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Penn and the "Mobocratic City"

The antebellum period was one of intense unrest in Philadelphia: Frederick Douglass called Philadelphia the premier "mobocratic city…. one of the most disorderly and insecure" in America. Anti-Black resentment exploded into near-constant race riots and hate crimes, of which neither the perpetrators nor the victims have been well documented. I investigate the connections between the University of Pennsylvania and the anti-Black and anti-abolitionist violence of the 1830s-50s. Between 1831 and 1860, two out of three Penn medical students came from slave states. Southern values were omnipresent on campus, frequently clashing with both the city's prominent abolitionist activists and its growing free Black population. Students, faculty, and alumni of Penn actively participated in domestic terrorism against abolitionists and Black people.

The Penn & Slavery Project has destabilized the narrative of Philadelphia as an abolitionist, deeply Northern city, that provided a haven for Black people, and the University of Pennsylvania as a neutral institution. This research contributes to previous students' debunking of this narrative, while expanding the scope of the depiction to include an understanding of Penn students and alumni as a strongly partisan crowd: it is now possible to document that some Penn students were racist activists who took more of a role fomenting racial unrest than previously known. Penn students frequently came from strongly proslavery backgrounds, carried out acts of racism and anti-abolition in Philadelphia, and went on to shape racist politics in Philadelphia, their home states, and the nation at large.

Questions and Methods

I initially set out to investigate Penn's role in the abolitionist movement. Because Philadelphia had such a sizable Black population in the antebellum period and Pennsylvania had such deep Quaker connections, I assumed Penn would have had a considerable role in the abolitionist movement. However, the Penn Medical School's close ties with the South meant that the university had far more ties to anti-abolitionism. New questions arose: what happened when Penn students and alumni interacted with the city's abolitionist activists and its growing free Black population? What role did Penn have in shaping their lives, and how did they go on to shape their worlds?

I relied on secondary sources in the earlier parts of this project to contextualize existing research and help narrow my focus. While I initially read *Lucretia Mott's Heresy* in order to understand key abolitionists, it shed light on the tensions between abolitionists and the city at large, which guided the direction of my research toward anti-abolitionism. Gary Nash's work *Forging Freedom: The Formation of Philadelphia's Black Community, 1720-1840* helped establish Philadelphia as an epicenter of racial tension in the antebellum period. Existing research on Southern medical students in Philadelphia, especially by Daniel Kilbride and Fanny Nudelman, was also useful for understanding Penn students as individuals and as part of a broader reactionary social movement.

My original research drew from primary sources drawn in part from the University of Pennsylvania Archives and the University of South Carolina Historical Society. Genealogist Scott Wilds also helped confirm the identities of the people I researched. Unfortunately, access to primary sources was limited due to COVID-19 restrictions. The primary sources I used, such as the Penn alumni archives and genealogical records, offered detailed identifying information on

many people. Because it was so easy to trace certain individuals' lives through time and space, I decided to profile a handful of Penn alumni as case studies through which to answer my guiding questions.

Research Findings

Penn and the "Mobocratic City"

In 1838, an abolitionist meeting hall called Pennsylvania Hall opened in Philadelphia. Mobbed by threats immediately after opening, the abolitionists requested police protection from Philadelphia's then-Mayor John Swift, an 1808 Penn graduate. According to the founders, Swift declined to offer protection and instead stationed police to different areas of the city, leaving the city sheriff with only four men to guard Pennsylvania Hall. The city sheriff claimed that he was instructed by Swift to make no arrests.[1]

On May 17, 1838, only three days after its opening, a hostile mob of thousands descended on Pennsylvania Hall. Mayor Swift was present, allegedly telling the abolitionists that "There are always two sides to a question — it is public opinion makes mobs! — and ninety-nine out of a hundred of those with whom I converse are against you."[2] Swift took little action, addressing the crowd in a speech where he told them to go home, but he promptly left. Thirty minutes after Swift's departure, the mob broke into Pennsylvania Hall and burned it to the ground. University students formed part of the mob. David Blount Hamilton, a Penn student from North Carolina, described the event in a rapturous letter home: "It was the grandest spectacle that I ever before witnessed [...]An all-wise & just God has kindly made mobocracy the instrument of his wrathful visitation."[3]

