

Lewis Hayden's 1847-1848 Anti-Slavery Tour and the American Anti-Slavery Society as an Employer

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1.0 Introduction

In 1847-1848, the American Anti-Slavery Society sent several agents, working in teams, to tour western and central New York. The Society sent agents to western New York, attempting to renew the spirit of anti-slavery organization there and also to raise funds through recruiting subscribers for the society's newspaper, the *Anti-Slavery Standard* and also for William Lloyd Garrison's *Liberator*. One of these agents, Lewis Hayden, who had made a sensational escape from slavery a few years before, joined Dr. Erasmus Darwin Hudson, one of the Society's most experienced anti-slavery agents, in August of 1847. After only six months in the field, however, Hayden's agency was suddenly terminated in February 1848. The reasons for Hayden's dismissal are not clear but have usually been attributed to his lack of public speaking ability or political

Key words : Lewis Hayden, anti-slavery, agent, Erasmus Darwin Hudson, New York

differences with the American Anti-Slavery Society.¹ This paper will explore the situation for anti-slavery agents at that time and some of the reasons for Hayden suddenly being fired by the Anti-Slavery Society.

The general goal of the campaign in northern New York was to gain converts for the American Society in its fight against slavery. Practically speaking, this meant agents of the Society getting commitments of personal and financial support for the Society in the small towns that they toured.

Western and central New York was a center of abolitionism and reform as well as a strong base of Liberty Party and Free Soil Party activity. The Executive Committee of the American Society expected its agents not only to recruit new supporters for the anti-slavery cause but to induce convinced anti-slavery supporters of the Liberty Party and the American and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society to see the errors of their ways and to give their support to the American Society's doctrine of moral suasion and no union with slaveholders in either government or church.

At the same time as the campaign, in 1847, Frederick Douglass chose Rochester, in western New York, as the base for his new newspaper, *The North Star*. Tension had been building between Douglass and the members of the American Society's Executive Committee, who supported William Lloyd Garrison's paper, the *Liberator*, though an open break between them was yet to come.

2.0 Anti-slavery societies and their agents

Abolitionist societies suffered from a chronic lack of funds. Although they received some donations from wealthy individuals such as Gerrit Smith of New York or Francis Jackson of Massachusetts, they relied heavily on voluntary pledges, collections taken up during speaking tours or conventions, and the proceeds of women's regional anti-slavery fairs. Abolitionist weekly newspapers often operated at a loss. Subscribers were frequently overdue in their payments. The *National Anti-Slavery Standard* was typical in this sense. The Executive Committee of the American Society even discussed discontinuing the *Standard* in 1861.²

Abolitionist societies usually took the form of grass roots volunteer organizations. The number of local societies fluctuated widely but Quarles estimates that in 1837 there were 1006. This number decreased later due to the split in the national society in 1840 and with the decision of many Americans with anti-slavery sentiments to support radical political parties rather than the anti-political abolitionist societies such as the American Society. However, in the six year period before Lewis Hayden became an Agent, the American Society had an income of \$158, 849. 43. Most of this sum was raised by local auxiliaries made up of volunteers.³

Agents kept this system operating. In the peak year of 1836, the American Society reported using 70 agents. Although there were a few full-time general agents, most agents worked on a part-time volunteer or short contract basis. A local anti-slavery society might request the services of a prominent member, doctor,

lawyer or clergy, to make short trips when their work permitted. They would receive traveling expenses only.⁴

Agents would usually arrive at a town and stay as the guests of a local supporter. After a lecture a collection might be taken up for the anti-slavery cause. But the main focus was on getting subscriptions. A letter from the American Anti-Slavery Society to Hudson in June 1848 outlined the process:

The Com^{tee} on the Conventions have instructed me to say to each of the Agents that ~~they~~ the obtaining of subscribers to the Standard and Liberator should be made a leading & foremost object in these conventions. It is proposed that the morning after each Convention shall be occupied in visiting, at the house or shop, such persons as are most likely to subscribe. This has been tried today in Stoneham (where a convention was held yesterday with very fair success. Pillsbury & Brown have just come in from there, and report 8 subscribers to Liberator. Something of the sort we hope to accomplish in every town where a convention is held.⁵

Agents on full time, short term contracts were the only salaried employees within the structure of these volunteer organizations. And very often they would only receive half of their salary from the anti-slavery society and be expected to raise the rest of it from the contributions which they solicited. Full time agents were usually touring speakers - very often they traveled in pairs: one white speaker and one African American, who by his or her very presence, or description of personal experience under slavery, brought listeners closer to a full understanding of the evils of the slave system.

Workers in the anti-slavery movement were expected to offer their time voluntarily in the fight against slavery. Those who worked in the movement full time, however, had to secure a livelihood for themselves and their families. These full time workers, "who had no extrinsic means of livelihood" might be paid "what they consider absolutely indispensable to a bare subsistence."⁶

Lewis Hayden was clearly a man "who had no extrinsic means of livelihood" other than his work as an agent. He and his wife, Harriett Hayden, had invested all of their savings to move their family to Detroit where she and their son would enter school while Lewis toured as an agent in New York.⁷ The other full-time African American lecturers working in New York in at the same time as Hayden - Charles Lenox Remond, William Wells Brown, and Frederick Douglass-also depended on the anti-slavery movement for their livelihood. Hayden's lecturing partner, Erasmus Darwin Hudson, having given up his medical career for anti-slavery work, took on this status as well.

3.0 Hudson as an agent

As a newly hired agent of the American Anti-Slavery Society, Lewis Hayden was to be paired with a more experienced agent, Dr. Erasmus Darwin Hudson (1806-1880) from West Springfield, Massachusetts. Hudson had given up his medical practice and worked as an anti-slavery agent since 1838. For a time he and

his wife Martha Turner Hudson had become founding members of the communitarian experiment, the Northampton Association of Education and Industry. The Association had close connections with Garrison and other abolitionists such as Sojourner Truth, who had once lived and worked there.

After leaving the Association, the Hudsons established a farm in western Massachusetts as their economic base. Martha Hudson ran the farm with the help of her children, especially her eldest, Fowler. At the time of Hudson's New York anti-slavery tour, there was a possibility that they would lose the farm as the result of a court case concerning Hudson's attempt to assist a slave to escape from her master at a hotel in Massachusetts. Erasmus and Martha Hudson's correspondence illustrates a warm relationship or partnership in establishing the economic base of the farm and in their commitment to abolition. They wrote often and Erasmus also returned frequently during his New York tour.⁸

Hudson was a veteran anti-slavery agent but his ability was lacking in the area of getting subscriptions - of raising money. In an 1845 letter to Maria Weston Chapman, Wendell Phillips discussed the "pros & cons" of hiring Hudson once again as an agent, and requested that she poll the other members of the Committee on his suitability:

objections — He does not get money well [or] subscribers — so draws on the Treas^y

He is not very popular: We are poor & shall be poorer

Recommendations

He is true - persevering - experienced - orthodox = a rare bird among so many parakeets = and necessary to exemplify our platform in that respect.

