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University of Turku

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Doctoral programme in Languages and Translation Studies (Utuling)

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ISBN 978-951-29-8872-3 (PRINT)
ISBN 978-951-29-8873-0 (PDF)
ISSN 0082-6987 (Print)
ISSN 2343-3191 (Online)
Painosalama, Turku, Finland 2022

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SUSANNA MÄKINEN: Stability and variation in the genre of runaway slave notices in American newspapers 1704–1865
Doctoral Dissertation, x + 235 pp.
Doctoral Programme in Languages and Translation Studies (Utuling)
May 2022

ABSTRACT

This dissertation focuses on the genre of runaway slave notices in American newspapers in the 18th and 19th centuries. These notices were texts that slaveholders placed in the papers in order to get the public's assistance in recapturing runaways by describing them and offering a reward for their capture. The aim of the study is to map out the prototypical features of the genre, and examine what kinds of variation the genre exhibits. In addition, the study also examines how advertisers used these notices to reinforce an image of slavery that suited their interests.

The study is based on a corpus of 2,603 notices that have been collected from newspapers published in Massachusetts, Connecticut, New York, Pennsylvania, Maryland, Virginia, South Carolina, Georgia, Tennessee, Louisiana, Mississippi and Texas. The time period under examination is from the first American newspaper in 1704 to the end of the American Civil War in 1865, covering the whole time period in which such notices were published. The corpus of runaway notices is analyzed by identifying and describing the various *moves* that can be found in the genre. The use of headlines, images and other features of the layout of the notices is examined, as well as the ways in which the advertisements referred to different people.

The study shows runaway slave notices, on the one hand, to be a genre that has some basic components that remain constant, and a genre that makes use of formulaic expressions that are often repeated from one advertisement to the next. On the other hand, when examined more closely, the genre both changes throughout the years and varies between different geographical areas. This variation can be seen, for instance, in the popularity of certain moves, typical word choices, and ordering of information. The study provides a thorough investigation of one specific type of historical newspaper genre against which developments in other genres of newspaper advertising can be contrasted.

KEYWORDS: eighteenth century, genre, move analysis, newspapers, nineteenth century, notices, slavery

TURUN YLIOPISTO
Humanistinen tiedekunta
Kieli- ja käännöstieteiden laitos
Englannin kieli
SUSANNA MÄKINEN: Stability and variation in the genre of runaway slave notices in American newspapers 1704–1865
Väitöskirja, x + 235 s.
Kieli- ja käännöstieteiden tohtoriohjelma (Utuling)
Toukokuu 2022

TIIVISTELMÄ

Tämä väitöstutkimus käsittelee 1700- ja 1800-lukujen amerikkalaisissa sanomalehdissä ilmestyneiden karanneet orjat -ilmoitusten genreä. Nämä ilmoitukset olivat tekstejä, joissa orjanomistajat kuvailivat heiltä paenneita henkilöitä ja lupasivat lukijoille palkkioita heidän kiinniotostaan. Tutkimuksen tavoitteena on kartoittaa, millaisia ovat prototyyppisen karanneet orjat -ilmoituksen piirteet ja tutkia sitä, paljonko vaihtelua tässä tekstilajissa esiintyy. Tutkimuksen kohteena on myös, miten ilmoitusten kirjoittajat pystyivät ilmoitusten kielivalinnoilla vahvistamaan haluamaansa kuvaa orjuudesta.

Tutkimus perustuu sanomalehdistä kerättyyn aineistoon, joka koostuu 2603 ilmoituksesta. Sanomalehdet on julkaistu Massachusettsissa, Connecticutissa, New Yorkissa, Pennsylvaniassa, Marylandissa, Virginiassa, Etelä-Carolinassa, Georgiassa, Tennesseessä, Louisianassa, Mississippissä ja Teksasissa. Tutkimukseen on otettu mukaan koko ajanjakso, jolloin tällaisia ilmoituksia lehdissä ilmestyi, alkaen ensimmäisistä amerikkalaisista sanomalehdistä 1704 ja päättyen Yhdysvaltain sisällisodan loppuun 1865. Orjailmoitukset on analysoitu tunnistamalla ja kuvailemalla erilaiset *siirrot*, joita genre sisältää. Lisäksi tarkkailussa ovat otsikot, kuvat ja muu ilmoitusten ulkoasu, kuten myös tavat, joilla ilmoitukset viittaavat eri ihmisiin.

Tutkimus osoittaa karanneet orjat -genren peruspiirteiden pysyneen samoina läpi tutkitun ajanjakson. Niissä toistuvat myös usein kaavamaiset ilmaukset. Yksityiskohtaisempi tarkastelu kuitenkin paljastaa eroja sekä eri aikakausina että eri alueiden välillä. Näitä eroja on mm. tiettyjen siirtojen yleisyydessä, tyypillisissä sanavalinnoissa sekä tekstin järjestyksessä. Tutkimus tarjoaa yksityiskohtaisen kuvauksen yhdestä historiallisesta sanomalehtigenrestä, joka voi toimia vertailukohtana muiden sanomalehti-ilmoitusten kehityksen tutkimukselle.

