The Colonization Movement (1830s)

Source information and historical context for the document set
Spring 2019

Historical Context of the Colonization Movement

The Colonization Movement was an effort to bring free African Americans from the United States to Africa. Though the idea of colonization dates back to the 18th century, it took off in the 19th century with the founding of the American Colonization Society (ACS) in 1816. The main founder of the ACS was Presbyterian minister Robert Finley, and other early members included Kentucky statesman and slaveholder Henry Clay, Francis Scott Key (composer of the "Star Spangled Banner") and George Washington's nephew Bushrod Washington.

Members of the ACS had divergent views on why they supported colonization: some had a real interest in helping free African Americans escape the prejudice and violence they faced in the United States. Others, including Finley, thought African Americans would never be able to integrate into normal life in the United States because of their inherent inferiority and therefore should be separated from white Americans. He also hoped that expatriating African Americans to Africa would eventually end the institution of slavery. Still other pro-slavery supporters of colonization wanted to move free African Americans to Africa because they were seen as a threat to the institution of slavery.

The great majority of the ACS's members were white, though some African Americans supported colonization. Colonization supporter Paul Cuffe, of mixed African and Indian ancestry, wanted free blacks to build new communities of dignity and independence in Africa, the homeland of his forebears.

Still, many African Americans opposed colonization as a thinly veiled attempt to rid the United States of its free African American citizens and allow the institution of slavery to continue unquestioned. Opponents of colonization such as Frederick Douglass wanted to focus on making the lives of free African Americans better in the United States, and to help enslaved African Americans by fighting for abolition. Free black Philadelphians such as James Forten, Absalom Jones, and Robert Purvis were vocally opposed to colonization, along with Pittsburgh black leaders such as John Peck and John Vashon.

Both white and black abolitionists, many of whom supported the immediate abolition of slavery in this country, tended to oppose the Colonization Movement. By the 1830s, this opposition was strong, with resolutions by the 1837 Anti-Slavery Convention of American Women and other abolition groups stating their opposition to the ACS.

The ACS did acquire land in West Africa, much of what is now the country of Liberia, and sent as many as 10,000 freed black slaves and free African Americans to the colony between 1821 and 1867.

Document 1: Job R. Tyson

Tyson, Job R. *A Discourse before the Young Men's Colonization Society of Pennsylvania, Delivered October 24, 1834 ... by J.R. Tyson: With a Notice of the Proceedings of the Society, and of their First Expedition of Coloured Emigrants to Found a Colony at Bassa Cove* (Philadelphia: Printed for the Society, 1834).
Call number: PAM E 448 .T9 1834

**See especially the letter from Samuel Benedict to Elliott Cresson, pages 60-62. Also see letter from Francis Thornton, Jr. regarding Isaac Walker, page 63.*

Source note: Job R. Tyson (1803-1858) was elected to the board of managers of the Pennsylvania Colonization Society in 1850. Tyson was also a Whig member of the U.S. House of Representatives from Pennsylvania. Samuel Benedict (1792-1854) was a former slave who emigrated in 1835 to Liberia, where he became an influential figure in politics and the judiciary. Elliot Cresson (1796-1854) was a Philadelphia philanthropist and one of the most active members of the Young Men's Colonization Society of Pennsylvania, a branch of the American Colonization Society.

Historical context: The Young Men's Colonization Society of Pennsylvania was founded in 1830, four years before this discourse was written, as an offshoot of the American Colonization Society. Elliot Cresson, member of the Young Men's Colonization Society of Pennsylvania, was a prominent Quaker as well as a zealous supporter of colonization. Though many Quakers were abolitionists, including well known leaders such as Anthony Benezet and Lucretia Mott, 19th century Quakers were also colonization supporters, anti-abolitionists, and even slaveowners.

Reading questions for the Samuel Benedict letter to Elliot Cresson, pages 60-62:
1. What is the tone of this letter?
2. What are Benedict's reasons for moving to Liberia?
3. Has Benedict ever been to Liberia?
4. What is the perspective of the author (Job. R. Tyson) on colonization?
5. What are Benedict's objections to the Abolition Movement in the United States?

Reading questions for Francis Thornton's testimonial on Isaac Walker, page 63:
1. What do you think the writer's perspective is on colonization?
2. Why might someone like Walker need a testimonial like this one, to carry with him?

Document 2: Thomas C. Brown

American Anti-Slavery Society. *Examination of Thomas C. Brown: A Free Colored Citizen of S. Carolina, as to the Actual State of Things in Liberia in the Years 1833 and 1834, at the Chatham Street Chapel, May 9th & 10th, 1834* (New York: S.W. Benedict, 1834).
Call number: PAM E 450 .B76 1834

**See especially pages 3-12; on page 10, Brown mentions speaking with Elliott Cresson, who suggests he should speak in favor of colonization. Also refer to pages 31-32, especially for Reverend Ralph Randolph Gurley's perspective on abolitionists.*

Source note: Elliot Cresson (1796-1854) was a Philadelphia philanthropist and perhaps the most ardent member of the Young Men's Colonization Society of Pennsylvania, a branch of the American Colonization Society. Ralph Randolph Gurley (1797-1872) was a key administrator of the American Colonization Society for 50 years, eventually becoming director for life. At this time, he was the agent and secretary of the society.

Historical context:

- The American Anti-Slavery Society was founded in 1833 by prominent abolitionist William Lloyd Garrison and others who believed the institution of slavery should be abolished. Elliot Cresson, member of the Young Men's Colonization Society of Pennsylvania, was a prominent Quaker as well as a zealous supporter of colonization. Though many Quakers were abolitionists, including well known leaders such as Anthony Benezet and Lucretia Mott, 19th century Quakers were also colonization supporters, anti-abolitionists, and even slaveowners.
- During the Examination, questioners of Mr. Brown as well as Brown himself mention "recaptured Africans." This term refers to enslaved African people brought illegally to the United States (where the importation of slaves from Africa was banned in 1808), "recaptured" by American naval ships, and resettled in Liberia.

