

“A REGULAR SLAVE HUNT”

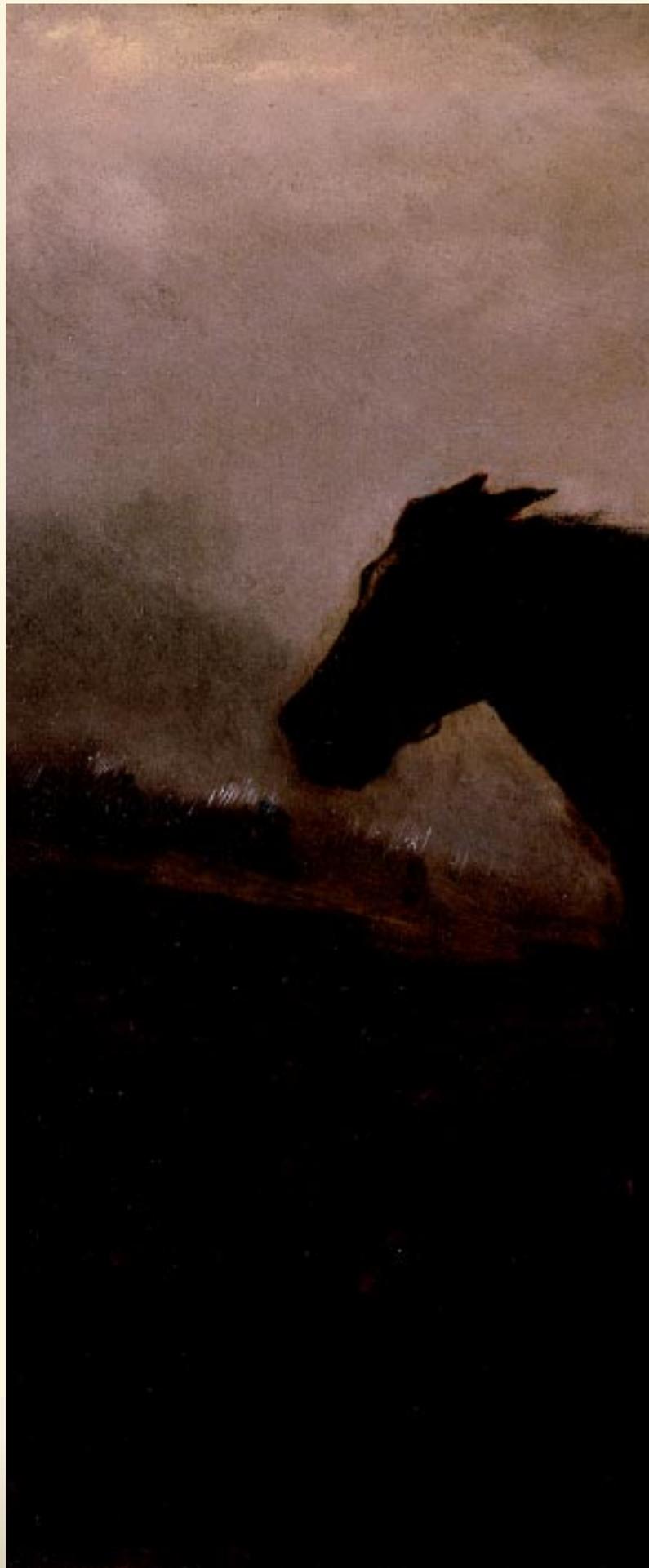
**THE ARMY OF NORTHERN
VIRGINIA AND BLACK
CIVILIANS IN THE
GETTYSBURG CAMPAIGN**

“They took up all they could find, even little children, whom they had to carry on horseback before them. All who could get there fled to the woods, and many who were wise are hid in the houses of their employers.”

