

# PENN & SLAVERY PROJECT

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December 10, 2018

# Complicity

Kəm'plisədə̃  
*noun*

**Complicity does not** speak to the University's active and persistent ownership of enslaved persons.

**Complicity does** speak to the many ways in which colonial universities relied on and contributed to America's slave society in the years prior to the Civil War.

COMPLICITY

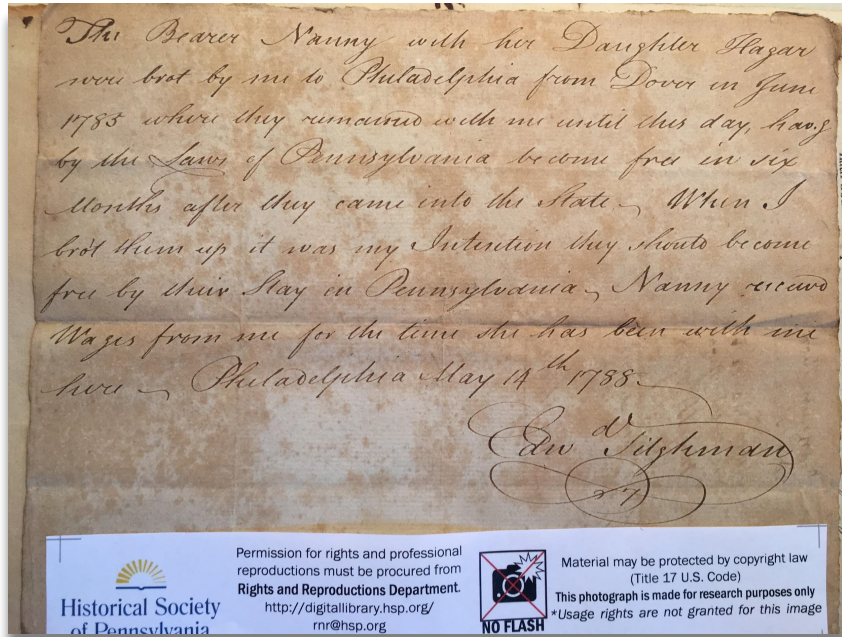
TILGHMAN FAMILY

# Edward Tilghman Jr. (1750-1815)

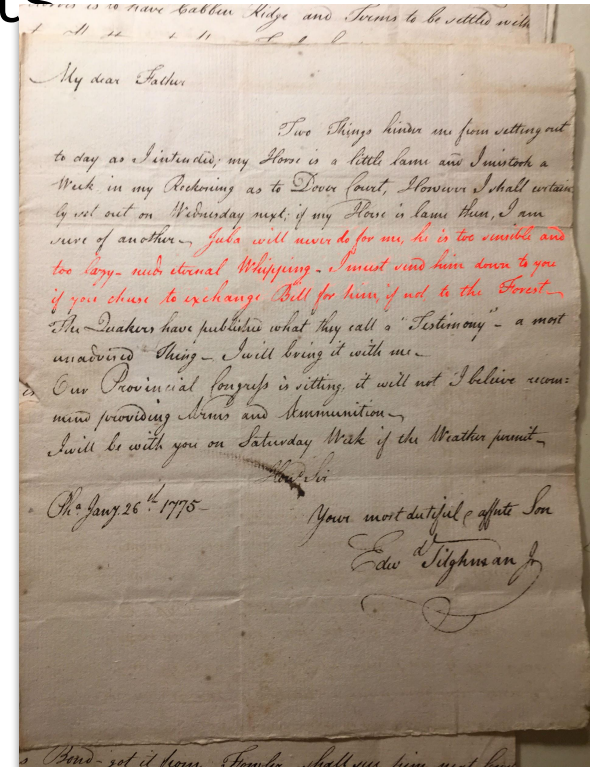
- Graduated from the College of Philadelphia in 1767
- Served as a trustee from 1794-1807
- Bequeathed Whitehall plantation by his father, Edward Sr., in January 1772
  - Sold Whitehall to Benjamin Chew in May 1772
- Owned an enslaved man named Juba
- Bequeathed an enslaved man named Rick from Edward Sr. in the 1770s
- Manumission papers filed for 3 enslaved people



# Edward Tilghman Documents



Edward Tilghman, Manumission document for Nanny and Hagar, May 14th, 1788 Pennsylvania Slave Manumissions, HSP.



Source: Tilghman, Edward Jr. Letter to Edward Tilghman Sr. Letter from Maryland Historical Society, Tilghman Papers MS2821. Series 1, Subseries A, Box 1, Folder 2.v

# William Tilghman (1756-1827): Professional Ties to Slavery

- Graduated from the College of Philadelphia in 1772
- Studied law with Benjamin Chew. Received an honorary law degree from Penn in 1807
- Chief Justice of Pennsylvania from 1806-1827
- One of the last slaveholding judges in the North and one of the last Pennsylvania public officials to own slaves
- Favored more lenient slave registration filing practices, which shifted the court to favor the slave owner more than the enslaved people in legal disputes
- Declined nomination to the Society for the Abolition of Slavery in 1790
- Opposed expansion of slavery to Missouri

