

Penn & Slavery Project Report

Anna Lisa Lowenstein  
Penn & Slavery Project  
HIST 273 under the Direction of Prof. Kathleen M. Brown  
Department of History, University of Pennsylvania  
December 2018

## **Part 1: A Background to the Project and My Contributions**

The Penn & Slavery project sprang into action last year by questioning our University's story about its involvement in slavery. Being the first medical school in North America and one of the first undergraduate institutions in the British colonies, Penn would almost certainly have relied upon the profits from slavery to bankroll its existence. Our project seeks to uncover Penn's complicity in slavery. We define complicity not merely as ownership of enslaved people, but rather the many ways in which colonial universities such as Penn supported and benefitted from Atlantic slavery.

I joined the project with the intention of gaining exposure to primary document/archival research and academic pursuit of a topic that merits exposure and careful study. While I started with the materials at the University Archives and Kislak Archives on medical specimens used for research and fiscal records of the university, my primary interest soon became the trustees of Penn and their personal links to slavery. This university was the vision and product of a few wealthy British colonial North Americans who had the means to establish an institution for higher education because of their personal prosperity and ties to other powerful institutions. History tends to glorify their worthwhile mission of establishing Penn while failing to acknowledge how and why they were able to mobilize these resources. By looking into the personal estates of these individuals, we recognize that their contribution to this university was built off of the profits of enslaving, slave trading, and other commercial activities connected to slavery. Investigating the finances of the trustees offers an at times grim check on romanticized accounts of institutional founding.

To begin my research, I asked questions that I hoped would illuminate paths to explore. How would Penn be different without the existence of slavery? How has Penn benefitted specifically from the labor extracted from people enslaved by trustees? How might one research the lives and identities of people who did not have access to documentation and were not seen as worthy of being documented? What kinds of documents are the most valuable for this type of research? Throughout this paper, I will demonstrate my ongoing effort to answer these questions and others. Despite not being able to resolve many of these questions, they were essential in guiding my research throughout this semester.

As a group, we struggled with how to honor enslaved people and present a narrative that included evidence of their experiences. The unfortunate reality of researching the era of slavery is that most stories being told are produced by enslavers, not the enslaved themselves. Our first hope was to learn as many details as possible about the lives of enslaved people, and thus it was frustrating to discover that even finding one name was a rare and challenging feat. However, Professor Kathleen Brown and Penn Museum consultant Arielle Brown helped our group realize that it is also important to avoid putting undue burden on the enslaved to have to provide evidence of the often-harrowing details of their lives. I have sought to find a balance in this report of using details of both the enslaved and the enslavers in order to put together an accurate image of their lives. I hope that in the process, I honor the enslaved people appropriately.

I began with background research through secondary texts. Of particular interest to me were Slavery in Philadelphia by Philip Seitz<sup>1</sup> and Ebony and Ivy by Craig Steven Wilder<sup>2</sup>. Both provided me with valuable context for this project and gave me a starting point for research.

---

<sup>1</sup> Seitz, Phillip. *Slavery in Philadelphia*. 2014.

<sup>2</sup> Wilder, Craig S. *Ebony and Ivy: Race, Slavery, and the Troubled History of America's Universities*. New York: Bloomsbury Press, 2013.

Ebony and Ivy explores the specific relationship of American universities and slavery. Of relevance to Penn, it details the 2500-acre property Bucks County named Perkasio estate that governor Thomas Penn gave the university.<sup>3</sup> My colleague Sam Orloff demonstrated through his research this semester that some claims made about Perkasio in Ebony and Ivy are not sufficiently substantiated.<sup>4</sup> It was interesting to read about Benjamin Franklin's personal conflict about slavery: he owned slaves at the time of his organization of Penn, led the Pennsylvania Abolition Society, but did not set free his own slaves (they died or escaped).<sup>5</sup> These contradictions make evident how pervasive slavery was: even those who were proponents of abolitionism often did not separate themselves fully from the institution of slavery. The gap between professed belief and practice for individuals such as Franklin expose the need to investigate even those with abolitionist reputations. As researchers, we must acknowledge the nuances of the term "abolitionist." Acquiring such a title in Franklin's era may not have required the same behavior we would assume it would today. Benjamin Rush's relationship with abolitionism exposes a similar controversy and was researched this semester by my colleague Brooke Krancer.<sup>6</sup>

At first, I hoped to research three Penn trustees: John Cadwalader, William Allen, and John Dickinson. Allen (1704-1780), whose family was considered to be "at the pinnacle of colonial aristocracy," was involved in the slave trade.<sup>7</sup> In addition to owning slaves, he travelled

---

<sup>3</sup> Ibid, 119.

<sup>4</sup> See Sam Orloff's Final Report, Fall 2018. For additional information on Penn's landholdings, see Dillon Kersh's Final Report, Fall 2018.

<sup>5</sup> Wilder, Craig S. *Ebony and Ivy: Race, Slavery, and the Troubled History of America's Universities*. New York: Bloomsbury Press, 2013, 122.

