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Slaveholders and Slaves of Adams County

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Abstract

A close study of the African-American community of Adams county waits to be written. By whatever standards adhered to, however, an in-depth investigation of the subject would be a daunting task at best, and in some areas an all but impossible one. Sadly, the early years, if seen at all, are often barely visible through the mists of repression and slavery. And yet, unfortunate and illogical as it might seem, slave owners very frequently offer the only glimpses of the downtrodden now obtainable....

This study consists of four lists, centered on the names of the county's slaveholders and designed to look at slavery from different viewpoints. Included as an appendix is a collection of Pennsylvania laws, either the full texts or the pertinent portions, concerning slavery. Not only do those laws aid in understanding why the lists can now be compiled, but they are also in themselves a valuable history lesson on the state's official view, for the years shown, of a sizable segment of its people. [*excerpt*]

Keywords

Adams County Historical Society, ACHS, Adams County, Pennsylvania History, Slavery, Slave, Servitude, Freedom, Anti-Slavery, Bondage, Gradual Emancipation, Pennsylvania Emancipation

Slaveholders and Slaves of Adams County

by Larry C. Bolin

Preface

A close study of the African-American community of Adams county waits to be written. By whatever standards adhered to, however, an in-depth investigation of the subject would be a daunting task at best, and in some areas an all but impossible one. Sadly, the early years, if seen at all, are often barely visible through the mists of repression and slavery. And yet, unfortunate and illogical as it might seem, slave owners very frequently offer the only glimpses of the downtrodden now obtainable.

Late in his tenure as executive director of the Adams County Historical Society, Dr. Charles Glatfelter asked whether I would help to assemble into a more compact and more accurate, and thus a more easily usable, file the various bits and pieces of information relating to the African-American population of the county, data which had been slowly accumulating over the years and were scattered among the society's collected records, in some cases now not easily found. I consented and learned almost immediately that certain records could be expanded greatly, and with clear benefit, by a more detailed study of materials already available at the society. My work on the original project has since concentrated in large part on the slaveholders and slaves of the county, both before and after separation from York county. Felt to be necessary for better comprehending the written record, state legislation relating to slavery also became part of the investigation.

This study consists of four lists, centered on the names of the county's slaveholders and designed to look at slavery from different viewpoints. Included as an appendix is a collection of Pennsylvania laws, either the full texts or the pertinent portions, concerning slavery. Not only do those laws aid in understanding why the lists can now be compiled, but they are also in themselves a valuable history lesson on the state's official view, for the years shown, of a sizable segment of its people.

Much remains unclear—the material presented and the statements made are as understood and interpreted from the record. Despite the work's shortcomings, it is hoped that it might serve as a useful resource for researchers of black history.

Thanks are owed to the following: Randy Miller and Kevin Greenholt, whose prior work in abstracting wills led to much valuable information; Karen Saltzgiver, who graciously shared her similar study and her thoughts; John and Barb Senier, and Sarah Fuss, who in their own work uncovered items important to this study, which they unfailingly passed on to me; Deb McCauslin, whose interest in and own research into the black community have directed her to materials helpful to this work, which she freely gave to me; Sherry Hammett, who ferreted out at the courthouse and provided for this compilation some heretofore forgotten documents pertaining to slavery. As on previous occasions, special thanks must go to Dr. Glatfelter, who again has guided me through sometimes unfamiliar territory, all the while adding abundantly both intellectual and substantive information.

This has been a particularly enlightening journey.

Abbreviations Used in This Study

Township/Borough:

Ber	Berwick
Con	Conewago
Cum	Cumberland
Fra	Franklin
Fre	Freedom
Ger	Germany
Gett	Gettysburg
Ham	Hamilton
Ham'b	Hamiltonban
Heid	Heidelberg
Hunt	Huntington
Lat	Latimore
Lib	Liberty
Manh	Manheim
Men	Menallen
Mgn	Monaghan
MJ	Mt. Joy
MP	Mt. Pleasant
Read	Reading
Str	Straban
Tyr	Tyrone
Warr	Warrington

Other:

D	deed
Dr.	Doctor
Esq.	Esquire
f	female
INV	inventory of personal estate
m	male
P. L.	Public Law
Rev.	Reverend
SC	septennial census
Sect.	Section
SR	Slave Register
U	unknown
W	last will and testament

Introduction

Even though the principles and freedoms put into play in Pennsylvania at its founding set it apart from any other British colony in North America, the original settlers nevertheless exhibited many elements of the social class system they had known in England. Within the socioeconomic ethic embedded in this colony was the sanctioning of the enslavement of people of black African derivation. Slavery was apparently a reality in the settlement from its beginning, and since the first English Pennsylvanians were members of the Society of Friends (Quakers), they were also the first slaveholders in the province—William Penn himself owned slaves. The common opinion of blacks, slave or free, in the early years is shockingly clear in 1725/6 legislation of the General Assembly, then still overwhelmingly Quaker. That act is remarkable not only for the debasement of one group of people by another, but also for the unintentional, yet (perhaps more to modern eyes) equally clear, self-degradation of the legislators themselves. (See Appendix : I.)

Within a very few years of that legislation, settlers of European background began to make their homes in the territory which in 1800 became Adams county. Among the earliest were Marylanders of Irish extraction, pushing to the northern extremes of land claimed as part of that province. Pennsylvania saw much of the same land as part of its county of Lancaster and encouraged its settlement under its own authority. By the middle of the eighteenth century, the area had become the western or upper townships of the new Pennsylvania county of York. By the time of the Revolution, those townships were home to many immigrants and second-generation Americans, among them people derived from England, the north of Ireland, Germany, Switzerland, and Holland. They were a hodgepodge of people of various religious practices: Catholics, Anglicans, Quakers, Presbyterians, Lutherans, German and Dutch Reformed, sect people. The mixture seemingly gave evidence to the belief that difference need not lead to antagonism—there was comparatively amicable relationship, or at least tolerance, in the overall populace.

There was another commonality among those early settlers. A significant number of them brought along or, as opportunity or perceived necessity

arose, acquired slaves. Although early evidence of slavery is scarce, there is documentation in the will of William McGaughy of Hamiltonban township, which was signed January 5, 1749/50. Amazingly, the last person in the county who was taxed for a slave was another William McGaughy, of Cumberland township, recorded in 1841. Between those years the approval of slavery increased to a point at which Adams was one of the state's leading slaveholding counties.

The prevailing opinion of blacks manifested by the 1725/6 act was of course not the only one. Probably from the founding of Penn's colony there had been vocal opposition to forced servitude, and within the first decade anti-slavery sentiment was recorded. Additionally, the constantly growing mishmash of different nationalities, religious beliefs, and cultural practices included many people to whom slavery was anathema. Before long, combating slavery gained a strong foothold. In the forefront, as the struggle to change emplaced thinking advanced, were many Quakers who disagreed with their slaveholding brethren. But as the end of the colonial period approached, a striking irony appeared. By then the government of Pennsylvania had largely been wrested from Quaker domination and was controlled by English Anglicans and Scots-Irish Presbyterians, by whom far fewer qualms concerning bondage were expressed. In fact, many in the government held slaves. Nevertheless, opposition to slavery continued to grow in intensity and extent. And yet, the supposedly pro-slavery majority in the government were the ones responsible for a momentous turning point in blacks' legal standing.

On March 1, 1780, in the midst of the Revolution, Pennsylvania enacted legislation which would bring slavery to an end in the state. In becoming the first state to do so, Pennsylvania beat by just a few months the constitutional prohibition of slavery by Massachusetts, which was approved on June 15. Some, however, dispute Pennsylvania's ranking, and place instead Vermont as the leader. Called at first New Connecticut, Vermont declared its independence from Great Britain on January 15, 1777, and on July 8 of that year adopted its constitution, by which it banned slavery. Vermont, however, was an independent republic, eventually entering the union as the fourteenth state in 1791.

In truth, even though it was a giant step toward equality and even though it did hold out some hope for the distressed, Pennsylvania's abolition act is inconsistent in sentiment and insufficient in content. Its opening passages are indeed noble, but when the text reaches the law itself, only a blurred image of that nobility is reflected. Two points seem especially clear. First, abolition was made gradual so as not to cause financial stress to slave owners for the near future. Specifically, the law states that those people who were slaves prior to enactment would remain slaves for the rest of their lives

(unless emancipated individually, of course), while those born to slave mothers following enactment would remain slaves to the age of twenty-eight years. Second, never did the legislators in the ensuing decades acknowledge that something major was lacking in the law, that people supposedly benefiting were suffering a grave injustice under it. Despite the flawed morality now surely evident in the act, even as slavery literally faded away toward the middle of the next century until only a few slaves remained in the entire state, Pennsylvania did not see fit simply to declare it at an end once and for all. Rather, it clung to the law's basic precepts, taking steps to protect and strengthen them, and by other legislation tried to ensure that slaves from other states would be free in this state, passing laws to that end even in direct opposition to federal law. As time passed, the only slaves recognized as such in this state were those unlucky enough to have been born in Pennsylvania and to have lived within the scope of Pennsylvania's gradual abolition act. (See Appendix: II; see also IV, VI, VII, VIII.)

Expectedly, Pennsylvania's abolition act did not immediately make an appreciable dent in slavery. Tax records documenting slave ownership from roughly the same time show that in the first decade after enactment there was little decrease in the number of slaves in Adams county. Thereafter, it appears that the fall was more precipitous, but it can be said that slavery flourished for several decades after 1780.

Who were Adams county's slaveholders? Certainly, the more affluent and influential residents in the community; certainly, those whose occupations or holdings demanded a great deal more than the usual time or effort. Farmers more than any other group owned slaves; millers and inn-keepers frequently were slaveholders also. A few examples may help to describe the scope of slavery: doctors John B. Arnold and William Crawford; clergymen Robert McMordie, James Pellentz, and Alexander Dobbin; attorneys Moses McClean and Sampson King; millers Samuel Lilly, James McKesson, George Kitzmiller, and Alexander Cobean; tavern keepers George Lashells and Joshua Russell. Many of those named also held public office, as did others such as Hance Hamilton, Henry Slagle, and Thompson Bonner.

One slave owner must receive special mention, for he was "one of a kind" in the county. In 1816, Lewis Johnston, "man of colour," registered a child born to a slave woman he apparently owned. (For further information, see List C.)

There were of course women who owned slaves too. Probably, the huge majority were widows whose slaves had been left to them by their husbands. Many of those women are never seen with given names in records which designate them slaveholders. Some attempt has been made here to ascertain a fuller identity for each person who was usually or always called simply "Widow" in the records.

The owning of slaves was for some a long-term investment. Among the families who had slaves in the county for three generations or more were Agnew, Finley, Horner, McCullough, McKesson, Scott, and Wilson.

By derivation, slaveholders were most often Scots-Irish, English, or Dutch, if percentage of population is the telling factor. It seems strange that the Scots-Irish, who generally were not in a position to have slaves before coming to America, who in fact often emigrated to escape England's repressive methods, here took to slavery quickly and with apparent relish.

Although it might be read and heard that the Germans and Swiss did not as a rule keep slaves, Germanic names do appear as slaveholders with some frequency in Adams county. Of all slaveholders found, perhaps twenty percent were of German-speaking stock. While higher than might be expected, that percentage is nevertheless misleading, for the Germanic proportion of the overall population in the county during the slavery era certainly far exceeded twenty percent. Still, for Adams county at least, it appears that the "I'd rather do the job myself" work ethic often attributed to those people is somewhat exaggerated.

Where did the slave owners live? Slaves might be seen throughout the county at most times, but there were definite points of concentration. One was in the southwest corner, Hamiltonban and (later) Liberty townships. Another was Cumberland township, which included at different times Franklin township and the town of Gettysburg. Both areas were at one time predominantly Scots-Irish. A third area of concentration was Straban township, the heart of the short-lived Low Dutch community in the latter half of the eighteenth century.

How many slaves might an individual own? That is indeed difficult to determine, considering the uncertainty about exactly which people in bondage were counted as slaves. Clearly, not all slaves were regarded as taxable property: those too old, too young, or in too bad a state of health to work were not often enumerated. Also, differences in record keeping from place to place and from time to time appear often to have distorted tallies. However, even though problems exist at any specific time, the year 1783 (more below on the uniqueness of that year's tax information) and the years of the United States census seem to be a truer barometer than most of the real numbers. In 1783, a total of 161 slave owners had 391 slaves, an average nearing 2.5 per owner. William Cochran had 16 and Robert McPherson 11, while 12 others held 6 or more and 69 had just 1. In 1790, 143 slaveholders owned 328 slaves, an average of 2.3. Cochran then held 11. By 1800, the situation had changed markedly, 80 owners having 111 slaves, an average of 1.4.

But all pre-1800 numbers are skewed somewhat. When Adams was taken from York county, 6 of the parent's townships were split. Nevertheless,

Number of Slaves, 1790

Adams County History, Vol. 9 (1903), Art. 3

[for townships divided
in 1800, total number is shown;
two slaves remain unassigned to township]



as elsewhere in this study, the full totals for those townships are used, no attempt being made to separate individuals by their future counties.

Even after 1800, though, slavery continued unabated for some time for some owners. Between 1801 and 1818 Samuel Lilly registered 8 slave children's births, as required by law. Richard Brown registered 8 also, in the remarkably short period 1801-1812. Ann McFerrin registered 5 from 1804 to 1814. Many other owners were raising such groups of children, who were bound by the abolition act to serve their masters until age twenty-eight. (See Appendix: IV and II; see also List C.)

Who were the slaves? The answer is not always easily seen. Seemingly, the commonly used terminology, both before and after the 1780 abolition act, was this: for one in involuntary servitude for life, "slave," and for one in servitude for any lesser time, "servant." There were whites, too, who were bound to serve for varying terms, people now usually referred to as "indentured servants." Becoming confused or misled is often easy. Frequently seen words or phrases such as "servant," "time still to serve," or "the time of my servant girl" do not by themselves reveal enough always to make a proper decision. It may be that the phrase "servant for a term of years," which is also seen often, always implies black, and therefore slave, but that is not obvious. Slaves, though, were considered personal property, and as such could be a taxable asset, while bound whites were not owned, although the time of their indenture was taxable. Further complicating matters were hired servants, black or white, who appear frequently in wills.

No sure rule to follow is apparent, but if ownership is stated or implied, regardless of terminology (even in legislation), the person referred to was definitely a slave.

Since ownership of slaves is the most often recorded, and thus the most easily traced, evidence of slavery, this study concentrates on identifying as many slaveholders as can reasonably be found, within, however, some self-imposed limitations. The primary focus has been on tax and census records, as well as on a county-wide slave register which covers the years 1800-1820—all have been studied in detail. To a lesser degree, last wills and testaments (in many instances only in abstracted form) and inventories of personal property have been consulted. Barely touched as potential sources were deed books and various other court records.

All available county tax lists, from the earliest in 1762 to at least 1840, have been scrutinized. Additional lists, for the years 1779-1783, are found in Series 3, Volume XXI, of the published *Pennsylvania Archives*. Several state supply tax lists for 1780 and 1782, when some townships did not include information on slaves in their compilations as seen in the *Pennsylvania Archives*, and Schedule F of the 1798 federal direct tax were also scanned.

Those tax lists which have survived are not uniformly of a type which

itemizes personal property, so some are of no value to this work. For most townships, the sought information begins with the 1779 lists. For many individual years there are no extant lists, mostly, but certainly not exclusively, before 1800. All townships, if by present or by former names, have gaps in their tax record.

Table 1: Years of Pre-1800 Tax Lists which Enumerate Slaves

<u>Township</u>	<u>Years</u>
Ber	1779-83, 88, 89, 92, 93, 95, 98, 99
Cum	1779-83, 88, 89, 92, 93, 95, 98, 99
Fra	1792, 93, 95, 97, 98
Ger	1779, 81-83, 88, 89, 92, 93, 95, 97-99
Ham'b	1779-84, 88, 89, 92, 93, 95, 97-99 (in 1799, surnames beginning A to E only)
Heid	1779-83, 89, 92, 93, 95, 97-99
Hunt	1779-83, 88, 89, 92, 93, 95, 97-99
Manh	1779-83, 89, 92, 93, 95, 97-99
Men	1779-83, 88, 89, 92, 93, 95, 97-99
Mgn	1778-83, 88, 89, 92, 93, 95, 97-99
MJ	1779, 81-83, 88, 89, 92, 93, 95, 98, 99
MP	1778, 80-83, 88, 89, 92, 93, 95, 97-99 (in 1797, surnames beginning R to Z only)
Read	1779-83, 88, 89, 92, 93, 95, 97-99
Str	1777(?) (surnames beginning A to M only), 79-83, 88, 89, 92, 93, 95, 98, 99
Tyr	1779-83, 85, 88, 89, 92, 93, 95, 97, 98
Warr	1779-83, 88, 89, 92, 93, 95, 99

Table 2: Years of Missing or Unhelpful Tax Lists, 1800 and After

<u>Township/Borough</u>	<u>Years</u>
Ber	1802, 16
Cum	1801, 12-23
Fra	1803, 17-19
Ger	1802, 34 (two pages survive)
Gett	1829
Ham'b	1800, 01, 04
Hunt	1800, 01, 20
Lib	1800, 01, 10

Men	1801, 04, 05, 10 (surnames C to Z survive)
MJ	1800, 03
MP	1803
Read	1801
Str	1802-07
Tyr	1800, 01, 03

Alterations of county divisions pertinent to this study include the separation of Gettysburg from Cumberland township in 1806, Liberty from Hamiltonban in 1800, Hamilton from Berwick in 1810, and Freedom from Liberty in 1838. Additionally, the parts of Heidelberg and Manheim in Adams county became Conewago in 1801, and the parts of Monaghan and Warrington in Adams became part of Latimore in 1807. For those divisions which do not appear in Table 2, there are no gaps in the tax record after 1800.

Not only Heidelberg, Manheim, Monaghan, and Warrington were modified in the formation of Adams county. Portions of Huntington and Reading townships remained in York county and were added to other townships there.

Tax and/or septennial census records marked as for 1799 and 1800 do place the taxpayers in the split townships in their proper counties, so there is clear indication of who lived where at that time. In only two townships were any slaveholders who were not residents of Adams county indicated; their prior residence in what became Adams is thus questioned.

Table 3: Heidelberg/Manheim Slaveholders
Not in Adams County, 1800

Heidelberg

Barnitz, Daniel
Carl, George
Forney, Adam
Welsh, Henry, Esq.

Manheim

Eichelberger, Michael
Hoopert, Adam
Morningstar, George
Sherman, Conrad
Shock, John
Wagner, Casper

For the year 1783, there is more than one tax list available for each township. For some unrecognized reason, a number of the *Pennsylvania Archives* lists contain distinct details. Particulars from each source appear in this study. (State legislation requiring the features seen in the 1783 lists is not included in the Appendix; see, however, III, enacted the previous year.)

In the 1783 tax lists of several townships are found columns headed (or

labeled in terms akin to) "servants," "Negroes," and "Negroes and mulattoes." As interpreted here, "servants" were indentured whites, whose terms of service were taxable; "Negroes" were the total number of slaves held by the person named in each pertinent entry; "Negroes and mulattoes" were the slaves considered taxable property. The list for Huntington township headed the two columns of blacks with a precision which permits that conclusion by its designations "number of Negroes" and "taxable Negroes."

Table 4: Townships with Two Columns
for Slaves in 1783 Tax Lists

Cumberland	Heidelberg	Mt. Joy
Germany	Huntington	Straban
Hamiltonban		

It is at least suggested that a more complete and more accurate accounting of slaves was to have been accomplished in 1783. Obviously, however, not every township interpreted the guidelines in the same manner or followed them to the same extent.

The 1798 direct tax (the so-called window or glass tax) demanded as one of its provisions an accurate count of taxable slaves. In fact, the form issued as Schedule F contained three columns for their enumeration, not only one for those slaves of an age (from twelve to fifty years) the federal government deemed as chargeable to their owners, but also one for those too young, too old, or too infirm to be taxable property, and one for the total number. The numbers for that year are very likely accurate, taking into account of course the limitations mentioned above which involved the six townships divided in 1800. There is an enumeration for every township except Warrington in 1798; it may be that there were no slaves there in that year, even though Peter Gardner and William Ross had slaves in preceding and succeeding years.

At least as early as 1782, slaves aged twelve and above were taxable property in Pennsylvania. (See Appendix: III.) The 1798 direct tax act though is the only one which placed an upper age limit on tax liability.

