

Documenting the University of Pennsylvania's Connection to Slavery

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INTRODUCTION

Overview

The goal of this paper is to present the facts regarding the University of Pennsylvania's (then the College and Academy of Philadelphia) significant connections to slavery and the slave trade. The first section of the paper will cover the construction and operation of the College and Academy in the early years. As slavery was integral to the economy of British North America, to fully understand the University's connection to slavery the second section will cover the financial aspects of the College and Academy, its Trustees, and its fundraising.

To conduct this study, I did extensive research at: The Archives and Records Center of the University of Pennsylvania (UARC), the Rare Books and Manuscripts department of the Kislak Center of the Van Pelt Library, The American Philosophical Society, The Historical Society of Pennsylvania, The Germantown Historical Society, The Old York Road Historical Society, The Cheltenham Museum, The Firestone Library and the University Archives at Princeton University, and the Christ Church of Philadelphia Archives. The bibliography only covers the documents referenced in the paper. In total during my research, I viewed at least double that number of documents regarding Penn's connection to slavery.

Special thanks to the professional staff at the UARC for their guidance and support during my research.

LABOR AND CONSTRUCTION

Primer on the Construction of the College and Academy of Philadelphia

In 1750, Benjamin Franklin and the other trustees of the Academy purchased the “New Building” on Fourth and Arch Streets. Originally, the owners of the building planned for it to be used as the center for George Whitefield’s preaching and also as a charity school. This was in response to the religious awakening that was jumpstarted by George Whitefield’s preaching in the mid-eighteenth century. Construction of the building began in 1740 but was abandoned in 1741; it was not finished until 1744. By 1747, a number of issues arose including the fading of evangelism and a growing number of repairs needed for the building.

In 1749, Benjamin Franklin and a group of trustees decided to create an academy. As Benjamin Franklin was a trustee for both the “New Building” and the Academy, he secured the selling of the property to what would become The College and Academy of Philadelphia. In 1750, the transfer of the property was complete.¹

Because the building was originally intended for religious purposes and to serve as a charity school, the building was not suited for an academy. The College hired **Edmund Woolley, John Coats, Benjamin Loxley, John Thornhill**, and other tradesmen – many of whom were involved in the initial construction of the “New Building” – to transform the building into a school.²

The Academy received a charter and was renamed the College of Philadelphia in 1755. As the College grew, the building required more work. The Trustees hired the well-known architect and builder **Robert Smith** to perform alterations, constructions, and repairs. This work lasted until roughly 1760. In 1761, the college hired **Joseph Redman** to do brickwork for the grounds.³

¹ Turner, William Lewis. 1952. "The College: Academy and Charitable School of Philadelphia; the Development of a Colonial Institution of Learning, 1740-1779." PhD diss., University of Pennsylvania.

² Peterson, Charles Emil, Constance M. Grieff, and Maria M. Thompson. 2000. *Robert Smith: Architect, Builder, Patriot, 1722-1777*. Philadelphia: Athenæum of Philadelphia.

³ Ibid.

In 1761, the College of Philadelphia needed a dormitory and they again turned to Robert Smith to design and build the dormitory. Smith designed his plans around two dormitories as it fit his intended style for the college. The Trustees, however, only wanted one building to be constructed. The dormitory was finished in 1764. Change orders, however, regarding the dormitory were given to Smith until the early 1770s.⁴

In 1774, Provost William Smith of the College decided that he needed a house to be built for his use on the campus grounds. The Trustees agreed to his proposal and once again turned to Smith. Robert Smith would design and construct the building which was finished in 1776, just one year prior to his death.⁵

⁴ Peterson, Grieff and Thompson, 2000

⁵ Ibid.

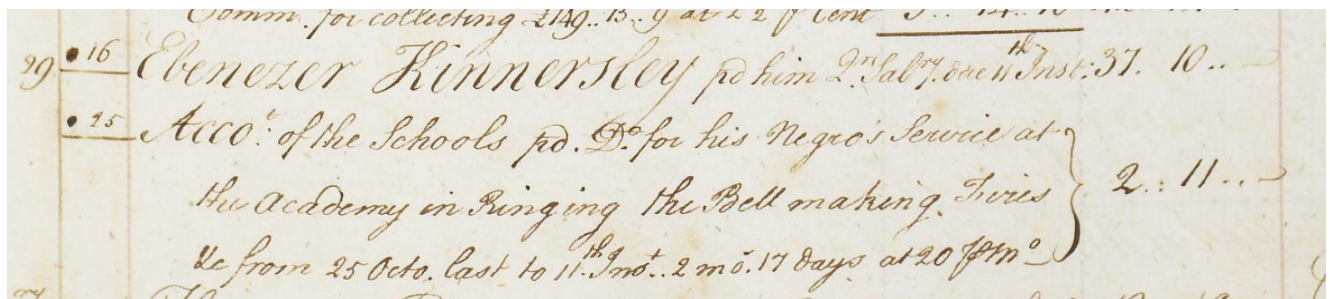
Ebenezer Kinnersley (1711 – 1778)

Ebenezer Kinnersley was a close friend of Benjamin Franklin and a collaborator with Franklin in his famous experiments on electricity. The Trustees appointed Kinnersley as the Professor of English for the College and Academy of Philadelphia in 1753, and they named him Steward of the Dormitory in 1763, a position he held until leaving the Academy for health reasons in 1772.

On July 15, 1756, the minutes of the Trustees mentioned how the current usher was unable to ring the bell and make the fires, and that they would need a new usher to do so.

The Master of the Charity School had formerly taken Care of these Things, and was allowed a small Sum for his Trouble, and it is now agreed that, though it might not be so proper for the Head Master to do these Services, yet they might be done by the Usher without any Inconvenience; the present Usher therefore being lame and incapable to take this upon him...it was recommended...to procure a fit Person to succeed him, and on who will at the same Time undertake the Charge of the Bell, make Fires and take Care of the Schools, to keep them clean.⁶

In October 1756, Kinnersley received his first payment from the University for the services of his enslaved man to help ring the bell, prepare the fireplaces, and other heavy chores – appearing to be a direct response to the Trustees' concerns raised in July.



Kinnersley continued to receive payments for his enslaved man's service until January 16, 1770, which was the last time a mention of his enslaved man's service was mentioned in the Day Book. It is unclear why Kinnersley stopped receiving payments for his enslaved man's service.

Kinnersley's enslaved man seemed to serve only the University and was paid £1 a month for his services. In total, the College and Academy paid Kinnersley for his enslaved man's services £159 14s. 11d. (159 pounds, 14 shillings, 11 pence).

Ebenezer Kinnersley did not own many slaves. On August 26, 1742 in the *Pennsylvania Gazette*, Kinnersley advertised a "Negro Woman, this country born..." for sale.⁷ Kinnersley and his wife Sarah Duffield were given an enslaved woman Phillis in 1747 after Joseph Duffield, Sarah Duffield's father, passed away.⁸ Beyond that, it is known the Kinnersley owned only one enslaved individual in 1767 and 1774 from the known tax lists – the enslaved man who provided services to the College.⁹

⁷ Kinnersley, Ebenezer. 1742. "TO BE SOLD, A Negro Woman, this Country born, who has been u." *The Pennsylvania Gazette*, August 26.

⁸ 1875. *John Neill of Lewes, Delaware, 1739, and His Descendants*. Philadelphia: Privately printed for the family.

⁹ n.d. *The particulars of each person's estate, as appears by the township and ward assessors' returns as follows [manuscript]*, by Jacob Umstat, Barnaby Barnes, Andrew Bankson, John Roberts [?], Joseph Stamper, and Paul Engle Jun[ior], County Assessors. [Philadelphia], 1767.Ms. Codex 1261. University of Pennsylvania; Ancestry.com. 2011. "Pennsylvania, Tax and Exoneration, 1768-1801." Provo, Utah: Ancestry.com Operations, Inc.

Robert Smith (1722 – 1777)

Robert Smith was one of “the most important and skilled architect-builders in colonial America.”¹⁰ He was an early member of the Carpenter’s Company and a member of the American Philosophical Society. He was responsible for many different buildings throughout this life: Nassau Hall at Princeton University (then the College of New Jersey), the Steeple of the Second Presbyterian Church of Philadelphia, St. Paul’s and St. Peter’s Churches of Philadelphia, Carpenter’s Hall in Philadelphia, and a large number of other buildings – including the dormitory and Provost’s house for the College and Academy of Philadelphia. He also did many of the alterations to the “New Building.”