<sup>6</sup> See Brooke Krancer's Final Report, Fall 2018.

<sup>7</sup> "The Morning Call, Tuesday September 6, 1983." William Allen File, *University of Pennsylvania University Archives*.

to the Caribbean and returned with slaves with his partner, businessman and politician Joseph Turner.<sup>8</sup> My brief research on Dickinson (1732-1808), who served as a member of the Pennsylvania Assembly and later as President of Pennsylvania's Supreme Executive Council, did not illuminate any clear ties to slavery.<sup>9</sup> Next semester, I may decide to explore these individuals further. I quickly learned that the breadth of information meant a narrower focus on one trustee would be more productive, thus I chose Cadwalader (1742-1786) and dove into research on him. This choice was made because of the helpful and informative documents on Cadwalader that I received from genealogist Scott Wilds. Additionally, the past work of my colleagues Dillon Kersh and Brooke Krancer proved essential in gaining a background on Cadwalader, as both of them encountered information on Cadwalader in previous research.<sup>10</sup>

## **Part 2: Cadwalader's Property and Relation to Penn**

Before gaining prominence and becoming a trustee of the university, Cadwalader was a student at Penn. He attended the college from 1751-1758, though never officially graduated and instead left to go into business with his brother, Lambert Cadwalader.<sup>11</sup> He served as a trustee from 1779-1786, up until the time of his death.<sup>12</sup> A prominent entrepreneur in the city, Cadwalader galvanized Philadelphians to protest violations of colonial liberties and became a colonel and later general of the Pennsylvania militia.<sup>13</sup>

---

<sup>8</sup> Ibid.

<sup>9</sup> "Penn Biographies." *John Dickinson (1732-1808)*, *University of Pennsylvania University Archives*. Accessed December 12, 2018. [https://www.archives.upenn.edu/people/1700s/dickinson\\_john.html](https://www.archives.upenn.edu/people/1700s/dickinson_john.html)

<sup>10</sup> See Brooke Krancer and Dillon Kersh's final reports, Fall 2018. Brooke's paper highlights the 5 wills of John Cadwalader.

<sup>11</sup> "Penn Biographies." *John Cadwalader (1742-1786)*, *University of Pennsylvania University Archives*. Accessed December 12, 2018. [https://www.archives.upenn.edu/people/1700s/cadwalader\\_john.html](https://www.archives.upenn.edu/people/1700s/cadwalader_john.html)

<sup>12</sup> Ibid.

<sup>13</sup> "Cadwalader, John." *American National Biography*. Accessed December 12, 2018. <http://www.anb.org/view/10.1093/anb/9780198606697.001.0001/anb-9780198606697-e-0200052>

Cadwalader's father, Thomas, was himself a Penn trustee from 1751-1779.<sup>14</sup> Thomas Cadwalader served as a founding trustee of the Penn medical school.<sup>15</sup> As members of this project have concluded, the medical school holds particular relevance to Penn's connection to slavery: during the nineteenth century, enslaved people were used as evidence for theories about the biological basis of race (race science) that were used to justify slavery, and also in overall medical study as cadavers and anatomical specimens. The term "race science" is used not because I seek to lend credence to this body of work, but rather because many white people of the era considered this research to be science.<sup>16</sup> These two uses of enslaved bodies contributed to contradictory medical fields: enslaved people's bodies were both the generic anatomical model and the evidence for racial difference and anomalous human defect.

As trustees, Cadwalader and his father were instrumental in developing the direction and leadership of Penn in its early days. Their personal gains from the labor of enslaved people may have contributed to enabling them to rise to prominence and gain positions as trustees, along with other factors. In researching and documenting Cadwalader's ties to slavery, I hope to acknowledge his direct complicity in slavery and thus the indirect complicity of Penn as a colonial institution.<sup>17</sup>

My research focused on Cadwalader's Shrewsbury Farm property. He received this estate through his marriage to his first wife, Betsy Lloyd, who died in 1779.<sup>18</sup> This property contained

---

<sup>14</sup> "Penn Biographies." *John Cadwalader (1742-1786)*, *University of Pennsylvania University Archives*. Accessed December 12, 2018. [https://www.archives.upenn.edu/people/1700s/cadwalader\\_john.html](https://www.archives.upenn.edu/people/1700s/cadwalader_john.html)

<sup>15</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>16</sup> See Carson Eckhard's final report, Spring 2018.

<sup>17</sup> As defined earlier in this report, our project defines complicity not merely as ownership of enslaved people, but rather the many ways in which colonial universities such as Penn contributed to America's slave society.