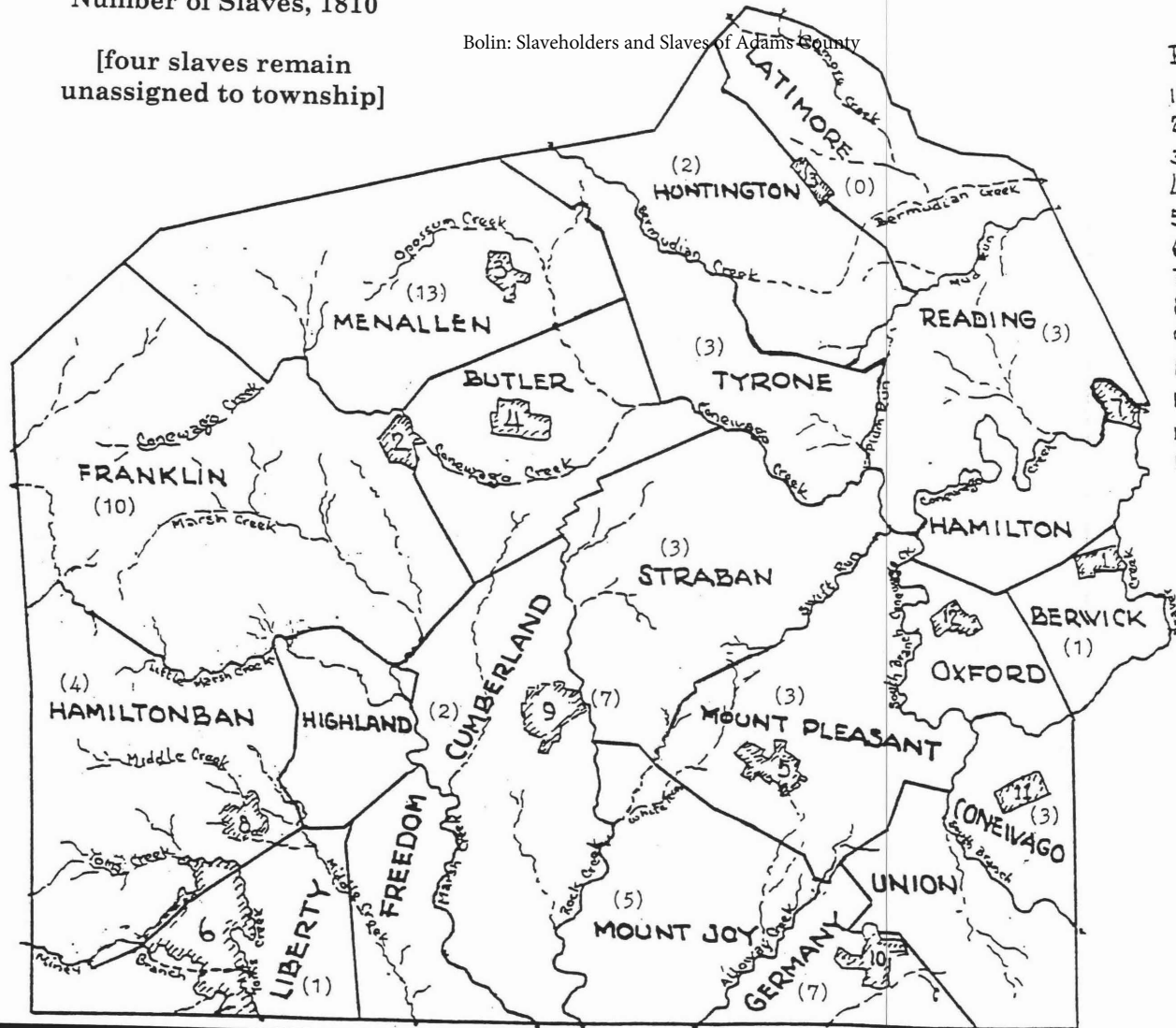
In theory, the decennial census counts required by federal law since 1790 should be fairly accurate because, with few exceptions, they are supposed to include every resident. With little doubt, however, they have always fallen short of expectations. Through 1840, slaves too were to be counted in Pennsylvania; census forms included specific instructions and places for their recording. Unlike taxation, which is inherently limited in its application, census tallies should account for all slaves, age or physical condition being of

Number of Slaves, 1810

[four slaves remain
unassigned to township]

Bolin: Slaveholders and Slaves of Adams County

16



Boroughs

1. Abbottstown
2. Arendtsville
3. Bendersville
4. Biglerville
5. Bonneauville
6. Carroll Valley
7. East Berlin
8. Fairfield
9. Gettysburg
10. Littlestown
11. Msherrystown
12. New Oxford
13. York Springs

no consequence. But, inasmuch as the reckoning of citizens still has not achieved perfection, it should not be expected that the enumeration of slaves ever did either. And there are clear signs of failure to list slaves, as the following instances show.

James McKesson of Hamiltonban township appeared in tax lists as a slaveholder without lapse from 1805 to 1822, and yet was not shown with slaves in the census of either 1810 or 1820. That is just one of numerous examples of such omission.

In 1840, William McGaughy of Cumberland township was the only person in Adams county taxed as a slaveholder; although he should have been, he was not shown with a slave in that year's federal census. But, and adding confusion to the situation, that census did record that Barbara Myers of Reading and Thomas Ross of Huntington townships each held a female slave aged 55-100, even though neither was ever taxed for a slave. Muddling things still further, a tabulation of the county's population according to the census was published in the *Compiler* of December 8 and in the *Spectator* of December 14, 1840, which tabulation showed 5 slaves in the county, 1 female each in Reading and Huntington, 1 male in Cumberland, and 2 males in Hamiltonban townships. Whether 2, 3, or 5 is the correct number, the discrepancies do suggest caution in accepting too readily what is found.

Despite these caveats, it is obvious that ultimately the overall record must be relied on as accurate beyond reasonable question. There is no doubt, for example, that a look at Adams county's announced slave numbers in census years and its percentage of official state totals is of value.

Table 5: Adams County's Percentage of the State's Slaves

<u>Year</u>	<u>Slaves, State</u>	<u>Slaves, County</u>	<u>Percentage, County</u>
1790	3737	328	8.8
1800	1706	111	6.5
1810	795	71	8.9
1820	211	23	10.9
1830	403	45	11.2
1840	64	2	3.1

No sound explanation for the great rise in the number of slaves in both state and county between 1820 and 1830 can be offered—in each case, the increase exceeded ninety percent. It is only a guess that a definition of "slave" different from that used before was employed in 1830; and that might also account for the fact that in that year's census 22 individuals who never appeared in any other record or at any other time as slaveholders were shown as such.

Number of Slaves, 1830 Bolin: Slaveholders and Slaves of Adams County

Boroughs

1. Abbottstown
2. Arendtsville
3. Bendersville
4. Biglerville
5. Bonneauville
6. Carroll Valley
7. East Berlin
8. Fairfield
9. Gettysburg
10. Littlestown
11. McSherrystown
12. New Oxford
13. York Springs

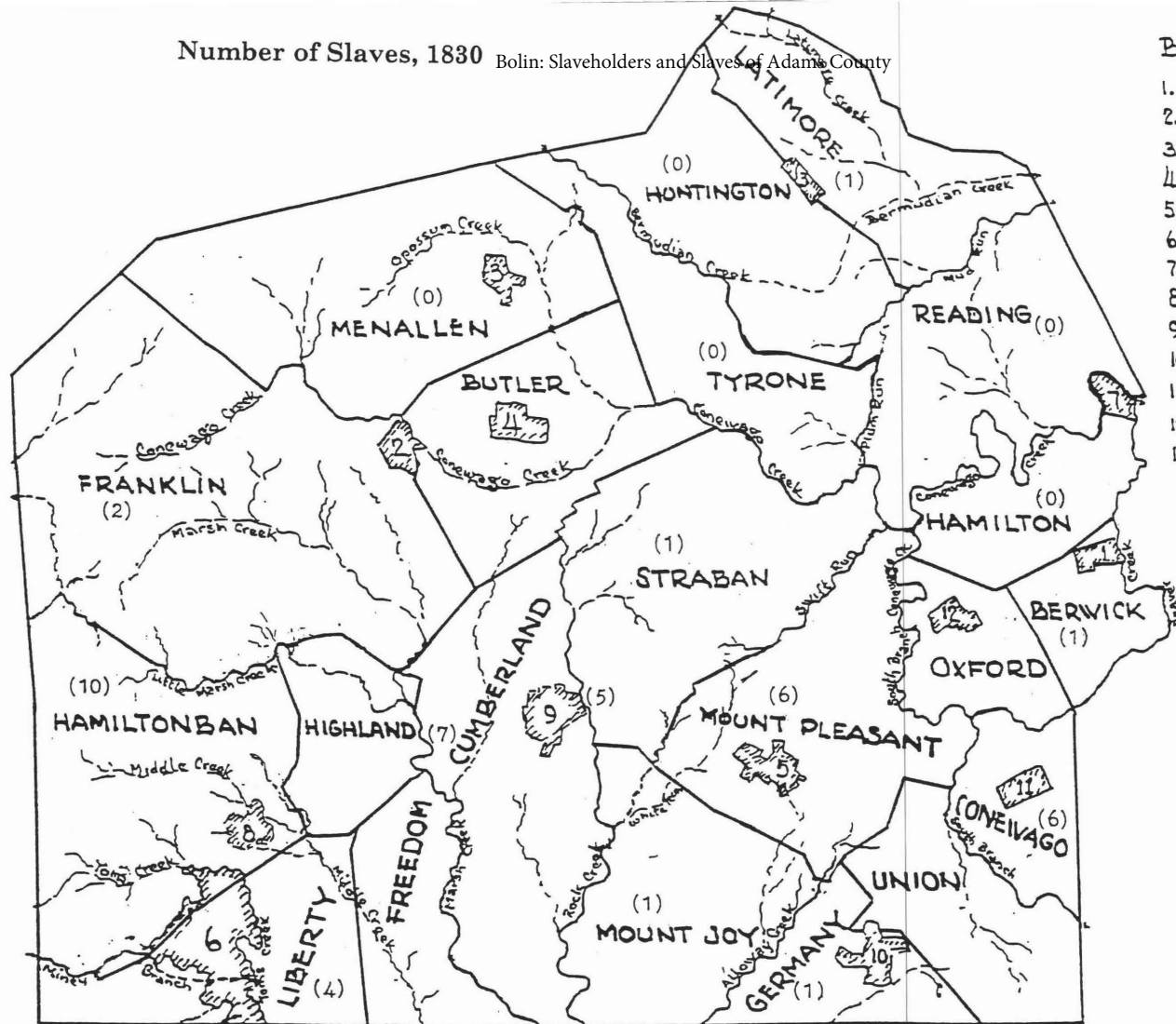


Table 6: Slaveholders Appearing Only in the 1830 Federal Census

Bonner, John	Lat	Newman, Michael	Gett
Colwell, Samuel	MJ	Paxton, James	Ham'b
Crawford, Ann	Cum	Plank, John	Cum
Cunningham, James	Lib	Reid, Joseph	Ham'b
Diehl, David	Con	Robinson, John	Ham'b
Edie, Sarah	Gett	Shriver, Henry	Ger
Garvin, John, Esq.	Gett	Smith, Franklin	Ber
King, Sampson	Gett	Smith, James	MJ
Kitzmiller, John	Con	Stewart, Andrew	Ham'b
Kitzmiller, Samuel	Con	Stewart, James	Ham'b
McCullough, Joseph	Cum	Witherow, William	Ham'b

Pennsylvania had its own census, a listing every seven years of its taxable citizens, authorized by its 1776 constitution and begun in 1779; its aim was to try to guarantee fair representation in the state legislature. Those septennial censuses were taken for nearly a century, although there are none now available for Adams county for 1828, 1835, or 1842. As part of the legislative acts enabling censuses for 1800, 1807, 1814, and 1821, a roster of slaves was required. (For 1800 act, see Appendix: V.) If all tallies for the 1800-1821 period still exist, as it appears they do, then not all townships reported as directed. For 1800, no lists of slaves in Huntington, Menallen, or Tyrone are known; for 1814, no lists of slaves in Hamiltonban or Reading have been seen.

The septennial censuses present other difficulties, too. In 1800 the information for Heidelberg and Manheim townships is in a single list, as is that for Hamiltonban and Liberty. For the former pair, a separate roll of the Adams county residents in each township also exists, which negates the problem. But that is not the case with the latter pair; thus, in List D the slaves residing in those two townships are shown with a combined designation.

There is wide variation in the manner of recording slaves in those septennial censuses, both from township to township and from census to census. Usually, the names of slave owners and slaves did not appear in the same list; at times, neither was recorded. By 1821, only Hamiltonban and Reading townships listed their slaves by name; in that year, no owner was named. The effect is that in many instances there is now no sure way to tie slave to owner.

Septennial census legislation does not expressly confine the counting of slaves to those above a certain age or those within fixed age limits. Nevertheless, there must have been some restrictive factor. The total number of slaves in Adams county who were aged 50 and older in the 1800-

1821 period is 58, 11 of them at least 70, with 1 recorded as 90. But at the other end of the scale, there are just 2 under the age of 20, the younger of them 15. A lower limit is apparent, but what was it? If 12, even if 15, there surely should have been more than 2 under 20 years old in the combined censuses. No resolution has been found or perceived.

In 1788, the Pennsylvania legislature amended and clarified the 1780 abolition act. (See Appendix: IV.) One provision has special significance to this study: the births of all children born to slave mothers were to be recorded, and that registration was made retroactive to abolition's enactment. Unfortunately, no sign of York county's efforts to follow the stipulations has been uncovered, so there is no known register of births prior to 1800. But right from its establishment, Adams county did record those births. A running account, that registration continued until 1820, doubtless until the last qualifying birth. A total of 109 names of children appear in the register.

From the Clerk of Courts office at the county courthouse, a collection of 66 individual records of those same births has recently surfaced. In a very few instances a name or date recorded is at odds with the register, itself deposited in the Prothonotary's office. It is believed that the information in the register was copied from the original, separate documents and is therefore more likely to contain errors. Nevertheless, all bits of varying data are entered in List C.

The sheer amount of detail in the slave register raises the desirability of locating, if at all possible, a similar enrollment in York county for the two previous decades. Recorded in Adams county's register are the name, occupation, and residence of each slaveholder, as well as the name, sex, color, and date of birth of each child the slaveholder reported, plus the date of registration of each child. All information in each entry is shown on one line, which takes up the two visible pages of the book when opened. Registrations are entered chronologically, although in divisions alphabetized by the first letter of slaveholders' surnames. The page showing those family names which begin with A is missing; however, the most likely persons who might have been shown on that page are John Albert, Dr. John Arnold, and several members of the Agnew family: David, two Jameses, John, and Martha. Indeed, John Agnew and John Arnold (three times) are among the slaveholders' names in the separate registrations from the Clerk of Courts.

On occasion, the recorded years of birth and registration are not the same. Since it was forbidden by law to separate an infant from its mother (See Appendix: IV.), it must be assumed that whoever registered the child also owned the mother, and both years are shown here as years of slave ownership.

Table 7. Number of Slaves in Each Political Unit, 1790-1840

Township Borough	1790	1800	1810	1820	1830	1840
Ber	5	8	1	0	1	0
Con	-	-	3	3	6	0
Cum	21	14	2	2	7	0
Fra	31	6	10	0	2	0
Fre	-	-	-	-	-	0
Ger	11	6	7	1	1	0
Gett	-	-	7	5	5	0
Ham	-	-	-	0	0	0
Ham'b	75	32	4	2	10	0
Heid	17	0	-	-	-	-
Hunt	6	5	2	0	0	1
Lat	-	-	0	0	1	0
Lib	-	-	1	0	4	0
Manh	11	3	-	-	-	-
Men	8	0	13	0	0	0
Mgn	12	0	-	-	-	-
MJ	19	4	5	0	1	0
MP	16	6	3	3	6	0
Read	25	5	3	3	0	1
Str	48	14	3	4	1	0
Tyr	13	8	3	0	0	0
Warr	8	0	-	-	-	-
(unassigned)	2	0	4	0	0	0

Trying to identify individual slaves with some degree of assurance is often an exercise in futility, considering the frequent paucity of details on record. Most slave names as found include no surname; many documented slaves cannot easily be linked to any particular owner; many monikers were given to numerous slaves—commonly used in Adams county were (in various forms and spellings) Betty, Dinah, George, Jem/Jim, Joe, Phoebe, Sam, Tom. In short, in trying to isolate individuals, there are often more questions than answers. Even so, a more than minimal identification can be garnered frequently enough, whether from a single source or in combination with other information, to make the attempt worthwhile. (See, for example, List D, under Hatton, Leonard: Patience.)

At least within the constraints voluntarily placed on this work, it is clear that the ideal method of identifying individual slaves is to connect them to their owners. Of course, pitfalls are always present because of unforeseen obstacles such as death of owner, sale or transfer of slave, removal from area, etc. Nonetheless, a linking of slave and owner is at any point a plus, and at several points a desired end.

In learning, and perhaps enlarging, slave identities, a great reliance has been placed on information extracted from last wills and testaments. Often, those documents provide much helpful information. When it seemed especially prudent (which was for well over half of the abstracts that indicated slaves), the wills themselves and often also inventories of personal estate were checked; the latter are frequently a better source than wills. Taking into account the facts that many testators died years after signing their wills and that the situations regarding their slaves may have changed during the interim without such changes appearing in the wills, only the years of the signing of wills are found in this work.

Because of the vicissitudes of life which may be encountered in seeking to acquire a meaningful identity for a slave, from the start of this study List D was not intended to be a finished work, and it should not be regarded as such. It is hoped, rather, that it might provide a viable starting point, in some instances at any rate, in the search for specific people.

Beginning in the latter half of 1828, the quarterly reports of constables to the Court of Quarter Sessions began to include a listing often written as "Negro and mulatto slaves imported into the township." The precise meaning or application of the phrase has not been learned—no state legislation nor record of constables' duties that mention such a category has been discovered. Nevertheless, since there may be some as yet unknown connection to this study, it is considered worth noting. There may, in fact, be clues in the timing and in the use of the word "imported" which point to the 1826 act pertaining to fugitive slaves. (See Appendix: VI.) Under that act, constables and sheriffs were enjoined to arrest known or suspected fugitive slaves when

slave catchers' credentials were in order and when they followed the law's stipulations. A check of all available constables' returns through 1849 revealed just four instances of "imported" slaves being recorded: 1 each in Straban and Tyrone townships in January 1829, 1 in Liberty in August 1829, and 1 in Latimore in April 1831.

Although no other information has been found, making this only speculation, it seems possible that those 4 instances indicate that there was at least perfunctory adherence to the 1826 act in the first few years after enactment. And if correct, then it follows that Adams county authorities were very lax in upholding at least a part of the law or soon ignored it, and that in turn should have had at the time tremendous significance to the people involved in whatever aspect of the operation of the underground railroad and should have now to researchers of the subject. It too should suggest that anti-slavery sentiment was strong in the county by the 1820s, also valuable knowledge to historians. It is plain that additional investigation is needed, either to debunk or to support the proposed possibility.

As the number of slaves in Adams county decreased, whether by individual emancipations or by the natural attrition by death, so too did the recorded data pertaining to them. Little detail of most slaves in the last few decades of slavery is known. Still, there were forces clearly at work as late as 1840, which imply that considerable energy had continued to be expended in the struggle to end involuntary servitude.

In March of 1840, a petition from the York Springs Anti-Slavery Society "for the entire abolition of slavery within the Commonwealth" was presented in the state House of Representatives. Pennsylvania's few dozen remaining slaves were not being simply written off by everyone.

In December of 1840, a meeting was held in Gettysburg to create an organization to be called the Slave's Refuge Society. It was resolved "to assist such of our brethren as shall come among us for the purpose of liberating themselves." Without a doubt, the reference is to fugitive slaves from the south. It is surely suggested that that openly-announced society in its more private dealings was connected to the underground railroad.

For Pennsylvania's slaves, nothing substantial in their legal status changed. Perhaps true to the promise held in the 1780 act to eradicate it, slavery simply, and without fanfare, became extinct. By the letter of the law, slavery's demise was long in coming to Adams county—only with the death in 1858 of the last person still designated slave, Patience Hack, did gradual abolition reach its goal. Realistically however, the master-slave relationship had very likely nearly disappeared decades before, and solicitous people, out of genuine concern for their well-being, provided the few remaining slaves with homes and care in their declining years.