I attempted to get a better picture of Robert Smith’s construction methods by visiting the Princeton and Christ Church of Philadelphia archives – two places where Smith had done work. While they do have some files regarding Robert Smith, they are scarce and do not provide any new or interesting insights into his construction practices. It is documented, however, that John Smith, Robert Smith’s son, took over the construction of Nassau Hall after his father became ill.

According to the 1767 tax list, Robert Smith owned one enslaved individual at the time.¹¹ In 1769, Robert Smith owned 2 enslaved people. And in 1774, the same year that Robert Smith began work on the Provost’s house for the College and Academy of Philadelphia, Robert Smith owned one enslaved individual.¹² Robert Smith owned no enslaved people at the time of his death.

Robert Smith was most financially prosperous in the late 1750s and early 1760s. By the end of the 1750s, Robert Smith was “well established and fairly prosperous.” “Smith owned a house on Lombard Street, and had a country place outside the city, where he sometimes entertained his

¹⁰ Peterson, Grief and Thompson, 2000

¹¹ The particulars of each person’s estate, as appears by the township and ward assessors’ returns as follows [manuscript], by Jacob Umstat, Barnaby Barnes, Andrew Bankson, John Roberts [?], Joseph Stamper, and Paul Engle Jun[ior], County Assessors. [Philadelphia], 1767, n.d.

¹² Ancestry.com, Pennsylvania, Tax and Exoneration, 1768-1801, 2011

friends..."¹³ Amongst these friends were Penn Trustees Samuel Morris (1711 – 1782), Samuel Miles (1740 – 1805), and John Lawrence (1747 – 1830).¹⁴

However, by 1767, Robert Smith fell on hard times. As he stated in a letter to Samuel Rhoads in March 1767:

I Called at your House to enquire if you Could put me in a way to get fifty or sixty pounds on Account. of Esqr. [Benjamin] Franklin. I am in great need of money, otherwise should stay till he came home, But as that is uncertain when his Business will permit him, you will oblige me much in procuring the sum above mentioned...Therefore If I could have that sum at present it will much oblige me.¹⁵

These financial troubles continued through the end of his life, with John Smith reaching out both to Benjamin Franklin and the Carpenter's Company for funds after Robert Smith passed away.¹⁶ John Smith would later attend the Academy.

Robert Smith was able to afford enslaved individuals during the most financially troubling times of his life. Therefore, it is likely that Robert Smith owned enslaved individuals during the peak of his career and financial status during the late 1750s and throughout the 1760s while he worked for the Academy.

¹³ Bell, Whitfield Jenks. 1997. *Patriot-improvers: 1743-1768*. Vol. 3. American Philosophical Society.

¹⁴ Pennsylvania, Historical Society of. 1892. *The Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography*. Vol. 6. Historical Society of Pennsylvania; Pennsylvania, Historical Society of. 1908. *The Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography*. Vol. 32. Publication Fund of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

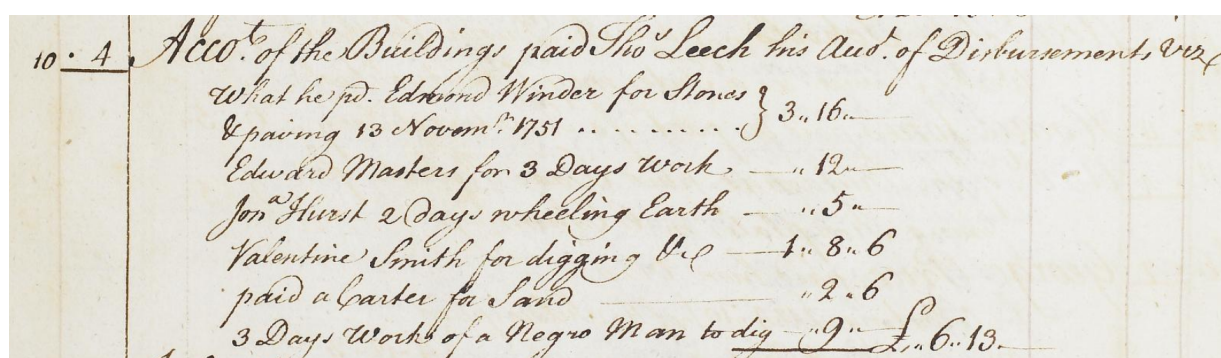
¹⁵ Smith, Robert. 1767. "Letter to Samuel Rhoads, Philadelphia." *Benjamin Franklin Papers Part 12 -- Correspondence of and Works by Others: Correspondence of Others*. Philadelphia: American Philosophical Society.

¹⁶ Smith, John. 1786. "Letter to Benjamin Franklin." *Benjamin Franklin Papers Part 8 -- Letters to Franklin: Letters to Benjamin Franklin*. Philadelphia: American Philosophical Society; Philadelphia, The Carpenter's Company of. 1804. "Carpenters' Company Minutes." *Carpenters' Company of the City and County of Philadelphia Records, 1683-1983*. Philadelphia: American Philosophical Society.

Thomas Leech (1685 – 1762)

Thomas Leech was an Assemblyman of Philadelphia County, eventually becoming Speaker of the Assembly in 1758, and a founder and trustee of the Academy. Thomas Leech had made numerous advances for the College and Academy's construction, and was reimbursed for these outlays. Furthermore, Leech donated £30 through subscriptions to the Academy.¹⁷

One reimbursement is of particular note. On October 10, 1752, Thomas Leech was reimbursed by the University for a payment that included a payment for “3 Days Work of a Negroe Man to dig.”



Thomas Leech's Reimbursement, 1752

The difficulty with this payment is determining whether this was a paid freedman who did the digging or an enslaved man. With it being a reimbursement of a payment made by Leech, it makes it harder to parse the true meaning. All other entries in the University of Pennsylvania's ledgers refers to payments to individuals for work or construction as “labourer,” “workmen,” “man,” or mentions a specific name. A more direct comparison is that there is an entry in the account book on June 9, 1752 that says, “paid a Labourer for digging Earth.” The only other mention of “Negro” in the account book is in relation to Kinnersley's enslaved man.¹⁸

¹⁷ Hill, Henry. 1740-1779. *Day Book Belonging to the Trustees of the Academy of Philadelphia*. Philadelphia: University Archives and Records Center, University of Pennsylvania.

¹⁸ Ibid.

By looking at multiple receipts, ledgers, and account books for construction in other time-period documents, it is possible to get a better insight into this payment. An account of the expenses prior to opening Franklin's charity school mentions a payment for "One man for 3 ½ Days work."¹⁹ From the Christ Church account books, we find entries for "a Labourer for wheeling bricks..." and "a Labourer for 5 ½ days of..."²⁰ There are other examples of this wording used throughout other account books and ledgers but no others refer to a "Negro" or "Negroe" man or woman, except for the few instances when the individual mentioned alongside the owner – indicating the reference was to an enslaved person.

Ultimately, it remains unclear whether this was a freed man or not. To say otherwise would be speculation. Without Thomas Leech's personal account books – something that I searched for but do not appear to exist – it is impossible to say definitively.

Thomas Leech is documented as owning enslaved people. He was given an enslaved girl from his father Tony Leech Sr. in 1726; she was named Bety.²¹ At the time of his death in 1762, Thomas Leech did not own any enslaved persons.²² However, the Leech family has a history of owning enslaved people. I found numerous records of this fact during my research, including documentation that Thomas Leech's son, Thomas Leech Jr, and his brother, Toby Leech Jr, both owned enslaved persons.²³

¹⁹ Franklin, Benjamin. n.d. "Account of Expenses Previous to the Opening of Dr. Franklin's Charity School." *Benjamin Franklin Papers Part 13 -- Business Records of Franklin: Bills and Business Memoranda*. Philadelphia: American Philosophical Society.

²⁰ Philadelphia, Christ Church of. 1695-2016. "Series III. Accounting Wardens, 1707-1976 (Bulk 1790-1890)." *Christ Church Records*. Philadelphia: Christ Church Archives.