<sup>18</sup> "Shrewsbury Farm." *Maryland Historical Trust*. Accessed November 8, 2018. <https://mht.maryland.gov/secure/medusa/PDF/Kent/K-569.pdf>

plantations and a farmhouse overlooking Turner Creek in Kent, Maryland.<sup>19</sup> In his will, Cadwalader refers to this property as the “farm on Sassafrass River”.<sup>20</sup> Cadwalader’s plantation produced wheat, corn, and tobacco, evident from transactions in his waste book.<sup>21</sup>

### **Part 3: The Enslaved People of Cadwalader**

Unusually and importantly, the records of Cadwalader’s enslaved people were preserved. This was a significant finding because the lack of documentation on enslaved people has limited this project’s ability to focus on enslaved people’s lives. The Cadwalader family papers at the Historical Society of Pennsylvania provide detail and context on the enslaved people of Cadwalader. A personal estate inventory lists each of Cadwalader’s enslaved people by name and age. In total, the inventory lists 107 enslaved people. This information is further corroborated by the inventory in the Maryland Register of Wills Records from Kent County.<sup>22</sup> Appendix A displays my typed transcription of Cadwalader’s personal inventory from the document found at the Historical Society of Pennsylvania which was created on March 20<sup>th</sup>, 1786.<sup>23</sup> I included as much information as possible, such as familial ties, personal notes, ages, and monetary values. In an attempt to maximize organization, I made a few assumptions such as that “Ambrose” and “Ambroes” are the same last name. In the same Appendix, I listed the family groupings of the enslaved people where possible. Acknowledging family ties is significant both

---

<sup>19</sup> Ibid.

<sup>20</sup> “Folder 1: Last Will and Testaments (5).” Cadwalader Estate Papers, Series 2: Box 18. *Historical Society of Pennsylvania*.

<sup>21</sup> “Waste book 1769-1771.” Cadwalader Estate Papers, Series 2: Box 14. *Historical Society of Pennsylvania*.

<sup>22</sup> “Maryland Register of Wills Records, 1629-1999.” *FamilySearch.org*. Accessed November 5, 2018. <https://familysearch.org/ark:/61903/3:1:33S7-9TRK-99D2?cc=1803986&wc=SNY4-3TB%3A146535601%2C147148801>

<sup>23</sup> “Folder 14: Miscellaneous, 1786 (Personal Estate Inventories).” Cadwalader Estate Papers, Series 2: Box 18. *Historical Society of Pennsylvania*.

as a way to recognize the humanity of the enslaved and as evidence of the dynamics of the community overall.

The inventory categorizes the enslaved people by their work: there are some men, women and children denoted as “House Negro Slaves” and some denoted as “Quarter Negro Slaves.”<sup>24</sup> This indicates that Cadwalader enslaved plantation laborers as well as domestic servants in his home and around his estate. Within the group labelled as “House Negro Slaves,” a few are marked with jobs such as Jacob “the gardener”, Dick Coombs “taylor,” and Jo Pepper “shoemaker.”<sup>25</sup> Clearly, some of Cadwalader’s enslaved people were highly skilled in specific trades.

Some enslaved people were marked as “defective” or “lame” such as Jim Lingo, Abraham, Hannah, and Thomas Chandler.<sup>26</sup> These labels indicate a physical ailment or injury. Three other individuals are marked with the label “weakly constitution.”<sup>27</sup> It is implied that this means general physical weakness, being prone to illness, or existence of chronic ailment. These labels suggest a lack of regard for medical care and a frequency of injury and sickness on the estate.

Other labels of interest include “legacy.” I assume that this means these enslaved people were acquired upon Cadwalader’s marriage or inherited from a relative. As mentioned previously, Cadwalader obtained the Shrewsbury estate through his first marriage, thus it is possible that “legacy” indicates that they were given to him along with the estate. Further, nine individuals in the inventory are marked in the margins as dead. It is likely that these labels were

---

<sup>24</sup> Ibid.

<sup>25</sup> Ibid.

<sup>26</sup> Ibid.

<sup>27</sup> Ibid.

added after the original creation of the inventory, however no date is provided to confirm this. While seven of the enslaved people who passed were 41 years of age or older, one was 25 years old, one 14 years old, and one only 5 years old. The death of these people at such young ages may further contribute to the idea that physical care was inadequate on the Cadwalader plantation, however the reason for death was not recorded so this cannot be confirmed. Two other labels are undecipherable. One appears to say "S.R." and the other "X." I have no suggestion for what these may mean.

The varying prices of the enslaved are indicative of how Cadwalader valued them, and their various abilities, wellnesses, and skills. Age appears to be the most significant factor in determining price, with most aged 25-40 years priced at £55.00. Curiously, some individuals are priced much lower such as Jacob the Gardner at £0.50. This discrepancy might be the focus of further research, however I have thus far not found anything to explain it. It is possible that his relatively old age of 54 accounts for this difference in price. At the bottom of Cadwalader's inventory, he calculated a total value of £2,706.10 for all of his enslaved people, a large sum that demonstrates the high number of individuals he enslaved. Cadwalader's records indicate that he owned a total of 107 enslaved people: 50 males and 57 females, 46 of whom are under the age of 15. Cadwalader's large number of young enslaved people is representative of the growing black population in Maryland during this period. The proportion of enslaved people born on US soil increased significantly in the mid eighteenth century.<sup>28</sup> Most of Cadwalader's enslaved people were likely born in the US.