Reading questions:

1. When was this source written, and who was its author? What was the purpose of writing the source?
2. Why do you think there so many questions about alcohol use and sale in Liberia?
3. On page 5, a "member of the examining committee" of the American Anti-Slavery Society asks Brown whether he is an American or an African. What does this question suggest about attitudes towards African Americans in the 1830s?
4. What do the disruptions of this meeting (see pages 12 and 19) say about the differing visions of abolition and colonization in the 1830s?
5. Does this source corroborate, or contradict, Document 1 (the Tyson discourse)?
6. What observations can you make about the questions people asked during the meeting?
7. What about abolitionism does Reverend R.R. Gurley most strongly object to (pp. 31-32)?

Document 3: The Census of Liberia

Charity, C. (2017). *Roll of Emigrants that have been sent to the colony of Liberia, Western Africa, by the American Colonization Society and its auxiliaries, to September, 1843, &c.* Christine's African American Genealogy Website. Retrieved from https://ccharity.com/contents/roll-emigrants-have-been-sent-colony-liberia-western-africa/

**See especially*:
Ship Indiana's Company (Samuel Benedict and family)
Ship Ninus's Company (Isaac Walker and family)
Ship Hercules's Company (Thomas C. Brown and family)

Source note: The three webpages listed above show the passenger lists for three ships that brought free African Americans to Liberia, as recorded in the 1843 census of Liberia. Each of these passenger lists includes individuals and families mentioned in Documents 1 and 2: Samuel Benedict and his family, Isaac Walker and his family, and Thomas C. Brown and his family. In addition to information on these three individuals and their families is data on dozens more immigrants arriving in Liberia, including profession, age, state of origin, and, importantly, date and cause of death (if the person died before or during 1843). Please refer to the bibliographical information at the top of this page, along with the link, to find many other passenger lists from the 1843 census.

To see to the original source cited by Christine's African American Genealogy Website, please refer to the following source:

"Information relative to the operations of the United States squadron on the west coast of Africa ..." 28th Congress, 2d. Session, S. Doc. 150, serial 458"). Index to ships is on page 307; index to census lists is on page 413; census table for Monrovia is on pages 308-349.

Document 4: Map of Liberia

Map of the west coast of Africa from Sierra Leone to Cape Palmas, including the Colony of Liberia / compiled chiefly from the surveys and observations of the late Rev. J. Ashmun. Philadelphia: A. Finley, 1830 (fold-out plate detached from Annual Report of the American Society for Colonizing the Free People of Colour of the United States, Washington, 1830) (mapcase 46:34)

Source note: Reverend Jehudi Ashmun (1794-1828), a minister, was active in the American Colonization Society and was a colonial agent of Liberia from 1822 to 1828. Note the year of Ashmun's death—he died in Connecticut, probably of a disease caught in Liberia—two years before his map was printed in Philadelphia.

Questions:

1. The coastline of Liberia is labeled in several places with "country of the Bassas" "country of the Deys," etc. What do you think these designations mean? What do they tell you about the land the African American and white American colonists were settling on?
2. Based on the plan for the town of Monrovia, what are the priorities of the settlement?
3. Why do you think the colonists chose the spot that they did to build the town of Monrovia? What were the advantages of this location?
4. Observe the location of Millsburg and of Caldwell, two towns mentioned in Brown's testimony about his time in Liberia. Why do you think those particular locations were chosen for the towns?
5. Who created this map? What was the mapmaker's perspective on colonization? Can a map be biased? Why or why not?
6. What do you think was produced in the "colonial factories" mentioned on that map? Does their mention on the map refute Brown's testimony about Liberia, that there weren't factories to speak of in Liberia?

Document 5: Wiley Secondary Source

Wiley, Bell I., editor. *Slaves No More: Letters from Liberia, 1833-1869* (Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 1980).
Call number: DT 633.2 .S55 1980

**See especially introduction and pages 1-11.*

Source note: Bell Wiley (1906-1980) was an American historian and white southerner who became known for his scholarship on the Civil War. He helped to debunk the popular myth that most slaves wanted to stay with their masters after emancipation, and became known for his scholarly focus on social history.

Reading questions:

1. Who is the author of this source? Who is the intended audience?
2. How did the American Colonization Society obtain the land for colonization in what became Liberia?
3. Was colonization a valid option for African Americans after being freed from slavery? Why or why not?
4. How did most free African Americans feel about colonization as a solution to the problem of what freed slaves will do (and where they will live) after emancipation?
5. Did pro-colonization people believe in equal rights for freed African Americans?
6. Did anti-slavery people believe in equal rights for freed African Americans?
7. Why was colonization so appealing to many white Americans who were opposed to the institution of slavery?

Free Black Suffrage and the Pennsylvania Constitutional Convention (1838)

Source information and historical context for the document set
Spring 2019

Historical Context of Free Black Suffrage and the Pennsylvania Constitutional Convention of 1838

Attempts to gain voting rights for African Americans began long before the Civil War and the passage of the 15th Amendment to the Constitution in 1870. Free black people were able to vote in a few northern states including Pennsylvania until 1838, and some exercised that right, though they were often met with hostility at the polls.

The Pennsylvania Constitution of 1790, like the US Constitution it was modeled on, left the voting rights clause vague and allowed for differing interpretations of who had the right to vote. Some free African Americans and white supporters believed that "every freeman" in the state constitution included free black men, and a small though unknown number of black men did vote in some Pennsylvania elections between 1790 and 1837. Still, in practice, the vast majority of free black men in Pennsylvania were forced by intimidation and threats of violence to stay away from the polls.

In late 1837 and early 1838, when Pennsylvania statesmen were gathered for the Pennsylvania Constitutional Convention, state Democrats lobbied hard for an amendment to the constitution that would ban black men from voting in state elections. Free African American men, especially James Forten Sr., James Forten Jr., and Robert Purvis in Philadelphia, and John Vashon and John Peck in Pittsburgh, fought to retain the right to vote that, at least in theory, existed in the Pennsylvania Constitution. These men wrote and supported the *Appeal of Forty Thousand Citizens* and the *Pittsburgh Memorial*, respectively, to defend the right of free black people to vote based on their US citizenship, the taxes they paid, and the principles of freedom and equality enshrined in the US Constitution.

The delegates at the convention in the end voted to add the amendment denying black suffrage, and it was narrowly approved by a popular vote soon after. The 1837-1838 Pennsylvania Constitutional Convention confirmed the dominance of white supremacy in the state of Pennsylvania and in effect stalled the cause of black suffrage for 32 years.