—*Jemima K. Cree*

Ted Alexander

“**A Ride for Liberty—the Fugitive Slaves**”
(circa 1863) by Eastman Johnson (1824-1906).
*Courtesy Brooklyn Museum of Art (40.59A),
gift of Gwendolyn O.L. Conkling.*





On Friday, June 26, 1863, McNeill's Rangers, a Confederate partisan band operating on the fringe of the Army of Northern Virginia, entered the small south-central Pennsylvania farming community of Mercersburg. Named after Revolutionary War hero Dr. Hugh Mercer, and birthplace of President James Buchanan, the town boasted one school of note, the Reformed Church Theological Seminary. During the Civil War one of its leading professors, Dr. Philip Schaff, kept a detailed diary of events in and around Mercersburg. On June 26 he recorded that "this guerilla band came to town on a regular slave-hunt, which presented the worst spectacle I ever saw in this war."¹

ONE OF THE GREAT OVERLOOKED STORIES OF THE GETTYSBURG CAMPAIGN is the abduction of free blacks and fugitive slaves from their homes in south-central Pennsylvania. African-Americans had first come to this region in the mid-eighteenth century as slaves of Scots-Irish and German settlers. In 1780 the Pennsylvania Assembly passed a law that allowed for the gradual emancipation of slaves—all adult slaves were to be liberated on or before July 4, 1827, and children born in the interim were to be freed when they reached the age of twenty-one. Thus, by the outbreak of the Civil War, free blacks had been living in the area for several generations; the 1860 census listed 1,738 blacks and mulattos living in the county—some making a living as small farmers, others as craftsmen and laborers. Many had taken on the family names of their former masters: Scots-Irish names such as Crunkleton, McCulloch and Campbell, and German (Pennsylvania Deutsch or "Dutch") names such as Stoner, Keefer and Snowberger.

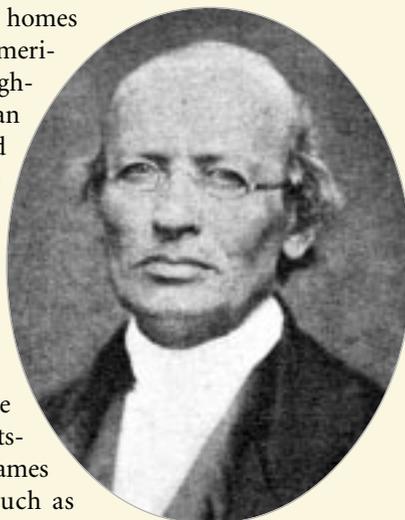
The same law which abolished slavery in the state also provided that escaped slaves coming into the state were to be set free. Franklin County, its southern boundary resting on the Mason-Dixon Line and the slave state of Maryland, its southwest corner just six miles from the Potomac river and the state of Virginia, became a haven for fugitive slaves. By 1861, enclaves of these fugitives had been established in the region; one southwest of the town of Mercersburg came to be known as "Little Africa." With the coming of the war the number of runaways naturally increased.²

The national Fugitive Slave Law of 1850 required all citizens to help apprehend runaways or face imprisonment and fines. But in the summer of 1861 Union general Benjamin Butler circumvented this law, declaring runaways who reached his lines to be "contraband of war"; escaped slaves would henceforth be regarded as federal property. Butler refused to return any property—including slaves—to disloyal owners, unless they were willing to take an oath of loyalty to the United States.

Legislation followed which further undermined the institution of slavery. Following the Confiscation Acts of summer 1861 and summer 1862, an even more sweeping step was taken

after the Battle of Antietam, when President Lincoln issued his preliminary Emancipation Proclamation. This was to take effect in January 1863. Although it did not free all the slaves, and indeed did not free *any* immediately, it did declare all slaves in areas controlled by the Confederates to be free, and essentially paved the way for total emancipation.

From late 1861 bands of contrabands, sometimes numbering in the thousands, congregated around Union camps. Attempts to recapture them were not uncommon during rebel incursions into Union held territory. In May 1862, thousands of blacks fled the lower Shenandoah valley in the wake of Stonewall Jackson's legendary campaign. In addition to escaped slaves, free blacks also fled, fearing impressment into Confederate service as laborers, or sale into slavery. In September of that year, during the Maryland Campaign, Jackson captured Harpers Ferry, paroling its white garrison, but prevented the large black refugee population from crossing the Potomac to freedom. Perhaps as many as one thousand blacks were taken south into bondage.³



Left: Presbyterian minister Dr. Thomas Creigh was instrumental in having some of the kidnapped blacks released (*Old Mercersburg*). Right: Chambersburg resident Rachel Cormany wrote: "Oh how it grated on our hearts.... one woman was pleading...for her children." (*The Cormany Diaries*).