---

<sup>28</sup> Clemens, Paul. *The Atlantic Economy and Colonial Maryland's Eastern Shore: From Tobacco to Grain*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1980, 144.

A memorandum in the Cadwalader estate papers documents the deaths and births of his enslaved people from 1784-1794.<sup>29</sup> This document provides further insight into the sheer number of individuals under Cadwalader's jurisdiction. In Cadwalader's waste book of 1769-1771, transactions such as payments for constructing a quarter for his slaves and purchasing slaves themselves are recorded.<sup>30</sup> Other transactions of note include cash paid to Nichols and Chamberlane, two otherwise unidentified individuals, for "sundries for the Negroes" on September 17, 1769.<sup>31</sup> The waste book also identifies a man named John Hynson as the overseer of the Shrewsbury property.<sup>32</sup> The existence of an overseer provides context on how Cadwalader managed his estate and indicates that he followed a typical organizational structure of plantations of the era.

The wills of Cadwalader and other documents dated after his death provide some information on what happened to his enslaved people. This was a crucial element of my research, as I wanted to uncover the lives of these individuals overall and not simply their existence in relation to their enslaver. The Act for the Gradual Abolition of Slavery passed by the Pennsylvania Assembly in 1780 ensured the freedom of Cadwalader's slaves born after 1780 when they reached the age of 28.<sup>33</sup> I sought to find out what the lives of those enslaved by Cadwalader were like after his death and if any of them were manumitted.

There are five different versions of Cadwalader's will. Brooke Krancer, in her previous research on Cadwalader, took note of the versions and the differences between them. In her

---

<sup>29</sup> "Folder 14: Miscellaneous, 1784." Cadwalader Estate Papers, Series 2: Box 20. *Historical Society of Pennsylvania*.

<sup>30</sup> "Waste book 1769-1771." Cadwalader Estate Papers, Series 2: Box 14. *Historical Society of Pennsylvania*.

<sup>31</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>32</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>33</sup> "An Act for the Gradual Abolition of Slavery." *Pennsylvania Historical & Museum Commission*. Accessed December 14, 2018. <http://www.phmc.state.pa.us/portal/communities/documents/1776-1865/abolition-slavery.html>

report, she references the order that the wills appear in the folder.<sup>34</sup> Upon further examination of these wills, I have found clues that may indicate which version is the official will. One version is slightly neater than the others, bound with string, and includes the following statement: “Signed, sealed, published and declared by the above named John Cadwalader to be his last will [...] this 29<sup>th</sup> day of Jan. 1781 [...]”<sup>35</sup> Following this statement are the signatures of Robert Hooper and Ian Meredith.<sup>36</sup> Nothing further could be found on Robert Hooper and Ian Meredith, but I speculate that they were lawyers, witnesses or other officials that helped certify the validity of the will. They were not the executors, as other documents denote that the executors of Cadwalader’s will were Lambert Cadwalader, his brother, and Philemon Dickinson, his brother-in-law (Mary Cadwalader’s husband).<sup>37</sup> Thus, I assume that this version is the final and legitimate version. None of the other wills are marked with dates.

In all five versions, Cadwalader gave to his wife “three male and three female negro servants such as they may choose either belonging to the house or farm.”<sup>38</sup> On the inventory of enslaved people, Allen, Isaac, Jim Neely, Susan, Moll Sutton, and Letty are marked with “To Mrs. Cadwalader,” thus I infer that upon John Cadwalader’s death, his wife received these individuals. Some of these same people are marked with “legacy,” meaning that Cadwalader noted that they would be returned to her.<sup>39</sup> Next, he gave his children Anne, Elizabeth, and Maria Cadwalader “all the negroes old and young male and female which now belong or that may

---

<sup>34</sup> See Brooke Krancer’s Final Paper, Spring 2018.

<sup>35</sup> “Folder 1: Last Will and Testaments (5).” Cadwalader Estate Papers, Series 2: Box 18. *Historical Society of Pennsylvania*.

<sup>36</sup> Ibid.

<sup>37</sup> “Folder 21: Miscellaneous Cadwalader Estate Papers, Series 2: Box 18. *Historical Society of Pennsylvania*.

<sup>38</sup> “Folder 1: Last Will and Testaments (5).” Cadwalader Estate Papers, Series 2: Box 18. *Historical Society of Pennsylvania*.

<sup>39</sup> Ibid.

belong to my above mentioned farm on Sassafrass River at the time of my death.”<sup>40</sup> Evidently, Cadwalader sought to secure the wealth and comfort of his family through the perpetual enslavement of people who labored on his estate.

While Cadwalader, in his will, gave his wife six slaves, there is documentation of Mrs. Cadwalader having 1 slave and 4 free black people in her household in the 1800 US Federal Census.<sup>41</sup> There are only numbers in a table to indicate these individuals: no names or ages to assist in interpretation. It is possible that the individuals referred to in the census are the same individuals given to Mrs. Cadwalader in the will, however I have not discovered any documents that support this conjecture.