Sources: "A Biographical Dictionary of the Maryland Legislature 1635-1789" from Maryland State Archives Online, *Supreme Injustice: Slavery in the Nation's Highest Court* By Paul Finkelman, *Justice Accused: Antislavery and the Judicial Process* by Robert M. Cover, Maryland Historical Society (Tilghman Family Papers), *Eulogium upon the Hon. William Tilghman* by Horace Binney

# William Tilghman (1756-1827): Personal Ties to Slavery

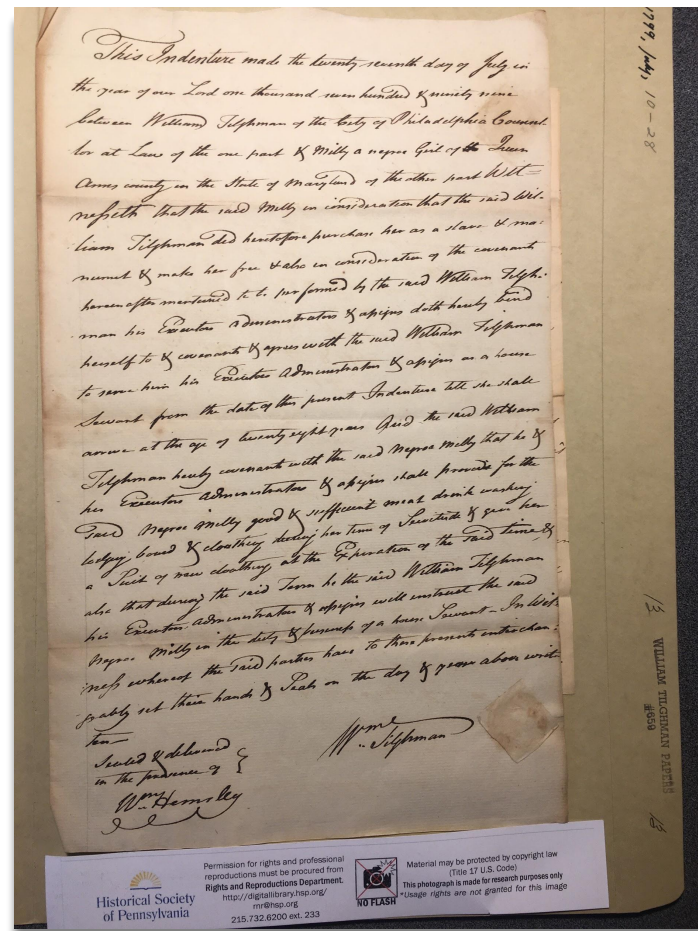
- Mrs. Tilghman's Household Account Book from 1796-1798 lists daily activities of enslaved persons and their children working for Mrs. Tilghman
  - Often performed cleaning, cooking, or washing tasks
- Mrs. Tilghman was inoculated from smallpox in 1798, and wanted an enslaved woman named Betsey there to help her through it
- Letters received from his friends, family, and overseers updated him on what was happening on his plantations while he was away
- Feud between enslaved men George and Daniel

Sources: HSP (William Tilghman Papers), Maryland Historical Society (Tilghman Family Papers)

# William Tilghman's Enslaved Woman Milly

- She appears in Mrs. Tilghman's Household Account Book, 1796-1798
- Mrs. Tilghman brings her to London with her in 1798. She returns to America alone in June 1798 to deliver letters, but was never given them
- William Hemsley writes to William Tilghman on June 23, 1798 that Milly had manumission papers filed by Mrs. Tilghman before they left for England
- Milly gives birth to a daughter in August 1798
  - Hemsley wants instructions for what Tilghman should do with Milly now that she is a mother
  - Unable to be hired out or sold, so she is sent to the Forest Plantation
- July 27, 1799, William Tilghman files his own manumission papers for Milly

# Milly's Manumission Record (William Tilghman's Filing)



# LAND HOLDINGS

“Governor Thomas Penn gave the College of Philadelphia (University of Pennsylvania) his twenty-five-hundred-acre Perkasio estate in Bucks County. Enslaved Africans had worked these holdings for decades. Hannah and William Penn kept slaves as personal servants and laborers, and they had even punished one of their enslaved women by selling her to Barbados.”

# Perkasie Manor

- Donated by Thomas Penn to the University in 1759
  - 2,500 acres in Bucks County valued at £3000 in 1760
- Investigated by slave owners William Coxe and Francis Alison
  - Coxe and Alison recommended the sale of the property
  - Thomas Penn refused to allow the sale of the property
- Thomas Penn's refusal to allow the sale of the property likely contributed to later financial difficulties, leading to fundraising from slave owners
- Tenants were mostly ethnic Germans and were likely not wealthy enough to own slaves
  - Ethnic Germans generally did not own slaves

