

6-1-1985

## Maine Abolitionists View the South: Images in Maine Antislavery Newspapers, 1838-1855

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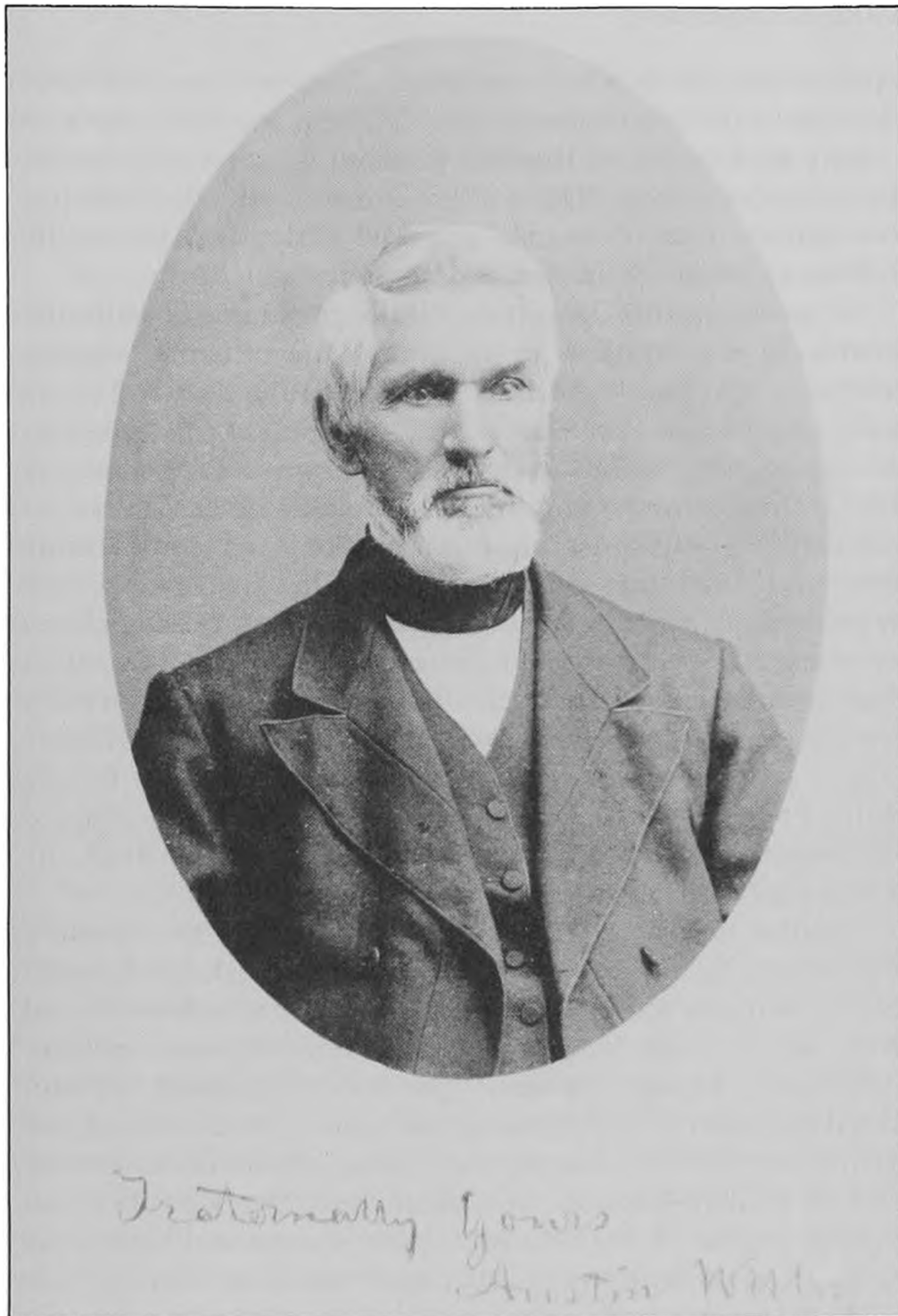
Farmer, Rod. "Maine Abolitionists View the South: Images in Maine Antislavery Newspapers, 1838-1855." *Maine History* 25, 1 (1985): 2-21. <https://digitalcommons.library.umaine.edu/mainehistoryjournal/vol25/iss1/2>

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MAINE ABOLITIONISTS VIEW THE SOUTH:  
IMAGES IN MAINE ANTISLAVERY  
NEWSPAPERS, 1838-1855

The perceptions Northerners and Southerners developed of one another in the antebellum years reflected a widening cultural and political gulf in American society. Although neither region possessed a homogeneous view of the other, a general feeling of exclusive regionalism emerged in the critical years prior to the Civil War and affected the nation's ability to deal with divisive sectional issues. In the North, abolitionists epitomized the cultural divisions that distinguished the mood of the period. Abolitionists were convinced that slavery was a pervasive evil and that the behavior of southern whites could not be viewed apart from this institution. Southerners, abolitionists believed, shared a common cultural heritage with northern whites, but under the influence of slavery the South had been transformed into a civilization profoundly different from that in the North.