Interestingly, Cadwalader manumits one enslaved person and his family. The will notes “for and in consideration of the faithful services of James Sampson my negro servant I do hereby set him free forever together with his wife Sarah, [illegible] his son Tom and daughter Henny both children of negro woman called Moll – all whom I hereby declare free forever from slavery. I also give or devise to James Sampson fifty pounds to be freed immediately after my death in gold or silver coin or in proper currency to the value thereof.”<sup>42</sup> This statement is included in four of the wills, including the bound version which I presume to be the official will, but not in one of the five. Strangely, James Sampson is not one of the individuals listed in Cadwalader’s inventory. Because the signed will is dated 5 years prior to the inventory, Sampson may not have been included in the inventory because of his impending freedom. The inventory does list individuals named Sarah, Moll, Tom, and Henny but there are no notes to affirm the familial

---

<sup>40</sup> Ibid.

<sup>41</sup> “1800 US Federal Census.” *Ancestry.com*.

[https://www.ancestry.com/sharing/15055698?h=eab850&o\\_xid=61782&o\\_lid=61782&o\\_sch=Email+Programs](https://www.ancestry.com/sharing/15055698?h=eab850&o_xid=61782&o_lid=61782&o_sch=Email+Programs)

<sup>42</sup> Ibid.

connection. Juxtaposing this sentiment with his gifts of other enslaved people to his family provides insight into the contradiction of many slaveowners. Cadwalader clearly saw the value of freedom but only bestowed it upon a select group of his slaves.

A letter from James Speer on April 21, 1787 provides further insight into where Cadwalader's slaves ended up after his passing. In this letter, Speer agrees to hire Mealy Ambrose for one year, who was a young female under the jurisdiction of the executors of Cadwalader's will, Lambert Cadwalader and Philemon Dickinson. No reason is given in the letter, but Speer likely sought to hire Ambrose to work in his house or on his plantation. Speer writes that he will furnish Ambrose "with sufficient [illegible] clothing, washing, lodging."<sup>43</sup> He promises to return Ambrose after the year is over with a jacket, handmade linen, stockings, and strong shoes.<sup>44</sup>

I speculate that the agreement written about in this letter was controversial, as a letter dated May 27, 1789 from William Tilghman expresses that selling or hiring out Cadwalader's slaves is not acceptable. William Tilghman graduated from the College of Philadelphia in 1772 and was the Chief Justice of Pennsylvania from 1806-1827.<sup>45</sup> Tilghman writes "I have considered the will of John Cadwalader, I am of the opinion that the executors will not be justified in selling any of the negroes on the farm in Kent County. These negroes are all specifically bequeathed to Cadwalader's children by his first wife [...]."<sup>46</sup> The letter concludes with the sentiment that if someone should hire out Cadwalader's slaves, "they may find

---

<sup>43</sup> "Folder 21: Miscellaneous Cadwalader Estate Papers, Series 2: Box 18. *Historical Society of Pennsylvania*.

<sup>44</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>45</sup> See Dillon Kersh's Final Reports, Spring and Fall 2018.

<sup>46</sup> "Folder 11: Miscellaneous, 1789." Cadwalader Estate Papers, Series 2: Box 19. *Historical Society of Pennsylvania*.

themselves involved in a very disagreeable and hazardous controversy.”<sup>47</sup> These documents illustrate the challenge of managing Cadwalader’s large group of enslaved people. There was debate surrounding their treatment after Cadwalader’s death. I cannot conclusively say what happened to them.

#### **Part 4: Questions Going Forward**

There are many elements of this research that have left me with unanswered questions and areas to research further. While I was able to find significant information on the names and ages of Cadwalader’s enslaved peoples, which is not often the case for other enslavers, I was not able to portray the lives, roles, and skills of these individuals. Understanding their tasks and day to day lives would indicate how they specifically benefited Cadwalader. I can only speculate through secondary literature of the era and region what they were tasked with every day, or use the information provided in the inventory to inform assumptions about their lives on the plantation. For example, at the time when the inventory was taken, the average age of Cadwalader’s enslaved people was approximate 21 years old. This young age leads to speculation that labor took a significant toll on Cadwalader’s enslaved people, causing many to them to die young.

Maryland was primarily a tobacco growing region in the 17<sup>th</sup> and 18<sup>th</sup> centuries.<sup>48</sup> The main crop changed to wheat after the mid 18<sup>th</sup> century, as tobacco exhausts the soil and wheat requires less intensive labor.<sup>49</sup> Harvesting wheat requires a large workforce only twice a year, for planting and harvesting, allowing enslavers in Maryland to decrease the size of their workforces

---

<sup>47</sup> Ibid.