ASIASANAT: 1700-luku, 1800-luku, genre, orjuus, sanomalehdet, sanomalehti-ilmoitukset, siirtoanalyysi

Acknowledgements

As my PhD journey nears its finish line, the time has come for me to look back at the process and the many people who have made it all possible. First, I would like to offer my thanks to the external examiners of this dissertation: Professor Terry Walker from Mid Sweden University and Dr Minna Nevala from the University of Helsinki. I greatly appreciate that you both took the time to read and comment on my work, so that I could further improve it. I am also grateful to Professor Walker for agreeing to act as my opponent in the public examination.

I have been very fortunate to have had excellent supervisors to guide me in this endeavor. Professor Matti Peikola has overseen most of my PhD journey and offered much feedback and encouragement along the way, always guiding me with positivity and patience. Dr Maura Ratia became my secondary supervisor during the final stages of the dissertation process, offering a fresh pair of eyes on my work and much valuable input. My first steps into the life of a doctoral candidate were taken under the supervision of Professor Emeritus Risto Hiltunen. A heartfelt thank you to all three, I could not have done it without you.

I wish to thank everybody at the Department of English at the University of Turku for providing such a welcoming (and fun!) work environment. It has truly been a pleasure to be part of the group. I am also thankful that I have had the opportunity to get to know many lovely people over at the English Department of Åbo Akademi as well. Also, I wish to express my thanks to anyone who has commented on my research in various seminars and conferences over the years. And to all the people I have shared a coffee room with (whether in Rosetta or Signum), thanks for making my lunches and tea breaks more entertaining.

An extra special thank you to the legendary Philological Colloquium in all its various forms over the years: Dr Mari-Liisa Varila, Dr Hanna Salmi, Dr Aleksi Mäkilähde, Dr Aino Liira, Dr Sara Norja, Dr Sirkku Ruokkeinen, Johanna Rastas, Ida Meerto and Henna Kortelainen (and naturally the honorary PhilCollian, Dr Pauliina Peltonen, too). Those of you with “Dr” in front of your names at this point – thank you for showing me that it can be done. Thank you to Sara for language checking the dissertation, all remainign erors are my own. All of you, thank you for all the feedback and peer support. Also, thanks for those escape rooms, PhilKaljat,

board game nights, work Zooms during the Pandemic Era, etc. Maybe the real dissertation was the friends we made along the way ☺

Throughout the years, I have been lucky enough to have received funding for working on this dissertation from a number of sources. I gratefully acknowledge the funding I have received from the Finnish Cultural Foundation, the Turku University Foundation, the Emil Aaltonen Foundation and the doctoral programme Utuling.

To all my friends and family – thanks for being extremely kind and never asking out loud the (frankly, fairly reasonable) question "are you seriously *still* not finished?", and instead offering plenty of encouragement. Special shout-outs to: Inka, you are the bestest of friends, thanks for being there for me all these years. Kristiina, thanks for being a most excellent cousin and always willing to join me in silly running events in increasingly more impractical costumes. My brother, Jonne, thanks for a bunch of stuff, including (but not limited to) the speedy delivery of a computer monitor when my need was the direst and stress-levels the highest. Äiti & iskä, thanks not only for the steady supply of delicious food that ensured I never went hungry in the big city, but most of all for your unwavering and unconditional support and faith in me throughout the years.

25 April 2022
Susanna Mäkinen

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1 Introduction

This study examines the genre of runaway slave advertisements[1] in American[2] newspapers from the 18th and 19th centuries. My aim is to focus on them as texts belonging to a specific genre, and to examine how this genre appears on the pages of a newspaper. For instance, how do the writers of these texts present their information? How strict is the model that they knowingly or unknowingly follow? What changes happen in the over 150-year timespan during which these notices can be found in American papers?

> RUN AWAY from the Subscriber, a
> new negro man named *Pompey*, a tall thin fellow
> and remarkable for having six toes upon one foot, and the scar
> of a cut with a whip saw on one of his knees. Any person
> that can apprehend the said negro, and deliver him to me in
> St. *Thomas'*s parish, or to the warden of the work house, shall
> have *Five Pounds* reward ; but whoever harbours, entertains
> or conceals him, shall be prosecuted agreeable to law.
> *Alexander Garden*, jun.
> (*South-Carolina Gazette*, Aug 10, 1752)

Anyone skimming through newspapers from America in the 18th and the first half of the 19th century would be more than likely to run into texts like the one above. To the modern reader, they are stark reminders of a time in American history when some human beings were considered as property. At the same time, these texts are reminders that, despite being regarded as property by those who professed to own them, these individuals would often protest this imposed status by running away from their enslavers. The advertising columns of newspapers where thousands and thousands of runaway slave notices were published were one place where the

1 I use the words 'advertisement' and 'notice' synonymously to refer to these texts.
2 By American, I here mean Britain's North American colonies that formed the United States in the 1770s, as well as the later geographical expansion of the United States.

slaveholders' struggle to uphold the institution of slavery became visible, as these texts make it clear to anyone reading the papers that a large proportion of enslaved people did not passively accept the role society tried to impose on them.

The value of these short documents to historians is undeniable. Although written through the lens of people who wished to keep them in bondage, these texts offer a wealth of information on people who often left no written record of themselves. When examined individually, they can be read as mini-biographies that reveal people with a unique appearance and skills while also hinting at further stories of family members left behind or feats of ingenuity in avoiding capture. Examined in greater numbers, the same texts can be used to study general features of slavery such as the average age of runaways, their physical characteristics, typical destinations, and so forth. A multitude of studies have seized the information contained in these texts to do just that. For instance, Franklin and Schweninger (1999) offer a comprehensive overview of 19th-century slave runaways, based to a large extent on information found in runaway notices.