Historian Edward O. Schriver has indicated the many political, religious, and social differences among Maine's antislavery groups.<sup>1</sup> Although the strategies and religious convictions of Maine abolitionists differed from group to group and indeed underwent considerable alteration during the antebellum period, the common image of the southern white remained uniform and constant. Abolitionist leaders in Maine shared a growing conviction that slavery corrupted every aspect of southern society. This conviction, held by all Maine abolitionist groups, contributed to the sense of social and cultural



Abolitionist leaders who moved from organization to organization helped form a common ideology among Maine's various reform factions. Austin Willey, for example, edited newspapers for the Maine Antislavery Society, the Maine Liberty party, and the Maine Free Soil party. Maine Historical Society collections.

separation between North and South. An overview of the basic ideological inferences common to all Maine antislavery groups — inferences sprinkled liberally through the several state antislavery papers from 1838 to 1855 — documents the growing sectionalism that ultimately impeded dialogue between the North and South in the decades before the war.

As was true throughout the North, the Maine abolitionist movement was riddled by factions. However, the various groups — the Maine Antislavery Society, the Maine Liberty party, the Maine Free Soil party, and the various religious antislavery conventions — shared a common set of perceptions that facilitated interchange of ideas and personnel.<sup>2</sup> Indeed, in Maine the abolitionist organizations enjoyed considerable unity and continuity over time. Generally, the same people served as leaders of the various organizations.<sup>3</sup> Austin Willey, for example, a minister and one of the state's most vigorous abolitionists, helped edit the Maine Antislavery Society's newspaper, later served as one of the editors of the Maine Liberty party paper, and eventually became an editor for the Maine Free Soil party. Interchange of this sort was facilitated by a common ideology that provided an identifiable whole: the Maine abolitionist perspective.

Maine, the northernmost state in the union, was not only relatively isolated from slavery but had a miniscule black population. Still, the activist antislavery impulse, which developed in the nation in the 1830s and demanded immediate abolition, took hold in Maine very early. The fiery abolitionist William Lloyd Garrison visited Maine in 1832 and 1833 and helped give birth to the movement in the state. Thus, when in December of 1833 in Philadelphia the American Antislavery Society was formed, several Maine reformers were present and signed the Declaration of Sentiments. After their return to Maine, these reformers established a state auxiliary, the Maine Antislavery Society, on October 15, 1834.<sup>4</sup> By the late 1830s many Maine abolitionists, like numerous abolitionists in other northern states, had rejected Garrison's nonpolitical approach. Determined that an appeal to conscience alone would not end slavery, Maine abolitionists formed a state Liberty party in July

1841.<sup>5</sup> The party was eventually replaced with the Maine Free Soil party. After 1853 the Maine Free Soil party lost its separate identity as numerous political parties (the Maine Law party, the Know-Nothings, the Free Democrats, the Democrats, the Whigs, and later the Republicans) competed for its members.<sup>6</sup>

Maine's Antislavery Society and the later antislavery political parties used newspapers as vehicles for spreading their message. Maine's earliest antislavery newspaper was the *Advocate of Freedom*, which was published by the Maine Antislavery Society from 1838 to 1841. The *Liberty Standard* was the official paper for the Maine Liberty party and was published between 1841 and 1848. The *Bangor Gazette* supported the Maine Liberty party too and was published from 1842 to 1843. The *Free Soil Republican*, although not the official organ of the Maine Free Soil party, totally supported the organization and its candidates and platforms during its year of publication, 1848 to 1849. The *Portland Inquirer* was the official newspaper of the Maine Free Soil party and was published from 1848 to 1855.<sup>7</sup>

What were the ideological premises that united these various groups? All of them maintained the view that the system of slavery, rather than simple human frailty, was responsible for the abuses of southern society. They attacked the slave system much more frequently than they did the slaveholders. The concept of evil, commonly used to describe the system, was indeed seldom used to characterize white Southerners. The system, not the slaveowner, for example, was held responsible for the many examples of cruelty toward slaves the abolitionist newspapers detailed. Typical of this attitude was an 1838 newspaper serial on the adventures of an ex-slave who had previously suffered from "a tyrannical and cruel mistress." Slavery, the paper admonished, "can even steel the heart of a woman." The cruel treatment slaves received was seen as "the natural and legitimate results of slavery."<sup>8</sup>

According to the abolitionists, southern whites failed to see the horror of the slave system not because they were less

intelligent than Northerners, but because the slaveowning tradition deadened them to the perfidy of their own behavior:

Were it not for the blinding nature of long continued habit, the slaveholder would see at once, not only that slavery is unjust in principle, but that it is at war with the best sympathies of our nature.<sup>9</sup>

The principles of liberty forged in the American Revolution eventually brought an end to slavery in the North, but "the roots of the Upas tree of slavery had struck too deep into the exuberant [southern] soil to be easily plucked up."<sup>10</sup> Slavery persisted in the South, abolitionists believed, not because white Southerners were innately more evil than Northerners, but because the system had taken too firm a hold on southern institutions.

When discussing southern behavior, the Maine abolitionists seldom distinguished between southern slaveholders and white Southerners who did not own slaves. Southern whites in general, abolitionists discovered, were insensitive to the suffering of the slaves. Judging from the frequency and consistency of remarks in the press, this generalized callousness was a revelation to the abolitionists, who viewed it as a stunning tribute to the corrosive power of the slave system.<sup>11</sup> Frequent references to "southern bullying" and "southern arrogance" attest to the abolitionists' feeling that the effects of slavery were spreading to nonslaveowners. The Southerners were "spirited"; they were "game cocks" who issued "braggadocio threats."<sup>12</sup> References to general southern laziness abound, and the idle white Southerner was often compared with the more energetic Northerner.<sup>13</sup>

Abolitionists attributed extraordinary social influence to slavery. So corrupting was the slave system that Northerners who moved to the South, like Southerners without slaves, fell under its influence. Articles attested to the fact that even the vast majority of northern ministers who had moved South adopted proslavery attitudes. Not even a Yale or Dartmouth education, an *Advocate of Freedom* article pointed out, prevented two New England Presbyterian ministers who moved to the South from becoming advocates of slavery and slaveholders.<sup>14</sup> This

realization — that Northerners as well as Southerners were vulnerable to the influence of slavery — was disconcerting and no doubt added fuel to the reform impulse.

