester County, May 31, 1759¹

Samuel Morgan was a Welsh Quaker enslaver who lived in Radnor Township. Morgan owned two enslaved Black people named Jack and Chloe who he purchased in 1750 and 1751, the bills of sales for which are also featured in this reader. In his will, Morgan gave his wife Magdalen, son Jack, and daughters Sarah, Eleanor, and Jane money, objects, land, and Jack and Chloe. Morgan bequeathed Chloe to Magdalen Morgan and Jack to his son John. A portion of Morgan's land later became the campus of Villanova University.²

Be it remembered that I Samuel Morgan of the Township of Radnor in the County of Chester & Province of Pennsylvania Yeoman being sick & weak in Body but of Perfect mind & memory thanks be to God and calling to mind the uncertainty of this Life Do Dispose of what Temporal Estate it hath pleased Almighty God to bestow upon me in manner & form following that is to say, First my Will is that all my Just Debts & funeral charges be paid by my Exers; Item, I give to my well beloved wife Magdalen the Enjoy of all my Stock & the benefit of my Plantation untill my son John be at the full age ^ of Twenty one years, and the benefit so arising from the said Stock be imployed [sic] by my said wife in the bringing up my youngest children viz. To Daughters & Son, and to be Taught in school at ye Disgression of my Execrs, Also I give to my said Wife my Negro Girl During her Natural Life, and the Disposal of her to which she will of my Childrens... Item I give & bequeath to my son John Morgan all my Messuage Land & plantation whereon I now Live according as it is bequeathed in my fathers last will & testament Commonly known by the Name of Vainor Containing about one hundred sixty acres be it more of less with all its members privileges & appurtenances whatsoever thereunto belonging to him & his Heirs forever and if my son shall Die before he attains the age of twenty one Years

¹ Will of Samuel Morgan, No. 194, May 31, 1759, Philadelphia County, Will Book L, Page 306, Microfilm image 203 of 624, <https://www.familysearch.org/ark:/61903/3:1:3Q9M-C9B2-GDQ4?i=202&cat=353446>.

² See the following property records: Deed from John Morgan to Johnathan Miller, Delaware County Deed Book E-744, accessed via FamilySearch.com, Deed from Johnathan Miller to John Rudolph, Delaware County Deed Book H-773, accessed via FamilySearch.com, Deed from the Estate of John Rudolph to the Brothers of the Order of Hermits of Saint Augustin, Delaware County Deed Book V-344, accessed via FamilySearch.com.

Leaving no living Issues then my will is that one or the other of my Daughters shall enjoy my said Plantation undivided according to the Value thereof as then valued by such men as they chuse for their assistance paying to the others their respective shears according to the Judgment of said men I give also to my son John my other tract of land in the same Township County & Province aforesaid Containing about one hundred acres Acres be the same more or less to my said Son John Morgan him & his Heirs for ever, Together also with my Negro Boy Called Jack to my son John his Heirs & Assigns forever...

DOCUMENT 67: Fugitive Ad for Jack by John Morgan, Radnor Township, October 7, 1770³

In this document, enslaver John Morgan advertised for an enslaved man he owned named Jack, who freed himself from Morgan in October, 1770. John Morgan had inherited Jack from his father, Samuel Morgan, and Samuel Morgan purchased Jack from Hannah Harrison, who owned a tobacco plantation in Lower Merion. The ad provides a few details about Jack but is a relatively short ad.

RUN away, from the Subscriber, living in Radnor Township, Chester County, on the 24th of September last, a Negroe Man, named JACK, about 5 Feet 8 Inches high, a well set Fellow, and aobut 27 Years of Age: Had on, a half-worn Felt Hat, brown homespun Cloth Jacket, with Pewter Buttons, and an under Ditto of the same, and Tow Shirt and Trowsers. Whoever takes up and secures said Negroe, so that his Master may have him again, shall have THIRTY SHILLINGS Reward, paid by

JOHN MORGAN.

³ *Pennsylvania Gazette*, October 7, 1770, 4.

DOCUMENT 68: Sale Ad for Enslaved Man by Magdalen Morgan, Radnor Township, May 12, 1773⁴

In this slave sale advertisement, Magdalen Morgan, an enslaver from Radnor, featured an enslaved man who was about twenty-seven years old. Though she did not give the man's name, it is likely that this man was also Jack, who escaped from Morgan's son John in 1770, and who Magdalen's late husband Samuel had purchased from Hannah Harrison in 1750. Details from this description match details of Jack from John Morgan's 1770 fugitive slave ad, but it's unknown if these two men were exactly the same, though the possibility seems likely.

TO BE SOLD,

A LIKELY healthy NEGROE MAN, this Country born, about 27 Years of Age; has had the Small-pox and Measles, was bred a Farmer. For further Particulars, enquire of MAGDALENE MORGAN, at Radnor, in Chester County.

⁴ *Pennsylvania Gazette*, May 12, 1773, 4. Accessed via *Readex: America's Historical Newspapers*.

DOCUMENT 69: Meeting Minutes from Haverford Monthly Meeting, November 13, 1778⁵

Quakers in the Philadelphia area and beyond were involved with slavery in numerous ways – most notably by being enslavers and slave traders – and throughout the eighteenth century they debated slavery and its relationship to their religion, economics, and politics. By 1776, Quaker leadership in Philadelphia decreed that slave owning was no longer compatible with Quakerism. They said that any Quakers who were enslavers needed to free the people they enslaved, or they would be excommunicated from the faith and not considered officially Quaker. To enforce this policy, local Meetings were to create committees to meet with enslavers and convince them to free the people they owned. Some Quakers complied, some did not. Enslavers who did comply usually either freed the people they enslaved immediately or gradually – meaning the enslaved person would become free after a period of time.⁶

In this document, members from Haverford Monthly Meeting (HMM) wrote about their work trying to convince their fellow Quakers who were enslavers to free the people they enslaved. A Quaker Monthly Meeting is essentially a business meeting that occurs once a month and is usually comprised of local meetings (churches) which meet once a week. Haverford Monthly Meeting was comprised of Haverford Friends Meeting (which is now Old Haverford Friends), Radnor Friends Meeting, and Merion Friends Meeting. In this document, members from HMM noted the work of the committee they formed to meet with slaveholders, slaveholders who complied with Quaker policy, and expressed concern over certain members who resisted the push for manumission. It is unclear from the minutes alone which individuals belonged to which weekly meeting.

Some of the Committee appointed to treat with such of our Members who hold slaves have in Company of some of the Quarterly meeting Committee Visited Divers & Obtained Manumission from David Havard for the two Slaves he claimed, and that Anthony Tunis had Released as far as in his

⁵ U.S. Quaker Meeting Records, 1681-1935, Pennsylvania, Montgomery, Radnor Monthly Meeting, Abstract of Minutes 1733-1782, Pages 492-494, microfilm images 9 and 10, https://www.ancestrylibrary.com/discoveryui-content/view/3027678:2189?_phsrc=eAb524&_phstart=successSource&gsfn=robert&gsln=holland&ml_rpos=24&queryId=9dc49c36af280c6cca4f121195ee0ba0, for originals see U.S. Quaker Meeting Records, 1681-1935, Pennsylvania, Delaware, Radnor Monthly Meeting, Men's Minutes, 1772-1782, 139-144, microfilm images 72-74, https://www.ancestrylibrary.com/imageviewer/collections/2189/images/31906_284119-00644?ssrc=&backlabel=Return. Haverford Monthly Meeting became Radnor Monthly Meeting in 1796, <https://archives.tricolib.brynmawr.edu/repositories/9/resources/5603#:~:text=A%20monthly%20meeting%20for%20the,fixe%20at%20Radnor%20Meeting%20House>.

⁶ For more on this history, see Jean R. Soderlund, *Quakers & Slavery: A Divided Spirit*. Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1985, and Manumitted: The People Enslaved by Quakers, Haverford College Library, Quaker and Special Collections, Digital Scholarship, <https://manumissions.haverford.edu/>.

Power. Those Manumissions are Ordered to be Recorded. And the Committee of the Quarterly Meeting Recommends the following cases to the Consideration of this Meeting to proceed therein as our Discipline directs.

John Havard holds a Negro Man in Bondage about 27 years of age, he has owned the Practice to be wrong in general yet Continues therein, and offers some weak Excuses for declining to grant Liberty to this Person. John's wife has heretofore United with her husband in Refusing to Manumit him.

Samuel Havard held a Negro Man about 40 years of age & has not only Rejected the Labour of his Friends but Condemns their care and concern on this Occasion. This Man has left his Service and gone off with the Brittish Army, and Samuel Continues to Refuse to provide for his Freedom, urging that he may return and be an expence on his hands; and Expresses a Dislike and Opposition to our proceedings for the Benefit and Relief of these Injured People.

Sarah Havard instead of Receiving our Visits in that good will which has from time to time Influenced the minds of her Friends to treat with her has given way to an opposing Spirit, and Refuse to attend to or Compy with the sence of our Yearly Meeting Respecting a Negro Man & Woman Claim'd by her.

And it appearing to the Meeting on a Consideraiton of those cases that John Havard & wife & Samuel Havard have for some time Neglected Attending our Religious Meeting and had been spoke to on that Occasion without the desired Effect. Jacob Jones & John Robeson are appointed to Inform them that unless they Comply with the Sence of the Yearly Meeting in Releaseing the Slaves they claim A Testimony against their Conduct agreeable to their cases will be Issued next Meeting And if they still refuse to Comply draw Testimonies accordingly & produce them to next Meeting. They are also desired to speak to Sarah Havard & inform her in like manner, & also produce a Testimony against her according to the Nature of her case if she Declines Complying.

Robert Holland has not been prevailed with to do Justice to Several Negroes held by him, and had shewn himself so hardned in this Iniquity as to sell one as a Slave for term of Life. His wife has not shewn a Regard to

our Religious Testimony in this matter, but has rather Strengthened her Husband in Opposing it. Robert's Intemperate use of Spirituous Liquors & Neglect of our Meetings also calls for the Testimony of the Meeting. On Considering those cases James Jones Junr and Isaac Lewis are desired to Visit them in Company of some of the Quarterly Meeting Committee, and Inform them unless they comply with the sence of the Yearly Meeting in setting their Slaves at Liberty and makes such acknowledgement for their Misconduct as the Nature of their offences Requires a Testimony will be Issues against them. And if they find no hopes of their Complying prepare one & Report to next Meeting.

John Morgan owns he has purchased as a Slave a Negro Boy he holds, and tho' he pretends a Dislike to the Practice of Slavery, yet declines to shew his Dissapprobation thereof by providing for the Freedom of the said Boy when he attains to a proper age.

David Jones & Evan Lewis area appointed to Visit him and Inform him that unless he Complies with the Advice often given in respect to Releasing his Negro they are Impowered to draw a Testimony against him, & Report to next Meeting.

The Committee are Desired to proceed in treating further with such others who hold Slaves, & also Particularly attend to the case of Mordecai Morgan & wife who holds a Slave & Report to next Meeting...

DOCUMENT 70: Manumission for George by John Morgan, Radnor Township, August 31, 1779⁷

John Morgan was an enslaving Quaker from Radnor who by 1779 owned an enslaved boy named George. Morgan had inherited an enslaved boy named Jack from his father years earlier, who is featured in other documents in the reader. It is unclear what happened to Jack – whether he escaped again, was freed by Morgan, sold, or if he died. John Morgan, along with other enslaving Quakers, faced months of pressure from a committee from Haverford Monthly Meeting. Morgan finally complied with their request and Quaker policy in August, 1779, when he agreed to free George gradually – George would become free when he turned 21, which would occur in March of 1787. Until then, he would remain enslaved.

I John Morgan of Radnor Trefyddin in Chester County of the Township do hereby set free from bondage, my Negro boy named George when he shall arrive at the age of Twenty one years which will be on the [left blank] day of the Third month , anno Domini, one thousand seven hundred and Eighty Seven and do, for myself, my executors and administrators, release unto the said George all my right, and all claim whatsoever, as to his person, or to any estate he may acquire, hereby declaring the said George to be absolutely free, without any interruption from me, or any person claiming under me. In witness whereof, I have hereunto set my hand and seal this Thirty first day of the Eight Month in the year of our Lord, one thousand seven hundred and Seventy Nine.

Sealed and delivered

in the presence of

John Jones

Evan Lewis

John Morgan

⁷ Manumission of George, August 31, 1779, John Morgan, Haverford Monthly Meeting, Manumitted: The People Enslaved by Quakers, Haverford College Library, Quaker and Special Collections, Physical Page Number 59, Digital Image Name: HC10-10002_113, <https://digitalcollections.tricolib.brynmawr.edu/object/hc145207>, also see Haverford Monthly Meeting Minutes, Men's Minutes, 1772-1782, Pennsylvania, U.S. Quaker Meeting Records, Ancestry.com and Haverford College Library, Quaker and Special Collections.

DOCUMENT 71: Fugitive Ad for Harry by Samuel Havard, Tredyffrin Township, April 19, 1764⁸

Samuel Havard was a Quaker farmer and enslaver who lived in Tredyffrin Township. He owned at least one enslaved Black person – a man named Harry who escaped from him in 1764. In this ad, Havard described Harry's appearance, clothing, and the reward he offered. It is unclear if Harry was ever captured or re-enslaved by Havard. In 1777, Havard claimed to Chester County that an enslaved person he owned, which could have been Harry, was "forcibly taken from him" by the British Army, a claim he repeated to his local Quaker Meeting.⁹ Havard was eventually disowned by Quakers for his slaveholding in March, 1779.¹⁰ His house in Tredyffrin is now located in Valley Forge National Historic Park and known as Lafayette's Quarters.¹¹

Run away from the Subscriber, on the first Day of this inst. April, a Mulatto Fellow, named Harry, about 24 Years of Age, has a small Scar above one of his Eye brows: Had on, or took with him, a light coloured Camblet Coat, with Horn Buttons, a dark Camblet Jacket, scarlet Ditto, lined with blue, yellow Thickset Breeches, with white Metal Buttons, light blue Worsted Stockings, and white Yarn Ditto, good Shoes and Brass buckles, Felt Hat, Linen Cap, and Check Trowsers, and it is probable may have other Cloaths with him. Whoever secures the said Fellow, and gives proper Notice thereof to his Master, shall have Forty Shillings Reward, if taken in Pennsylvania; but if taken in any other Province, Five Pounds Reward, Pennsylvania Currency, paid by the Subscriber, living in Tredyffrin Township, Chester county.

Samuel Havard

⁸ *Pennsylvania Gazette*, April 19, 1764.

⁹ Register for Samuel Havard, British Depredations, 1777-1782, Chester County Archives, West Chester, PA, U.S. Quaker Meeting Records, 1681-1935, Pennsylvania, Delaware, Radnor Monthly Meeting, Men's Minutes, 1772-1782, 141, microfilm images 73, https://www.ancestrylibrary.com/imageviewer/collections/2189/images/31906_284119-00645?ssrc=&backlabel=Return.

¹⁰ U.S. Quaker Meeting Records, 1681-1935, Pennsylvania, Delaware, Radnor Monthly Meeting, Men's Minutes, 1772-1782, 156.