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[1] Pennsylvania Hall Association (Philadelphia, Pa.), &; Webb, S. (1838). *History of Pennsylvania Hall*. Philadelphia, PA; Merrihew and Gunn.
[2] Ibid.
[3] David Hamilton to Sarah Hamilton, December 31, 1837, May 23, 1838, Benjamin C. Yancey Papers, UNC

Hamilton and Swift represent the twin forces that empowered the mob's violence. Hamilton took part in the actual mob, exerting brutal violence to preserve white hegemony against the political and existential threat of abolitionism. In describing the mob as a manifestation of God's will, he frames his participation in it as a sacred duty. In contrast to Hamilton's active commitment to anti-abolitionism, Swift represents the deferral of the government to the mob. Swift considered the mob a legitimate expression of political will, because of its white, wealthy and male constituents. Thus he legitimized and enabled the mob by refusing to police it. The direct action of the mob paired with negligence by the government formed a mobocracy.

Case studies in Penn students, 1858-1859

Marmaduke Kimbrough

In an 1858 letter, Penn medical student Marmaduke Kimbrough described his experiences in Philadelphia to a friend back home. "[T]he abolitionists hold meetings every few days, [...]a large number of citizens attend." He mentions that the Southern students often attended to hiss and jeer at the speakers. He adds of the Southern students, "I tell you they make the free negroes walk a straight line. One of the students knocked one down the other day and beat him like the notion and the police stood and never said a word."[4] As with the Pennsylvania Hall burning, Philadelphia police enabled racist vigilantism. The need to reassert white supremacist norms overrided any responsibility to the Black citizens of Philadelphia.

Kimbrough was the oldest son of a prominent North Carolina farming family. An 1830 newspaper ad put out by Kimbrough's father, John Kimbrough, offers a cash reward for his

[4] Marmaduke Kimbrough to Nathaniel Hunt, December 17, 1858, Nathaniel Hunt Papers, UNC.

escaped slave Ned.[5] Marmaduke Kimbrough graduated with a medical degree from Penn in 1860 and went on to join the Confederate Army, where he was a surgeon. In the 1880s, he became chairman of the Davie County Republican Committee and chairman of the Congressional and Judicial District Committee.

Kimbrough achieved considerable social power in his life—power over the Black man his classmates attacked, then power as an influential Southern doctor, then power as chairman of political organizations. None of this would have been possible without the legitimacy lent to him by his born privilege as a wealthy white man and the legitimacy lent to him by his connections and degree from Penn. Penn and institutions like it allowed its students access to vast amounts of social power.

Robert Earp Randall

The execution of John Brown after his attack on Harper's Ferry polarized the entire nation, and Philadelphia was no exception. The abolitionists in Philadelphia raised John Brown up as a martyr, while proslavery activists condemned him— these opposing forces clashed. On December 15, 1859, two weeks after Brown's hanging, abolitionist George W. Curtis gave a speech at Philadelphia's National Hall memorializing Brown. Southern students crashed the event. Sixteen people were arrested, most for rioting or concealed weapons. One of the arrested was 1853 Penn graduate Robert Earp Randall.[6] *The New York Times* reported that "Mr. Randall hissed so steadily at portions of the lecture as to attract the attention of the police, who thereupon arrested him." In court the next day, Randall was brought before none other than Penn alum and former mayor John

[5]John Kimbrough. (1830, September 11). Notice. *Milton Gazette and Roanoke Advertiser*. In North Carolina Runaway Slave Advertisements Digital Collection, http://libcdm1.uncg.edu/cdm/singleitem/collection/RAS/id/1476/rec/1

[6] University of Pennsylvania. Society of the Alumni, University of Pennsylvania. *Biographical Catalogue of the Matriculates of the College Together with Lists of the Members of the College Faculty and the Trustees, Officers and Recipients of Honorary Degrees, 1749-1893*, p. 184. University of Pennsylvania, 1894.

