

Phillis and Slavery in Tredyffrin Township, Chester County, Pennsylvania

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The “Welsh Tract” was an area of close to 100,000 acres west of the Schuylkill River. It encompassed today’s townships of Lower Merion, Haverford, Radnor, Tredyffrin, Whiteland, Willistown, Easttown, Goshen, and parts of Upper Merion and Westtown in southeastern Pennsylvania. Within its boundaries, the area’s Welsh heritage is almost revered. After all, the Welsh were the first large wave of Europeans who came into this area and began the process of building the thriving communities here today. But along with those Welsh, and soon British, Irish, German and individuals of other European origins, were the African Americans. Even before the inhabitants of the Welsh Tract reached its western end, slaves had been brought into the area.¹

In 1696, Cadwalader Morgan, a Quaker minister in Lower Merion, wrote a paper about his personal decision two years before to relieve himself of the slave he had purchased some time earlier. From his paper, we can infer that the holding of slaves was not unique to him. He says in part,

*...friends, There was something before me concerning the buying of Negroes. (First the scarcity of hands here, and those difficult to be had) I thought If I bought such of them as were good, It would be some help to me, and I could with more ease leave my calling to go to Meetings, and I had been enquiring for some, and did send for one... I can say that I have nothing in my heart against any particular that buys them...*²

While we do not know the names of these early slaves, or, for the most part, the names of all of those who possessed them, we do know they were here: men doing the backbreaking work of felling forest and planting life sustaining crops and women transforming those crops into meals and clothing. Yet there is little reference to these early African Americans in our records and in our histories. Not until the 1760 tax returns do we begin to have a concrete community and individual wide evidence of their presence. Before, and even after that date, references to specific individuals are sporadic—a will here, a story there; a scrap of paper preserved by fate, a reference in an old account book; a courthouse record which suggests but does not clarify. In 1780, when the “Act for the Gradual Abolition of Slavery” in Pennsylvania required all those holding slaves to register them to protect their right to continue to claim them as property, we have a fairly concise record of individual slaves and their owners. Even this list is somewhat incomplete as many owners registered individuals by sex, age, and the status (slave for life for years) only, with no name, and some were not registered. When a name was recorded, only rarely was a surname supplied and the given name was most likely that given to the individual by the slave owner, and might not have been the name by which he or she identified themselves, then or later.³

In this 1780 registration, 20 slaves are listed in Tredyffrin Township by name, and another 3 by gender and age only. These individuals, and those who registered them, are listed in the following table.⁴

Individual	Registered by
Freeman, age 35	Richard Britain
Lilley, age 34	Richard Britain
Robin, age 5	Richard Britain
Dinah, age 7	Richard Britain
Mulatto woman, 25*	John Cloyd
Mulatto girl age 7*	John Cloyd
Dick, age 24	Benjamin Davis
Negro man 50-60 years	Dr. John Davis
Violet, age 15	William Dewees
Judith, age 20	Ann Havard
Jeffrey, age 27	Sarah Havard
Dorothy, age 17	Sarah Havard

Individual	Registered by
York, age 32	Lewis Gronow
Aaron, age 14	Lewis Gronow
Moses, age 12	Lewis Gronow
Simon, age 10	Lewis Gronow
Amos, age 3	Lewis Gronow
Esther, age 21	Thomas Waters
Phillis, age 18 months	Thomas Waters
Quash, age 20	John Williams
Phillis, age 27	John Wilson
Cate, age 13	John Wilson
Nance, age 6	David Wilson

*From John Cloyd and his wife Sarah's wills, we know their names to be Nell or Ellen Nash, and her daughter Judith Nash.

The 1780 listing of slaves in Tredyffrin is only part of the story. We know of others, both free African Americans and slaves, in the area around this time who do not appear in this listing. Among them were Phineas, Binah, Quan, Ishmael, Cato, Glasgow, Deb, Dinah, Hector Mullin, Venus and Phillis. A closer look at these individuals who do not appear on the register (and a few who do) shows a diversity of histories and circumstances.

Phineas

The decision of Quakers at the start of the American Revolution to force an end of slavery among their members resulted in the freedom of at least three individuals in Tredyffrin shortly before the 1780 registration occurred. On July 28, 1776, Quaker Abijah Stephens, who lived in the Northeastern corner of Tredyffrin Township, signed the manumission of Phineas when he reached age 21, about five months later. In his *The History of Valley Forge*, Henry Woodman says that during the British invasion of Tredyffrin, his grandfather's slave called Phin took a family gun and ammunition and secreted himself in a cave or hollow in the ground during the day to defend himself against the British. The story suggests that Phineas remained for some time with Abijah Stephens after his manumission as he would have been a free man by the time the British arrived in September 1777. The last reference to Phineas found is in the 1783 Upper Merion tax list in which he is shown as a free negroe taxed on his occupation (which is not shown).⁵

Binah, Quan, Harry; Ishmael, Sill and Jordan; Judith, Jeffrey and Dorothy— the Havard slaves

In the North central part of the township, another Quaker, David Havard, gave Binah, age about 54, and Quan, age about 60, their freedom on May 11, 1778. The membership of David's brother Samuel in the Valley Friends Meeting was disowned because he would not release his male slave, then about age 40. Though his name does not appear in the Quaker Meeting's records, it would seem that this was the same Harry who had run away from Samuel Havard before then, and was about 24 years of age in 1764. Samuel Havard told the Quaker Meeting that his slave had left with the British and he was concerned about future financial liability if he manumitted him at this time. When the records of losses during the British invasion of Tredyffrin were filed in 1782, Samuel Havard claimed a loss of £100 because his slave ran away to the British. How successful Harry was in his bid for freedom this time is not known. We find no further record of him in the township.⁶

Also in this area may have been Ishmael, in his late twenties, in the household of another Havard brother, John Havard, (junior). Ishmael is listed in the inventory of John Havard (senior)'s estate at his death in 1771 as "a Negro

boy” (i.e., not yet age 21), along with Sill, “an old Negro woman,” and her child Jordan (probably under 6). Nothing is known of Sill and Jordan following the death of John Havard (senior). In November, 1778, the Quaker Meeting wrote of John Havard in respect to his holding a male slave, then about 27 years of age, that “he has owned the Practice to be wrong in general yet Continues therein, and offers some weak Exercises for declining to grant Liberty to this Person. John’s wife has heretofore United with her husband in Refusing to Manumit him.” In the following month, the Valley Friends Meeting disowned the membership of John Havard (junior) and his wife because they would not free their slave. In 1780 John Havard registered no slaves, there are no “non-white” persons listed in his household in the 1790 Federal census, and there were no slaves in the inventory of his estate when he died in 1797. When and how Ishmael left the Havard household is not known, but he was likely there in 1779. It is possible that John Havard may have considered the practice of owning a slave further and chose to simply not register Ishmael, thereby making him a free man. It is also possible that Ishmael died or was sold before the registration deadline.⁷

The Havard sisters, Ann and Sarah, also owned slaves and had their membership in the Valley Friends Meeting disowned in 1779 because they refused to give their slaves their freedom. These unmarried sisters, along with their sister Hannah for whom there is no record that she owned slaves, lived with their brother Samuel most of the time. In her will dated July 2, 1784 and probated two years later, Ann Havard gave Judith her freedom if it could be done at no expense to Ann’s heirs saying:

*first as a Legacy to my Negro Slave named Judith for her faithful attendance on me during my ill state of Health my will is that she be Manumitted Immediately after my Decease if the Laws of the state of Pennsylvania will admit of such Manumission without embarrassing [embargoing] my Sister Sarah Havard her heirs Executors Administrators or assigns with any expense or Trouble on her account and in case such Manumission is admitted to be Legal on the Terms above mentioned my will is as a further acknowledgement of the fidelity of the said Slave that my Executors or assigns shall pay or cause to be paid to my said Slave the sum of Twenty pounds within the space of one Year after my Decease.*⁸