¹¹ National Register of Historic Places Nomination Form for Lafayette's Quarters, David M Berman, October 22, 1973, National Park Service, chrome-extension://efaidnbmnnnibpcajpcglclefindmkaj/https://gis.penndot.gov/CRGISAttachments/SiteResource/H001563_01H.pdf.



Samuel Havard's House, now known as Lafayette's Quarters in Valley Forge National Historic Park. The section of the house furthest to the right was Havard's original house, as indicated by a stone that reads "1763" on the side of it. Photograph by Colin McCrossan, 2023.

DOCUMENT 72: Manumission for Fortin by John Lewis, Haverford Township, August 2, 1778¹²

In this document, a Quaker enslaver named John Lewis freed an enslaved man he owned named Fortin. Fortin, according to the manumission, was twenty-eight and was set free immediately by Lewis.

I John Lewis of the Township of Haverford in Chester County of the Township do hereby Manumit and set free from bondage my Negro Man named Fortin aged twenty eight years. And do for myself, my Heirs executors and administrators release unto the said Fortin all my right, and all claim whatsoever, as to his person, or to any estate he may acquire, hereby declaring the said George to be absolutely free, without any interruption from me, or any person claiming under me. In witness whereof, I have hereunto set my hand and seal this eighth day of the Second Month in the year of our Lord, one thousand seven hundred and Seventy Six.

Sealed and delivered

in the presence of

Hugh Roberts

David Bacon

Sam. I Lewis

John Lewis

¹² Manumission of Fortin, August 2, 1778, John Lewis, Haverford Monthly Meeting, Manumitted: The People Enslaved by Quakers, Haverford College Library, Quaker and Special Collections, Physical Page Number 47, Digital Image Name: HC10-10002_093, <https://digitalcollections.tricolib.brynmawr.edu/object/hc145187>.

DOCUMENT 73: Manumission for Will Fishburn by John Roberts, Lower Merion Township, April 12, 1776¹³

In this document, a Quaker enslaver and miller named John Roberts freed an enslaved man he owned named Will Fishburn. Roberts freed him immediately and the document provides evidence that Will adopted a last name while he was still enslaved.

Know all men by these Presents that I John Roberts of Lower Merion in the County of Philadelphia and Province of Pennsylvania Miller do Manumit free and Discharge from me my Heirs Executors & Administrators forever a Mulatoe Man named Will Fishborne, this Manumission is intended that neither myself nor any other person for or under me Shall have any Right of Claim to the above Said Mulatoe man Name Will Fishburn. As Witness my hand and seal this twelveth Day of the 4th Month one thousand seven hundred and seventy six.

Witness Present

John Roberts

Joseph Lawkens

Jehu Roberts

¹³ Manumission of Will Fishburn, April 12, 1776, John Roberts, Haverford Monthly Meeting, Manumitted: The People Enslaved by Quakers, Haverford College Library, Quaker and Special Collections, Physical Page Number 49, Digital Image Name: HC10-10002_095, <https://digitalcollections.tricolib.brynmawr.edu/object/hc145189>.

DOCUMENT 74: Manumission for Harry and Cudge by John Lewis, Lower Merion Township, April 11, 1776¹⁴

In this document, a Quaker enslaver named John Roberts freed two enslaved men he owned named Harry and Cudge. Lewis freed both men immediately.

Know all men by these Presents that I John Roberts of Lower Merion in the County of Philadelphia and Province of Pennsylvania Miller do Manumit free and Discharge from me my Heirs Executors & Administrators forever my Negro men ^ named Harry and Cudge, this Manumission is intended that neighter myself nor any other person for or under me Shall have any Right or Clame to the above Negroes or Either them As Witness my hand and seal this 11th Day of the 4th Month one thousand seven hundred and seventy six.

Witness Present

John Roberts

William Blakey

Jehu Roberts

¹⁴ Manumission of Harry and Cudge, April 11, 1776, John Roberts, Haverford Monthly Meeting, Manumitted: The People Enslaved by Quakers, Haverford College Library, Quaker and Special Collections, Physical Page Number 49, Digital Image Name: HC10-10002_095, <https://digitalcollections.tricolib.brynmawr.edu/object/hc145189>.

DOCUMENT 75: Excerpts from the Will of Samuel Morgan, Radnor Township, Chester County, May 31, 1759¹⁵

Samuel Morgan was a Welsh Quaker enslaver who lived in Radnor Township. Morgan owned two enslaved Black people named Jack and Chloe who he purchased in 1750 and 1751, the bills of sales for which are also featured in this reader. In his will, Morgan gave his wife Magdalen, son Jack, and daughters Sarah, Eleanor, and Jane money, objects, land, and Jack and Chloe. Morgan bequeathed Chloe to Magdalen Morgan and Jack to his son John. A portion of Morgan's land later became the campus of Villanova University.¹⁶

Be it remembered that I Samuel Morgan of the Township of Radnor in the County of Chester & Province of Pennsylvania Yeoman being sick & weak in Body but of Perfect mind & memory thanks be to God and calling to mind the uncertainty of this Life Do Dispose of what Temporal Estate it hath pleased Almighty God to bestow upon me in manner & form following that is to say, First my Will is that all my Just Debts & funeral charges be paid by my Exers; Item, I give to my well beloved wife Magdalen the Enjoy of all my Stock & the benefit of my Plantation untill my son John be at the full age ^ of Twenty one years, and the benefit so arising from the said Stock be imployed [sic] by my said wife in the bringing up my youngest children viz. To Daughters & Son, and to be Taught in school at ye Disgression of my Execrs, Also I give to my said Wife my Negro Girl During her Natural Life, and the Disposal of her to which she will of my Childrens... Item I give & bequeath to my son John Morgan all my Messuage Land & plantation whereon I now Live according as it is bequeathed in my fathers last will & testament Commonly known by the Name of Vainor Containing about one hundred sixty acres be it more of less with all its members privileges & appurtenances whatsoever thereunto belonging to him & his Heirs forever and if my son shall Die before he attains the age of twenty one Years

¹⁵ Will of Samuel Morgan, No. 194, May 31, 1759, Philadelphia County, Will Book L, Page 306, Microfilm image 203 of 624, <https://www.familysearch.org/ark:/61903/3:1:3Q9M-C9B2-GDQ4?i=202&cat=353446>.

¹⁶ See the following property records: Deed from John Morgan to Johnathan Miller, Delaware County Deed Book E-744, accessed via FamilySearch.com, Deed from Johnathan Miller to John Rudolph, Delaware County Deed Book H-773, accessed via FamilySearch.com, Deed from the Estate of John Rudolph to the Brothers of the Order of Hermits of Saint Augustin, Delaware County Deed Book V-344, accessed via FamilySearch.com.

Leaving no living Issues then my will is that one or the other of my Daughters shall enjoy my said Plantation undivided according to the Value thereof as then valued by such men as they chuse for their assistance paying to the others their respective shears according to the Judgment of said men I give also to my son John my other tract of land in the same Township County & Province aforesaid Containing about one hundred acres Acres be the same more or less to my said Son John Morgan him & his Heirs for ever, Together also with my Negro Boy Called Jack to my son John his Heirs & Assigns forever...

DOCUMENT 76: Fugitive Ad for Jack by John Morgan, Radnor Township, October 7, 1770¹⁷

In this document, enslaver John Morgan advertised for an enslaved man he owned named Jack, who freed himself from Morgan in October, 1770. John Morgan had inherited Jack from his father, Samuel Morgan, and Samuel Morgan purchased Jack from Hannah Harrison, who owned a tobacco plantation in Lower Merion. The ad provides a few details about Jack but is a relatively short ad.

RUN away, from the Subscriber, living in Radnor Township, Chester County, on the 24th of September last, a Negroe Man, named JACK, about 5 Feet 8 Inches high, a well set Fellow, and aobut 27 Years of Age: Had on, a half-worn Felt Hat, brown homespun Cloth Jacket, with Pewter Buttons, and an under Ditto of the same, and Tow Shirt and Trowsers. Whoever takes up and secures said Negroe, so that his Master may have him again, shall have THIRTY SHILLINGS Reward, paid by

JOHN MORGAN.

¹⁷ *Pennsylvania Gazette*, October 7, 1770, 4. Accessed via *Readex: America's Historical Newspapers*.

DOCUMENT 77: Sale Ad for Enslaved Man by Magdalen Morgan, Radnor Township, May 12, 1773¹⁸

In this slave sale advertisement, Magdalen Morgan, an enslaver from Radnor, featured an enslaved man who was about twenty-seven years old. Though she did not give the man's name, it is likely that this man was also Jack, who escaped from Morgan's son John in 1770, and who Magdalen's late husband Samuel had purchased from Hannah Harrison in 1750. Details from this description match details of Jack from John Morgan's 1770 fugitive slave ad, but it's unknown if these two men were exactly the same, though the possibility seems likely.

TO BE SOLD,

A LIKELY healthy NEGROE MAN, this Country born, about 27 Years of Age; has had the Small-pox and Measles, was bred a Farmer. For further Particulars, enquire of MAGDALENE MORGAN, at Radnor, in Chester County.

¹⁸ *Pennsylvania Gazette*, May 12, 1773, 4. Accessed via *Readex: America's Historical Newspapers*.

DOCUMENT 78: Excerpt from Magdalen Morgan's Will, Radnor Township, 1798¹⁹

In this excerpt, Magdalen Morgan, an enslaver from Radnor Township, wrote about an enslaved woman she owned named Chloe. She had inherited Chloe from her husband, Samuel Morgan, and enslaved her in Radnor Township for many years. Samuel Morgan had originally purchased her from a blacksmith in 1751. In her will, Magdalen directed her daughter Sarah Johnson to use any money left over from her estate to use at her "discretion" to "provide" for Chloe. It is unclear from Morgan's will if by 1798 Chloe was still enslaved or if Morgan had freed her. The phrase "my Negro Woman" could have denoted ownership and enslaved status, or it could have been what Morgan used to refer to Chloe even if she was free. Even though Chloe did not speak through Morgan's will, her resistance to Morgan's enslavement is evidenced by her very survival until at least 1798.

...The residue and remainder of my Monies whatsoever and wheresoever is to be put into the hands of my said Daughter Sarah Johnson and left at her discretion to provide as she may think fit for my Negro Woman Cloe and in case there shall be any Money remaining at the death of my said Negro Woman it is to be equally divided between my said...

¹⁹ Will of Magdalane Morgan, #140, November 24, 1798, Delaware County Archives, Lima, Pennsylvania.

of my said Grandson Joseph Johnson he to pay into her hands the Interest thereof yearly at 6%^{ts} Untill ^{the} ~~the~~ Ann during her natural life but in case of her death the Principal to be equally divided between her two Children James and Ann Before respectively as they shall arrive to the Age of thirty years. —

I do give devise and bequeath to my said Daughter Rachael the Bed and Bedding in the front room upstairs usually called her room. —

I do give devise and bequeath to my said Daughter Ruth the Bed and Bedding in the room upstairs usually called my room. —

The residue and remainder of my Monies whatsoever and wheresoever is to be put into the hands of my said Daughter Sarah Johnson and left at her discreption to provide as she may think fit for my Negro Woman Cloc and in case there shall be any Money remaining at the death of my said Negro Woman it is to be equally divided between my said

DOCUMENT 79: Manumission for Ambo by Nathan Matlack, Radnor Township, June 14, 1776²⁰

In this document, a Quaker enslaver named Nathan Matlack freed an enslaved woman he owned named Ambo. Matlack made no conditions on her manumission, and she became free immediately.

I Nathan Matlack of the Township of Radnor in Chester County do hereby set free from bondage, my Negro Woman named Ambo aged about eighteen years, and do, for my self, my Executors and administrators, release unto the said Ambo all my right, and all claim Whatsoever as to her person, or to any estate she may acquire hereby declaring the said Ambo absolutely free, with out any interruption from me, or any person claiming under me. In Witness whereof I have hereunto set my hand and seal this fourteenth day of the sixth month, in the year of our Lord, one thousand Sevan hundred and Seventy six-

Sealed and Delivered
in the Presence of

Nathan Matlack

Nicholas Waln

Robert Verre

²⁰ Manumission of Ambo, June 16, 1776, Nathan Matlack, Haverford Monthly Meeting, Manumitted: The People Enslaved by Quakers, Haverford College Library, Quaker and Special Collections, Physical Page Number 51, Digital Image Name: HC10-10002_098, <https://digitalcollections.tricolib.brynmawr.edu/object/hc145192>.

DOCUMENT 80: Manumission for Sela, Dinah, James, Thomas, Ishmael, and London by Anthony Tunis, Lower Merion Township, November 6, 1778²¹

In this document, Anthony Tunis, a Quaker enslaver in Lower Merion, immediately and gradually freed enslaved people he had partially inherited from his father, Abraham Tunis. Abraham Tunis died in 1767 without writing a will, and in the 1770s and 1780s, his family – Anthony, Richard, Hannah, Benjamin and Esther – all, eventually, agreed to release any claims they had over the enslaved people Abraham owned when he died. These enslaved people were a woman named Sela and her five children named Dinah, James, Thomas, Ishmael, and London. In their manumissions, the Tunis's freed Sela immediately but her children gradually – Dinah was to become free when she turned eighteen, and James, Thomas, Ishmael and London when they each turned twenty-one. Until then, they would remain enslaved by the family.

Whereas my Father Abraham Tunis Deceased, Died Intestate, and month other things parts of his Estate remaining to be divided to my self & others agreeable to the Laws made in such Case-

There is six Negro's to wit

a Negro Woman named....Sela aged about 32 years old

a Negro Girl.....Dinah.....7 years

a Negro Boy.....James.....14 years

a Negro Boy.....Thomas.....11 years

a Negro Boy.....Ishmael.....9 years

a Negro Boy.....London.....2 years

I do hereby set free & discharge from Bondage the said Negro Woman & her five Children abovementioned so far as I have by Law or otherwise any claim or right to them, hereby declaring them absolutely free from me or any person claiming under me-the said Woman from this time & her

²¹ Manumission of Sela, Dinah, James, Thomas, Ishmael, London, November 11, 1778, Anthony Tunis, Haverford Monthly Meeting, Manumitted: The People Enslaved by Quakers, Haverford College Library, Quaker and Special Collections, Physical Page Number 56, Digital Image Name: HC10-10002_106, <https://digitalcollections.tricolib.brynmawr.edu/object/hc145200>. For the other Tunis family manumissions, see Physical Pages 56, 60, 62, 63, 64.

Daughter Dinah when she arrives at the age of Eighteen Years & the Sons when they respectively arrive at the age of Twenty one Years; hereby for my selfe, Executors and Administrators releasing unto the said Sela & her five Children all my claim to their persons or to any Estate they may acquire. – In witness whereof I have hereunto set my hand and Seal this sixth day of the eleventh month in the Year of our Lord One Thousand seven hundred and seventy Eighter.