Swift, who was now an alderman of the City Council. Swift reportedly said that Randall, "having paid for his ticket to hear the lecture, had a right to express his disapprobation by hissing." "Mr. Swift also stated that it was much to be regretted [that] such lecturers were permitted to come and promulgate such sentiments, and said that if any breach of the peace [had been] committed, these lecturers were legally and morally responsible for it."[7] Swift promptly released Randall.

Robert Earp Randall makes for an interesting juxtaposition with Marmaduke Kimbrough. Whereas Kimbrough grew up on a plantation, Randall came from an important Philadelphia family that was active in both Whig and Democratic politics. Randall's brother, Samuel J. Randall, who also graduated from Penn, went on to become Speaker of the House of Representatives from 1876-1881.[8]

At Penn, Robert Earp Randall was a founding member of Zeta Psi, Penn's first fraternity chapter.[9] He was also a member of Zelos Society. At the time of his 1859 arrest, Randall had already graduated from the University, but his influence on Philadelphia only grew. In 1860, Robert Randall was a delegate to Pennsylvania's State Democratic Convention and the Democratic National Convention. He was elected as a Democrat to the Pennsylvania House of Representatives for the 1861 term. In a January 16, 1861, speech to the Pennsylvania House, he argued that Pennsylvania's lack of enforcement of fugitive slave laws were unconstitutional, "unwise and unjust" to Southern states.[10]

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[7] "The Excitement in Philadelphia. DISCHARGE OF A PRISONER—MEETING OF SYMPATHY WITH THE ABOLITIONISTS." *The New York Times*, 17 Dec. 1859, p. 1, https://timesmachine.nytimes.com/timesmachine/1859/12/17/78903483.html?pageNumber=1

[8] University of Pennsylvania. Society of the Alumni, University of Pennsylvania. *Biographical Catalogue of the Matriculates of the College Together with Lists of the Members of the College Faculty and the Trustees, Officers and Recipients of Honorary Degrees, 1749-1893*, 184. University of Pennsylvania, 1894.

[9] Carlson, Benjamin Foster. "Zeta Psi." *Penn University Archives & Records Center*. https://archives.upenn.edu/exhibits/penn-history/fraternities/listing/zeta-psi.

[10] Turner, Edward Raymond. *The Negro in Pennsylvania: Slavery--servitude--freedom, 1639-1861*. American Historical Association, 1911, 246.

Robert Randall, like Kimbrough, served in the Civil War. However, Randall supported the Union as a lieutenant in Philadelphia's City Cavalry.[11] The contrast between his racist and anti-abolition activism and his service defending the Union further demonstrates that, despite Philadelphia's reputation as an abolitionist stronghold, racism ran deep among its ruling class.

Randall's life was shaped by his influential family and wealthy background, which gave him further connections by allowing him a Penn education. His social status, exemplified by his Penn connection to Alderman John Swift, allowed him to participate in white supremacist violence without any consequences. Like Kimbrough, his social power grew in magnitude and eventually shaped state politics.

The Medical Student Secession of 1859

The attack on Harper's Ferry and the subsequent swell of abolitionist support in the North infuriated Southern students in Philadelphia, but the arrest of several medical students for rioting, including Randall, was too much for some of them to bear. Two days after Curtis's address at National Hall, the Medical College of Virginia received a telegram reading, "Are Southern students admitted for remainder of session?" The next telegram, sent within the hour, was from Francis E. Luckett and Hunter Holmes McGuire, representatives of the Southern students. It read, "Upon what terms will your school receive 150 from this place first of January. Answer at once." As the dean and faculty convened to discuss, they received a third telegram, which said "We anxiously await your reply. For God's sake let it be favorable-- only diplomas fee. We are in