Perhaps due to the vast amount of attention paid to these notices for the information they contain, an examination of the runaway slave notice as one type of text alongside various others in early newspapers has not been conducted. Nevertheless, the runaway slave notices are an example of a newspaper text genre that was very prominent in early newspapers, and descriptions of early newspapers and early advertising usually comment on the presence of various types of runaway advertisements (e.g. Sampson 1874; Mott 1962; Clark 1994). The development of newspaper discourse and the various genres it contains has attracted scholarly attention in recent years (e.g. Bös & Kornexl 2015; Palander-Collin, Ratia & Taavitsainen 2017). Short genres such as the death notice and different types of commercial advertisements have been studied for their structural and linguistic properties (Gieszinger 2001; Borde 2015). Although studies using runaway slave notices as their source often make some comments on the language or basic structure of such advertisements (e.g., Bradley 1998; Block 2018), to my knowledge, the genre of runaway notices has not yet received a comprehensive treatment from this perspective, and this dissertation aims to fill this gap in the research. In addition to complementing the field of studies on early newspaper language, it is my hope that a closer analysis of the structure and linguistic features of these texts may also offer new insights to people interested in the history of slavery.

The questions that my dissertation aims to answer are as follows:

1. What is a prototypical American runaway slave advertisement?

When presenting a description of a particular genre, the sensible starting point is to focus on what features are the most typical. In this dissertation, I aim to describe what constituent parts (i.e., moves) the runaway notice typically consists of and how

these are ordered. This also includes a description of the linguistic realizations of these constituent parts, for instance, typical phrases or words used in them. The runaway notices are not just a collection of words, but their visual appearance on the page is also relevant to the description of the genre, as some aspects of the notice are made more prominent to the readers through visual means, such as separate headlines or changes in font. Describing the notices in detail requires exploration of how various parties interacted to create them, particularly how the notices show the involvement both of the advertisers and the printers/editors.

2. What kinds of variation and change can be found in the genre of runaway slave notices and what reasons are found behind this variation?

A description of the prototypical runaway notice brings with it the idea that some advertisements will necessarily deviate from the prototype. One point of interest in this dissertation is to examine how strictly the advertisements stayed true to the typical example of a runaway notice, and how much individual leeway the advertisers had when writing their notices. What types of elements could be included, even if they were not found in the majority of the advertisements? Under this research question, I also deal with the factor that the prototypical runaway notice may not have been the same at all times during the roughly 150-year time period during which these notices were found in the papers, nor in different geographical areas. In fact, newspapers in general changed considerably during the time period under scrutiny, and such changes are reflected in the advertisements contained in them. Slavery as an institution was not uniform all across America, and such societal differences are expected to have an effect on runaway slave notices.

3. What kind of an image of slavery do these notices construct?

Runaway slave advertisements were texts created by slaveholders to protect their own interests (mainly, their interest in keeping a sizable proportion of the population enslaved and under their control). These interests and the general worldview of the advertisers unavoidably permeate the word choices of the notices. Therefore, as I analyze the components that make up the runaway slave notices (whether they be typical or unusual), I will also focus on the ways these particular word choices were, consciously or not, used by the slaveholders to create particular images of themselves, enslaved people and the institution of slavery in general.

To answer my research questions, I have collected a comprehensive corpus of runaway slave notices from American newspapers. I wanted to cover the entire timespan when the notices were present in the papers. As slavery arrived in the British North American colonies at a time when no newspapers were published in the area, the starting point for my corpus is based on the appearance of the first colonial newspapers in 1704. The end point, on the other hand, is defined by the end of slavery in the United States in 1865 at the end of the American Civil War. My

corpus consists of 2,603 runaway slave notices. The advertisements have been gathered from twelve different colonies/states:[3] Massachusetts (MA), Connecticut (CN), Pennsylvania (PA), New York (NY), Maryland (MD), Virginia (VA), South Carolina (SC), Georgia (GA), Tennessee (TN), Mississippi (MS), Louisiana (LA) and Texas (TX). I chose these places in order to collect a corpus of notices from areas where slavery varied from being a more marginal phenomenon to ones where it formed the basis for the whole economic system (for details, see 6.3.1).

As I am interested in the runaway slave notice as a genre instead of focusing solely on the information these texts contain, gaining a comprehensive understanding of the textual environment they occurred in was considered crucial. Genres do not exist in isolation, but rather form a web of various interdependencies and relations, where they are influenced by one another (Devitt 2004: 54–59; Bhatia 2004: 57–59). For the runaway slave notice, most of the interesting points of comparison are found in the advertising section. There, by physical proximity, such notices can be compared to ones concerning for instance other missing persons or strayed horses. The people advertised for as runaways might also appear in notices informing the reader of captured runaways or be offered for sale in other types of advertisements. Partly to make sure that I could familiarize myself with the textual environment of the runaway notices, I did not collect my corpus by relying on earlier compilations of these advertisements, of which there are several both in book form and as electronic databases (for further reasoning, see 6.1). Instead, I have collected my data by locating the notices on the pages of the newspapers and transcribing them myself. For the most part, I have used *America's Historical Newspapers* (Readex) to gain access to the newspapers, though with some additions from *Accessible Archives.*