Document 1: Opinion of Judge John Fox

Fox, John. *Opinion of the Hon. John Fox, President Judge of the Judicial District Composed of the Counties of Bucks and Montgomery: Against the Exercise of Negro Suffrage in Pennsylvania: Also, the Vote of the Members of the Pennsylvania Convention* ... (Harrisburg: Printed by Packer, Barrett & Parke, 1838).
Call number: PAM JK 1929 .P4 69 1838

Source note: Judge John Fox (1787-1849) of Bucks County heard a case of alleged voter fraud at the end of 1837, just as delegates at the Pennsylvania Constitutional Convention were trying to decide whether to allow African Americans to vote in their state. The case was brought by Bucks County Democrats who believed that African Americans had illegally cast the deciding votes that allowed local Whig candidates for county commissioner and auditor to defeat their Democrat opponents. This case is historically important because Fox's opinion was cited by delegates at the Pennsylvania Constitutional Convention where the question of black suffrage was being debated.

Reading questions:

1. When was this opinion submitted (page 3)? Was this before or after the Pennsylvania Constitutional Convention decided the question of black suffrage?
2. Who is the author of this opinion, and who was his intended audience?
3. According to Judge Fox, what is the main question that came out of this local election (page 5)?
4. According to Judge Fox's interpretation of the original charter for the Pennsylvania colony, who counts as a Pennsylvania citizen (page 5)?
5. Why does the author of this source describe in some detail the sections of this 1725 law (pages 6-7)? What purpose does this serve in his argument?
6. The 1780 Act for the Gradual Abolition of Slavery in Pennsylvania stated that no slave born after 1780 would be a slave for life. How does Fox leverage this law *against* the right of African Americans to vote in Pennsylvania (page 8)?
7. On page 10, Fox points out that the Pennsylvania Constitution of 1790 closely resembles the US Constitution. Why does it matter that the majority of representatives who drafted the US Constitution were from slaveholding states?
8. On page 11, Fox compares our democratic republic with the Roman republic. Why does he make this comparison, and in what ways does he claim the two democracies are similar?
9. On page 13, Fox discusses political rights versus civil rights for African Americans. What is his position on these two types of rights?

Document 2: Appeal of Forty Thousand Citizens

Purvis, Robert. *Appeal of Forty Thousand Citizens, Threatened with Disfranchisement, to the People of Pennsylvania*. (Philadelphia: Printed by Merrihew & Gunn, 1838). Call number: PAM E 185.93 .P4 A7

**See especially pages 1-4 (2 pages). Please note that pages 2-3 are not missing—this is a printing error, and the text from page 1 continues on page 4.*

Source note: Robert Purvis (1810-1898) was a prominent Philadelphia area abolitionist of white and Jewish Moroccan heritage. Married to Philadelphia abolitionist Harriet Forten, who was also of mixed racial heritage, Purvis helped found the American Anti-Slavery Society and was active in helping fugitive slaves escape from slaveholding states on the Underground Railroad. Purvis was on a committee that included James Forten, Sr., his son James (Purvis's father-in-law and brother-in-law), and a few other African American Philadelphians who joined to write the *Appeal of Forty Thousand Citizens*. They wrote this document in response to the Pennsylvania Constitutional Convention's proposed amendment that would deny the right of African Americans to vote, and released it before the amendment was approved in a very close popular vote.

Reading questions:

1. Who wrote this document, and what was their purpose for writing it?
2. The author states that the Pennsylvania Constitutional Convention took away the right to vote from African Americans, and that this right is important for all people, but perhaps especially for African Americans. What reason does he give?
3. How does the author link this decision to deny black suffrage with the patriots who fought in the revolutionary war (page 1)? Is this an effective comparison?
4. The author argues that if a government is despotic for some people, it is despotic for all people. For whom do you think this argument would be most convincing at the time it was written?
5. Unlike Fox in Document 1, the author of this document acknowledges that women are denied suffrage under the constitution. What reason does the author give for why women don't need the right to vote, but African Americans do (pages 1-4)?
6. One of the reasons the author gives for why African Americans should retain their right to vote is that the Colonization Movement is gaining ground, and African Americans should have a say on this subject. What are the author's objections to the Colonization Movement?
7. The author refers his readers back to the language of the 1790 Pennsylvania Constitution that protects the right to vote for "every freeman" who is over 21, pays taxes, and is a resident of the state. How does this author's interpretation of that language differ from Judge John Fox, the author of Document 1?

Document 3: The Present State and Condition of the Free People of Color

Pennsylvania Society for Promoting the Abolition of Slavery. *The Present State and Condition of the Free People of Color, of the City of Philadelphia and Adjoining Districts…* (Philadelphia: The Society, 1838).
Call number: PAM F 158.9 .N3 P4 1838

**See especially the address following p. 40: "To the People of Color in the State of Pennsylvania."*

Source note: The Pennsylvania Society for Promoting the Abolition of Slavery was founded in 1775 by Quakers and other early abolitionists in Philadelphia, and noted anti-slavery activist Anthony Benezet (1713-1784) was a founding member. Commonly referred to as the Pennsylvania Abolition Society, or PAS, the group's most famous member was Benjamin Franklin, who joined 12 years after the group's founding and co-wrote the society's constitution. The society's original mission was to litigate on behalf of free African Americans who were illegally enslaved, but it later expanded to help ban the international slave trade and amend the Gradual Abolition Act of 1780. In the late 1780s, under the leadership of Benjamin Franklin, PAS worked in conjunction with the Free African Society to try to improve the lives of free African Americans by building schools, helping people find employment, and placing black children as indentured servants, which was a common practice at the time. By the 1830s, PAS was less influential, especially after the 1833 founding of the American Anti-Slavery Society by William Lloyd Garrison and Arthur Tappan. This 1838 document, read at a January 5th, 1838 meeting of the society, was a response to the Pennsylvania Constitutional Convention's amendment to the Pennsylvania Constitution banning free African Americans from voting in the state.