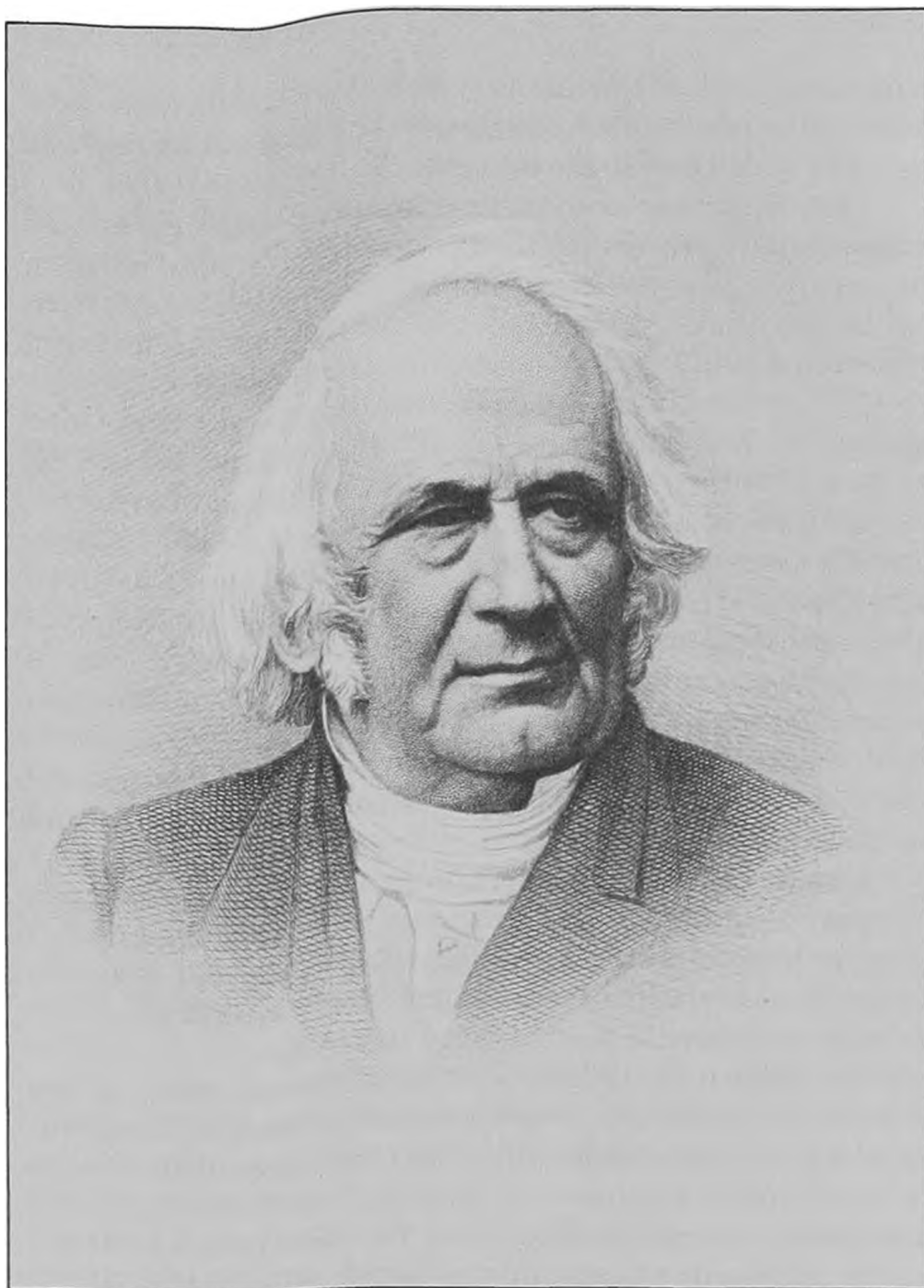
The disturbing conviction that there were no special virtues in the northern character ultimately capable of resisting the corrupting slaveholding environment was articulated often and indeed served as an important ideological link between abolitionist groups. For example, an unnamed New Englander who had traveled in the South averred that it was “impossible for the New England spirit to exist long in this country .... It becomes identified with slavery.” A typical local Maine anti-slavery society resolution stated that “slavery is a state of society, fearfully demoralizing both to masters and slaves .... ” Fundamentally the slaveholder was “himself a slave,” the victim of “the depraving and corrupting power of slavery.” And, of course, the institution could in time corrupt all of American society.<sup>15</sup> In an 1839 article reprinted in the *Advocate of Freedom*, Augusta Congregational minister Benjamin Tappan discussed the cruelty inflicted upon slaves by their owners and concluded:

I am far from believing that human nature is worse at the South than at the North. But anywhere, among any people, arbitrary, irresponsible power like that of the slave-holder, is sure to be abused. It could not, I am confident, be safely lodged in my hands ....<sup>16</sup>