²¹ de Benneville Mears, A. 1890. *The Old York Road: And Its Early Associations of History and Biography, 1670-1870*. Harper & Brother.

²² Horle, C.W. 1997. *Lawmaking and Legislators in Pennsylvania: 1710-1756*. University of Pennsylvania Press.

²³ Allen, William, Joseph Turner, and Alexander Woodrop. 1736. "JUST arrived from Barbadoes, several likely Negroes; among w." *The Pennsylvania Gazette*, May 20; de Benneville Mears, 1890; Ancestry.com. 2015. "Pennsylvania, Wills and Probate Records, 1683-1993." Provo, Utah: Ancestry.com Operations, Inc; The particulars of each person's estate, as appears by the township and ward assessors' returns as follows [manuscript], by Jacob Umstat, Barnaby Barnes, Andrew Bankson, John Roberts [?], Joseph Stamper, and Paul Engle Jun[ior], County Assessors. [Philadelphia], 1767, n.d.

Benjamin Loxley (1720 – 1801)

Benjamin Loxley was a carpenter and a leader of the Carpenter's Company. On January 17, 1760, Loxley advertised in the *Pennsylvania Gazette* the sale of an enslaved woman and an enslaved boy.

A YOUNG Negro Wench; she can cook, wash and iron, and do other Sorts of House work well, is about 21 Years of Age, and has had the Smallpox and Measles. Also a Son of hers, names Caesar, about two Years old, who has also had the Smallpox and Measles.²⁴

Loxley did not own any enslaved individuals nor indentured servants in 1767, but did own one enslaved person and one servant in 1774.²⁵

John Coats (fl. 1719)

John Coats was a brick maker who lived in Philadelphia during the eighteenth century. Coats often worked with Robert Smith – including for the College and Academy of Philadelphia. In 1767, John Coats owned 6 enslaved individuals and 1 servant.²⁶ In 1774, he owned 3 enslaved persons and 2 servants.²⁷ His son would later attend the University.

Others

Edmund Woolley (1695 – 1771) was a carpenter and builder, most famous for his role in the construction of the State House of Philadelphia – now known as Independence Hall. There are very few documents relating to Edmund Woolley, but from what does exist it does not appear that he owned any enslaved individuals or servants.²⁸

²⁴ Loxley, Benjamin. 1760. "To be SOLD," The Pennsylvania Gazette, January 17.

²⁵ The particulars of each person's estate, as appears by the township and ward assessors' returns as follows [manuscript], by Jacob Umstat, Barnaby Barnes, Andrew Bankson, John Roberts [?], Joseph Stamper, and Paul Engle Jun[ior], County Assessors. [Philadelphia], 1767, n.d.; Ancestry.com, Pennsylvania, Tax and Exoneration, 1768-1801, 2011.

²⁶ The particulars of each person's estate, as appears by the township and ward assessors' returns as follows [manuscript], by Jacob Umstat, Barnaby Barnes, Andrew Bankson, John Roberts [?], Joseph Stamper, and Paul Engle Jun[ior], County Assessors. [Philadelphia], 1767, n.d.

²⁷ Ancestry.com, Pennsylvania, Tax and Exoneration, 1768-1801, 2011.

²⁸ He was not taxed for enslaved people in any of the available tax lists, nor do any documents proving otherwise exist.

Joseph Redman was a bricklayer. He had also done work for the Governor's Mill, David Hall, and the Christ Church Steeple. He does not appear to have owned any enslaved individuals or servants.²⁹

John Thornhill (1716 – 1783) was a carpenter and an early member of the Carpenter's Company. He did construction for the Christ Church. Few documents remain relating to Thornhill, but it does not appear that he owned any enslaved individuals or servants.³⁰

²⁹ He was not taxed for enslaved people in any of the available tax lists, nor do any documents proving otherwise exist.

³⁰ Ibid.

Labor and Construction Conclusion

Without personal documents and account books from the carpenters, builders, and other craftsmen, it is not possible to conclude definitively that enslaved labor was used to build the University. It is, however, likely that enslaved labor may have participated in some aspects of the construction process. From research on the slave trade and labor in colonial Pennsylvania and Philadelphia, we know that many craftsman, especially experts and master artisans, used slave labor in their trade.

Darold D. Wax:

Many other residents of Pennsylvania purchased Negro slaves and trained them as assistants in their trade or calling. Recipients of specialized training, these Negroes became expert craftsmen and masters of their trade; they included, in the better known occupations, bakers, masons, **carpenters** [emphasis added], shoemakers, butchers, tailors, and millers.³¹

Gary B. Nash:

Evidence that slaves were employed extensively as artisans is confirmed by advertisements in the Philadelphia newspapers of this period. In a two-year period bracketing the 1767 tax list, the Pa. Gaz. carried a number of advertisements listing slaves who were qualified as **carpenters** [emphasis added], millers, distillers, bakers, shipbuilders, blacksmiths, sailmakers...³²

It seems likely that Robert Smith used enslaved labor for the construction of the College and Academy of Philadelphia, given his fame, wealth, and status at the time – in conjunction with his slave owning history. Presumably, the bricks purchased from John Coats were made using enslaved

³¹ Wax, Darold D. 1967. "The Demand for Slave Labor in Colonial Pennsylvania." *Pennsylvania History: A Journal of Mid-Atlantic Studies* 34 (4): 331-345.

³² Nash, Gary B. 1973. "Slaves and Slaveowners in Colonial Philadelphia." *The William and Mary Quarterly: A Magazine of Early American History*, 223-256.

labor, given Coats' ownership of multiple enslaved individuals. There is less certainty regarding Loxley as he appears to have been less successful than Smith both financially and commercially, and he has less of a history of slave ownership. I am unable to parse the true meaning behind the Thomas Leech payment.

Taken in conjunction with the documented use of enslaved labor by Kinnersley and the payments he received for ushering duties by the College and Academy, it is clear that a direct connection between the University of Pennsylvania and the slave trade does exist. In total, there was a minimum of thirteen enslaved persons owned by the individuals mentioned in this section.

FINANCIAL ASPECTS

West Indies Fundraising

On March 2, 1772, a proposal was brought forth during a 'Trustees' meeting that Dr. John Morgan would travel to the West Indies for collection of funds for "further support of this Institution."³³ One week later, on March 9, a committee of Trustees and Dr. Morgan agreed that he would go on a fundraising tour of the West Indies, focused on Jamaica. On December 13, 1773, the results of the collection were presented to the Trustees. In total, the College raised £6,121 12s. (Jamaican money).³⁴ This paper examines the largest contributors and what, if any, connections they had to slavery and the slave trade. The total contribution from the mentioned individuals is £1,436 in Jamaican currency.

Note: Contributions are in Jamaican currency.

Sir Charles Price Bart. Farther (1708 – 1772) & Son (1732 – 1788); Contribution: £100

Sir Charles Price 1st [I] and 2nd [II] Bart., of Jamaica were English educated planters who would both later serve in the Jamaica Assembly. Charles Price 1st Bart. owned Amity Hall (1744 – 1772), Burton's (1727 – 1772), Decoy Estate (1730 – 1772), Mickleton Pen (1766 – 1772), and Shenton Estate (1744 – 1772). He jointly owned Worthy Park (1750 – 1772), following the death of his brother Thomas Rose. Charles Price 2nd Bart. owned Amity Hall (1772 – 1786), Decoy Estate (1772 – 1789), Mickleton Pen (1772 – 1788), New Works (1775 – 1778), Shenton Estate (1772 – 1779), and Wallens (1775 – 1786). He also jointly owned Worthy Park (1772 – 1789).³⁵

³³ Smith, William, Joseph Hopkinson, and Plunket Fleeson Glentworth. 1768-1791. *Trustees of the University of Pennsylvania Minute Books, Volume 2, 1768-1779; 1789-1791 (College, Academy and Charitable School; University of Pennsylvania)*. Vol. 2. Philadelphia: University Archives and Records Center, University of Pennsylvania.

³⁴ Ibid.

³⁵ Hall, Catherine, Nick Draper, Keith McClelland, Rachel Lang, James Dawkins, and Hannah Young. n.d. "Legacies of British Slave-Ownership." Department of History, University College London.