It is bad to let any of our short list of agents drop off — agents are necessary in order to have a paper I hardly know where to send him or with whom to put him - & he should be in company with someone⁹

Phillips went on to suggest that because of Hudson's problems perhaps all agents should be told that they had to get a minimum of two subscribers to the *Standard per* week and to leave them more dependent on their commissions. In particular Hudson should be told that the society could be responsible for only half his salary.

In June 1846, Edmund Quincy, requested the same from Hudson for the terms of his agency in New York. Originally, Hudson had agreed to with the Committee's offer of \$12 per week, "you paying your travelling expenses, we to guarantee one half, & you to take the risk of raising the other half." Since that agreement, however, the Committee had offered to guarantee two other agents their full salaries. One was Joseph C. Hathaway, who would take on a supervisory role as general agent for the state of New York. Because of his extra duties Hathaway's salary of \$12 per week would be guaranteed by the Committee.¹⁰

Charles Lenox Remond's salary would also be guaranteed. Remond, one of the first African Americans to work for the Society, began his lecturing career in 1838. With a reputation as an accomplished speaker, he had extensive experience lecturing both in the northern United States and Europe. Remond also relied on anti-slavery lecturing for his income. However, like Hudson he was not considered very good at getting

subscriptions:

As to Remond, you know that his faculty is not that of getting money or subscribers by personal solicitation though his influence as a speaker & a man of colour will doubtless help the rest of you in your work, and he promises to do his best to get subscribers and to raise money, himself. But it would be in vain to ask him to engage to raise half his compensation, because we know he would not do it.¹¹

Finally, Quincy leaves the choice up to Hudson but asks Hudson to accept the original terms of the contract - the Society only guaranteeing half of his salary - to set an example for new agents.¹² Hudson had requested permission to sell books on his own during the tour. Quincy does not simply say yes or no to the request but goes into a surprising amount of detail.

... there was no objection to your doing it, provided you so managed it, as of course you would, as not to interfere with getting subscribers. After you have got a subscriber & pouched his dollar, there can be no objection to your offering him a book to buy. Keeping your business of getting subscribers always in view, you can certainly conduct your sales so as not to interfere with it. For example, in a convention or Public Meeting, when the steam is getting up for the getting subscribers, as when the subscribers are being obtained or funds raised, I shall not think it well to have books selling at the same time. But as you go from house to house, after you have got your subscriber.... it would be a good work to [s]et a book upon him. But your own good sense will tell you what to do in this matter."¹³

Although this letter praises Hudson's ability at fundraising and devotion to the cause, Quincy seems to be addressing the same problem that Phillips expressed in 1845. If Hudson as a worker did have the proper ability or attitude for fundraising why would Quincy have laid down so many conditions in his letter? It seems he does not really respect Hudson's "good sense... in this matter" at all.

Apparently Hudson did not take Quincy's advice to accept the guarantee of only half his salary. Hathaway wrote to him confirming salary arrangements for 1847-1848 year:

Thy communication of the 6th inst. came duly to hand since which there has been a meeting of the Ex. Com. who have authorized me to say that they will give you the \$12.00 per week and pay the travelling expenses, providing thee will furnish thy own horse & buggy and take in a travelling companion (whose wages will be much less than thy own.) - This is the highest price which any of the agents in New York are to receive. Some will receive much less.¹⁴

The traveling companion who was to receive much less than Hudson was Lewis Hayden, whose salary was \$25 per month, half of the other three full time agents. In Hathaway's summary of expenses there is only one notation of Hayden's salary: "Paid Lewis Hayden for 8/10 to 10/1 @ \$25 pr month 41.66" Hudson is listed as receiving nine weeks wages at \$12 per week and Hudson and Hayden together receiving \$25.99 for expenses. Neither of them is listed again.¹⁵

Why was Hayden paid so much less than the other agents? Frederick Douglass experienced a similar

situation in 1844. He wrote to Phillips protesting the Board's plan of offering him \$ 7 per week and making a provision to increase it to \$12. "If I am to have 7 -- or 8 dollars per week I should have that and no more, If 7 Dolls is sufficient for an agent." Douglass wrote that the salary difference tended "to give the character of the movement a sort of mercenary coloring"¹⁶

Other agents also ran into difficulties or differences with the Executive Board on the terms of their contracts. Quincy wrote that Addison Davis is "getting up a quarrel with us. He was not satisfied with the agency we gave him in the spring... we are inclined to throw him overboard."¹⁷ Although these types of conflicts did tend "to give the character of the movement a sort of mercenary coloring" it is important to examine them for a deeper understanding of the conditions of the 1847 New York campaign and the termination of Hayden's agency.

4.0 Hayden & the tour

Regardless of salary, by hiring Hayden as an agent, the Society gave him a voice in the anti-slavery movement only three years after he had escaped from slavery. Hayden, his wife Harriet and their young son had escaped from Kentucky in 1844 and taken up residence in Detroit. In 1845, Hayden first visited Boston on a fund raising tour for a Detroit African American church and by the summer of 1846 he was negotiating arrangements to move to Boston as an anti-slavery agent. By May 1847 letters from Hayden commenting on his activities were appearing in the *Standard* and other papers.¹⁸

Hayden was to begin working as Hudson's partner on August 1, 1847. The Haydens invested their savings, about \$60, or more than two months of his salary, so that Harriet & their son could return to the Detroit area and attend school.¹⁹

On June 29 the Haydens set out on a trip from Boston to Ferrisburgh, Vermont.²⁰ This trip was probably the first part of Harriet's journey back to Detroit. They bought first class tickets but were refused seating because of their race when they changed trains in Rhode Island. Returning to Boston the Haydens consulted the General Superintendent of the Boston & Providence Railroad who ordered that they should receive first class service all the way to their destination. The railroad company in Providence compromised by adding an extra first class car to the train. They rode first class but they rode alone.²⁰

There were three teams of anti-slavery agents working in the area when Hayden came to New York. Each team had one white, and one African American member. Joseph Hathaway, the general agent for the campaign, was paired with Charles L. Remond. They toured the western part of the state. Both of them are listed in Hathaway's financial account of the tour as receiving \$50 per month plus some expenses. Hudson and Hayden were the other full time team. They toured central New York, west of Albany and east of the Hathaway-Remond team's main area, concentrating in Otsego, Herkimer, Oneida, Oswego and Onondaga Counties.