<sup>48</sup> “All of Us Would Walk Together.” *Digital Exhibit: Historic St. Mary’s City*. Accessed December 18, 2018. <http://hsmcwalktogether.org/index.php/project/agriculture-and-labor-in-maryland/>

<sup>49</sup> Ibid.

and decrease their spending on enslaved people.<sup>50</sup> Slave quarters of the era typically had straw bedding, barrels used for seats, cooking materials such as pots and pans, and a grindstone or hand mill to make meal out of corn.<sup>51</sup> Living quarters were usually organized around families.<sup>52</sup> The farming technology and agricultural method of the time involved cutting, raking, and binding wheat to bring it to harvest.<sup>53</sup> Most Maryland wheat was sold as flour, and some slaves were tasked with driving wagons filled with barrels of flour to the market.<sup>54</sup> After the passage of the 1780 Act for the Gradual Emancipation of Slavery in Pennsylvania, many slaves who escaped their plantations in Maryland in the 1780s and 1790s took refuge in Pennsylvania.<sup>55</sup> These details help provide some insight into what Cadwalader's slaves' lives may have been like.

I am particularly curious about what happened to James Sampson and his family, who were manumitted in Cadwalader's will. Discovering where they went and what they did would not only help to contextualize the fate of other freed slaves who belonged to trustees, but would also indicate the social environment of the era and the capabilities of freed individuals to access a decent standard of living. I would also be interested to trace the origins of Cadwalader's slaves and how he obtained ownership over them. I would like to discover more evidence of familial connections among the group of enslaved people.

## **Part 6: Conclusion**

---

<sup>50</sup> Ibid.

<sup>51</sup> Kulikoff, Allan. "The Origins of Afro-American Society in Tidewater Maryland and Virginia, 1700 to 1790." *The William and Mary Quarterly*, Vol. 35 No. 2 (April 1978), pp-226-259. <https://www.jstor.org/stable/1921834>, 247.

<sup>52</sup> Ibid, 247.

<sup>53</sup> Grivno, Max. *Gleanings of Freedom: Free and Slave Labor along the Mason-Dixon Line, 1790-1860*. Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 2011, 25.

<sup>54</sup> Ibid, 42.

<sup>55</sup> Ibid, 45.

Based on my research this semester, the Penn & Slavery Project can conclude that Cadwalader, one of Penn's early decision makers and financial donors, was a direct beneficiary of slavery. In conjunction with the research of my colleagues on other Penn trustees, it is evident that multiple individuals who contributed to developing Penn in its early days were complicit in slavery. Indeed, this complicity may have enabled men like Cadwalader to become a wealthy, respected, and powerful man; in other words, trustee material. I am confident that the work of the Penn & Slavery Project will continue to educate the Penn community. As an institution, Penn must work to expose its history, however troubled, and reconcile to the best of their abilities through acknowledging the historic wrongs and working to combat present day racial inequalities at this university. My research highlights the importance of recognizing the actions of not only the university, but further the actions of individuals who were, or are, influential to Penn in order to ensure full accountability and acknowledgement of wrongdoing.

## Bibliography

“All of Us Would Walk Together.” *Digital Exhibit: Historic St. Mary’s City*. Accessed December 18, 2018.

<http://hsmcwalktogether.org/index.php/project/agriculture-and-labor-in-maryland/>

“An Act for the Gradual Abolition of Slavery.” *Pennsylvania Historical & Museum Commission*. Accessed December 14, 2018.

<http://www.phmc.state.pa.us/portal/communities/documents/1776-1865/abolition-slavery.html>

“Cadwalader, John.” *American National Biography*. Accessed December 12, 2018.

<http://www.anb.org/view/10.1093/anb/9780198606697.001.0001/anb-9780198606697-e-0200052>

Clemens, Paul. *The Atlantic Economy and Colonial Maryland’s Eastern Shore: From Tobacco to Grain*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1980.

Grivno, Max. *Gleanings of Freedom: Free and Slave Labor along the Mason-Dixon Line, 1790-1860*. Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 2011.

Kulikoff, Allan. “The Origins of Afro-American Society in Tidewater Maryland and Virginia, 1700 to 1790.” *The William and Mary Quarterly*, Vol. 35 No. 2 (April 1978), pp-226-259.

<https://www.jstor.org/stable/1921834>

“Maryland Register of Wills Records, 1629-1999.” *FamilySearch.org*. Accessed November 5, 2018.

<https://familysearch.org/ark:/61903/3:1:33S7-9TRK-99D2?cc=1803986&wc=SNY4-3TB%3A146535601%2C147148801>

“Penn Biographies.” *John Cadwalader (1742-1786), University of Pennsylvania University Archives*. Accessed December 12, 2018.

[https://www.archives.upenn.edu/people/1700s/cadwalader\\_john.html](https://www.archives.upenn.edu/people/1700s/cadwalader_john.html)

“Penn Biographies.” *John Dickinson (1732-1808), University of Pennsylvania University Archives*. Accessed December 12, 2018.

[https://www.archives.upenn.edu/people/1700s/dickinson\\_john.html](https://www.archives.upenn.edu/people/1700s/dickinson_john.html)

Seitz, Phillip. *Slavery in Philadelphia*. 2014.