What happened to the slaves registered by Sarah Havard in 1780, Jeffrey and Dorothy, is unclear. In the 1790 census, Samuel Havard, with whom the sisters generally resided, is shown with one slave and two free non-white individuals in his household. It is possible that Jeffrey was recorded as a slave and that the two free persons were Dorothy and Hannah’s maid, Nelly Ramsay. In 1800, the Havard household is shown with no slaves and two free non-white individuals. When Hannah died in 1805, she left her maid, Nelly Ramsay, £10 when she reached age 21. Samuel left Nelly Ramsay, his maid, £50 pounds when he died in 1808. There is no evidence to indicate Nelly Ramsay’s heritage and no further information is known about her. When Sarah Havard wrote her will on January 29, 1809, she made no mention of any slaves or servants. Looking at the wills of these household members together, it seems that Dorothy and Jeffrey were free (or deceased) by 1800. Whether or for how long they remained in the Havard household after they were free is unclear.⁹

Cato

Another young man, Cato, age 23 in 1778, had been a slave of Joseph Mitchell for just a few months when the British and American armies moved into the area. He, like Harry, took advantage of the opportunity to try to obtain his freedom through the British. An ad placed in the *Pennsylvania Packet* by Joseph Mitchell on August 25, 1778, says that Cato “went with the British, when they left the Valley in September last.” From the ad we learn that Cato had been captured by an American lieutenant who took him to Philadelphia to find his master, but he ran away to the British army again that evening. Mitchell says that Cato left Philadelphia before the British did, which seems to be why he felt Cato might still be in the Philadelphia area. We do not know if Cato was successful in maintaining his freedom, but he was not registered as a slave by Joseph Mitchell in 1780.¹⁰

Glasgow and Deb

Glasgow and Deb were in the Tredyffrin area from at least the 1750’s. Whether Rev. William Currie, minister of the Anglican (Episcopal) Church, brought them with him when he first purchased land in Tredyffrin in 1751, or acquired them later, is not known. In July, 1754, Currie tried to sell his slaves, Glasgow (21), Quaco (36), Deb (24) and her 8-month old child, and Moll (40) and her 4+ year old child, along with the remaining time of “a Dutch

servant lad,” because he intended to quit farming. It appears he sold Moll and her son around that time, but not the others. Seven years later, he again advertised for sale his livestock, with a note appended that “He also has two able bodied Negroe men to dispose of, and a Negroe woman, compleat hands on a farm; the man and his wife are 33 years of age each, and the other 50.” These ages generally agree with those of Glasgow, Deb and Quaco in the earlier ad. Currie continued to show 2 slaves (Glasgow and Quaco?) in his tax records through 1772, and then 1 (Glasgow?) through 1779. It is unclear if Quaco died, was sold after 1772, or was no longer reported in the tax return because of his age. No slaves were registered by Currie in 1780, nor is there any record of his manumitting any slaves, so at some time he must have let them go free. It appears likely that Glasgow and Deb remained in the area, possibly in Currie’s employ. In the 1790 Federal Census, the only household in Tredyffrin with an African American at its head was that of Cole Glasgow with a family of 3. While it is not known that Cole Glasgow, and Glasgow who had been Currie’s slave are the same person, that does seem possible.¹¹

Dinah

In 1779, when Elizabeth Davis wrote her will, she wrote that she left to her daughter Elizabeth “a Negro woman called Dinah.” It is hard to know what happened as a result of her will when Elizabeth died in 1781, as Dinah had not been registered in 1780. It would seem she could not have been “given” to anyone at that point. Slaves not registered by November 30, 1780 were, by law, free after that date. Unfortunately, then as now, individuals often were not sufficiently aware of their rights and/or were not in a position to pursue them in the courts although evidence clearly suggests that some and perhaps most African Americans were very well aware of their rights, limited as they were.¹²

Hector Mullin

Another individual, Hector Mullin, must have been freed sometime before 1780 if local traditions are correct. Local stories tell of Hector Mullin, then a boy, described as a black child of Samuel Jones, who held the horse of General Howe when he was at the Jones home during the British invasion of Tredyffrin in September, 1777, a service for which the general gave him a coin. The many descendants of Hector Mullin in census and other records through the years attest to his continued presence in the area. Neither Hector Mullin’s nor Samuel Jones’ names appear in the 1780 register, so we must assume that Hector Mullin was free by at least 1780.¹³

Venus

Venus, who was a slave of John Cloyd, is not listed in the 1780 register. It seems that this was a deliberate omission, giving Venus her freedom, but this is not entirely clear. John Cloyd, in his will written in 1781, seems to understand himself possessed of Venus, saying: “And it is my Will and I order That my Negroe Wench Venus, in case of her Being rendered incapable by age or accident of subsisting herself by labour shall be maintained and supported by my Executor herein after named.” His estate did provide financial support to Venus beginning in 1787 until her death on August 24, 1801.¹⁴

John Cloyd, says of Nell and Judith, whom he did register in 1780, in his will:

I likewise give and Bequeath to my said Wife, My Mulattoe Wenches Nell and Judith under the following restrictions and Conditions (that is to say) the said Nell to serve and be at the disposal of her said Mistress until Judith shall arrive at the age of Fifteen Years, and to be then set free and at her own Disposal, and the said Judith to serve her said Mistress, during the term of her Natural life and at the Decease of her said Mistress to be free and at her own disposal.

The fact that John Cloyd specifically provided for the freedom of Nell and Judith, but not Venus, seems to support the idea that he considered Venus free by virtue of his not having registered her in 1780 even though he referred to her as “my Negroe Wench.” John Cloyd’s widow, Sarah Cloyd, died in August 1784. At the end of her will, she adds: “Before Signing and Sealing, I hereby order and direct that my Muluto named Ellin to be free at my death.” It seems clear that Sarah Cloyd also understood Venus to be free at that time. By 1784 Venus, her daughter and granddaughter, a relationship made clear in the accounting of John Cloyd’s estate, were all free. These accounts also show that Nell’s surname is Nash.¹⁵

Based on subsequent census lists and other sources, it seems likely that many of these freed individuals remained with or near their former “owner.” This could have been so for several reasons. The area had been the home of many of them from birth or early childhood. It was an area they knew, both in terms of its physical attributes and in respect to the character and proclivities of the people they would encounter day to day—they knew who likely employers might be, from whom sources of support might come in times of trouble, and who might best be steered clear of. The continued enslavement or indenture of other family members in the area would also provide compelling reason to stay. It is also probable that opportunities for finding some means of supporting themselves as free individuals were greater in areas where they, and their work habits, were known. Others likely became part of a trend for freed African Americans to move to Philadelphia. The already large and growing free African American population there offered, among other things, an enlarged social circle.¹⁶

During the period of 1775-1785, at least 35 African Americans can be identified in Tredyffrin Township. In 1780, when the implementation of the Act to Abolish Slavery in Pennsylvania was put into effect, 23 persons were registered as enslaved for life, 8 were free, 2 had left the area with the British, and the status of 2 is unknown. Five years later, in 1785, 28 people of African descent can be identified in the township: 14 were enslaved individuals (of which three—Aaron, Moses, and Simon Highgate—had provisions for future freedom in place), 12 were free, and the status of two is unknown.