A corollary to the premise that all Southerners — and potentially Northerners — were victims of the institution was the widespread assumption that if slavery were abolished life in the South would improve — economically and socially as well as morally. For example, a *Liberty Standard* article declared:

Break down slavery in the South, and it would immediately put on the garments of spring. Education, industry, wealth, religion and happiness would spread over those vast and now heaven-curst regions.<sup>17</sup>

Southern backwardness, violence, and traditionalism were often characterized as the “fruits of slavery.” Even the differences between northern and southern manners and customs were



Benjamin Tappan received a D.D. from Harvard in 1805 and became a tutor at Bowdoin College four years later. In 1811 he was ordained by the Congregational South Parish Church in Augusta. For thirty-eight years he remained at South Parish, and during this time he became active in the abolitionist movement. Tappan resigned his post in 1849 to become secretary of the Board of Missions for Maine. He died on December 22, 1863. Photo from North, *History of Augusta* (1870).



blamed on slavery.<sup>18</sup> The South's economic inferiority was attributed to the slaveowner's "easy life," which destroyed his will to work and save. While the North was "radiant with railroads," the South, despite its wealth of natural resources, lagged an "immeasurable distance behind."<sup>19</sup> Slavery affected all forms of behavior — moral, intellectual, and economic. A belief in the fundamental corrupting influence of the slave system persisted throughout the period and animated all anti-slavery groups with a common set of ideals. In unison, Maine's abolitionists would proclaim: "It is slavery which we oppose, and not the South."<sup>20</sup>

**S**outhern culture too was a product of the slave system. Assigning pejorative meaning to the concept of southern chivalry, abolitionists labeled the South a "slavocracy." The Southerner was, they felt, anything but truly chivalrous.<sup>21</sup> Dr. Charles G. Parsons of Windham, Maine, author of *Inside View of Slavery: Or a Tour Among the Planters* (based on his travels in Georgia in 1852 and 1853), in an 1853 *Portland Inquirer* article, offered a typical Maine abolitionist view of Southern chivalry:

But the most curious thing related of the Georgians is their singular sense of personal honors! The slightest word, a hard look even, is resented with a knife or the pistol, but solemn promises are broken without the least regard for truth.

According to Parsons, southern chivalry meant assassination.<sup>22</sup>

Politics, like culture, was debased by slavery. Southern political hypocrisy was revealed, Maine abolitionists pointed out, in the use of the Constitution to protect slavery on one hand and southern abuse of basic constitutional liberties on the other. As further evidence of the corruption of southern political behavior, abolitionists pointed to Southerners who had attacked the Declaration of Independence.<sup>23</sup>

More than any other form of behavior, abolitionists criticized the abnormal violence of southern society, and, like everything else, abolitionists attributed this to the slave system.

Accounts from ex-slaves contained numerous examples of whippings and other forms of terrible cruelty.<sup>24</sup> Such behavior, abolitionists maintained, encouraged cruelty *between* southern whites. Articles written by Northerners who had traveled in the South bristled with examples of white Southerners in violent confrontation with members of their own race. Typical of such accounts was one by an unnamed northern farmer who had observed in Vicksburg seven-year-old boys carrying bowie knives and pistols. The same traveler witnessed numerous duels, one brother killing his sibling in a disagreement over a barrel of whiskey, and the body of a man in a ditch with his heart and liver torn out. The scandalized Northerner concluded that the South was no more than "a den of evil spirits, thirsting for blood."<sup>25</sup> Again and again the abolitionists blamed slavery for southern violence between whites. For example, an *Advocate of Freedom* story about a senseless gunfight between two white men in Arkansas concluded that events such as this "seldom occur out of the slave states, and may be looked upon as the fruit of the pride, idleness, and disregard of humanity, which attend the system of slavery."<sup>26</sup>

Abolitionists assumed that Southerners enjoyed, and even entertained themselves with violence. For example, an 1840 article portrayed New Orleans as a city addicted to "the degrading and barbaric practice of bear-beating, dog-fighting, ass-kicking," and other amusements.<sup>27</sup> This southern proclivity for violence perverted the South's legal system. Abolitionist papers made frequent references to "bowie-knife legislation," "Judge Lynch," and "Lynch Court."<sup>28</sup> Numerous articles denounced southern vigilante groups and lynch mobs. An 1841 *Boston Times* article titled "Bubbles of Southern Life," reprinted in the *Liberty Standard*, condemned "all those inhabitants of the South who punish without law."<sup>29</sup> Concern with lynch mobs and with southern violence in general came off the antislavery presses at a steady pace during the antebellum period. Neither the Mexican War nor the violence of the Kansas-Nebraska conflict changed the tone or frequency of articles on southern violence. Abolitionists had, apparently, by

1838 formed a consistent and enduring perspective on the Southerner. The antislavery newspapers also contained numerous stories about free blacks and abolitionists attacked by northern mobs. Although the northern “rowdies” were strongly condemned, the abolitionists never assumed that northern society was basically violent, as was the South.<sup>30</sup>