Both Price I and II owned enslaved persons who worked at their plantations, however, exact numbers are unavailable. It is known that in 1744, Charles Price 1st Bart. owned 1,353 enslaved people.³⁶

Honorable John Ellis (d. 1781); Contribution: £70

John Ellis, Sr. was a planter and slave owner. He owned Ellis Caymanas (1760 – 1763), Green Castle (1753 – 1781), New Montpelier Estate (1774 – 1781), Newry Estate (– 1781), Nutfield Estate (– 1781), and Old Montpelier Estate (1774 – 1781). His estate was probated after his death in 1781, revealing that he owned 726 enslaved males and 584 enslaved females (184 were enslaved children). He owned at least 1,310 enslaved individuals.³⁷

Honorable Bryan Edwards (1743 – 1800); Contribution: £70

Bryan Edwards was a planter and slave owner. He owned the Brampton Bryan Estate (1776 – 1798), Brimmer Hall Estate (1770), Bryan Castle Estate (1776 – 1798), Dove Hall Estate (1778– 1780), Langley Estate (1770), Trinity Estate (1770), Tryall Estate (1770), and Unity Estate (1790 – 1800). He was the trustee and executor of the Spring Garden Estate (1768 – 1773). His probate inventory indicates that he owned over 600 enslaved individuals.³⁸

Francis Dennis (d. 1795); Contribution: £70

Francis Dennis was a planter. He owned both the Pembroke Hall Estate and Prospect Penn until his death in 1795. From his will, it is known that Dennis owned enslaved individuals, but a number is unavailable.³⁹

³⁶ Hall, et al. n.d.

³⁷ Ibid.

³⁸ Ibid.

³⁹ Ibid.

Thomas Davison (d. 1792); Contribution: £70

Thomas Davison was a planter who owned the Preston Estate (1766 – 1786). The Preston estate was known for using enslaved labor, however the first records documenting the number and presence of enslaved persons on the Preston plantation was available only after he passed away. Regardless, it is highly likely that he did own enslaved people.⁴⁰

Sir Simon Clark Bart. (1726 – 1777); Contribution £56

Sir Simon Clark 7th Bart. was a planter and a very wealthy individual, possibly worth upwards of £500,000. He was the owner of Warwick Castle Estate, joint-owned Retirement, was the previous owner of Cocoa Walk, and was the mortgage holder of Juan de Bolas and Plantain Garden River. Clark owned enslaved individuals, but the exact amount is unknown. Clark 7th was the only son of Clark 6th. A probate of Clark 6th indicates that Sir Simon Clark 7th Bart. owned at least 171 enslaved persons – ninety-nine were male and seventy-two were female.⁴¹

John Tharp (1744 – 1804); Contribution: £50

John Tharp IV, of Good Hope and Chippenham Park was a planter and slave owner. Until his death in 1804, he owned Chippenham Park Pen, Covey Estate, Good Hope Estate, Lansquinet Estate, Merry Wood Estate, Pantre Pant, Potosi Estate, Tophill Pen, Wales Estate, and Windsor Pen. It is impossible to know the exact count of how many enslaved persons Tharp owned, but we can get a decent idea by looking at how many enslaved persons were working on his properties after his death, as the properties were still documented as being owned by the “heirs of John Tharp.”⁴²

In 1815, Chippenham Park relied on 175 enslaved persons, Covey used forty-four, Good Hope used 464, Lansquinet used 200, Merry Wood used 217, Pantre Pant 369, Potosi used 309,

⁴⁰ Hall, et al. n.d.

⁴¹ Ibid.

⁴² Ibid.

Tophill Pen used sixty-six, Wales used 346, and Windsor used 217. In total, 2389 enslaved persons were working on properties bequeathed to the heirs of John Tharp.⁴³

Honorable Thomas Beach (1715 – 1774); Contribution: £50

Thomas Beach was the Attorney General of Jamaica from 1751. His estate probate in 1776 shows that Beach owned 564 enslaved persons – 306 were males and 258 were females (192 were children).⁴⁴

Francis Delap (d. 1775); Contribution: £50

Francis Delap was a planter and slave owner. He owned Mount Eagle (1763 – 1775) and Orange (1769 – 1775). A 1777 probate of his estate revealed that Delap owned 379 enslaved individuals – 188 were male and 191 were female (zero were children).⁴⁵

Peter Campbell (d. 1818); Contribution: £50

Peter Campbell was a planter and slave owner. He was the owner of Fish River Estate (– 1818), Holland Estate and 'Shaws' (1797 – 1818) and Petersville (1797 – 1818). He also jointly owned the Fish River Estate (1748). In 1810, Fish River relied on 290 enslaved individuals, Holland used 421, and Petersville used 177 – a total 888 enslaved persons.⁴⁶

John Campbell (d. 1801); Contribution: £50

John Campbell was a planter and slave owner. He joint-owned Ackendown (1799 – 1801), Bog Estate (1799 – 1801), and Retrieve Estate (1800 – 1801). He owned New Hope Estate (1789 – 1794), Kendal (– 1802), and Albany Estate (1783 – 1794). In 1779, Ackendown relied on 130 enslaved individuals, Bog used 226, Kendal used 242, and Retrieve used 144 – a combined total of 742 enslaved persons.⁴⁷

⁴³ Hall, et al. n.d.

⁴⁴ Ibid.

⁴⁵ Ibid.

⁴⁶ Ibid.

⁴⁷ Ibid.

Thomas Hibbert (1710 – 1780); Contribution: £50

Thomas Hibbert was a slave owner and planter. He owned the Agualta Vale Estate and Agualta Vale Pen from 1769 until his death in 1780. He was also the attorney for Iter Boreale from 1759 until 1771. In his will, Hilbbert gives all of his enslaved persons to his nephews. Although the exact number of enslaved persons that Hibbert owned is unknown, it is known that the Agualta Vale Estate relied on 340 enslaved persons in 1820 and Agualta Vale Pen used 258. In total, that is 596 enslaved persons.⁴⁸

Honorable James Irving (1713 – 1775); Contribution: £50

James Irving was a doctor and later a member of the House of Assembly for St. James. Irving owned the Hatfield Estate (1755 – 1775), Ironshore Estate (1755 – 1775), and Irving Tower (1759 – 1775). In 1774, Ironshore relied on 254 enslaved persons. There are no records for Irving Tower or Hatfield during these years, but in 1815 Irving's Tower used 131 enslaved persons, Hatfield used 149, and Ironshore used 267 – a total of 547 enslaved persons.⁴⁹

James Williams (d. 1804); Contribution: £50

James Williams was a planter and slave owner. Williams owned Unity Valley Estate (1787 – 1804) and Water Mount Estate (1768 – 1804). While the number of enslaved persons working on these estates is unknown during his lifetime, in 1809 Unity Valley relied on 223 enslaved persons, and Water Mount used 250. In total, that is 438 enslaved persons.⁵⁰

Colin Campbell (d. 1811); Contribution: £50

Colin Campbell was a planter and slave owner. He owned the New Hope Estate (1792 – 1811), and joint-owned the Copse Sugar Estate (1809 – 1811). In 1809, the New Hope relied on 100

⁴⁸ Hall, et al. n.d.

⁴⁹ Ibid.

⁵⁰ Ibid.

enslaved individuals. In 1810, the Copse Sugar used 324 enslaved persons. In total, that is 424 enslaved persons.⁵¹

John Campbell of Saltspring (1744 – 1782); Contribution: £50

John Campbell of Saltspring was a planter. He owned Saltspring from 1744 until his death in 1782. Campbell owned enslaved individuals, as noted in his will, but the exact number is not given. He gave all of his tenements slaves and his enslaved persons to Duncan Campbell, his brother-in-law.⁵²

Henry Lord (d. 1790); Contribution: £50

Henry Lord was a planter. He used to own Ivy, Ramble, and River Head Estate – all of which relied on enslaved persons. Henry Lord owned enslaved individuals, but the exact number is unknown.⁵³

Archibald Sinclair (d. 1775); Contribution: £50

The Honorable Archibald Sinclair was a slave-owner. He owned Banbury / Clearmount. There are no exact numbers as to how many enslaved persons Sinclair owned.