Hudson and Hayden were paid only once, in October. Hudson received \$108 for a nine week period, August 1 to October 4. Hayden received \$41.66 for August 10 to October 1. Another \$25.99 is listed as "Paid Expenses of Hudson and Hayden". There is no mention of Hudson or Hayden other than this.²¹



Joseph C. Hulley "a colored man from Brooklyn, Long Island, late of the District of Columbia" and Giles B. Stebbins of Rochester, New York were also listed as a team beginning in September.²² Stebbins received \$74.44 in three separate monthly payments. Holley, although he was on tour in September, was paid \$20, only once for "Services for Tenth Month."²³

In August Hayden and Hudson traveled slowly westward from the eastern border of New York south of Albany. In September they appeared in Otsego, Madison, Oneida & Herkimer Counties in the center of the state. At the same time the Hathaway-Remond and Stebbins-Hulley teams were touring western New York. Garrison and Douglass also toured the state, appearing with Hudson and Hayden for two engagements in West Winfield and Little Falls at the end of September.²⁴

From October 6 to 9 Hayden took part in the Colored Men's Convention in Troy, New York as a delegate from Michigan and served on the Business Committee.²⁵ From October 18 to November 17 he intended to continue with Hudson touring central New York.²⁶ Suddenly, however, Hudson was called back to his home when his son, Fowler, had an accident on the railroad that led to the amputation of his leg.²⁷

Hayden appeared alone in Trenton, Oneida County. A report of the meeting was sent and published in the November 18 issue of the *Standard*:

Dr. Hudson has been prevented from visiting us, on account of sudden severe domestic affliction. Mr. Hayden appeared alone; and has addressed us upon the evenings of two days appointed. He appeared, chiefly, to tell his own story, and to exhibit the miseries of the system of Slavery, as illustrated in his own personal experience. He mentioned to me that he felt himself unable to make such an exposition of the relationship of the Constitution and the Government of our country to that institution, as would be satisfactory to himself: nevertheless, his addresses have not been confined to personal narrative. He has given highly satisfactory answers to some questions frequently urged in conversation against the Anti-Slavery movement; has treated, with the manner of a closely observing man, the effect of Slavery upon private life, and given a satisfactory explanation of the alledged happiness of the slaves. I have listened to his conversation and public addresses, as to those of a man of reflection, and have been astonished that, with so little early mental cultivation, he should have been able to become so accurate an observer of men and manners....

The story of his sufferings awakens sympathy: his industry, refinement, and the cheerfulness of his manners secures affection. His audiences were as large as we ever collect in this village, to listen to the discussion of any moral or religious subject; and would, doubtless, been much larger but for exceedingly unfavorable weather. He has made several friends here, who will never forget him; and those of the audience, who were not made personally acquainted with him, will hold him in long remembrance.

The remainder of the last evening, -- as the meeting was begun at a very early hour, and, at the conclusion of his address, the evening was not exhausted--was occupied by the writer, in the attempt more particularly to show the position assumed by the American Anti-Slavery Society, among the various sects, denominations, and parties of the day.

If our collection was small, it was also unexpectedly called for. It amounted to \$3 78 cts; his expenses were also paid by friends to the amount of \$1.²⁸

The writer acknowledges Hayden's ability as a speaker - but is this an honest appraisal or only polite staging for the writer's praise of his own participation in the lecture in explaining "the position assumed by the American Anti-Slavery Society, among the various sects, denominations, and parties of the day"? Was Hayden a good speaker? Was a lack of appeal to audiences the reason for Hayden's losing his agency a few months later?

Garrison and others were aware of Hayden's speaking ability before he was hired for the New York campaign. In March 1846 Garrison wrote to Gay, the editor of the *Standard*,

Lewis Hayden has won the esteem and friendship of all with whom he has been acquainted, and he is a rare young man.... I think he can be made very serviceable to our cause. He needs to be more with us,

fully to understand the position that we occupy, in regard to Church and State; but he is an apt scholar, and has made very good progress in a very short time. I have not had the opportunity to hear him speak in public; but I believe he has generally acquitted himself to good acceptance. His chief embarrassment seems to be, to find language to express the facts of his history, and the thoughts and emotions of his mind.²⁹

Another report in the *Standard* describes him:

Lewis Hayden's honesty, simplicity, and position commend him to every heart; while his pathetic appeals for his brethren in bonds, seem sufficient to move a world to rescue.³⁰

The Committee must have known of Hayden's strengths and weaknesses before he was asked to go to New York. Although Hayden may have been an indifferent public speaker, he did have the ability to move audiences. He was also part of a pair - Hudson could make up for any deficiency if Hayden might have felt "unable to make such an exposition of the relationship of the Constitution and the Government of our country to that institution, as would be satisfactory to himself." There is no evidence to suggest that his speaking ability was the cause of his losing his agency.

Could it also be that Hayden lost his agency because he did not support the Executive Committee's policy? Clearly, Hayden did not advance the ideology of the American Anti-Slavery Society. He restricted his speech to describing the evils of slavery. Yet Haden's partner, Hudson, was a supporter of Garrison's policy and very critical of those who opposed it. Hudson, always candid in writing to Phillips about the deficiencies of his fellow agents, did not criticize Hayden for his political views. If Hayden did have differences of opinion with the Society's philosophy, he seems to have effectively and politely hidden them. It is unlikely, therefore, that this was the reason for his agency being terminated. Evidence seems to suggest wider reasons for the decision.

5.0 Canceling the New York agency

In November, at the same time Hayden was touring alone, and that Hudson was in Massachusetts attending to his son, the Executive Committee was considering ending the campaign - both Hayden's and Hudson's agency. Phillips wrote to Hudson on November 23:

Our Executive Com^{ee} votes this afternoon to discontinue the Agency in N. York state after the 1st day of January next & I have so written to Hathaway - In looking about us to devise some new & cheaper plan for extending the circulation of the Standard, we wish to advise with you, who have been so long engaged in the business - & as you are so near at hand it may^[be] voted that Dr. Hudson be requested to come to Boston, as soon as his convenience will allow, to confer with the Comee on this point - of course, we bear your expenses - as Sec^y I communicate the above vote to you, & hope your affairs & the improving health of your son will allow you to be soon with us.³¹

The Executive Committee, seems to have called off the campaign sometime between November and January. The Hudson-Hayden team's agency seems to have lasted till February but Hathaway's and Remond's agencies were terminated by the end of the year. Hathaway wrote Hudson:

I am glad the Comt have decided to retain thee and Lewis in their service [for the work] can be done this winter for the Standard in certain localities greater than at any previous time. - There is a great call for old organized lectures in Niagara and Orleans Counties which Charles and I intended to have transversed very thoroughly this winter had the Com. continued our agency.³²

Hathaway also expressed bitterness towards the Executive Committee's approach to the financial aspects of the campaign:

The reason why no greater amount of funds have been forthcoming from this state is simply that the Executive Committee gave me written instructions through Edmund Quincy to make the Standard the main object saying that "a subscriber was preferable to a donation of a dollar". - Now every one must know that it is no easy matter to obtain subscribers to a paper of the radical stamp of the Standard especially as there is nothing peculiarly fascinating or attractive in the productions of the resident editor.³³

Although he was upset at the management of the campaign by the Executive Committee, Hathaway, like Hudson, was a firm supporter of the philosophy of the "old organization" - the American Society - especially in its opposition to the Liberty Party and involvement in politics under a Constitution that supported slavery.³⁴

As full time agents, Hathaway and Remond depended on their anti-slavery work for survival. They fully supported the philosophy of the American Anti-Slavery Society but as employees, were victims of its unstable finances and its need to shore up the *Standard* by having its agents get new and renewed subscriptions. In 1847 Hathaway and Remond had mostly toured the western part of New York state. Hathaway was also a resident of that same area of western New York. It seems natural that he should look for the financial support necessary to continue his anti-slavery activities in his home area. By January 19 Hathaway and Remond would be appointed agents of the Western New York Anti-Slavery Society.³⁵ The Hathaway-Remond team would remain in the field for another year independent of the American Society.