Figure 1. The low entryway on the right gives access to what is thought to be a slave hide in the attic of the old Wright house, Plainfield, on the property of Frank and Bertha Ludwig in Latimore township. (Photo courtesy of Frank and Bertha Ludwig.)

Know all men by these presents that I Patrick
M'Sherry Do grant bargain and sell unto Thomas
Laurimore a certain Negro wench Named Nance
and her famel Child named Heneritta which I
will warrant and Defend, the said Negro wench
Nance to be a Slave for life, in witness where
of I hereunto Set my hand and Seal this 6th Day
of April one thousand seven hundred and ninety
Test
Jacob Shork
Patrick M'Sherry

Figure 2. Example of a bill of sale of human "property" (1790). It reads as follows: Know all men by these presents that I Patrick M'Sherry, Do grant bargain and sell unto Thomas Laurimore a certain Nagro wench Named Nace and her famel Child named Heneritta which I will warrant and Defend, the said Nagro wench Nance to be a Slave for life, in witness whereof I hereunto Set my hand and Seal this 6th Day of April one thousand seven hundred and ninety. . . . (Adams County Historical Society files.)

They also pray allowance for a Negro man
& woman Sold at Vendue & who were not
Registered according to law & in consequence 145. 10. 0
were set free amounting to

Figure 3. This entry from the account of the estate of James Ewing (Franklin township, filed 1799) clearly details the legal consequences of not following the gradual abolition act. It reads: They also pray allowance for a Negro Man & Woman Sold at Vendue & who were not Registered according to law & and in Consequence were set free. Amounting to [£]145.10.0. (ACHS files.)

1783

Huntington townships

Inhabitants	No. of Negroes	Servants	Man & Negro	Man & Woman	Man & Child	Man & Slave	Man & Land
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Figure 4. Portion of the 1783 Huntington township county tax column headings. The present essay has interpreted columns 2 and 4 (but not 3) to enumerate slaves. (Other interpretations, however, may be possible. ACHS files.)

Inventory of the Goods and Chattels, Rights &
Credits, which were of the Estate of Nicholas Bittinger
& Deceased, as the same came to the hands of the
knowledge of the Administrators. the 1st Day of May
1804, and appears as follows to wit:

Negro Pote, a Slave & Rachel an Infant, servant, at	22	10	0
Negro Peter, a Slave, at	60	0	0
Negro Sally, a Servant & child of Pote, at	22	10	0
Negro Phebe, a Son of Pote, at	30	0	0
Negro Esther, a Servant, & Daughter of Pote	15	0	0

Figure 5. Details from the 1804 estate inventory of the deceased Nicholas Bittinger identify blacks as both slaves and servants, thus illustrating the difficulty in determining correctly how many slaves Bittinger owned. Note that the children of slaves, though listed as "servants," were just as surely enslaved as the adults. Similarly, Bittinger's tax records for 1802, 1803, and 1804 reveal his being assessed for only two slaves. (ACHS files.)

Gettysburg
Jan'y 28th 1803

I Sam^l. Houlsworth farmer of Straban Township Adams County State of Penn^a do this day make Return of one Male black Child named Bob, born the fourteenth day of January 1803 & desire the same may be Recorded according to Law.

Samuel Houlsworth

Names of Negroes or Mulattoes	Whom born to	When born	Where born
Sam ^l . Houlsworth	H ^o	Straban	

Names of Negroes or Mulattoes	Whom born to	When born	Where born
Bob (black)	Jan'y 14 th 1803	male	Jan'y 28 th 1803

Figure 6. Example of Clerk of Court record of the birth of a child of a slave mother (top) and the same details as they appear in the county Slave Register (bottom) (ACHS files.)

Wm Nelson of
 Wm Barnhill &

To all People unto whom these presents shall come.

William Nelson of Menallen Township in the County of York and State of Pennsylvania Testifyeth: Whereas the said William purchased a Mollattoe Child of the name of Will from a Certain James Finley of the State of Maryland; AND WHEREAS the said Will, by the Laws of Pennsylvania afforesaid, became free, on his Removal with his said Master into the said last mentioned State, but the said Mollattoe being in a State of Minority, I became dubious how far the said Masters Authority Extended; WHEREFORE KNOW YE, that in Order to Settle said Doubts as well as for and in Consideration of the sum of Fifteen pounds, good and Lawful money of the said State to him the said William Nelson in hand well and truly paid the Receipt whereof is hereby Acknowledged HATH Released and forever Quit claim, and by these presents he the said William DOTH for himself his Heirs Executors and Administrators Release and forever quit claim unto the said Will, Mollattoe afforesaid, hereafter to be known by the Name of William Barnhill, All his the said William Nelsons Right Title Interest use Property Claim and Demand to his future or past Services, So that from henceforth he become free of any Claim or Demand of the said William Nelson or any persons Claiming under him, In TESTIMONY whereof the said William Nelson hath to these presents Set his Hand and Seal this twenty ninth day of July, one thousand seven hundred and Ninety.

Witness my Hand and Seal in presence of us
 Wm Nelson
 Wm Barnhill

York County ss Before me Thomas Fisher Esquire one of the Justices of the Court of Common Pleas in and for said County Came William Nelson within named, and Acknowledged the within Release to be his Act and Deed, and as such Consented the same be Entered of Record Given under my Hand and Seal this 29th July 1790.

A true Copy taken from & compared with the Original at York the 26th day of March A.D. 1792.

The Fisher

Figure 7. William Nelson's acknowledgment that a slave purchased outside Pennsylvania was by state law automatically free upon entering the state to live. By this document, Nelson released all claims to Will, who had been bought in Maryland. In part, the testimonial reads as follows: William Nelson of Menallen Township . . . purchased a Mollattoe Child of the name of Will from a Certain James Finley of the State of Maryland, AND WHEREAS the said Will, by the Laws of Pennsylvania . . . became free, on his Removal with his said Master into the last mentioned State, but the said Mollattoe being in a State of Minority it became dubious how far the said Masters Authority Extended, WHEREFORE KNOW YE, that in Order to Settle said Doubts as well as for and in Consideration of the sum of Fifteen pounds, good and Lawful money of the said State to him the said William Nelson in hand well and truly paid the Receipt whereof is hereby Acknowledged HATH Released and forever Quit claim, and by these presents he the said William DOTH for himself his Executors and Administrators Release and forever quit claim unto the said Will, a Mollattoe afforesaid, hereafter to be known by the Name of William Barnhill, All his the said William Nelsons Right[,] Title[,] Intrest[,] use[,] Property[,] Claim and Demand to his future or past Services, So that from henceforth he become free of any Claim or Demand of the said William Nelson or any person Claiming under him, In TESTIMONY whereof the said William Nelson hath to these presents Set his Hand and Seal this twenty ninth day of July, one thousand seven hundred and Ninety. (York County Deed Book, HH-65, ACHS files.)

Pennsylvania - Adams County Feb. -

Whereas I, Francis Scott Key
of the District of Columbia, being the Owner of a certain
Man of colour called Clem Johnson, now in Gettysburg
in the State of Pennsylvania, and being desirous for divers
good causes and considerations to emancipate the said Clem
Johnson & having agreed with him, to leave him in the State
of Pennsylvania ~~to~~ free to continue there, or to go wherever
he may please, now therefore in consideration of five
dollars to me in hand paid & for other good causes &
considerations I hereby do manumit & set free the said
Clem Johnson aged about forty five years, forthwith & here-
by release & discharge the said Clem Johnson from
all service to me my heirs Ex^{ts} & adm^{rs}. -

Teste
Wm B. Irvine
Wm C. Gellman

Witness my hand & seal this 3^d
day of October A.D. 1831.

Francis Scott Key

Figure 8. Manumission by Francis Scott Key, recorded 3 October 1831 in Adams county because Key could not legally free his slave Clem Johnson in the District of Columbia, where the two lived. The text reads as follows: Whereas I, Francis Scott Key of the District of Columbia, being the Owner of a certain man of colour called Clem Johnson, now in Gettysburg in the State of Pennsylvania, and being desirous for divers good causes and considerations to emancipate the said Clem Johnson & having agreed with him to leave him in the State of Pennsylvania free to continue there, or to go wherever he may please, now therefore in consideration of five dollars to me in hand paid for other good causes & considerations I hereby do manumit & set free the said Clem Johnson aged about forty five years, forthwith & hereby release & discharge the said Clem Johnson from all service to me[, my heirs[, Ex^{ts}: & adm^{rs}.-- (ACHS files.)

WANTED TO PURCHASE,
The time of two young
Negro men from 16 to 20
years of age, who have to
serve until they are 28
years old. A Carter and
some Forgemēn are want-
ed at the Codorus Forge.
WM. ALEXANDER.
June 10th, 1800.

Figure 9. In this 1800 classified ad, William Alexander seeks to buy the time of two men who have no say in the matter. Although they would have been sons of slave mothers, born after the abolition act, in reality they were being purchased, not hired, until they reached the legally mandated age of freedom. (York Recorder, 11 April 1800.)

Death of an Old Slave.
Died, on the 4th of November last,
at Petersburg, Y. S., PATIENCE HACK,
but known more familiarly by the name
of "Old Tacey." Her age was nearly
one hundred years, and she was perhaps
the only slave then alive in Adams
county, or perhaps in the State. She
was the survivor of a family of slaves
belonging to the estate of a Leonard
Hatter, her husband and sons all hav-
ing died long since. She was very
kindly taken care of and supported by
Thomas Stephens, Esq., and lady, up
to the time of her death.
Compiler: December 27, 1858

Figure 10. Occasionally, Adams county newspapers recorded deaths of slaves or former slaves. This example from the Compiler (27 December 1858) gives notice of the demise in Petersburg, or York Springs, of Patience Hack, the last person in the county to die while still a slave.

List A: The Slaveholders

This catalog of names is complete as the written record is understood and within the limitations voluntarily set. Included with each name are the place or places of residence and the year or years of documented slave ownership. In order to achieve some conformity, in certain instances the spelling of surnames is arbitrary, based on experience with what the names actually were or have become.

Adams, Magdalena Heid 1782
 Agnew, David Ham'b 1779-84, 88-90, 92, 93, 95, 98, 1800; Lib 1802,
 07-09, 11
 Agnew, James Ham'b 1770
 Agnew, James Ham'b 1779-84, 88-90, 92, 93, 95, 97, 98, 99 (heirs)
 Agnew, James Ham'b 1779-81, 83, 84, 88, 90, 92, 93, 95, 97-1800, 02, 03,
 05, 06
 Agnew, James Ham'b 1792, 93, 95, 97, 99, 1800, 02, 03, 05-10
 Agnew, John Ham'b 1779-84, 88-90, 93, 95, 97, 1801, 14
 Agnew, Widow (Martha) Ham'b 1781-84, 88, 89; Lib 1802, 03, 07-09, 11
 Albert, John Lat 1811
 Ambrose, Robert Str 1777, 79, 80
 Anderson, James Str 1777
 Andrew, John MP 1780-83, 88, 89
 Annan, Rev. Robert Ham'b 1793, 95
 Armstrong, Benjamin Cum 1780
 Arnold, Dr. John Ber 1804-07, 09; Ham 1811, 12; Read 1815-19;
 Gett 1820; Read 1821
 Arnold, Widow (Rachel) Read 1823, 24
 Atkinson, Ralph Str 1783
 Baldwin, John Men 1797
 Baldwin, Thomas Men 1808-10
 Banta, Abraham Str 1780
 Barkley, William MP 1792
 Barnitz, Daniel Heid 1789, 90, 92, 93, 95, 97-99

Beals, Caleb Hunt 1800, 11
Beaty, David, Esq. Str 1779-81, 83, 88-90, 92
Beaty, John Str 1783
Bell, James Read 1790
Bercaw, George Str 1777
Biggard, William Men 1781
Bigham, Hugh Ham'b 1783
Bigham, Robert Ham'b 1779, 80; Cum 1781-83, 88, 89
Bigham, Samuel Ham'b 1779, 80
Bigham, Thomas Ham'b 1784, 88-90, 92, 93, 95
Binder, Peter Ber 1800, 08
Bittinger, Nicholas Ber 1779-82, 88-90, 92, 93, 95, 98-1801, 03, 04
Black, James Fra 1790, 1810, 11
Black, Robert Cum 1779-83; MJ 1788-90, 92, 93, 95, 98, 99
Black, Widow (Ann) MJ 1800, 08
Blythe, David Ham'b 1783
Bodine, John Str 1783
Bonner, John Lat 1830
Bonner, Thompson, Esq. Hunt 1828
Bonner, William Lat 1834-38
Borland, James MJ 1781
Boyd, William Cum 1779-81; Men 1783, 88, 89
Brauner (?), Widow Gett 1807 [Page torn, not entirely legible.]
Breckenridge, William MJ 1783, 88-90, 92
Brice, James Ham'b 1784, 88
Brinkerhoff, George Str 1779-81, 83, 88-90, 92, 93, 95, 98-1801, 07-09
Brinkerhoff, Gilbert MP 1781, 83, 90, 95, 98-1802, 04, 05
Brinkerhoff, James MP 1778, 80-83, 88-90, 92, 93, 95
Brosius, Rev. Francis Heid 1800
Brothers, Henry Ger 1783
Brough, Daniel Read 1790
Brough, Herman Ber 1795
Brough, Peter Ber 1800, 07, 09
Brough, Widow Ham 1822
Brown, Alexander Tyr 1779-83, 85, 88-90, 92, 93, 95, 97-99,
 1802 (executors of)
Brown, Andrew Cum 1798; Ham'b 1802-09
Brown, James Str 1789
Brown, Mary Tyr 1800
Brown, Richard Str 1777, 79-81, 83, 88-90, 92, 93, 95, 98-1806, 08-13
Brown, Richard Str 1789
Brown, Richard Cum 1831; Str 1834

Brown, Samuel Tyr 1800
 Buchanan, Henry MP 1781-83, 90
 Calhoun, John Manh 1779, 81
 Campbell, Armstrong Str 1816, 20, 21
 Campbell, Hugh Str 1779-83, 88-90, 92, 93, 95, 98
 Campbell, Thomas Mgn 1788-90, 92, 93, 95, 97-99
 Carbaugh, Christian Fra 1810
 Carl, George Heid 1781-83, 92, 93, 95, 97-99
 Carl, Michael Ber 1779, 80
 Carl, Widow (Anna Maria) Ber 1781
 Carnahan, Alexander Ham'b 1779, 80, 83, 90, 92, 93, 95, 97, 98,
 1800, 02-04, 06-11, 12 (heirs)
 Carney, James Lib 1807-10
 Cassat, David Str 1779-83
 Cassat, Francis Str 1779-81, 83, 88
 Chamberlain, James Read 1779-83, 88, 93, 95, 97
 Chamberlain, John Read 1779-83, 88-90, 93, 95, 98, 1800, 02, 03, 10
 Chamberlain, Ninian MP 1798-1802, 04-07
 Chambers, Arthur Heid 1780
 Chambers, Joseph Tyr 1785, 88
 Chronister, Henry Read 1782
 Clark, John Ber 1779
 Clark, John Ham'b 1798, 1800; Lib 1802, 05
 Clark, John Read 1779, 80
 Clingan, George Ham'b 1777
 Clingan, Thomas Ham'b 1780, 83
 Cobean, Alexander Cum 1790, 95, 1803, 04; Gett 1813-21, 23
 Cobean, John Fra 1806-09
 Cobean, Samuel Cum 1779-83, 88; Fra 1790, 92, 93, 95, 97-1802, 04-07
 Cochran, Andrew Ham'b 1779, 80
 Cochran, James Ham'b 1779-81, 83, 84, 88-90, 92, 93, 95, 97-1800;
 Lib 1802, 05-10
 Cochran, Widow Lib 1810
 Cochran, William Ham'b 1779-81, 83, 84, 88-90, 92
 Colston, Charles Mgn 1780
 Colwell, Samuel MJ 1830
 Comfort, Andrew Mgn 1780
 Commingore, Henry Str 1777
 Commingore, John Str 1777
 Conine, Peter MP 1790, 92
 Conrad, Peter Men 1795
 Cookson, Samuel Men 1781, 82

Cooper, James MP 1778, 80, 81, 89, 90
Cooper, James Str 1783
Cooper, William MP 1788, 1806; Gett 1810-18
Cosine, Peter Str 1779
Cosine, Widow (Willemp) Str 1779
Cover, Jacob Fra 1830
Cox, Lawrence Str 1779, 81
Craig, Robert Cum 1790
Craig, Robert Ham'b 1783
Crawford, Ann Cum 1830
Crawford, Robert Ham'b 1781
Crawford, William Cum 1810
Cross, Samuel Fra 1792, 93, 95, 97-1800
Cross, Thomas Fra 1807, 08
Cross, William Fra 1790, 92, 93, 95
Cunningham, James Lib 1830
Davison, Widow (Sarah) Read 1779
Degroff, Michael MP 1778, 81-83, 88-90, 92, 93 (estate)
Degroff, Widow (Margaret) MP 1795, 98-1802
Demaree, David Str 1779-81, 83
Demaree, Samuel Str 1781-83
Dickson, James Str 1777, 79-83, 88-90, 92-94
Diehl, David Con 1830
Dill, James Mgn 1779-83, 90 [In the tax record for 1789 this notation appears: "Where are the negroes of James Dill gone to, are they dead, lost, free, or has his children got them, if they have, why not returned"]
Dill, John Mgn 1793, 95, 97-99
Dill, Matthew Mgn 1779-83, 93
Dill, Thomas Mgn 1795
Dixon, Joseph Mgn 1782
Dobbin, Rev. Alexander Cum 1792, 93, 95, 1800, 03, 05, 09
Dodds, Joseph Hunt 1780-83, 88-90, 92
Doran, Terra Str 1780
Dorland, Garret Ber 1779-83, 88, 89
Douglass, Archibald Cum 1783, 90
Douglass, Thomas Cum 1790, 1801
Duncan, Seth Ber 1779, 81, 88
Dunwoody, David Cum 1779-83, 88-90, 92, 1802
Dunwoody, David Cum 1783
Dunwoody, Elizabeth Read 1790 [In his August 15, 1808, report to the Court of Common Pleas concerning those confined

at that time in the public jail, Roger Wales, jailor, included: "Rachael a Black girl on suspicion of Having mixed arsnick with sugar with intent to take away the life of Elizabeth Dunwoody her late Mistress[.]" It is not clear whether Rachael was a slave or whether the same Elizabeth Dunwoody was meant.]

Dunwoody, Hugh Ham'b 1776
 Dunwoody, Widow (Jane) Ham'b 1779-84, 88-90, 92, 93, 95, 97-99,
 1802, 03, 05-09
 Dutterer, Conrad Heid 1792, 93, 95
 Dutterer, George Con 1812, 14, 16
 Edie, John Gett 1820, 24
 Edie, Samuel Cum 1790
 Edie, Sarah Gett 1830
 Eichelberger, Adam Manh 1780, 81
 Eichelberger, Michael Manh 1795, 97-99
 Elder, John Ber 1800
 Emmitt, Widow Ham'b 1779, 80
 Eversole, Jacob Lib 1805, 10, 11
 Ewe, Michael Str 1781
 Ewing, James Cum 1779-83
 Farence, George Ber 1783
 Feeser, Widow (Mary) Ger 1779
 Felty, Henry Heid 1793, 95
 Fergus, John Cum 1779
 Ferguson, James Cum 1783, 88, 89, 92, 93
 Fink, John Heid 1783
 Finley, Aaron Str 1792
 Finley, Ebenezer Ham'b 1788-90, 92, 93
 Finley, Michael Ham'b 1781-85
 Finley, Widow (Margaret) Ham'b 1797, 1800, 01, 03, 05, 06, 08
 Finley, William Ham'b 1780-84, 88-90
 Finley, William Ham'b 1788-90, 92-95, 97, 98
 Flautt, Joseph Ger 1789, 92, 93, 95
 Fleming, Elizabeth Cum 1783
 Fleming, George Str 1783, 88, 89
 Fleming, John Cum 1779-83
 Fleming, John Str 1779, 80, 90
 Fletcher, John Fra 1798-1802, 04, 05
 Flohr, Leonard Fra 1790, 92, 93 [In the federal census of 1790, his
 surname appears as Howly.]