Honorable Richard Welch (1733 – 1782); Contribution: £50

Richard Welch was the Chief Justice of Jamaica in 1779. He owned the Hyde Estate until his death in 1782. It is highly likely that Welch owned enslaved individuals, but the records only show that the Hyde Estate relied on hundreds of enslaved individuals starting in the late 1790s.⁵⁴

Honorable John Scott (d. 1776); Contribution: £50

John Scott was a planter and slave-owner. He owned Clarendon Park until his death in 1776. In his will, he gives his enslaved individuals to his three sons, but an exact number is known.⁵⁵

⁵¹ Hall, et al. n.d.

⁵² Ibid.

⁵³ Ibid.

⁵⁴ Ibid.

⁵⁵ Ibid.

George Goodin Sr. (d. 1800); Contribution: £50

George Goodin was a planter. He owned the Jerusalem Estate from 1790 until 1792.

Goodin was wealthy, but it is unclear if he owned any enslaved persons. The Jerusalem Estate relied on 273 enslaved persons in 1815.⁵⁶ It is highly likely that Goodin did own enslaved individuals.

Dugald Malcolm (d. 1785); Contribution: £50

Dugald Malcolm was a merchant and planter. He owned the Pell River Estate from 1762 until 1784. His will indicates that he did own some enslaved persons, but the exact number is unknown. It also remains unclear if enslaved laborers were used at Pell River. There was an overseer for the plantation, but the first documented number of slaves there was not until 1799.⁵⁷

Lewis Cuthbert (1737 – 1802); Contribution £50

Lewis Cuthbert was an attorney and slave-trader. The exact number of slaves that Cuthbert sold or owned is unknown.⁵⁸

No Information:

John Mead; Contribution: £50

Thomas Dennil Esq.; Contribution: £50

Thomas Murphey; Contribution: £50

⁵⁶ Hall, et al. n.d.

⁵⁷ Ibid.

⁵⁸ Heath-Caldwell, JJ. n.d. *Lewis Cuthbert; Attorney and Slave Trader; of Castlehill in Scotland, Later of Jamaica, and Also of Bath; 1737-1802*. www.jjhc.info/CuthbertLewis1802.htm.

South Carolina Fundraising

On October 22, 1771, the Trustees of the College unanimously agreed that Dr. William Smith should go on a fundraising trip in the southern colonies – “as far as South-Carolina” – to raise funds for the College.⁵⁹ On May 19, 1772, the collection accounts were presented and recorded into the Trustees’ minutes.⁶⁰ In total, the College raised a total of £7,195 4s. 6d. (South Carolina money). I examined the largest contributors to see what, if any, connection they had to slavery and the slave trade. The examined individuals contributed in total £4,522 of South Carolinian currency.

Note: all contributions are in South Carolina currency.

Gabriel Manigault (1704 – 1781); Contribution: £700

Gabriel Manigault was the leading merchant and banker of South Carolina, and he was the public treasure of South Carolina. Manigault was a very wealthy individual, lending the government £652,500 (South Carolina currency) during the Revolutionary War. While Manigault disapproved of the slave trade, he was involved in it. He brought in eleven cargoes of enslaved individuals, some including “entire shiploads (40 to 50 slaves each).” At the time of his death he owned 300 enslaved people.⁶¹

Henry Middleton (1717 – 1784); Contribution: £350

Henry Middleton was a planter, legislator, and President of the Continental Congress. Middleton owned roughly 800 enslaved individuals throughout his lifetime.⁶² At the time of his death, he owned 199 enslaved individuals.⁶³

⁵⁹ Smith, Hopkinson and Glentworth, 1768-1791

⁶⁰ Ibid.

⁶¹ Butler, Nicholas Michael. n.d. *Manigault, Gabriel*. South Carolina Encyclopedia. www.sccyclopedia.org/sce/entries/manigault-gabriel-2/.

⁶² 1928. *Dictionary of American Biography*. New York: Scribner's sons.

⁶³ Edgar, W., and N.L. Bailey. 1977. *Biographical Directory of the South Carolina House of Representatives*. University of South Carolina Press.

Thomas Ferguson (d. 1786); Contribution: £350

Thomas Ferguson was a merchant and legislator. Ferguson owned at least 11,613 acres of land at the time of his death. Ferguson had fourteen enslaved individuals staffing his house in Charleston. During the Revolutionary War, the British took forty-one skilled enslaved individuals who belonged to Ferguson. Ferguson likely owned many more enslaved persons, but no numbers exist.⁶⁴

Thomas Smith (1720 – 1790); Contribution: £350

Thomas Smith was a legislator, merchant, and planter. The Smith Family was a well-known planter and slave owning family.⁶⁵ Thomas Smith owned the Broom Hall plantation and at least thirty enslaved people.⁶⁶

Lionel Chalmers (1715 – 1777); Contribution: £210

Lionel Chalmers was a physician and scientist. I was unable to find any records indicating whether or not Chalmers owned any enslaved individuals.

Charles Elliott (1737 – 1781); Contribution: £208

Charles Elliott was a planter and slave-owner. He created and owned the Sandy Hill and Live Oak plantations. Elliott was a slave owner and was also involved in the slave trade. In 1772, Elliott decided to build a sawmill on one of his properties. Instead of going through a middleman to acquire the enslaved people needed for the construction, he decided to import a cargo of slaves himself.⁶⁷

⁶⁴ Edgar and Bailey, 1977

⁶⁵ n.d. *South Carolina Slaveholders: Genealogy and Records, N Through Z*. Lowcountry Africana. www.lowcountryafricana.com/south-carolina-slaveholders-genealogy-and-records-n-through-z/.

⁶⁶ Edgar and Bailey, 1977

⁶⁷ Ibid.

Miles Brewton (1731 – 1775); Contribution: £175

Miles Brewton was a merchant and legislator. Brewton made a large amount of money on importing and selling enslaved individuals.⁶⁸ He was “South Carolina’s largest slave dealer.”⁶⁹ Brewton developed and owned many different plantations. There are no records indicating the number of enslaved persons that Brewton imported or owned.

Stephen Bull (d. 1800); Contribution: £169

Stephen Bull was a soldier, legislator, and planter. Bull inherited the Sheldon plantation and owned over 10,000 acres of other property.⁷⁰ Given Bull’s ownership of the Sheldon plantation and the large amount of other land he owned, it is highly like that he owned enslaved people. Furthermore, the Bull family known slave owning family.⁷¹ I was unable, however, to find any records indicating that he definitively did own enslaved people.

Lieutenant Governor Bull (1710 – 1791); Contribution: £150

William Bull was the Lt. Governor of South Carolina and a planter owning many plantations. He owned 284 enslaved people at the time of his death.⁷²

James Postell (1722 – 1773); Contribution: £150

James Postell was a planter. He owned four developed plantations and two undeveloped ones. I was unable to find any records indicating that Postell owned any enslaved individuals. Given his ownership of the four plantations and large amounts of land he owned, however, it is highly likely that he did.⁷³

⁶⁸ Butler, Nicholas Michael. n.d. *Brewton, Miles*. South Carolina Encyclopedia. www.sencyclopedia.org/sce/entries/brewton-miles/.

⁶⁹ Edgar and Bailey, 1977

⁷⁰ Ibid.

⁷¹ n.d. *South Carolina Slaveholders: Genealogy and Records, A Through M*. Lowcountry Africana. www.lowcountryafricana.com/south-carolina-slaveholders-genealogy-and-records-a-through-m/.

⁷² Ibid.

⁷³ Ibid.

Edward Harleston (1722 – 1775); Contribution: £150

Edward Harleston was a planter and legislator. Harleston owned a 1,300-acre plantation. While it is highly likely that Harleston owned and used enslaved people on his plantation, there are no records indicating that he did.⁷⁴

Charles Pinckney (1732 – 1782); Contribution: £147

Charles Pinckney was one of South Carolina's leading lawyers and a planter. He was also the father of Governor Charles Pinckney – a signer of the Declaration of Independence.⁷⁵ Pinckney was wealthy and owned five plantations: Drainfield, Fee Farm, Greenfield, Snee Farm, and an unnamed one in Congarees. Between his plantations, Pinckney owned at least 389 enslaved people.⁷⁶

Peter Manigault (1731 – 1773); Contribution: £147

Peter Manigault, son of Gabriel Manigault and Anne Ashby, was a lawyer, legislator, and planter. He was one of the wealthiest individuals in the North American colonies (as was his father). Manigault participated in the slave trade, bringing in at least one cargo of enslaved people in 1768.⁷⁷ Manigault owned at least 192 enslaved individuals.⁷⁸

Christopher Gadsden (1724 – 1805); Contribution: £140

Christopher Gadsden was a merchant and patriot. He owned many different businesses, including two rice plantations using over ninety enslaved individuals.⁷⁹ An exact number on the number of enslaved people he owned is unknown.