[11] "Robert E. Randall." Pennsylvania House of Representatives. https://www.legis.state.pa.us/cfdocs/legis/BiosHistory/MemBio.cfm?ID=8026&body=H.

earnest, confidential." The Medical College of Virginia and the Medical College of South Carolina, which the students had also contacted, voted unanimously to accept the students.[12]

Hunter Holmes McGuire was one of the two organizers of the medical student secession. He was born in Winchester, Virginia, only 30 miles from Harper's Ferry. His father, Dr. Hugh Holmes McGuire, himself an 1822 graduate of Penn's medical school,[13] founded and ran Winchester Medical College. Hunter McGuire graduated from Winchester Medical College in 1855, aged nineteen, where he taught and practiced for two years before enrolling at both Jefferson University and the University of Pennsylvania. Along with Luckett, an 1858 graduate of Jefferson and a Richmond native,[14] McGuire taught Philadelphia's largest "quiz class"—essentially a rigorous tutoring group— that was especially popular among Southern students. As the city's most popular quizmasters, McGuire and Luckett were leaders, role models, and mentors for their students. Thus, it is not surprising that they were able to organize the movement to secede from the Penn Medical School.

Three days later, on Tuesday, December 20, Southern medical students from Jefferson University and the University of Pennsylvania assembled to formally plan their departure from Philadelphia. Luckett and McGuire led the meeting. They issued a number of resolutions, full of Southern patriotism, the first of which called on "as many as approve of the act" to withdraw from their medical school and transfer to a Southern school. McGuire put forward a motion that they leave the following evening at 10 pm. The decision made headlines across the nation, with the

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[12] Breeden, James O. "Rehearsal for Secession? The Return Home of Southern Medical Students from Philadelphia in 1859," in Paul Finkelman, ed. *His Soul Goes Marching On: Responses to John Brown and the Harpers Ferry Raid* (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1994), 180

[13] McGuire, William P., MD. "Early American Medical Schools: The Winchester Medical College." *Surgery Gynecology And Obstetrics* 64 (January 1937): 831-33.

[14] "Catalogue of Jefferson Medical College of Philadelphia: Session of 1857-58" (1857). Jefferson Medical College Catalogs. Paper 65. https://jdc.jefferson.edu/jmc_catalogs/65

press dubbing the movement a "secession of medical students."[15] 244 students left Philadelphia the next day, 40 of who were enrolled at Penn.[16] 144 of the students transferred to the Medical College of Virginia, and the remainder went to other southern schools. The South exulted in their symbolic victory over the North: Virginia's Governor Wise met the students upon their arrival in Richmond, throwing them a huge party with thousands of guests. Southern newspapers lauded the students' patriotism.

For all the South's enthusiasm, the North responded with equal disdain. To Philadelphians, the student secession was little more than a display of entitlement: "[The students] found themselves locked up in police stations for trying to mob a lecturer who uttered sentiments with which they disapproved. This experience of Northern law and liberty disgusted them with the North, and so, making it a question of Southern rights, they rallied their Southern associates to their aid and took their departure."[17] Newspapers recognized that the students were angered by the abolitionists' right to free speech: "The cause of this stampede is because the people of this city permit the exercise of the right of speech according to the Constitution of Pennsylvania, and will not consent that persons [...] shall be prevented from saying whatever they think by threats of personal violence or the use of vitriol."[18] Moreover, newspapers pointed out that Southern students would not be missed. "All the disorderly Southern students, who have given so much trouble to the municipal authorities, have patriotically resolved to leave the city for the city's good and will now inflict upon the suffering South their riot, drunkenness and folly."[19] The Northern media mocked the secessionists at length:

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[15] Breeden, 181.
[16] Ibid., 182.
[17] "Flight of the Doctors." *The New York Times*, December 26, 1859. https://timesmachine.nytimes.com/timesmachine/1859/12/26/78904117.html?pageNumber=4.
[18] Breeden, 190.
[19] Ibid.