Sealed & Delivered

In the presence of

Anthony Tunis

Henry Drinker

Samuel Smith

DOCUMENT 81: Estate Inventory for Abraham Tunis, Lower Merion, October 12, 1767¹

In 1767, Abraham Tunis died in Lower Merion. Tunis was a Quaker enslaver and farmer, and died without writing a will. His wife Hannah Tunis inherited his estate and an inventory was made of all of his property, including of the people he enslaved. His estate inventory, which is reprinted in this document, provides evidence of the material world of enslavement in Lower Merion and the area. It lists the objects and animals Tunis owned, alongside enslaved people. The estate inventory clearly shows how enslaved people were objectified into appraisable assets. From this document, we can interpret what life could have been like for Tunis and the people he enslaved. For example, Tunis owned sheep – we can surmise that he and the people he enslaved would have raised them and harvested their wool, which was also recorded in the inventory. The enslaved woman and two children Tunis owned were appraised at an amount of £70, which was worth less than the combined amount of his objects and livestock.

An Inventory of the Goods Chattles, Rights & Credits, which Were of Abram Tunis Late of Lower Merion Deceas'd taken & Appraised this 12th day of October 1767 by the Subscribers.

	£ [Pounds]	S [Shillings]	P [Pence]
Wearing Apparel	10	0	0
Bed Beding &c	9	.	.
Chest of Drawers	3	.	.
Dressing Table	1	.	.
Half Dozen Rush Bottom'd	1	4	.
Six She[cut off] & Six pillow Cases	3	.	.
Three fine Ditto & 6 Do.	2	.	.
Four Window Curtains &c	.	10	.

¹ Letters of Administration for Abraham Tunis, N. 92, 1767, Philadelphia Administration Files, No. 52-101, 1-9, 1767-1768, accessed via Ancestry.com.

6 yds Sagathie & Living	1	10	.
8 lbs of Wool	.	10	.
Lincey a Remnant	.	6	.
Huckabeck a Remnant	.	7	6
Bed &c	.	12	.
Ditto &c	1	10	.
A fowling Piece	.	12	.
Mans Saddle	1	5	.
Upper Leather &c	.	5	.
Old Casks	.	2	.
Negroes Bed	.	7	6
Old Warming Pan	.	5	.
Three Little Spinning Wheels &c	1	2	6
Bed Beding &	12	.	.
Desk	2	5	.
Half Doz. Rush Bottom'd Chairs	.	12	.
Looking Glass	.	12	6
China Ware &c	2	5	.
[Second Page]			
Plate	5	10	.
Delph War &c	.	6	.
Hat Case	.	2	.
A pair Handirons	.	7	.
Hand Irons Shovel & Tongs	1	5	.
2 Half Dozen Fush Bottomed Chairs and Arm Ditto	1	15	.
Tea Table	.	15	.

Black Walnut Dining Table	1	10	.
Large Looking Glass	2	5	.
Small Oval Table	.	4	.
Four pewter Dishes & 1 ½ Doz. Plates	2	7	.
A Map &c	.	2	.
Large Spinning Wheel	.	10	.
Dough Trough &c	.	3	.
Small Cupboard	.	3	6
A pair Steel yards	.	7	6
A pair handirons Shovel & tongs	1	.	.
Three Flat Irons Shovel & Ton- Chasing Dish &c	.	15	.
Potts hooks & hangers	.	13	.
Two Brass Kettles	1	.	.
Frying Pan &c &c &c	1	5	.
Hogsheads & Barrells	1	5	.
Cheese-press & Lazy Back	.	6	.
Old Tubbs	.	3	6
Plough & Harrow	2	5	.
Spade Shovel Telling Ax ec	1	2	.
Sheep	5	5	.
Cart	5	.	.
	93	19	6

[Third Page]			
Sleigh	.	15	.
Collars Harnes Chains &c	2	10	.
Wheat and Rye in the Barn			
Pitch Forks & Rakes	.	2	.
Churn Milk Pans &c	.	8	.
A Grey Horse	8	.	.
Bay Horse	9	.	.
Six Horned Cattle	17	.	.
Swine	7	17	6
Flour Looms & Weavers Gears &	7	10	.
17 Lb of Wool	1	1	3
Iron Stove	6	.	.
6 Lb of Hemp	.	12	.
A Negro Wench & Young Child	50	.	.
A Mullatto Boy	20	.	.
An Apprentices Time	5	.	.
Ditto Ditto	10	.	.
Ditto Girl Do.	7	.	.
To a Bond	43	3	.
	289	12	3

Wheat & Rye in the Barn

Of which an account is to be given in when threshed

John Price affirmed

John Roberts affirmed

An Inventory of the Goods Chattels, Rights & Credits, which,
Were of Abraham Tunis Late of Lower Merion Deceased taken,
& Appraised this 12th day of October 1767 by the Subscribers.

	L ^s S ^d		
Wearing Apparel	10	0	0
Bed Bedding &c	9	.	.
Chest of Drawers	3	.	.
Dressing Table	1	.	.
Half Dozen Rust Bottom'd	1	4	.
Six Shells & Six Pillow Cases	3	.	.
Three fine Ditto & 6 Do.	2	.	.
Four Window Curtains &c	.	10	.
6 y ^{ds} Sagathie & Lining	1	10	.
& 4 y ^{ds} of Wool	.	10	.
Lincey a Remnant	.	6	.
Huckabuck a Remnant	.	7	6
Bed &c	.	12	.
Ditto &c	1	10	.
A fowling Piece	.	12	.
Mans Saddle	1	5	.
Upper Leather &c	.	5	.
Old Cuffs	.	2	.
Negroes Bed	.	7	6
Old Warming Pan	.	5	.
Three Little Spinning Wheels &c	1	2	6
Bed Bedding &c	12	.	.
Deft	2	5	.
Half Doz. Rust Bottom'd Chairs	.	12	.
Looking Glafs	.	12	6
China Ware &c	2	5	8
	56	3	.
Turn Over			

Brought Over				
Plate		56	3	.
Delph Ware &c		5	10	.
Hat Case		.	6	.
A pair Handirons		.	2	.
Hand Irons Shovel & Tongs		.	7	.
1 Half Dozen Rush Bottomed Chairs & Arm Dishes		1	5	.
1 Half Dozen Rush Bottomed Chairs & Arm Dishes		1	15	.
Sea Table		.	15	.
Black Walnut Dining Table		1	10	.
Large Looking Glass		2	5	.
Small Oval Table		.	4	.
Four pewter Dishes & 1/2 Doz. plates		2	7	.
A map &c		.	2	.
Large Spinning Wheel		.	10	.
Dough Sough &c		.	3	.
Small Cupboard		.	3	6
A pair Steel Yards		.	7	6
A pair handirons Shovel & Tongs		1	.	.
Three Flat Irons Shovel & Tongs Chafing Dish &c		.	15	.
Potts hoops & hangers		.	13	.
Two Brass Kettles		1	.	.
Forging Pan &c &c &c		1	5	.
Hogsheads & Barrells		1	5	.
Cheepseps & Lany Back		.	6	.
Old Tubbs		.	3	6
Plough & Harrow		2	5	.
Spade Shovel Tilling Ax &c		1	2	.
Sheep		5	5	.
Cart		5	.	.
Total		£	93	13/6

Sleigh	Port Up	93	13	6
Collars Harness Chains &c		.	15	.
Wheat &c in the Barn		2	10	.
Pitch Forks & Rakes		.	2	.
Churn Milk Pans &c		.	8	.
A Grey Horse		8	.	.
Bay Horse		9	.	.
Six Horned Cattle		17	.	.
Swine		7	17	6
Four Looms & Weaved Hears &c		7	10	.
17 Lb ^s of Wool		1	1	3
Iron Stove		6	.	.
6 Lb ^s of Hemp		.	12	.
A Negro Wench & Young Child		50	.	.
A Mottatto Boy		20	.	.
Our Apprentices Time		5	.	.
Ditto Ditto		10	.	.
Ditto Girl Do-		7	.	.
To a Bond		43	3	.
		£ 289	12	3.
Wheat & Rye in the Barn				
of which an account is to be given in when asked				
J ^d Price affirmed				
J ^d Roberts - affirmed				

DOCUMENT 82: Excerpt from the Will of Lewis Gronow, Tredyffrin Township, Chester County, November 3, 1782¹

Lewis Gronow was a farmer and enslaver from Tredyffrin Township. In 1780, Gronow registered five enslaved people he owned with Chester County [Document 22] whose names were York, Moses, Amos, Aaron, and Simon. In his will, Gronow gave his family members money, objects, and his plantations in Tredyffrin. He also determined the futures of York, Moses, Aaron, and Simon. Gronow ordered his estate executors to free York six months after his death and provide for him if he became unable to “support himself,” and wrote that Moses and Aaron were to be still enslaved until they each turned twenty-five. Simon, Gronow wrote, was technically the property of his stepmother Isabel Gronow, who was still alive in 1782. He ordered Simon to be freed when she died. Gronow disclosed that Simon, Moses, and Aaron were all brothers, and also gave a multiracial woman named Phillis, who he said he lived with, thirty pounds. Amos, who Gronow registered in 1780, was not mentioned in the will. Gronow’s will highlights how precarious enslaved people’s lives became and could become when their enslavers died. In this case, three brothers – Simon, Moses, and Aaron – faced three different futures and disruptive change.

In the Name of God Amen I Lewis Gronow of the Township of Tredyffrin County of Chester & State of Pennsylvania, Being weak in Body, but of Sound Disposing Mind & Memory, and Calling to mind the uncertainty of Life...this my last Will & Testament, In Manner & form following...Item I give & Bequeath to Phillis a Mulattoe wench, now Living with me, the sum of thirty pounds;...And further IN Case my Negro Man named York should through sickness or Misfortune, prove Helpless and Unable to support himself; IN that Case my Will is & I order, that the said plantation I have here Devised to Mary & Isabella Bull [Gronow’s relatives] Be & is Hereby Subjected to his support & Maintainance...Item I will & order that my Negroe man Named York, shall be free And liberated In Six Months After my Decease; And it is likewise my will, & I order, that my Mulattoe Boys, Aaron & Moses, shall be under the Care & Direction of my Executors, until they respectively Arrives to the Age of Twenty five years, the profits of their Labour, to be applied to their Support & Supsistance, & to be free & sett at Liberty, at the Age Aforesaid, Subject to the Direction & Controul of my Ex- In Case of their Irregular Conduct, to secure & appple the profits of their

¹ Will and Estate Inventory of Lewis Gronow, File #3433, Tredyffrin Township, 1783, Chester County Archives, West Chester, Pennsylvania.

Labour, to their Support, Cloathing & Subsistance; And Likewise, I order that my Mulattoe Boy Named Simon, who by my Father's Will, is the property of my Stepmother during her Natural Life, Shall be free & sett at Liberty; at her, Decease, Still under the Controul & Direction of my Executors as in the Case of his Two Brothers...

DOCUMENT 83: Excerpt from the Will of Isabel Gronow, Tredyffrin Township, Chester County, July 9, 1788²

In this document, Isabel Gronow, Lewis Gronow's stepmother, freed an enslaved boy she owned named Simon. Gronow gave Simon money, a cot, and two sheep, but still linked him and wages he was to be given to two white men who were affiliated with Gronow's plantation. Six years earlier, Lewis Gronow mentioned Simon in his will, and that he ordered him to be freed after Isabel's death. In her will, Isabel honored that portion of the will. While Simon became free in 1788, his two brothers Moses and Aaron remained enslaved by the executors of Lewis Gronow's estate. Even in death, enslavers could still separate families and affect enslaved people's lives and relationships.

In the name of God Amen I Issabel Gronow of the Township of Tredyffrin in the County of Chester & State of Pennsylvania being weak in body but of sound disposing Mind and Memory Blessed be God for the same...Item as Simon My Mulattoe boy is free at my Decease I give him all wages in John Brownes hands also a Cott of Mine now at John Brown And all the wages in Peter Bones hand & also two sheep I have. The money to be put in use by my Executors for the boy & he to have the annual [word unclear] and he to be under their particular care...

²Will and Estate Inventory of Isabel Gronow, File #3966, Tredyffrin Township, July 9, 1788, Chester County Archives, West Chester, Pennsylvania.

In the Name of God. Amen I Lewis Gronow of the Township of Tredyffrin County of Chester & State of Pennsylvania, Being weak in Body, but of Sound Disposing Mind & Memory, And calling to mind the Uncertainty of Life, & of my Continuance Here, Do Make & Ordain, this my last Will & Testament, In Manner & form following:— I Primes, I order that all my Just debts and Funeral Expences be paid & Discharged;— Item I Order my Executors, here after Named, to make publick Sale, of all my personal Estate, excepting such articles & things, as is for the Use of my Step Mother, As soon as convenient, after my Decease;— Item I give & Bequeath to Isabella Gronow, my Step Mother, the Sum of Seventy pounds;— Item I give & Bequeath, to my relation, William Gronow the Sum of Sixty pounds;— Item I give & Bequeath, to Lewis Gronow, son of the said Will^m Gronow, the Sum of Sixty pounds;— Item I give & Bequeath to John Gronow, a Carrier man, & another son of the said Will^m Gronow, the Sum of Sixty pounds;— Item I give & Bequeath, to my relation Isaac Davis the Sum of Sixty pounds;— Item I give & Bequeath to Mary Cochran the Sum of Sixty pounds;— Item I give & Bequeath to Jeremiah M^cVeigh the Sum of Thirty pounds;— Item I give & Bequeath to Phillis a Mulattoe wench, now living with me, the Sum of thirty pounds;— All which Legacies respectively, above mentioned, to be paid, in good & Lawfull Money of Pennsylvania, by my Executors, In Two years, after my Decease, Or as soon as they can, with propriety, Collect money into their hands;— Item I give & Bequeath to my sister Sarah Bull, the privilege & Use of One of the Back Rooms, On the lower floor, of the house, On the plantation which I purchased, from James Davis, deceased, with the privilege of the Out kitchen, Back of the same, And the garden adjoining therunto With Hay & Pasture, yearly, for One Cow, & her Choice of One Row of Apple Trees, In the Orchard, & fifteen Bushels of good wheat, to be Delivered her Yearly & every year, from off the plantation, I purchased from James Davis aforesaid, with the privilege of firewood, & to pass to & from at all Times During her Natural Life, Allse, I give her, all the Rights, & Powers given to me, by my Father's Will, respecting a certain Plantation & Tract of Land Situated on Cockolamus, Creek, Near Paterfons Mill, In Cumberland County, Shall Devolve, & Be Vested, In my said sister, with full power, to receive And Apply the profits thereof, to her own Use, untill her son John Gronow Bull, shall arrive to y^e Age of Twenty One years;— Likewise my Father, by his Last will & Testament, Did Bequeath the Sum of Two Hundred pounds In Trust, In my hands, with discretionary powers, Being for the Use of His Daughter Sarah Bull [reference to said Will, May more fully appear] I give & Order the aforesaid Sum of Two Hundred pounds, to my Executors Hereafter Named, In further Trust, to remain In their hands, for the Use of the said Sarah Bull, to witt, the said Two Hundred pounds to be put Out, Upon secure Loan, & the yearly Interest Accruing thereon.