Forney, Adam Heid 1793, 95, 97-99
Forney, Adam Manh 1789, 90, 92, 99
Forney, Mark Cum 1803-05
Forsythe, Alexander Heid 1783
Foulk, Stephen Hunt 1779-83, 88
Fowler, David Cum 1783
Galbraith, John Men 1779, 81-83, 88-90, 92, 93, 95, 98, 1803, 08, 10, 11,
14 (Deduct—slave dead)
Galbraith, Robert, Esq. Str 1783
Gallagher, Hugh Cum 1781
Gardner, Peter Warr 1779-83, 88-90, 92, 93, 95, 99
Garvin, John, Esq. Gett 1830
Geisel, Leonhard Con 1805
Gerry, William Ber 1781; Men 1783
Gettys, James Cum 1788-90, 92, 93, 95, 98-1800, 02-05;
Gett 1815, 18 (heirs)
Gettys, Samuel Cum 1779-81, 83
Gettys, Widow (Isabella) Cum 1802, 05, 06; Gett 1807, 08, 11-14
Gilliland, William, Esq. Men 1788, 89; Str 1798-1801, 08-10, 12-14, 17,
20, 22, 27
Godfrey, William Mgn 1779, 80, 82, 83, 88, 90, 93
Gourley, Thomas Ham'b 1795, 97, 98, 1800; Lib 1802
Greenemyer, Jacob Men 1793
Groft, John Heid 1783 [In the tax record for 1783 there are two
entries for this man, in one his name spelled Krafft and in
the other Karfft.]
Groft, Philip Str 1800, 01, 08-31
Gwynn, William Manh 1779-81 [In 1779 a slave is actually charged to
"Mary Ann Furnace, Gwinn William" and in 1780 to
"Mary Ann Furnace." Surely Gwynn managed the
furnace.]
Haddon, Samuel Str 1779-81, 83, 88-90, 92, 93, 95, 1800
Hagan, Edward Str 1800
Hagan, Patrick MP 1780
Hall, Edward Cum 1783, 90, 92, 93, 95, 98-1800
Hall, Widow (Martha) Cum 1802
Hamilton, Enoch Fra 1810, 16
Hamilton, Hance Men 1772
Hamilton, James Str 1789
Hart, Widow (Margaret) Ham'b 1781, 88, 89
Hart, William Ham'b 1783, 84, 90
Hatton, Leonard Hunt 1779-83, 88-90, 95, 97-1800, 03, 04, 08-10, 15

Hatton, Widow (Margaret) Hunt 1816, 17, 19
 Haushalter, Peter — see Housil, Peter
 Hayes, Patrick Gett 1808
 Hayes, Robert Cum 1806; Gett 1807-11
 Hayes, Samuel Str 1779-83, 88-90, 92, 93, 95, 1800
 Heiges, George Hunt 1795, 97-99
 Henderson, John Ber 1795
 Henderson, Rev. Joseph Str 1783, 90, 92, 93, 95
 Herman, George Ber 1800
 Herman, John Ber 1798-1801, 03-06
 Hersh, John Ber 1811
 Himes, George Ber 1811
 Hinkle, John Heid 1779
 Hochdale, Abraham MP 1810, 20 [In early records the surname is often spelled Houghtelin.]
 Hochdale, Hezekiah MP 1778, 81, 83, 88-90, 92, 93, 95, 98, 1800, 05-08, 11-15
 Hoffman, John Hunt 1832
 Hoke, Conrad Heid 1783, 89, 90, 93, 95; Cum 1803-06
 Hoke, Frederick Warr 1799
 Hoke, Henry Cum 1798, 99
 Hoke, Michael Cum 1795
 Hoke, Solomon Lib 1812
 Hoopert, Adam Manh 1780-82, 89, 90, 92, 93, 95, 97-99
 Horner, Alexander Cum 1804, 05, 07, 08, 30
 Horner, David MJ 1779-81, 83, 88-90, 92, 93, 95, 98-1802, 04
 Horner, John MJ 1808-12, 14
 Horner, Robert MJ 1779-83, 88; Str 1789; Tyr 1790; Str 1792, 93
 Horner, Widow (Mary) MJ 1805, 06, 10, 14
 Horner, William MJ 1808, 10
 Hosack, Henry Cum 1783; Fra 1792
 Houghtelin—see Hochdale
 Houlsworth, Samuel Str 1803
 Housil, Peter Ber 1779-81; Mgn 1782, 83 [In the tax record for 1783 the surname appears as Haushalter.]
 Houtz, John MP 1778
 Howly, Leonard—see Flohr, Leonard
 Hulick, Isaac MJ 1790
 Hutcheson, Samuel Gett 1811, 12
 Ickes, George Ham 1819
 Ickes, Peter Ber 1783, 90, 93, 95, 98-1801
 Irvin, Robert Heid 1779

Jack, Andrew Ham'b 1779, 80
Jack, John Ham'b 1781, 82
Jamison, Horatio Gett 1810
Jamison, Sarah Read 1790
Johnston, Ephraim Ham'b 1780
Johnston, Ephraim Men 1780-82
Johnston, James Cum 1779-83; Fra 1790, 92-95
Johnston, Lewis Gett 1816 [A black man. For further information, see
List C.]
Johnston, Widow (Margaret) Men 1783
Johnston, William Read 1779-83, 88-90, 92, 93, 95, 97-99, 1808-10
Jones, Rev. Daniel Mgn 1789, 90, 95, 97
Jones, Henry Str 1779-83
Karfft, John—see Groft, John
Kauffman, Andrew Ham 1819
Keefauver, Conrad Manh 1789, 90, 92, 95, 97
Kellenberger, John Ham'b 1807
Keller, Wendel Heid 1789, 90
Kennedy, David Ham'b 1779, 80
Keplinger, Peter Ber 1800
Kerr, George Ham'b 1779, 80, 82-84, 88, 89, 92, 93, 95, 97, 98,
1800, 02, 05-10, 12, 13
Kerr, Mary Ham'b 1815
Kerr, William Ham'b 1779-81, 83, 84, 88-90
Kerr, William MP 1798
King, Hugh Tyr 1788-90, 92, 93, 97, 98, 1800, 03, 06-11
King, James Fra 1792; Cum 1800
King, John, Esq. Tyr 1790, 95, 97, 98, 1800, 03
King, Sampson Gett 1830
King, Victor Tyr 1774
King, Widow (Jane) Cum 1779-82
King, William Tyr 1780-83, 85, 88, 89, 92, 93
Kitzmiller, George Manh 1780-83, 89, 90, 92, 93, 95, 97-1800;
Con 1801-07, 09-17, 19-25
Kitzmiller, John Con 1830
Kitzmiller, Michael Con 1818, 27, 30
Kitzmiller, Samuel Con 1830
Klunk, Martin Con 1827
Knox, Samuel Ham'b 1779-81, 83, 84, 88, 89, 92, 95, 1803
Knox, Samuel Ham'b 1818
Krafft, John—see Groft, John
Kuhn, George Ber 1779, 80

Kuhn, Henry Ber 1793, 1800
 Kurtz, Frederick Heid 1779
 Larimer, John MJ 1790
 Larimer, Thomas MJ 1790, 93, 95
 Lashells, George, Esq. Str 1792, 93, 95, 98, 1800, 08, 10, 13-15, 17-20,
 22, 24-26
 Lashells, Ralph Gett 1814
 Latta, Thomas Cum 1779-83, 88-90, 92, 93, 95, 1800, 03
 Lilly, John MP 1778, 81, 83
 Lilly, Samuel, Esq. MP 1795, 98-1821, 30
 Lilly, Thomas, Esq. Ber 1779-83, 88, 93, 95, 1800, 01, 03
 Little, Andrew MJ 1790
 Livingstone, Adam Str 1779, 81, 83, 88-90, 92
 Livingstone, John Str 1779-83
 Lockhart, Moses MP 1778
 Logan, Henry Mgn 1790, 93
 Long, Alexander Str 1808; Read 1809; Str 1810-14, 16
 Long, Robert Hunt 1800
 Long, Widow (Jeanette) Read 1802; Str 1809; Read 1810, 24
 Long, William Str 1789, 92, 93, 95, 98-1801
 Long, William Str 1808, 09; Read 1810-21, 23, 25, 26
 Longwell, Matthew Gett 1810
 Low, David Ger 1780-83
 Lowry, Robert Lat 1814
 McAllister, Jesse Heid 1793, 95; MJ 1798-1802, 04-10
 McAllister, Richard, Esq. Heid 1780-83, 89, 92, 93, 95
 McCans, David Str 1790
 McCans, William Str 1790, 92
 McCarter, Alexander MP 1778, 81-83
 McCauslin, Thomas Men 1779-83, 88, 89
 McClean, Moses Cum 1779-83; Fra 1790, 1802-05
 McClean, William, Esq. Ham'b 1783, 86, 88, 89, 92, 93, 95, 97
 McClellan, John Fra 1790
 McClellan, Thomas Ham'b 1782-84, 88, 89, 93
 McClellan, William Cum 1780-83, 88-90, 92, 93, 1800, 02-06;
 Gett 1807; Cum 1808, 09; Gett 1810, 12, 28
 McConaughy, David Men 1780-83, 88-90, 92, 93, 95, 97, 98, 1800, 09
 McConaughy, Robert Men 1780-83, 88-90, 92, 93, 95, 97
 McConaughy, Samuel Men 1793, 95
 McCosh, James Str 1780
 McCosh, Samuel MJ 1779-81
 McCosh, Widow (Mary) Str 1779, 83

McCracken, John Lib 1818
McCreary, James Ham'b 1790, 92, 93, 95, 97
McCreary, William Str 1777
McCullough, Joseph Cum 1830
McCullough, Samuel Ham'b 1792
McCullough, Widow (Margaret) Ham'b 1779, 80
McCurdy, Daniel Mgn 1780
McCurdy, William Cum 1810, 30
McFerrin, Samuel Ham'b 1781-84, 88
McFerrin, Widow (Ann) Ham'b 1798, 1802-09, 11, 14-16
McGaughy, John Ham'b 1777
McGaughy, William Ham'b 1749
McGaughy, William Cum 1825, 28
McGaughy, William Cum 1825, 30, 32-35, 37, 40, 41
McGimsey, Mary Lib 1801
McGimsey, Robert Ham'b 1788-90, 92, 93, 95, 97-99
McGinley, James Ham'b 1792, 93, 95, 97
McGinley, John Ham'b 1779, 80
McGinley, Robert Ham'b 1783, 88
McGinley, Widow (Salley) Ham'b 1779, 80, 1801, 02
McGrew, Archibald Hunt 1788-90, 92, 93, 95, 97, 98, 1800
McGrew, William Str 1798-1801; Men 1816 (estate)
McIlhenny, Robert Str 1792
McIlhenny, Samuel MJ 1779
McIlhenny, William Men 1780-83, 88-90, 95
McKean, William MJ 1795
McKee, Thomas Cum 1810
McKesson, Alexander Ham'b 1766
McKesson, Alexander Ham'b 1780-84, 88-90, 92, 93, 95, 97-1800;
 Lib 1801-09
McKesson, James Ham'b 1780-84, 88-90, 92, 93, 95, 97, 1802, 03, 05-22
McKesson, James Ham'b 1807, 08, 10-15
McKesson, John Ham'b 1820
McKesson, William Ham'b 1780-84, 88, 89, 92, 93, 95
McKinley, Benjamin Cum 1781
McKinley, Isaac Men 1781
McKnight, Rev. John Str 1777; Ham'b 1783, 88, 89
McMaster, Gilbert Ber 1781-83
McMaster, James Ber 1779
McMillan, Thomas Ham'b 1792
McMordie, Rev. Robert Fra 1790, 92, 93, 95
McMordie, Robert Fra 1797-1800

McMunn, William Ham'b 1783
 McPherson, Robert, Esq. Cum 1779-83, 88-90, 92
 McPherson, Robert Cum 1788, 89
 McPherson, Widow (Agnes) Cum 1793, 98-1800, 02
 McPherson, William, Esq. Cum 1779, 81-83, 88-90, 92, 93, 95, 98-1800,
 02-11, 14; Gett 1819, 20
 McSherry, Catharine Ger 1810
 McSherry, Edward Ger 1780-83, 88, 89
 McSherry, Elizabeth Ger 1790
 McSherry, James Ger 1797-1801, 03-16
 McSherry, Patrick Heid 1779, 80; Ger 1781-83, 88-90, 93, 95
 McTaggart, James Ber 1795
 McWilliams, James Str 1777, 79, 82
 Mack, Alexander Ham'b 1811-13; Lib 1816, 17
 Maffert, John Ger 1780, 81
 Marshall, Andrew Ham'b 1807-10, 12, 13, 20, 22, 24, 30
 Marshall, James Ham'b 1779-84, 88-90, 92, 93, 95, 97, 98, 1800, 02, 03, 05
 Mary Ann Furnace—see Gwynn, William
 Maus, George Heid 1798-1800
 Maxwell, John Tyr 1780, 83, 85, 89
 Maxwell, William Gett 1816
 Mercer, Peregrine Str 1777, 79-81; Read 1783
 Metzger, Paul Heid 1793, 95
 Miley, Abraham Read 1790
 Miller, James MJ 1779-81, 83
 Miller, William, Esq. Ham'b 1810-16
 Monfort, Peter MJ 1779, 80, 83, 88-90, 93
 Moore, James Hunt 1780-83, 88, 99
 Moore, James Hunt 1799
 Moore, Samuel Ham'b 1782, 83, 88, 89
 Moore, Widow (Jean) Men 1781-83
 Morningstar, George Manh 1789, 97-99
 Morningstar, Philip Manh 1781-83
 Morrison, Hugh Str 1788, 90
 Morrison, James Str 1790
 Morrison, Joseph Cum 1779-83; Fra 1790, 92, 93, 95
 Morrison, Robert Cum 1783
 Mumper, Michael Mgn 1779-83
 Mundorff, Jacob Lib 1801, 02, 05, 07
 Murphy, John, Esq. Gett 1816, 17, 21
 Murray, Rev. John Ham'b 1779, 82, 83
 Murray, Robert Cum 1779-81

Myers, Barbara Read 1840
Myers, John Read 1779
Myers, Ludwig Hunt 1783, 90, 92, 93
Myers, Nicholas Hunt 1787
Myers, Peter Hunt 1819
Myers, Philip Hunt 1790
Myers, Widow (Margaret) Hunt 1789
Myers, William Hunt 1792
Neely, James Read 1800, 02
Neely, James Tyr 1798, 1800, 02-12
Neely, Jonathan, Esq. Tyr 1783, 90, 92, 93, 95, 97, 98,
 1800-06, 09-12, 26
Neely, Thomas Hunt 1779-82
Nelson, William Men 1788-90
Nevis, Martin Str 1783
Newman, Michael Gett 1830
Oblenis, Daniel Read 1807, 08, 10
Oblenis, John Read 1779-83, 88-90, 92, 93, 95, 97-1800, 02-05
Oldham, Thomas Men 1789
Owings, Robert Heid 1783, 90
Owings, Robert Nicholas Con 1803
Owings, William Heid 1780, 81, 83, 89
Patton, John Hunt 1811
Paxton, James Ham'b 1830
Paxton, Nathaniel Cum 1779, 81
Pedan, Samuel Ham'b 1783, 84, 88-90, 92, 93
Pellentz, Rev. James Heid 1779, 81-83, 89, 92, 93, 95, 97-99
Piper, Peter Fra 1793
Plank, Conrad Men 1810
Plank, John Cum 1830
Pollock, William Men 1780-83
Porter, Andrew Cum 1779-83
Porter, David Ham'b 1782, 89
Porter, Jeremiah Lib 1802, 04, 05
Porter, John Ham'b 1793
Porter, Samuel Cum 1781-83; Fra 1790
Porter, Widow (Sarah) Lib 1804-06
Porter, William Ham'b 1779-84, 88-90, 92, 93, 95, 97, 98, 1800;
 Lib 1800, 02, 03
Prince, John Mgn 1782
Ramsey, John Ham'b 1790, 95
Ramsey, Reynolds Ham'b 1779-84, 88-90, 92, 93, 95; Cum 1798-1800

Ramsey, Samuel Gett 1820
Reed, Benjamin Ham'b 1826
Reed, Thomas Str 1779-81
Reid, James Ham'b 1790, 1800, 11
Reid, Joseph Ham'b 1830
Reid, Patrick Ham'b 1781-84, 88, 89, 92
Reid, William, Esq. Ham'b 1783, 98, 1800; Lib 1802, 03, 07-11
Reinaker, Casper Heid 1779-83, 89
Reinaker, Conrad Heid 1790, 92
Rhea, Robert Ham'b 1799, 1800, 02-10
Richardson, Jacob Mgn 1781-83
Riddle, David Fra 1790, 92, 93
Riddle, James Cum 1779-83
Riddle, John Ham'b 1780-82
Rife, Abraham Con 1812
Riley, Edward Fra 1810
Riley, William Gett 1831
Ringland, John Ger 1782
Ritter, John Cum 1843
River, Jacob Mgn 1782
Robinson, John Ham'b 1830
Roos, Frederick Warr 1780
Ross, John Cum 1779-83; Fra 1790, 97, 1801, 03-05
Ross, Samuel Fra 1810
Ross, Thomas Hunt 1840
Ross, William Warr 1795, 99
Ruhlman, George Manh 1782
Russell, Alexander, Esq. Ham'b 88-90; Cum 1792, 93, 95, 98-1800, 02;
 Gett 1814-21, 23-25, 30-33
Russell, Joshua Cum 1779-83; Fra 1790, 92, 93, 95, 1800, 06
Russell, Samuel Fra 1806
Russell, Widow (Jane) Fra 1807, 08
Sample, John Str 1788-90
Sarbaugh, Jacob Ber 1779, 80
Scott, Abraham Ham'b 1789, 90, 92, 93, 95, 97, 98, 1800;
 Lib 1802-08, 10-14, 16-27, 30, 32
Scott, David Str 1790
Scott, James Ham'b 1793, 95; Cum 1798-1800, 02-06
Scott, John Ham'b 1815, 16
Scott, Moses Ham'b 1783
Scott, Robert Cum 1779-81, 83; Ham'b 1788, 89, 92, 93, 95, 97, 98, 1800;
 Lib 1802-07

Scott, Robert Str 1788, 89
Scott, Widow (Rebecca) Ham'b 1784; Gett 1810
Scott, William Ham'b 1781-83
Scott, William Lib 1830, 36
Sealy, Henry Ber 1792
Shakely, George MP 1790; Fra 1806-08, 10, 11
Shakely, John Cum 1790
Shakely, William MP 1780-83, 88, 89
Sheffer, Daniel, Esq. Hunt 1832
Sherman, Conrad Manh 1781-83, 89, 90, 92, 93, 95, 97-99
Sherman, George Ger 1788, 90, 92, 93, 95, 97-1801, 03-22
Sherman, Jacob Ger 1781-83, 93, 95, 98, 1800, 01, 03, 14
Shock, John Manh 1795, 97, 99
Sholl, Philip Ger 1789
Shorb, John Heid 1790; Ger 1795, 1810
Shriver, Andrew Heid 1780, 90
Shriver, Henry Ger 1830
Shriver, Ludwig Heid 1797, 99, 1800
Shriver, Widow Heid 1800
Shull, Peter Tyr 1788, 89
Simpson, David Str 1795
Sims, Jacob Men 1779
Sines, William Mgn 1788-90, 92
Slagle, David Ber 1798-1800, 04-07, 09
Slagle, Henry, Esq. Ber 1788-90, 95, 1800, 01, 03-07, 09, 10
Slagle, Jacob Ber 1779-81, 83, 88, 89
Slagle, Widow (Barbara) Heid 1792
Slemons, Rev. John Ham'b 1779-81, 1800 [In the 1800 census the page is partially torn and not entirely legible; what seems to be there is " d John Sl o "]
Slemons, Robert Cum 1779, 80; Ham'b 1781-84
Sloan, Samuel Cum 1830, 32
Smith, Franklin Ber 1830
Smith, Gabriel Ber 1800, 04, 06
Smith, George Hunt 1792, 93, 97
Smith, James Hunt 1781-83, 88
Smith, James MJ 1830
Smith, John Lat 1825
Smith, Samuel MJ 1808
Smith, Widow (Elizabeth) Hunt 1788
Smith, William Ber 1779, 81-83
Spangler, Joseph Warr 1783, 88-90, 92, 93

Spangler, Rudolph Ber 1783, 88, 89; Tyr 1792, 93
 Speer, James Cum 1779, 80
 Speer, Robert Ham'b 1783, 88, 89, 92, 93, 95, 97, 98, 1800;
 Lib 1802-09, 11-13
 Stagg, James Read 1779-81; Str 1783, 88, 89, 92, 93, 95
 Staley, Christopher Ger 1780
 Stewart, Andrew Ham'b 1830
 Stewart, Charles Gett 1822
 Stewart, James Ham'b 1830
 Stewart, James MJ 1781, 83
 Stewart, John Ham'b 1798, 1800; Lib 1800-03
 Stewart, Robert Ham'b 1792
 Stewart, William Cum 1780, 1806
 Stockton, David Men 1780-83, 88-90, 92
 Sweeny, Alexander Cum 1783
 Sweeny, Thomas Cum 1798-1802
 Tate, Robert Fra 1793, 95
 Taylor, Joseph Men 1810
 Taylor, Robert Cum 1779-83
 Taylor, William Cum 1780; Ham'b 1793, 95, 97
 Thompson, Samuel Cum 1781
 Thomson, Rev. Samuel Str 1779-83
 Thomson, William Men 1779 [Undoubtedly, this entry is incorrect. He is
 listed with 150 slaves; likely the number should be in the column
 headed "Acres" instead.]
 Townsley, John MJ 1779-81, 83, 88-90, 92
 Vanarsdale, Garret Str 1779, 90
 Vanarsdale, Luke Str 1780; MP 1781, 83
 Vanarsdale, Peter Ber 1795, 1800
 Vanarsdale, Simon Str 1779-81
 Vance, George Cum 1779, 80
 VanDyke, Peter MP 1788, 89
 VanSant, Bernard Ber 1788
 Wagner, Casper Manh 1799
 Walker, James Tyr 1780-83, 85
 Walker, Joseph Cum 1800
 Walker, Nathan Tyr 1792
 Waugh, David Ham'b 1779-84, 88-90, 92, 93, 95, 97, 98, 1800;
 Lib 1802-14, 16
 Waugh, William Ham'b 1779-84, 88-90, 92, 93, 95, 97, 98, 1800,
 02, 03, 17
 Weakley, James Read 1815

List B: Distribution of Slaveholders

This roster repeats the names of List A, separating them, however, by their places of residence; the years of verified slave ownership are not included. The aim is to give an idea of where in the county slavery was most prevalent and at the same time a glimpse at the national origins of settlers in different areas.