"Isn't this a land of liberty? Why, then shall not the students enjoy the pure privilege of lynching Abolitionists and burning down National Hall. These young gentlemen are the scions of "first families;" they come from a land of chivalry; they are models of peace, forbearance, and devotion to science; why does Philadelphia so outrage their youthful sensibilities as to allow a vulgar ignoramus like Curtis to lecture here on any 'peculiar' subjects?

"Alas, no longer will these noble youths' [...] cheerful tobacco smoke and genial whiskey drinkings enliven the upper rooms of the landladies where they board! No longer will their heroic bowie knives and revolvers gleam in the gas light at the street corners! No longer will their delicate attentions gladden the hearts and purses of the demoiselles who glitter along Chestnut, Duponceau, and Pine Alley!"[20]

Though the vast majority of the seceding students completed their studies at a southern school as planned, the demonstration was not as revolutionary as they had hoped. By the next year, the percentage of southern students at Philadelphia universities was unchanged.[21] The secession of the medical students was highly publicized, but its social and political effect was negligible. Rather, the secession movement is illustrative of the staggering privilege wielded by Southern medical students in Philadelphia. They were able to attend Penn and Jefferson because of their families' money, influence, and connections. This influence also meant that they could throw violent, disruptive tantrums without any real consequence. In fact, they were able to construct a narrative of victimization by the North, and because of their privilege they had a massive platform. They had the ability to go to different schools at a moment's notice, and even received special

[20] Abrahams, Harold J., Ph.D. "Secession from Northern Medical Schools." *Transactions & Studies of the College of Physicians of Philadelphia* 36 (1969): 31.
[21] Breeden, 195.

treatment from the governor for doing so. The secession of the medical students was the ultimate display of the white Southern students' overly advantaged and undeserving station.

Hunter Holmes McGuire

McGuire graduated from and taught at the school his father founded, Winchester Medical College.[22] Winchester Medical College was known among Winchester's black townspeople for its grave robbing of buried Black people. A gleeful letter by an 1850s Winchester student boasts of the horror and terror that the medical students struck into Winchester's Black townspeople as a result of their sadistic dismemberment of Black specimens. "They could not understand, with their simple way of thinking, how a part of the body here, and a part there, [...]the skull in some doctor's office, it sometimes used by unmerciful students as a candle-stick[...], all mixed up indiscriminately could be got together without making mistakes".[23]

Four months after the student secession, in April of 1861, the Civil War began. McGuire enrolled as a private, but was quickly reassigned to be the medical director of the Army of the Shenandoah, where he worked closely with Stonewall Jackson until Jackson's death.[24] As Stonewall Jackson's personal physician, McGuire treated Jackson after he was badly wounded by friendly fire in the left arm, ultimately amputating the arm at the shoulder. Jackson never recovered and died a week later. McGuire was present, and later published a highly sentimental account of Jackson's death which contributed to Jackson's mythos.[25]

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[22] Jones, J. William, Ed. "A Sketch of the Life and Career of Hunter Holmes McGuire, M. D., Ll. D." *Southern Historical Society Papers* 28 (1900).
http://www.perseus.tufts.edu/hopper/text?doc=Perseus:text:2001.05.0286:chapter=1.32

[23] Nudelman, Franny. *John Brown's Body: Slavery, Violence, and the Culture of War*. United Kingdom: University of North Carolina Press, 2015.

[24] Jones, *Southern Historical Society Papers.*

[25] McGuire, Hunter H., MD. "Death of Stonewall Jackson." *Southern Historical Society Papers* 14 (January 1886).

In the days following John Brown's insurrection, medical students from Winchester went down to Harper's Ferry in order to take the rebels' bodies for dissection. Hunter McGuire's younger brother William, then a student at Winchester, claimed to have witnessed the bodies of two of John Brown's men brought to the medical school for dissection.[26] One of the two bodies the students took belonged to John Brown's son Watson Brown; the other was eventually identified as Jeremiah Anderson.