THE FIRST RECORDED INSTANCE OF CIVILIAN ABDUCTIONS IN PENNSYLVANIA DURING THE WAR took place the following month during Jeb Stuart's Chambersburg raid. Under direct orders from his commander, General Robert E. Lee, Stuart was to take civilians prisoner, both as a security measure—in order to protect the secrecy of his movements—and as retaliation for the arrest of civilians in Virginia by Union forces. Lee specified that those in the latter category were to be government officials.⁴

Perhaps as many as thirty civilians were taken to Virginia and interned in Libby Prison (one of them, Mercersburg attorney Perry Rice, died in captivity). The biographical sketch of Presbyterian minister Dr. Thomas Creigh, contained in the book *Old Mercersburg*, suggests that blacks were among the prisoners: "When Mercersburg was raided by General Stuart... in 1862, several colored men were taken captive and carried to Richmond. Dr. Creigh wrote to Dr. Moore, one of the clergymen of Richmond, and was instrumental in having these free men sent

home.” (Some local historians suspect this account may be in error, and that it refers instead to actions taken by the Confederates in June 1863. However, at least one black man from the area claimed to have been taken hostage by Stuart’s cavalry during the October 1862 Chambersburg Raid.)⁵

Nine months after Stuart’s raid more than 75,000 Confederates crossed into Pennsylvania during the Gettysburg Campaign. Accounts show that as soon as Lee’s army arrived in the state they began rounding up blacks from various communities and taking them back to Virginia. The abductions began in Chambersburg with the arrival on June 15 of rebel cavalry under General Albert G. Jenkins. Rachel Cormany, a resident of the town whose husband was serving as an officer in the 16th Pennsylvania Cavalry, provided a graphic account of the kidnappings in her diary. She wrote that the Confederates: were hunting up the contrabands and driving them off by droves. O! How it grated on our hearts to have to sit quietly and look at such brutal deeds—I saw no men among the contrabands—all women and children. Some of the colored people who were raised here were taken along—I sat on the front step as they were driven by just like we would drive cattle. Some laughed and seemed not to care—but nearly all hung their heads. One woman was pleading wonderfully with her driver for her children—but all the sympathy she received from him was a rough “March along”—at which she would quicken her pace again. It is a query what they want with those little babies—whole families were taken. Of course when the mother was taken she would take her children. I suppose the men left thinking the women and children would not be disturbed.⁶

Mrs. Jemima K. Cree wrote to her husband John who was out of town in Pittsburgh at the time of Jenkins’ raid. In her

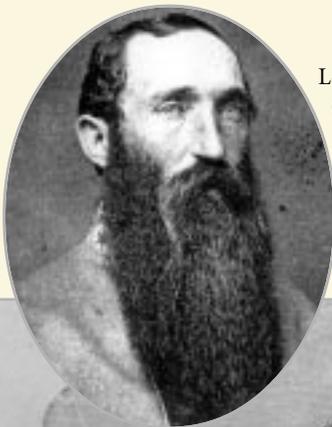
letter of June 15 she complained of the rebel actions and described her efforts to free an employee. “This morning among the first news I heard was that they had been scouting around, gathering up our Darkies, and that they had Mag down on the court house pavement. I got my ‘fixens’ on, and started down, and there were about 25 women and children, with Mag and Fannie. I interceded for Mag, told them she was free born, etc. The man said he could do nothing, he was acting according to orders. As they were just ready to start, I had to leave; if I could have had time to have seen the General, I might have got her off. Fannie being contraband, we could do nothing about her.” The latter statement suggests that the Confederates were under orders to round up contrabands, but simply seized blacks irrespective of status.