Reading questions:

1. Who wrote this document, and what was their purpose for writing it?
2. Why do you think the authors mention the founding of their organization, more than 60 years earlier?
3. What is the tone of this document? Why do you think the authors employ this tone for this particular subject?
4. On page 4, the authors refer to the Philadelphia race riots of 1834 and 1835 that cost one African American his life and destroyed thousands of dollars' worth of African American-owned property. What purpose do the authors have for mentioning these riots?
5. Why are black Pennsylvanians urged to be "wise as serpents and harmless as doves"?
6. Despite the Pennsylvania Constitutional Convention's decision to revoke black voting rights, what comfort do the authors suggest black Pennsylvanians can take in the proceedings of the convention (page 5)?
7. Why does PAS claim that African Americans of Pennsylvania should practice temperance? What benefit does this philosophy have for them?

Document 4: Smith Secondary Source

Smith, Eric Ledell. "The End of Black Voting Rights in Pennsylvania: African Americans and the Pennsylvania Constitutional Convention of 1837-1838." *Pennsylvania History: A Journal of Mid-Atlantic Studies*. Vol. 65, No. 3, African Americans in Pennsylvania (Summer 1998), pp. 279-299.

Source note: Eric Ledell Smith was an African American archivist and historian who wrote and edited several books and articles on African American history and performing arts history. This article won a prestigious Pennsylvania history prize in the year it was published.

Historical context: Partisan politics are a key ingredient in what happened at the Pennsylvania Constitutional Convention of 1837-1838 and related events, especially the court case in Bucks County about whether it was legal for black people to vote in Pennsylvania. In the 1830s, the two main political parties were the Whigs and the Democrats. The Whig Party came out of the tradition of the Federalists, but was formed in the 1830s specifically to oppose Andrew Jackson's Democratic Party. Supporters included industrialists and the urban middle class, and advocated for modernization and greater powers of congress over the president. The Democratic Party on the other hand appealed to immigrants and working-class white Americans as well as southern slaveholders, and advocated for an agrarian society and weak central government. In this article, Smith refers to a coalition between Anti-Masons and the Whigs that gained political power in Pennsylvania in the 1830s. The Anti-Masonic Party was formed in the late 1820s to oppose Freemasonry, a secret society mostly comprised of wealthy and powerful men. It soon merged with the Whig party, however, to oppose the policies of the Democratic Party.

Reading questions:

1. Who wrote this article, and who is the intended audience?
2. What have other historians overlooked in their studies of the Pennsylvania Constitutional Convention of 1837-1838 (page 280)?
3. The Pennsylvania Constitution of 1790 did not explicitly forbid African Americans from voting. Why is it that so few African Americans voted in Pennsylvania between 1790 and 1837 (page 281)?
4. What happened in the anti-black riots of 1834 and 1835?
5. How did the economic depression of 1837 affect the decision to revisit voting rights in the Pennsylvania Constitution (page 287)?
6. A Bucks County delegate at the constitutional convention, E.T. McDowell, stoked fears about what could happen if the convention decided to remove the taxation requirement for voting in Pennsylvania. What were those fears, and how did McDowell's words change the views of other delegates (page 288)?
7. How did Judge John Fox's decision in the Bucks County voting case support Democrats at the constitutional convention (page 292)?
8. How are the *Pittsburgh Memorial*, the *Gardner-Hinton Memorial*, and the *Appeal of Forty Thousand Citizens* similar? How do they differ? What role did each play at the constitutional convention (pages 293 and 295)?

Presbyterian Mission to the Chinese in California (1850s)

Source information and historical context for the document set
Spring 2019

Historical context of the Presbyterian Mission to the Chinese in California

In the era of westward expansion and white settlement on lands bought and seized from Native Americans, a new immigrant group began to arrive in California. Chinese people, including many from Cantonese-speaking regions of Guangdong Province, were drawn to California after gold was discovered in 1848. In the 1860s, Chinese laborers were essential to construction of the transcontinental railroad that connected the vast North American continent. Chinese immigration to the United States continued through the 1880s when the U.S. government bowed to public prejudice against the Chinese and passed the Chinese Exclusion Act of 1882, banning further Chinese immigration for more than 60 years.

At the same time, an American religious revival and growing Protestant evangelical movement fueled missions to Asia, Africa, South America, and the South Pacific to spread Christianity and western cultural, moral, and educational values. The Board of Foreign Missions of the Presbyterian Church in the U.S.A. was established in 1837 with the goal of bringing Christianity "to whatever parts of the heathen and anti-Christian world, the Providence of God might enable the Society to extend its evangelical exertions."

Noting the rapid growth in the Chinese immigrant population in California—some estimate that 25,000 Chinese people arrived between 1848 and 1853—the Board sent Reverend William Speer and his wife Elizabeth to establish the first Presbyterian Mission to the Chinese in San Francisco in 1852. William Speer had previously spent four years as a missionary in Guangdong Province and spoke fluent Cantonese. In the first years of the mission, the Speers set up a medical clinic to serve recently arrived Chinese immigrants and laid the groundwork for a mission infrastructure to serve mission stations across California. Subsequent Presbyterian missionaries set up churches, night schools, benevolent societies, and helped train Chinese Presbyterian ministers. The Presbyterian Mission to the Chinese in California continued well into the 20th century.

Please note: the spelling of some Chinese names and places in these sources may be different from those used today. For example, Canton is now called Guangdong.

Document 1: Chinese Presbyterian Mission's 50th Anniversary

Chinese Presbyterian Mission. *Fiftieth Anniversary Historical Sketch* (San Francisco: s.n., 1903)
(Call number: PAM BV 2787 .C55 1903)

**See especially pages 1-11.*

Source note: The Presbyterian mission to the Chinese in California held its 50th anniversary celebration on June 3rd and 4th, 1903, at the Presbyterian Church of San Francisco in what was then, and still is, the Chinatown neighborhood. This document briefly describes the anniversary festivities and events, and reprints the speeches and papers presented during the two-day celebration. Ira M. Condit (1833-1915) then the head of the San Francisco Mission, gave a speech recalling the history of the Mission to the Chinese in California, and noting the mission's accomplishments since it was founded in 1853. Condit and his first wife worked as missionaries in Canton, China from 1860 to 1865, and both became fluent in Cantonese. In 1870, Condit joined the superintendent of the Chinese Presbyterian Mission, Augustus Loomis, and worked in San Francisco, Los Angeles, and Oakland until his death in 1915.