If southern whites were violent, they lived in fear of even greater violence from their slaves. This pervasive apprehension — a fear of slave revenge — also affected southern white behavior. Throughout the antebellum period abolitionists assumed that southern whites (not only slaveholders, but all whites) lived in a state of “alarm” and in “constant terror of destruction” from bloody slave revolts. An *Advocate of Freedom* article taken from the *Massachusetts Abolitionists* averred: “The enslavers of the South are notoriously slaves. They sleep on pistols.”<sup>31</sup> In the minds of the Maine abolitionists, the corrupting slave system had made the slaveholder a “slave of a slave.”<sup>32</sup>

The Maine antislavery newspapers portrayed the white Southerner as poorly educated, and they occasionally printed figures showing a high level of illiteracy in the southern white population.”<sup>33</sup> In his accounts of travels in Georgia, Parsons found “descendants of the Puritans living without schools, incapable of reading or writing, with no ambition for improvement, and in fine, degraded almost to a level with their slaves.” Parsons described southern whites who were “unable to read and write, and appallingly [sic] ignorant of the many things which a Northern laborer would be ashamed not to know.” He cited “common instances” of “children of eight and ten years drawing knives and pistols upon teachers who attempt to correct them.”<sup>34</sup> Throughout the antebellum period the Maine antislavery newspapers consistently portrayed the white Southerner as an educational and cultural inferior. This too, abolitionists assumed, was part of the legacy of slavery. An 1842 *Bangor Gazette* article offered statistics showing the South’s illiteracy rate and then summarized: “Behold then what slavery does for letters — one in every four persons in the

slave states, who can neither read nor write!" The article claimed that "seven-eighths of all the American authors of any note in Literature or Science, are born, and flourish North of Mason's and Dixon's line."<sup>35</sup>

Among the most radical of differences abolitionists perceived between northern and southern societies was religion. For this reason, the formal denominational links between southern and northern churches troubled and perplexed them. Abolitionists possessed an evangelical world view and believed Protestant Christianity to be the supreme religion.<sup>36</sup> Yet most southern slaveholders were also Protestants and generally members of the same denominations that existed in the North. This was often acknowledged. For example, the Reverend Mr. Merrill, in a letter to the *Advocate of Freedom*, stated a belief that "Southern Christians and Christian ministers, stand in the front rank of the apologists of slavery ...."<sup>37</sup> Disconcerted, the Maine crusaders assumed simply that the southern Christian conscience was "palsied" from its contact with slavery.<sup>38</sup> The difficult but obvious conclusion was that the slave system was capable of rendering even Christianity impotent. Numerous articles described southern Christians who supported slavery and indeed participated in the cruelties that upheld the system. A typical account told readers of a Christian slaveholder who had whipped an innocent Christian slave child to death. The slaveholder's religion had not restrained him because cruelty was the rule in a slave system: "It is a part of the system, and a necessary part ..."<sup>39</sup>

There were some attempts to explain the behavior of these southern brothers and sisters in Christ. Generally, the abolitionists pictured white Southerners as poorly informed about Christianity and less religious than New Englanders. For example, one article reported that thousands of white Virginians had never heard of Jesus, God, or the Bible.<sup>40</sup> During the late 1830s and the early 1840s, reformers typically assumed that more Christianity was needed in the South. Firmer religious conviction — more "rays of light" — would guide "Southern fellow Christians to repentance."<sup>41</sup>

Given this evangelical outlook, Maine abolitionists could never completely absolve the North for its share of the blame for slavery. Numerous articles asked rhetorically in various ways: "What has the North to do with Slavery?"<sup>42</sup> Not only had the North failed to spread the true gospel in the South, in many cases Northerners actively supported slavery. Abolitionists reasoned that the "puny force of the South" alone could not hold the slave down; the North too was responsible for the persistence of slavery. Some writers blamed the North and South equally; one went so far as to argue that slavery was a "northern institution, and not a Southern."<sup>43</sup> Northerners who supported the proslavery position were labeled "doughfaces" and were treated with scorn equal to that levelled at proslavery Southerners.<sup>44</sup> Given the abolitionists' view of the corrosive influence of slavery, northern complicity was a frightening manifestation, as it threatened to extend the evils of southern society northward. This concern permeated the abolitionist movement and served as a common bond between the various antislavery factions.