“Shrewsbury Farm.” *Maryland Historical Trust*. Accessed November 8, 2018.

<https://mht.maryland.gov/secure/medusa/PDF/Kent/K-569.pdf>

Wilder, Craig S. *Ebony and Ivy: Race, Slavery, and the Troubled History of America’s Universities*. New York: Bloomsbury Press, 2013.

William Allen in “The Morning Call.” (Tuesday, September 6, 1983) *University of Pennsylvania University Archives*.

“1800 US Federal Census.” *Ancestry.com*.

[https://www.ancestry.com/sharing/15055698?h=eeb850&o\\_xid=61782&o\\_lid=61782&o\\_sch=E-mail+Programs](https://www.ancestry.com/sharing/15055698?h=eeb850&o_xid=61782&o_lid=61782&o_sch=E-mail+Programs)

Historical Society of Pennsylvania Archival Documents:

“Waste book 1769-1771.” Cadwalader Estate Papers, Series 2: Box 14. *Historical Society of Pennsylvania*.

“Folder 1: Last Will and Testaments (5).” Cadwalader Estate Papers, Series 2: Box 18. *Historical Society of Pennsylvania*.

“Folder 14: Miscellaneous, 1786 (Personal Estate Inventories).” Cadwalader Estate Papers, Series 2: Box 18. *Historical Society of Pennsylvania*.

“Folder 21: Miscellaneous Cadwalader Estate Papers, Series 2: Box 18. *Historical Society of Pennsylvania*.

“Folder 11: Miscellaneous, 1789.” Cadwalader Estate Papers, Series 2: Box 19. *Historical Society of Pennsylvania*.

“Folder 18: Miscellaneous, 1790.” Cadwalader Estate Papers, Series 2: Box 19. *Historical Society of Pennsylvania*.

“Folder 14: Miscellaneous, 1784.” Cadwalader Estate Papers, Series 2: Box 20. *Historical Society of Pennsylvania*.

## Appendices

### Appendix A

From: "Folder 14: Miscellaneous, 1786 (Personal Estate Inventories)." Cadwalader Estate Papers, Series 2: Box 18. *Historical Society of Pennsylvania*.

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

<b>House Negro Slaves, Women and Girls (10)</b>				
<i>Name</i>	<i>Family Detail</i>	<i>Notes</i>	<i>Age (years)</i>	<i>Price (pounds)</i>
Susan	--	Legacy Mrs. Cadwalader	62	00.50
Doll	Jacob's wife	Legacy	57	00.50
Moll Lingo	--	Legacy	49	02.10
Moll Sutton	--	Legacy Mrs. Cadwalader	55	35.00
Nan Dill	Of Ambrose	--	26	40.00
Dina	--	--	10	25.00
Letty	Daughter of Nan Dill	Mrs. Cadwalader	7	20.00
Poll	Daughter of Nan Dill	--	5	10.00
Betts	--	--	3	10.00
Kitty	Daughter of Moll Lingo	--	3	10.00

<b>Quarter Negro Slaves, Men and Boys (43)</b>				
<i>Name</i>	<i>Family Detail</i>	<i>Notes</i>	<i>Age (years)</i>	<i>Price (pounds)</i>
Jack Wimbert	--	--	60	00.50
Abraham	--	Defective	45	00.50

Dick Coombs	--	Taylor	45	30.00
Sam Ambrose	--	--	39	35.00
Tom Chandler	--	Defective	37	20.00
George Denby	--	--	35	47.10
Natt Hopkins	--	--	35	47.10
Jim Lingo	--	--	32	55.00
Wye	--	--	30	55.00
Abe Ambrose	--	--	29	55.00
Frank Denby	--	--	29	55.00
Matt Crew	Son of Gardner Jacob	--	25	55.00
Antony Hopkins	--	--	25	55.00
David Lingo	--	Weakly Constitution	24	25.00
Jack Chandler	--	--	23	55.00
Jim Pepper	--	--	22	55.00
Jack Ambrose	--	--	22	55.00
Dick Ambrose	--	--	20	55.00
Mingo	Of Jim Bouser	Weakly Constitution	24	30.00
Matt Hopkins	--	--	29	55.00
Jo Pepper	--	Shoemaker	18	55.00
Jacob Ambrose	--	Alias Dug	17	55.00
Jim Lingo	--	Defective	15	25.00
Phil	--	--	15	40.00
Ned Morgan	--	--	15	40.00
Bill Simmons	--	--	15	40.00
Dick	Son of Isabel	--	10	30.00
Ned	Son of Fanny Coombs	--	9	30.00
Isaac	Son of Poll Denby	--	8	30.00
Harry Lingo	Son of Poll	--	8	30.00
Antony	Son of Isabel	--	7	25.00
Tom Lingo	Son of Doll	--	5	20.00
Harry	Son of Pegg Williams	--	4	20.00
Sam Lingo	Son of Doll	--	3.5	15.00
Dick Coombs	Son of Dick and Fanny	--	3	15.00
Jim Neely	Son of Jim and Poll Ambrose	--	3	15.00