The notion of genre entails a variety of possible approaches. Genre research commonly acknowledges that the sociocultural context is integral for the understanding of a particular genre. Gaining an understanding of the society that produces the texts is needed for the study of any genre, and in the case of runaway slave notices, the institution of slavery forms a central part of this sociocultural context. From another perspective, the genre of runaway slave notices is also rooted in the culture of newspaper publishing. This is a field that, in the America of the 18th and 19th centuries, saw great shifts both in the overall appearance of newspapers, as well as their numbers (see Mott 1962; Clark 1994). Moving on to a more specific level, each text belonging to a particular genre is produced by certain people and

[3] Exactly what to call these areas is a slight problem, as for a large part of the 18th century, most of these places were British colonies, transforming into states after the American Revolution. I will mostly use the somewhat cumbersome expression colonies/states, but occasionally refer to them simply as states for the sake of brevity.

targeted at some audience. In the case of advertisements, the effect of at least two creators is visible, both that of the advertiser named at the bottom of the notice, commonly assumed to have written the text of the notice, and that of the newspaper printer, who transmits the message into the medium of newspapers. The audience of the runaway notices may be seen as the readers of the newspapers as a whole, but, as my analysis will show, runaway notices also included messages targeted at more specific groups.

While I will discuss questions of creators, audience, social context and genre relationships, the main focus of my dissertation is, however, on the more formal features of the genre. One identifying feature of genres is that they share similarities in structure, style and content (Swales 1990: 58). To structure my analysis and to present the structure of the runaway notice, I have adopted the notion of moves (Swales 1990) as a core element of the analysis. This allows me to examine the runaway notices in separate units. However, some features of the form of the notice, such as the visual appearance or language features that overlap several moves, are more practically dealt with by examining the whole of the notice. The end goal is to discuss the notion of a prototypical runaway notice, as well as explore the flexibility the genre had to adapt to writers with slightly different aims and approaches. With the help of a corpus that spans from the early 18th to the mid-19th century, the developments across time can be tracked. The choice to collect notices from various different geographical areas will allow me to shed light on how local the formal features of the genre might be.

Writing a dissertation on texts that are intrinsically rooted in the institution of slavery, I have had to face choices on what terms to use in reference to the people involved and their relationships. The most common terms such as *slave* and *slaveowner* or *master* have come under considerable criticism in recent years, as they can be seen to normalize the social structures of the past. Instead, there has been a push to refer to, for instance, *enslaved people* and *enslavers*, to draw attention to the fact that these were not natural identities but rather something one part of the populace forced on another (see e.g. "The Vocabulary of Freedom" by the Underground Railroad Education Center[4]).

I believe that awareness of the problems inherent in the terminology is important, and I have attempted to take this into account in my dissertation, although I have not avoided the more problematic terms entirely. For instance, I have attempted to favor using *enslaved person* instead of *slave*, but do occasionally use the term *slave* as well (for one, I use it in the name of the genre under discussion, the runaway slave advertisement). Instead of *slaveowner* I have preferred the term *slaveholder* as well

4 https://undergroundrailroadhistory.org/the-vocabulary-of-freedom/.

as occasionally using *enslaver*. One reason why I do not prefer the term *enslaver* is that, since it focuses on the action of enslaving, it sometimes seems counterintuitive the use it in connection with runaways: runaway notices deal with a situation where the enslaved person is not at that moment being actively enslaved by any would-be enslaver. Also, I find that while the laws of the time might have designated some specific person as the "owner" of the enslaved person, the group of people participating in the actual enslaving (i.e., all the people who might justifiably be called *enslavers*) was much larger (including all people involved in actively upholding the system of slavery). Therefore always using *enslaver* as the preferred synonym for *owner/master/slaveholder* is not wholly without its own problems. Since the current dissertation mostly focuses on these people as the creators of the advertisements that form my corpus, I have often favored the term *advertiser*. This has not been done to somehow intentionally obscure the way these people were complicit in perpetuating the unjust institution of slavery, but rather to avoid frequent use of the more problematic terms like *master* or *owner.* Likewise, as my discussion of enslaved people focuses on the reports of them having escaped this enslavement at least temporarily, I most often refer to them as *fugitives* or *runaways*, though acknowledging that even these words can carry unintended connotations. For instance, Bolton (2019: 4) points out that the term *runaway* is "an inadequate way of describing a person who absented himself or herself from slavery", partly because it "suggests escapees left some place where they should have remained", though acknowledging that there are no perfect alternatives to replace it.

In addition to the problematic terms connected directly to slavery, I have also had to make decisions on how to deal with terminology related to race, as it is something deeply entwined into American slavery. As Kopelson (2014: 19) notes, "choosing racial labels and terminology is a fraught process that has no perfect solution". Silverman (2016: 9) notes how the modern consensus is that race is a cultural construct, not a biological reality, and continues:

> [W]hile it is wholly appropriate to examine how historical actors came to view themselves and others in terms of race and to act on that worldview, it is problematic for us in modern times, cognizant of the illogical status of race and the horror that racialist ideology has propagated, to continue to use racial terms in our discussions. It can be and has been argued that scholarly use of the categories white, black, and Indian serves to perpetuate these mistaken, damaging human divisions. I write generally convinced by this critique but without an effective way (at least of which I am aware) to apply it. (Silverman 2016: 9)

With my dissertation, I find myself in a very similar position. I have made the decision to call people of African descent *Black.*[5] While *African American* is perhaps the term mostly favored today, I agree with Silverman (2016: 10) in that it is "anachronistic in discussing the colonial era, when a portion of the black population had been born in Africa or the West Indies and did not – indeed, could not – yet identify themselves with an American nation".