Historical context: In his speech, Condit mentions colporteurs and how they helped in the early history of the mission. Colporteurs were people who carried bibles or religious tracts throughout the mission area to share them with potential converts.

Reading questions:

1. Who is the author of this document? Who is their intended audience?
2. What is the tone of the document's introduction (pages 1-4)? What attitudes towards the Chinese participants does the writer display?
3. Given the context, what was unusual or special about this anniversary gathering?
4. On page 6, during Ira Condit's speech, he says that Augustus Loomis "had stood like a wall and battled with this trying, unresponsive work until the iron of inflexible strength entered into the very fiber of his nature." Given what Condit has already said about the mission work, what part of it did he deem "trying" and "unresponsive"?
5. How did setting up schools and other educational opportunities connect to the religious work of the California missionaries to the Chinese (page 6)?
6. Who are the four Chinese ministers ordained by the Presbyterian Church in California, and what work do they do in the U.S. and China (page 9)?
7. Condit notes that most Chinese people who immigrate to American eventually return to their homeland. Given this fact, why does he argue the missionary work in California is particularly important (page 11)?

Document 2: Letter from William Speer

Presbyterian Church in the U.S.A. Board of Foreign Missions secretaries' files, 1829-1895.
Call number: ARCHIVES RG 31
Box 45, folder 1, letter # 32
Letter from William Speer to Rev. J.C. (John Cameron) Lowrie, San Francisco, August 14, 1854 [manuscript letter and transcript]

Source note: Reverend William Speer (1822-1904) was a Presbyterian minister who had spent four years as a missionary in Canton, China before being appointed the first missionary to the Chinese in California in 1852. Speer used his medical training to help treat Chinese immigrants and also established a small medical practice with doctors doing pro bono work. Speer advocated for Chinese immigrants, defending them in court cases and fighting anti-Chinese legislation. This letter was written a little over a year after Speer founded the Chinese Presbyterian Mission in San Francisco. Speer wrote it to Reverend John Cameron Lowrie (1808-1900), the Corresponding Secretary of the Board of Foreign Missions of the Presbyterian Church in the U.S.A. Before he worked for the Board, Lowrie had been the first American Presbyterian missionary to India in the 1830s.

Reading questions:

1. Who wrote this letter, and what was their purpose for writing it?
2. Speer writes that the Chinese like "flowery" and "lofty" language, but this is not enough to convince them to convert to Christianity. What *does* lead to success in converting the Chinese, according to Speer (pages 1 and 2)?
3. Why does Speer mention the ship Morrison in his letter? What about this ship is interesting or important (page 2)?
4. Why did Speer think it was necessary to open a dispensary to serve the Chinese immigrants in San Francisco (page 3)?
5. What caused so many cases of scurvy among the newly arrived Chinese immigrants in California, according to Speer (page 3)? Who does he say is ultimately at fault?
6. What duties did Lai Sam perform in the Presbyterian mission, according to Speer? Why do you think he was elected as an "elder representing the Chinese church (page 4)? An elder, in this context, is an elected member of a group of people responsible for governing a local church.

Document 3: William Speer's *An Humble Plea*

Speer, William, 1822-1904.
An Humble Plea ... In Behalf of the Immigrants from the Empire of China to this State.
(San Francisco, CA: Published at the Office of The Oriental, 1856).
Call number: PAM E 184 .C5 S7 1856

**See especially pages 28-32, "Morals of the Chinese."*

Source note: Please see the biographical information on Reverend William Speer above, for Document 2. Speer wrote this defense of Chinese immigrants in response to anti-Chinese laws passed in the early 1850s by the California legislature, specifically the laws establishing, and then raising, the Foreign Miners License Tax. This law imposed a hefty monthly tax on Chinese miners and included provisions for aggressive tax collection methods. Speer's defense of Chinese immigrants made an impression on lawmakers in the state, though he was not alone in fighting to have the laws repealed: heavy taxes were driving away Chinese miners and lowering the profits of many others in the mining trade, and taxes on Chinese immigrants directly hurt the shipping companies that brought them to America. Throughout the short time Speer spent in California, he advocated passionately and often effectively for the rights of Chinese immigrants and worked hard to help this immigrant group. He also held what we now consider racist and patronizing views of the Chinese that seem at odds with his humanitarian efforts. In this way, he is a great example of the contradictions common among American missionaries of this era.

Reading questions:

1. Who is the author of this document, and what is their purpose for writing it?
2. Speer starts off the section "Morals of the Chinese" by writing that he "is often made most deeply sensible of [Chinese people's] moral inferiority to the specimens of purity and excellence produced by genuine Christianity" (page 28). Given that he is trying to defend the Chinese from unfair laws, why would he start off his argument by denigrating them?
3. On page 29, Speer mentions four positive traits of the Chinese people. What are these traits, and why might Speer find them important to mention in his *Plea*?
4. Why does Speer quote Lai Chun-Chuen in saying that he wished the US government would ban gambling houses and prostitution (page 29)? What purpose does this statement serve in Speer's broader argument?
5. According to Speer, why are Chinese people particularly prompt in paying their debts (page 30)?
6. On pages 30 and 31, Speer quotes and paraphrases a white American store owner who used to have several Chinese miners as his customers. What does he report about the Chinese miners, and how does this support Speer's argument?

Document 4: Woo Secondary Source

Woo, Wesley S. "Presbyterian Mission: Christianizing and Civilizing the Chinese in Nineteenth Century California." *American Presbyterians* 68, no. 3 (1990): 167-78. http://www.jstor.org/stable/23332664.

Source note: Wesley Woo grew up in San Francisco and worked for many years for the Presbyterian Church (U.S.A.) in Louisville, Kentucky. Much of his work for the church has been focused on racial justice and community organizing, and he has recently been active in the Presbyterian Committee on the Self-Development of People, a group committed to helping people empower themselves and bring about positive change in their communities.