Isabel Bull, daughter of Sarah Bull, all my right
to a Legacy bequeath^d to me by my Nephew Lewis
Spence in his last will & Testament also my silver
Spoon. Item I give a bequeath to Sarah Bull my
Nephew's daughter my daughter's gown green Calimancoe that
John Bull & Cloth Black. Item I give & bequeath
to Esther Ashton my little feather Bed, that Leah
Evans now sleep on, with one sheet one pillow & one
one blanket, one three Colored Counterpane, Item I bequeath
to John G. Bull my silver Watch. Item I give
& bequeath to Mary Bull, daughter to Sarah Bull
my old & China & pewter Tea Pot. Item I give and
bequeath to Isaac Davis son to John Davis, one of my
Executioner, my Eight Day Clock, bequeath to me by
my Husband in his last will & Testament. Item
I give & bequeath to Jane Maxwell (widow of John Maxwell
Deceased) my Dutch Oven. Item as Simon my Melatton
boy is free at my Deceased I give him all wages in
John Brown's hands, also a Coat of Mine now at En.
Brown. And all the wages in Peter Boner's hands also
two shup I have. The Money to be paid is use by my
Ex^{or} for the boy & he to have the annual I shup
and he to be under this particular care And lastly as
to all my Test Executor's & remainder of my Personal
Estate, goods, &c. Chatles of what kind or Nature I ever
or ever the same to be disposed of at Public Vendue &
all the surplus Money to be disposed in my Execution
hands & they to relieve such poor people as they
may think proper - or may come to their Notice. It

DOCUMENT 84: Excerpts from the Will and Estate Inventory of Morton Morton, Ridley Township, Chester County, March 15, 1781, April 2, 1781¹

Morton Morton was an enslaver who lived in Ridley Township at the edge of Darby Creek. In his will, Morton gave land to his daughter and grandchildren, and also bequeathed enslaved people he owned. Morton owned eight enslaved people whom he registered with Chester County in 1780 - a woman named Lis, a man named Ceasar, a girl named Sarah, and five boys named Annias, Samuel, Peter, John, and Jacob. Morton bequeathed Annias to his granddaughter Lydia Boon and Sarah to his other granddaughter Elizabeth Boon in his will. He also stipulated that Lis and Ceasar were to become free immediately after his death and be given two acres of marshland in Darby Township Morton owned. After Lis and Ceasar died, however, Morton's grandchildren were to assume ownership of the property. He also gave Peter to Lis. He did not mention John, Jacob, or Samuel in his will.

Of note in Morton's estate inventory are four canoes – a sign that Morton and enslaved people like Lis and Samuel would have been fishing and moving in Darby Creek – and two beds that were labeled as “Negroes,” a clue that these enslaved people were likely sleeping and living inside Morton's house. A portion of Morton's land still exists on the banks of Darby Creek in Ridley Township, as does his original home, which is now operated by the Norwood Historical Society.² This example of enslavement in the Philadelphia Area is especially interesting because of how the natural environment (i.e. the creek) would have affected conditions of enslavement and daily life.

[Will]

In the name of God Amen I Morton Morton of the Township of Ridley in the County of Chester and Commonwealth of Pennsylvania Yeoman being sick & we kin body but of sound & well Disposing Mind...calling to mind the Certainty of Death & the Uncertainty of the Time not knowing how the Lord may deal with me Shortly And being mindfull to settle my worldly affairs According to my mind before my Decease Do this fifteenth day of March Anno Domini one Thousand seven hundred & eighty one Make & Ordain this my Last will & Testament in Manner Following...Item My will & Mind is that my Daughter Rebecca have and take so much Marsh of the Place on

¹ Will and Estate Inventory of Morton Morton, March 15, 1781, April 2, 1781, No. 3317, Pennsylvania U.S. Wills and Probate Records, 1683-1993, Estate Papers, 1713-1810, Chester County Register of Wills, Accessed via Ancestry.com, https://www.ancestrylibrary.com/discoveryui-content/view/1808057:8802?_phsrc=eAb551&_phstart=successSource&gsfn=morton&gsln=morton&ml_rpos=1&queryId=2055e661936ea804275d2aa3e69c165f.

² <http://www.norwoodpahistorical.org/>, also see <https://www.loc.gov/item/pa0422/>.

which I now Dwell as is Contained in that Piece which I Purchased of William Archer...Item I give unto my Granddaughter Lydia Boon my Negroe Boy Ananias-Item I give unto my Granddaughter Elizabeth Boon My Negroe Girl Sarah

Item my will & Mind is that my two Negroes Ceaser & Lis be Imediately free after my Decease & I give unto them that Tenement & land now Occupied by Michael Smith and also two Acres of Marsh in the Township of Darby to hold to them during their Nautral lifes & then to descend unto my two Gradndaughters as is herein before Directed and I also give unto my said Negro woman Lis my Negroe boy Peter...

[Estate Inventory, entries not in the order they appeared in original]

[Property]	[£ Pounds]	[S Shillings]	[P Pence]
To the Hero Canoe	4	0	0
To a Cedar do [ditto]	2	10	0
To a Poplar do	2	10	0
To a Chestnut do & Slidge	2	0	0
To a Negroe boy	40	~	~
To Do.	25	~	~
To Do.	15	~	~
To a Negroe Girl	15	0	0
To 5 Linnen Sheets	6	5	0
To a Feather Bed Besteads Under Bed Bolster	6	0	0
To a Negroes Bed &	2	0	0
To Do small	0	5	0
To 13 Sheep	14	12	6



Darby Creek and the Morton Morton House – a site and space of enslavement in Ridley Township. Photographs by Colin McCrossan, 2021.

DOCUMENT 85: Excerpts from Charles Humphrey's Will, Haverford Township, 1786¹

Charles Humphreys was a prominent politician, tax collector, miller, enslaver, and landholder who lived primarily in Haverford Township.² In his will, Humphreys made arrangements to divide his land holdings, mills, and personal property, which included the enslaved people he owned. Though he registered nine people in 1780 with Chester County [Document 22] he did not mention all of them in his will. In the document, he freed one enslaved person immediately, an elderly woman named Nany, and stipulated that three other enslaved people – Cezar, Tom, and Judy – were to be freed by his executors six months after his death. Judy's two daughters, who were likely Alice and Fanny from the 1780 register, were to be freed from bondage when they both, respectively, turned twenty. Humphreys also gave Nany, Cezar, Tom, and Judy money and objects, and acres of land he owned in Radnor Township to Cezar, Tom, and Judy.

In the name of the Father, son, and Holy Ghost, Amen. Know all men by these present that I Charles Humphreys, of the Township of Haverford in the County of Chester in Pennsylvania, Considering the uncertainty of all things, and being of sound and perfect disposing mind and Memory, Glory to God do make and publish this my last will and testament, in manner and form Following, I give and Devise to my nephew Clement Humphreys, to my nephew Joshua Humphreys, and their sister my Niece Hannah Humphreys, all my Messuages Grist Mills, fulling Mills and all the appurtenances thereunto belonging with the plantation and Tract of land Medow's included, which were will by my father to my brother Joshua, and my self whose share I purchased since, lying the East side of Cob's Creek, Commonly known by the name of the Mill land bounded on the west by the Mill Creek and dam, by land late John Havard's, by Bevan's land, and the County line and by land Devised by my brother Solomon Humphreys...

¹ Will of Charles Humphreys, Wills and Administrations, 1714-1923, page 577 on online index pdf, Charles Humphrey, year 1786, file number 3759, Chester County Archives, West Chester, Pennsylvania.

² "Mortuary Notice." *Pennsylvania Journal, or, Weekly Advertiser*, January 21, 1786, 3, "Charles Humphreys," Andrew Atkinson Humphreys, *The Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography*, Vol. 1., No. 1 (1877), pp. 83-85, <https://www.jstor.org/stable/20084261>, "HUMPHREYS, Charles," Biographical Directory of the United States Congress, <https://bioguide.congress.gov/search/bio/H000961>, the directory notes that Humphreys served in Pennsylvania's Provincial Congress from 1764-1774, was a member of the Continental Congress from 1774-1776, and also voted against the Declaration of Independence in 1776.

All which said Mills, mill dams, and appurtenances thereunto Belonging with the messuages and tenements and several tracts and pieces, parcells, and Lots of land as above mentioned and Described...I give and Devise unto them the said Clement, Joshua, and Hannah Humphreys and to their Heirs and Assigns forever... The Messuages and Tennements and several Tracts and pieces, parcells and Lots of land as above Mentioned and Described...I ^ give and Devise Unto them the said Clement, Joshua, and Hannah Humphreys ^and to their Heirs and Assigns forever...as Tennants in Common and not as joint Tennants, they the said Clement, Joshua, and Hannah, providing out of the said Estates a sufficient Maintenance for my Two Sisters Hannah, & Elisabeth during their natural lives, including the Estate my brother Edward, bequeathed to Sister Elisabeth, Taking Particular Care they, and each of them shall be well provided for;

And likewise the said, Clement, Joshua, and Hannah, shall pay out of the said Estate the sum of one hundred Pounds in specie, unto my Nephew Whitehead Humphreys, within One year after the decease of both my sisters, And also shall pay the Further sum of one hundred pound in specie to be appropriated as hereafter directed, also to pay the Further sum of three pounds...

I give and Devise Unto my niece Hannah Humphreys all that my Messuage and lot or piece of Ground Containing Four acres be the same more Or less Situate in Haverford Afforsesaid later ^the property of my brother Samuel Humphreys, and Lydia Humphreys Devisee of the said Samuel, both deceased / bounded by the Road leaving to Philadelphia, The Meeting house land, and others, with all and singular the appurtenance, Thereunto belonging. To hold to her the said Hannah Humphreys herHeirs and Assigns for ever. I also give unto my said Neice Hannah Humphreys, my best bed bedding and Furniture complete and White Counterfin? Thereunto belonging, with my mahogany breakfast table, And ^Two largest ^or best Looking glass, my desk and bookcase, the Case of drawers Late my sister Hannah's, Likewise a large folio bible with silver clasps, And my watch that has my name on the face, with all my silver tablespoon, Teaspoons, and all the Tea apparatus, also one Horse, and Cow, her own Choice, I give and Devise unto my Nephew Richard Humphreys son Of my brother Solomon all that piece or lot of ground situate in Haverford aforesaid Containing about six acres be the same more or less it being the same lot or piece of

Ground Devised to me by my brother Samuel Humphreys To hold to him the said Richard his heirs and Assigns forever...

I give and Devise unto my Servant man Cezar three acres of Land in the Township of Radnor being ^part of Ten acres of land I bought Of Griffith Evans, to be laid out by my executors next adjoining his own so that it will not deprive the other part of the land of the spring of Water, To hold to him the said Cezar his heirs and Assigns for Ever. I give ^& Devise the remainder of the said Ten acres of ~~said~~ land Unto my Two Servants, Tom, and Judy, to hold to them their heirs And Assigns forever, and I order my Executors to build them the said Tom, and Judy, a good, ^of sawed loghouse, with a stone chimney to the Same, to be paid for out of my estate. AND I do hereby manumit And set Free, the said Cezar, Tom, and Judy, in six months After my decease, I also will that all Judy's Children as is named shall Be set free the girls severally as they arrive to the age of TWnety Years, I also liberate and set Free my old servant Woman named Nany who shall be Taken good care off, and well supported by my Executors Out of that part of my Real Estate willed to them, and likewise to pay Her the said Nany Twenty Silver Dollars to be laid out for such Cloathing as she shall like, or my niece Hannah, shall think proper...

I Will that my Nephew Jacob Humphreys shall have the use of the old large Walnut dining Table in the out parlor standing under the glass and Likewise The Desk late his Uncle Edwards ^and his grandmothers case of drawers during his life, and after his decease to The next heir of the messuage and Tennement that shall live in the house I give to Said Jacob's daughter Rebeccah the Old Looking glass And desire she may have her Ant Elizabeth's case of Drawers ^ after her decease give unto my niece Jane Humphreys Fifty pounds due to ^me – from her Brother Daniel Humphreys by bond, and I do hereby Exonerate the said Daniel from all the interest due on the said bond; I give unto my said Neice Jane, my silver watch with a Cheny face. I give Unto my said servants Cezar, And Tom, Twenty silver dollars a piece, I give unto Judy my Old Walnut Dressing Table, and Ten pounds in specie & apart of silver ^shoe buckles It ^is my Will and Desire that all my wearing apparel shall be given And Distributed amongst such of my Relations as my Executors shall think Fit and not to be appraised with my personal Estate as is left? All ~~I give my Library of books to be divided as equal as possible between The eldest son of my Nephew Whitehead Humphreys, and the eldest Son of my Nephew Joshua Hmphreys each share to be left with Their respective Father's untill the Children shall come of age I further give unto my Nephew Jacob Humphreys Twenty pounds

and a Small walnut Table in the dining room, my Cloath press, and all the irons Belonging to the sawmill, and six rush? Bottomed chairs, the different household goods given to the said Jacob he is not to take possession of or have Till after the decease of his Ant. Elizabeth, or her Consent. I Further give unto my neice Hannah Humphreys my best Walnut Table And small folding breakfast table in the front or long Room, and my gold Sleeve Buttons, And the Residue and Remainder of my personal Estate...

I give And Devise unto my niece Hannah Humphreys all that my
 Messuage and lot or piece of Ground containing four acres be the same more
 or less Situate in Haverford aforesaid late ^{the} property of my brother &
 Samuel Humphreys, and Lydia Humphreys Devisee of the Said
 Samuel, both deceased, bounded by the Road leading to Philadelphia,
 the Meeting-house land, and others, with all and singular the appurtenances
 thereto belonging, To hold to her the said Hannah Humphreys her
 heirs and assigns for ever. I ~~also~~ give unto my said niece Hannah
 Humphreys, my best bed bedding and furniture complete and white
 Counterspin thereto belonging, with my mahogany breakfast Table,
 and ^{two} largest ^{or best} Looking glass, my desk and book case, the case of drawers
 late my Sister Hannah's, Likewise a large folio bible with silver Clasp,
 and my watch that has my name on the face, with all my silver Tablespoons,
 Teaspoons and all the Tea apparatus, also one Horse, and Cow, her own
 choice, I give And Devise unto my Nephew Richard Humphreys son
 of my brother Solomon, all that piece or lot of ground situate in
 Haverford aforesaid containing about six acres be the same more
 or less it being the same lot or piece of Ground Devised to me by
 brother Samuel Humphreys, To hold to him the said Richard
 his heirs and assigns for ever.

I give And Devise unto my servant man Bezar three acres of
 land in the Township of Hadnor being ^{part} of Ten acres of land I bought
 of Griffith Evans, to be laid out by my executors next adjoining his
 own so that it will not deprive the other part of the land of the spring
 of water, To hold to him the said Bezar his heirs and assigns for
 ever. I give Devise the remainder of the said Ten acres of ^{said} land
 unto my two servants, Tom, and Judy, to hold to them their heirs
 and assigns for ever, and I order my executors to build them the said
 Tom, and Judy, a good ^{new} saved loghouse with a stone Chimney to the
 same, to be paid for out of my estate. AND I do hereby manumit
 and set free, the said Bezar, Tom, and Judy, in six months
 after my decease, y^e also will that all Judy's Children as if named shall
 be set free the girls severally as they arrive to the age of Twenty
 Years, I also liberate and set free my old servant woman named
 nany who shall be taken good care off, and well supported by my executors
 out of that part of my real Estate willed to them, and likewise to pay
 her the said nany Twenty silver Dollars to be laid out for such
 Cloathing as she shall like, or my niece Hannah, shall think proper
 I Will.