Apart from the two raiders' bodies taken from Harper's Ferry, Winchester Medical College also stole the bodies of two other raiders. Two of the raiders who survived the insurrection, Shields Green and John A. Copeland, were hanged in Charles Town, Virginia, on December 16, 1859. The Richmond Dispatch wrote, "They will be interred tomorrow on the spot where the gallows stands, though there is a party of medical students here from Winchester which will doubtless not allow them to remain there for long."[27] Green and Copeland were both Black. Because free blacks were banned from Virginia, Copeland's parents sent a white man to recover Copeland's body. The envoy discovered that medical students had in fact taken Copeland's body, but upon the envoy's arrival, had removed it from the medical school and hidden it elsewhere. The envoy did find Green's body in the medical school, but left it there. [28]

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[26] "Finds Cemetery in Backyard, Bones May Be Those of John Brown's Men." *The Times Dispatch* (Richmond, VA), April 7, 1928. https://www.newspapers.com/clip/60282664/bones-of-john-browns-men-dissection/.
[27] "The Executions At Charlestown." *The Richmond Dispatch*, December 19, 1859, 16th ed. https://www.newspapers.com/image/?clipping_id=61126984&fcfToken=eyJhbGciOiJIUzI1NiIsInR5cCI6IkpXVCJ9.eyJmcmVlLXZpZXctaWQiOjc5Nzg3MDIzLCJpYXQiOjE2MTg1NDQxMjQsImV4cCI6MTYxODYzMDUyNH0.T7mxOMiSjqcEy21EGeUelKDVFGNpHxj_BfAzxZL3s1Q.
[28] Monroe, James. *Oberlin Thursday Lectures, Addresses and Essays*. Oberlin, OH: EJ Goodrich, 1897 pp. 171

Union troops entered Winchester on March 12th, 1862, less than a day after Stonewall Jackson's forces had left. Jarvis Johnson, a Union surgeon, entered Winchester Medical Hospital and found a body "well prepared for preservation", which belonged to John Brown's son Watson.[29] Some newspapers reported, without corroboration, that the body had been desecrated: "The muscles, veins and arteries [were] all preserved, the top of the cranium sawn off, and the lips purposely distorted in disrespect,"[30] "with the inscription 'Thus Always to Abolitionists."[31] The body may have been left as a taunt to Union troops. Union troops burned down the medical school on May 16, 1862.[32]

Johnson kept Watson Brown's body as a souvenir for many years. He described to a newspaper:

> [O]ne of the professors of said college also called upon me in person, and demanded that I return the specimen. He then gave me all the details of the manner in which the body had been prepared and said that he did it himself. The professor strongly appealed to me in the name of my profession, and in the interest of the same, and as a friend of science to return to him the body.[33]

Johnson refused, and eventually disclosed to the Brown family that he had the body, and returned it to them. Johnson never revealed the Winchester professor's identity, though a former student of Winchester Medical College wrote in 1894 that Hunter McGuire was its last living professor.[34]

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[29] Featherstonhaugh, Thomas, and Jarvis J. Johnson. "John Brown's Men: The Lives Of Those Killed At Harper's Ferry." *Publications of the Southern History Association* 3 (1897): 281-320. https://archive.org/details/publicationsofso03sout/page/n5/mode/2up.

[30] "The Evidences of Southern Civilization." *The New York Times*, April 7, 1862. https://timesmachine.nytimes.com/timesmachine/1862/04/07/78683784.html?pageNumber=4.

[31] "John Brown's Body." *Fall River Daily Evening News,* March 25, 1862. https://www.newspapers.com/clip/60996411/watson-browns-body-not-john-browns/. and

[32] Featherstonhaugh and Johnson, 298.

[33] Featherstonhaugh and Johnson, 298.

[34] Monroe, 182.

However, at the very least, Hunter McGuire knew of the desecration of Watson Brown's body, because he was certainly using Winchester Medical College as a hospital while Stonewall Jackson's army was occupying Winchester.