A lack of information during this time period makes it impossible to say with any certainty where many free African Americans were at any given time. Until 1780 we had few names to identify members of the African American community. From 1780 until 1850 when the names of all individuals in a household began to be recorded in the Federal Census, the majority of African Americans were “hidden” in the census records. They were included numerically in the household of the individual by whom they were employed and/or lived, with only a few African American head-of-householders named. For example, the 1790 census shows 28 “non-white” individuals in the township (25 free, 3 remained slaves), but the name of only one African American appears in the record, that of Cole Glasgow, the head of a household of three. By 1800, the census counted 46 African Americans in the township but none of them appear by name. In 1810 this began to change, but still only 28 of the 61 African Americans in the township were in the eight households headed by African Americans.¹⁷

Because few in the African American community were land owners, they rarely appear in early tax records, deeds, or had wills or estates probated. Finally, the frequency with which former slaves changed their given names to names of their own choosing when they became free to do so, and began to be routinely identified by settled surnames, creates added difficulties in following the transition of individuals from slave to free. The result of all these factors is that we are left with attempting to interpret limited data more on the basis of what we understand as “probable” than on concrete evidence, and acknowledge that we may at times be considerably off the mark in this endeavor.

It is not known where any of these individuals were before they appear in Tredyffrin Township. By 1780, it is most likely that many — perhaps most — were the second or third generation of their family in America. By 1780, there had been people of African descent in the general Philadelphia area for over a hundred years. Looking at the *Philadelphia Gazette* advertisements during the 1730’s through 1760’s, it is clear that most of the slaves sold or advertised for sale in Philadelphia (the slave trading center of the area) during these years were born in the West Indies or the American mainland colonies. Some individuals of African descent living in Tredyffrin in 1780 were born in Tredyffrin or nearby townships.¹⁸

Phillis

Phillis, the focus of this article, is one of these nearly anonymous individuals. There are only two documents which contain Phillis’ name—the will of John Gronow and that of his son Lewis. As a result, there is considerably more that is not known about Phillis than what is known. Much of her story comes from evidence surrounding her. The first record we find of Phillis is in John Gronow’s will dated October 9, 1775. That will establishes the fact that Phillis came to Tredyffrin Township as a slave.¹⁹

John Gronow was the son of Lewis Gronow whose will dated March 15, 1747, shows his residence as Cumru, Lancaster County (now Berks County). John Gronow's marriage to Bathsheba Morgan on November 17, 1741 is recorded in Christ Church, Philadelphia. We next find him in tax records as John Gronous in Whiteland Township in 1747/48 and in 1749/50 he is listed as a tenant (John Grons) in Tredyffrin Township. Thereafter, he appears regularly in the tax records of Tredyffrin as a landowner until his death. He purchased a tract of land in Tredyffrin Township in 1753. John Gronow and his wife, Bathsheba, had two children, Sarah and Lewis. Bathsheba died March 20, 1763. It is likely that John Gronow purchased Phillis near or soon after the death of Bathsheba to provide the domestic support the family needed at that time. In the 1765 tax records, he is shown with "1 Negro boy, a girl," and in 1767 he is shown with "1 Negro man, 1 Negro wench." It is likely that the "girl" and "Negro wench" in these reports refer to Phillis. Her first son, Aaron, was born about 1766. If these records refer to Phillis, they support the idea that Phillis was quite young when her first child was born, and suggest that she herself was born around 1750. John Gronow married again, this time with Isabel Shields who was his widow when he died.²⁰

It is not known how John Gronow came to own Phillis. Precisely where Phillis began her life is not known. It is quite possible that she and her family are related to "Negro Hygate" who was an adult in Cheltenham Township in 1739 with a 21 year old son, James, and perhaps other children.²¹

John Gronow writes in his will: "I order my Negro, or Molatta wench, named Phillis to have her bed & bedding, wearing apparel & to be with her Mistress Six months after my Decease, And after to have her freedom & be at liberty." It is an interesting coincidence to note that Phillis' freedom coincided almost to the day with the signing of the Declaration of Independence. Despite receiving her own freedom, it must have been heart breaking to her that John Gronow did not provide for the freedom of her sons. In his will, John Gronow says: "also I give to my wife my Negro Boy called Simon During her natural life, and after her death I give ye said Negro Boy to my son Lewis Gronow." In the inventory of his estate recorded January 3, 1776, two lines in the valuation of John Gronow's estate command our attention:

To a Negro Boy Called Moses £30

To a Negro Boy Called Simon £25.

Moses was then eight years old, and Simon six years old. No mention is made in John Gronow's will, nor in the inventory of his estate, of Aaron, also Phillis's son, then about 10 years of age. As will be seen, he had most likely been given (or sold) by John Gronow to his son Lewis sometime before the will was written. Moses became the property of Lewis as part of the "residue" of John Gronow's estate.²²

John Gronow's son, Lewis, appears in the tax record for the first time in 1770 as a "freeman", suggesting that this is likely the year after he became age 21. The following year Lewis purchased two adjacent properties neighboring his father's and is shown as a landowner with 120 acres (shown as 116 acres in subsequent years). In that year, he is also shown with 1 "servant" and in 1778 he is shown with "1 Negro." This was likely York. Sometime before his father's death, Aaron became the property of Lewis. At his father's death, Lewis also became the "owner" of Moses, and ultimately Simon. It was probably at the time Phillis became free in early July, 1776, that she also became a part of Lewis Gronow's household as a domestic servant.²³

Lewis Gronow registered five slaves in 1780: a negro man named York, aged thirty two years and a slave for life; a negro boy named Aaron, aged fourteen years and a slave for life; a negro boy named Moses, aged twelve years and a slave for life; a negro boy named Simon, aged ten years and a slave for life; and a negro boy named Amos, aged three years and a slave for life. Although he was still a young man (in his early 30's), Lewis Gronow died in 1782 and left a considerable estate, much of which had come to him from his father. He made some provisions for Phillis, Aaron, Moses and Simon in his will.²⁴

Lewis wrote “I give and bequeath to Phillis a Mulattoe wench, now Living with me, the Sum of thirty pounds.” He made provision for Aaron and Moses to be free at the age of 25 (four years hence for Aaron and six years for Moses). Until the designated times had been reached, Aaron and Moses were to be “under the direction and control” of Lewis Gronow’s executors, John Beaton and David Davis. Lewis noted the status of Simon as “belonging” to his stepmother during her life time, and provided for his freedom at her death, still under the direction and control of his executors, “as in the Case of his two Brothers,” by which we assume he left Simon in an indentured status until he reached the age of 25.²⁵

Because of his provision that his estate not be settled until his nephew, John Gronow Bull who would inherit the bulk of it, became 21 years of age, final accounting for Lewis Gronow’s estate was not completed until 1794. In the accounts submitted at that time, an expense of 3 shillings, 8 dollars to “Andrew Garden, schooling for Aaron” is noted. There is no indication of when this expense was incurred. Because it is included in the final accounting and not in the first inventory of debts and assets, we can assume the debt was incurred sometime between 1782 and 1791 when Aaron became 25 years of age and free. There is no indication if the other Highgate children were given any education, but it is most likely they were. In general, the provisions for the future freedom of Aaron, Moses and Simon followed the pattern of the day for provisions made for indentured children when they became of age, and there is no reason to assume that they would be treated differently than Aaron in this respect.²⁶

There is no mention of Amos, then five years old, in Lewis Gronow’s will or the accounts of his estate. If the age of three for Amos in the 1780 register is correct, as well as our assumption that Phillis is his mother, he would have been born after Phillis was a free person and he should not have been listed as “a slave for life” in the 1780 register. It seems likely that a realization of that fact by Lewis Gronow (or someone pointing that out to him) is why there is no further mention of Amos in Gronow’s will or estate papers. It appears that, despite his name appearing on the 1780 register, it is most likely that Amos was legally free from birth. The fact that both Moses and Amos are known to have been millers later in life suggests that they were both apprenticed, or at least sent to work for, local millers, of which there were many nearby. There were eight mills in the 1783 tax assessments for Tredyffrin Township.²⁷