Grave of Charles Humphreys, Old Haverford Friends Burial Ground, 2021, Colin McCrossan.

DOCUMENT 86: Excerpts from the Will of Richard Harrison, Lower Merion Township, September 11, 1746¹

Richard Harrison was a white Quaker enslaver who lived in Lower Merion with his wife Hannah Harrison and their children. Richard owned a large tobacco plantation, in what is now Bryn Mawr, and enslaved and owned many Black people. It is unknown how many Black people Harrison owned and enslaved, though it is estimated, based off of his estate inventory, that he enslaved a large number of people.² Harrison also created a family burial ground on his estate and a Quaker Meeting house.³ In his will, Harrison bequeathed his land holdings to his family members, but his wife Hannah Harrison inherited the bulk of his estate, which included enslaved people, but did not mention any of the enslaved specifically. Today, a portion of Harrison's large tobacco plantation is the historic site called Harriton House, which is run by a private, non-profit group called The Harriton Association.⁴ Many homes in Bryn Mawr and Harriton High School are located on the historic property.⁵

Be it Remembred that I Richard Harrison of Merion Township in the County of Philadelphia in the province of Pennsylvania Gent being somewhat indisposed in Body but Thro' the Mercy and goodness of God of sound and well disposing Mind and Memory and Memory and calling to mind the uncertainty of this present Life do therefore think fit to make this my Last will and Testament in manner following that is to say I give and Devise unto my Beloved Wife Hannah Harrison all that my my plantation. Plantation and Tract of Land thereunto belonging situate in the said Township and whereon I now Dwell containing by Estimation Eight hundred Acres or thereabouts by such Metes and Bounds...Moreover I do give and devise unto my said Son Thomas Harrison and to his Heirs and assigns forever All that my Tract of Land situate in East Town in the County of Chester in the said Province containing by Estimation between Six and Seven hundred

¹ Will of Richard Harrison, No. 133, September 11, 1746, Philadelphia County Will Book H, Page 232, microfilm image online 519 of 693, accessed via FamilySearch.com, <https://www.familysearch.org/ark:/61903/3:1:3Q9M-C9B2-PKMF?i=518&cat=353446>.

² The Harriton Association, *Harriton of Bryn Mawr, Pennsylvania*, Arden Kirkland Memorial Publishing Fund, 10-12. The Harriton Association has numerous copies of this publication they are willing to provide researchers, visitors, and people from the public with for free.

³ The Harriton Association, *Harriton of Bryn Mawr*, 12.

⁴ The Harriton Association, Welcome Greetings from Harriton House, Homepage, Website, accessed August 2, 2023, <https://www.harritonhouse.org/index.htm>.

⁵ "Parcel Details, Charles and Hannah Thomson," J. M. Duffin, Mapping West Philadelphia Landowners in October 1777, The University of Pennsylvania Archives, <https://maps.archives.upenn.edu/WestPhila1777/view-parcel.php?pid=2981&popup=1>. This entry is for Charles and Hannah Thomson, not Richard Harrison, but it is the same property. Hannah Thomson was born Hannah Harrison – the daughter of Richard and Hannah Harrison (she shared the same name as her mother) – she was the sole heir of her parent's estate. She married Charles Thomson, who, during his career, became the secretary of the Continental Congress and designer of the Great Seal of the United States. For more, see *Harriton of Bryn Mawr* pages 13-16.

acres or thereabouts by such Metes and Bounds as I purchased the Same of the Heirs of one William Shardlow...Also I give and devise unto my Daughter Mary Harrison and her Heirs for Ever All that my Tract of Land situate in the Township of Norriton in the said County of Philadelphia Containing by Estimation one hundred and fifty acres or thereabouts now in the occupation of John Scott...I give and devise unto my Daughter Hannah Harrison and her Heirs for Ever All that my other Tract of one hundred and fifty acres of Land or thereabouts in Norriton aforesaid now in the occupation of Thomas Scott by such Metes and Bounds I leased the same to him...And Whereas I have Erected a certain Meeting House or place of Worship on part of my said Tract of land in Merion Township aforesaid Now therefore it is my Wil and I do hereby declare that the said Meeting House together with a square piece of Ground containing two acres at least adjoining to the said House where Several of my Children Lye interred Shall not be sold by my said Trustees but that the Same house and Ground shall for Ever hereafter be excepted and reserved out of my said Tract of Land in Merion...the rest and residue of my Moneys Goods Chattels Effects and personal Estate whatsoever or wheresoever I do give and bequeath the same unto my said Wife Hannah her Executors administrators and Assigns for Ever...

DOCUMENT 87: Estate Inventory for Richard Harrison, Lower Merion, February 20, 1747⁶

This document is Richard Harrison's estate inventory – a list of his property created after he died, which was used to calculate how much his entire estate was worth. This is one of the only sources which explicitly mentions enslaved Black people he owned, but does not list them individually or name any of them – they are dehumanized as just “Negroes” who were worth £690. Enslaved people comprised almost half of the value of Harrison's entire estate.

A Inventory of the Goods and Chattels of Richard Harrison Deceased-----

Wearing Apparel ^household Good and Implements of husbandry	£309	01	00
Negroes	690	00	00
Horses Mares & Colts	106	00	00
Hornd Cattle	043	00	00
Swine	015	00	00
Sheep	012	10	0
Books	035	00	0
Tobaco	065	00	0
	£1285	01	0

Vallued & Appraised by Us the 20th 2 mo 1747

Hugh Evans

John Roberts

⁶ Estate Inventory for Richard Harrison, February 20, 1747, Logan Family Papers, Collection #0379, Box 21, Sub Series H: Estate Records, Harrison Estate, Volume 21, Folder 5, Historical Society of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania. Thanks to Eric Pumroy for this source and citation.

DOCUMENT 88: Excerpts from the Will of Hannah Harrison, Philadelphia, August 19, 1772⁷

Hannah Harrison's will provides important information about her and her husband Richard's slave holding. In her will, Harrison gave her children and grandchildren objects, land, and enslaved people she owned. To her son Samuel, she bequeathed a enslaved man named Grigg and an enslaved woman named Beck, who, she wrote, were to be freed after Samuel's death (if Grigg and Beck were still alive by then). Samuel also received two enslaved men named Peter and Toby, a "lad" named Peter, two enslaved women named Deb and Moll, and an enslaved girl named Sal. She gave her daughter Hannah two enslaved people – a man named Jerry and a girl named Dinah – and her granddaughter Amelia an enslaved girl named Poll another granddaughter named Mary an enslaved girl named Celia. There were no stipulations that any of these people, besides Grigg and Beck, ever be freed.

Be it Remembred...I Hannah Harrison of the Northern Liberties of the City of Philadelphia in the Province of Pennsylvania Widow have made and hereby do make my last Will & Testament in manner & form following that is to say Whereas my late Husband Richard Harrison in & by his last Will and Testament dated the Eleventh Day of September 1746 did give and devise unto me the said Hannah All that his Plantation and Tract of Land in Merion Township in the County of Philadelphia Containing by Estimation Eight hundred Acres...To hold to me the said Hannah for the Term of my Natural Life and after my decease to Trustees...I now give unto my said Son Samuel the Sum of Five hundred pounds lawful money of Pennsylvania And I do hereby further give unto my said Son Samuel for the Term of his natural Life my Negroe Man Grigg and my Negroe Woman Beck and my Will is That after my said Sons decease his Executors or Administrators shall set at Liberty the said Grigg and Beck and enter the usual Security for them according to Law Also I give to him my said Son and to his Executors and Administrators for Ever my Negroe Men Peter and Toby and my Negroe Lad Peter my Negroe Woman Del and Moll and My negroe Girl Sall Also my Plantation Stock of Cattle and Implements of Husbandry and my riding Chair with the Harness my Silver tankard...to my Daugher Hannah

⁷Will of Hannah Harrison, No. 65, August 19, 1772, Philadelphia County Will Book Q, Page 76, microfilm image online 341 of 594, accessed via FamilySearch.com, <https://www.familysearch.org/ark:/61903/3:1:3Q9M-C9B2-2SJY-S?i=340&cat=353446>.

and her Heirs...Also my Negro Man Jerry and my Negro Girl Dinah Also the sum of Fifty Pounds lawful Money aforesaid...And I give unto the said Amilia one Silver porringer & Spoon and one Cream pot Also my Negro Girl Poll and I give unto my said Granddaughter Mary one Silver Porringer and Spoon a Case of Teaspoons Tongs and Strainer Also my Negro Girl Celia Item I give unto them my said Granddaughters Amelia and Mary All that my Plantation & Tract of Land in Norriton aforesaid containing One hundred and fifty acres leased to one Robert Wear Together with the Appurtenances To hold to them the said Amilia Harrison and Mary Harrison their Heirs and Assigns for Ever...



Photograph of Harriton House, 2022, Colin McCrossan.

DOCUMENT 89: Advertisement for Enslaved Men and Boys by Charles Cruikshanks, Haverford Township, Chester County, September 28, 1769¹

Charles Cruikshanks was a Scottish sea captain and enslaver who a large estate that was located primarily in Haverford Township but that extended into Lower Merion and Philadelphia.² He purchased the land from a slave trader named John Wilcocks, and his holdings included three plantations, one of which he lived on in a mansion house Wilcocks named "Clifton-Hall."³ In this document, Cruikshanks advertised for enslaved men and boys for sale, as well as livestock and tools. Cruikshanks eventually returned to his native Scotland, and sold the estate to his son-in-law, John Ross, who named it the Grange Estate.⁴ Today, the Grange Estate is a historic house and site operated by the Friends of the Grange, Inc. and owned by Haverford Township.⁵

Clifton-Hall, Haverford Township, Chester County.

THE SUBSCRIBERS, having left off farming, has some NEGROE MEN and BOYS, to be sold; they are all sound and healthy, and very fit for farmers work; he has also several horses, mares, colts, cows, and sheep, to dispose of, a wagon, cart, 4 harrows, ploughs, and other farming tools, and instruments of husbandry; all which will be sold for cash, or on credit, as the offers appear reasonable.

CHARLES CRUIKSHANK.

¹ *Pennsylvania Gazette*, September 28, 1769, 4. Accessed via *Accessible Archives Inc.*

² John L. Cotter, "An Archaeological Feasibility Study of the Grange in Haverford Township 1978," John L. Cotter Papers, Teaching Class Projects, Penn Museum Archives, 31, John L. Cotter, Daniel G. Roberts, and Michael Parrington. *The Buried Past: An Archaeological History of Philadelphia* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1992), 416-418.

³ Deed from John Willcox to Charles Cruikshank, 1761, Deed Book T, p. 350, Chester County Archives, West Chester, PA, see his plantations here <https://maps.archives.upenn.edu/WestPhila1777/view-parcel.php?pid=2400&popup=1>, here <https://maps.archives.upenn.edu/WestPhila1777/view-parcel.php?pid=2399&popup=1>, and here <https://maps.archives.upenn.edu/WestPhila1777/view-parcel.php?pid=2400&popup=1>.

⁴ Ross, J., and B. Franklin. "Memoir of John Ross, Merchant, of Philadelphia." *The Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* 23, no. 1 (1899): 77-85.

⁵ Friends of the Grange Inc. "History," *The Historic Grange Estate*, <https://thegrangeestate.net/welcome/child-page/>.

DOCUMENT 90: Advertisement for Enslaved Woman and Enslaved Man by Hugh Queen, Haverford Township, Chester County, July 27, 1774⁶

Enslaver Charles Cruikshanks owned three plantations in Haverford Township, Lower Merion, and Philadelphia. He lived primarily on one, and rented out the other two.⁷ One man who rented one of the plantations was a farmer named Hugh Queen. Queen was an enslaver, and in 1774 advertised two enslaved people he owned for sale.

Clifton-Hall, Haverford Township, Chester County, July 25, 1774.

TO BE SOLD,

A LIKELY NEGROE WENCH, about 18 or 19 years of age, this country born; she has been brought up to house work and dairying, is very healthy, and has had the small-pox. Also a NEGROE MAN, about 22 years of age, understands farming very well, and is very suitable for a famer; he has had the small-pox. Any person inclining to purchase both or either of them, may know the terms, by applying to

HUGH QUEEN

There will be some time given for payment of the consideration money.

⁶ *Pennsylvania Gazette*, July 27, 1774, 4. Accessed via *Accessible Archives Inc.*

⁷ *Pennsylvania Gazette*, (Philadelphia, Pennsylvania), November 1, 1764, 1, one of Cruikshank's advertisements for his property and rental of the plantations.

DOCUMENT 91: Fugitive Ad for Poll and Phills by Hugh Queen, Haverford Township, Chester County, February 11, 1778⁸

Two of the people Hugh Queen enslaved, a woman named Phillis and a young girl named Poll, freed themselves from him in the winter of 1778. Queen posted a fugitive ad to capture them, and in this document described their clothing, insulted them, and offered a reward for their capture. Phillis and Poll were eventually captured and re-enslaved by Queen, as he registered them as his property, along with an enslaved boy named Peter, with Chester County in 1780.

EIGHT DOLLARS Reward.

RUN AWAY, the 2d day of February instant, two mulatto girls; one named PHILLIS, twenty-two years of age, a lusty wench, full faced; had on when she went away, a linsey short gown and petticoat, men's shoos, a white bonnet, her hair very much in the negro fashion, and several articles unknown. The other named POLL, fourteen years of age, short and thick, had on when she went away, a linsey short gown and petticoat, men's shoes, a black bonnet, and several articles unknown. Whoever takes up said servants, and secures them either in the goal or workhouse, so that their master may have them again, shall for each receive Four Dollars, and all reasonable charges, paid by me, HUGH QUEEN, Chester county, Haverford township, nigh Charles Humphrey's mill.

⁸ *Pennsylvania Ledger: or the Virginia, Maryland, Pennsylvania, and New-Jersey Weekly Advertiser*, February 11, 1778, 3. Accessed via *Readex: America's Historical Newspapers*.

DOCUMENT 92: 1798 Direct Tax Listing for Hugh Queen, Haverford and Upper Darby Townships, October 1, 1798⁹

Hugh Queen was the last enslaver in Haverford and Upper Darby Townships. In this document, from the Federal Government's 1798 Direct Tax on individual's property, Queen recorded an enslaved woman he owned as exempt from the tax, as she was disabled and older than 50. Queen, at this time, was still living at the Grange Estate, which was formerly called Clifton-Hall.¹⁰ In the document, Queen described this enslaved woman as being older than 50 and "lame," meaning she was unable to walk. Her injury could have been the result of Queen's abuse, extensive labor, an accident, or other injury. Regardless of how she became lame, the conditions of enslavement would have made her injury and disability worse. It is unclear what happened to this woman or Poll, Phillis, Peter, or the enslaved man he advertised for in 1774. There are also no known estate or related probate records for Hugh Queen.