In the years after the Civil War, Hunter McGuire devoted time to furthering the myth of the Lost Cause of the Confederacy. As the chairman of the History Committee of the Grand Camp of Confederate Veterans of Virginia, he published a lengthy report on several state textbooks of history, civics, and geography, blocking the use of any textbooks which were even mildly critical of the Confederacy.[35]

McGuire also wrote the introduction to a 1901 pro-slavery memoir, intended to correct the "sensational and overwrought story, 'Uncle Tom's Cabin'." In it, McGuire mourned the loss of the slave system, because "the institution had knit the hearts of the two races together too tenderly, in the happy life on the old plantation. [...] The negro of the South to-day knows, that when in trouble his best friend is his old master or his children; and if left alone by those who understand neither race at the South, he would reflect this knowledge in all the relations of life and the race problem of the South would be solved."[36] McGuire's control over the historical narrative demonstrates privilege's lasting effect on society. Despite losing the war, men like McGuire used their race, gender, and class to hold onto power and preserve their legacy. Using the legitimacy and influence derived from their privilege, they created social systems and cultural norms that have long outlived them.

Hunter McGuire enjoyed a successful career. He was the president of the American Medical Association from 1893-94. He founded the University College of Medicine which later

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[35] McGuire, Hunter H., MD, LLD., and George Llwellyn Christian. *The Confederate Cause and Conduct in the War between the States*. Richmond, VA: L.H. Jenkins, 1907.
[36] McGuire, Hunter. Introduction to James Battle Avirett, *The Old Plantation*. pp. v–x. 1901.

merged with the Medical College of Virginia. His son, Stuart McGuire, became its president. The Medical College of Virginia merged with Richmond Professional Institute in 1968 to become Virginia Commonwealth University. He is honored with a bronze statue placed on the grounds of the Virginia State Capitol in 1904 and the Hunter Holmes McGuire Veterans Administration Medical Center in Richmond.[37] In December 2020, VCU removed his name from McGuire Hall and removed busts and plaques in his honor from around campus.[38]

Limitations and areas for further research

Future cohorts of the Penn & Slavery Project have the opportunity to build upon this limited findings of this paper. This project was massively constrained COVID-19 restrictions, particularly, the university's restrictions on library and archive access. Due to the moratorium on in-person archive access, this paper drew from documents which had been digitized by hand by archivists. As these constitute only a fraction of the documents held by the University and the city of Philadelphia, any research with in-person access to the archives will doubtless uncover many new connections. In-person access will also allow greater access to documents from other libraries and institutions. Though many institutions digitized files at my request, the research process was still slowed.

I encourage future cohorts to research more Penn alumni who joined the Confederate military. Penn alumni records detail the military careers of all alumni, which simplifies the research. Furthermore, many Confederate personnel from wealthy backgrounds, such as Hunter

[37] Hunter Holmes McGuire VA Medical Center. "VA.gov: Veterans Affairs." Hunter Holmes McGuire VA Medical Center - Richmond, VA. October 20, 2010. https://www.richmond.va.gov/.

[38] Gresham, Tom. "Removing Plaques and Building Names with Ties to the Confederacy Begins at VCU." *VCU News*, December 10, 2020. https://news.vcu.edu/article/Removing_plaques_and_building_names_with_ties_to_the_Confederacy.

McGuire, have present-day legacies which erase the reality of their past. Penn & Slavery Project researchers can make a difference by calling attention to these inconsistencies.

Though beyond the scope of the Penn and Slavery Project, I encourage interested historians to construct similar research in different contexts and locations. Racist mob violence as a tool for social control occurred all over the United States; in particular, I noticed many parallels to research I have previously done on anti-Chinese mobs in nineteenth century California. The Penn and Slavery Project's work is extremely useful for identifying how an institution attempts to erase not only its historical racism, but the effects of that racism in the present day. I further recommend that readers recognize how their institutions continue to extract resources from Indigenous populations.