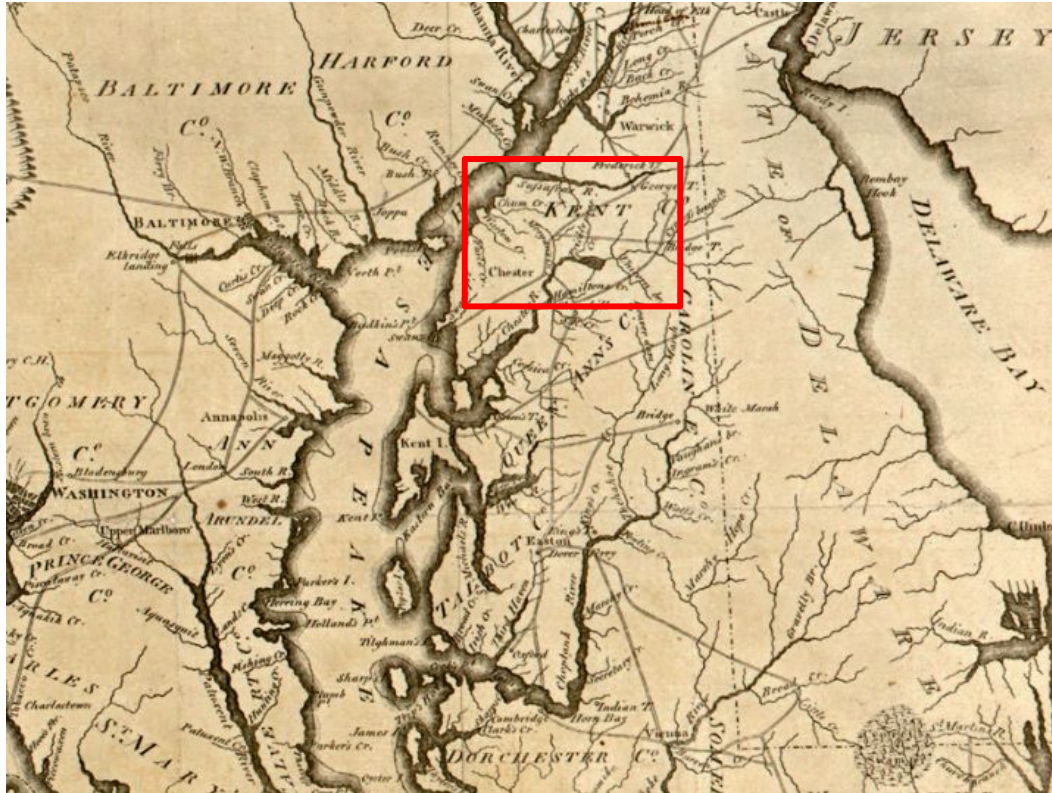


# Norristown Farm and Mill

- Provost Smith purchased Norristown for Penn in 1776 for £6,000
- John Bull sold the Norristown farm and mill to Penn, and he stayed on for two years as a tenant on part of the land after the sale
  - In 1774, taxed for 2 negros and 1 servant
- Dr. Robert Shannon leases part of Norristown for next ten years
  - In 1774, taxed for 2 negros. From 1785-88, taxed for 1 negro.
- In 1784, the Trustees considered moving Penn to Norristown. Decided against moving out of Philadelphia.
- Penn sold the farm and mill (excluding the town of Norristown) to Provost Smith and his son, William Moore Smith, for £4,300 in 1791
- Penn sold the rest of the lots in Norristown over the next 23 years

CADWALADER FAMILY

# John Cadwalader (1742-1786)



Map of Maryland, 1775

Source: <http://www.sonofthesouth.net/revolutionary-war/maps/maryland-map.htm>



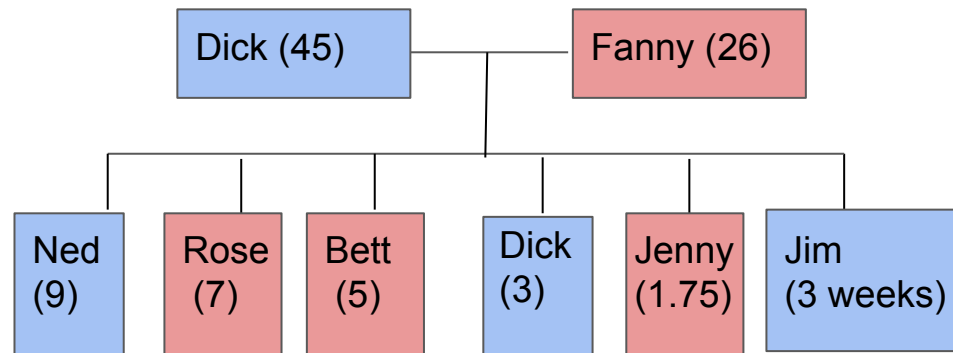
Source: University of Pennsylvania Archives Website

*An Inventory of the personal Estate of John Cadwalader deceased  
 Appraised by us the subscribers being first duly Sworn according  
 to law and appraised in current money that is valuing Spanish  
 Milled dollars at seven shillings and six pence and half  
 Spanish at three pounds and all other gold and silver coins  
 in like proportion the day of March 1796*