Particular List of Slaves owned by, or

Under the Care of, Each Person, on the 1st Day of October, 1798, within the Townships of Haverford & Upper Darby in the 5th District composed of Delaware County in the State of Pennsylvania.

1	2	3	4	5
Name of the Superintendent	Name of the Owner.	Whole Number of Slaves of all Ages.	Number of Slaves exempted from Taxation by the Laws of the State, or in Consequence of Disability	Number of Slaves above the Age of 12 and under the Age of 50 Years, Subject to Taxation.

⁹ Pennsylvania US Direct Tax Lists 1798 for Hugh Queen, Ancestry.com, United States Direct Tax of 1798: Tax Lists for the State of Pennsylvania. M372, microfilm 769 of 773. Records of the Internal Revenue Service, 1791-2006, Record Group 58. National Archives and Records Administration, Washington, D.C., https://www.ancestrylibrary.com/discoveryui-content/view/182994:2060?tid=&pid=&queryId=8decedaa3f25d44aaf92670bcc5f26&_phsrc=eAb552&_phstart=successSource.

¹⁰ Will of John Ross, Will Book Y, p. 324, 1800, no. 324, Microfilm image 170, City of Philadelphia Register of Wills Office, accessed through FamilySearch.com.

Hugh Queen	Hugh Queen	...1	1 Negro Woman upwards of 50 years of Age & lame	None
------------	------------	------	---	------

C

Particular List of Slaves owned by, or

under the Care of, each Person, on the 1st Day of October, 1798, within *the Townships of Havensford & Westbury*
in the 5th District composed of Delaware County in the State of Pennsylvania.

1	2	3	4	5
Name of the Superintendent.	Name of the Owner.	Whole Number of Slaves of all Ages.	Number of Slaves exempted from Taxation by the Laws of the State, or in Consequence of Disability.	Number of Slaves above the Age of 12 and under the Age of 50 Years, Subject to Taxation.
<i>Hugh Queen</i>	<i>Hugh Queen</i>	<i>1</i>	<i>1 Negro Woman upwards of 50 years of Age & lame</i>	<i>None</i>

1798 Direct Tax Entry for Hugh Queen, Pennsylvania US Direct Tax Lists 1798 for Hugh Queen, Ancestry.com, United States Direct Tax of 1798: Tax Lists for the State of Pennsylvania. M372, microfilm 769 of 773. Records of the Internal Revenue Service, 1791-2006, Record Group 58. National Archives and Records Administration, Washington, D.C.



The Grange Estate today, Photograph by Colin McCrossan, 2021.

DOCUMENT 93: Rev. James Anderson's Estate Inventory, Lower Chichester Township, Chester County, November 11, 1793¹

The Rev. James Anderson was a Presbyterian minister and enslaver who lived in Chester and what is now Delaware County throughout the eighteenth century. In 1780, he registered with Chester County enslaved people he owned – a man named Ceasar, a woman named Dina, a boy name Geroage, and a boy named Joe. Dina escaped from Anderson in 1787 and Ceasar had escaped from Anderson in 1777, and again in 1787. In fugitive ads for them, he described their personalities and skills, noting that Ceasar eventually adopted the name Jacob Holy. When he died in 1793, Anderson was only enslaving one person, a man named Joseph, who was likely the boy Anderson registered with Chester County thirteen years before. Joseph was valued at being worth £50 – or the equivalent of five horses, one of which Anderson owned was valued at being worth £10. Anderson's estate assessors dehumanized Joseph in the estate inventory, and it is unclear what happened to him – he could have been freed, sold, or enslaved by someone else. What is clear is that he survived enslavement for much of his life. Anderson was also the pastor, at one time, of Middletown Presbyterian Church, where he is buried.

An Inventory of the goods chattles & Credits of the estate of the REvd James Anderson late of the Township of lower Chichester Deceased – As Appraised by us the subscribers; The Eleventh day of November, 1793.

Viz.

=====

To.	£.	S.	D.		£.	S.	D.
Wearing Apparel	5.	0.	0	Am. Bro. up	54.	0:	0
One Disk				Kitchen Articles			
Do. Dressing Table				Hoggs			
Do. Case of Drawers				One Horse			

¹ Estate Inventory for Rev. James Anderson, No. 33, November 11, 1793, Letters of Administration 1790-1950, Delaware County Archives, Lima Pennsylvania.

Half Doz. Chairs				Do. Cow			
Small dressing Glass				One riding Chair	15.	0.	0
One bed & furniture	7.	10.	0	Library of Books	11.	19.	6
Do Do Do	3.	0.	0	Half doz. Teaspoons	0.	15.	0
Do Do Do	4.	0.	0	Half Do. Table Spoons	4.	0.	0
Do Do Do	5.	0.	0	Tea Ware	1.	0.	0
Half doz. W. Chairs	1.	5.	0	One Negro Man Names Joseph	50.	0.	0
One Tea Table	1.	0.	0	One Silver Watch	2.	10.	0
Do. Dining Table	1.	0.	0		161	15	0
Do. Large Looking Glass	1.	15.	0				

Do Clock	7.	10.	0
Eight chairs	1.	5.	0
One Table & Stand	0	10.	0
Shovels, Tongs & Andlrons	1.	2.	6
One Cupboard	0.	7.	6

Table & doughtrough	0.	7.	6
Pewter Ware	0.	18.	0
Earthen Do.	0.	6.	0
	54	0	0

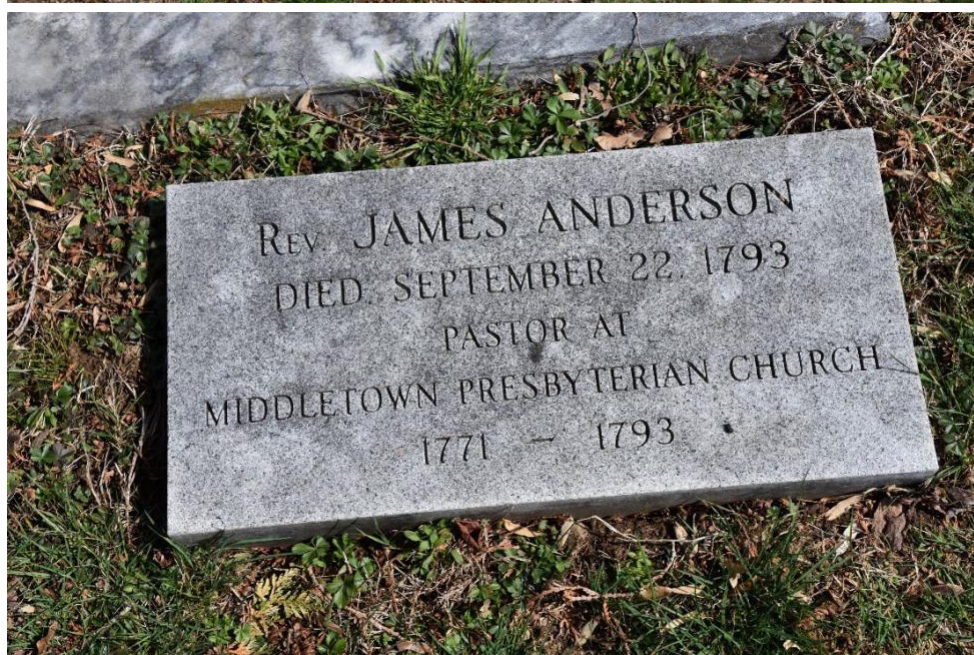
An Inventory of the goods, chattles & Credits, of the estate
of the Rev^d James Anderson, late of the Township of
lower Chichester, Deceased — As Appraised by us
the subscribers; the Eleventh day of November, 1793.

NVL

To,	L.	S.	D.	To,	L.	S.	D.
Wearing Apparel	5.	0.	0	Arnt bro. up	54.	0.	0
One Dish	3.	10.	0	Kitchen Articles	2.	15.	6
Do. Draping Table	1.	10.	0	Hogs	4.	5.	0
Do. case of Drawers	3.	10.	0	One Horse	10.	0.	0
Half dor. Chairs.	1.	10.	0	Do. Cow	5.	10.	0
Small draping Glafs	0.	6.	6	One riding Chair	15.	0.	0
One bed & furniture	7.	10.	0	Library of Books	11.	19.	6
Do. Do. Do.	3.	0.	0	Half dor. Traspsons	0.	15.	0
Do. Do. Do.	4.	0.	0	Half dor. Table Spoons	4.	0.	0
Do. Do. Do.	5.	0.	0	Tea Ware	1.	0.	0
Lumber in the Garret	2.	5.	0	One Negro man	50.	0.	0
Half dor. W. Chairs	1.	5.	0	named Joseph			
One, Tea Table	0.	11.	3	One silver Watch	2.	10.	0
Do. dining Table	1.	0.	0	£ 161.15.0			
Do. large looking Glafs	1.	15.	0	Benj ⁿ Brannan			
Do. Clock	7.	10.	0				
Eight chairs	1.	5.	0	Caleb S. Sayre			
One Table & Stand	0.	10.	0				
Shovel, Tongue & Andiron	1.	2.	6				
One Cupboard	0.	7.	6				
Table & dough trough	0.	7.	6				
Perster Ware	0.	18.	0				
Earthen Do.	0.	6.	9				
Carried	£	54.	0.0				

The Above Named Appraiser
were duly sworn to the Above
Inventory & Appraisment this
26th day of November 1793

Hugh Lloyd



Grave of Rev. James Anderson, Middletown Presbyterian Church,
Photographs by Colin McCrossan, 2022.



Middletown Presbyterian Church, Photograph by Colin McCrossan, 2022.

DOCUMENT 94: Excerpt from the Will of Dr. Branson Vanleer,
Philadelphia, June 20, 1798¹

Branson Vanleer was an enslaver and doctor who mostly lived in East Nantmill Township, Chester County. In 1780, he registered five enslaved people he owned with the county to comply with the 1780 Gradual Abolition Act [Document 22]. Their names were Meely, Will, Edetha, Cudgo, and Caesar. By 1798, Vanleer had moved to Philadelphia and wrote his will. In it, he named his brother Samuel Vanleer as his estate executor and gave him land in East Nantmill and various objects. He also ordered Samuel Vanleer to enslave Will until he turned twenty-one and wrote that Meely was to live with Samuel Vanleer or “his cows” until she died. It’s unclear from the will what happened to the other people Vanleer enslaved – he could have freed them, sold them, or still enslaved them in 1798 but just did not mention them in his will. Vanleer set conditions on Will and Meely’s lives, and did not free them immediately after his death. It’s unclear from the will if Meely, by 1798, was still enslaved. In 1780, Vanleer registered her as a “slave for life,” but he did not specify her legal status in his will.

Be it Remembered that I Doctor Branson Vanleer of the Citty of Philadelphia and Province of Pennsylvania being Sick and Weak of Boody but of Sound Mind and Memory do Make this my last Will and Testament in Mannor Following...I give and bequeath to My Brother Samuel Vanleer my both Plantations in Eastnantmill Township Chester County in the State of Pennsylvania now in the hands of Henry Corl and Jacob Moses, and all my Medicines and all my Bottles and Books and my Watch and all my Silver plate...and my Beads and Bedding and Wearing Appareil and all my other Efects and all my out Standing Debts, and my Negro Will is to serve all his time out with said Samuel Vanleer until he comes to the Age of Twenty one and Mealey is to live with Said Samuel Vanleer or his Cows as long as She lives...

¹ Estate Papers of Dr. Branson Vanleer, 1798, File #4654, Philadelphia, Will of Dr. Branson Vanleer, 1799, File #4696, Philadelphia, both files from the Chester County Archives, West Chester, Pennsylvania.

DOCUMENT 95: Excerpt from Deed of Thomas and Effy Crail, Radnor Township, March 23, 1799¹

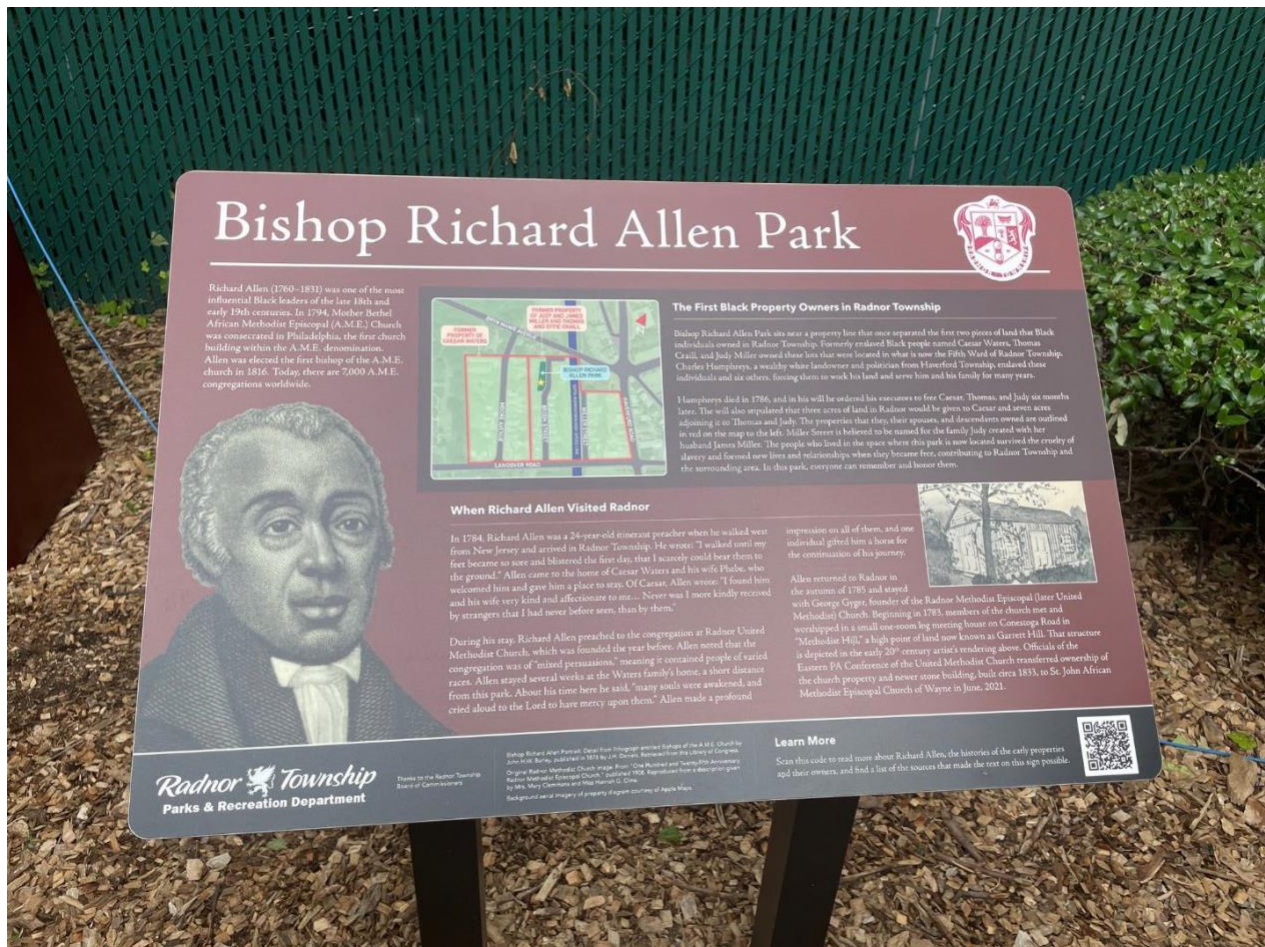
Enslaver Charles Humphreys freed three of the people he enslaved in his will. In that document, he stipulated that “Cezar” “Tom” and “Judy,” three of the people he owned, were to be freed by his estate executors six months after his death, given money, objects, and land in Radnor Township that Humphreys owned. His executors complied with his request and Cezar, Tom, and Judy became free and lived, for different periods of time, on the land in Radnor which Humphreys bequeathed to them. This document, and two others cited below, reveal that Cezar, Tom, and Judy adopted new names when they became free and did different things with the land they inherited. Judy became Judy Miller, Tom (who had escaped from Humphreys in 1781), became Thomas Crail, and Cezar became Ceasar Waters. Judy married a man named James, Thomas a woman named Effy, and Ceasar a woman named Phebe. The deeds provide small bits of evidence of Judy Miller, Thomas Crail, and Ceasar Waters forming new lives when they became free. These three individuals became the first (known) Black property-owners in Radnor Township, and the space they owned and lived on is now Bishop Richard Allen Park in the Township. The park is named after Richard Allen, also a formerly enslaved person who visited the Waters couple in 1784. Radnor Township recently installed an informational panel in the park about these individuals and this history.²