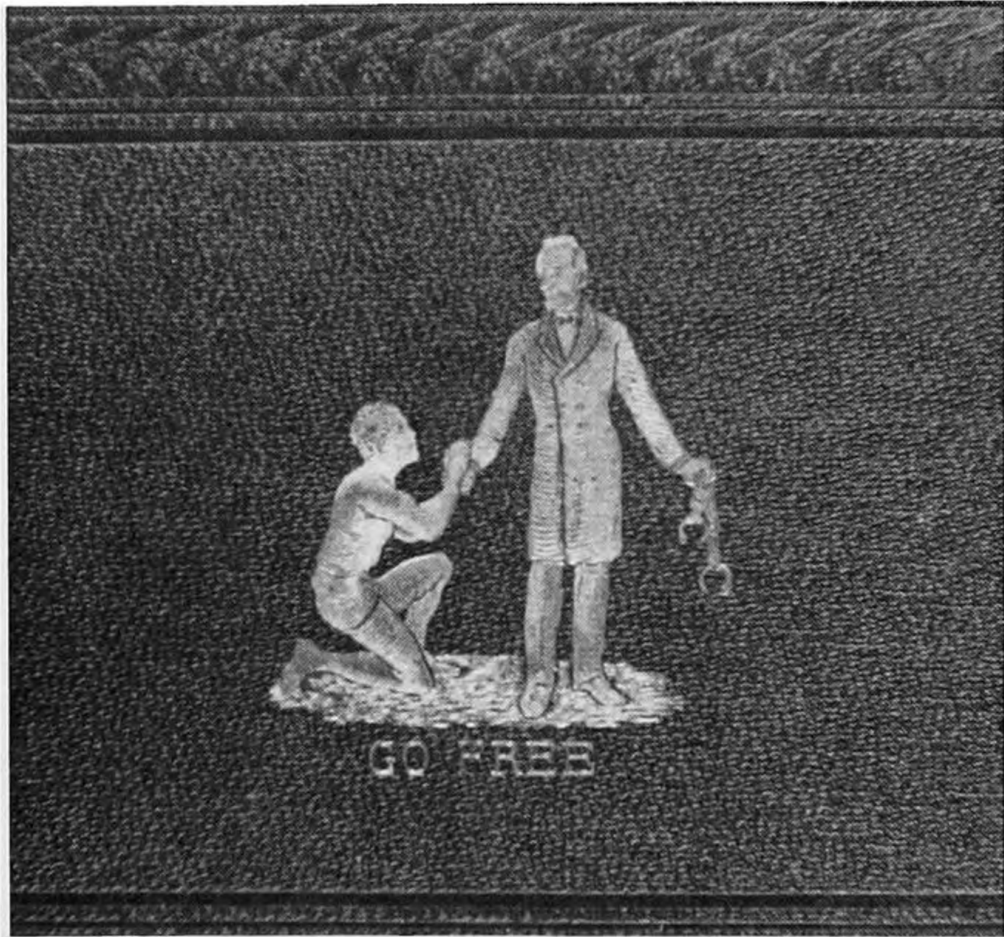
Despite the influence of slavery upon individuals in both North and South, early abolitionists maintained a certain confidence in the power of moral suasion. Their newspapers occasionally contained stories about southern planters who, plagued by troubled consciences, had freed their slaves. The abolitionists pointed to northern ministers who had traveled in the South preaching against slavery and causing the "wicked slaveholders" to become "conscience-smitten on the spot."<sup>45</sup> The crusaders also credited abolition newspapers and other antislavery literature with pricking the consciences of slaveholders. Thus the reformers, especially in the early years of the abolition movement in Maine, placed much faith in their appeal, assuming that conscience was the key to ending slavery. An article from the *New York Colored American*, reprinted in the *Advocate of Freedom*, argued that abolitionists had "created a CONSCIENCE for [Southerners] which will never sleep, until every slave is emancipated, and every colored man acknowledged as a brother."<sup>46</sup> The early abolitionists assumed that truth could "find an echo in the heart of a slave-holder."<sup>47</sup>



Eventually the Maine abolitionists lost confidence in the possibility of ending slavery through a direct moral appeal to the Southerner. By the late 1840s the Maine crusaders no longer referred to southern Christians as brethren, and the appeals for a southern conversion came much less frequently.<sup>48</sup> Given the lack of results in the first decade of the antislavery crusade, the abolitionist view of the corrupting power of slavery became too convincing. Although abolitionists continued to discuss the southern conscience throughout the later period, enthusiasm for moral conversion had been muted considerably by the late 1840s.

There were other subtle alterations in the abolitionists' religious appeal to southern whites. In the early antebellum period, Maine reformers occasionally expressed a sense of personal humility when discussing the sins of the southern Christians. Newspaper articles called for antislavery advocates to be humble when they judged their southern brethren. An 1839 article admonished Northerners: "Bethink Thyself. Look around thee. Contemplate the churches of thine own land."<sup>49</sup> By the late 1840s these calls for humility had all but disappeared.

Because of the strong theological orientation of the Maine abolitionists, the question of individual guilt for slaveholding was a particularly critical topic of discussion in the press. The emphasis in this dialogue also changed subtly. In the first decades of the movement, abolitionists focused on the slave system rather than the individual slaveholder. These years actually witnessed a few arguments in favor of absolving the individual slaveholder of guilt. Moreover, articles in the 1830s and early 1840s often expressed belief in the existence of a "large class of people of the South, who have consciences that may be enlisted on the side of human rights ...."<sup>50</sup> Although abolitionists assumed that Southerners generally had been corrupted by slavery, there were occasional stories that demonstrated the capacity of the individual will to rise above the influence of the institution. Articles, for instance, detailed the adventures of white Southerners who helped slaves escape.<sup>51</sup>



Maine abolitionist tracts sounded a common theme: slavery not only denied the humanity of the enslaved but corrupted an entire society; the enslavers became the enslaved. Maine Historical Society collections.

Abolitionists could point to examples such as ex-slaveholder James G. Birney, who had voluntarily freed his slaves and had become an abolitionist. Birney founded the abolitionist newspaper *Philanthropist* and became a candidate for president in 1840 and 1844 on the Liberty party ticket.

By the late 1840s and early 1850s, however, there were far fewer references to “good” Southerners who had converted to abolitionism, and now many reformers decided that the slaveholders bore individual guilt, although in differing degrees, for the abuses of southern society.<sup>52</sup> In this case as well, the abolitionist belief in the corrupting power of slavery seems to have overshadowed hope for individual redemption of slaveowners or abolition through an appeal to conscience.