House Negro Slaves men and boys			
Jacob the Gardner 54 years old		50	50
Allen Legacy		55	00
Isaac 34 d <sup>o</sup> 1 <sup>o</sup>		55	00
Jim Neely 29 d <sup>o</sup> 1 <sup>o</sup>	To Mrs. Cadwalader	55	-
Daniel 29 d <sup>o</sup> 1 <sup>o</sup>		55	-
Dick son of Ambrose and Nan Dill aged 10 months		10	-
defective		1	00
House Negro Slaves women and girls			
Lewin aged 62 years	Legacy	5	-
Doll - Jacob's wife aged 57 d <sup>o</sup>		5	-
Moll Sings aged 49 d <sup>o</sup>	Legacy	2	10
Moll Sutton aged 35 d <sup>o</sup>		35	-
Nan Dill or Ambrose's 26 d <sup>o</sup>		40	-
Dina aged 10 d <sup>o</sup>		25	-
Betty daughter of Nan Dill 7 years old		20	-
Poll daughter of Nan Dill 5 years old		10	-
Betty 3 years old		10	-
Betty daughter of Moll Sings 3 years old		10	-
Carried over		367	160

House Negro Slaves, Men and Boys (7)				
Name	Family Detail	Notes	Age (years)	Price (pounds)
Jacob	--	The Gardner	54	00.50
Allen	--	Legacy To Mrs. Cadwalader	32	55.00
Isaac	--	Legacy To Mrs. Cadwalader	24	55.00
Jim Neely	--	Legacy To Mrs. Cadwalader	29	55.00
Daniel	--	--	12	40.00
Jack	Son of Ambrose and Nan Dill	--	10 months	01.10
Dick	Son of Moll Sutton	Defective	9 months	00.10

### Coombs Family (1786)





"A View of Chestertown from  
White House Farm" 1790

And further, for giv consideration  
of the faithful Services of James Sampson  
my negro servant I do hereby set him  
free for ever together with his wife  
Sarah, likewise his son Tom and  
daughter Henry both children of a  
negro woman called Moll — all whom  
*I hereby declare free for ever from  
Slavery* — I also give & devise to James  
Sampson fifty pounds to be paid  
immediately after my death in gold  
or silver coin or in paper currency  
to the value thereof —  
John Cadwalader



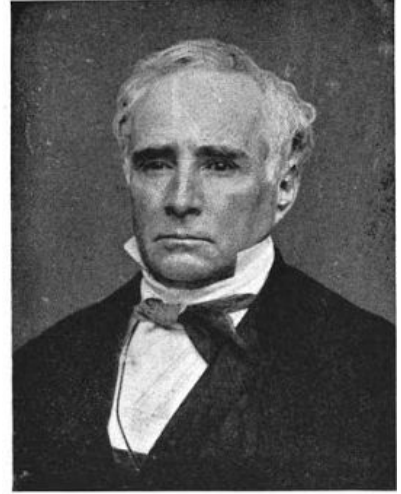
SLAVE HOLDING ALUMNI

# Methodology

- Initial Questions: How did wealth and more specifically - generational wealth, cause the disparities in who was able to attend such a prestigious university as Penn in the early to mid-nineteenth century? How were these families able to accrue this wealth?
- Catalogue University of Pennsylvania 1830-52 (List of Matriculants)
  - Each year, the graduate school had around 100 students and the undergraduate school had 30
  - Focus on the college students from the Southern States
    - i. Parent's wealth
    - ii. Cost of Attendance for Southern students
    - iii. An Act for the Gradual Abolition of Slavery (1780)

# The Feltus Family

- The Feltus Brothers
  - Henry James Feltus (1826-1899), entered in 1847, cotton and sugar planter
  - William J. Feltus (1829-1865), entered in 1847, lawyer
  - Abram Morrell Feltus Jr. (1833-1863), entered in 1851, officer in the Confederate Army
- Grandfather: Reverend Henry James Feltus, D.D. (1775-1828)
- Father: **Abram Morrell Feltus** (1796- 1861), merchant, cashier at the Planters' Bank at Woodville, cotton planter
  - Married **Eliza Ann Ventress** and moved to Woodville, Mississippi
  - Five out of his six sons that made it to collegiate age attended college
  - Held 152 enslaved people in his estate



ABRAM MORRELL FELTUS



ELIZA VENTRESS FELTUS



Stephen	Negro	Man	aged about	34	1500.00	
May	"	Woman	"	22	1200.00	
Alvinda	"	Girl	"	18	1000.00	
Patience	"	"	"	7	500.00	
Edward	"	Boy	"	7	500.00	
Agnes	Negro	Woman	aged about	34	800.00	
Leah	"	"	"	23	1100.00	
Corollia	"	Girl	"	2	200.00	
Wm	Negro	Man	aged about	35	1500.00	
Bill	young	"	"	35	1500.00	
Susan	"	Woman	"	25	1200.00	
Virginia	"	Girl	"	4	350.00	
William	"	Boy	"	3	200.00	
Peter	Negro	Man	aged about	31	1500.00	
Mason	"	Woman	"	35	1100.00	
David	Negro	Man	aged about	30	1500.00	
John	"	Woman	"	25	1200.00	
Ann	Antilia	"	"	7	500.00	
Isabel	"	"	"	7	500.00	
Bob	"	Boy	"	9 mo	100.00	
David	"	"	"	9 mo	100.00	
David	Negro	Man	aged about	23	1500.00	
John	"	Woman	"	27	1100.00	
Suekey	"	"	"	45	700.00	
Big	Negro	Woman	aged about	38	800.00	
Catherine	"	Girl	"	17	1200.00	
Emily	"	"	"	17	1100.00	
Joe	"	Boy	"	11	1000.00	
John	"	"	"	12	700.00	
Harro	"	"	"	7	500.00	
Samuel	"	"	"	7	400.00	
Robert	Negro	Man	aged about	23	1500.00	
Ann	"	Woman	"	23	1200.00	
Rebecca	"	Boy	"	4	300.00	
Susanna	"	Girl	"	1	100.00	
Old	Child	Woman	"	15	350.00	
George	Negro	Man	aged about	29	1500.00	
John	"	Woman	"	22	1200.00	
Wm	"	Boy	"	5	400.00	
Infants	"	"	"	4 mo	100.00	
Leigh	"	Woman	"	21	1100.00	
Josephine	"	Girl	"	7	500.00	
Big	Man	Negro	Man	aged about	36	1500.00
Lucy	"	Woman	"	40	800.00	