In her will dated July 29, 1788, and proved August 27, 1788, Isabel Gronow made the following provisions in respect to Simon: “Simon My Mulatto boy is free at my Decease I give him all wages in John Browns hands, also a Colt of Mine now at Jno Browns. All the wages in Peter Bones’ hands also two sheep I have. The Money to be put in use by my Executors for the boy (now age 18) and he to receive the annual Interest and he to be under their particular care.” There is no indication when Simon was intended to receive the principal and/or to cease to be under their “particular care,” but it can be assumed these would occur at least by 1805 when he became 25 years of age.²⁸

That Phillis was the mother of Aaron, Moses, Simon and Amos is supported by several factors. John Woolf Jordan wrote in *Genealogical and Personal History of Allegheny County, Pennsylvania* in 1913, probably based on Bull family stories, “The Gronows were slaveowners, but freed their slaves before the revolution. Two of these, Black Phyllis and Aaron, would not accept freedom, and remained in the Gronow family as long as they lived.” County and Family histories are generally not considered very reliable sources, and indeed, some of the details of Jordan’s version of this story are factually incorrect based on wills and other early records. He says, for example, that the Gronow’s “freed their slaves before the revolution”, implying before the start of the revolution, which we know to be correct for Phillis only. Based on Lewis Gronow’s will, Aaron, Moses and Simon were freed considerably after the revolution, and York in the middle of the revolution at Lewis Gronow’s death. The inclusion of “Black Phyllis” in this account, however, and the general thrust of the story, is convincing oral history because it accords with all the other verifiable facts of the case in respect to Phillis’ relationship to Aaron, Moses, Simon and Amos. It seems obvious that it was not that Phillis “would not accept freedom” so much as she refused to leave her children who were still all in Gronow’s possession at the time she was given her freedom, and would remain so for nearly another 19 years. There is no reason to assume that Phillis did not consider herself to be a free woman. The fact that she chose to remain in Lewis Gronow’s employ does not alter her “free” state.

According to Jordan's account, and a similar account given in the Bull family history, Sarah Gronow Bull's daughter Mary moved to Allegheny County sometime after her marriage to Richard Robinson in March, 1794. Both of these accounts say that Aaron went with Mary and Richard when they went to Allegheny County. It would appear that this is essentially correct as Aaron Highgate subsequently appears in Federal Census records in Allegheny County. However, contrary to the allegation that he remained with the family "all his life," Aaron Highgate is shown by census records to have left the Bull-Robinson family sometime after their arrival in Allegheny County. He took up residence in Pine Township, and the family of Mary Bull Robinson in Pittsburgh.²⁹

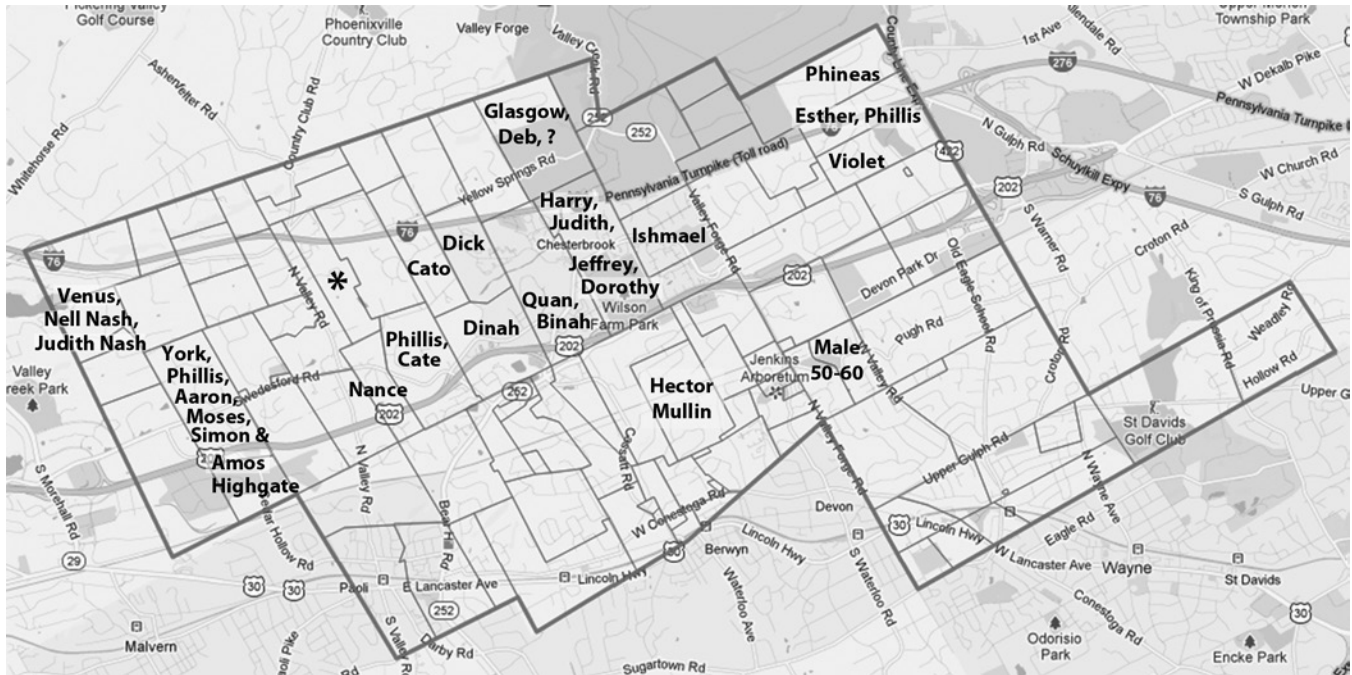
That Aaron, Moses and Simon were brothers is documented by Lewis Gronow's will which specifically states this to be so. The fact that Aaron, Moses, Simon, Amos and their descendants all carried the surname of Highgate (often spelled Hygate and other phonetic variations), suggest that Amos, the youngest of Lewis Gronow's registered "slaves," was a member of the same family. And, as noted above, the initial inclusion of Amos as a registered slave coupled with the lack of any mention of him in the will or accounts of Lewis Gronow, supports the belief that Phillis, a free woman, was his mother. There is no known document showing Highgate as a surname for Phillis. (Nonetheless, this paper will, from time to time, refer to her as Phillis Highgate for the sake of clarity.) Whether she was a member of the Highgate family by birth, marriage or assumption of the surname is not known.

Lewis Gronow, as noted above, also had a slave York. It is unknown if York was the father of Aaron, Moses, Simon and Amos. It is possible that he was, but the fact that they were all members of Gronow's household does not, in itself, lead us to that conclusion. If it is true that the two slaves of John Gronow in the 1765 and 1767 tax records refer to York and Phillis, this might support the possibility that York was the father of Phillis' children as they would have been members of the same household nearly all of their adult lives. Lewis Gronow left £30 pounds to Phillis, probably to provide for her in her old age. He made provisions for his estate to provide for York should he become unable to work to sustain himself in his old age. If they were a married couple, it is unclear why he would treat them differently in this respect. Lewis Gronow's slave York may be York Hanley who appears in the 1810 Tredyffrin census. If so, this would mitigate against his being the father of the Highgate brothers. The scant evidence we have suggests that married slaves were as likely not to be members of the same household as they were to be members of the same household.³⁰

It has been suggested that Phillis' children were fathered by Gronow men, or other men of European ancestry in the area, particularly as her children are most frequently referenced as "Mulattos" in later life, but there is nothing concrete to support that supposition, or to disprove it. If Lewis Gronow were their father, he clearly felt no paternal instincts toward them as evidenced by the terms of his will which explicitly limited their inheritance to their freedom at age 25, and which makes no mention of Amos. Because no surnames are provided for the slaves listed in the 1780 register in Tredyffrin and the surrounding townships, it is impossible to know if the father of Phillis' children was the slave of a nearby resident. Evidence does show that slave couples often lived at great distances from one another, so it is possible that their father lived at some distance. The only other place where we find Highgates in the early and mid-1700s is in Philadelphia (now Montgomery) and Bucks counties. It seems likely that there was a connection between this Highgate family in Chester County and those in Montgomery and Bucks counties, but precisely what that relationship might be is not known.³¹

Because Phillis left no records of her own, the major clues we have to what life was like for Phillis in Tredyffrin Township are to be found in the stories of the Gronow family and their neighbors, and what we know of life in this area at this time in general. Lewis Gronow, and his father before him, lived in the northwestern corner of Tredyffrin, west of what is now Valley Forge National Historical Park. It is interesting to note that most of the slaves in Tredyffrin were in this northern half. Estates were larger there, probably indicating both greater wealth and more land to be worked, requiring a larger workforce, than in the southern half of the township.