I hope that while my discussion of the society of the time might sometimes include terms or word choices that would seem to normalize the social structures or racial perceptions of the time, the overall idea that this system that considered people property and classified them by the color of their skin was horrifically unjust and dehumanizing is still clearly apparent in my dissertation.

The structure of the dissertation is as follows. In Chapter 2, I will contextualize runaway slave notices by providing an overview of slavery in the United States (2.1–2.4) and discuss the issue of runaways in particular (2.5). Chapter 3 provides contextualization from the point of view of the material environment, that is, the development of American newspapers in general (3.1) and the advertising section specifically (3.2). Chapter 4 offers an overview of previous compilations of runaway notices (4.1) and discusses previous research done based on these texts (4.2). In Chapter 5, I introduce the theoretical and methodological framework: I discuss the aspects of genre relevant to this study (5.1), move analysis in particular, as it structures a large part of my analysis (5.2), and previous research conducted on various newspaper genres (5.3). I introduce my materials and how I compiled the corpus for this study in Chapter 6. The main analysis is found in Chapter 7. It starts with a look at the more general sociocultural and situational features of the genre (7.1), before moving on to the move analysis (7.2). After discussing each move separately, I will move on to discuss features of the genre that I have deemed to be best described outside the framework of the move analysis: various visual aspects of these notices (7.3), the ways the notices make reference to the people mentioned in them (7.4) and issues such as editorial influences and later changes to the advertisements (7.5). Chapter 8 brings the various threads of the dissertation together as I discuss the overall findings of the study. Chapter 9 provides a short conclusion summarizing the study and suggesting possible avenues for further research.

[5] Whether the words *Black* and *White* should be capitalized or not is another issue that has proponents on both sides. I have decided to capitalize them in this dissertation (for discussion on the matter, see e.g. Wachal 2000).

2 Contextualizing the runaway notices: Slavery in America

The presence of runaway slave notices in newspapers is a direct result of a society where people could be legally held as property and where a constant need to recapture individuals who resisted that situation existed. Likewise, the disappearance of these texts can be attributed to the gradually disappearing slavery in the North and finally the American Civil War bringing slavery to an abrupt end in the South. The aim of this section is to provide the necessary background information on the institution of slavery in America in order to place the runaway slave notices in their historical context. I will start by offering some general discussion on how slavery has been defined as a general phenomenon and, more specifically, how it was defined in the American context. Then I will give an overview of the main turning points in slavery in 18th and 19th-century America, followed by a final section devoted to the issue of runaways in particular.

2.1 Defining slavery

> A person who is wholly subject to the will of another; one who has no will of his own, but whose person and services are wholly under the control of another. In the early state of the world, and to this day among some barbarous nations, prisoners of war are considered and treated as slaves. The slaves of modern times are more generally purchased, like horses and oxen. (Webster's Dictionary 1828, s.v. 'slave')

Writing in America at a time when slavery was pervasive in the Southern states and vestiges of it still lingered in the Northern ones, Noah Webster offered the above description of the word *slave*. Though the contrast between the past and "barbarous nations" and the "modern times" with their preferred methods of acquiring slaves seems more than tone-deaf to the present-day reader, Webster brings out some of the key points associated with slavery: the placement of some people under the control of others as well as the aspect of them being purchasable, that is, considered as property. As Webster also notes, slavery has existed from "the early state of the

world". That is, slavery in some form has been a feature of many societies around the globe at some point in history. However, as it has taken so many forms over time, scholars have struggled to find an all-encompassing definition for it. Davis (2006) offers the following summary of traditional definitions of slavery:

> Traditional definitions of slavery have stressed that the slave's person is the chattel property of another man or woman, and thus subject to sale and other forms of transfer; that the slave's will is subject to the owner's authority; that the slave's labor or services are obtained through coercion, meaning that the owner's authority is always backed up by the whip or other instruments for inflicting pain; and that the master-slave relationship is "beyond the limits of family relations," thus differentiating it from the slavelike subordination of women and children in a patriarchal family. (Davis 2006: 30)

Davis then discusses the challenges in finding a comprehensive definition that captures the common features of slavery in Neo-Babylonia, Ancient Greece, among an aboriginal tribe in preconquest Brazil, and 19th-century cotton plantations in Mississippi, while at the same time effectively distinguishing it from other types of servitude. For the purposes of this dissertation, however, it is not necessary to enter into the finer details of slavery as a more general concept. I will rather focus on how slavery came to be defined in North America as European settlers shipped thousands and thousands of Africans across the Atlantic to satisfy their need for labor (for an overview of history leading up to it, see Davis 2006).