Manerva	"	Girl	"	7	500.00
Sam	"	Boy	"	20	1500.00
Susanah	Negro	Woman	aged about	25	1200.00
Willie	"	Boy	"	13	800.00
Rich	"	"	"	10	100.00
John	"	"	"	4	300.00
Oliver	"	Girl	"	3	500.00
Barth	"	"	"	7	400.00
Francis	"	"	"	4	300.00
Infants	"	"	"	4	100.00

## Mules

Johna	325.00	Service Mare	200.00
Reise	225.00	Point	40.00
Lucy	225.00	3 Cattle	800.00
John	220.00	Charly	75.00
Betty	220.00	Mustang Mare	15.00
Garret	225.00	Oliver	200.00
General	225.00	Chadler	50.00
House	200.00		
Oliver	200.00		
John	175.00	3 Cowd & Calves	30.00
Chains	150.00	8 Yoke of Oxen wgs	480.00
Sammy	175.00	10 Head of Hogs wgs	210.00
Bell	125.00	3 Waggon	300.00
John	40.00	1 Drag	15.00
Margaret	50.00	Blacksmith Tools	35.00
Joe	175.00	17 Hoes wgs	345.00
Rich	170.00	10 Scrapes wgs	70.00
Butler	175.00	20 Hammers wgs	40.00
Byron	170.00	Howe Press wgs	100.00
Rich	175.00		
Anna	15.00		
Isabel	70.00		
John	210.00		
Caroline	225.00		
Will	225.00		
Negro	180.00		
Kitty	125.00		
Frank	120.00		
Leah	100.00		
Mustang Mule	50.00		
Sam	125.00		
David & Cattle			
Will	115.00		
Anna	105.00		
Samuel	40.00		
North	50.00		
Will	75.00		
Service Mare	125.00		

[illegible]

- 

W. J. Gayson

# George Waring (1834 - 1902)

- Real estate value: \$15,000.00
- Personal estate value: \$30,000.00
- Owned 20 individuals, the youngest being 1 month old
- The son of William R. Waring
  - Graduated from Penn Med in 1813
  - Went on to become a physician
  - Owned 118 slaves

2 To George Waring we alloted

Negroes of Sam	
Linda	
Atty	
Lydia	
Israel	
- Amelias	valued at \$2,700.-
Charles	
Sarah	
Rinah	
- Rebecca	valued at 1,650.
Hannah	
Polly	
Mary	
- Washington	valued at 1,500.
Tom	
- Betsy	valued at 1,300.
Morning	
Sophia	
- Thomas	valued at 1,500.
Coco	
- Joe	valued at 700.
Miner	
Clay	
- Sarah	valued at 1,700.
Old Anne	valued at 1,457.00.

# Samuel McKinney (1807 - 1879)

- Real estate value: \$12,000.00
- Personal estate value: \$8,000.00
- Owned 7 slaves
- Went on to become a minister
  - practiced missionary work
- President of Austin College in Texas



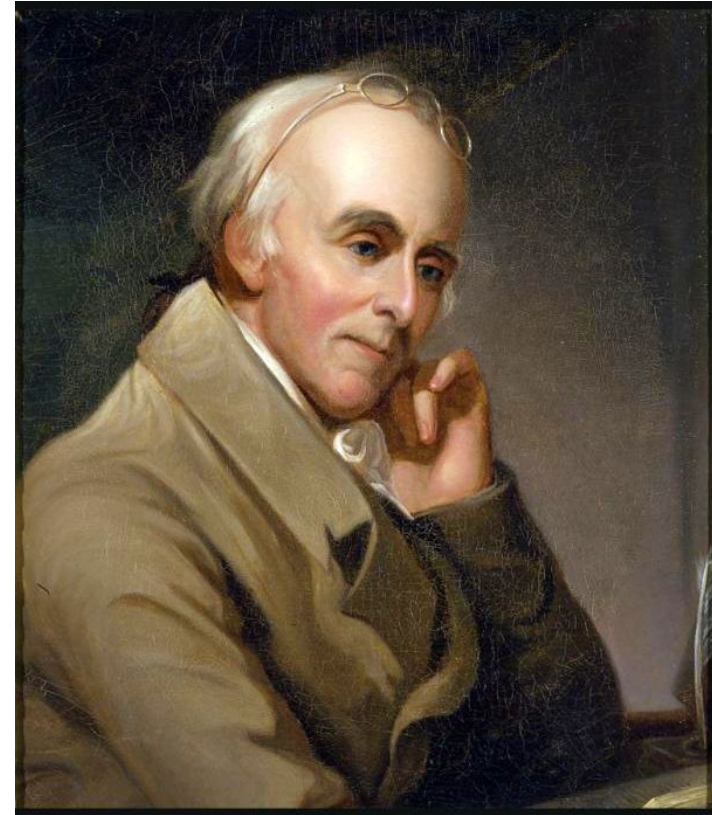
Sources: Year: 1860; Census Place: Ward 7, Ascension, Louisiana; Roll: M653\_407; Page: 36; Family History Library Film: 803407, 1860 U.S. federal census, slave schedule, Ascension Parish, Louisiana, 6th ward, p. 10, entry for Samuel McKinney; digital image, *Ancestry.com*.