Manuel	Son of Isabel	--	2.5	10.00
Jo	Son of Pegg Williams	--	2.5	10.00
Jo	Son of Matt Crews and Henny		2.5	10.00
Perry	Son of Fanny Ambrose	--	1.75	07.10
Matt	Son of Matt Crews and Jenny	--	8 months	01.50
George	Son of Poll Pepper	--	6 weeks	00.10
Jim	Son of Dick and Fanny Coombs	--	3 weeks	00.10

<b>Quarter Negro Slaves, Women, Girls, and Children (47)</b>				
<i>Name</i>	<i>Family Detail</i>	<i>Notes</i>	<i>Age (years)</i>	<i>Price (pounds)</i>
Doll Ambrose	--	(Dead)	69	00.50
Nanny Norton	--	(Dead)	62	00.50
Sarah Chandler	--	(Dead)	57	00.50
Katy Lingo	--	--	57	00.50
Esther Chandler	--	--	50	05.00
Molly Cole	--	--	49	00.50
Rachel Pepper	--	(Dead)	53	05.00
Grace	--	(Dead)	41	12.00
Lucy Ambrose	--	(Dead)	41	06.00
Pegg Williams	--	--	40	14.00
Hannah	--	Defective	39	00.50
Rosie Harris	--	Defective	39	00.50
Sall Pepper	--	Defective	36	10.00
Nan Chandler	--	--	36	35.00
Poll Denby	--	--	34	35.00
Cloe Denby	--	--	34	35.00
Doll Ambrose	--	--	29	40.00
Isabel	--	--	29	40.00
Mable	--	--	29	40.00
Fanny Comb	--	--	26	40.00
Hannah Neely	--	(Dead)	25	45.00
Poll Ambrose	Daughter of Esther	--	22	45.00
Fanny Ambrose	--	--	21	45.00
Hannah Crew	Wife of Matthew	--	18	45.00
Betts Ambrose	--	--	17	45.00

Rachel	Daughter of Lucy Ambrose	--	14	35.00
Nan Pepper	Of Rachell Pepper	(Dead)	14	35.00
Frank	Daughter of Poll Denby	--	13	35.00
Sall	Daughter of Pegg Williams	Lame	10	15.00
Jenny	Daughter of Katy Lingo	--	10	30.00
Beth	Daughter of Poll Denby	--	9	30.00
Riss	Daughter of Sall Pepper	"S.R."	9	30.00
Nan Benson	Daughter of Lucy Ambrose	--	8	20.00
Rose Comb	Daughter of Dick and Fany Comb	--	7	20.00
Moll Williams	Daughter of Pegg	--	7	20.00
Neely Pepper	Daughter of Sall	"X"	6	20.00
Molly	Daughter of Matt Hopkins	--	6	20.00
Mable	Daughter of Poll Denby	--	5	15.00
Barbary	Daughter of Fanny Ambrose	--	5	15.00
Grace	Daughter of Isabel	(Dead)	5	15.00
Bett Comb	Daughter of Dick and Fanny Comb	--	5	15.00
Poll Pepper	Daughter of Sall Pepper	--	3	10.00
Pheby	Daughter of Fanny Ambrose	--	2	07.10
Jenny Comb	Daughter of Dick and Fanny	--	1.75	05.00
Minta	Daughter of Isabel	--	1.75	05.00
Henny	Daughter of Poll Ambrose and Jim Neely	--	6 months	0.10

### Families

Bullet indicates child of aforementioned couple/individual. Age given in years.

#### **Ambrose & Nan Dill (26)**

- Jack (10 months)
- Letty (7)
- Poll (5)

#### **Moll Sutton (55)**

- Dick (9 months)

#### **Moll Lingo (49)**

- Kitty (3)

**Isabel (29)**

- Dick (10)
- Antony (7)
- Manuel (2.5)
- Grace (5)
- Minta (1.75)

**Fanny Coombs (26) & Dick (45)**

- Ned (9)
- Dick (3)
- Jim (3 weeks)
- Rose (7)
- Bett (5)
- Jenny (1.75)

**Poll Denby (34)**

- Isaac (8)
- Frank (13)
- Beth (9)
- Mable (5)

**Doll Lingo**

- Tom (6)
- Sam (3.5)

**Katy Lingo (57)**

- Jenny (10)

**Pegg Williams (40)**

- Harry (4)
- Jo (2.5)
- Sall (10)
- Moll (7)

**Jim Neely (29) & Poll Ambrose (22)**

- Jim (3)
- Henny (6 months)

**Sall Pepper (36)**

- Riss (10)
- Neely (6)

**Esther Chandler (50)**

- Poll Ambrose (22)

**Lucy Ambrose (41)**

- Rachel (14)
- Nan Benson (8)

**Rachel Pepper (53)**

- Nan (14)

**Matt Hopkins (29)**

- Molly (6)

**Fanny Ambrose (21)**

- Barbary (5)
- Pheby (2)