There is a considerable duplication of names, which reflects the movement of families within the county or the establishment of new townships and the incorporation of Gettysburg as a borough. An accounting is given for each distinct place an individual lived, whether by actual move or by alteration of political unit.

Berwick Township

Arnold, Dr. John
Binder, Peter
Bittinger, Nicholas
Brough, Herman
Brough, Peter
Carl, Michael
Carl, Widow (Anna Maria)
Clark, John
Dorland, Garret
Duncan, Seth
Elder, John
Farence, George
Gerry, William
Henderson, John
Herman, George
Herman, John
Hersh, John
Himes, George
Housil, Peter

Ickes, Peter
Keplinger, Peter
Kuhn, George
Kuhn, Henry
Lilly, Thomas, Esq.
McMaster, Gilbert
McMaster, James
McTaggart, James
Sarbaugh, Jacob
Sealy, Henry
Slagle, David
Slagle, Henry, Esq.
Slagle, Jacob
Smith, Franklin
Smith, Gabriel
Smith, William
Spangler, Rudolph
Vanarsdale, Peter
VanSant, Bernard

Conewago Township

Diehl, David
Dutterer, George
Geisel, Leonhard
Kitzmiller, George
Kitzmiller, John

Kitzmiller, Michael
Kitzmiller, Samuel
Klunk, Martin
Owings, Robert Nicholas
Rife, Abraham

Cumberland Township

Armstrong, Benjamin
Bigham, Robert
Black, Robert
Boyd, William
Brown, Andrew
Brown, Richard
Cobean, Alexander
Cobean, Samuel
Craig, Robert
Crawford, Ann
Crawford, William
Dobbin, Rev. Alexander
Douglass, Archibald
Douglass, Thomas
Dunwoody, David
Dunwoody, David
Edie, Samuel
Ewing, James
Fergus, John
Ferguson, James
Fleming, Elizabeth
Fleming, John
Forney, Mark
Fowler, David
Gallagher, Hugh
Gettys, James
Gettys, Samuel
Gettys, Widow (Isabella)
Hall, Edward
Hall, Widow (Martha)
Hayes, Robert
Hoke, Conrad
Hoke, Henry
Hoke, Michael

Horner, Alexander
Hosack, Henry
Johnston, James
King, James
King, Widow (Jane)
Latta, Thomas
McClean, Moses
McClellan, William
McCullough, Joseph
McCurdy, William
McGaughy, William
McGaughy, William
McKee, Thomas
McKinley, Benjamin
McPherson, Robert, Esq.
McPherson, Robert
McPherson, Widow (Agnes)
McPherson, William, Esq.
Morrison, Joseph
Morrison, Robert
Murray, Robert
Paxton, Nathaniel
Plank, John
Porter, Andrew
Porter, Samuel
Ramsey, Reynolds
Riddle, James
Ritter, John
Ross, John
Russell, Alexander, Esq.
Russell, Joshua
Scott, James
Scott, Robert
Shakely, John

Slemons, Robert
Sloan, Samuel
Speer, James
Stewart, William
Sweeny, Alexander
Sweeny, Thomas
Taylor, Robert

Taylor, William
Thompson, Samuel
Vance, George
Walker, Joseph
Wilson, John
Work, Robert
Wray, Andrew

Franklin Township

Black, James
Carbaugh, Christian
Cobean, John
Cobean, Samuel
Cover, Jacob
Cross, Samuel
Cross, Thomas
Cross, William
Fletcher, John
Flohr, Leonard
Hamilton, Enoch
Hosack, Henry
Johnston, James
King, James
McClellan, John
McClean, Moses

McMordie, Rev. Robert
McMordie, Robert
Morrison, Joseph
Piper, Peter
Porter, Samuel
Riddle, David
Riley, Edward
Ross, John
Ross, Samuel
Russell, Joshua
Russell, Samuel
Russell, Widow (Jane)
Shakely, George
Tate, Robert
White, James

Germany Township

Brothers, Henry
Feaser, Widow (Mary)
Flautt, Joseph
Low, David
McSherry, Catharine
McSherry, Edward
McSherry, Elizabeth
McSherry, James
McSherry, Patrick
Maffert, John

Ringland, John
Sherman, George
Sherman, Jacob
Sholl, Philip
Shorb, John
Shriver, Henry
Staley, Christopher
Wintrode, Adam
Zimmerman, Michael

Gettysburg

Arnold, Dr. John
Brauner (?), Widow
Cobean, Alexander

Cooper, William
Edie, John
Edie, Sarah

Garvin, John, Esq.
Gettys, James
Gettys, Widow (Isabella)
Hayes, Patrick
Hayes, Robert
Hutcheson, Samuel
Jamison, Horatio
Johnston, Lewis
King, Sampson
Lashells, Ralph
Longwell, Matthew

McClellan, William
McPherson, William, Esq.
Maxwell, William
Murphy, John, Esq.
Newman, Michael
Ramsey, Samuel
Riley, William
Russell, Alexander, Esq.
Scott, Widow (Rebecca)
Stewart, Charles
Worley, Joseph

Hamilton Township

Arnold, Dr. John
Brough, Widow

Ickes, George
Kauffman, Andrew

Hamiltonban Township

Agnew, David
Agnew, James
Agnew, James
Agnew, James
Agnew, James
Agnew, John, Esq.
Agnew, Widow (Martha)
Annan, Rev. Robert
Bigham, Hugh
Bigham, Robert
Bigham, Samuel
Bigham, Thomas
Blythe, David
Brice, James
Brown, Andrew
Carnahan, Alexander
Clark, John
Clingan, George
Clingan, Thomas
Cochran, Andrew
Cochran, James
Cochran, William
Craig, Robert
Crawford, Robert
Dunwoody, Hugh

Dunwoody, Widow (Jane)
Emmitt, Widow
Finley, Ebenezer
Finley, Michael
Finley, Widow (Margaret)
Finley, William
Finley, William
Gourley, Thomas
Hart, Widow (Margaret)
Hart, William
Jack, Andrew
Jack, John
Johnston, Ephraim
Kellenberger, John
Kennedy, David
Kerr, George
Kerr, Mary
Kerr, William
Knox, Samuel
Knox, Samuel
McClellan, William, Esq.
McClellan, Thomas
McCreary, James
McCullough, Samuel
McCullough, Widow (Margaret)

McFerrin, Samuel
 McFerrin, Widow (Ann)
 McGaughy, John
 McGaughy, William
 McGimsey, Robert
 McGinley, James
 McGinley, John
 McGinley, Robert
 McGinley, Widow (Salley)
 McKesson, Alexander
 McKesson, Alexander
 McKesson, James
 McKesson, James
 McKesson, John
 McKesson, William
 McKnight, Rev. John
 McMillan, Thomas
 McMunn, William
 Mack, Alexander
 Marshall, Andrew
 Marshall, James
 Miller, William, Esq.
 Moore, Samuel
 Murray, Rev. John
 Paxton, James
 Pedan, Samuel
 Porter, David
 Porter, John
 Porter, William
 Ramsey, John
 Ramsey, Reynolds
 Reed, Benjamin
 Reid, James
 Reid, Joseph
 Reid, Patrick

Reid, William, Esq.
 Rhea, Robert
 Riddle, John
 Robinson, John
 Russell, Alexander, Esq.
 Scott, Abraham
 Scott, James
 Scott, John
 Scott, Moses
 Scott, Robert
 Scott, Widow (Rebecca)
 Scott, William
 Slemons, Rev. John
 Slemons, Robert
 Speer, Robert
 Stewart, Andrew
 Stewart, James
 Stewart, John
 Stewart, Robert
 Taylor, William
 Waugh, David
 Waugh, William
 Wilson, David
 Wilson, Hugh
 Wilson, James
 Wilson, James
 Wilson, James, Esq.
 Wilson, Widow (Jane)
 Wilson, Widow
 Witherow, John
 Witherow, Widow (Sarah)
 Witherow, William
 Witherow, William
 Young, James

Heidelberg Township

Adams, Magdalena
 Barnitz, Daniel
 Brosius, Rev. Francis
 Carl, George
 Chambers, Arthur

Dutterer, Conrad
 Felty, Henry
 Fink, John
 Forney, Adam
 Forsythe, Alexander

Groft, John
Hinkle, John
Hoke, Conrad
Irvin, Robert
Keller, Wendel
Kurtz, Frederick
McAllister, Jesse
McAllister, Richard, Esq.
McSherry, Patrick
Maus, George
Metzger, Paul
Owings, Robert

Owings, William
Pellentz, Rev. James
Reinaker, Casper
Reinaker, Conrad
Shorb, John
Shriver, Andrew
Shriver, Ludwig
Shriver, Widow
Slagle, Widow (Barbara)
Welsh, Henry, Esq.
Welsh, Peter

Huntington Township

Beals, Caleb
Bonner, Thompson
Dodds, Joseph
Foulk, Stephen
Hatton, Leonard
Hatton, Widow (Margaret)
Heiges, George
Hoffman, John
Long, Robert
McGrew, Archibald
Moore, James
Moore, James
Myers, Ludwig
Myers, Nicholas

Myers, Peter
Myers, Philip
Myers, Widow (Margaret)
Myers, William
Neely, Thomas
Patton, John
Ross, Thomas
Sheffer, Daniel, Esq.
Smith, George
Smith, James
Smith, Widow (Elizabeth)
White, Samuel, Esq.
Wierman, John, Esq.
Wierman, Nicholas

Latimore Township

Albert, John
Bonner, John
Bonner, William

Lowry, Robert
Smith, John

Liberty Township

Agnew, David
Agnew, Widow (Martha)
Carney, James
Clark, John
Cochran, James
Cochran, Widow
Cunningham, James

Eversole, Jacob
Gourley, Thomas
Hoke, Solomon
McCracken, John
McGimsey, Mary
McKesson, Alexander
Mack, Alexander

Mundorff, Jacob
Porter, Jeremiah
Porter, Widow (Sarah)
Porter, William
Reid, William, Esq.
Scott, Abraham

Scott, Robert
Scott, William
Speer, Robert
Stewart, John
Waugh, David
Wilson, James, Esq.

Manheim Township

Calhoun, John
Eichelberger, Adam
Eichelberger, Michael
Forney, Adam
Gwynn, William
Hoopert, Adam
Keefauver, Conrad

Kitzmiller, George
Morningstar, George
Morningstar, Philip
Ruhlman, George
Sherman, Conrad
Shock, John
Wagner, Casper

Menallen Township

Baldwin, John
Baldwin, Thomas
Biggard, William
Boyd, William
Conrad, Peter
Cookson, Samuel
Galbraith, John
Gerry, William
Gilliland, William, Esq.
Greenemyer, Jacob
Hamilton, Hance
Johnston, Ephraim
Johnston, Widow (Margaret)
McCauslin, Thomas
McConaughy, David

McConaughy, Robert
McConaughy, Samuel
McGrew, William (estate)
McIlhenny, William
McKinley, Isaac
Moore, Widow (Jean)
Nelson, William
Oldham, Thomas
Plank, Conrad
Pollock, William
Sims, Jacob
Stockton, David
Taylor, Joseph
Thomson, William [See List A.]
Wright, John

Monaghan Township

Campbell, Thomas
Colston, Charles
Comfort, Andrew
Dill, James
Dill, John
Dill, Matthew
Dill, Thomas
Dixon, Joseph

Godfrey, William
Housil, Peter
Jones, Rev. Daniel
Logan, Henry
McCurdy, Daniel
Mumper, Michael
Prince, John
Richardson, Jacob

River, Jacob
Sines, William
Williams, Daniel

Williams, John
Wilson, Andrew

Mt. Joy Township

Black, Robert
Black, Widow (Ann)
Borland, James
Breckenridge, William
Colwell, Samuel
Horner, David
Horner, John
Horner, Robert
Horner, Widow (Mary)
Horner, William
Hulick, Isaac
Larimer, John
Larimer, Thomas

Little, Andrew
McAllister, Jesse
McCosh, Samuel
McIlhenny, Samuel
McKean, William
Miller, James
Monfort, Peter
Smith, James
Smith, Samuel
Stewart, James
Townesley, John
Weems, Thomas

Mt. Pleasant Township

Andrew, John
Barkley, William
Brinkerhoff, Gilbert
Brinkerhoff, James
Buchanan, Henry
Chamberlain, Ninian
Conine, Peter
Cooper, James
Cooper, William
Degroff, Michael
Degroff, Widow (Margaret)
Hagan, Patrick
Hochdale, Abraham
Hochdale, Hezekiah

Houtz, John
Kerr, William
Lilly, John
Lilly, Samuel, Esq.
Lockhart, Moses
McCarter, Alexander
Shakely, George
Shakely, William
Vanarsdale, Luke
VanDyke, Peter
Wolford, Peter
Wolford, Peter
Wolford, Widow (Barbara)

Reading Township

Arnold, Dr. John
Arnold, Widow (Rachel)
Bell, James
Brough, Daniel
Chamberlain, James
Chamberlain, John

Chronister, Henry
Clark, John
Davison, Widow (Sarah)
Dunwoody, Elizabeth
Jamison, Sarah
Johnston, William

Long, Alexander
Long, Widow (Jeanette)
Long, William
Mercer, Peregrine
Miley, Abraham
Myers, Barbara
Myers, John

Neely, James
Oblenis, Daniel
Oblenis, John
Stagg, James
Weakley, James
Weakley, Mary
Weakley, William

Straban Township

Ambrose, Robert
Anderson, James
Atkinson, Ralph
Banta, Abraham
Beaty, David, Esq.
Beaty, John
Bercaw, George
Bodine, John
Brinkerhoff, George
Brown, James
Brown, Richard
Brown, Richard
Brown, Richard
Campbell, Armstrong
Campbell, Hugh
Cassat, David
Cassat, Francis
Commingore, Henry
Commingore, John
Cooper, James
Cosine, Peter
Cosine, Widow (Willempe)
Cox, Lawrence
Demaree, David
Demaree, Samuel
Dickson, James
Doran, Terra
Ewe, Michael
Finley, Aaron
Fleming, George
Fleming, John
Galbraith, Robert, Esq.
Gilliland, William, Esq.

Groft, Philip
Haddon, Samuel
Hagan, Edward
Hamilton, James
Hayes, Samuel
Henderson, Rev. Joseph
Horner, Robert
Houlsworth, Samuel
Jones, Henry
Lashells, George, Esq.
Livingstone, Adam
Livingstone, John
Long, Alexander
Long, Widow (Jeanette)
Long, William
Long, William
McCans, David
McCans, William
McCosh, James
McCosh, Widow (Mary)
McCreary, William
McGrew, William
McIlhenny, Robert
McKnight, Rev. John
McWilliams, James
Mercer, Peregrine
Morrison, Hugh
Morrison, James
Nevis, Martin
Reed, Thomas
Sample, John
Scott, David
Scott, Robert

Simpson, David
Stagg, James
Thomson, Rev. Samuel
Vanarsdale, Garret
Vanarsdale, Luke

Vanarsdale, Simon
Williamson, George
Wilson, Samuel
Wilson, Thomas

Tyrone Township

Brown, Alexander
Brown, Mary
Brown, Samuel
Chambers, Joseph
Horner, Robert
King, Hugh
King, John, Esq.
King, Victor
King, William

Maxwell, John
Neely, James
Neely, Jonathan, Esq.
Shull, Peter
Spangler, Rudolph
Walker, James
Walker, Nathan
Wray, James

Warrington Township

Gardner, Peter
Hoke, Frederick
Roos, Frederick

Ross, William
Spangler, Joseph

List C: The Slave Register

This record is from a book, deposited in the Prothonotary's office, which shows the dates of birth and registration of 109 children born to slave mothers between 1799 and 1820. Several pages at the beginning of the book are missing, including the page on which are recorded the names of slaveholders whose surnames begin with A. That register might not be the original record, however.

At this juncture, the individual registrations of 66 of those slave children have also surfaced in the Clerk of Courts office. They adhere fairly consistently to a standard form, which suggests that they were the source of the details which were copied into the register. Among the 66 original registrations are 4 in which slave owners' surnames do begin with A. Occasionally, names and dates in the separate documents do not agree; in those instances, both are recorded here, the original in brackets following the book version.

Although the register contains additional information, namely, occupations of slaveholders and color of children, List C is limited to names and residences of slaveholders, plus names, sex, birth and registration dates of children. Slave names are as read.

Agnew, John	Ham'b; Joe m	February 15, 1801	May 28, 1801
Arnold, John B.	Ber; Sinah f	May 10, 1804	October 10 [15], 1804
Arnold, John B.	Ber; Peter m	December 29, 1806	April 21, 1807
Arnold, John B.	Gett; Irenia f	March 3, 1820	August 9, 1820
_____	; Betty f	January 1, 1802	March 15, 1802
_____	; Hetty f	April 14, 1803	July 14, 1803
_____	; Jeffe m	August 7, 1809	October 27, 1809
_____	; Susey f	November 5, 1811	December 6, 1811
_____	; Madis m	January 7, 1813	April 8, 1813
Binder, Peter	Ber; Nelly f	February 11, 1808	May 3, 1808
Black, James	Fra; Maria Norris f	about the middle of April, 1811	
		July 10, 1811	

Brough, Peter Ber; Phebe f March 17, 1807 August 18, 1807
Brough, Peter Ber; Charles m January 4, 1809 April 17, 1809
Brown, Andrew Ham'b; Grace f March 16, 1803 June 23, 1803
Brown, Andrew Ham'b; Joe m November 17, 1804 April 27, 1805
Brown, Andrew Ham'b; Joshua m November 12, 1807 March 28, 1808
Brown, Richard Str; Tom m August/September, 1801 December 24, 1801
Brown, Richard Str; Betty f last week in May, 1802 August 10, 1802
Brown, Richard Str; John m April 25, 1803 October 11, 1803
Brown, Richard Str; Rosanna f last week in April, 1804
September 1, 1804
Brown, Richard Str; Nero m first week in September, 1805
January 13, 1806
Brown, Richard Str; Orlando m about September 5, 1808 January 18, 1809
Brown, Richard Str; Jem m latter end of February, 1810 May 10, 1810
Brown, Richard Str; Sam m May 4 or 5, 1812 August 22, 1812
Campbell, Armstrong Str; Samuel m October 24 or 25, 1816
December 14, 1816
Carnahan, Alexander Ham'b; Dine f January 3, 1802 February 6, 1802
Carnahan, Alexander Ham'b; George m February 5, 1803 March 7, 1804
Carnahan, Alexander Ham'b; Philip m January 18, 1809
February 24, 1809
Chamberlain, Ninian MP; Tene f February 13, 1807 February 18, 1807
Cobean, Samuel Fra; Hagey f November 5, 1799 April 14, 1800
Cobean, Samuel Fra; Doll f August 3, 1802 October 12, 1802
Cobean, Samuel Fra; Tom m September 30, 1804 January 14, 1805
Cobean, Samuel Cum; Dinah f September 25, 1806 February 16, 1807
Cooper, William MP; Isaac m August 18, 1806 October 2, 1806
Dobbin, Alexander Cum; Becky and Eliza f December 27, 1800
December 20 [November 25], 180

[In this instance, if the birth date is correct, the original registration, dated more than a month prior to the children's births, must be incorrect.]
Dobbin, Alexander Cum; Sall f August 20, 1803 September 10, 1803
Dobbin, Alexander Cum; Amy f January 30, 1805 August [March] 5, 1805
Finley, Margaret Ham'b; Jem [Jim] m November 30, 1800 May 12, 1801
Finley, Margaret Ham'b; John m May 10, 1803 October 19, 1803
Finley, Margaret Ham'b; Moses m August 9, 1805 January 7, 1806
Finley, Margaret Ham'b; Ann f April 6, 1808 September 27, 1808
Herman, John Ber; Samuel m May 2, 1801 October 29, 1801
Herman, John Ber; Jonas m May 22, 1803 November 18, 1803
Hersh, John Ber; Harry m June 15, 1811 November 4, 1811

[In the original registration, Hersh stated that he purchased the child from Caleb Beals, who provided the date of birth.]