Phillis was not isolated from other African Americans. We can assume that her primary social contacts were other African Americans in the area, slave and free. Below is a map, created for this writing by Mike Bertram, based on his 1777 map of property owners in Tredyffrin Township, showing the residence of the African Americans known to be in the township around this time. In addition to those shown on the map to follow, by the end of the 18th century, three children born to individuals shown on the map were registered with the court house: London born in 1789, son of Cate; Peroe (born 1796); and Julie (born 1798), probably children of Nance.³²

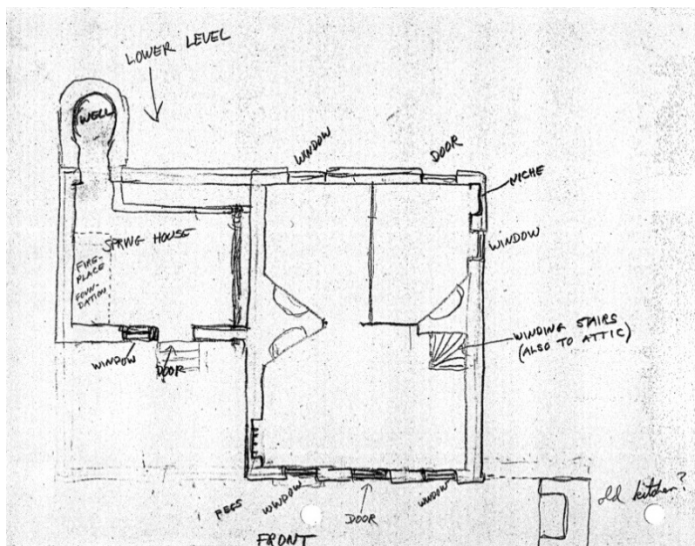
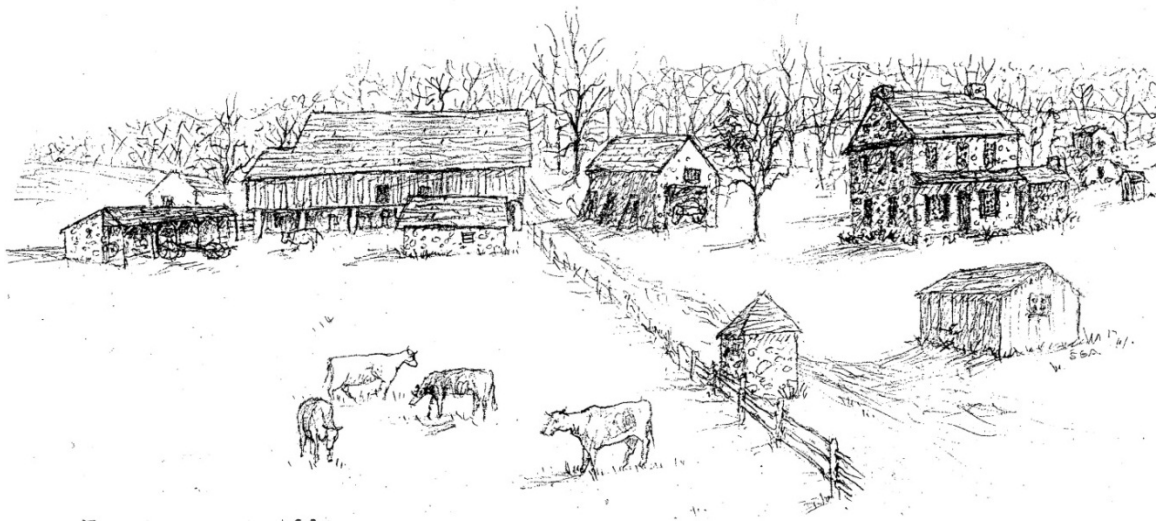


African-American Community in Tredyffrin Township around 1775 - 1785

*indicates the property of Rev. John Simonton who is known to have slaves up to about 1780. He did not register any slaves in 1780, but still had African Americans in his household in the 1790 Federal Census. The names of his slaves or the free African Americans in his household are unknown to us. Also in the township in unknown locations were: Freeman, Lilley, Robin, Dinah (registered by Richard Britain) and Quash (registered by John Williams).³³ *Illustration courtesy Mike Bertram*

In looking at this map, we see that around 1780, Phillis' next door neighbor was Nell Nash, nearly Phillis' own age, along with her seven year old daughter, Judith, and her mother, Venus. We imagine that the relationship between the families of Phillis and Nell was close. It is possible that one of Phillis' sons, Aaron, married a daughter of Nell. Moving eastward, are the Wilson farms where another Phillis (again, around the age of Phillis Highgate), Cate, a teenager, and Nance were in residence. It is possible that Cate later married Phillis Highgate's son Simon. We must assume that Phillis knew well, and was in communication with, to a greater or lesser extent based on personal preferences, all members of the African American community, not just in Tredyffrin Township, but in the bordering Willistown, East Whiteland, and Charlestown townships as well. We imagine it must have been a diverse and solid supportive network of individuals.³⁴

In 1993, local historian Sue Andrews wrote about excavations done on her family's property which had once belonged to Lewis Gronow. Her findings give us some suggestion of how this home may have looked at the time Aaron was a slave in Lewis Gronow's households. Shown below are Sue Andrew's sketches of the house and farm as they appear to have been in the eighteenth century.³⁵



The house at that time was a two-story structure with both a cellar and attic. When the farm was sold after Lewis Gronow's death, it was described as "containing 200 acres, whereon is a large Stone Dwelling House and Kitchen, also a Stone Spring House over a never failing spring of excellent lime-stone water. There are on the premises a large quantity of good meadow, watered by a stream sufficient for water works, a large young bearing orchard of excellent fruit, barn, stables and other out houses. The arable land is very fertile, and may easily be, manured, as there is a lime kiln, limestone and sufficient timber on the premises."³⁶

Excavations and now-existing structures, as well as the advertisements referred to above, suggest

a fairly large number of outbuildings, on the property, but exactly when each of them was built is not known. Of particular interest to us is the exterior kitchen which Sue Andrews estimated to be about fifteen square feet. This kitchen would have been typical of the area in which Phillis spent much of her time, preparing meals for Lewis Gronow, York and her sons. Among Sue Andrews' findings are shards of Rhenish ware (shown at right), probably from the early 1700's. These remains are probably typical of the vessels Phillis used to serve these meals. It is also likely that Phillis prepared meals for any number of visiting local gentry, especially around the time