The Spanish and Portuguese were the first European nations to use African enslaved labor on a large scale in their colonies in the New World, but other colonial powers soon followed their lead. While most of them either had a law system that accommodated slavery or created one as large-scale exploitation of transported Africans began,[6] England initially "had neither a law of slavery nor a tradition of slavery" (Finkelman 2012: 106). As ships carrying Africans began dropping off their human cargo in British North American colonies in the 17th century, the status of these new arrivals was at first somewhat unclear. An often-mentioned case is that of Anthony Johnson, an African who after years of servitude gained his freedom, and rose in Virginian society to own servants of his own (Guasco 2014: 209–210). At a time when there were no clearly defined laws regarding slavery in the English colonies, the status of people of African descent may have been more fluid, allowing for people to pass more easily from slavery or other types of servitude to freedom than would be the case later (Berlin 1996). Nevertheless, Guasco (2014: 198–199)

[6] For instance, France established the *Code Noir* in 1685 (Finkelman 2012: 106).

argues that despite slavery being "unsupported by positive law" in the English colonies in the 17th century, the assumption from early on was, following the example of other colonial powers, that Africans in the New World were primarily considered as slaves right from the start.

To deal with the practicalities of slavery, England left the issue to local laws, which were "haphazardly passed by colonial legislatures or developed by colonial courts responding to specific events and cases" (Finkelman 2012: 106). In British North America, the first slave codes were created in Virginia in the latter half of the 17th century, as colonials saw a need to control the ever-growing Black population and to set them legally apart from White settlers, including White indentured servants. Other North American colonies modeled their slave codes either after Virginia or the Caribbean colonies. Likewise, as new slave states entered the United States in the 19th century, they, too, typically based their slave codes on ones used by older slave states (Berlin 2004: 166).

The colonial slave codes officialized an already existent basic binary distinction between White and Black: as a norm, people classified as "White" were free, whereas people classified as "Black" were considered slaves for life.[7] To further clarify exactly who could be enslaved and who not, slavery was soon also decreed to be defined by the status of the mother of the child: enslaved mothers gave birth to enslaved children. Legislation was also passed to deal with the issue of runaways, punishments and the rights slaveholders had, the wording of some of these laws effectively demoting enslaved people to property in the eyes of the law. The issue of who exactly was to be defined as "Negro" or "Mulatto" or "White" was also tackled by some legislatures, which (varying from state to state) might define the percentage of European or African ancestry for these groups, although "statutory definitions of race and status were different from social understanding of race and status" (Bodenhorn 2015: 23–31).

One question arising in the context of American slavery was what was to be done regarding people outside this simplified binary system of White and Black, free and slave. One such group were the original inhabitants of North America. The issue of enslaved Native Americans is usually side-stepped or only briefly mentioned when discussing slavery in North America due to their small number in contrast to enslaved Africans (Chaplin 2015). Guasco (2014: 193) cautions against considering Native American slavery as "an early example or an extension of the enslavement of African peoples", noting that it had its own particular characteristics. As the English wished to cultivate friendlier relations with some Native tribes, the enslavement of Native Americans generally needed to be somehow "justified". Warfare against the

7 Free Black people (such as the aforementioned Anthony Johnson) existed in the North American colonies as well, but they were seen as exceptions to the general rule.

colonial settlers was seen as such "justification" that could lead to the enslavement of Native Americans (Guasco 2014: 193). While the English colonials did not systematically enslave Native Americans, thousands of them were still captured and made to serve as slaves in colonial and 19th-century America (see Lauber 1913). Fitting Native American "into a system of racial categorization that increasingly admitted only white or black" (Berlin 2004: 55) was problematic and, in practice, enslaved Native Americans, due to their status as slaves, would often be labeled as Black in colonial and early US society.

Rael (2015: 35) notes that instead of a dichotomy of 'slave' vs. 'free', slavery could also be viewed as a "particularly degraded position among a range of statuses in hierarchical social orders."[8] One type of low societal status relevant for the time period discussed in this study is that of indentured servants. In the colonial period, indentured servants were usually European settlers who paid for their passage to America by signing a contract for a set number of years, usually 3 to 7 years (Morgan 2000: 8). While indentured, they too were under the control of their masters, faced harsh working conditions and severe punishments if they ran away (Morgan 2000: 20–21, 59–60). They (or technically "their time", although for instance newspaper advertisements did not always make the distinction) could also be sold from one person to the next. In contrast to slaves, the time of service was limited and the arrangement was based on a contract,[9] and at the end of it, these servants were entitled to their "freedom dues" (Morgan 2000: 9). Indentured European servants were most significant in Virginia and Maryland from 1630 to the early 1700s, and Pennsylvania and its environs between the late 1670s and the early 1770s (Tomlins 2010: 32–33).

Indentured servitude is typically connected to European immigrants, but also Black people would sometimes be indentured, as happened, for instance, with the gradual abolition of slavery in the North (see 2.3). Furthermore, for instance Gorsuch (2012) explores the way slaveholders in the 19th century took enslaved people to the free state of Illinois, where they nominally freed them but pressured them to sign nearly life-long indenture contracts to get around the ban on slavery in the area.

8 Rael (2015: 35) further argues that the binary of 'slave' vs. 'free' became prominent due to the principles popularized during the late-18th-century age of revolutions, when the principle of freedom was no longer only reserved for social elites.

9 Although becoming indentured was usually a choice, some servants were lured to the New World under false pretenses or by force. Likewise, convicts were frequently sent to the colonies to serve their time (Guasco 2014: 165).