Horner, Alexander Cum; Peter m October 23, 1804 February 22, 1805
 Horner, Alexander Cum; Aaron m April 26, 1807 October 13, 1807
 Horner, Alexander Cum; Tom m September 16, 1808 October 11, 1808
 Horner, David MJ; Cyrus m May 19, 1802 August 20, 1802
 Horner, Mary MJ; Ivory m July 17 or 18, 1805 January 14, 1806
 Horner, William MJ; Abraham m April 8, 1808 August 4, 1808
 Houlsworth, Samuel Str; Bob m January 14, 1803 January 28, 1803
 Johnston, Lewis Gett; Stephen m January 4, 1816 March 8, 1816
 [Recorded as a "man of colour," this is the only known black slaveholder in Adams county. On December 7, 1814, he and Dolly Wilson, both black and both of Gettysburg, were married by justice of the peace Alexander Russell. Johnston, recorded only as a laborer, was taxed as a resident of Gettysburg 1817-1825. On June 2, 1818, he purchased property in Troxell's Addition (now near Middle and West Streets in the borough). Almost exactly a year later he sold that property; the deed of sale records his wife's name as Dorothy, surely the "Dolly" he married. The 1820 federal census shows him as head of house, black, aged 26-44; with him are two black males and one black female, all under 14 years of age and all likely his children. But no wife is shown, suggesting Dolly's death in the preceding twelve months. By the time of the 1830 census, Johnston was no longer in the county, at least as head of house. The information perhaps hints that Lewis Johnston married a slave, then subsequently freed both her and son Stephen.]
 Kellenberger, John Ham'b; Eliza f June 8, 1807 November 16, 1807
 Lilly, Samuel MP; Stephen m December 26, 1800 February 24, 1801
 Lilly, Samuel MP; Fanny f June 28, 1803 November 19, 1803
 Lilly, Samuel MP; Rachael f June 1, 1807 October 19, 1807
 Lilly, Samuel MP; Henry m July 21, 1809 November 21, 1809
 Lilly, Samuel MP; Benjimin m October 4, 1811 November 20, 1811
 Lilly, Samuel MP; Mary Ann f November 3, 1813 December 28, 1813
 Lilly, Samuel MP; Edward m March 11, 1816 June 29, 1816
 Lilly, Samuel MP; Margaret f August 24, 1818 September 14, 1818
 Long, Alexander Str; Pheb f May 30, 1812 August 25, 1812
 Long, Jeanette Str; Julian f March 22, 1802 July 22, 1802
 McClean, Moses Ham'b; Selee f November 7, 1802 May 3, 1803
 McClean, Moses Fra; Amy f November 27, 1804 March 1, 1805
 McFerrin, Ann Ham'b; Jake m about September 18, 1803 February 2, 1804
 McFerrin, Ann Ham'b; Nell f April 7 or 8, 1806 August 22, 1806
 McFerrin, Ann Ham'b; Juley f July 20, 1809 November 15, 1809
 McFerrin, Ann Ham'b; Matty f June 1, 1811 October 1, 1811
 McFerrin, Ann Ham'b; Mint f April 13, 1814 September 27, 1814
 McGimsey, Mary Lib; Venus f April 10, 1801 October 5, 1801

McGinley, Sally Ham'b; Letty f August 21, 1801 February 8, 1802
McKesson, Alexander Ham'b; Poll f December 24, 1799 June 16, 1800
McKesson, Alexander Lib; Sidney f December, 1800 May 9, 1801
[The child is perhaps the person known as Sidney O'Brien, who is now
best recognized for her association with the prominent Gettys family of
Gettysburg. For further information on Sidney O'Brien, see "On the
Trail of Sidney O'Brien," Elwood W. Christ, Adams County History,
Volume 5, 1999.]
McKesson, James, Jr. Ham'b; Charles m November 15, 1810 April 19, 1811
McKesson, James, Jr. Ham'b; Margaret f December 3, 1812 May 11, 1813
McPherson, William Cum; Nany f April 12, 1803 August 18, 1803
Mundorff, Jacob Lib; William m December 12, 1801 May 8, 1802
Mundorff, Jacob Lib; Cesar m July 10, 1805 December 2, 1805
Mundorff, Jacob Lib; Sally f March 6, 1807 May 28, 1807
Neely, James Read; Lene f May 11, 1800 October 30, 1800
Neely, James Tyr; Venus f January 1, 1800 June 10, 1800
Neely, James Tyr; George m October 10, 1802 March 2, 1803
Neely, James Tyr; Phillis f about the middle of July, 1809
November 23, 1809
Neely, James Tyr; Hannah f September 1, 1811 November 20, 1811
Neely, Jonathan Tyr; Gustavus T. Ivory m September 5, 1800
February 6, 1801
Patton, John Hunt; Amos m March 12, 1811 August 27, 1811
Porter, Jeremiah Lib; Sade f March 2, 1804 August 4, 1804
Porter, Jeremiah Lib; George m September 28, 1805 November 28, 1805
Porter, William Lib; Haney f August 3, 1800 November 25, 1800
Rhea, Robert Ham'b; Elce f December 13, 1799 April 14, 1800
Rhea, Robert Ham'b; Dinah f between March 1 and 20, 1804
July 30, 1804
Rhea, Robert Ham'b; Ruth f July 5, 1808 September 17, 1808
Ross, John Fra; Bob m August 13, 1801 November 19, 1801
Ross, John Fra; Jem m July 24, 1803 January 21, 1804
Scott, James Cum; Joe m January 26, 1802 April 23, 1802
Scott, James Cum; Sophia f about February 3, 1805 February 15, 1805
Sherman, George Ger; Jem m November 29, 1806 January 21, 1807
Sherman, George Ger; Sam m February 23, 1810 June 18, 1810
Stewart, John Lib; Isaac m December 27, 1800 January 5, 1801
Sweeny, Thomas Cum; Sylvina f November 15, 1800 March 7, 1801
Waugh, David Lib; Phebe f July 12, 1803 October 26, 1803
Waugh, David Lib; Jack m April 20, 1809 July 12, 1809
Weakley, William Read; Betty f September 26, 1801 October 26, 1801
Wilson, David Ham'b; Eli m July 23, 1808 January 11, 1809

Wilson, David Ham'b; Jude f January 21, 1814 June 16, 1814
Wilson, Thomas Str; Peggy f June 11, 1813 December 4, 1813
Worley, Joseph Gett; Harry m August 29, 1807 January 11, 1808

List D: The Slaves

This compilation of named slaves surely does not represent anything near the total number who toiled in the county; without a doubt many are now irretrievable. Of those who can be isolated, a large number may be identified to some extent by age or sex or name of owner, or by a combination of those definers. This list, however, comprises only those slaves whose names are recorded.

Sources for the huge majority found have been three: the slave register (List C); the Pennsylvania septennial censuses of 1800, '07, '14, and '21; and individual estate documents, limited here to wills and inventories of personal property. A very few names are from newspaper accounts, deeds, or federal census records.

When possible, each slave is tied to his/her owner, whose name and place of residence appear first, followed by slave name (spelled as found), sex, age, year and source of information, plus anything else uncovered which adds to the identification. Those slaves whose owners are not named, with the exception of the slaveholders whose surnames are known to begin with A, are grouped under the letter U (owner unknown).

Agnew, David Lib; Bill m 35 1807 SC

Agnew, James Ham'b; Jack m 1770 W

Feabe f 1770 W

Philip m 1770 INV

Bill m 1770 INV

Tom m 1770 INV

Agnew, James Ham'b; Beck f 1798 W

Joe m 1798 W

Alice f 1798 W

Bill m 1798 W

Agnew, John Ham'b; Joe m 1801 SR

Amos m 1814 INV

Alexander m 1814 INV

Agnew, Martha Lib; Ealse f 55 1807 SC

Arnold, Dr. John Ber; Sinah f 1804 SR
Peter m 1806, 07 SR
Gett; Irenia f 1820 SR
Read; Vilet f 1822 INV
Jeff m about 12 1822 INV [See List C and below,
surnames A, Jeffe, born 1809.]
Heranna f about 2 1822 INV [Surely this is the
above Irenia, born 1820.]
A____; Betty f 1802 SR
A____; Hetty f 1803 SR
A____; Jeffe m 1809 SR
A____; Susey f 1811 SR
A____; Madis m 1813 SR
Beals, Caleb Hunt; Harry 1811 SR [Beals sold the child, and presumably
the child's mother, to John Hersh, who
registered the child.]
Binder, Peter Ber; Nelly f 1808 SR
Bittinger, Nicholas Ber; Peter m 28 1800 SC
Black, James Fra; Maria Norris f 1811 SR
Black, Robert MJ; Sucy f 1799 W
Brinkerhoff, George Str; Sam m 1807 W
Nick m 1807 W
Poll f 1807 W
Brough, Peter Ber; Jack m 33 1800 SC
Phebe f 1807 SR
Charles m 1809 SR
Brown, Alexander Tyr; Phillis f 1799 W
Will m 1799 W
Kate f 1799 W
Brown, Andrew Ham'b; Grace f 1803 SR
Joe m 1804, 05 SR
Joshua m 1807, 08 SR
Brown, Richard Str; Violet f 1789 W
Brown, Richard Str; Tom m 1801 SR
Betty f 1802 SR
John m 1803 SR
Rosanna f 1804 SR
Nero m 1805, 06 SR
Orlando m 1808, 09 SR
Jem m 1810 SR
Sam m 1812 SR
Campbell, Armstrong Str; Samuel m 1816 SR

Campbell, Hugh Str; Jack m 1798 W
Carl, Michael Ber; Susie f 1780 W
Carnahan, Alexander Ham'b; Dine f 1802 SR
George m 1803, 04, SR
Philip m 1809 SR
Carney, James Lib; Jack m 35 1807 SC
Chamberlain, John Read; Nell f 1810 W
Bets f 1810 W
Seb m 1810 W
Chamberlain, Ninian MP; Tene f 1807 SR
Clingan, George Ham'b; Dinah f 1777 W
Cobean, Alexander Gett Biggs 60 1814 SC [The sex of Biggs is not
given. In the 1807 SC for Gettysburg,
however, a Biggs, aged 48, is shown to be
female.]
Cobean, John Fra; Tom m 35 1807 SC
Cobean, Samuel Fra; Hagey f 1799, 1800 SR
Doll f 1802 SR; 1804 W
Tom m 1804, 05 SR
Cum; Dinah f 1806, 07 SR
Fra; Doll f 1804 W
Feb f 1804 W
Walt m 1804 W
Cochran, James Lib; Sall f 63 1807 SC; about 64 1810 INV
Sam m about 16 1810 INV
Tom m about 14 1810 INV
Sal f about 14 1810 INV
Cooper, William MP; Isaac m 1806 SR
Gett; Peg f 1818 W
Cross, Thomas Fra; Mat f 50 1807 SC
Dickson, James Str; Bess f 1794 W
Cato m 1794 W
Cato m 1794 W
Lucy f 1794 W
Jeremy m 1794 W
Peter m 1794 W
Dobbin, Rev. Alexander Cum; Becky f 1800 SR [Twin of Eliza.]
Eliza f 1800 SR [Twin of Becky.]
Sall f 1803 SR
Amy f 1805 SR
Lett f 1808 W
Douglass, Thomas Cum; Hannah f 1801 W

Dunwoody, David Cum; Molly f 1802 W
Dunwoody, Hugh Ham'b; Joe m 1776 W
Jem m 1776 W
George m 1776 W
Dunwoody, Jane Ham'b; Violet f 1806 W
Finley, Margaret Ham'b; Jem/Jim m 1800, 01 SR
John m 1803 SR
Moses m 1805, 06 SR
Ann f 1808 SR
Finley, Michael Ham'b; Peet m 1785 W
Finley, William Ham'b; Hamilton m 1794 W
Forney, Mark Cum; Tom m about 40 1803 D [According to Deed Book
B-300, Forney purchased Tom from Abraham
Scott, who had bought him from Thomas Latta.
The date of acquisition from Latta is not
known.]
Galbraith, John Men; Tom m 1811 W [Galbraith's will was probated in
1814; he was also taxed for a slave that year,
the charge then being deducted because the
slave had died. Tom's death can reasonably
be placed about 1813.]
Geisel, Leonhard Con; James m 1805 W
Gettys, James Gett; Sidney f 1815 W [See List C, under McKesson,
Alexander: Sidney, born 1800.]
Gettys, Isabella Gett; Doll f 70 1814 SC
Hamilton, Hance Men; Syros m 1772 INV
Cain m 1772 INV
Vilet f 1772 INV
Ben m 1772 INV
Pompe m 1772 INV
Hatton, Leonard Hunt; Heek/Keck m 1815 INV [Almost certainly, this
is Hack, husband of Patience
immediately below.]
Patience f 1815 INV [Two Gettysburg
newspapers, the *Compiler* of
December 27, 1858, and the *Sentinel*
of January 3, 1859, reported the
death on the previous November 4 of
Patience Hack of York Springs, at
the age of nearly 100 years. Known
as "Old Tacey," she was perhaps the
last slave in the county and perhaps

the last in the state. She was the last of a family of slaves formerly owned by Leonard Hatter (doubtless properly Hatton), her husband and sons having died long before. She had last been cared for by Mr. and Mrs. Thomas Stephens.

Patience appears in the 1850 federal census in the household of Phebbly Pearson of York Springs. There she is called Patience Sibb, aged 85, black, slave. Quite likely she is also the female slave, aged 55-100, in the household of Thomas Ross of Huntington township, as seen in the 1840 census.

The birth year of Patience may be estimated with some degree of assurance. Hatton and then his widow were taxed for at least one slave often between 1779 and 1819. Tax and census records place the birth of the person who probably was Patience at roughly 1754-1765. The 1807 septennial census for Huntington township, although it does not name slave owners, includes only a man aged 62 and a woman aged 47 "held as servants." They are here taken to be Patience and her husband, she born about 1760.

Tying Patience Hack to Leonard Hatton is supported by the fact that Hatton's daughter Margaret married Thomas Stephens. He and Phoebe ("Phebbly") Pearson are not counted as slaveholders in this work, their roles considered actually to have been care givers.

Dinah f 1815 INV

Hayes, Patrick Gett; Deb f 1808 W

Herman, John Ber; Diney f 36 1800 SC
Samuel m 1801 SR
Jonas m 1803 SR

Hersh, John Ber; Harry m 1811 SR [The child, and presumably the
child's mother, were purchased from Caleb Beals.]

Hochdale, Hezekiah MP; Thomas m about 60 1814 SC

Horner, Alexander Cum; Peter m 1804, 05 SR
Aaron m 1807 SR
Tom m 1808 SR

Horner, David MJ; Cyrus m 1802 SR

Horner, John MJ; Richard m 75 1814 SC

Horner, Mary MJ; Ivory m 1805, 06 SR
Lill f 50 1814 SC

Horner, William MJ; Abraham m 1808 SR

Houlsworth, Samuel Str; Bob m 1803 SR

Johnston, Ephraim Ham'b; Keat f 1780 W
Ben m 1780 W
Pheab f 1780 W

Johnston, Ephraim Men; Ivory m 1782 W

Johnston, Lewis Gett; Stephen m 1816 SR [For further information, see
List C.]

Kellenberger, John Ham'b; Eliza f 1807 SR

Kerr, George Ham'b; Mash f 1813 W
Penn m 1813 W
Feb f 1813 W
Jim m 1813 W

Kerr, Mary Ham'b; Mash f 1815 W

King, Victor Tyr; Tom m 1774 W

King, William Tyr; Jack m 1792 W
Old Will m 1792 W
Young Will m 1792 W
Dinah f 1792 W

Kitzmiller, George Con; Richard Drover m 43 1814 SC; 1815 W
Winkey Drover f 41 1814 SC; 1815 W
William Drover m 38 1814 SC; 1815 W

Knox, Samuel Ham'b; Fawn f 1803 W

Knox, Samuel Ham'b; William Groce m 1818 W

Lashells, Ralph Gett; Nan f 42 1814 SC

Latta, Thomas Cum; Tom m about 40 1803 D [According to Deed Book
B-300, Latta sold Tom to Abraham Scott,
who then resold him in 1803. But the date
of Latta's sale is not given.]

Lilly, Samuel MP; Stephen m 1800, 01 SR
Fanny f 1803 SR
Rachael f 1807 SR
Henry m 1809 SR
Benjamin m 1811 SR
Mary Ann f 1813 SR
Benn Lilly m about 40 1814 SC
Edward m 1816 SR
Margaret f 1818 SR
Long, Alexander Str; Pheb f 1812 SR
Long, Jeanette Read; Julian/Julianna f 1802 SR; 1824 W
Long, William Str; Lid f 1801 W
Furtune m 1801 W
Rue f 1801 W
McAllister, Richard Heid; Cato m 1795 W
Jack, son of Cato m 1795 W
Jonathan m 1795 W
Poll f 1795 W
Grate m 1795 W
Jack, son of Grate m 1795 W
McClellan, Moses Ham'b; Selee f 1802, 03 SR
Fra; Amy f 1804, 05 SR
McClellan, William Ham'b; Benn m 1786 W
McClellan, William Cum; Charlotte f 1828 W
McConaughy, David Men; Phillis f 1809 W
Abby f 1809 W
McFerrin, Ann Ham'b; Jake m 1803, 04 SR
Nell f 1806 SR
Juley f 1809 SR
Matty f 1811 SR
Mint f 1814 SR
McGimsey, Mary Lib; Venus f 1801 SR
McGimsey, Robert Ham'b; Dinah f 1799 W
James m 1799 W
Pheby f 1799 W
Cuff m 1799 W
McGinley, Sally Ham'b; Letty f 1801, 02, SR
McGrew, William Men; Maria Scott f 1814 W
Grace f 1814 W
McKesson, Alexander Ham'b; Poll f 1799, 1800 SR
Lib; Sidney f 1800, 01 SR [For further
information, see List C.]