The Hudson-Hayden team continued touring in December and January. On December 1 Hudson wrote to Phillips from Springfield where he had been planning that month's appointments in Oswego County. The Executive Committee had requested that Hudson go to the Annual Meeting of the Western New York Anti-Slavery Society in Rochester and he wrote that he would like to spare the expense.³⁶ Hudson probably did not attend Annual Meeting. His name was not listed in the report of the annual meeting in *The North Star*.³⁷ Also, the December 9 and 16 issues of the *Standard* list Hudson's and Hayden's schedule from December 11 to January in Oneida, Oswego and Onondaga Counties, far away from Rochester.³⁸

On December 12, the Fourth Annual Meeting of the Western New York Anti-Slavery Society met in Rochester. With Hathaway as President and Chair, it passed a series of resolutions praising "the zeal, perseverance and fidelity with which the agents of the American Anti-Slavery Society have prosecuted their labors in this State, during the last year and a half" and the *National Anti-Slavery Standard* which "by its open and uncompromising course, the smallness of its price, as well as its high literary character, commends itself to the favorable consideration of all persons...." The convention went on, however, to praise Frederick Douglass' *The North Star*, promising its support to the paper in the future.³⁹

Douglass had started publishing *The North Star* in early December 1847 with money that he had collected in Britain the year before. Douglass based his paper in Rochester, New York. He continued it until 1851, when he merged it with Gerrit Smith's Liberty Party paper, adopting the name, the *Frederick Douglass Paper*. In 1848, however, Douglass still remained loyal to Garrison's philosophy of moral suasion and opposition to participation in politics.

Douglass' plan to publish *The North Star* had resulted in a great deal of friction between himself and the Boston supporters of Garrison's the *Liberator*. Perhaps the Executive Committee had wanted Hudson to represent them in Douglass' territory by attending the annual meeting. At the annual meeting, however, the Western New York Anti-Slavery Society, under the leadership of Hathaway, Remond and Douglass, was attempting a compromise-supporting the *Standard* and the American Anti-Slavery Society as well as asserting its independence from the American Society by opening up western New York as territory for the sale of *The North Star*.

Hudson's area of operations had been separate from Hathaway's. Hudson and Hayden worked the counties of central New York and Hathaway, Remond and Douglass those in the west. Hudson seems to have disliked being under Hathaway's general agency. This may have been one reason why they mostly worked in separate regions of the state. It may also be a reason why Hudson chose not to interfere in Hathaway's home area and did not attend the Western Society's annual meeting.⁴⁰

6.0 The West Winfield Anti-Slavery Fair

Hathaway, Remond, Douglass, Hudson, and Hayden all arrived to take part in West Winfield Anti-Slavery Fair,⁴¹ held January 26-27, in West Winfield, Herkimer County, in the area of central New York in which Hudson had been most active. By the time of the Fair Hathaway and Remond had been appointed as full time agents for the Western New York Anti-Slavery Society. Hathaway was not only supporting *The North Star* in New York, but had also toured for the paper in Massachusetts, the main base of Garrison's *Liberator*.⁴²

One purpose of the Fair was to raise money for the cause through the sale of donated goods. There would

also be lectures and discussions on anti-slavery themes and an organizational meeting of the anti-slavery organization in the area. Hathaway, Remond and Douglass hoped for a reorganization of the central New York anti-slavery societies in their favor. Hudson, at least, reported to Phillips in this way - he described an attempt by "Remond & Hathaway & Douglass to cut off the auxilliaryship of the Central NY friends from the American Soct'y & attach it to Western NY Soct'y to sustain Hathaway & Remond and the North Star."⁴³

Hathaway's Western New York Society was still an affiliate of the American Anti-Slavery Society but had decided to support *The North Star* and field its own agents, independent of the American Society. Would the central New York anti-slavery organization affiliate itself with the Western New York Society, therefore supporting Hathaway and Remond as agents? No matter what the direct affiliation, it seems probable that the central New York organization would have continued to support the American Society's newspaper, the *Standard*, as well as Douglass' *North Star*. Douglass and the Hathaway-Remond team probably felt the need to establish a secure financial base for their anti-slavery activities.

They requested that the "friends of the slave" meet not as the Central New York Society but in convention so that they could consider a wider range of questions. In Hudson's view, this was a parliamentary maneuver to allow the question of reorganization and change of affiliation to be discussed.

Faced with a move to reduce the influence of the American Society in his own territory, Hudson bided his time and waited to strike, not wanting to risk a direct confrontation. As the convention proceeded, one speaker, Mr. Walker, described the financial hardship that resulted from his taking a principled stand for the anti-slavery cause. Hudson jumped at the opportunity. At the end of Walker's speech he moved a collection to support the speaker. Apparently, there was only so much money to be had. By moving the collection, Hudson diverted money from being donated to the Western Society for the support of its agents. Immediately following the collection, the convention closed.

In a confidential letter to Phillips following the meeting, Hudson excitedly described the results of his strategy:

Remond raved - lost his interest in meeting - was [mute] - said I would not have moved the collection if we had been acting under Central N.Y. Soct'y - he dashed his own brains out & Douglass' & Hathaway's too - they all went away cast down - defeated in everything - The Central N.Y. Soct'y organized -- & the friends have determined to send their funds to the Exec Committee of Am Soct'y...

The Winfield friends said to Hathaway that they would not help any Soct'y support Remond - he was very unhappy in his course there both last year & this. I feel sorry for Remond - he is very impulsive -- & Hathaway looked as if he had lost all of his friends.⁴⁴

Hudson went on to attack Hathaway [J.C.H.] and to claim any success in the New York campaign for American Society agents such as himself.

I adduced the fact of the former inactivity impotence & lack of executive of Western N.Y. Soct'y - left

him [Douglass] W Brown to browse or die & J.C.H while [Prst] of the Soct'y - had to be sustained by Am Soct'y -- & all that had been done in N.Y. had been accomplished by agents of Am Soct'y....