Mrs. Cree then witnessed the hapless victims marched off. “They took up all they could find, even little children, whom they had to carry on horseback before them. All who could get there fled to the woods, and many who were wise are hid in the houses of their employers.” Chambersburg businessman William Heyser noted in his diary that when the rebels left town on June 18 they took with them “about 250 colored people...into bondage.”⁷

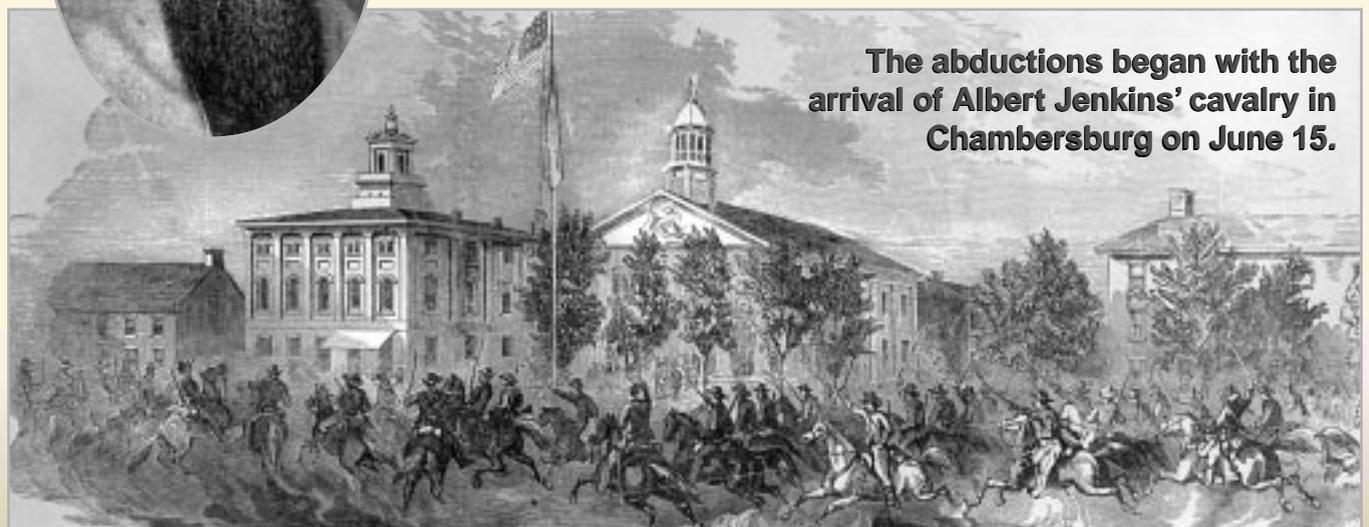
In some cases, however, the intercession of local white citizens brought freedom to the victims. When Chambersburg businessman Jacob Hoke noticed that “well and favorably known colored man, Esque Hall” was being abducted he immediately appealed to prominent Reform Church theologian Rev. Dr. Benjamin S. Schneck. Schneck went to Jenkins’ headquarters and “after assuring Jenkins that Hall was long a resident of [Chambersburg], and not a fugitive slave, he was released.” Schneck also intervened successfully on behalf of Henry Deitrick and Samuel Claudy, two black repair hands on the Cumberland Valley Railroad.⁸

Abductions were not limited to Chambersburg. Farmer Amos Stouffer’s diary reveals that Jenkins’ men were “scouring the country in every direction about Waynesboro, Greencastle, Mercersburg [and] Finkstown for horses and cattle and Negroes.”⁹

Mercersburg resident Philip Schaff’s detailed diary entries for June 16-18, 1863, tell of the “flight of the poor contraband negroes to the mountains from fear of being captured by the rebels and dragged to the South.” These fears were realized on



Left: Albert G. Jenkins (National Archives). Below: Confederate cavalry charging through the streets of Chambersburg (from a wartime sketch by George Law. Library of Congress).



The abductions began with the arrival of Albert Jenkins’ cavalry in Chambersburg on June 15.

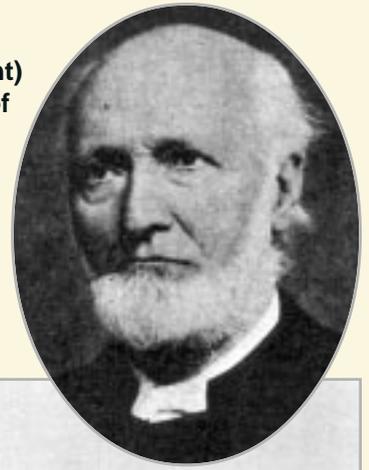
June 19 when Schaff reported that a detachment of Jenkins' cavalry under Colonel Milton Ferguson returned from a foraging expedition to McConnellsburg with about two hundred head of cattle and "two or three negro boys."