⁷⁴ Edgar and Bailey, 1977

⁷⁵ Blythe, Robert W., Emily Kleine, and Steven H. Moffson. 2000. "Charles Pinckney National Historic Site: Historic Resource Study." *Cultural Resources Stewardship* (Southeast Regional Office, National Park Service, US Department of the Interior).

⁷⁶ Edgar and Bailey, 1977

⁷⁷ Ibid.

⁷⁸ Brown, Micheline. n.d. *Manigault, Peter*. South Carolina Encyclopedia. www.scencyclopedia.org/sce/entries/manigault-peter/.

⁷⁹ Krawczynski, Keith. n.d. *Gadsden, Christopher*. South Carolina Encyclopedia. www.scencyclopedia.org/sce/entries/gadsden-christopher/.

James Laurens (1724 – 1792); Contribution: £140

There is little information on James Laurens. It is known, however, that the Laurens Family was a slave owning family.⁸⁰

Benjamin Huger (1746 – 1779); Contribution: £130

Benjamin Huger was a soldier and American revolutionary. Huger inherited 113 enslaved people from his father Daniel Huger.⁸¹ It is also known that the Huger Family was a slave owning family.⁸²

Barnard Elliott (d. 1778); Contribution: £103

Barnard Elliott was a planter. He created the Bellevue plantation and owned thousands of acres of other land as well. While there are no documents indicating that Elliott owned enslaved persons, it is highly likely that he did given the size of his plantation and land holdings. Furthermore, the Elliott family was a well-known slave owning family.⁸³

Benjamin Elliott (d. 1786); Contribution: £101

Benjamin Elliott was a planter and legislator. Elliot owned several plantations. While there are no documents indicating that Elliott owned enslaved persons, it is highly likely he did given his family name and the size of his plantation and land holdings.⁸⁴

John (1735 – 1790) and David (1722 – 1775) Deas; Contribution: £100

John and David Deas (brothers) were some of the largest slave traders in colonial North America. For example, in 1769, John and David Deas advertised the auction of "A Cargo of Ninety-

⁸⁰ South Carolina Slaveholders: Genealogy and Records, A Through M, n.d.

⁸¹ Edgar and Bailey, 1977

⁸² South Carolina Slaveholders: Genealogy and Records, A Through M, n.d.

⁸³ Edgar and Bailey, 1977

⁸⁴ Ibid.

Four Prime, Healthy, Negroes..."⁸⁵ David Deas also owned the Goose Creek plantation.⁸⁶ The exact number of how many enslaved individuals John and David Deas owned or sold is unknown.

[Isaac Huger \(1743 – 1797\); Contribution: £100](#)

Isaac Huger was a soldier and Continental Army general during the Revolutionary War.

Huger inherited 113 enslaved people from his father Daniel Huger.⁸⁷

[John Savage \(b. 1715\); Contribution: £100](#)

John Savage was a merchant and slave trader. His company John Savage & Company brought in six cargoes of enslaved people between the years 1744 and 1773. There are no numbers available for exactly how many enslaved people Savage owned.⁸⁸

[Roger Smith \(fl. 1765\); Contribution: £100](#)

There is very little information regarding Roger Smith, however it is known that the Smith family was a well-known planter and slave owning family.⁸⁹

[No Information:](#)

Roger Pinckney (d. 1776); Contribution: £147 (known slave owning family)

Alex Wright; Contribution: £105 (known slave owning family)⁹⁰

⁸⁵ Keyes, Carl Robert. 2016. *Posts about David and John Deas on The Adverts 250 Project*. The Adverts 250 Project. September 8. adverts250project.org/tag/david-and-john-deas/.

⁸⁶ Edgar and Bailey, 1977

⁸⁷ Ibid.

⁸⁸ Ibid.

⁸⁹ South Carolina Slaveholders: Genealogy and Records, N Through Z, n.d.

⁹⁰ Edgar and Bailey, 1977

Trustees of the College and Academy of Philadelphia

William Allen (1704 – 1780) and Joseph Turner (1701 – 1783): Founders and Trustees

William Allen was a merchant, businessman, and Justice of the Pennsylvania Supreme Court. He was arguably one of the wealthiest individuals in Pennsylvania, and owned many enslaved individuals throughout his life. Joseph Turner was William Allen's business partner, a sea captain, a merchant, and an iron manufacturer. Both Allen and Turner were founders and Trustees of the Academy.

Early in their careers, Allen and Turner sold enslaved persons. On May 20, 1736 Allen and Turner advertised in the *Pennsylvania Gazette*, "JUST arrived from Barbadoes, several likely Negroes; among which, are two likely Women bred to House work."⁹¹ Allen and Turner continued to be active in the slave trade throughout their respective careers.

From the available tax lists, it is known that William Allen owned nine enslaved people in 1767, eight in 1769, and seven in 1774. Joseph Turner owned two enslaved individuals in both 1767 and 1774.⁹²

Allen and Turner also had a history of renting out their enslaved individuals to others. In 1751, Allen rented two of his enslaved males and six of his horses to Benjamin Chew during the Pennsylvania/Maryland border dispute for £17 11s.⁹³ And in 1777, William Allen and Joseph Turner rented four of their enslaved males to John Patton for £140 per year.⁹⁴

⁹¹ Allen, William, Joseph Turner, and Alexander Woodrop. 1736. "JUST arrived from Barbadoes, several likely Negroes; among w." *The Pennsylvania Gazette*, May 20.

⁹² The particulars of each person's estate, as appears by the township and ward assessors' returns as follows [manuscript], by Jacob Umstat, Barnaby Barnes, Andrew Bankson, John Roberts [?], Joseph Stamper, and Paul Engle Jun[ior], County Assessors. [Philadelphia], 1767, n.d.; Ancestry.com, Pennsylvania, Tax and Exoneration, 1768-1801, 2011.

⁹³ 1659-1819. "Series 2. Benjamin Chew, G. Pennsylvania-Maryland boundary dispute." *Chew Family Papers*. The Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

⁹⁴ 1677-1864. "Series 21. New Jersey Land Papers." *Chew Family Papers*. The Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

Both Allen and Turner were very generous with their subscriptions to the College and Academy. In total, William Allen and Joseph Turner gave £475 and £100 respectively in their subscriptions; both of them also gave during the multiple lotteries held by the College (minimum £84 17s. 6d. combined).⁹⁵

Benjamin Franklin (1706 – 1790): Founder, President, and Trustee

Benjamin Franklin's connection to slavery and the slave trade is well documented. Much scholarly work has been done on documenting Benjamin Franklin's relationship to slavery and how it changed throughout his life. Nevertheless, it is important to describe his relationship to slavery and the slave trade due to his central role in the College and Academy of Philadelphia.

Franklin owned at least seven enslaved individuals in his household throughout his life – not including ones he bought and sold.⁹⁶ On February 22, 1739, Franklin advertised in the *Pennsylvania Gazette* “A Negro Woman, fit for Household Work.”⁹⁷ While it is possible that Franklin was serving as the unstated representative of another person who was the actual seller, it seems quite unlikely given his other sales of enslaved people.

Franklin sold at least three other enslaved individuals – two enslaved women in 1731 and one enslaved man in 1743.⁹⁸ Franklin also purchased the *Pennsylvania Gazette* on October 2, 1729, and therefore sold and profited from the advertisements of other individuals selling enslaved people. One example comes from Franklin's account books, showing that he sold John Baldwin an advertisement for the “Sale of Negroes” for 3s.⁹⁹

⁹⁵ Hill, 1740-1779

⁹⁶ Nash, Gary B. 2006. "Franklin and Slavery." *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society* (American Philosophical Society) 150 (4).

⁹⁷ Franklin, Benjamin. 1739. "TO BE LET A HOUSE at the upper End of Walnut Street at the C." *The Pennsylvania Gazette*, February 22.