2.2 Slave societies in the South, societies with slaves in the North

By the start of the 18th century, slavery was already well established in Britain's North American colonies with new Africans to be sold arriving by the thousands every year. Slavery was legal and present at least to some extent in nearly all of the colonies.[10] However, from the beginning, there were considerable differences in its prominence depending on geographical location.

Slavery rose to be a crucial part of the economy of the Southern states mainly because the lands there were suitable for large-scale cultivation of various types of labor-intensive crops. While early colonials attempted to fill their labor needs with European servants, the need for labor outgrew the number of willing European immigrants in the latter half of the 17th century (Davis 2006: 132–133). As a result, the colonials focused on acquiring enslaved labor. In the case of the Upper South / Chesapeake area (i.e., colonies such as Virginia and Maryland), the main cash crop was tobacco. Further south, in the low country of South Carolina and Georgia, the main plantation crops were initially rice and indigo, which favored larger plantations than tobacco cultivation (Berlin 2004: 71–72). Cotton, the most emblematic crop of the slave plantations of the South, did not grow to its great significance until the 19th century. Eli Whitney's invention of the cotton gin in the late 18th century made cotton cultivation in the inlands of the United States profitable and led to the United States becoming the main supplier of cotton to the global cotton industry in the 19th century. This development was built not only at the human cost of the forced migration of thousands of enslaved people into the new areas of the west to work the cotton fields, but also the forceful "emptying" of the lands of their original Native inhabitants by a combination of warfare and unfair treaties (see Beckert 2015 [2014], especially Ch. 5). The 19th century also saw a rise in sugar cultivation in certain areas of Louisiana and its environs (Follett 2000: 4).

While the plantation economy with its labor-intensive crops created and solidified the demand for large numbers of enslaved workers in the South, not all of them worked as field hands. While some might have worked on plantations with little contact with their masters, others worked in the slaveholder's household for instance as house servants, messengers or boatmen (Berlin 2004: 78). Skilled slaves might also work as coopers, blacksmiths, tanners, millers and so forth (Berlin 2004: 114). A common practice was also to hire out enslaved people to other employers,

[10] The one exception was, for a while, Georgia, the last of the original thirteen colonies to be established. Initially established in the 1730s as a colony for the English poor, its founding documents banned slavery. Due to increasing demands for access to enslaved labor, in 1751 the ban was lifted and Georgia's enslaved population quickly rose (for the early stages of Georgia, see McIlvenna 2015).

the slaves sometimes collecting the earnings themselves to hand them to their masters (Franklin & Schweninger 1999: 33). Women worked on the fields alongside men, but might also serve as cooks, seamstresses, washerwomen, etc. Children, too, were put to work from a young age.

Though enslaved people were not as numerous in the North, slavery was still of considerable importance there. Many northern merchants were highly invested in the transatlantic slave trade, with over 60% of North American slave ships leaving from Rhode Island alone. Clark-Pujara (2016) argues that the North, even if it had fewer enslaved people, still actively partook in "the business of slavery". In particular, enslaved Black household servants "became almost universal among the white elites and even the prosperous middle class from Boston to Baltimore" (Davis 2006: 129). As the crops grown in the North did not favor large plantations, northern slaveholders usually enslaved only two or three people, who might serve, besides household servants, as different types of craftsmen or farmhands (Clarke 1998: 78). Melish (1998: 15–17) argues that even in New England, where slavery was rare even by northern standards, slave labor played a significant role in the development of a post-sustenance economy, as it freed the household head from the daily tasks of the household. It is worth noting that some areas of the North held considerable concentrations of enslaved people; Berlin (2004: 81) notes that in the mid-1700s, they were "the single most important source of labor in the North's most fertile agricultural areas and in its busiest ports".

An often-made distinction is that between slave societies and societies with slaves. In the former, slavery "stood at the center of economic production", whereas in the latter slave labor was "just one form of labor among many" (Berlin 2004: 9). The American South was an example of a slave society, whereas the North could be classified as a society with slaves well into the 19th century. Table 1 illustrates the great difference in the presence of enslaved people in the population of the colonies/states most relevant to this dissertation, that is, the ones my materials originate from. It also shows how the percentages develop over the years. In this, and in subsequent tables, I will list the colonies/states by the following ordering principle: first the areas that formed part of the original thirteen colonies in an approximate north-to-south order (MA, CN, NY, PA, MD, VA, SC, GA), followed by the later additions to the United States (TN, LA, MS, TX). The colored cells highlight the areas and times with the largest percentages of enslaved people (the darker the red, the larger the percentage).

Table 1. Percentage of enslaved people in the total population.

	1720	1750	1770	1790	1810	1820	1840	1860
MA	2 %	2 %	2 %	0	0	0	0	0
CN	2 %	3 %	3 %	1 %	<1%	<1%	<1%	0
NY	16 %	14 %	12 %	6 %	2 %	1 %	<1%	0
PA	8 %	2 %	2 %	1 %	<1%	<1%	<1%	0
MD	19 %	31 %	32 %	32 %	30 %	26 %	19 %	13 %
VA	30 %	46 %	42 %	39 %	40 %	40 %	36 %	31 %
SC	64 %	61 %	61 %	43 %	47 %	51 %	55 %	57 %
GA	-	20 %	45 %	35 %	42 %	44 %	41 %	44 %
TN	-	-	-	10 %	18 %	19 %	22 %	25 %
LA	36 %	60 %	-	52 %	50 %	45 %	48 %	47 %
MS	-	-	-	-	42 %	43 %	52 %	55 %
TX	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	30 %

Percentages taken from Berlin 2004: 272–275, Table 1

As can be seen from Table 1, in places such as South Carolina and Louisiana, enslaved people occasionally even formed the majority of the population. While the proportion of enslaved people was, in general, rather low in the North, it still reached over ten percent in places such as New York during the colonial period.