Reading questions:

1. Who is the author of this article, and who is their intended audience?
2. Why did the Presbyterians see the arrival of Chinese immigrants as "providential" (page 167)?
3. What are the "interlocking processes" essential to the work of Presbyterian missionaries (page 168)? What kinds of work facilitate these processes?
4. Why, in 1853, did some Chinese Californians ask William Speer to be their "chief in this country" (page 170)?
5. How were Chinese individuals and groups targeted during the "anti-Chinese agitation" of the 1880s (page 172)? Based on what you know of the historical context, why was anti-Chinese sentiment so strong at this time?
6. Though Presbyterian leaders such as Ira Condit tried to defend the Chinese against racist attacks, they also blamed the Chinese for many of the problems they faced (page 172). What did they blame the Chinese for, and how do you think Chinese people at the time would have responded to their accusations?
7. How did Chinese Presbyterians in Los Angeles advocate for themselves in the 1870s and successfully get their mission reopened in the 1880s (pages 174 and 175)?
8. How does this document corroborate or refute document 1, the Chinese Presbyterian Mission's 50th anniversary historical sketch?

The Temperance Movement (1830s)

Source information and historical context for the document set
Spring 2019

Historical Context of the Temperance Movement

The Temperance Movement began in the early 19th century with the goal of limiting or even banning consumption of alcoholic beverages. Temperance was a reform movement largely inspired by the religious revival that swept across the country in the early 1800s. Temperance advocates pointed to alcohol's deleterious health effects and also blamed it for instigating domestic abuse, public disorder, financial ruin, and widespread moral decay. Early supporters of temperance tended to be white middle- and upper-class people, with many women among their ranks.

Evangelical Christians founded the American Temperance Society in 1826, with a goal of changing attitudes towards alcohol consumption in the United States. At this time in American history, taverns outnumbered churches and alcohol was served at almost every social gathering. Wages were sometimes paid in liquor or beer, and people sometimes drank while at work.

The message of temperance spread quickly and effectively through already existing church networks, and temperance soon became a badge of middle-class respectability and moral purity. After the Panic of 1837 and ensuing depression, temperance advocates made headway among the working class by arguing that temperance and domestic thriftiness would help sustain their families during these hard economic times. Per capita consumption of alcohol fell drastically between 1830 and 1845 as a result of the Temperance Movement.

Opponents of temperance included tavern and distillery owners as well as the farmers who supplied them with grain to make into alcohol. Other critics included European immigrants, many of whom came from cultures with looser social rules about alcohol consumption. Though temperance advocates did not succeed in having alcohol banned in the 19th century, the 18th amendment to the US Constitution that was ratified in 1919, launching the Prohibition Era, did have its roots in the Temperance Movement almost a century earlier.

Document 1: A Hasty Defence of the Farmers and Distillers of York County

A Hasty Defence of the Farmers & Distillers of York County, Against the Aspersions of Temperance Societies, etc. (York: Printed by W.C. Smyth, [1833]).
Call number: PAM HV 5106 .P4 W6 1833

**See especially pages 10-12, "Great Public Meeting in Opposition to Proscriptive Temperance Societies."*

Source note: This document is a written account of a meeting that took place on November 12th, 1833. Attendees of the meeting are listed as being farmers and other citizens of York County, Pennsylvania, and the goal of the meeting was to respond to the accusations, demands, and actions of temperance societies. Henry Wolf is listed as chair of the meeting, and Jacob Welzshoffer (sometimes spelled "Welzhoffer") as secretary. All of the attendees listed are men.

Historical Context: At the time this document was written, Pennsylvania's economy was largely based on agriculture, with unusually fertile land allowing cultivation of wheat, corn, rye, and other grain crops. Transporting grain from farms to cities was expensive and slow, but distilling these same crops into alcohol allowed for easier and cheaper shipping. The state's alcohol industry thus brought large profits to farmers and also benefitted distillers, tavern owners, and distributors of alcohol.

Reading questions:

1. Based on the title of this source, do you predict that it is pro-temperance or anti-temperance?
2. In the group's third resolution (page 11), they claim that alcohol has other uses besides being consumed in beverages. What are these uses, and why are they important?
3. The fourth resolution points out that temperance societies condemn consumption of whiskey and brandy, but allow the use of wine. Why, according to the writers, is this hypocritical? What does it say about temperance advocates?
4. On pages 11 and 12, the group's seventh and eighth resolutions take aim at the clergy's involvement in temperance. What role, if any, do you think churches had in the Temperance Movement at this time? What direct action against pro-temperance clergy, merchants, and other businessmen does the group advocate?
5. In the last resolution (page 12), the farmers and distillers outline the potential effects of the Temperance Movement. If temperance advocates have their way, what will these effects be?

Document 2: Albert Barnes's 4th of July Speech

Barnes, Albert. *The Connexion of Temperance with Republican Freedom: An Oration delivered on the 4th of July, 1835, before the Mechanics and Workingmens Temperance Society of the city and county of Philadelphia*.([Philadelphia]: Printed by Boyle and Benedict, 1835).
Call number: PAM HV 5081 .B37 1835

Source note: Albert Barnes (1798-1870) was an influential Presbyterian minister who supported abolition and the Temperance Movement. The Mechanics and Workingmen's Temperance Society of Philadelphia, despite its name, was led by wealthy, prominent members and founders such as Matthias Baldwin, a steam engine manufacturing magnate who was also a Presbyterian.

Reading questions:

1. What is one cause of the country's "crisis," according to Barnes (pages 4-5)?
2. Barnes claims that the influx of immigrants to our country has put a strain on our government and our constitution. What concerns does he have about the new arrivals (page 6)?
3. Note the structure of Barnes's argument that he sets up on pages 9-16. Why do you think he chose to list all the elements needed to keep our institutions running properly and our country strong?
4. What are the eight elements essential to keeping our republic intact?
5. Why does Barnes advocate for public schooling ("common schools")? What benefits would such schooling provide (page 11)?
6. Barnes suggests that universal suffrage is an essential element of our democracy, but at the time he wrote and delivered this speech, people of color and women still could not vote, and poll taxes and property requirements even prevented some white men from voting in certain states. What does Barnes's statement on voting rights say about his own social position?
7. Again note the structure of Barnes's argument (page 17). Do you think this was an effective way to structure this speech?
8. What is the main point Barnes is trying to make in this speech?