⁹⁸ Juhnke, William E. 1974. "Benjamin Franklin's View of the Negro and Slavery." *Pennsylvania History* 41 (4): 375-389.

⁹⁹ Franklin, Benjamin, and David Hall. 1752-1766. "Account Book, Franklin and Hall." *Miscellaneous Benjamin Franklin Collections*. Philadelphia: American Philosophical Society.

Benjamin Franklin gave £50 through subscriptions to the Academy and also contributed during the lotteries (minimum £78 16s. 9d.).¹⁰⁰

Edward Shippen (1729 – 1806): Treasurer of the Trustees and Trustee

Edward Shippen was a lawyer, judge, and Supreme Court Justice of Pennsylvania. The Shippens were an extremely wealthy family that also owned enslaved people.

Edward Shippen owned and sold enslaved persons throughout his life, as can be seen in postings in the *Pennsylvania Gazette*. On April 12, 1750, Shippen and William Gray had for sale a “Negroe man.”¹⁰¹ On October 26, 1752, Shippen advertised “a handy stout Negroe boy, about 16 or 17 years of age.”¹⁰² On November 30, 1752, Shippen posted for sale a “Negroe man, by trade a cooper, but not to be sold out of town from his wife.”¹⁰³ And on December 15, 1757, the sheriff of West Castle posted about a “Negro fellow, named Dick, who says he belongs to Mr. Edward Shippen, in Philadelphia...” that he brought in.”¹⁰⁴

Edward Shippen owned enslaved individuals into the 1770s. An account with Christian Donaker from November 6th, 1764, indicated that Shippen paid Donaker for “mending two pair of leather Birches for [a] negro boy.”¹⁰⁵ The tax lists for 1767 show Edward Shippen owning two enslaved people; the lists from 1769 show Shippen owning one enslaved individual and one indentured servant; and the 1774 tax lists show Shippen owning two enslaved individuals and one servant.¹⁰⁶

¹⁰⁰ Hill, 1740-1779

¹⁰¹ Gray, William. 1750. "TO be sold by William Gray, bisket baker, all that messuage." *The Pennsylvania Gazette*, April 12.

¹⁰² Shippen, Edward. 1752. "To be SOLD, SUNDRY lots and pastures; also six acres of meadow." *The Pennsylvania Gazette*, October 26.

¹⁰³ Shippen, Edward. 1752. "To be SOLD, ONE sixteenth part of Durham iron works and land." *The Pennsylvania Gazette*, November 30.

¹⁰⁴ Thompson, John. 1757. "New Castle, December 14, 1757." *The Pennsylvania Gazette*, December 15.

¹⁰⁵ Shippen, Edward. 1754-1789. "Edward Shippen Receipts, 1754-1789." Philadelphia: American Philosophical Society.

¹⁰⁶ The particulars of each person's estate, as appears by the township and ward assessors' returns as follows [manuscript], by Jacob Umstat, Barnaby Barnes, Andrew Bankson, John Roberts [?], Joseph Stamper, and Paul Engle Jun[ior], County Assessors. [Philadelphia], 1767, n.d.; Ancestry.com, Pennsylvania, Tax and Exoneration, 1768-1801, 2011.

Edward Shippen made substantial donations to the College in his subscriptions, in total giving the College £50; Shippen lent money to the College, including a loan of £400; Shippen also gave to the Academy throughout the multiple lotteries (minimum £14 11s.).¹⁰⁷

Benjamin Chew Sr. (1722 – 1810): Trustee

Benjamin Chew was a lawyer and Chief Justice of the Pennsylvania Supreme Court. He was also a well-known slave owner – owning enslaved people not only in Pennsylvania, but also in Maryland and Delaware.

Benjamin Chew, Sr. owned many enslaved people. There are no accurate accounts for the number of enslaved persons that Chew owned over his lifetime, but it is reported that at one point he owned up to 175 enslaved persons.¹⁰⁸ In 1747, Chew inherited 54 enslaved individuals from his mother Mary Chew.¹⁰⁹ In 1780, Chew owned 14 enslaved persons in Pennsylvania alone, and in 1799, he still owned 42 enslaved individuals on his home property in Maryland.¹¹⁰ I focused my primary document research primarily in the years between 1747 and 1788. Spanning that entire time period, Chew frequently purchased shoes and clothes for his enslaved persons.¹¹¹

Chew not only exploited slave labor for his property and plantations, but he also sold and rented his enslaved individuals. For instance, on July 16, 1752, Benjamin Chew sold three enslaved females (Hannah, Rachael, and Sarah) and two enslaved males (James and John) to John Faries of Kent.¹¹² And between the years of 1771 and 1774, Chew rented out an enslaved male named Sharper to James Starling for £12 per year (the same amount the Academy paid Kinnersley for his enslaved man).¹¹³

¹⁰⁷ Hill, 1740-1779

¹⁰⁸ Leahy, Kristin. 2003. *Invisible Hands: Slaves and Servants of the Chew Family*. Research Project, University of Massachusetts, Cliveden.

¹⁰⁹ Ibid.

¹¹⁰ Ibid.

¹¹¹ 1659-1819. "Series 2. Benjamin Chew, A. Accounts." *Chew Family Papers*. The Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

¹¹² Series 2. Benjamin Chew, A. Accounts, 1659-1819

¹¹³ Ibid.

Benjamin Chew, Sr. gave at least £14 5s. to the Academy from the multiple lotteries the Academy promoted to raise funds for construction or for the Academy in general.¹¹⁴

William Shippen (1712 – 1801): Founder and Trustee

William Shippen was a physician, Continental Congressman, and founder and trustee of the Academy. From the available tax lists, Shippen owned two enslaved individuals in 1767, 1769, and 1774.¹¹⁵ William Shippen was generous in his gifts to the College, subscribing in total for £50.¹¹⁶

James Tilghman (1716 – 1793): Trustee

James Tilghman was a lawyer, councilman, Secretary of the Land Office of Pennsylvania, and a trustee of the Academy. Based on the available tax lists, Tilghman owned four enslaved individuals in 1767 and 1769.¹¹⁷ Tilghman loaned money to the Academy, including to the Treasurer of the Board of Trustees for £1,000.¹¹⁸

¹¹⁴ Hill, 1740-1779

¹¹⁵ The particulars of each person's estate, as appears by the township and ward assessors' returns as follows [manuscript], by Jacob Umstat, Barnaby Barnes, Andrew Bankson, John Roberts [?], Joseph Stamper, and Paul Engle Jun[ior], County Assessors. [Philadelphia], 1767, n.d.; Ancestry.com, Pennsylvania, Tax and Exoneration, 1768-1801, 2011.

¹¹⁶ Hill, 1740-1779

¹¹⁷ The particulars of each person's estate, as appears by the township and ward assessors' returns as follows [manuscript], by Jacob Umstat, Barnaby Barnes, Andrew Bankson, John Roberts [?], Joseph Stamper, and Paul Engle Jun[ior], County Assessors. [Philadelphia], 1767, n.d.; Ancestry.com, Pennsylvania, Tax and Exoneration, 1768-1801, 2011.

¹¹⁸ Hill, 1740-1779

Note regarding the Trustees

This paper takes a look at the most prominent slave-owning Trustees (or Trustees who I came across while researching the labor and construction aspects of the Academy).¹¹⁹ While I have done a lot of research on the Trustees mentioned (especially William Allen, Joseph Turner, Benjamin Chew Sr., and Edward Shippen), there is still more to find and research for these individuals. I only covered the largest and most prominent aspects of each above-mentioned Trustees' connection to the slave trade. This paper is a summary of what I found. It is not intended as a comprehensive study of the Trustees and their connection to slavery or the slave trade. Others have already done good work on each Trustees' connection to slavery. I did not, therefore, find it necessary to focus my attention on this topic with the exception of a few key individuals.

¹¹⁹ Referenced in the paper: Thomas Leech, Benjamin Franklin, William Allen, Edward Shippen, William Shippen, James Tilghman, and Benjamin Chew Sr.