MEDICAL SCHOOL

BENJAMIN RUSH

# Benjamin Rush (1746-1813)

- Professor of Chemistry, Theory and Practice of Medicine, and the Institutes of Medicine and Clinical Practice 1769-1813
- Signer of the Declaration of Independence
- Founded Dickinson College and Franklin College (now Franklin and Marshall)
- President of the Pennsylvania Society for Promoting the Abolition of Slavery 1803-1813 (University Archives Biography)
- Held an enslaved man named William Grubbs



# Findings

of the disease peculiar to Ages the Hooping Cough affects Children & never Adults they are diversified further being confined to particular Colours, in the Year 62. there was a yellow fever raging in South Carolina when there was not a Negro known to be affected. there is another fact shews that the Colour of Skin influences the habit. In white Settlement among the Indians they never had a disease that affected the White People & it is as cold as a Lemon. I have a few words to it is a remote cause when combined with Moisture Where ever the

Rush taught his students that black people were immune from yellow fever

Dissection of a Negro Girl of Mr. White - June 13<sup>th</sup> 1793  
The Girl was sixteen years of age the Symptoms she had was dry Cough without any expectoration Difficulty of Breathing Hectic Fever every day upon Examining the Lungs after Death we found upon the external part of the Lungs a great many small Blisters there was a great many Tubercles on the Internal part or substance of the Lungs the Thyroid Gland was enlarged to an enormous size by a Serophulous Swelling and compressed the Trachea Arteries very

Rush dissected the body of a black girl in his class



WILLIAM SHIPPEN

# William Shippen (1712-1801)



- Penn's first recorded dissection took place under William Shippen, 1762.
- "Late in November 1762, Dr. Shippen received the first subject for dissection of which there is any record. A negro man having cut his throat with a glass bottle, from the effect of which he died." (*The Gazette*, December 2, 1762)
- Later, Shippen would publicly deny any body-snatching, except from the "potter's field." Shippen began the tradition of dissection at Penn.



JOHN ARCHER

# John Archer (1741-1810)

- Received the first medical degree from the College of Philadelphia in 1768
  - Studied under Dr. John Morgan and Dr. William Shippen, the co-founders of the College of Philadelphia Medical School
- Served as U.S. Representative for Maryland's 6th congressional district from 1801-1805
- Between 1786 - 1810, trained 51 men to become physicians

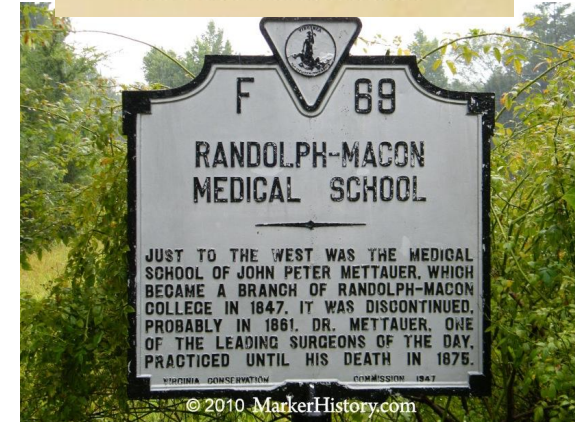
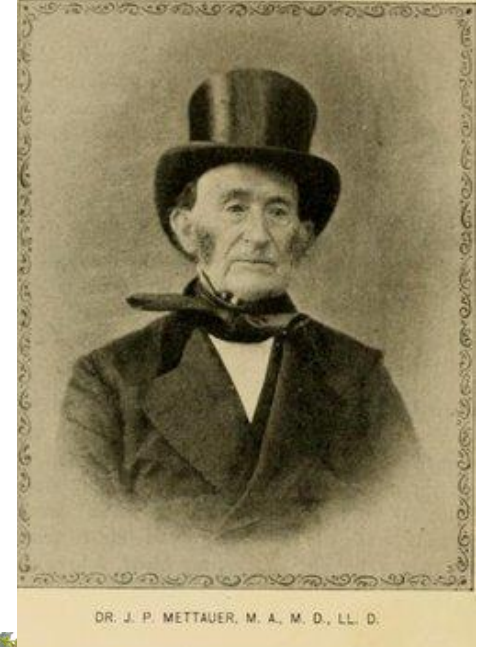