... I wish the Soct'y would consult with Hathaway & employ him - not as Genl Agent-but simply as agent to labor - we need no Genl Agent. I have had to lay out my own work & do it - [not] Hathaway⁴⁵

Had Hudson forgotten that Hathaway and Remond had also worked as agents of the American Society? By February 3, the time that this letter was sent, Hathaway was already working as an agent for Western New York. Was Hudson aware of this? The Executive Committee may have been in the process of reconsidering the situation or perhaps Hathaway was still acting as General Agent for January in order to finish business left over from the previous year. Hathaway's account of moneys disbursed show payments made in January to himself, Remond, Stebbins and Holley for "Services for Twelfth month 1847."⁴⁶

7.0 "We must go on Cars"

In the same letter in which Hudson confidentially condemned his fellow agents, he expressed concern about an entirely unrelated issue concerning Hayden - travel by railroad.

Hudson did not mention Hayden as expressing an opinion during the meeting. Hudson criticizes Hayden's abilities but recommends that he stay in central New York or return to work in Massachusetts.

If you could send Brown out & invite Hayden to Massachusetts - or let him remain with me in Saratoga - it would be well I think. He is a good fellow - improves - does good-helps some - but I still have to do well nigh all - he has no executive about him - If I go west into Niagara Wyoming & I should have to go there in cars & get friends there to furnish me with trans. while there.

My opinion is that somebody ought to go into Western N.Y. — If I go shall Lewis go with me? We must go on Cars. —⁴⁷

Apparently Hudson was planning to tour the west but in counties that the other two teams had not toured in 1847, Niagara and Wyoming. The surprising thing about Hudson's letter is his reference to "cars" or travel on the railroad. Lewis and Harriet Hayden had challenged segregated railroad seating in July 1847. Apparently Hudson believed that Hayden would do the same if he were forced to travel on the railroad in order to tour western New York.

Hudson's son Fowler was waiting for a settlement from the railroad on the accident in which he lost his leg. In December, Hudson had asked Phillips to appear before the Board of Rail Road Directors to get compensation for his son's injury. "The education of my son is sufficient to qualify him for almost any business in the Rail Road Office - if they will favor him thus - in addition to an honorable present."⁴⁸

The railroad company was claiming that the person responsible for Fowler's injury was not a legitimate employee and because of this the company had no liability. Hudson, personally, did not believe in suing in the

courts. This would be cooperating with a government that supported slavery. Because of his personal principles, he had to rely on the good will of the company and Phillips' connections to secure a future for his son.⁴⁹

Hudson must have felt that if Hayden repeated his civil rights demand to travel on the railroad as a first class passenger despite not being white - there might be a negative influence on the settlement of his son Fowler's claim for recompense from the railroads for the loss of his leg.

8.0 The Committee's Decision and the Agents' Response

The Executive Committee seems to have taken Hudson's recommendation to recall Hayden under consideration. In the February 17 issue of the *Standard* Hudson's schedule was advertised without his partner's name being listed. He was to lecture from February 19 to 28 "in company with an American slave" in Herkimer, Otsego and St. Lawrence Counties.⁵⁰

On February 28, however, Hayden wrote to Phillips that he had suddenly learned that he was no longer to be employed: "the letter you wrote to the Dr was read to me yesterday informing me of my agency being stop". Sometime in February, then, the Executive Committee must have once again reconsidered the troubled New York tour and the need to finance agents in the state. Fort Plain, the address from which Hayden wrote, was one of the stops on Hudson's tour in Herkimer County (Feb. 24).⁵¹ This suggests that Hayden, even though he was not listed by name, may have been the "American slave" with whom Hudson lectured.

Hudson probably received notice of the termination of his own agency at the same time as Hayden. In a letter dated December 9, 1848 he refers to both his own and Hayden's agency in New York being terminated and asks for reconsideration. The date seems to be incorrect in light of the letter's content. By December ,1848 Hayden had already left New York, returned to Detroit and moved with his family back to Boston.⁵² Hudson refers to the time period agreed on for his agency, "When I engaged last season it was for the year or till May." He also goes on to mention a previous confidential letter that, considering the description of its content, was probably the letter written on February 3, 1848 about the confrontation with Hathaway, Remond and Douglass at the Winfield Fair.⁵³

In their responses to Phillips both Hayden and Hudson take the Executive Committee to task for financial reasons, for breaking their verbal contract. Essentially, without saying it directly, they let Phillips know that he has betrayed them. They also very clearly affirm their dedication to their own principles in fighting slavery.

In his response, Hayden replied to Phillips masterfully. The letter is written in Hayden's own hand, in his three-years-out-of-slavery writing style.

you will I have no doubt consider where I am how far I am from home the season of the year and that you will remember it cost me more than two month wedges to get here I do not complain at all though

it will place me in a poor ~~such~~ situation for by the time I Set home I hope to be as well off as I was when I left home do you not think I ot to be well I do not think I shall be and I have not spent no more than I could help now if I had known this I should have said to friend Hathaway ~~sir~~ when he call on ~~in~~ me in Boston sir will you send me home again he would have said yes for for he did not know then what I was he did not know but what I was a second yourself but he and you all know ~~know~~ it is not so ~~and~~ you know it is me jest three years form slavery well let me say to you if I am not Wendell Phillips now: it [d]ought not a ~~pa~~ appear what I shall be for I shall not leve one stone onturnd to [obtain] light ~~ist~~ I shall do all I can to make myself a man

that is if nature has done her part this you know has some to do with the matter withought her I can not be ~~ans~~ of any use to my Brotheren in Bonds all though I am not ~~now in cannot~~ not able to say my bread is ~~shour~~ shore I therefore would like to be sent home to Detroit [w]ich will you make this known to commitee is what you can for me If you will

you my do something to ~~ade~~ aid me on my way upward and onward to manhood you will please wrte to me at west winfield. you me not like ~~in~~ my composition it is as good as any of yours when you was but three years old which is my age: remember me if I [] to Set home I will [you] letter. yours truly Lewis Hayden⁵⁴

Perhaps this letter gives us a hint of Hayden's pubic speaking style. He was not "Wendell Phillips now" — a polished speaker or writer — but what he wrote is to the point and very moving. It is powerful. How could it not have affected Phillips when he read it?

Hudson also wrote to Phillips concerning their agency being stopped. Like Hayden he speaks of financial betrayal and his devotion to the cause. As with Hayden, there is no separating of finances and belief because he cannot work for the cause without considering the financial base he needs for his and his family's survival:

... this will be bad for both of us. Especially at this season of the year. There are three months in the year I can devote to agriculture to get a little from my place. the remainder I have to engage in something to keep my family in comfortable circumstances. I have neglected to look after any other kind of business wishing to do all I could in the Anti-Slavery cause as long as I was needed & could keep my family ~~above~~ comfortable thereby - A year ago Henry Bush of Rochester offered me a thousand dollars the first year- [Capron] of Auburn is now in that business. I did not feel that it would be right for me to abandon the cause tho it was hard for me to live in it [] for such a temptation.