Financial Aspects Conclusion

Through fundraising in South Carolina and Jamaica, the University raised from the individuals mention in this paper (converting South Carolinian and Jamaican money into Pennsylvanian currency): £1,064 19s. 9d. from South Carolina and £1,644 18s. 8d. from Jamaica – for a total of £2,709 18s. 5d.¹²⁰ These individuals owned a minimum of 14,133 enslaved individuals among them.

I was unable to find exact counts of slave ownership for many individuals researched, and the counts that were given for many of the people only covered a single year. It is highly likely that these individuals owned many more enslaved persons throughout their entire life. Furthermore, for many of individuals for whom I was unable to find any record of slave ownership, it is still highly likely that they did own enslaved persons. In fact, the number of enslaved persons owned by the financial contributors to the Academy mentioned in this paper were likely much larger than 14,000.

Furthermore, this paper also only looked at a select few contributors set by an arbitrary cutoff defined by myself: £100 of South Carolinian currency for the SC fundraising, and £50 of Jamaican currency for the West Indies fundraising. It is highly likely that many of the individuals **not** researched in this paper owned many additional enslaved persons, a factor that would substantially increase the total enslaved number and the amount of money raised from slave-owners and slave trade participants.

The Trustees of the College and Academy of Philadelphia certainly had different degrees of involvement in the slave trade.¹²¹ While Benjamin Chew was heavily involved in the slave trade and actively supported and exploited slavery, and Allen and Turner were also involved in the slave trade

¹²⁰ McCusker, John J. 2001. *How Much Is That In Real Money? : a Historical Commodity Price Index for Use As a Deflator of Money Values In the Economy of the United States*. 2nd Edition. Worcester, MA: American Antiquarian Society; Denzel, Markus A. 2010. *Handbook of World Exchange Rates, 1590-1914*. Farnham: Ashgate.

¹²¹ Referenced in the paper: Thomas Leech, Benjamin Franklin, William Allen, Edward Shippen, William Shippen, James Tilghman, and Benjamin Chew Sr.

throughout their lives, other Trustees did not own any enslaved persons. The few select Trustees examined in this paper donated a total to the College a minimum of £947 10s. 3d.; loaned a total of £1,400 minimum; and owned a minimum 213 of enslaved persons combined. This estimate only covers eight out of 122 total Trustees of the College and Academy of Philadelphia during the eighteenth century.

Many of the eighteenth-century Trustees of the University were actively involved in the buying and selling of enslaved persons. This fact has not been previously acknowledged by the University. In addition, the Trustees knew exactly the source of profits and wealth of those who were solicited for funds in the tours of 1772 and 1773. This paper is intended to provide documentation and perspective on these slave and slave trade related financial aspects of Penn's early history.

CONCLUSION

The University of Pennsylvania's Connection to Slavery

This paper has documented the most prominent aspects of the University of Pennsylvania's (then the College and Academy of Philadelphia) connection to slavery and the slave trade.

On the question of profiting from the labor of enslaved persons, there is now clear evidence that the College paid faculty member Ebenezer Kinnersley for the work and labor of his enslaved man for over thirteen years. As Kinnersley was not known to own many enslaved persons, and he only appears to have owned one enslaved individual during his tenure at the College, it appears that Kinnersley may have purchased this man for the sole purpose of helping the College. Furthermore, it is likely that enslaved labor was used in the construction of the College. While it is not definitive, the slave holdings of Robert Smith, John Coats, and Benjamin Loxley taken alongside the research done by Wax and Nash indicate that this circumstance was very likely present. Finally, it remains undetermined whether the payment by Thomas Leech was to rent an enslaved man to do heavy labor for the early construction of the College and Academy.

On the financial side, there is an abundance of evidence that the College raised large sums of money from very large holders of enslaved persons in both South Carolina and Jamaica. This paper only attempted to look into forty-nine individuals, and found that they in total owned a minimum of 14,133 enslaved persons. That number does not include the enslaved persons who were owned by the other 300 donors who made contributions to the fundraisers.

Many of the College's most prominent Trustees were involved in slave ownership and/or the slave trade to some degree. Some, like Chew, Allen, and Turner were actively involved, whereas others such as Tilghman were less involved. Nonetheless, the College derived great benefits from the money these individuals made through the use of enslaved labor.

In fact, the true number of enslaved people owned by the individuals covered in this paper is much greater than I have estimated. That number is many times greater if one included everyone

involved in the construction, operation, Trustees, and fundraising activities of the College and Academy of Philadelphia during the eighteenth-century.

Regarding the individuals mentioned in the paper, many of the estimates on their slave holdings were based on a single snapshot in time, meaning the number of enslaved people owned throughout their lives was much higher. For others, I was unable to document or even estimate their slave holdings, despite these individuals being from prominent slave holding families or owning large plantations in regions where plantations were normally operated with enslaved labor. Furthermore, this paper ignores the over 300 other individuals who gave money during the fundraising tours – many of whom likely had large slave holdings. Finally, some of the remaining 114 Trustees of the University not examined in this paper would have likely owned enslaved people or had connections to the slave trade (a total of 122 men served as Trustees of the University between 1749 and 1800).

The individuals mentioned throughout this paper owned a **minimum** of **14,361** enslaved persons. In reality, the true number might be double, or triple that. The University raised at least **£9,654 7s. 11d.** from the Trustees mentioned in this paper and all of the individuals associated with the fundraising tours. For comparison, the Trustees purchased the “New Building” for **£755 18s. 11d.** ^{3/4} (755 pounds, 18 shillings, 11 pence, 3 farthings).¹²² An accurate number of enslaved persons owned by all individuals associated with the construction, operation, Trustees, and fundraising cannot be estimated, except that it is undeniably many times greater than 14,361.

Unlike other colonial colleges, I did not find any records during my research indicating that the College itself owned, purchased, or sold enslaved people. The University of Pennsylvania's connections to slavery were through the use of labor in the construction and operation of the school, and the money raised from the fundraising tours and Trustees.

¹²² Hill, 1740-1779

Executive Summary

Labor and Construction

- The University paid Professor of English and Steward of the Dormitories Ebenezer Kinnersley for the service of his enslaved man for at least thirteen years.
 - Kinnersley first received payment for this enslaved man's service after the Trustees complained that the current Usher could not handle the heavy chores.
 - Kinnersley was not a wealthy man nor did he have a long history of slave ownership.
 - During his tenure at the University, it appears that Kinnersley only owned one enslaved person.
 - It appears that Kinnersley purchased and owned this enslaved man for the sole purpose of assisting the University.
- Many of the carpenters and craftsman associated with the construction of the early University were slave holders.
 - Robert Smith made renovations to the building purchased by the Trustees to first house the Academy. He also designed and built the dormitory and Provost's house.
 - Smith owned at least three enslaved persons throughout his life, but likely owned more.
 - Benjamin Loxley was another carpenter who did work on the early construction of the University.
 - Loxley owned at least three enslaved people throughout his life, but likely owned more.
 - John Coats was a brick maker who sold bricks to the University throughout its construction.
 - Coats owned at least six enslaved people throughout his life, but likely owned more.
- Thomas Leech paid a "Negroe man to dig" in 1752.
 - All other mentions of hired labor appear as: laborer, workmen, or man.
 - This is not only true for the University's account books, but others as well.
 - Based on research into similar accounts regarding labor, it appears that this refers to a rented enslaved person.
- Taking into account the research done by other scholars and the slave holdings of the carpenters and craftsman associated with the early construction of the University, it is highly likely that enslaved labor was involved in the construction of the College.

Financial Aspects

- Between the years of 1771 and 1773, the University sought funds for the College from wealthy individuals in South Carolina and Jamaica.
 - A sample of the largest donors (49 out of over 300 individuals) highlights that these people owned at minimum 14,133 enslaved persons.
 - That number is the most conservative possible estimate, as many of the individuals examined were known slave holders but there were no documents giving counts of their holdings. Furthermore, for individuals I did get an estimate of, the estimates were only for a given snapshot in time and not lifetime holdings.
- The paper also examines eight Trustees – William Allen, Joseph Turner, Benjamin Chew Sr., Benjamin Franklin, Edward Shippen, William Shippen, James Tilghman, and Thomas Leech.
 - Between them, they owned at least 213 enslaved people (175 were Chew's).
- The University raised at least £9654 7s. 11d. from the Trustees mentioned in this paper and all individuals associated with the fundraising tours.

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