Full size



of the American Revolution when Lewis Gronow was one of the sub-Lieutenants for Chester County. Phillis likely also had a large responsibility, with the help of the younger sons, for the care of the barnyard animals, milking, planting and tending vegetable and herb gardens, harvesting and preserving vegetables for winter use, cleaning and laundry.³⁷

Jordan's account of Phillis and Aaron quoted in part above continues that, during the Revolution, she shouldered a rifle to protect the family and farm from marauding soldiers. The Bull family history says it was Aaron who took up the rifle to defend the family. Considering that there were large numbers of soldiers in the area in 1777 and 1778, it is quite possible that both undertook this task at one time or another during those years. In 1782, when claims for reparation of damages done by the British during their brief campaign in the area were made, there is no record of claims filed by or on behalf of Lewis Gronow. Although he died in 1782 and may not have been in a position to file a claim himself, other claims were filed on behalf of deceased individuals' estates, so it is reasonable to assume that a claim would have been filed had there been substantial damages. If the stories of Phillis' and/or Aaron's defense of the Gronow family farm are correct, it appears they did a good job. It is also reasonable to assume that the offer of freedom by the British and the flight of Cato and Harry to the British during the British invasion was the subject of much discussion among York, Phillis and her family. It is not difficult to imagine that they too weighed the pros and cons of making a similar attempt for freedom, and it must have been an agonizing decision to make.³⁸

There are no other documents which can be identified as referring specifically to Phillis in the historical records. It is possible that she remained with the family of Lewis Gronow's sister, Sarah Gronow Bull most of her remaining years. Jordan's history says she lived with the Bull family the rest of her life. Support for that assumption is mixed in Federal census records. The 1790 federal census record lists Sarah Bull in Tredyffrin Township with one white male and three white females in her household: herself, her daughter Mary, her daughter Isabelle, and her son, John Gronow Bull. However, that census shows no "non-white" individuals in her household.

By the 1800 census Sarah is no longer listed, but her son John is now of age and is listed as a head of household. His household includes both a white male and female over the age of 45 which may be his parents. He also shows in his household at that time three "non-white" inhabitants. Whether this includes Phillis and any of her sons is not known. No gender or age is shown for these individuals so we have no clues to their identity. In 1810, John Bull's household includes one "non-white" individual, again with no identifying information given.³⁹

By 1820, John Bull has four "non-white" inhabitants in his household: two males age 14-26, one female age 14-26, and one female over the age of 45. This older woman could be Phillis. Sarah Bull died February 27, 1827, and it seems possible that Phillis also died sometime before 1830, at which time she would have been around 80 years of age. In 1830 there are two "non-white" individuals in John Bull's household, one male aged 55-99 and a female aged 24-35 who would be too young to be Phillis but could be the female listed in the 1820 census as being between the ages of 14-26. The older man may be York (then age 82 based on his age of 32 in the 1780 register) who Lewis Gronow charged his inheritors to care for in his old age if necessary. As noted earlier, York Hanley appears in the 1810 census, but he is no longer listed in 1820.⁴⁰

Just as we have no clear indication of when Phillis died, we also have no indication of where she was buried. The close of Phillis' life remains as much a mystery to us as does its beginning. But the reality of her existence is attested to today by those who can trace their ancestry to her.

Endnotes

1. Charles Henry Browning, *Welsh Settlement of Pennsylvania*, William J. Campbell, pub., 1912, pp. 11-42 shows the Tract as 50,000 acres along with Penn's instructions for laying out the Tract. These townships are in present day Montgomery, Delaware and Chester Counties. Mike Bertram points out in an attachment to an email dated 2/26/2012 that the 50,000 acres is incorrect and that if you add up the areas of the present day townships which lie within the recognized Welsh Tract you get over 100,000 acres. He also suggests that the 50,000 acre number comes from the first three of these townships settled, Merion, Radnor and Haverford who together have a combined area of just over 40,000 acres. This is likely correct as these three townships are the area that Charles Henry Browning focuses his book upon. Henry Ashmead, [*History of Delaware County, Pennsylvania*, L. H. Everts & Co., Philadelphia, PA, 1884, p. 202] says that "in 1677 James Sonderlands was the only person on the Delaware River from Upland [Chester] northward who owned a slave." In November, 1684, 150 Africans were brought by ship to Pennsylvania and quickly sold. [Gary B. Nash and Jean R. Soderlund, *Freedom by Degrees: Emancipation in Pennsylvania and its Aftermath*, Oxford University Press, NY, 1991, p. 10.] Douglas Harper, a historian from Lancaster County, says that slaves were in Chester County by 1687: "Slavery in the North", 2003, <http://www.slavenorth.com/slavenorth.htm>.
2. Cadwalader Morgan, "To Friends at Philadelphia," *Merion*, 1696, Special Collections, Haverford College Library, Haverford, PA; see also George Smith, *History of Delaware County*, pp. 190-91 in which he quotes a Chester County tax established in 1695 which taxes those who have male and female "negroes 16-60" which also confirms the presence of African Americans in Chester County by that date.
3. George F. Nagle, "Slave Names in Central Pennsylvania: Names Used for Enslaved People in Pennsylvania," <http://www.afrolumens.org/slavery/names.html> [site no longer available; see <http://web.archive.org/web/20101125071720/http://afrolumens.org/slavery/names.html> for summary of slaves in Tredyffrin Township 1760-1790 taxes, see "Slaves in Tredyffrin," Mike Bertram's Eighteenth Century Tredyffrin, at Tredyffrin-Easttown Historical Society website: <https://18ctredyffrin.tehistory.org/SlavesInTredyffrin.html>. The most accessible listing of information contained in the Chester County 1780 Slave Register can be found at the Chester County index on the Afrolumen's website at <http://www.afrolumens.org/slavery/chester1.html>. The Afrolumen's website is no longer active and cannot be reached directly through Google. It can be reached through the program "Wayback Machine" at <http://web.archive.org/web/20101125102620/http://afrolumens.org/slavery/chester1.html>.
4. Extracted from Afrolumen's website, <http://www.afrolumens.org/slavery/chester1.html> (see note 3). The original copy of the 1780 Slave Registration is in the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, PA.
5. Radnor monthly Meeting Manumissions, Friends Library, Swarthmore College, Swarthmore, PA; Henry Woodman, *The History of Valley Forge*, published by John U. Francis, Sr., Oaks, PA 1920, p. 41; PA Historical & Museum Commission, Records of the Comptroller General, RG-4, Tax & Exoneration Lists 176201794, Microfilm Roll 336 [ancestry.com, images 56 & 60].
6. Radnor Monthly Meeting Manumissions, Friends Library, Swarthmore College, Swarthmore, PA; Radnor Monthly Meeting Minutes, Special Collection, Haverford College Library, Haverford PA 13th 11th mo 1778, 11th 3rd mo 1779; *Pennsylvania Gazette*, April 19, 1764, Accessible Archives (<http://www.accessible.com/accessible/>); British Depredations, November, 1782, Chester County Archives (a summary of depredations filed on behalf of residents in Tredyffrin Township can also be found at Mike Bertram's Eighteenth Century Tredyffrin, <http://18ctredyffrin.tehistory.org/Military/Reparations.html>).
7. Chester County Archives, Estate Papers: John Havard 1770, #2551 and John Havard 1797 #4594; Radnor Monthly Meeting Minutes, 13th 11th Mo 1778, and 1st mo, 1779; 1780 Slave Register.
8. Radnor Monthly Meeting Minutes, 5th Mo 1779 and 10th Mo 1779; Will of Ann Havard, #3797 filed 25 July 1786, Chester County Archives.
9. Will of Sarah Havard, #5630 filed March 23, 1812, Chester County Archives; will of Hannah Havard, #5191 filed April 24, 1805, Chester County Archives; will of Samuel Havard, #5512 filed November 26, 1808, Chester County Archives; 1790 and 1800 Federal Census records, Tredyffrin Township, Chester County, PA., ancestry.com.