Philip m 42 1807 SC
McKesson, James Ham'b; Charles m 1810, 11 SR
Margaret f 1812, 13 SR
McKinley, Benjamin Cum; Tom m about 9 1781 INV
McPherson, Agnes Cum; Nanny f 1802 W
McPherson, Robert Cum; Fill m 1792 W
Gregg m 1792 W
McPherson, William Cum; Nany f 1803 SR
Jack m about 55 1814 SC
Tom m about 55 1814 SC
McSherry, James Ger; William/Bill Wapping m 30 1807 SC;
35 1814 SC
Jean/Jinney Bolton f 32 1807 SC;
35 1814 SC

Maxwell, William Gett; Molly f 1816 W
Mundorff, Jacob Lib; William m 1801, 02 SR
Cesar m 1805 SR
Sally f 1807 SR
Neely, James Read; Lene f 1800 SR
Neely, James Tyr; Venus f 1800 SR
George m 1802, 03 SR
Phillis f 1809 SR
Hannah f 1811 SR
Neely, Jonathan Tyr; Gustavus T. Ivory m 1800, 01 SR
Nelson, William Men; Will m 1790 D [According to York County Deed
Book HH-65, Nelson purchased Will from
James Finley of Maryland. By law, when
brought into Pennsylvania, Will became
free. So, by this release, Nelson
relinquished all claims to Will, who was
known thereafter as William Barnhill.]
Patton, John Hunt; Amos m 1811 SR
Porter, Jeremiah Lib; Sade f 1804 SR
George m 1805 SR
Porter, William Lib; Haney/Heney f 1800 SR; 1803 W
Rose f 1803 W
Reed, Benjamin Ham'b; Harry/Henry Butler m 1826 W
Reid, William Lib; Titte m 55 1807 SC
Rhea, Robert Ham'b; Elce f 1799, 1800 SR
Dinah f 1804 SR
Ruth f 1808 SR
Ritter, John Cum; Mary f 1843 W

- Ross, John Fra; Bob m 1801 SR; 1805 W
Jem m 1803, 04 SR; 1805 W
Green f 1805 W
- Russell, Alexander Gett; Deff f 42 1814 SC [See Speer, Robert.]
- Russell, Jane Fra; Ned m 1807 INV
Sall f 1807 INV
Bets f 1807 INV
- Russell, Joshua Fra; Jean f 1806 INV
Ned m 1806 INV [See Russell, Jane.]
Jame m 1806 INV
Jacob m 1806 INV
Dinah f 1806 INV
Sall f 1806 INV [See Russell, Jane.]
Betz f 1806 INV [See Russell, Jane.]
- Russell, Samuel Fra; Betsey f 1806 W [See Russell, Jane and
Joshua.]
Jam m 1806 W [See Russell, Joshua.]
Dinah f 1806 W [See Russell, Joshua.]
- Scott, Abraham Lib; Tom m about 40 D [According to Deed Book B-300,
Scott, who had bought Tom from Thomas
Latta, sold him to Mark Forney.]
- Scott, James Cum; Joe m 1802 SR
Sophia f 1805 SR
- Shakely, George Fra; Ket f 40 1807 SC
Barbara f 1811 W
- Sherman, George Ger; Jem m 1806, 07 SR
William m 28 1807 SC; 1822 W
Sam m 1810 SR
Nancy Swoyer f 1822 W
- Sherman, Jacob Ger; William m 45 1814 SC
- Slagle, David Ber; William m 23 1800 SC
- Slagle, Jacob Ber; Barbara f 1789 W
Thom m 1789 W
- Sloan, Samuel Cum; Lucy f 1832 W
Benjamin m 1832 W
- Speer, Robert Lib; Deff f 35 1807 SC [See Russell, Alexander.]
- Stewart, John Lib; Isaac m 1800, 01 SR
- Stewart, William Cum; Rachel f 1806 W
- Sweeny, Thomas Cum; Sylvina f 1800, 01 SR
- U Cum; Abby f 90 1807 SC [See McConaughy, David.]
Str; Ann f 26 1800 SC
Str; Barbara f 60 1800 SC

Ham'b-Lib; Beck f 28 1800 SC
Ham'b-Lib; Benn m 22 1800 SC
Read; Bess f 65 1821 SC
Gett; Biggs f 48 1807 SC [See Cobean, Alexander.]
Cum; Brickens m 24 1800 SC
Ham'b-Lib; Charley m 30 1800 SC
Ham'b-Lib; Charley m 22 1800 SC
Lib; Daniel Reid m 37 1814 SC
Ham'b-Lib; Dann m 21 1800 SC
Ham'b-Lib; Darby m 21 1800 SC
MP; Darky f about 35 1807 SC
Ham'b-Lib; Deff f 41 1800 SC
~~Ham'b-Lib; Dick m 45 1800 SC Ham'b; 65 1821 SC~~
MJ; Dick m 50 1800 SC; about 56 1807 SC
Cum; Dina f 21 1800 SC
Lib; Dina f 49 1814 SC
Ham'b-Lib; Dinah f 40 1800 SC
Ham'b-Lib; Dinah f 21 1800 SC
Str; Dinah f 26 1800 SC
Str; Dinah f 50 1814 SC
Cum; Doll f 45 1800 SC Gett; about 50 1807 SC
Ham'b-Lib; Doll f 38 1800 SC Lib; 53 1814 SC
Ham'b-Lib; Doll f 35 1800 SC
Ham'b-Lib; Esther f 22 1800 SC
Str; Febe f 25 1800 SC
Cum; Fill m 38 1800 SC [See McPherson, Robert.]
Str; Forton m 44 1800 SC Read; Fortune 65 1821 SC
[See Long, William.]
Str; Grace f 56 1800 SC
MJ; Isaac m 25 1800 SC; about 29 1807 SC
Cum; Jack m 27 1800 SC
Cum; Jack m 45 1807 SC
Str; Jack m 50 1800 SC
Ham'b-Lib; Jacob m 28 1800 SC
Ham'b; Jane f 70 1821 SC
Fra; Jane Umpstead f 70 1814 SC
Str; Jean f 50 1800 SC
Ham'b-Lib; Jinn f 50 1800 SC
MJ; Judah f 52 1800 SC
Ham'b-Lib; Jude f 28 1800 SC
Ham'b-Lib; Kate f 35 1800 SC
Cum; Kity f 30 1800 SC Gett; Kate 35 1807 SC

Cum; Lemon f 17 1800 SC
Ham'b-Lib; Lette f 20 1800 SC
Str; Lid f 26 1800 SC Read; Lyd 45 1821 SC
[See Long, William.]
MJ; Lilly f 34 1800 SC; about 43 1807 SC
Ham'b-Lib; Mash f 45 1800 SC [See Kerr, George and Mary.]
Cum; Mick m 36 1800 SC; 45 1807 SC
Men; Mills f 20 1807 SC
Ham'b-Lib; Mint f 44 1800 SC
MJ; Nan f about 32 1807 SC
Cum; Nancy f 49 1800 SC
Str; Ned m 40 1814 SC
Tyr; Nel f 44 1814 SC
Str; Nicholas m 45 1800 SC
Str; Peet m 23 1800 SC
Ham'b-Lib; Pegg f 22 1800 SC
Ham'b-Lib; Peter m 40 1800 SC
Ham'b-Lib; Phebe f 24 1800 SC
Ham'b-Lib; Phebe f 22 1800 SC
Ham'b-Lib; Philip m 30 1800 SC
Cum; Phillis f 75 1807 SC [See McConaughy, David.]
MP; Plim m about 30 1807 SC [See Wolford, Barbara.]
Gett; Poll f 45 1807 SC
Str; Poll f 43 1800 SC
Ber; Pomp m 60 1807 SC
Cum; Rachel f 29 1800 SC Gett; 40 1807 SC
Ham'b-Lib; Rachel f 22 1800 SC
Ham'b-Lib; Rose f 22 1800 SC [See Porter, William.]
Str; Rue f 24 1800 SC [See Long, William.]
Cum; Sall f 28 1800 SC
Str; Sam m 60 1800 SC
Str; Sambo m 47 1800 SC
Str; Samuel m 45 1814 SC
Ham'b-Lib; Seth m 31 1800 SC
Cum; Suff f 27 1800 SC
MJ; Susan f about 51 1807 SC
Str; Tab f 70 1800 SC
MP; Thomas m about 57 1807 SC
Ham'b-Lib; Tite m 49 1800 SC [See Reid, William.]
Ber; Tom m 33 1807 SC
Cum; Tom m 25 1800 SC
Cum; Tom m 40 1807 SC

Ham'b-Lib; Tom m 35 1800 SC
Ham'b-Lib; Tom m 30 1800 SC
Men; Tom m 60 1807 SC
Read; Vilate f 40 1821 SC
Ber; Vilet f 32 1807 SC
Cum; Vilet f 36 1800 SC
Waugh, David Lib; Phebe f 1803 SR; 1816 W
Doll/Dolly f 40 1807 SC; 1816 W
Jack m 1809 SR; 1816 W
Waugh, William Ham'b; Jack m 1817 W
John Marshall m 1817 W
Weakley, William Read; Betty/Bess f 1801 SR; 1813 W
Weems, Thomas MJ; Will m 1796 W
Catty f 9 1796 W
White, James Fra; Bill m 1838 W
Wilson, David Ham'b; Eli m 1808, 09 SR
Jude f 1814 SR
Wilson, James Ham'b; Will m 1775 W
Rose f 1775 W
Tom m 1775 W
Jule f 1775 W
Wilson, Jane Ham'b; Benjamin m 1798 W
Sambo m 1798 W
Hack m 1798 W [Is this possibly the husband of
Patience Sibb/Hack? See Hatton, Leonard.]
Dina f 1798
Jack m 1798 W
Wilson, Thomas Str; Peggy f 1813 SR; 1817 W
Witherow, John Ham'b; Dinah f 1774 W
Ben m 1774 W
Witherow, William Ham'b; Dinah f 1781 INV
Wolford, Barbara MP; Plim m 1825 W [By her will, the widow Wolford
freed Plim and bequeathed him \$100, to be
held for him until needed. In 1854 Plim,
known also as Benjamin Craig, petitioned
the court to appoint a trustee to replace
the original holder of his bequest, who was
by then deceased.
Plim's age was given as "about 40" in the
1814 septennial census (see Wolford, Peter
and U: Plim). Federal censuses show Blim
Craig, 36-55, MP, in 1830; Benjamin Plim,

58, Gett, in 1850; Benjamin Craig, 80, Cum,
in 1860. The *Compiler* of November 24, 1869,
reported the death of Benjamin Craig of
Franklin township, reputedly aged 106
years and 9 months.]

Wolford, Peter MP; Plim m about 40 1814 SC [See Wolford, Barbara.]
Worley, Joseph Gett; Harry m 1807, 08 SR
Young, James Ham'b; George m 1797 W
Jack m 1797 W
Hannah f 1797 W

Addenda

The following items were discovered too late to appear in the foregoing lists.

Evidence that slaves were indeed registered prior to 1800 can be seen on a slip of paper, undated but likely in the handwriting of a family member, in the Chamberlain Family file at the Adams County Historical Society. Recorded are the names and registration dates of the slaves of two Chamberlain individuals; one list also shows the slaves' ages. (For comparison, see both Chamberlains, List D.)

James Chamberlain Read; George October 17, 1780
 Joe March 30, 1789
 Bett March 30, 1789
 Bell March 30, 1789
 George March 30, 1789
 Nell January 28, 1791
 Sall November 27, 1792
 Seb December 8, 1795
 Ben November 24, 1796

John Chamberlain, Esq. Read; Jean 4 October 17, 1780
 Teen 25 October 17, 1780

In separate transactions, both on April 9, 1817, recorded in Deed Book H, pp. 113 and 114, James McSherry, Esq., of Germany township emancipated slaves Jean Bolton, aged about 38 years, and William Exaverias, also aged about 38 years and game in one leg. (See McSherry, James, List D.)

On January 23, 1866, the *Sentinel* reported the death on that January 15 of Hetty, aged 86 years and 3 months, "a relict of Pennsylvania slavery," at the residence of J.R. Henry, Abbottstown.

In the 1850 census for Berwick Town (Abbottstown) appear Joseph R. Henry, 60, druggist; Samuel, 22; Mary, 59; Charlotte, 40; and Hett, 70. Hett is designated as black, but not as a slave. The 1860 census for Abbottstown has not survived. Nevertheless, Hetty's given age in the two instances shown do agree with her birth having occurred just before the 1780 abolition act.

Henry is never listed as a slaveholder.

As can be seen in Deed Book H, p. 217, on January 6, 1818, Samuel Sloan of Adams county manumitted "my Negro Servant names Charles." Sloan was long-time deputy surveyor for Adams county, appointed for terms beginning in 1800, 1815, 1818, 1824, and 1827; he lived in Franklin and Cumberland townships. (See Sloan, Samuel, Lists A and D.)

According to the *Sentinel* of September 2, 1903, Miss Maria Cowen, aged 94 years, died the previous Friday [August 28]. Known as Aunt Maria, in earlier times she had been a slave.

Censuses of 1850 and 1880 agree with her obituary that she was born about 1809. The latter census also leaves blank the spaces for recording the birthplaces of her parents, perhaps a clue that her mother at least was indeed a slave.

No Maria born in 1808 or 1809 appears in the Adams County Slave Register, so it is likely that she was born in another Pennsylvania county. Nevertheless, by 1837 at the latest, she would have attained freedom.

Among the possessions of the Adams County Historical Society is the 1831 manumission of a slave named Clem Johnson by Francis Scott Key, composer of our national anthem, who at the time was an attorney in Washington, D.C. Apparently unable under District law to free Johnson there, Key brought him to Gettysburg precisely for that purpose. What became of Clem Johnson thereafter is not known.

On file at the Adams County Historical Society is a copy of a 1790 bill of sale of "Nagro wench" Nance and her daughter Heneretta by Patrick McSherry to Thomas Laurimore (Larimer). McSherry laid out the town named for him, although by the time of this transaction he lived in Germany

township; Larimer lived in Mt. Joy township.

Copies of the estate documents of James Ewing of Franklin township, who died in 1786, are held at the Adams County Historical Society. They show that by his will, signed on that March 12, Ewing ordered much of his personal property to be sold. An inventory of his property, dated April 18, 1786, included "one Negro Man" and "one Negro Woman," together valued at £137-10-0. The final account of the estate, submitted August 30, 1799, reveals that the executors had to allow £145-10-0 from the estate to the buyers of "a Negro Man & Woman Sold at Vendue & who were not Registered according to law & in Consequence were set free." That was in strict accordance with a stipulation of the 1780 gradual abolition act.

Appendix

Pennsylvania Legislation Relating to Slavery

The following acts have been taken, complete or in part, from the published volumes of *The Statutes At Large of Pennsylvania and Laws of Pennsylvania*. These extracts are not all-inclusive, but do cover the years 1725/6-1847, from the province's first general statement of the legal standing of blacks, full-blooded and mixed, and the treatment to be afforded them, up to the state's rewritten and strengthened prohibition of the kidnapping of free blacks and the seizing of fugitive slaves. Included are not only acts showing the status and the protection of slaves, whether residents or sojourners, but also those requiring resident slaves' proper enumeration. Not every act shown necessarily aids in identifying slaveholders and/or slaves, the object of the foregoing study; rather, the importance lies in the chronology of the legislation, which tells the situation of blacks at important points, and in the continuing anomaly of the laws' permitting slavery to exist in the state throughout the entire period.

I. This records the prevalent sentiment toward people of black African derivation, both free and enslaved, at a time when Pennsylvania's government was still firmly in the control of Quakers, who are usually seen as timeless champions of anti-slavery. It is the earliest law which contains a broad coverage of the position in society of blacks and the law in place when people of European background began to settle in what would become Adams county, less than a decade after the law's passage. [Passed March 5, 1725 (1726 New Style).]

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 like offenses:

For remedy whereof:

[Section I.] Be it enacted by Sir William Keith, Baronet, Governor of the Province of Pennsylvania, &c., by and with the advice and consent of 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 II.] 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, pastor 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 offenses 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.

II. Reprinted here is Pennsylvania's law which eventually brought an end to forced servitude in the state. It was the first legislated statewide abolishment of slavery in the United States—Vermont prohibited slavery by its constitution in 1777, but was at the time an independent republic. By making abolition a drawn-out process, however, Pennsylvania allowed slavery to endure for more than three-quarters of a century after enactment. [Passed March 1, 1780.]

AN ACT FOR THE GRADUAL ABOLITION OF SLAVERY.

(Section I, P. L.) 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 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 it 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 substantial proof of our gratitude:

(Section II, P. L.) And whereas the condition of those persons who have heretofore been denominated negro 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 in grateful commemoration of our own happy deliverance from that state of unconditional submission to which we were doomed by the tyranny of Britain:

[Section I.] (Section III, P. L.) 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 mulattoes 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 and hereby is utterly taken away, extinguished and forever abolished.

[Section II.] (Section IV, P.L.) Provided always, and be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, That every negro 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 entitled 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 entitled 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 hereinbefore limited for the service of such children.

[Section III.] (Section V, P. L.) And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid,

That every person who is or shall be the owner of any negro 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 surname and occupation or profession of such owner and the name of the county and township, district or ward wherein 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 negro 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 negro 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, P. L.) 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 hereinbefore 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 negro or mulatto shall become chargeable, for such necessary expense, with costs of suit thereon, as such overseers may be put to through the neglect of the owner, master or mistress of such negro or mulatto, notwithstanding the name and other descriptions of such negro 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 IV.] (Section VII, P. L.) And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, That the offenses and crimes of negroes and mulattoes as well slaves and servants and [sic] [as] freemen, shall be inquired of, adjudged, corrected and punished in like manner as the offenses 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 a freeman.

[Section V.] (Section VIII, P. L.) 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 VI.] (Section IX, P. L.) And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, That the reward for taking up runaway and absconding negro and mulatto slaves and servants and the penalties for enticing away, dealing with or harboring, concealing or employing negro 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 VII.] (Section X, P. L.) And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, That no man or woman of any nation or color, 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 free men and free

women, 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 VIII.] (Section XI, P. L.) Provided always, and be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, That this act, nor anything in it contained, shall not give any relief or shelter to any absconding or runaway negro or mulatto slave or servant, who has absented 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 negro 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 this 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, P. L.) And whereas attempts may be made to evade this act by introducing into this state negroes and mulattoes bound by covenant to serve for long and unreasonable terms of years, if the same be not prevented:

[Section IX.] (Section XIII, P. L.) Be it therefore enacted by the authority aforesaid, That no covenant of personal servitude or apprenticeship whatsoever shall be valid or binding on a negro or mulatto for a longer term 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 negro 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 X.] (Section XIV, P. L.) 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, entitled "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, entitled "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, entitled "An act for laying a duty on negro 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, entitled "An act for making perpetual an act for laying a duty on negro 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.

III. This legislation records Pennsylvania's response to the federal government's call to each state to provide operating money for the year, with the added requirement that all inhabitants, black and white, be counted. In theory at least, this law could have given an accurate accounting of slaveholders and slaves in that year and in other years in which there was similar legislation; apparent differences in interpreting at the township level, however led to differences in recording. [Passed March 21, 1782.]

AN ACT TO RAISE EFFECTIVE SUPPLIES FOR THE YEAR
ONE THOUSAND SEVEN HUNDRED AND EIGHTY-TWO.

(Section I, P.L.) Whereas the United States of America in Congress assembled have, by their resolution of the thirtieth of October, demanded of the several states in union such effective supplies as may enable them to carry on the war with vigor and effect, and improve our late successes into a full establishment of independence and peace:

And whereas it is the desire of the representatives of the freemen of this state to comply with the said resolutions:

[Section VIII.] (Section IX, P. L.) And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, That the assessor of each township, ward or district, with the two assistant freeholders, of the proper township, ward or district, shall, immediately after the said assessor shall become possessed of the quota or sum of money charged as aforesaid by the commissioners, assess the same equally and impartially on all and every person and persons and on all the estates, real and personal within their respective townships, wards and districts, made taxable by this act and shall make return thereof to the said commissioners before the expiration of ten days.

[Section IX.] (Section X, P. L.) And be it enacted by the authority aforesaid, That the following enumerated articles shall be, and are hereby made taxable and no other, to wit: The time of servitude of all bound servants above the age of fourteen years; all negro and mulatto slaves above the age of twelve years....

IV. This act seeks to prevent abuses of the 1780 abolition act by strengthening or amending some of its provisions: the trafficking of slaves in and outside Pennsylvania is further limited; resident slaves' children are to be registered soon after birth. The latter stipulation resulted in Adams county's two decades of recording the births of children of slave mothers. [Passed March 29, 1788.]

AN ACT TO EXPLAIN AND AMEND AN ACT ENTITLED
"AN ACT FOR THE GRADUAL ABOLITION OF SLAVERY."

(Section I, P. L.) 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 one thousand seven hundred and eighty:

[Section I.] (Section II, P. L.) 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 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.

[Section II.] (Section III, P. L.) 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 those 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 any 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.

[Section III.] (Section IV, P. L.) 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 sixpence 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 the practice of separating which is too often exercised by the masters and mistresses of negro and mulatto slaves or servants for 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.

[Section V.] (Section VI, P. L.) 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 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 child, of 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 hereinbefore described, such person or persons shall severally forfeit and pay the sum of fifty pounds with costs of suit for every such offense 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 such husband or wife, parent or child shall have been taken or removed.