# John Archer (1741-1810): 1810 Article

- Detailed two gynecological cases where pregnant enslaved women labia were fused
  - 1783 case: 39 year old negro woman belonging to Mr. W. M.
  - 1795 case: “young negro girl” belonging to Mrs. M’A
- Claimed that the labia of young black girls were larger than their white peers
- Described the phenomenon of superfecundation
  - Def: the fertilization of two or more ova from the same cycle by sperm from separate acts of sexual intercourse

# John Peter Mettauer (MD 1808)

- Born in Virginia in 1787, Mettauer performed early operations to correct vesciovaginal fistuale on a 20 year-old enslaved woman.
- In 1840, he owned 29 enslaved people, 12 of whom were women.
- Called the “father of plastic surgery,” he performed the first cleft-palate repair in 1827.
- Mettauer also founded a hospital and medical school in Virginia, near his Prince Edward County home.



WILLIAM HORNER



# William Horner (1793-1853): Horner & Wistar Museum



- Dean of the Medical School (1822-1852), Professor of Anatomy
  - University Archives, Guide, William Edmond Horner Papers
- Virginian
- Est. most of specimen collection
  - Dry/Wet preparations
  - Anatomical, botanical, and animal specimens
  - At least 21 human specimens labeled as "negro" or "black"



# The Horner & Wistar and Morton Collections

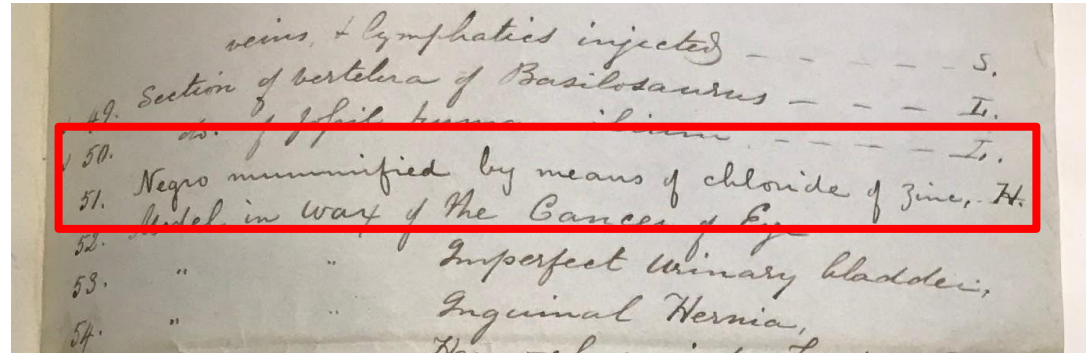
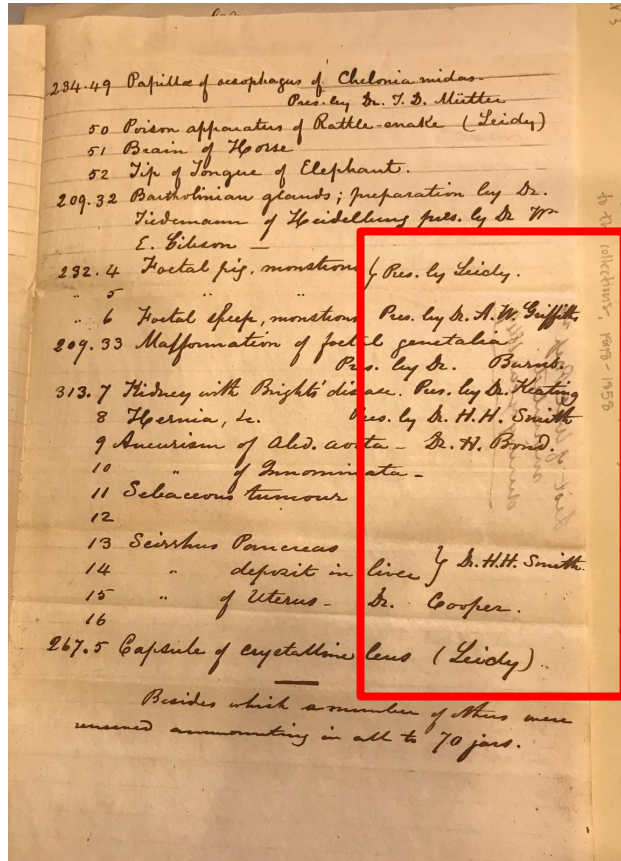
1849 B. 281.3 Fractura femoris - - (Homer) (Schaphnit) 184  
 1849 205.33 - 74 Microscopical sections of Teeth and Bones of  
 various animals, prep. by Schaphnit - - - - 18  
 84.3 Arteries meseraicas (Homer) - (") - - - 18  
 147.2 Skeleton of a hemicephalus foetus (Leidy) - (") - -  
 183.7 Arteries of Upper extremity (Homer) - - - (") -  
 " 8 do. & veins of do. - (") - - - (") -  
 " 9 do. of lower extremity (") - - - (") -  
 " 10 do. do. do. (") - - - (") -  
 205.28 Separated foetal skeleton from 4 to 4 1/2 mos. |  
 " 29 " " " 5 to 6 " | Prepared  
 " 30 " " " " " |

Skeleton of Oistudo Carolinensis  
 " Procellaria belagica  
 Plaster Cast of the Veranda of a Negroes in an  
 mal state. Prepared by D. H.  
 Time was Models Prepared by B.