The *Mercersburg Journal* reported that "several of our colored men were observed to be in their custody two of these were John Filkill and Findlay Cuff. They were taken along with a number of others, having before them the cheerless prospect of being sold as slaves in the far South. Some of these unfortunates were brought back, or found their way home again after six months or a year. Others were never returned or heard of afterward."

Two guerilla bands, Mosby's and McNeill's rangers, operated on the fringes of Lee's army during this time. Schaff's diary mentions that McNeill's group threatened to "burn down every house which harbored a fugitive slave, and did not deliver him up within twenty minutes." The rebels then proceeded to search every house in which they suspected blacks were hiding. Schaff wrote that, "They succeeded in capturing several contrabands, among them a woman with two little children."

Philip Schaff (right) reported the capture of several Negro boys by a detachment of cavalry under the command of Colonel Milton Ferguson, 16th Virginia Cavalry.

(Old Mercersburg).



Main Street, Mercersburg, circa 1900 (courtesy John Thompson).



Tom Pawling's Antrim House, close by the spot where a band of citizens freed black captives. (*Historical Sketch of Franklin County, Pennsylvania, 1887*).

The following day Schaff recorded that the raiders rode through town with much plunder, including hundreds of head of livestock and "twenty one negroes." Although the Confederates claimed that all of the captured African-Americans were escaped slaves from Virginia, Schaff was certain that a number of them were born and raised in the Mercersburg area.¹⁰

The kidnappings continued. In Greencastle, Charles Hartman, a member of the town council and prominent businessman, kept a detailed diary of events. In his entry for June 22, 1863, he recorded, "One of the exciting features of the day was the scouring of the fields about town and searching of houses for negroes. These poor creatures, those of them who had not fled upon the approach of the foe, concealed in wheat fields about the town. Cavalrymen rode in search of them and many of them were caught after a desperate chase and being fired at."¹¹

It was in Greencastle where one of the most dramatic episodes occurred. This farming community of thirteen hundred people straddled the Valley Pike just four miles from the Mason-Dixon Line and ten miles south of Chambersburg, and lay directly in the path of Lee's invasion. On the afternoon of June 16 from thirty to forty African-American women and children, taken at Chambersburg, were brought to Greencastle in wagons headed for Virginia. In charge of them was a Confederate chaplain and four soldiers. As they came through town the rebels were disarmed by a band of citizens, apparently led by Tom Pawling, the owner of a popular eatery, the Antrim House, and a militant abolitionist.

The Confederates were taken to Waynesboro as prisoners and the women and children freed. On reflection the citizens decided to let the rebels go free, lest the town face retribution. This was fine with the soldiers, but on his release the chaplain demanded reparations of \$50,000.00 for the loss of what he claimed were his slaves. When this was not forthcoming he dropped his demand to \$25,000.00, and threatened to burn the town if the amount were not paid. Of course the citizens had no means to pay this ransom and stood fast in the face of the rebel chaplain's threats. When the ultimatum's deadline came and went the town remained standing and the angry Southern clergyman departed without his "slaves."¹²

A postscript to this incident appeared in the July 17, 1863, issue of the *Mercersburg Journal*. The editor's review of the invasion included a story about the group of blacks who had been freed at Greencastle. "Several miles on this side of Greencastle, toward evening, we passed 13 of these rescued contraband of

whom 3 were adults and the balance children... on their way down to give themselves up, having heard that the town was threatened with burning. Long before they [got] there, however, their hard masters had left." If this account is true it stands as an incredible example of self-sacrifice.¹³

Besides the rescue in Greencastle, the *Chambersburg Repository* reported that "Many escaped in various ways.... One negro effected his escape by shooting and seriously wounding his rebel guard. He forced the gun from the rebel and fired, wounding him in the head and then skedaddled."¹⁴



Guerilla bands under Mosby and McNeill operated on the fringes of Lee's army.

Left: John Singleton Mosby (*L.C. Handy Studios*).
Right: John Hanson McNeill (*Bill Turner collection*).