10. Accessible Archives, *Pennsylvania Packet*, Pennsylvania Gazette collection, August 25, 1778.
11. Mike Bertram, "Reverend William Currie 1710-1803: Aspects of His Life", November 28, 2004, <https://www.tehistory.org/hqda/html/v42/v42n2p049.html> ; Federal Census: 1790, Tredifferin [Tredyffrin], Chester, Pennsylvania, National Archives (NARA) Roll M637_8, page 50, image 263, Family History library film 0568148, [ancestry.com](http://www.ancestry.com), Provo, UT, USA.
12. Chester County Archives, Estate Papers, Elizabeth Davis 1781 #3289; for examples of the awareness of slaves of their legal rights, see Margaret Bolton, Petition to Judge Jeremiah Langhorne, November 3, 1739 [Bucks County Court of Quarter Session, Miscellaneous Papers 1729-1840, #55, Record Group 2:12, Bucks County historical Society, Daylesford, PA 18901] in which she asks the Judge's assistance to "Negro Hygate" on behalf of his son, and also Samuel Eastburn petition to Judge Langhorne, March 11, 1741 [Ibid., #60] in which Eastburn references his many appearances in court to answer charges brought by "Negro Higate" on behalf of his son; See also Cato's letter to the Pennsylvania Legislature published in the *Freedman's Journal*, September 21, 1781 at <http://historymatters.gmu.edu/d/5716/> ; and see Pennsylvania Archives, Colonial Records which contain several instances of slaves or reported slaves petitioning the Provincial Council.
13. Franklin L. Burns, "The Invasion of Tredyffrin: A Local Cross-Section of British Aggression during the American Revolution," *Tredyffrin Easttown Historical Society Quarterly*, Volume 3, Number 2, April 1940, pp. 27-41, p. 36: The full version of this story is: "Hector Mullen, a pickaninny belonging to Jones, lived to become the patriarch of a numerous tribe and took great pride in his old age recalling the time he held Howe's war horse in front of the headquarters. It was the proudest event of his life. The General threw him a small English coin which the delighted negro tossed into the air until he failed to make the catch and the coin rolled under the great stone doorstep, lost to him forever."
14. Chester County Archives, Estate Papers, John Cloyd, 1782 #3422; this is the only individual of African American heritage in Tredyffrin at this early date for whom an actual date of death has been found, thanks to the completeness of the accounting for John Cloyd's estate.
15. Ibid.; Chester County Archives, Estate Papers, Sarah Cloyd 1784 #3594; "An Act for the Gradual Abolition of Slavery in Pennsylvania", Commonwealth of Pennsylvania Legislative Reference Bureau website, <http://www.palrb.us/statutesatlarge/17001799/1780/0/act/0881.pdf> ; Nash & Soderland—*Freedom by Degrees*, pp. 112-13.
16. James Oliver Horton, Lois E. Horton, *In Hope of Liberty: Culture, Community, and Protest Among Northern Free Blacks, 1700-1860*, Oxford University Press, New York, 1998, p. 92.
17. Federal census, 1790, 1800, 1810 for Tredyffrin Township, Chester County, Pennsylvania, www.ancestry.com (see note 38).
18. See note 1; Pennsylvania Gazette ads found at Accessible Archives: <http://www.accessible.com/accessible/> ; we know, for example, that at least Simon and Amos (and most likely Aaron and Moses) Highgate were born in Tredyffrin, and we also know that tax and newspaper reports support the presence of slaves in Tredyffrin at least by 1760 and there is no reason not to assume they were there even earlier.
19. Chester County Archives, Estate Papers, John Gronow 1776 #2980
20. PA Archives, Series 2, Vol III, "Marriage Records of Christ Church, Philadelphia, 1709 – 1806, p. 108; Chester County Archives, online Tax Index and Mike Bertram, "Slaves in Tredyffrin," 18th Century Tredyffrin Digital Archives, Tredyffrin Easttown Historical Society, www.tehistory.org. The precise ages of taxable slaves/servants is unclear with Nash & Soderland saying in *Freedom by Degrees* page 35 that it is age 15-50, but on page 36 saying it is age 12-50. Information for tax records particularly as compared to the 1780 Slave Register suggests that women slaves and/or servants were not consistently shown as taxable. Elizabeth Rumrill, "Eighteenth Century Burials in St. Peter's Churchyard," *History Quarterly*, Tredyffrin Easttown Historical Society, October 1980, Volume 18, Number 4, pp. 111-15, (Digital Archives at www.tehistory.org); John Gronow Will #2980; Chester County Archives, Estate Papers, Isabel Gronow 1788 #3966.
21. See note 12 above.

22. Mike Bertram's "Slaves in Tredyffrin" and Chester County Archives. Will and Inventory of John Gronow, cited above, note 19.
23. Chester County Archives, Deed Book T, page 136 and page 137; Chester County Archives, Online Tax Index 1715-1799: 1770-1775, 1780.
24. 1780 slave register, Chester County: <http://www.afrolumens.org/slavery/chesteg.html> - Gronow, Lewis (see note 3).
25. Chester County Archives, Estate Papers, Lewis Gronow 1782 #3433.
26. Ibid., (Accounts dated 1794); For example, Section 4 of 1780 Act for the Gradual Abolition of Slavery in Pennsylvania required that the children born to slave mothers and bound to the age of 28 were "entitled to... like freedom dues and other privileges as servants bound by indenture for four years are or may be entitled" for general information regarding indentured servants and children in Pennsylvania, see Karen Mullian, "Indentured Servants", Albuquerque Genealogical Society, February, 1999 at <http://abqgen.swnet.com/article1.html>.
27. It would also appear that Amos was not bound to Lewis Gronow as we might assume he would be because there is no mention of any indentured servants among his estate's assets as there normally is for indentured servants. When John Gronow died, for example, specific provisions are made in respect to his indentured servant, Benjamin Tweeny. This suggests that either Amos was indentured to someone else, or Phillis earned enough for her services as a domestic in Lewis Gronow's home, and later the Bull household, to support Amos. It is interesting to note that Lewis Gronow, a member of the "Committee for Safety" for Chester County which became the local government in December 1774, was appointed along with six others in March 1775 to draft a petition to present to the General Assembly regarding the manumission of slaves with particular attention to granting freedom to children of women to be born thereafter to slave women. [*History of Chester County, Pennsylvania with Genealogical and Biographical Sketches*, J. Smith Futhy and Gilbert Cope, Louis H. Everett, Philadelphia 1881, p. 61] There is no record that this committee, which included at least two other slave owners (Persifor Frazer of Thornbury Township and James Moore of West Nantmeal Township), ever produced such a petition, or what influence it or they may have had on the development of the 1780 Act for the Gradual Abolition of Slavery in Pennsylvania. It is hard to believe that Lewis Gronow had a great concern himself for the freedom of children born to slave mothers when he registered the son of Phillis, born when she was no longer a slave, as a slave for life whom he owned in 1780. Chester County Archives, septennial census records 1814 show Amos Highgate, Miller; Reginald H. Pitts, "Moses Highgate, Miller of Cheltenham Township," Old York Road Historical Society Bulletin, Vol. XLIX, 1989, pp. 15-25; Chester County Archives, 1783 Tax Assessment, Tredyffrin Township; the eight mills included four grist mills, three saw mills, and one fulling mill. Among close by mills in the immediate neighborhood of the Gronow farm were the Great Valley Mills (Rowland's) and the mills of Joseph, Mitchell.
28. Chester County Archives, Estate Papers, Isabel Gronow 1788 #3966; the 1780 Act for the Gradual Abolition of Slavery in Pennsylvania and its amendment established age 25 as the time when those individuals born to slaves after 1780 were to be free. Lewis Gronow seems to have used this as his guide in manumitting his young slaves
29. John Woolf Jordan, *Genealogical & Personal History of the Allegheny Valley, Pennsylvania*, New York, Lewis Historical Pub. Co., 1913, Volume II, p. 451; James H. Bull, *Record of the Descendants of John and Elizabeth Bull: Early Settlers in Pennsylvania*, San Francisco, Shannon-Conmy Co., 1919, p. 21.
30. Of 27 marriages of slaves recorded in Philadelphia 1745-1776, 21 were marriages of individuals owned by different persons. While the average for married slaves living in different households may have been higher in the urban city environment than may have been the case for more rural areas such as Tredyffrin township, other examples can be found closer to Tredyffrin which support the sense that the same was true here. When Charles Humphries of Haverford died, he had several slaves, and had registered nine slaves, including Nanny, 70, Cezar 36, Tom 34, Nancy 44, Judy, 25, Dolly 20, Alice 10, Jimmy 8, and Fanny 13 months. His will shows him still possessed of most of these individuals when he died. He freed his slaves (Judy's daughters when they became of age), and ordered that a house be built for Tom and Judy on a piece of property he left to them and