Historians have noted that after 1850 many abolitionists throughout the North lost faith in the possibility of ending slavery through moral suasion — through an appeal to conscience.<sup>53</sup> Some turned to violence as the solution. They encouraged slave revolts and sought a confrontation with the South. In Maine this sentiment began appearing as early as the mid-1840s. One early call for confrontation came in a poem printed in the *Liberty Standard* in 1845. Titled “An Appeal,” the poem called on Northerners to stand up to the South and to slavery. As to the southern threat to dissolve the union, the writer proclaimed: “Let them dissolve it if they can and dare! God speed the crisis!”<sup>54</sup> Also beginning in the mid-1840s, a few newspaper articles offered praise for slaves who used violence to win their freedom. An 1846 article, for example, congratulated a runaway slave for having killed the slave hunter who had tried to capture him. The *Liberty Standard* declared: “Let all slaves know assuredly that they have a perfect right to kill, if necessary, the man who attempts to take them, after having reached a free state, and that it is their solemn duty to do so.” The author went on to encourage abolitionists to furnish slaves with guns.<sup>55</sup> Although the appeals to violence and confrontation remained a minor part of abolitionist propaganda, they serve as reminders of the growing sense of fatalism among those opposed to slavery. Maine abolitionists had become more radical by the mid-1840s, and this new disposition, although it did not significantly alter the image of southern white behavior, demonstrated a growing conviction that the pervasive influence of slavery could be countered only through a direct confrontation with the institution itself.

By the late 1840s Maine abolitionists had stopped referring to southern proslavery Christians as brethren; they appealed less often to the southern conscience, and they made fewer references to “good” Southerners who had converted to abolition. This did not mean, however, that the abolitionists’ image of southern white behavior had changed. The slave system simply proved to be a tougher foe than they had originally imagined; it had corrupted the Christian religion in the South

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and threatened to extend its influence northward. Thus, it would be considerably much more difficult to reach and challenge the southern conscience. Political action, and maybe violence, would be necessary to abolish slavery. The frustration abolitionists experienced only reinforced their view of the corrosive power of slavery and its overwhelming influence on the individual.

Like their view of the impact of slavery upon southern society, the abolitionists' stereotype of white Southerners proved resistant to change. A firm sense of cultural superiority lay behind what the abolitionists saw as profound cultural differences between northern and southern civilization. Throughout the antebellum period, Maine abolitionists pictured the white Southerner as a violent, lazy, illiterate, and culturally backward bully. The Southerner's political and religious development was inferior to that of the typical New Englander. Wealthy Southerners were characterized as arrogant aristocrats. Ultimately, all that was negative in the Southerner — and the abolitionists discussed only negative traits — was a product of slavery; this was the institution that made the Southerner so different from the Northerner, and only abolition could reunify the country and prevent southern mannerisms from drifting northward.

In his *Cavalier and Yankee*, William Taylor argues that antebellum Northerners and Southerners viewed one another as distinct and different peoples. From his examination of antebellum novels, letters, and travel accounts, Taylor concluded that the white inhabitants of each section believed they differed from those of the other section in spirit, ethics, historical traditions, and even in racial make-up — Northerners claiming a distinct Anglo-Saxon background and Southerners a Norman heritage. In short, each viewed the other as the product of a different culture.<sup>56</sup> Certainly Maine's abolitionists portrayed southern whites as different from northern whites. These perceptions, however, emerged out of the abolitionist view of the impact of southern slavery. It was the Southerners' contact with slavery that opened the gap between North and

South. According to the Maine abolitionists, northern and southern whites came to America with the same ethnic and cultural backgrounds. Both were “descendants of the Puritans.”<sup>57</sup> That Northerners and Southerners had become so different was, in the minds of the Maine abolitionists, evidence of the pervasive evil of slavery. This conviction was fundamental to the antislavery cause in Maine, and the implications of this point of view, worked out in the decades between 1838 and 1855, underlay the growing tension between North and South.

## NOTES

The author would like to thank Dr. Jane Pease at the University of Maine at Orono for her useful critique of an earlier draft of this paper.

<sup>1</sup>Edward O. Schriver, *Go Free: The Antislavery Impulse in Maine, 1833-1855* (Orono: University of Maine Press, 1970).

<sup>2</sup>Ronald G. Walters, “The Boundaries of Abolitionism,” in *Anti-Slavery Reconsidered: New Perspectives on the Abolitionists*, edited by Lewis Perry and Michael Fellman (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1979), pp. 13-20. Walters makes a strong argument against describing northern abolitionists as members of one or another distinctly separate factions. He argues that they should be treated as a whole, as men and women who shared much in common.

<sup>3</sup>Schriver, *Go Free*, p. 109.

<sup>4</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 10.

<sup>5</sup>Reinhold O. Johnson, “The Liberty Party in Maine, 1840-1848: The Politics of Antislavery Reform,” *Maine Historical Society Quarterly* 19 (Winter 1980): 142-43.

<sup>6</sup>Schriver, *Go Free*, p. 15.

<sup>7</sup>The *Advocate of Freedom* (1838-1841) was first published in Brunswick, Maine, and later in Augusta, and finally in Hallowell. The paper's first editor was Bowdoin College Professor William Smyth, who had been one of Maine's earliest abolitionists. The second editor was Austin Willey, a minister who was heavily involved in the Maine abolition effort. The *Liberty Standard* (1841-1848) was published in Hallowell. The paper's first editor was Joseph C. Lovejoy, who had been an associate editor of the *Emancipator*. The second editor, beginning in 1842, was again Austin Willey. The *Bangor Gazette* (1842-1843), published in Bangor, Maine, was edited by John E. Godfrey, a local lawyer. The *Free Soil Republican* (1848-1855) was published in Hallowell by Austin Willey. The *Portland Inquirer* (1848-1855) was first

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published in both Portland and Bangor but later only in Portland. Its first editor was John Q. Day, an individual heavily involved in Maine Free Soil party politics, who was later joined by Asa Walker as coeditor. Walker was also much involved in Free Soil party politics. Charles A. Stackpole was editor for part of 1850, and Austin Willey became editor in that year and remained editor until the paper's merger in 1855 with the *Temperance Journal*.