As Hemmer upon which  
 first experiment of cu  
 a. Deposited by Mrs. J. W.  
 Calcutti belonging to the  
 by his Lady.  
 virginianus  
 the Groin. dried  
 the Thores "  
 "  
 "  
 Legs "  
 Cranium "  
 Arms "  
 Upper Extremity "  
 Pelvis

Permission from the Penn Museum

# Where did specimens come from?



Kislak Center, Wistar and Horner Museum Records

- Shippen, Forbes, Horner, and grave robbing
- Daina Ramey Berry, *The Price for Their Pound of Flesh: The Value of the Enslaved, from Womb to Grave, in the Building of a Nation* (2017) pg 159-187, Alexis Neumann's 2018 Report
- Fred Schafhirt and human specimens shipping

# Hugh L. Hodge (1796-1873), MD 1818

University Archives, Catalogue  
of the Trustees, Officers, and  
Students (1837-1838)

with preserve it so that I may catalogue them. L.)  
4, Skeleton of *Cistudo Carolinensis* { Prepared by & purchased  
5, do. *Procellaria pelagica* } from Dr. Schuyler.  
6, Plaster cast of the external genitalia of an imperfectly  
developed negro female, obtained from the dissecting  
rooms, Presented by Dr. Henry Smith.  
7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24, 25, 26, 27, 28, 29, 30, 31, 32, 33, 34, 35, 36, 37, 38, 39, 40, 41, 42, 43, 44, 45, 46, 47, 48, 49, 50, 51, 52, 53, 54, 55, 56, 57, 58, 59, 60, 61, 62, 63, 64, 65, 66, 67, 68, 69, 70, 71, 72, 73, 74, 75, 76, 77, 78, 79, 80, 81, 82, 83, 84, 85, 86, 87, 88, 89, 90, 91, 92, 93, 94, 95, 96, 97, 98, 99, 100.  
(Of these I have no account.)  
8, Original specimen of the Os humeri upon which  
Dr. Physics tried the experiment of uniting fractures.

Kislak Center, Wistar and Horner Museum Records

ART. X.—*A Remarkable Case of Double Pregnancy—one Ovum entering the Uterus, the other being arrested in the Tube.* By WM. G. CRAGHEAD, M. D., of Danville, Virginia. (Communicated by HUGH L. HODGE, M. D., Professor of Midwifery in the University of Pennsylvania.)

MY DEAR DOCTOR: The very interesting and unusual specimen of extra and intra-uterine pregnancy in the same individual, received from Dr. Craghead, I submitted to my friend and assistant, Dr. John Neill, Demonstrator of Anatomy in the University, who has favoured me with an anatomical description, now appended to this report. There can be no doubt whatever of the nature, as well as the singularity, of the case. The extra-uterine foetus, still attached by its cord to its own placenta in the tubal sac, its twin from the cavity of the uterus, and the still enlarged uterus, are all preserved by Dr. Neill, in my cabinet—the foetus developed in the abdominal sac being rather larger than its fellow from the uterine cavity.

Respectfully yours,

DR. I. HAYS.

H. L. HODGE.

The American Journal of the  
Medical Sciences V. 9

DR. I. HAYS.

Dec. 10th, 1849.

Finding no record of the co-existence of a tubal and a uterine pregnancy,  
I think the following case will be an interesting item for publication.

I was called, on the 9th of April last, to visit a negro woman, belonging to Mr. James Conway, of this neighbourhood. She was thirty-five years of age, of strong constitution, and had previously enjoyed excellent health. She had one child at an early age; lived without a husband till she was near thirty, when she married. and shortly afterwards gave birth to her second child.

FACULTY OF MEDICINE.

—

NATHANIEL CHAPMAN, M. D.  
*Professor of the Practice of Physic.*

ROBERT HARE, M. D.  
*Professor of Chemistry.*

WILLIAM GIBSON, M. D.  
*Professor of Surgery.*

WILLIAM E. HORNER, M. D.  
*Professor of Anatomy.*

SAMUEL JACKSON, M. D.  
*Professor of the Institutes.*

GEORGE B. WOOD, M. D.  
*Professor of Materia Medica and Pharmacy.*

HUGH L. HODGE, M. D.  
*Professor of Obstetrics and the Diseases of Women and Children.*

WILLIAM E. HORNER, M. D., Dean of the Faculty.

JAMES B. TRUET, Janitor.



# Further Questions

- What can we discover about the lifestyles and treatment of Penn trustee's enslaved people?
- Did enslaved people take part in Penn campus life?
- When did Benjamin Rush hold William Grubber? What else can we find out about the girl that was dissected in Rush's class?
- Besides Perkasio and Norristown, did other University real estate investments have ties to slavery?

The research conducted by the Penn Slavery Project has given the University an opportunity to further its exploration of its own history. Penn has the opportunity to learn names that were forcibly erased. Penn has the opportunity to connect bloodlines that were deliberately broken. And the opportunity to include stories that, to this day, remain ignored. We would be remiss not to take advantage of it.

~VanJessica Gladney C'18

# PENN & SLAVERY PROJECT

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