[Section VI.] (Section VII, P. L.) And be it further 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, any 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 ben taken or seduced as aforesaid and shall also be confined at hard labor for any time not less than six months nor more than twelve months and until the costs of prosecution shall be paid.

V. This law describes Pennsylvania's septennial census of taxable residents, in place since 1779, which adds for the first time the requirement that all slaves be counted also. Similar provisions appear in the state census acts of 1807, 1814, and 1821. The law permits the accurate number of slaves who were considered taxable property in those census years to be known, had each township and borough reported as directed. [Passed March 7, 1800.]

AN ACT TO PROVIDE FOR THE ENUMERATION OF THE TAXABLE INHABITANTS AND SLAVES WITHIN THIS COMMONWEALTH.

Whereas it is ordained and established by the fourth section of the constitution of this commonwealth "that, within three years after the first meeting of the general assembly, and within every subsequent term of seven years, an enumeration of the taxable inhabitants shall be made, in such manner as shall be directed by law." Therefore:

[Section I.] (Section I, P. L.) Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania, in General Assembly met, and it is hereby enacted by the authority of the same, That the commissioners of the several counties of this commonwealth shall, on or before the first day of June next, issue their precepts to the respective township, town and ward assessors, or in case of their absence or inability, to one of the assistant assessors, requiring them, within sixty days after the date of such precept, to make out two complete lists, in alphabetical order, containing a just and true account of the names and surnames of every taxable person of the age of twenty-one years and upwards, whether male or female, resident within their respective township, town, wards, or districts; and it shall also be the duty of the said commissioners and assessors to cause the number of all negroes, mulattoes and people of color, held as slaves within their respective counties, to be carefully and accurately taken in a separate list, distinguishing their sexes, and, as near as may be, their several ages....

VI. The legislation here repeats the provisions of the 1820 act to prevent kidnapping. It also details the legal steps necessary for the removal of fugitive slaves from Pennsylvania. For the first time, it guarantees fugitives the right of habeas corpus. This law was a major factor in many ensuing tense, even violent, situations in the state. In 1842, the United States Supreme Court, on appeal, found part of this act to be in direct opposition to the 1793 federal law relating to fugitives and declared it unconstitutional. [Approved March 25, 1826.]

[In 1837, Edward Prigg, agent for a Maryland slave owner, seized Margaret Morgan and her children in York county and took them out of the state, not however in accordance with Pennsylvania law. Prigg insisted that by federal law he was entitled to return the woman, who had reportedly escaped from her master in 1832. Prigg was indicted for kidnapping, then tried and convicted in York. He appealed, and the state of Maryland joined in his efforts through the court system of Pennsylvania. The State Supreme Court eventually upheld Prigg's conviction, but the appeals did not stop with that. Ultimately, the highest court in the land found in favor of Prigg.]

AN ACT TO GIVE EFFECT TO THE PROVISIONS OF THE CONSTITUTION
OF THE UNITED STATES, RELATIVE TO FUGITIVES FROM LABOR,
FOR THE PROTECTION OF FREE PEOPLE OF COLOR,
AND TO PREVENT KIDNAPPING.

Sect.1. Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania in General Assembly met and it is hereby enacted by the authority of the same, That if any person or persons shall from and after the passing of this act, by force or violence, take and carry away, or cause to be taken or carried away, and shall by fraud or false pretence, seduce, or cause to be seduced, or shall attempt so to take, carry away, or seduce, any negro or mulatto from any part or parts of this commonwealth, to any other place or places, whatsoever, out of this commonwealth, with a design and intention of selling and disposing of, or of causing to be sold, or of keeping and detaining, or of causing to be kept and detained, such negro or mulatto, as a slave or servant for life, or for any term, whatsoever, every such person or persons, his or their aiders and abettors, shall on conviction thereof in any court of this commonwealth, having competent jurisdiction, be deemed guilty of a felony, and shall forfeit and pay, at the discretion of the court passing the sentence, any sum not less than five hundred, nor more than two thousand dollars, one half whereof shall be paid to the person or persons who shall prosecute for the same, and the other half to this commonwealth; and, moreover, shall be sentenced to undergo a servitude for any term or time not less than seven years, nor exceeding twenty-one years, and shall be confined, and kept to hard labor, fed and clothed, in the manner as is directed by the penal laws of this commonwealth for persons convicted of robbery.

Sect.2. And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, That if any person or persons shall hereafter knowingly sell, transfer, or assign, or shall knowingly purchase, take a transfer or assignment, of any negro or mulatto, for the purpose of fraudulently removing, exporting, or carrying such negro or mulatto out of this state, with the design or intent by fraud or false pretences of making him or her a slave or servant for life, or for any term, whatsoever, every person so offending shall be deemed guilty of a felony, and on conviction thereof, shall forfeit and pay a fine of not less than five hundred dollars, nor more than two thousand dollars, one half whereof shall be paid to the person or persons who shall prosecute for the same, and the other half to this commonwealth; and, moreover, shall be sentenced, at the discretion of the court, to undergo a servitude for any term or time not less than seven years nor exceeding twenty-one years, and shall be confined, kept to hard labor, fed and clothed, in the manner as is directed by the penal laws of this commonwealth for persons convicted of robbery.

Sect.3. And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, That when a person held to labor or service in any of the United States, or in either of the territories thereof, under the laws thereof, shall escape into this commonwealth, the person to whom such labor or service is due, his or her duly authorised agent or attorney, constituted in writing, is hereby authorised to apply to any judge, justice of the peace, or alderman, who on such application, supported by the oath or affirmation of such claimant, or authorised agent or attorney, as aforesaid, that the said fugitive hath escaped from his or her service, or from the service of the person for whom he is duly constituted agent or attorney, shall issue his warrant under his hand and seal, and directed to the sheriff or any constable of the proper city or county, authorising and empowering said sheriff, or constable, to arrest and seize the said fugitive, who shall be named in said warrant, and to bring said fugitive before a judge of the proper county, which said warrant shall be in the form or to the effect following: [Here is shown the form of the warrant to the sheriff or constable.]

Sect.4. And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, That no judge, justice of the peace or alderman, shall issue a warrant, on the application of any agent or attorney, as provided in the said third section, unless the said agent or attorney shall, in addition to his own oath or affirmation, produce the affidavit of the claimant of the fugitive, taken before and certified by a justice of the peace or other magistrate authorised to administer oaths, in the state or territory in which such claimant shall reside, and accompanied by the certificate of the authority of such justice or other magistrate, to administer oaths, signed by the clerk or prothonotary, and authenticated by the seal of a court of record, in such state or territory, which affidavit shall state the said claimant's title, to the service of such fugitive, and also the name, age and description of the person of such fugitive.

Sect.5. And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, That it shall be the duty of any judge, justice of the peace or alderman, when he grants or issues any warrant under the provisions of the third section of this act, to make a fair record on his docket, of the same, in which he shall enter the name and place of residence of the person on whose oath or affirmation the said warrant may be granted and also if an affidavit shall have been produced, under the provisions of the fourth section of this act, the name and place of residence of the person making such affidavit, and the age and description of the person of the alledged fugitive contained in such affidavit, and shall within ten days thereafter, file a certified copy thereof in the office of the clerk of the court of general quarter sessions of the peace or mayor's court, of the proper city or county; and any judge, justice of the peace or alderman, who shall refuse, or neglect to comply with the provisions of this section, shall be deemed guilty of a misdemeanor in office, and shall, on conviction thereof, be sentenced to pay, at the discretion of the court, any sum not exceeding one thousand dollars, one half to the party prosecuting for the same, and the other half to the commonwealth; and that any sheriff or constable, receiving and executing the said warrant, shall without unnecessary delay, carry the person arrested before the judge, according to the exigency of the warrant; and any sheriff or constable, who shall refuse or wilfully neglect so to do, shall on conviction thereof, be sentenced to pay, at the discretion of the court, any sum not exceeding five hundred dollars, one half to the party prosecuting for the same, and the other half to the commonwealth, or shall also be sentenced to imprisonment, at hard labor, for a time not exceeding six months, or both.

Sect.6. And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, That the said fugitive from labor or service, when so arrested, shall be brought before a judge, as aforesaid, and upon proof, to the satisfaction of such judge, that the person so seized or arrested, doth, under the laws of the state or territory from which he or she fled, owe service or labor to the person claiming him or her, it shall be the duty of such judge to give a certificate thereof, to such claimant, his or her duly authorised agent or attorney, which shall be sufficient warrant for removing the said fugitive to the state or territory from which he or she fled: Provided,

That the oath of the owner or owners, or other person interested, shall in no case be received in evidence, before the judge, on the hearing of the case.

Sect.7. And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, That when the fugitive shall be brought before the judge, agreeably to the provisions of this act, and either party allege, and prove to the satisfaction of the said judge, that he or she is not prepared for trial, and have testimony material to the matter in controversy that can be obtained in a reasonable time, it shall and may be lawful, unless security, satisfactory to the said judge, be given, for the appearance of the said fugitive, on a day certain, to commit the said fugitive to the common jail for safe keeping, there to be detained at the expense of the owner, agent or attorney, for such time as the said judge shall think reasonable and just, and to a day certain, when the said fugitive shall be brought before him by habeas corpus, in the court house of the proper county, or in term time, at the chamber of the said judge, for final hearing and adjudication: Provided, That if the adjournment of the hearing be requested by the claimant, his agent or attorney, such adjournment shall not be granted, unless the said claimant, his agent or attorney, shall give security, satisfactory to the judge, to appear and prosecute his claim, on the day to which the hearing shall be adjourned: Provided, That on the hearing last mentioned, if the judge committing the said fugitive, or taking the security as aforesaid, should be absent, sick or otherwise unable to attend, it shall be the duty of either of the other judges, on notice given, to attend to the said hearing, and to decide thereon.

Sect. 8. And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, That the officers which may or shall be employed in the execution of the duties of this act, shall be allowed the same fees for service of process, that sheriffs within this commonwealth are now allowed for serving process in criminal cases, and two dollars and fifty cents per day, for each and every day necessarily spent in performing the duties enjoined on them by this act, to be paid by the owner, agent or attorney, immediately on the performance of the duties aforesaid.

Sect. 9. And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, That no alderman or justice of the peace of this commonwealth, shall have jurisdiction, or take cognizance of the case of any fugitive from labor, from any of the United States or territories, under a certain act of congress, passed on the twelfth day of February, one thousand seven hundred and ninety-three, entitled "An act respecting fugitives from justice, and persons escaping from the service of their masters;" nor shall any alderman or justice of the peace, of this commonwealth, issue or grant any certificate or warrant of removal, of any such fugitive from labor, as aforesaid, except in the manner and to the effect provided in the third section of this act, upon the application, affidavit or testimony of any person or persons whatsoever, under the said act of congress, or under any other law, authority or act of the congress of the United States; and if any alderman or justice of the peace of this commonwealth, shall contravene the provisions of this act, take cognizance or jurisdiction of the case of any such fugitive as aforesaid, except in the manner herein before provided, or shall grant or issue any certificate or warrant of removal as aforesaid, then, and in either case, he shall be deemed guilty of a misdemeanor in office, and shall on conviction thereof, be sentenced to pay, at the discretion of the court, any sum not less than five hundred dollars, nor exceeding one thousand dollars, the one half to the party prosecuting for the same, and the other half to the use of this commonwealth.

Sect. 10. And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, That it shall be the duty of the judge or recorder, of any court of record of this commonwealth, when he grants or issues any certificate or warrant of removal, of any negro or mulatto, claimed to be a fugitive from labor, to the state or territory from which he or she fled, in pursuance of an act of congress, passed on the twelfth day of February, one thousand seven hundred and ninety-three, entitled "An act respecting fugitives from justice, and persons escaping from the service of their masters," and of this act, to make a fair record of the same, in which he shall

enter the name, age, sex and a general description of the person of the negro or mulatto, for whom he shall grant such certificate or warrant of removal, together with the evidence and the name of places of residence of the witnesses, and the party claiming such negro or mulatto, and shall within ten days thereafter, file a certified copy thereof, in the office of the clerk of the court of general quarter sessions of the peace, or mayors court of the city or county in which he may reside.

Sect. 11. And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, That nothing in this act contained, shall be construed as a repeal or alteration of any part of an act of assembly, passed on the first day of March, one thousand seven hundred and eighty, entitled "An act for the gradual abolition of slavery," except the eleventh section of said act, which is hereby repealed and supplied, nor of any part of an act of assembly, passed on the twenty-eighth day of March, one thousand seven hundred and eighty-eight, entitled "An act to explain and amend an act for the gradual abolition of slavery," except the seventh section of this last mentioned act, which is hereby supplied and repealed.

VII. This represents another attempt to stop abuses of prior fugitive slave legislation by additional restrictions on slave traders and catchers. [Approved April 17, 1827.]

AN ACT TO PREVENT CERTAIN ABUSES OF THE LAWS
RELATIVE TO FUGITIVES FROM LABOUR.

Whereas, It is represented to the legislature, that abuses of the several acts of congress and of this state, relative to fugitives from labor or service have been committed by persons who have purchased fugitives, alledged to be the slaves and property of inhabitants of other states, and have afterwards under color of such purchases arrested or caused to be arrested such fugitives within the limits of this state: And whereas, The traffic in slaves, now abhorred by all the civilized world, ought not in the slightest degree to be tolerated in the state of Pennsylvania: Therefore,

Sect.1. Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania, in General Assembly met, and it is hereby enacted by the authority of the same, That all sales that shall hereafter be made within this state of any fugitive or fugitives from service or labor, who at the time of such sale or sales shall be within the limits of this state, shall be utterly null and void; and if any person or persons, under color or pretence of any such sale or sales, shall seize, arrest, or by intimidation, seduction or fraud shall remove or cause to be removed from this state, any such fugitive or fugitives thus sold or attempted to be sold, he, she or they so offending, shall forfeit and pay the sum of five hundred dollars, one half thereof to the use of the commonwealth, and the other half to the use of any person who shall sue for the same.

VIII. This act revises the 1826 kidnapping law that was declared unconstitutional. Its language is stronger and its restrictions more sweeping, forbidding private citizen and law officer alike from taking any steps leading to the removal from Pennsylvania of fugitive slaves. It also repeals the said 1826 act, as well as those parts of the 1780 abolition act which authorized the bringing into and the keeping of slaves in the state under certain conditions and which denied slaves the right to bear witness. After the passage of this

act, the only slaves permissible in Pennsylvania were her own, those born before abolition and those born to slave mothers after it. Already attractive to southern slaves as a place of relative safety en route to more distant destinations or as a permanent home, Pennsylvania became more so after the passage in 1850 of a stronger, harsher federal fugitive slave act. Traffic on the underground railroad increased; some of its routes and stations were in Adams county. [Approved March 3, 1847.]

AN ACT TO PREVENT KIDNAPPING, PRESERVE THE PUBLIC PEACE,
PROHIBIT THE EXERCISE OF CERTAIN POWERS HERETOFORE
EXERCISED BY JUDGES, JUSTICES OF THE PEACE, ALDERMEN AND
JAILORS IN THIS COMMONWEALTH, AND TO REPEAL CERTAIN SLAVE LAWS.

Section 1. Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania in General Assembly met, and it is hereby enacted by the authority of the same, That if any person or persons shall, from and after the passage of this act, by force or violence take and carry away, or cause to be taken or carried away, and shall by fraud or false pretence entice or cause to be enticed, or shall attempt so to take, carry away or entice any free negro or mulatto, from any part or parts of this commonwealth, to any other place or places whatsoever out of this commonwealth, with a design and intention of selling and disposing of, or of causing to be sold, or of keeping and detaining, or of causing to be kept and detained, such free negro or mulatto as a slave or servant for life, or for any term whatsoever, every such person or persons, his or their aiders and abettors, shall be deemed guilty of high misdemeanor, and on conviction thereof, in any court of quarter sessions of this commonwealth, having competent jurisdiction, shall be sentenced to pay, at the discretion of the court passing the sentence, any sum not less than five hundred nor more than two thousand dollars; one half whereof shall be paid to the person or persons who shall prosecute for the same, and the other half to this commonwealth; and moreover, shall be sentenced to undergo a punishment, by solitary confinement in the proper penitentiary, at hard labor, for a period not less than five years, nor exceeding twelve years; and on conviction of the second offence of the kind, the person so offending shall be sentenced to pay a like fine, and undergo a punishment, by solitary confinement in the penitentiary, for twenty-one years.

Section 2. That if any person or persons shall hereafter knowingly sell, transfer or assign, or shall knowingly purchase, take a transfer or assignment of any free negro or mulatto, for the purpose of fraudulently removing, exporting, or carrying such free negro or mulatto out of this state, with the design or intent, by fraud or false pretences, of making him or her a slave or servant for life, or for any term whatsoever, every person so offending shall be deemed guilty of a high misdemeanor, and on conviction thereof, in any court of quarter sessions of this commonwealth, shall be sentenced by such court to pay a fine of not less than five hundred dollars, nor more than two thousand dollars; one half whereof shall be paid to the person or persons who shall prosecute for the same, and the other half to this commonwealth; and moreover, shall be sentenced, at the discretion of the court, to undergo a punishment by solitary confinement, at hard labor, in the proper penitentiary, for a period not less than five years nor exceeding twelve years.

Section 3. That no judge of any of the courts of this commonwealth, nor any alderman or justice of the peace of said commonwealth, shall have jurisdiction, or take cognizance of the case of any fugitive from labor from any of the United States or territories, under a certain act of congress, passed on the twelfth day of February, one thousand seven hundred and ninety-three, entitled "An Act respecting fugitives from justice, and persons

escaping from the service of their masters;" nor shall any such judge, alderman or justice of the peace of this commonwealth, issue or grant any certificate or warrant of removal of any such fugitive from labor, under the said act of congress, or under any other law, authority or act of the congress of the United States; and if any alderman or justice of the peace of this commonwealth, shall take cognizance or jurisdiction of the case of any such fugitive, or shall grant or issue any certificate or warrant of removal as aforesaid, then, and in either case, he shall be deemed guilty of a misdemeanor in office, and shall, on conviction thereof, be sentenced to pay, at the discretion of the court, any sum not less than five hundred dollars, nor exceeding one thousand dollars; the one half to the party prosecuting for the same, and the other half to the use of this commonwealth.

Section 4. That if any person or persons claiming any negro or mulatto, as fugitive from servitude or labor, shall, under any pretence of authority whatsoever, violently and tumultuously seize upon and carry away to any place, or attempt to seize and carry away in a riotous, violent, tumultuous and unreasonable manner, and so as to disturb or endanger the public peace, any negro or mulatto within this commonwealth, either with or without the intention of taking such negro or mulatto before any district or circuit judge, the person or persons so offending against the peace of this commonwealth, shall be deemed guilty of a misdemeanor, and on conviction thereof, before any court of quarter sessions of this commonwealth, shall be sentenced by such court to pay a fine of not less than one hundred dollars, nor more than one thousand dollars, with costs of prosecution; and further, to be confined in the county jail for any period, at the discretion of the court, not exceeding three months.

Section 5. That nothing in this act shall be construed to take away what is hereby declared to be invested in the judges of this commonwealth, the right, power and authority, at all times, on application made, to issue the writ of habeas corpus, and to inquire into the causes and legality of the arrest or imprisonment of any human being within this commonwealth.

Section 6. It shall not be lawful to use any jail or prison of this commonwealth, for the detention of any person claimed as a fugitive from servitude or labor, except in cases where jurisdiction may lawfully be taken by any judge, under the provisions of this act; and any jailor or keeper of any prison, or other person, who shall offend against the provisions of this section, shall, on conviction thereof, pay a fine of five hundred dollars; one-half thereof for the use of the commonwealth, and the other half to the person who prosecutes; and shall, moreover, thenceforth be removed from office, and be incapable of holding such office of jailor or keeper of a prison, at any time during his natural life.

Section 7. That so much of the act of the general assembly, entitled "An act for the gradual abolition of slavery," passed the first day of March, one thousand seven hundred and eighty, as authorizes the masters or owners of slaves to bring and retain such slaves within this commonwealth, for the period of six months, in involuntary servitude, or for any period of time whatsoever; and so much of said act as prevents a slave from giving testimony against any person whatsoever, be and the same is hereby repealed.

Section 8. That the act passed March twenty-fifth, eighteen hundred and twenty-six, and all laws of this commonwealth which are hereby altered, be and the same are hereby repealed.