<sup>8</sup>*Advocate of Freedom*, July 5, 1838, June 7, 1838.

<sup>9</sup>*Ibid.*, June 7, 1838.

<sup>10</sup>*Bangor Gazette*, July 3, 1842.

<sup>11</sup>For example, see *Portland Inquirer*, December 16, 1852.

<sup>12</sup>*Liberty Standard*, February 23, 1842; *Portland Inquirer*, July 20, 1854, February 23, 1854, January 1, 1850.

<sup>13</sup>For example, see *Advocate of Freedom*, June 7, 1838.

<sup>14</sup>*Ibid.*, June 21, 1838.

<sup>15</sup>*Bangor Gazette*, June 25, 1840, July 19, 1838, August 2, 1838, January 31, 1839.

<sup>16</sup>*Ibid.*, June 27, 1839.

<sup>17</sup>*Liberty Standard*, April 5, 1843.

<sup>18</sup>*Ibid.*, December 5, 1844.

<sup>19</sup>*Bangor Gazette*, September 3, 1842.

<sup>20</sup>*Liberty Standard*, April 5, 1843.

<sup>21</sup>For example, see *ibid.*, November 9, 1843; *Advocate of Freedom*, July 19, 1838.

<sup>22</sup>*Portland Inquirer*, December 22, 1853.

<sup>23</sup>For example, see *Advocate of Freedom*, November 2, 1839, January 21, 1840; *Portland Inquirer*, September 4, 1849.

<sup>24</sup>For example, see *Advocate of Freedom*, August 2, 1838.

<sup>25</sup>*Ibid.*, May 16, 1839.

<sup>26</sup>*Ibid.*, May 10, 1838.

<sup>27</sup>*Ibid.*, June 25, 1840.

<sup>28</sup>For example, see *ibid.*, November 16, 1839; *Portland Inquirer*, July 21, 1853.

<sup>29</sup>*Liberty Standard*, August 16, 1841.

<sup>30</sup>For example, see *ibid.*, August 7, 1845.

<sup>31</sup>*Advocate of Freedom*, May 2, 1839, February 1, 1840.

<sup>32</sup>*Bangor Gazette*, September 3, 1842.

<sup>33</sup>For example, see *Liberty Standard*, April 20, 1842.

<sup>34</sup>*Portland Inquirer*, December 22, 1853.

<sup>35</sup>*Bangor Gazette*, May 28, 1842.

<sup>36</sup>For a discussion of the theological and revivalist orientation of northern abolitionists, see James B. Stewart, *Holy Warriors: The Abolitionists and American Slavery* (New York: Hill and Wang, 1976), pp. 13-14, 35-37. For examples of Maine abolitionists' beliefs in the superiority of the Protestant

Christian religion, see *Advocate of Freedom*, May 2, 1840; *Liberty Standard*, April 4, 1843, July 11, 1844, April 24, 1845; *Portland Inquirer*, February 16, 1855.

<sup>37</sup>*Advocate of Freedom*, January 3, 1839.

<sup>38</sup>*Ibid.*, April 4, 1840.

<sup>39</sup>*Bangor Gazette*, January 28, 1843.

<sup>40</sup>*Liberty Standard*, October 28, 1847.

<sup>41</sup>For example, see *Portland Inquirer*, October 6, 1853.

<sup>42</sup>*Advocate of Freedom*, April 4, 1840; January 3, 1839.

<sup>43</sup>For example, see *Liberty Standard*, September 11, 1845; *Advocate of Freedom*, February 1, 1840.

<sup>44</sup>*Free Soil Republican*, March 8, 1849.

<sup>45</sup>*Liberty Standard*, May 10, 1843.

<sup>46</sup>*Advocate of Freedom*, June 7, 1838.

<sup>47</sup>*Ibid.*, March 28, 1840.

<sup>48</sup>For example, see *Advocate of Freedom*, March 8, 1838.

<sup>49</sup>*Ibid.*, July 4, 1839, July 11, 1839.

<sup>50</sup>*Ibid.*, June 7, 1838.

<sup>51</sup>For example, see *ibid.*, May 24, 1838.

<sup>52</sup>For example, see *Advocate of Freedom*, June 21, 1838, June 25, 1840; *Portland Inquirer*, December 22, 1853.

<sup>53</sup>Jane H. Pease and William H. Pease, "Confrontation and Abolition in the 1850s," *Journal of American History* 58 (March 1972): 927.

<sup>54</sup>*Liberty Standard*, March 20, 1845 (poem reprinted from the New York *Evangelist*; no author given).

<sup>55</sup>*Ibid.*, July 30, 1846.

<sup>56</sup>William Taylor, *Cavalier and Yankee: The Old South and American National Character* (New York: George Braziller, 1961), pp. 15-22.

<sup>57</sup>*Portland Inquirer*, December 22, 1853.

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