My profession has long since slipped me - This is a bad time to leave me without business -- & bad to get it now. When I engaged last season it was for the year or till May I have gone out more on the self supporting system than any other agent trusting providence for bread & butter - but at this time I can't do so tho the Central N.Y. friends would be glad to appropriate their funds they will send to Am. Soct'y to keep an agent in that region for a time -- [& tho's] Cole pledged \$20 to Am. Soct'y which he would like

to appropriate in that way⁵⁵

Hudson also supported Hayden which follows the approach of his earlier letter to Phillips. Hudson did not want the Committee to terminate Hayden's agency but only to find a partner who could travel on the railroad: Lewis Hayden will be in a bad condition he spent about \$60 to get his family located. his wife & child are at school depending on his labors -- & then he came expecting he was employed for the current year
.....

If the Society can continue us it will be a relief to both of us - What Lewis would do I can't tell. He can't get home now the lakes froze up, & he would be drop't a stranger & helpless. ---!⁵⁶

A letter to Hudson from Martha Hudson dated March 12 refers to both Hudson and Hayden which suggests that they may have still been in New York waiting for a response from the Executive Committee:

I think you need great grace in endeavoring to hold up the truth to the people don't forget that they have not had all of the light that you & Lewis have though I know they have not lived up to what they have had.⁵⁷

What was Phillips response to these letters? In the *Standard* neither Hudson nor Hayden is listed as lecturing in early March. At the end of March Hudson is listed as lecturing alone in a path that took him east through Saratoga and Washington Counties towards the Massachusetts border. These counties were east of his usual base of operations. There is no mention of the times of lectures or an invitation to prepare for Hudson's appointments, the usual format for announcements in the *Standard* the year before.

It may be that Hudson, with the support or at the invitation of friends in central New York, continued on his own without the official support of the Society.⁵⁸ In late March, then, Hudson was probably leaving New York by way of these counties and heading home towards Massachusetts, not travelling by railroad because "My horse & wagon are in Herkimer County which I shall have to go after."⁵⁹

He does not seem to have lectured after this time until June 1848. At that time the American Society asked Hudson to replace a speaker, who had had to cancel his obligations, for a short tour in Massachusetts.⁶⁰ Hudson continued his relationship with the American Society and acted as their agent from time to time. He eventually returned to medicine to become a specialist in amputated limbs. The motivation seems clear when we consider his son Fowler's accident. The opportunity and great need to practice this specialty was provided by the Civil War.

It is difficult to say when Hayden left New York. He may have accompanied Hudson on part of his journey to the east. He may have remained in Fort Plain after Hudson informed him of his agency being cancelled. Hayden eventually returned to Detroit, probably some time in the spring. By July of 1848, however, he was headed back to Boston. *The North Star* reported:

This laborer in the Anti-Slavery vineyard passed through Rochester a few days since on his way to Massachusetts, in company with his family. Friend Hayden proposes to make his home in the East, and

to make himself useful to the anti-slavery cause by circulating anti-slavery intelligence among the people.

- He is authorized to act as agent and obtain subscribers for the *North Star*.⁶¹

Why did the Haydens return to Boston? A letter to *The North Star* suggests that Detroit may have become unsafe for them, probably in relation to the results of a fugitive slave case.⁶² By January 1849 Hayden appeared again in the pages of *The North Star* speaking against a resolution proposed by Edmond Quincy at the annual meeting of the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society.⁶³ The July 13 issue of the *Liberator* carries an ad for a clothing store that he had established.⁶⁴

Hathaway and Remond continued lecturing in New York, often accompanied by Douglass, for the remainder of 1848. The following year, however, at the fifth meeting of the Western New York Anti-Slavery Society, their agency was discontinued. The society had hoped that they might have been able to raise enough money to sustain themselves in the field. They could not do so.⁶⁵

9.0 Conclusion

What then, was the reason for Hayden's agency being discontinued? What does the nature of the dismissal tell us about the relationship of the Executive Committee and its agents? Hayden, himself, may have thought that he was dismissed because he was not good enough as a speaker, not "another Wendell Phillips." Clearly, however, there was more to the situation.

Probably one of the strongest influences in discontinuing the agency was financial. The campaign, in Hathaway's evaluation, was not producing enough income for the society and enough subscriptions for the *Standard*. Given the competition for meager resources that was bound to result with the appearance of *The North Star*, the Executive Committee may have felt that it was too expensive to keep agents in the field. The Western New York Anti-Slavery Society came to the same conclusion when they discontinued Hathaway's and Remond's agency in 1849.

Another influence must have been the discord between Hudson and his fellow agents. In his letter to Phillips after the West Winfield Anti-Slavery Fair, Hudson condemned everyone. Even his partner, Hayden, was problematic because of his history of refusing to ride second class on the railroad. With Hathaway, Remond and Douglass building an anti-slavery base in western New York, Hudson was the only agent that the Executive Committee could rely on. As Phillips wrote in 1845: "He is not very popular: We are poor & shall be poorer..." but "true - persevering - experienced - orthodox = a rare bird among so many parakeets = and necessary to exemplify our platform in that respect."⁶⁶

During the Anti-Slavery Fair Hudson's inability to act cooperatively with Hathaway, Remond and Douglass may have finally convinced the Executive Committee that the only way to save the situation was to recall Hudson. This left western New York to Hathaway and Douglass who both at that time supported the

American Anti-Slavery Society's doctrine of moral suasion and non union with slaveholders. With Hudson went Hayden, the second member of the partnership.

Hayden, then, may have simply been a victim of circumstances. Although he was not an accomplished speaker - he was moving. Although he probably would not or could not support the doctrinal positions of the Society, he really didn't have to - that was Hudson's responsibility.

Hayden's and Hudson's situations point to a major problem that they and other full time anti-slavery agents faced: establishing economic stability for themselves and their families while undertaking abolitionist work - which entailed working for a very difficult employer, the American Anti-Slavery Society. Both Hayden and Hudson had a passion - to speak for the cause - to free their brethren in bonds. The Society shared the same goal, but it was unable or unwilling to provide Hayden the economic base necessary for him to speak out, to have a voice in the movement. Working for this employer was not only difficult because of personalities or creed. It was a difficult because the Society's work ethic was based on volunteerism, not responsibility to its employees.

Hudson's correspondence with his wife Martha Turner Hudson shows their relationship as partners attempting to form an economic base for themselves and their children. Hudson had given up his medical career for the cause. Martha, with the help of their oldest son, Fowler, managed the farm. Erasmus Darwin Hudson frequently returned to assist when he could. When Fowler lost a leg the Hudson family's economic situation was in crisis. Losing his agency in New York deepened this crisis. Given his training as a doctor and position as a landowner, Hudson had a range of possibilities that he could return to.