This Indenture Made the twenty third day of March in the year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred & ninety nine Between Thomas Craill themse called Tom a free mulatto of the City of Philadelphia and State of Pennsylvania and Effy his wife of the one part...All that certain three acres & a half of land situate in Radnor Township in the County of Delaware being one half of seven acres of land which Charles Humphreys late of said

¹ Deed of James and Judy Miller to John Elliott, December 1, 1818, Delaware County Deed Book Y, Pages 159-160, <https://www.familysearch.org/ark:/61903/3:1:3Q9M-CSN2-77V4?i=114&cat=233459>, Deed of Thomas and Effy Crail to Anthony Smith, March 23, 1799, Delaware County Deed Book Z, Pages 701-702, <https://www.familysearch.org/ark:/61903/3:1:3Q9M-CSN2-C23Z?i=393&cat=233459>, Deed of Daniel and Anna Evans to Cesar Waters, September 22, 1818, Delaware County Deed Book H, Pages 212-213, <https://www.familysearch.org/ark:/61903/3:1:3Q9M-CSFB-T94D-X?i=110&cat=233459>.

² <https://radnorhistory.org/bishoprichardallenpark/>, Also see Mortgage from Daniel Evans to Cesar and Phebe Waters, September 22, 1818, Delaware County Mortgage Book B, Pages 154-156, and Orphans Court Records for Ceasar Waters, No. 1193, August 1, 1829, Orphan's Court Estate Cases 1790-1950, Delaware County Archives, Lima, Pennsylvania, <https://vugradhistory.wordpress.com/2022/05/20/profiling-ceasar-and-phebe-waters-black-lives-in-slavery-and-freedom-near-villanova/>, <https://www.radnor.com/government/departments/parks-recreation/community-events/bishop-richard-allen-panel-dedication>.

Township of Radnor deceased by his Last Will and Testament devised to the said Thomas by the name of his Servant Tom & to his servant Judea and which they made partition of by Deed between said Thomas and Judea Together...



Bishop Richard Allen Park historic information panel, photograph by Colin McCrossan, 2023, <https://www.radnor.com/government/departments/parks-recreation/community-events/bishop-richard-allen-panel-dedication>. Photograph by Colin McCrossan.

DOCUMENT 96: Excerpts from the Will and Account Book of Richard Willing, Haverford Township, February 22, 1798¹

Richard Willing was a wealthy enslaver and farmer who lived in Haverford Township. He was the son of Charles Willing, a prominent Philadelphia merchant, and brother to Thomas Willing, another merchant and slave trader.² Both Charles and Thomas Willing, at different times, served as the mayor of Philadelphia. In 1780, Richard Willing registered four enslaved people he owned with Chester County. Their names were Molly, Dick, Harry, and Ishmael. In his will, Willing bequeathed to his wife Margaret furniture, dinner plate, and “negroes,” but did not specify who this referred to, or who was still enslaved by 1798. The rest of his property, he wrote, was to be sold by “publick or Private sale” within a year of his death.

An extensive account book created by Richard Willing’s estate executors reveals that Molly, Dick, and Harry all became free in the years between 1792 and 1808. Molly, the account book shows, adopted the name Molly Richardson, left Willing’s estate, which was called “Richland,” and returned to work for Margaret Willing. The estate paid her over several years for her work, and she rented a room in the area from another Black woman. The account book recorded Molly Richardson’s death and that she was a member of or at least affiliated with “the African Church” which likely referred to an early Black church. Willing’s estate executors also recorded in the book that Harry was “destitute” and “from an injury to his hand” was “incapable of Labour.” The account book is an invaluable source in tracing the lives of these enslaved/formerly enslaved people.³

Today, the space where Richard Willing’s “Richland” was located is a general area in and around a public park called Richland Farms Park in Haverford Township.⁴

¹ Will of Richard Willing, #121, February 22, 1798, Delaware County Archives, Lima, Pennsylvania. Willing wrote his will in March, 1792, and it was proved in February, 1798.

² Worcester Art Museum, Collection, Early American Artists, John Wollaston, Charles Willing Portrait, Discussion, https://www.worcesterart.org/collection/Early_American/Artists/wollaston/C_Willing/discussion.html, Charles Willing, will no. 146, 1754, Philadelphia Register of Wills Office, Philadelphia City Hall, Penn Libraries, University of Pennsylvania, University Archives & Records Center, PENN PEOPLE, Thomas Willing 1731-1821, <https://archives.upenn.edu/exhibits/penn-people/biography/thomas-willing/>.

³ The executors refer to their payments to Molly Richardson as compensation for her “support” and describe her as “Molly the Cook.” They do not explicitly say they paid Richardson for her labor and it is possible that “support” meant money they gave her unconditionally, but this seems highly unlikely because of the frequency of their payments and as she appeared to be capable of still working, unlike Harry who was given “support” a couple of times because he could not work. Margaret Willing, according to the account book, was also alive during the time when Molly Richardson was paid, as Willing received a yearly annuity from sale and investment of Richard Willing’s property. It seems likely that Margaret Willing employed Molly Richardson (at least) as her cook and domestic servant.

⁴ Willing’s estate executors called his land in Haverford Township “Richland,” and advertised as such, see advertisement for “Farm called Richland; THE residences of the late Mr. Richard Willing; situate in Haverford township, in the county of Delaware, 4 miles distant from Derby...the West-Cheseter road passing near the house...” Claypoole’s American Daily Advertiser, August 6, 1798, 3. The location of the property was in the area near the park, which is along West Chester Pike, and until 1991, there was a large home located at 133 Sheldrake Drive in Havertown, which, according to a historical resource form, was called “Richland” and contained portions of a house originally built in 1760. The building was divided

[Will]

In the Name of God Amen, I Rich Willing of the County of Delaware in the Province of Pennsylvania being of Perfect Sound & Disposing Mind Memory do now in the time of health make & Publish this my Will & Testament...Item I do hereby Order that all my Estate Real & Personall except my Household Furniture dinner & Plate and Negroes which Thereby give & devise to my Wife Margaret Willing to her and her Heirs, shall be Sold by Publick or Private Sale by my Executors within 12 Months after my Decease & the Monies Arising from such sale or Sales to be put out at Interest on Good each security & the Interest arising upon such Monies so put out on Interest to be paid yearly to my wife Margaret Willing During her natural life Item I give to my wife Margaret Willing One Thousand Pounds to her & her Heirs, Item I give to my Sisters Francis Byrd, Powell Hare twenty five Pounds each...I do hereby nominate Tench Francis Saml Powell & Thomas M Willing of the City of Philadelphia Executors of this my last Will...March 1, 1792

and eventually demolished in 1991, Pennsylvania Historical Resource Survey Form for "Richland," M. E. Johnston, September, 1993, Survey Code 045-HA-071, Historic Resources Survey, Haverford Township, Delaware County, Pennsylvania, Delaware County Planning Department, 1994, page 256 of online pdf <https://haverfordhistoricalsociety.org/historic-resources/>. Historic maps also refer to the area as "Richland," see Atlas of Delaware County, 1870, Henry W. Hopkins, Radnor Historical Society, <https://www.philageohistory.org/rdic-images/view-image.cfm/GMH1870.DelawareCounty.013.Haverford>.

[Excerpts compiled from Account Book]

Account Current

Estate of Richd Willing Deceased of Delaware County

Page 1	1799	June 14	Molly the Cook for her Support	20
4	1799	Sept 5	By Amount received of George Willing for Richld Farm sold him Oct 1 st 1798 is £6500...	
5	1799	Dec 6	Molly Richardson towards her support	20
	1800	Feb	M Richardson Aug 18 th 99 for her support	30
		April 29	Molly Richardson for her support	50
		May 14	Ditto	20
7	1800	July 1	Cash pd Molly Richardson for her support	15
		Aug 10	Ditto	10
		26	Ditto	10

		28	Ditto	10
		Oct 7	Cash pd Molly Richardson for her support	20
		29	Ditto	10
9	1801	Oct 14	Molly Richardson for her support	40
	1802	Jan 5	Cash pd Molly Richardson for her support	20
		Feb 9	Ditto	10
		Mar 13	Ditto	15
		April 12	Cash pd Molly Richardson	15
		May 15	Ditto	16
		25	Wm Lewis a fee on Consultation	30
		July 28	Molly Richardson	20
		Augt 5	ditto	10
		Oct 18	ditto	15
		Nov 9	ditto	20
		Dec 9	ditto	12
	1803	Jan 27	Cash pd Molly Richardson	\$20
		Mar 4	Ditto	16
		28	Ditto	5
		Apri 30	Ditto	15

11	1803	June 7	Cash pd Molly Richardson	\$10
		29	ditto	8
		Augt 8	ditto	14
		Sept 12	ditto	8
		Oct 7	ditto	10
		Nov 24	ditto	16
12	1804	Feb 8	Cash pd Molly Richardson	\$17
		Mar 2	Ditto	10
		June 18	the African Church for the Funeral expenses of Molly Richardson	23
		July 26	B Lyndal for Coffin for Ditto	9
		April 4	Molly Richardson	8
			Ditto	6
13	1804	Nov 15	To Cash pd a blackwoman balance due her from Molly Richardson for Rent after the sale of her bed & effects	1.10
	1805	Dec 13	Harry a Black Man to procure cloathing he being	10

			destitute and from an injury to his hand incapable of Labour	
		17/23	His board twice \$5 & \$4	9
14	1807	Dec 23	Henry for necessary cloathing and Wood Saw	14.50
	1808	Jan 8	Richard (a Black0 formerly belonging to R Willing for a Cord of Wood	6
17	1808	Feb 2	To Cash paid to Harry for a pair of Shoes \$1.50 and for Charity .50	2
		April 30	For some necessary cloathing for Heny by Tho Willing Junr	9.88

May 16 " Balance due M^{rs} Willing on her annuity from
April 1st to May 16th 1802 and remitted her
ex^{te} M^{rs} John Pintard at New York 102 24

April 12 " Cash p^d Molly Richardson 15 "

May 15 " d^o " ditto 16 "

25 " d^o " W^m Lewis a fee on consultation 30 "

July 28 " d^o " Molly Richardson 20 "

Augst 5 " d^o " ditto 10 "

Oct^r 18 " d^o " ditto 15 "

Nov^r 9 " d^o " ditto 20 "

Dec^r 9 " d^o " ditto 12 "

Dec^r 2 " d^o " And^{rs} Hall on acc^t of his Legacy of \$100 160 "

Sum 845 24

1803.
Jan^y 1 " Balance due Tho^s M^r Willing 499 22

27 " Cash p^d Molly Richardson \$25.

Mar 4 " d^o " Ditto 16

28 " d^o " Ditto 5

April 30 " d^o " Ditto 15 56 "

Carried Forward 121 \$555 22

1803
May 26

1804
Nov^r 15 To Cash p^d a blackwoman balance due her
from Molly Richardson for Rent after the
sale of her bed effects 1 10

May 28 " Cash p^d Geo^r Willing assignee to Tho^s Willing
for one years Int^r due as his proportion of
the residue of Richard Willing's Estate es-
timated at \$2,000 is 120 "

" " the Estate of Tench Francis deceased for 2 y^{rs}
interest on \$2000 credited said estate 240 "

Sum 1268 77

1805
Jan^y 1 " Balance due Tho^s M^r Willing 212 13

July 9 " Cash p^d Rob^t Hare the Int^r due the 16th of May
last on his estimated residue 12 10

		" Balance remaining in the hands of the Ex ^r to settle law Expenses in Maryland &c.	93 86	
			1000 3710.11	
Sept 17	"	Cash paid John Young's expenses in attending the Suit at Chestertown in Mary ^d in the case of Isaac Spencer & 27.64		1807 Feb 1
		Compensation for going ^{mining} &c. 20. --	47 64	
Nov	" d° "	M ^r Simpson of Northampton County for recording a Mortgage by G. Bastian.	3 "	
Dec 23	" d° "	Henry for necessary cloathing and blood Law	14 50	
1808. Jan 8	" d° "	Richard (a Black) formerly belong ing to R. Willing for a Cord of Wood	6 "	
		121 Carried Forward	71 14	

Pictures of the Account Book of Richard Willing, Will of Richard Willing, #121, February 22, 1798, Delaware County Archives, Lima, Pennsylvania, pages 9, 13, and 14. Photographs by Colin McCrossan.



Richland Farms Park and Richland Avenue in Haverford Township,
Photographs by Colin McCrossan, 2021.

DOCUMENT 97: Letters of Administration for Ceasar, Middletown Township, June 2, 1792¹

In this document, different white men in Delaware County formally closed the estate of a free Black man named Ceasar who had died in Middletown Township. Ceasar, the white men noted in this file, wrote a will on May 7, 1791, and named a white man named Thomas Wood as the executor of his estate. It is likely that Ceasar was formerly enslaved.