Document 3: Advertisement of an Honest Rumseller

Advertisement of an Honest Rumseller, undated [Broadside, circa 1850s]
Call number: 12-0818c 115A

Source note: This broadside was created by a pro-temperance organization sometime in the 1850s. Broadsides have been produced ever since the printing press was invented, and they were very popular in the 19th century. Printed on one side of a piece of paper, and relatively cheap to produce, broadsides could be handed out or posted in public places to communicate political messages, announce upcoming events, advertise products, or promote works of literature, along with many other functions.

Reading questions:

1. What was the purpose of creating this broadside? Who do you think was the intended audience?
2. What is the tone of the broadside?
3. What is the overall message? Do you think this was an effective message at the time it was produced?
4. According to the writers of the broadside, what was the one reason why "rumsellers" sell alcohol?
5. In what ways does the broadside claim that alcohol use affects more than just the person consuming alcohol?
6. What response do you think anti-temperance people would have had to seeing this broadside?

Document 4: Laurie Secondary Source

Laurie, Bruce. *Working People of Philadelphia, 1800-1850*. Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1980.

**See especially Chapter 2, pages 33-42.*

Source note: Bruce Laurie is a retired professor of American history from UMass Amherst, with research interests in labor history, American conservatism, and the Antebellum period.

Historical context: The Temperance Movement is closely linked with the religious revivalism that swept the United States in the early 19th century, sometimes referred to as the Second Great Awakening. Laurie mentions several religious movements and philosophies in this chapter, including revivalist Arminians (not to be confused with "Armenians," the ethnic group native to Armenia) and orthodox Calvinism. Arminianism was a reaction against Calvinism, which was the dominant theology of several protestant groups such as Presbyterians and Congregationalists. Calvinism held that God controlled everything that happened in the world, that people were predestined to be sent to heaven, that no human action could prevent or provide for a person's salvation, and that Jesus Christ only died for the Christians who were predestined for salvation. Arminianism, on the other hand, took a more liberal view that God could see whether people would have continued faith in him, and would choose people to be saved based on that knowledge. Arminians also believed that Jesus Christ died for ALL Christians, not just for the ones who were predestined for heaven. Arminians believe in free will, and that people have agency over their lives, but can still be faithful to a powerful God. Arminianism became particularly popular in the 19th century with rapid industrialization and the growing emphasis on individualism and personal achievement.

Reading questions:

1. Who is the author of this source, and what is their purpose for writing it?
2. What are some of the causes of religious revivalism (page 34)?
3. Why was Albert Barnes such a controversial figure in the Protestant church (page 36)?
4. According to Laurie, what are the main differences between the followers of the Old School versus New School Presbyterian churches (page 39)?
5. Why do New Schoolers oppose public programs and institutions such as poorhouses (page 39)?
6. Why was the Temperance Movement met with suspicion and even hostility by many workers (page 41)?

Women and the Anti-Slavery Movement (1830s)

Source information and historical context for the document set
Spring 2019

Historical Context of Women and the Anti-Slavery Movement

Women played a significant role in the Anti-Slavery Movement in the United States, with their greatest accomplishments and influence occurring between the 1830s and the 1860s. Abolitionist women found strength in numbers, joining together to form societies that used various methods to bring about the end of slavery in the United States. Women's anti-slavery activism grew out of traditional female responsibilities for upholding moral standards through religion and ministering to the poor, elderly, and infirm. But their activism also became much more controversial than those other efforts due to the high economic, social, and political stakes of American slavery.

In December 1833 at the first meeting of the American Anti-Slavery Society led by William Lloyd Garrison, women were only allowed to attend as observers, but not delegates. Just days later, Philadelphia abolitionist Lucretia Mott and 21 other women founded the Philadelphia Female Anti-Slavery Society and immediately got to work. This society and several other female anti-slavery societies around the country used their extensive social networks and chains of correspondence to bring in more members and share their anti-slavery message. They also opened schools, organized boycotts of goods produced using slave labor, and coordinated large fundraising efforts to support the work of the male-dominated American Anti-Slavery Society. Perhaps most impactful were the petitions these women used as a political tool to try and persuade their lawmakers to abolish slavery. Given that they could neither vote nor hold political office, women relied on petitions as a means of having their voice heard in their government.

Though most of the women in the Anti-Slavery Movement were white, free African American women also took part. The Philadelphia Female Anti-Slavery Society was possibly the most integrated of the women's anti-slavery societies, with members including the three daughters of prominent black businessman James Forten. Still, many female anti-slavery societies struggled with the issue of race, with many white members holding racist beliefs and refusing to mingle socially with African Americans.

Most women who advocated publicly for abolition ran into significant public opposition, both because abolition was a controversial issue and because they were seen by many as stepping outside of their appropriate sphere of influence. Women at an 1842 anti-slavery meeting in Concord, New Hampshire were subjected to a mob smashing the windows of their meeting house, and the 1838 Anti-slavery Convention of American Women in Philadelphia was so reviled by white Philadelphians that the brand-new meeting hall where they had met was burned to the ground in the night.

Though women were severely limited in how they could act, they did have an impact in the Abolition Movement and laid the foundation for future gains in women's rights.

Document 1: Proceedings of the Anti-Slavery Convention of American Women

Proceedings of the Anti-Slavery Convention of American Women (New York: William S. Dorr, 1837).
Call number: PAM E 445 .N7001 W6 1837

**See especially pages 3-14.*

Source note: This document provides an outline of the groundbreaking Anti-Slavery Convention of American Women, held in New York from May 9-12, 1837, and a list of most of the resolutions proposed at the meeting. It does not include the speeches presented at the convention, and few letters about the convention survive to provide more detail about what was discussed, debated, argued over, and agreed upon. Still, from the *Proceedings* it is possible to see the issues that were most important to women in the Anti-Slavery Movement at this time.

Reading questions:

1. Who wrote this source? What was their purpose for writing it? Who was their intended audience?
2. In the very first sentence of the proceedings, it says the convention of delegates are "favorable to the immediate abolition of slavery, without expatriation." Given what you know about the Abolition Movement at this time, why do you think it was important for them in include the phrase "without expatriation" at the end of this statement?
3. A resolution on page 8 claims the right to petition as "natural and inalienable, derived immediately from God." Why is the right to petition particularly important to the women of the Anti-Slavery Movement?
4. Several resolutions refer to the obligation of religious institutions to denounce slavery and stop receiving donations from slaveholders. Why might the convention focus particularly on churches and their ties to slavery?
5. On page 8, one resolution states that by marrying southern slaveholders, northerners are in league with a system that desecrates the institution of marriage for many white southerners and destroys it for slaves. While the implication about slave marriages is clear, what do you think the convention attendees meant by their claim about marriage between white southerners?