The Hayden family's situation was similar but more difficult. There is no record of the Haydens owning any real property. As a fugitive slave, he needed to first secure his family's survival before he could have a voice in the anti-slavery movement.

There is a sense of betrayal in Hayden's letter to Phillips as well as a sense of pride in his struggle "upward and onward to manhood". Phillips and the Executive Committee, without even contacting Hayden personally, had cut off the income that his family needed to survive.

Finally, in Boston, the Haydens together created an economic base for anti-slavery work. Harriett operated a boardinghouse, and Lewis opened a clothing store. In the 1850s Lewis was involved in armed resistance to slave catchers and federal marshals who tried to arrest fugitive slaves, some of whom were living in that boardinghouse. In 1856 his business went bankrupt and he was reduced to peddling. The boardinghouse seems to have provided the base for survival that allowed him his voice in the movement. Both Harriet Hayden and Martha Hudson were important in working with their husbands to supply that base for survival. To fully understand the agents we have to understand their family relationships as well.

Most studies of the American Anti-Slavery Society have considered its ideology and internal politics. It has not really been examined as an employer. Yet for Hayden, Hudson, Hathaway, Remond and other agents

the Society was first and foremost an employer - and their relations with it should be examined in that light. Perhaps Hayden felt betrayed by his employer. But he did not allow them to still his voice. Faced with the termination of his agency he did not retreat, but simply searched for another way to establish the economic base that he needed in order to live out his commitment to the fight against slavery: "I shall not leave one stone unturned to [obtain] light - I shall do all I can to make myself a man."

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[Notes]

- 1 Robert Gettings, "You know it is me jest three years from slavery": A fugitive slave makes a place for himself in the anti-slavery movement, *Journal of Hokusei Gakuen Women's Junior College*, 1994 (30): 1-8; For a general life of Hayden see, Joel Strangis, *Lewis Hayden and the war against slavery*.

- (North Haven, Conn., Linnet Book, 1999); Anita Robboy and Stanley Robboy, Lewis Hayden: From Fugitive Slave to Statesman, *New England Quarterly*, 3rd. ser., 56 (1973): 591-613. Hayden, himself, seems to have believed that his lack of public speaking ability was a reason for being dismissed. See Lewis Hayden [Fort Plain, N.Y.] to Wendell Phillips, February 21 1848, bMS Am 1953, Houghton Library, Harvard University.
- 2 Benjamin Quarles, Sources of abolitionist income, *The Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, 32 (June 1945): 63-66, 68.
 - 3 Quarles, 75-76.
 - 4 Quarles, 66.
 - 5 Samuel May, Jr.[Boston, Ma.]to E.D. Hudson [Springfield, Ma.], June 19, 1848. *Hudson Papers*, *UMA*.
 - 6 Quarles, 70; Quarles includes a quotation from *The Fourteenth Annual Report of the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society* (1846) p. 8.
 - 7 E. D. Hudson [Springfield, Ma.] to Wendell Phillips, [December 9, 1848], bMS Am 1953, Houghton Library, Harvard University. The date on this letter is probably incorrect. By December 1848 both Hayden and Hudson were no longer under contract to the American Anti-Slavery Society in New York. Hayden and his family had already returned from Detroit to Boston in July, 1848. See *The North Star*, July 21, 1848. The Society also had proposed a new contract to Hudson for three weeks' work in Massachusetts in June, 1848, "For compensation, you will receive at the rate of our other Agents, and travelling expenses in addition." See Samuel May, Jr. [Boston, Ma.] to E. D. Hudson [Springfield, Ma.], June 19, 1848. *Hudson Papers*, *UMA*.
 - 8 For brief biographies of Erasmus Darwin and Martha Turner Hudson see Samuell Orcott, 1878, *History of Torrington, Connecticut, from its first settlement in 1737, with biographies and genealogies*. Albany, J. Munsell, 500-512. Christopher Clark, *The communitarian moment: The radical challenge of the Northampton Association*, Ithica, NY: Cornell University Press, 1995. The correspondence of the Hudsons can be found in the *Hudson Papers*, *UMA*.
 - 9 Wendell Phillips to Maria Weston Chapman, August 2, 1845. *Anti-Slavery Papers*, Boston Public Library.
 - 10 Edmond Quincy [Dedham, Ma.] to E. D. Hudson, June 24, 1846. *Hudson Papers*, *UMA*. Hathaway, a Quaker from Farmington N.Y., was also president of the Western New York Anti-Slavery Society.
 - 11 Edmond Quincy [Dedham, Ma.] to E. D. Hudson, June 24, 1846. *Hudson Papers*, *UMA*.
 - 12 Edmond Quincy [Dedham, Ma.] to E. D. Hudson, June 24, 1846. *Hudson Papers*, *UMA*.
 - 13 Edmond Quincy [Dedham, Ma.] to E. D. Hudson, June 24, 1846. *Hudson Papers*, *UMA*.
 - 14 J. C. Hathaway [Boston] to E. D. Hudson [Springfield], June 9, 1847. *Hudson Papers*, *UMA*.

- Hathaway neglects to mention that he and Remond would be receiving the same salary as Hudson plus expenses.
- 15 "American Anti Slavery Society in a/c with J. C. Hathaway", 1847, bMS Am 1953 (1597), Houghton Library, Harvard University.
 - 16 Frederick Douglass to Wendell Phillips, April 4, 1844, bMS Am 1953, Houghton Library, Harvard University
 - 17 Edmond Quincy to Caroline Weston July 30, 1847, Ms A.9.2 v23 no38, Boston Public Library
 - 18 John A. Andrew to Francis Jackson, December 2, 1845, Ms A.1.2.v15 p82, Boston Public Library.
Edmond Quincy to Maria Weston Chapman, July 11, 1846, Ms A.9.2 v22 no73, Boston Public Library.
Lewis Hayden to Harriett Hayden, April 4, 1847, *Black Abolitionist Papers* 05:0414.
 - 19 E. D. Hudson [Springfield, Ma.] to Wendell Phillips, [December 9, 1848], bMS Am 1953, Houghton Library, Harvard University.
 - 20 *National Anti-Slavery Standard July 22, 1847*, Lewis Hayden to S. H. Gay, [letter dated 7/11/47], in *Black Abolitionist Papers* 05:0441.
 - 21 "American Anti Slavery Society in a/c with J. C. Hathaway", 1847, bMS Am 1953 (1597), Houghton Library, Harvard University.
 - 22 *National Anti-Slavery Standard*, September 2, 1847.
 - 23 "American Anti Slavery Society in a/c with J. C. Hathaway", 1847, bMS Am 1953 (1597), Houghton Library, Harvard University. Hathaway, following Quaker practice, refers to the names of the months by number-therefore, "Tenth Month", not the traditional "October."
 - 24 *National Anti-Slavery Standard*, July 29, 1847; September 2, 1847; September 7, 1847.
 - 25 The North Star, December 3, 1847. There were 66 delegates with Hayden listed as the only member from Michigan.
 - 26 *National Anti-Slavery Standard*, October 14, 1847; October 21, 1847; November 11, 1847.
 - 27 Martha Hudson and Fowler Hudson to E. D. Hudson, December 19, 1847, *Hudson Papers, UMA*. Fowler refers to the loss of his leg and prospects for an artificial leg in a note written at the end of Martha Hudson's letter.
 - 28 *National Anti-Slavery Standard*, November 18, 1847.
 - 29 William Lloyd Garrison to Sydney Howard Gay, [Boston] March 31, 1846. In Walter M. Merrill, editor, *The letters of William Lloyd Garrison, Volume III: No union with slave-holders, 1841-1849* (Cambridge, MA, Harvard University Press, 1973), 334.
 - 30 *National Anti-Slavery Standard*, February 3, 1848.
 - 31 Wendell Phillips to E. D. Hudson, November 23, 1847, *Hudson Papers, UMA*.
 - 32 J. C. Hathaway [Farmington, N.Y.] to E. D. Hudson [Fort Brewerton, Onondaga Co., N.Y.],