Confederate forces continued to round up African-Americans as late as July 1, 1863. Around noon on that date a group of more than fifty partisans, led by none other than Major John S. Mosby, arrived in Mercersburg. While the main body of this command rode on to forage in the countryside, a small detachment remained in the town. This group, described by witnesses as "drunken," robbed individual citizens and looted stores. The local newspaper reported that the band, "denying connection with the regular army..., felt licensed to do and dare whatever Satan suggested." One "Satanic suggestion" prompted the raiders to force "along with them several free colored citizens, some of whom were highly esteemed in the community." When Judge James Carson asked one of the guerrillas whether they took "free negroes," the rebel replied "yes and we will take you too if you do not shut up!"¹⁵

Mosby soon led his small force back across the nearby Potomac. But not until, according to one of them, Private James J. Williamson, "he had gathered up 218 head of cattle, 15 horses and 12 negroes."¹⁶

HOW MANY AFRICAN-AMERICANS WERE TAKEN BACK TO VIRGINIA DURING LEE'S INVASION? We cannot be sure. The July 8, 1863, issue of *Chambersburg's Franklin Repository* stated that, "Quite a number of negroes, free and slave—men, women and children—were captured by Jenkins and started South to be sold into bondage...perhaps full fifty were got off to slavery...."¹⁷ As previously noted, *Chambersburg* businessman William Heyser estimated the total at 250.

All armies contain men of good will and men of ill, and war has a way of bringing out the best in the one and the worst in the other. The contrast below is a case in point.

William Steptoe Christian:

William Steptoe Christian was born in 1830, and practiced medicine until he joined the Confederate army in 1861 as a captain. In May 1863 he became colonel of his regiment. His letter quoted on page 88 was found on the battlefield at Gettysburg: it continues, "They were so scared that I turned them all loose."

Colonel Christian was captured at Falling Waters on July 15. Sent first to Old Capitol Prison in Washington, and then to Johnson's Island, he reportedly assumed the duties of camp doctor and was praised by former prisoners for his humanity and efficiency. Exchanged in March 1864, he took part in the battles in Virginia until March of the following year, when he was wounded in the thigh and resigned his commission. After the war he resumed his medical practice. He died in 1910. *Photograph courtesy Virginia Historical Society.*



Letter from 1st Lieutenant Chester K. Leach, Company H, 2nd Vermont Infantry:

Near Boonsboro, Md.,
July 15th, 1863

Dear Wife,

I seat myself to pen you a line, not knowing when I shall have another opportunity. We marched to this place today from Williamsport & a very hot day it has been too. Yesterday morning it was found that the rebels had left our front, & we marched to the river at Williamsport. Our Cavalry came on some of them on this side of the river & captured a few hundred of them & two pieces of Artillery. They kept their doings a secret or I recon they would have not got over as well as they did. I suppose some will blame Gen. Meade for letting them cross the river, but it is impossible to tell the doings of the enemy unless you attack in force or have means of getting around them for a thousand will make as good a show as 100 thousand. I don't know what our movement will be now, but make a guess that in a week we will be in the vicinity of Centerville & Fairfax....

I saw a sight yesterday that beats all I ever saw. A Negro boy that the Rebels left in a barn, entirely naked. His breast cut & bowels were scratched or cut & the Dr. said that turpentine had been put on him & also his privates had been cut off. I went in the barn to see him but it was rather dark. He lay on his back, his legs bent, knees up, & grinding his teeth & foaming at the mouth & seemed to take no notice of anything & breast & bowels looked as if they had been cut & then burned all over. I understand the reason of the act to be because he would not go over the river with them....

Yours,
C.K. Leach



NOTE: the full text of Christian's letter can be seen on our updated website at www.northandsouthmagazine.com.

Most of the kidnapped blacks were probably from Franklin or neighboring Fulton County. But the panic engendered was more widespread. A massive exodus of blacks occurred in neighboring communities when word spread about what the Southern invaders were up to.



Longstreet ordered Pickett to move his division toward Gettysburg, and concluded: “the captured contrabands had better be brought along with you for further disposition.”

Left: General James Longstreet (*Lee-Fendall House, Alexandria, Va.*).
Right: General George Pickett (*William A. Turner collection*).