Cezar jointly. One might assume from all this that Tom and Judy were married, but subsequent records, as demonstrated by Catherine Cumin in “The Blacks in Radnor before 1850”, Radnor Historical Society Bulletin, Vol. 3, No. 3, 1973, show they were not. Cezar, Tom and Judy were each married, but none of them were married to anyone else in the Humphries’ household.

31. Lewis Gronow wrote at the end of his will “Item all the rest & residue of my goods, chattels, rents, & personal estate, whatsoever, not herein devised, bequeathed, or applied, I give & bequeath to the ligates afore mentioned and my executors hereafter mentioned [excepting the negro, & all the mulattoes, are here excluded] to be equally divided. . . .” Some have referenced the 30 pounds willed to Phillis by Lewis Gronow as suggesting something more to their relationship than a master/servant relationship. However, the frequency with which slave owners in Tredyffrin Township around this time left legacies to servants mitigates against this idea. For example, Gronow’s neighbors, John and Sarah Cloyd, left legacies of £50 to their slaves Nell and Judith and the Havard family left legacies to their slaves/servants [see wills previously cited]. While the 1780 law repealed the prior law whereby those who manumitted slaves were required to post a bond of £30 to assure that the upkeep of their former slaves would not become a burden to their neighbors, many wills during this period continued the custom by leaving legacies of £30-£50 pounds to their manumitted slaves. There is a Thomas Hiatt in New Garden in the 1730-50 tax records, and his son Peter Hiatt in New London whose name shows up as Highgate some years 1729-1734, along with a David Highgate in Fallowfield in 1739. “Highgate” in these records seems to be a misspelling of the name Hiatt, the one most frequently used. Even if they were known to some as Highgate, there are no Highgates or Hiatt’s in the Chester County tax record indexes during the years in which Phillis’ sons were born so while some have suggested a link between these two families it does not appear that there is one.
32. Chester County Archives: Negro Slave Returns 1788-1821.
33. 1780 Slave Registration (cited above), British Reparations (cited above); Source information for other individuals as cited for them above. Map courtesy of Mike Bertram, Tredyffrin Easttown Historical Society .
34. Aaron Highgate married Susan Nash per the death certificate of his son Aaron Highgate in Midland, Michigan, 24 November 1905 [Michigan Deaths and Burials, 1800-1995, FamilySearch, Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints; <https://familysearch.org/pal:MM9.1.1/FH2Z-98F>]; Cate (slave of John Wilson) had a son, London born in 1789 whose birth is attested to by the Chester County Negro Slave Returns 1788-1821 and the will of John Wilson [Conrad Wilson, “The ‘Original’ Wilson Home,” Tredyffrin Easttown Historical Society Quarterly Digital Archives, Vol. 21, No. 4, pp. 127-32, October 1983]; London Highgate is in various Chester County records in the first half of the 19th century. It seems likely, but is not proven, that Simon Highgate, near the same age as Cate and living in close proximity, is the father of Cate’s son London.
35. It is unclear exactly when Lewis Gronow moved from the house on the property he had bought from James Davis on which this home is located and into the home he inherited from his father; according to Lewis’ will, he was living in the house he inherited from his father at the time of his own death in 1782. The general arrangements and facilities of this house (outdoor kitchen, spring house, gardens, outbuildings, etc.) were probably fairly typical of most houses in the area at the time. If the family moved to John Gronow’s house soon after John’s death, descriptions of spaces reserved for John Gronow’s widow within that house suggest general similarity between the two properties in these respects. It is also unclear where Phillis and her family lived after the death of Lewis. His sister Sarah was given the use of two rooms, kitchen, spring house and gardens, orchard, etc. in Lewis’ first property and his stepmother continued to have similar usage rights in the house of John Gronow. Lewis Gronow’s will indicated that the two properties should be rented with these reservations and the final accounting for his estate seems to indicate that they were rented to John Brown. In 1789, this property (Lewis Gronow’s original house) was sold so it is likely that the family was living in the home left to Lewis Gronow by his father at least at that point. If Phillis continued as a servant to Sarah Bull, which is what the Bull family history and Jordan’s book suggest, she likely resided in the home described herein until around 1789 when Isabel Gronow died and this house was sold and then moved back to the John Gronow house where she had begun her life in Tredyffrin Township as a slave of John Gronow. One or more of her sons may have lived with the family, providing labor for the farm, or may have boarded with other farmers/millers to whom they were hired out.

36. Advertisement from *The Village Record*, July 18, 1787 as found in Accessible Archives; all illustrations by Sue Andrews.
37. Sue Andrews, "Found in Our Front Yard" Tredyffrin Easttown Historical Society, Vol. 31, No., 4, pp. 149-56; The will of John Gronow describes a similar house arrangement in the description of space within his house to be available to his widow; assessment of Phillis' duties based on advertisements for slave women in the 18th century in *Pennsylvania Gazette* as found in Accessible Archives.
38. Jordan, Allegheny County History (cited above); Bull family history (cited above); British Reparations (cited above);
39. Where her husband, Thomas Bull, is when the census is taken is unknown but he was still living at least until 1789 and possibly until after 1800. If he was still living when the 1790 census was taken, he was not with the family as Sarah Bull is listed as the head of her household. Chester County Archives, Sheriff's Deeds, 1773-1875, Lewis Gronow, 1789, Docket 1:47 shows Sarah and Thomas Bull's signature in the release of one of the properties of Lewis Gronow in 1789; the inclusion of a male over 45 years of age in John B. Bull's household in the 1800 census suggests he may still have been living at that time.
40. Village Record, Apr. 4, 1827, AccessibleArchives (cited above); Census records cited throughout this report, all viewed on **ancestry.com**, Provo, UT, USA: 1790, Tredifferin [Tredyffrin], Chester, Pennsylvania, National Archives (NARA) Roll M637_8, page 50, image 263, Family History library film 0568148; 1800 Tredyffrin, Chester, Pennsylvania, NARA Roll 36, page 832, image 243, Family History Library Film 36339; 1810 Tredyffrin, Chester, Pennsylvania, NARA Roll 47, page 293, Family History Number 0193673, image 00095; 1820 Tredyffrin, Chester, Pennsylvania, NARA Roll M33_96, page 429; 1820 Tredyffrin, Chester, Pennsylvania NARA Roll M33_96, page 429, Image 293; 1830 Tredyffrin, Chester, Pennsylvania, NARA M19_148, page 119, Family History Film 0020622.



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