Know all men by these presents that We Thomas Pennell of the Township of the Concord, County of Delaware & Commonwealth of Pennsylvania, Nicholas Fairlamb Esq & Jonathan Pennell of the County aforesaid Town of Chester & County afsd are held & firmly bound unto Will R. Atlee Esquire, Register for the probate of Wills, & Granting Letters of Administration, in & for the County of Delaware, in the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania, in the sum of Five Hundred pounds to be paid to the said Will. R. Atlee his successors, Administrators & assigns, To which payment well thusly to be made, we bind ourselves, Jointly & Severally, for sin the whole our Heirs, Executors, & Administrators, firmly by these presents Sealed with our Seals, Dated the Second, Day of June in the Year of our Lord One thousand Seven hundred & ninety two

Whereas ^Negroe Ceasar of the Township of Middletown in the County of Delaware on the Seventh day of May in the Year of our Lord 1791 did make & publish his last Will & Testament in writing bearing date the same day & year & did thereby devise divers Legacies & did thereof appoint ^ a certain Thomas Wood of the county of Chester sold Execor & whereas the same last Will & Testament is now proved, approved & Insimated [word unclear] in the Register's Office at chester afsd & whereas the said Thomas Wood the Sole Exor named in the Same last Will & Testament hath renounced & refused to act as Exor thereunto whereupon Administration of all singular the goods & chattels, rights and credits of the said deceased ~~which at the~~

¹ Letters of Administration for "Negro Ceasar," File Number 00029, Delaware County Letters of Administration, Delaware County Archives, Lima, Pennsylvania.

~~time of the~~ with the Will annexed is granted to the above bounder Thomas Pennell.

Now the condition of this Obligation is such that if the above bounder Thomas Pennell do make a cause to be make a true & perfect Inventory & Conscionable appraisement of all [word unclear] the goods & Chattels, rights & credits which were of the deceased which have or shall come to the Hands, Possession or knowledge of the said Thomas Pennell or into the Hnads or possession of any other person or persons for him and the same so make do Exhibit or cause to be exhibited into the Register's Office at Chester on or before the Second day of July next and the same goods & Chattels, rights & Credits of the said deceased which at the time of his death or which at any time after shall come to the hands & possession or knowledge of the said Thomas Pennell or into the Hands & possession of any other person or persons for him do well thusly administer according to the Tenor, effect time intent & meaning of the said last Will & Testament of [word unclear] do make or cause to be made a true & just account of his Administration on or before the Second day of June next or when Legally required & do & shall save [words unclear] the said register his heirs, successors, deputies, Executors & Administrators of & from all charges, with, Troubles, & incumbrances whatsoever which he, they or any of them shall or may [word unclear] or in any wise be put unto by Reason of the premises or any thing Relating thereto then the above Obligation to be void or else to remain in full force & Virtue

Sealed and Delivered
In the presence of us

Tho. Pennell

Nich. Fairlamb

Jonathan Pennell

Amos [word unclear]

[word unclear]

DOCUMENT 98: Inventory of the Estate of Ceasar, Middletown Township,
July 30, 1792²

In this document, white men named Mark Willcox and John Sharples appraised the estate of Ceasar, a free Black man who died in Middletown Township. Willcox was an enslaver from Concord Township [Document 22]. When he died, Ceasar owned two bonds, a chest, clothing, a bed, and bedding. From this document alone, it's unclear where Ceasar was living exactly or with whom, if anyone.

An Inventory of the goods Chattles, Rights and Credits of Sesar A
blackman Late of Middletown Delaware County taken this 27th Day July
1792

	£
One Bond on Thos Speakman	56"0"0
one Bond on Thos Wood w Interest	28"19 9 -
Chest & Waring Apperl . .	2"15"0
Bed & Bedding - -	1"10"0

	£79"4"9

Appraised by

Mark Willcox

John Sharples

² Letters of Administration for "Negro Ceasar," File Number 00029, Delaware County Letters of Administration, Delaware County Archives, Lima, Pennsylvania.

An Inventory of the goods Chattles, Rights and
Credits of Cesar Ablackman Late of Middletown
Delaware County taken this 27th Day July 1792

one Bond on Thos Speakman	£ 6 ⁰⁰ 0 ⁰⁰
one Bond on Thos Woodwint ^r	£ 8 ⁰⁰ 19 ⁰⁰ 9 ⁰⁰
Chest & Waring Apparel	2 ⁰⁰ 15 ⁰⁰ 0 ⁰⁰
Bed & Bedding	1 ⁰⁰ 10 ⁰⁰ 0 ⁰⁰
	<hr/> £ 79 ⁰⁰ 4 ⁰⁰ 9 ⁰⁰

Appraised by

Mark Wilson

John Sharple

00029

DOCUMENT 99: Note from the Letters of Administration for Ceasar, Thomas Wood, Middletown Township, March 24, 1792³

In this document, a white man named Thomas Wood wrote to Delaware County officials to inform them that he refused to prove the will and close the estate of a Black man named Ceasar who had named him as his estate executor. Wood's actions eventually led other white men to close Ceasar's estate.

the 24th of 3d m 1792 to Wm B Atley; Prothoniter for Delaware County; A Certain Negro Man Named Ceacer : late an Inhabittant of your County having in his last will and Testament Chose me to Execute the same, these lines are to inform thee that I Decline proveing the Will; and am wiling thee Should grant Power to any Person thee may think Suitable to Settle his estate

this from Tho: Wood

³ Letters of Administration for "Negro Ceasar," File Number 00029, Delaware County Letters of Administration, Delaware County Archives, Lima, Pennsylvania.

DOCUMENT 100: Manumission of Cam, Phillis, Amy, and Julia by Joshua Evans, Willistown Township, Chester County, May 10, 1797 August 14, 1810⁴

In this document, an enslaver from Willistown Township named Joshua Evans freed four enslaved children he owned named Cam, Phillis, Amy, and Julia. Evans freed them on May 10, 1797, and in the manumission noted that all of the children were born in Willistown to a “woman of colour” named Coy, who Evans also likely enslaved. Evan’s manumission was formally recorded by Chester County officials thirteen years later, however, in August, 1810. It’s unclear from the manumission why this gap in when the manumission was made and when it was recorded occurred.

Recorded August 14, 1810

Manumission of Cam, Phillis, Amy & Julia, all Mulattoes

To all whome it may concern be it known that I Joshua Evans of the Township of Willistown in the County of Chester & State of Pennsylvania do hereby Manumit and set Free and doth hereby release & discharge all my claim to the persons or service of the four Mulattoes all under the age of twenty eight years namely Cam, Phillis, Amie, & Julia being children of Coy a Woman of Coulour and all born in the Township aforesaid In Testimony whereof I have hereunto set my hand and seal this tenth day of May Anno Dom one thousand Seven hundred and ninety seven 1797 Joshua Evans [seal] Sealed & Delivered in the presence of John Greaves William Evans Chester County for Before John Greaves one of the Justices of the peace in and for said County personally appeared the within named Joshua Evans and acknowledged the within writing to be his act and deed and allowed as such it might be recorded in witness whereof I have hereunto set my hand & seal this 13th day of august AD. 1810. John Graves [seal]

Recorded August 14, 1810

⁴ Manumission of Cam, Phillis, Amy, and Julia by Joshua Evans, Willistown Township, Chester County, August 14, 1810, Chester County Deed Book D-3, 1797, Page 563, Accessed via FamilySearch.com, <https://www.familysearch.org/ark:/61903/3:1:3Q9M-CSNK-2S3C-2?i=307&cat=246232>.

DOCUMENT 101: Manumission of Francis by Philip Vanhorne, Chester County, November 10, 1792⁵

In this document, a white enslaver named Philip Vanhorne freed an eight-year-old enslaved boy he owned named Francis. Vanhorne, who moved to Chester County from New Jersey, subsequently bound Francis to him until he turned twenty-eight, meaning for the next nineteen years, Francis would be his indentured servant. Francis would spend most of his young adult life working for Vanhorne – though he was no longer enslaved in 1792, he was still not entirely free.

Manumission Philip Vanhorne to Black Francis

Know all Men by these presents that I Philip Vanhorne Esquire late of New Jersey now of Chester County in the state of Pennsylvania do voluntarily manumit and set free from Slavery my Negro boy Francis, and do for myself my heirs Executors & Administrators release all right and title to the said Francis as a slave and that he said Francis shall be absolutely free & clear from being a Slave, It being my intention and the said Francis agreeing thereto and also his next friend Stephen Moyland Esqr that the said Negro Francis hereafter should be bound to me as servant until he arrives to the age of twenty eight years; The said Negro Francis being at this time of the age of eight years and ten Months-IN Witness whereof I the said Philip Vanhorne have hereunto Set my hand & Seal this tenth day of November in Year of our Lord One thousand seven hundred & Ninety two – Philip Van Horne [seal] Sealed & Delivered in the presence of Joseph Shippen Jr. Stephen Moylan --- Chester County Before me the subscriber one of the Judges of the Court of Common pleas in and for the County of Chester afs. Came the above Philip Vanhorne Esq and acknowledged the above instrument of writing to be his act and deed and desired the same my abe recorded as such Witness my hand & seal the tenth day of November A.D. 1792 Joseph Shippen [seal] Recorded the 13th day of Novem 1792

⁵ Manumission of Francis by Philip VanHorne, Chester County, Chester County Deed Book G-2, 1791, Page 327, Accessed via FamilySearch.com, <https://www.familysearch.org/ark:/61903/3:1:3Q9M-CSF1-6NGK?i=461&cat=246232>.

DOCUMENT 102: Manumission of Violet by Joseph Potts, Plymouth Township, Montgomery County, November 12, 1792⁶

In this document, a white enslaver named Joseph Potts from Plymouth Township, Montgomery County, freed an enslaved woman he owned named Violet. Potts purchased Violet at a sheriff's sale in Chester County, which was selling the estate of another enslaver named William Duvees who died. Shortly after Potts purchased Violet, he freed her.

Manumission Joseph Potts to Negroe Violet

Joseph McClellan Esquire high sheriff of the County of chester by Virture of a writ of Fiere Facias to him directed proceeded to sell a certain Negro Woman named Violet as the property of William Duvees of said County – which sale was held the ninth of the Eleventh Month 1792. And Joseph Potts the subscriber hereto became the purchaser therefore be it known to all person to whom these presents may come. That I Joseph Potts of Plymouth township in the County of Montgomery in the state of Pennsylvania Do manumise and sett free from Slavery the aforesaid Negro Woman Violet aged about twenty six years form me my heirs or assigns and any other person claiming under me, and I do hereby declare for myself or any person claiming under me shall not under any pretext whatsoever molest nor anyways deprive the said Negro woman Violet of the full free and uninterrupted enjoyment of her liberty, or any property she may acquire – Witness my hand & Seal this 12th day of the 11mo 1792

Joseph Potts Witness James Shoemaker Thom. Craig

Recorded the 20th day of November Anno Domini 1792 -

⁶ Manumission of Violet by Joseph Potts, November 10, 1792, Chester County Deed Book, G-2, Pages 329-330, Accessed via FamilySearch.com – hyperlink is for page 329, go to next page for page 330 online <https://www.familysearch.org/ark:/61903/3:1:3Q9M-CSF1-6N5R?i=462&cat=246232>.

DOCUMENT 103: Excerpt from the 1798 Direct Tax Entry for Cyrus, Middletown Township, Delaware County⁷

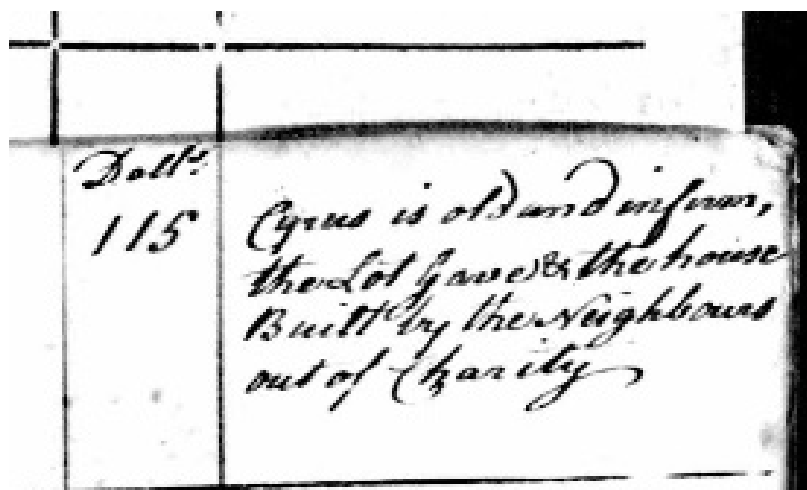
In this document, a free Black man named Cyrus had his property valued by tax assessors. Cyrus was likely formerly enslaved and according to the tax entry lived in a 12"15 ft. stone house on a piece of land that was $\frac{3}{4}$ of an acre. The entire property was worth \$115, and apparently given to him by residents of Middletown Township.

No. 1.

A List or Description of each Dwelling-house, with the Out-houses appurtenant thereto, and the lot on which the same are erected, not exceeding two Acres in any case, and exceeding in Value the Sum of One Hundred Dollars, which were owned possessed, or occupied on the first day of October, 1798, by in the in the STATE of PENNSYLVANIA

Name of the Occupant	Name of the Owner	Dwelling House	Out-houses appurtenant.	Dimensions of Area	Materials of which built	Number of stories	Acres	Valuations of the assistant Assessor	Claims of Exemption (if any) and Circumstances thereof.
Negroe Cyrus	Negroe Cyrus	1	-----	12 by 15	Stone	1	$\frac{3}{4}$	Doll 115	Cyrus is old and infirm the Lot Gave & the house Built by the Neighbours out of Charity

⁷ Pennsylvania U.S. Direct Tax Lists 1798, Chester (part) and Delaware, Middletown Township, Accessed via Ancestry.com, microfilm page 580 of 773, https://www.ancestrylibrary.com/discoveryui-content/view/179273:2060?tid=&pid=&queryId=4c12d109c69d3ca6cddab641a6c84763&_phsrc=eAb568&_phstart=successSource.



No. 1.

A List or Description of each Dwelling-house, with the Out-houses appurtenant thereto, and the Lot on which the same are erected, not exceeding two Acres in any case, and exceeding in Value the Sum of One Hundred Dollars, which were owned, possessed, or occupied on the first day of October, 1798, by in the STATE OF PENNSYLVANIA.

Number of Returns.	NAME of the OCCUPANT.	NAME of the OWNER.	Dwelling House.	Out-houses appurtenant.	Dimensions or Area.	Materials of which built.	Number of Stories.	Number of Windows.	Number of Lights.	Quantity of Land in each Lot.			Situation and adjoining PROPRIETORS.	Valuations of the assessor.	Claims of Exemption (if any) and Circumstances thereof.
										Acres.	Perches.	Square feet.			
C 10	Negroe Cyrus	Negroe Cyrus	1	---	12 by 15	Stone	1	---	---	1/4	---	---			Bolt: 115 Cyrus is old and infirm, the lot gave & the house Built by the neighbours out of charity

1798 Entry for Cyrus, Pennsylvania U.S. Direct Tax Lists 1798, Chester (part) and Delaware, Middletown Township, Accessed via Ancestry.com, microfilm page 580 of 773, https://www.ancestrylibrary.com/discoveryui-content/view/179273:2060?tid=&pid=&queryId=4c12d109c69d3ca6cddab641a6c84763&_phsrc=eAb568&_phstart=successSource.