At the time of the campaign, York, Pennsylvania, east of Gettysburg, had a population of around 450 African-Americans, most of whom fled the town to avoid the fate of their Chambersburg brethren. One of them, William Goodridge, was a prominent merchant (he owned a variety store) and a “conductor” on the Underground Railroad. His sons operated a successful photo studio, “The Premium Skylight Gallery.” Goodridge left town and never returned, opting instead to move to the midwest and go into business there. In Gettysburg the pre-invasion black population was 186; records show that by the fall of 1863 fewer than seventy remained. Farther west, thousands of blacks—both free and contraband—reportedly fled the Cumberland Valley for Harrisburg.¹⁸

There is evidence to show that some of those kidnapped ended up in Confederate prisons. After the battle of Gettysburg a group of local white men were taken prisoner when they strayed too near rebel lines at Hagerstown. These Franklin Countians were interned in several prisons in Richmond, including the infamous “Castle Thunder.” One of the prisoners, D.M. Eiker of Chambersburg, recalled his prison experience for author Jacob Hoke in his book *Historical Reminiscences of The War In and About Chambersburg*. Eiker wrote that, “A little colored boy from York, Pa., captured during the invasion, was in Castle Thunder, but was allowed to go and come at his pleasure.” Eiker also encountered a black man from Chambersburg. “While in the Castle I met Alexander Lewis, a colored man, from this place, known to many of our citizens.” Lewis had been captured during the invasion, and placed in the prison’s culinary department. Lewis apparently made it back to Chambersburg, for at the time of the publication of Hoke’s book in 1884 he was said to have been working at a hotel in the town.¹⁹

The existing evidence of Confederate abductions of African-Americans in southern Pennsylvania raises more questions than it answers. Were these isolated acts perpetrated by unruly

soldiers? Did they stem from official policy? Or did the Confederate high command simply condone the kidnappings after the fact? One damning piece of evidence can be found in the *Official Records*. A dispatch dated July 1, 1863, from General James Longstreet, Lee’s First Corps commander, directs General George Pickett to move his division toward Gettysburg, and concludes with the statement, “The captured contrabands had better be brought along with you for further disposition.”²⁰

Not all the invaders were comfortable with the kidnappings. The aptly named Colonel William Christian of the 55th Virginia Infantry wrote to his wife on June 28, 1863, that:

there is a good deal of plundering going on, confined principally to the taking of provisions. No houses were searched and robbed like our houses were done by the Yankees. Pigs, chickens, geeses etc are finding their way into our camp; it can’t be prevented and I can’t think it ought to be. We must show them something of war. I have sent out today to get a good horse; I have no scruples about that as they have taken mine. We took a lot of negroes yesterday. I was offered my choice but as I could not get them back home I would not take them. In fact, my humanity revolted at taking the poor devils away from their homes...²¹ □

THE BURNING OF CHAMBERSBURG

The final Confederate outrage visited upon the people, black and white, of Franklin County occurred on July 30, 1864. On that date Jenkins’ cavalry returned, now under the command of Brigadier General John McCausland. Their mission was to levy a tribute on Chambersburg or burn it to the ground in retaliation for the destruction by General Hunter of the homes of three prominent West Virginia secessionists. The townfolk were unable to meet the ransom demand of \$500,000 in greenbacks or \$100,000 in gold, and the place was torched. More than 500 structures were burned and the core of the town was destroyed. Discipline broke down, as many Confederates got drunk, robbed and looted. One citizen, a black man, was killed when Confederates repeatedly pushed him back into his burning dwelling; overcome with smoke, he suffered a heart attack and died. As the rebels left town they stopped at the home of the county school superintendent. They had one question for him: had he ever taught “niggers?” He answered yes, and they burned his house.

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NOTES

1. Philip Schaff Diary, in *Old Mercersburg* (Williamsport, PA: 1949), p. 169.
2. *Ibid.*, 205; William Still, *The Underground Railroad* (Philadelphia: 1872) pp. 220, 233, 332; Hiram E. Wertz, “The Underground Railroad,” *The Kittochtinny Historical Society Papers, Volume VII* (Chambersburg: 1912), pp. 100-05, hereinafter cited as “*Kittochtinny Papers*”; Virginia Ott Stake, *John Brown in Chambersburg* (Chambersburg: 1977), passim; W.P. Conrad and Ted Alexander, *When War Passed This Way* (Shippensburg: 1982, pp. 1, 24-27; *U.S. Census, Franklin County, Pennsylvania, 1860*.
3. Edward H. Phillips, *The Lower Shenandoah Valley in the Civil War: The Impact of the War Upon the Civilian Population and Upon Civil Institutions* (Lynchburg, 1993), p. 114; Robert J. Trout, *With Pen and Saber: The Letters and Diaries of J.E.B. Stuart’s Staff Officers*