Document 2: Appeal to the Women of the Nominally Free States

Anti-Slavery Convention of American Women. *An Appeal to the Women of the Nominally Free States: Issued by an Anti-Slavery Convention of American Women....* (New-York: William S. Dorr, printer, 1837).
Call number: E 445 .N7001 W65 1837

**See especially pages 57-63, "How northern women can help the cause of emancipation." It also may be helpful to skim the entire pamphlet to see how the argument is laid out.*

Source note: During the 1837 Anti-Slavery Convention of American Women, it was decided that a committee of three, A.E. Grimke, L.M. Child, and Grace Douglass, should prepare what would become "An Appeal to the Women of the Nominally Free States" as part of the convention's outreach efforts. Angelina E. Grimke (1805-1879), later known as Angelina Grimke Weld, and Lydia Maria Child (1802-1880) were both influential white anti-slavery activists and writers. Grace Douglass (1782-1842) was an anti-slavery activist and small business owner, and came from a prominent family in the free African American community of Philadelphia. Douglass and her daughter, Sarah Mapps Douglass, were both active members of the Philadelphia Female Anti-Slavery Society.

Reading questions:

1. Who wrote this document? What was their purpose for writing it?
2. On page 58, northern women are encouraged to lobby their church and clergymen to promote abolition and condemn slavery from the pulpit. Why is it important in this time for women to exert their influence within their churches for the anti-slavery cause?
3. Why do the authors of the *Appeal* urge northern women to look to English women for inspiration as they do their anti-slavery work (page 59)?
4. What are the concrete actions that northern women are encouraged to take? What are the symbolic or spiritual tasks?
5. The *Appeal* directly addresses northern racism, though without using that modern term. What suggestions do the writers offer for how northern women can combat their own "prejudice" against African Americans?
6. On page 61, the *Appeal* asks African American women to be patient with northern white women as they learn to become less prejudiced. Can you draw parallels between this argument and debates on race and racism today?

Document 3: History of Pennsylvania Hall

Pennsylvania Hall Association. *History of Pennsylvania Hall, which was destroyed by a mob, on the 17th of May, 1838* (Philadelphia : Printed by Merrihew & Gunn, 1838). Call number: F 158.8 .B83 P4 1838

**See especially pages 123-126, "Speech of Angelina E.G. Weld."*

Source note: Angelina E. Grimke Weld (1805-1879) was born to a slaveholding family in South Carolina but became an influential leader in the Abolition Movement. She delivered this speech (pages 123-126) to attendees of the second Anti-Slavery Convention of American Women, and as she spoke, a mob was attacking the building where she spoke, Pennsylvania Hall. Weld and her older sister Sarah Grimke, who was also an ardent abolitionist, became the first two female agents of the American Anti-Slavery Society in 1837. Their speaking tours and publications drew praise from many abolitionists and immense criticism from pro-slavery politicians, much of the press, and many churches. Weld and Grimke's work highlights the tension that many contemporary women felt between the moral obligation to work toward abolition, and the societal expectation of women to remain in the domestic sphere.

Historical Context: Pennsylvania Hall was a large, public building located in downtown Philadelphia on 6th Street south of Race Street. Financed through a joint-stock company by abolitionists and other prominent citizens of the city, it was designed as a meeting place for abolitionists and other groups and had a mission to promote free speech. The first floor had a lecture hall and a small bookstore, and the second floor had another large hall with a stage, over which was written the motto "Virtue, Liberty and Independence." The building was dedicated on May 14, 1838, and after just four days of dedication ceremonies and meetings of the 1838 Anti-slavery Convention of American Women, an anti-abolition mob of mostly white men burned the building to the ground. Firefighters arriving at the scene only sprayed water on the neighboring buildings. The mob continued on after destroying Pennsylvania Hall to terrorize African American neighborhoods and damage African American-owned buildings.

Reading questions:

1. On page 124, why does Weld distinguish between "happiness" and "mirth" with regards to the emotional state of enslaved people?
2. Weld uses the raging mob outside the building where she's giving her speech as a rhetorical tool (page 124). How does she use the mob, and what effect do you think this tactic had on her audience?
3. Weld says that she came up out of South Carolina to Pennsylvania hoping to find strong support for anti-slavery efforts. What did she find instead?
4. Just by attending this meeting, Weld argues, the audience is doing important work to end slavery (page 125). How do the stakes of attending such a meeting differ for white anti-slavery activists, versus African American anti-slavery activists?
5. Besides attending this very meeting, what other actions can and should women take to help the anti-slavery cause, according to Weld? See pages 125-126.

Document 4: Salerno Secondary Source

Salerno, Beth. *Sister Societies: Women's Antislavery Organizations in Antebellum America* (DeKalb, Illinois: Northern Illinois University Press, 2005).

**See especially Chapter Four: Internal Divisions, 1837-1840, pp. 79-118*

Source note: Beth Salerno is a professor and the department chair of American History at Saint Anselm College in New Hampshire. Her research focuses on the antebellum era, and she is currently writing a biography of New England anti-slavery activist Mary Clark.

Reading questions:

1. What reasons did some women have to join the American Anti-Slavery Society? What reasons did some women have to join the American and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society? Why did many women choose to stay in their female anti-slavery societies?
2. Why were there more African American delegates and attendees at the 1838 Anti-Slavery Convention of American Women than at the 1837 convention?
3. Why did some women object to having a mixed meeting with both female and male speakers (page 82)?
4. What reason did dissenters give for not approving Sarah Grimke's resolution stating the duty of female anti-slavery activists to refute prejudice by interacting socially with African Americans and treating them as social equals?
5. Why was 1840 a crucial year in the Women's Anti-Slavery Movement (page 118)?
6. How does the Women's Anti-Slavery Movement start to overlap with a nascent Women's Rights Movement (page 118)?