- December 28, 1847, *Hudson Papers, UMA*.
- 33 J. C. Hathaway [Farmington, N.Y.] to E. D. Hudson [Fort Brewerton, Onondaga Co., N.Y.], December 28, 1847, *Hudson Papers, UMA*.
- 34 J. C. Hathaway [Farmington, N.Y.] to E. D. Hudson [Fort Brewerton, Onondaga Co., N.Y.], December 28, 1847, *Hudson Papers, UMA*.
- 35 *The North Star*, January 28, 1848.
- 36 E. D. Hudson to Wendell Phillips, December 1, 1847, bMS Am 1953, Houghton Library, Harvard University.
- 37 "Fourth Annual Meeting of the Western New York Anti-Slavery Society", *The North Star*, January 7, 1848.
- 38 *National Anti-Slavery Standard*, December 9, 1847; December 16, 1847.
- 39 "Fourth Annual Meeting of the Western New York Anti-Slavery Society", *The North Star*, January 7, 1848.
- 40 E. D. Hudson to Wendell Phillips, February 3, 1848, bMS Am 1953, Houghton Library, Harvard University.
- 41 The meeting was held in the same location as the Fair had been the year before which resulted in catastrophe when the second floor of the hall collapsed and several people were injured. Hudson, a doctor, was able to help the injured at the time and his description of his fellow abolitionists was scathing: "I have worked like a slave - Hathaway has been sick - Remond is good for nothing in such an affair & Brown not knowing what to do the burden fell upon me...." E. D. Hudson [West Winfield] to Martha Hudson [Springfield], February 14, 1847. *Hudson Papers, UMA*.
- 42 *The North Star*, January 1, 1848.
- 43 E. D. Hudson to Wendell Phillips, February 3, 1848, bMS Am 1953, Houghton Library, Harvard University.
- 44 E. D. Hudson to Wendell Phillips, February 3, 1848, bMS Am 1953, Houghton Library, Harvard University.
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- 46 "American Anti Slavery Society in a/c with J. C. Hathaway", 1847, bMS Am 1953 (1597), Houghton Library, Harvard University.
- 47 E. D. Hudson to Wendell Phillips, February 3, 1848, bMS Am 1953, Houghton Library, Harvard University.
- 48 E. D. Hudson to Phillips, December 1, 1847, bMS Am 1953, Houghton Library, Harvard University.
- 49 E. D. Hudson to Phillips, December 1, 1847, bMS Am 1953, Houghton Library, Harvard University.

- 50 *National Anti-Slavery Standard*, February 17, 1848.
- 51 Lewis Hayden [Fort Plain, N.Y.] to Wendell Phillips, February 21 1848, bMS Am 1953, Houghton Library, Harvard University. *National Anti-Slavery Standard*, February 17, 1848.
- 52 *The North Star*, July 21, 1848.
- 53 Lewis Hayden [Fort Plain, N.Y.] to Wendell Phillips, February 21 1848, bMS Am 1953, Houghton Library, Harvard University.
- 54 E. D. Hudson [Springfield, Ma.] to Wendell Phillips, [December 9, 1848], bMS Am 1953, Houghton Library, Harvard University.
- 55 E. D. Hudson [Springfield, Ma.] to Wendell Phillips, [December 9, 1848], bMS Am 1953, Houghton Library, Harvard University.
- 56 E. D. Hudson [Springfield, Ma.] to Wendell Phillips, [December 9, 1848], bMS Am 1953, Houghton Library, Harvard University.
- 57 Martha Hudson [Springfield, Ma.] to E. D. Hudson [Quaker Springs, Saratoga Co., N.Y.], March 12, 1848. *Hudson Papers, UMA*.
- 58 *National Anti-Slavery Standard*, March 23, 1848.
- 59 E. D. Hudson [Springfield, Ma.] to Wendell Phillips, [December 9, 1848], bMS Am 1953, Houghton Library, Harvard University.
- 60 Samuel May, Jr. [Boston, Ma.] to E. D. Hudson [Springfield, Ma.], June 19, 1848. *Hudson Papers, UMA*.
- 61 *The North Star*, July 21, 1848.
- 62 *The North Star*, August 4, 1848.
- 63 *The North Star*, February 16, 1849.
- 64 *Liberator*, July 13, 1849.
- 65 *The North Star*, December 29, 1848.
- 66 Wendell Phillips to Maria Weston Chapman Wendell Phillips to Maria Weston Chapman, August 2, 1845, Ms A.9.2 v21 no9, *Anti-Slavery Papers*, Boston Public Library.

[Abstract]

Lewis Hayden's 1847-1848
Anti-Slavery Tour and the American Anti-Slavery
Society as an Employer

Robert E. GETTINGS

In 1847-1848, the American Anti-Slavery Society sent several teams of agents on lecture campaigns in central and western New York. From August 1847, Lewis Hayden, a fugitive slave, toured the state with Erasmus Darwin Hudson. In February 1848 the Society suddenly terminated his agency. Historians have suggested that this came about because he had poor public speaking ability or was opposed to the Society's political philosophy. Yet between November 1847 and March 1848 the Society terminated all of its New York agents' agencies. This paper examines the relationship of the American Anti-Slavery Society's Executive Committee with its agents as an employer. While the agents and Executive Committee agreed on ethical/political values, their economic needs were at odds. Agents took on their work so that they might have a voice in the fight against slavery. They looked to the Society to provide them with an economic base for this voice. The Society depended on its agents to sustain the Society's finances by soliciting subscriptions to its newspaper, the *National Anti-Slavery Standard*. A breakdown in this system was one of the reasons that the Society cancelled the New York campaign and Hayden's agency.

Key words : Lewis Hayden, anti-slavery, agent, Erasmus Darwin Hudson, New York