- (Mechanicsburg, PA: 1995) p. 101. In a letter to his mother dated September 18, 1862, Lieutenant R. Channing Price, aide-de-camp to General J.E.B. Stuart, wrote a lengthy account of the Maryland Campaign. In the section on Jackson's capture of Harpers Ferry, Price claimed that nearly 2,000 contrabands were captured.
4. U.S. War Department, *War of the Rebellion: The Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies*, 128 volumes (Washington, D.C.: 1890–1901), Series 1 (hereinafter cited OR), vol. 19, Pt. 2, p. 55.
 5. John Tompson IV, *General J.E.B. Stuart's Raid Through Mercersburg: A Presentation of Collected Publications with Select Discussions on Details of the Raid* (Mercersburg: 1999), p. 38; *Old Mercersburg*, 90. The information on the black man who claimed he was taken hostage by Stuart was provided by local historian John Mohr of Mercersburg. Mohr has conducted extensive research on African-Americans in Mercersburg during the Civil War era.
 6. James C. Mohr (ed.), *The Cormany Diaries: A Northern Family in the Civil War* (Pittsburgh: 1982), pp. 329–30.
 7. Jemima K. Cree letter, *Kittochtinny Papers, 1905–1908* (Chambersburg: 1908), p. 94; "The William Heyser Diary," *Kittochtinny Papers*, volume XVI, p. 74.
 8. Jacob Hoke, *Historical Reminiscences of The War; In and About Chambersburg During the War of the Rebellion* (Chambersburg: 1884), p. 38.
 9. William Garrett Piston (ed.), "The Rebs Are Yet Thick About Us": The Civil War Diary of Amos Stouffer of Chambersburg," 215; *Civil War History*, September, 1992; Schaff, 168–69.
 10. *Mercersburg Journal*, July 17, 1863
 11. Charles Hartman Diary, Philip Schaff Library, Lancaster Theological Seminary.
 12. Conrad and Alexander, 135–37.
 13. *Mercersburg Journal*, July 17, 1863.
 14. Frank Moore (ed.), *The Rebellion Record: A Diary of American Events, volume 7* (New York: 1864), p. 197.
 15. *Mercersburg Journal*, July 17, 1863.
 16. James J. Williamson, *Mosby's Rangers* (New York: 1909), p. ___
 17. Franklin Repository, July 8, 1863, "Heyser Diary," 74.
 18. Gerald Austin Robison, Jr., *Confederate Operations in York County, 1863*, Masters Thesis, Millersville State College, 107–08. The data on Gettysburg's blacks is from Peter C. Vermilyea, "The Effect of the Confederate Invasion of Pennsylvania on Gettysburg's African-American Community," *Gettysburg Magazine, Issue Number 24*, pp. 112–28. This is a well written and thoroughly researched article on the subject. The author points out that while some black residents of the Gettysburg area were abducted by the Rebels, many escaped by feigning infirmity or by being sheltered by sympathetic whites.
 19. Hoke, 144; very little official references to the abduction of African-Americans are found in the published OR. Special Orders, No. 275, dated November 19, 1864, from the Adjutant and Inspector Generals office in Richmond discusses the establishment of a new "Camp of prisoners of war" and makes vague references to "negroes confined at Salisbury" prison. A footnote states that they were "Brought from Pennsylvania by C.S. Army." OR, Series II, vol. 7, p. 1145. About one year prior to this on December 14, 1863, an order came from the Confederate secretary of war's office directing Brigadier General John H. Winder, provost marshal of Richmond, to free one "Amos Bares, a free negro from Pennsylvania" from one of the Richmond prisons. The Reverend T.V. Moore of Richmond applied for his release. OR, Series II, volume 6, p. 705. This seems to have been done upon a request to Moore from fellow Presbyterian minister Thomas Creigh of Mercersburg. *Old Mercersburg*, 92.
 20. OR, Series I, vol. 51, Pt. 2, pp. 732–33.
 21. Moore, *Rebellion Record*, volume 7, p. 325.