2.3 End of slavery in the North

There had always been some opposing voices to slavery in colonial America. Most of the early criticism of slavery had been mainly based on religious grounds, notable early examples including the Germantown (PA) antislavery petition of 1688 by a group of Quakers (see Gerbner 2011) and the 1700 pamphlet *The Selling of Joseph* by Samuel Sewall in Massachusetts (see Towner 1964). In the latter half of the 18th century, the American Revolution with its ideals of freedom and equal rights also brought slavery and its justifications under new scrutiny. The era saw the establishment of the first antislavery organizations in America: the first established by the Quakers in Philadelphia in 1775, soon followed by the New York Manumission Society and many more (Rael 2015: 86). While many key figures of the American Revolution were slaveholders themselves, at least some of them had new concerns that "slavery violated the transcendent principles upon which the new nation had been established" (Rael 2015: 47). Many enslaved people, too, petitioned

the courts for their freedom, well aware of the ideologies the Revolution was supposedly based on (Rael 2015: 48). While the revolution leading to the creation of the United States gave the antislavery cause a considerable boost, it did not, however, lead to immediate abolition of slavery in the North, let alone the South.

The end of slavery came very gradually in the North. Only Vermont's state constitution of 1777 explicitly banned slavery, while other states took longer and more complicated routes. For instance, Massachusetts never officially passed legislation ending slavery. Enslaved people had been regularly passing petitions and freedom suits to Massachusetts courts in the years immediately preceding and following the Revolution, both successfully and unsuccessfully. A judicial ruling to one such freedom petition in 1783 is often cited as ending legal slavery in Massachusetts (Melish 1998: 64). However, no official law banning slavery followed, and slavery in Massachusetts disappeared "through general acquiescence rather than judicial fiat" (Rael 2015: 66).

Most Northern states opted for gradual abolition via legislation. Such laws would only free children of enslaved mothers born after a specific date, while any currently enslaved people remained in bondage. In this way, the children of slaves were freed in 1784 for instance in Pennsylvania and Connecticut. Northern states with a larger population of enslaved people had more difficulty passing such legislation: New York's gradual emancipation law did not come into effect until 1799, and New Jersey was the last Northern state to start the process in 1804 (Rael 2015: 66–67). Although a significant step towards ending slavery, these laws did not mean full immediate freedom for the children born after the set date. Instead, to offer "compensation" for the slaveholders, these children were to serve their mothers' masters as indentured servants for a set of years, usually well into their twenties. Commenting on the wording of the law in Connecticut, Melish (1998: 68) notes that these children were "in an undefined limbo of mandatory, uncompensated service: not slave, not contractually bound, not free", they were "born free into servitude" (Melish 1998: 74). In any case, such gradual emancipation laws did nothing to the status of enslaved people born before such legislation took place.

Nevertheless, a gradual erosion of slavery was underway in the North. Berlin (1974: 21) notes that ending the institution received popular support not only because few people had a vested interest in slavery, but also because freeing a relatively small Black population was not considered a significant threat to White supremacy in the society. Seeing that slavery had no long-term future in the area and sometimes also moved by personal antislavery sentiments, many Northern slaveholders ended up manumitting their slaves voluntarily, thus hastening its demise. The changed situation could also offer enslaved people a better chance of bargaining for their freedom, as slaveholders were more willing to allow them to purchase themselves or to gain manumission after a set number of years in exchange for "faithful service"

until then, as the prospects of long-term slave-ownership became less certain (White 2012: 49). It is worth noting that though no longer enslaved, the Black citizens of the North did not enjoy equal rights with the White populace, but instead faced a variety of discriminatory practices (see Litwack 1961).

In the South, with its larger slave populations, abolitionist movements failed to gain much popularity. Following the Revolution, the Upper South states such as Virginia and Maryland did pass laws that made voluntary manumission easier, leading to a number of slaveholders freeing their slaves (Rael 2015: 68). While antislavery ideologies might have been part of the reason, a dip in tobacco prices had also made slavery less profitable in the Chesapeake area at the time (Berlin 1974: 31). In any case, this resulted in the emergence of a large free Black population in the Upper South. In the Lower South, the interest in abolition was minimal and manumissions were saved for a few favorites as well as enslaved people with partly European parentage (Rael 2015: 69). The larger interest for manumission also died out fairly quickly in the Upper South when the new surge in cotton cultivation in the Lower South and new western territories drove up slave prices and provided a ready market for surplus slaves of the Upper South (Berlin 2004: 114).

2.4 Expansion of slavery to new areas and conflict between the North and South

The question of slavery caused tensions in the United States right from the start. Already in the Constitutional Convention of 1787, issues related to slavery were heatedly debated. One crucial question was whether slaves would be counted in the population when determining how many seats each state received in the House of Representatives. The result was the infamous Three-fifths Compromise, where slaves were counted as three-fifths of a person in such calculations (Rael 2015: 72–73). Another concession to the slave states was the promise not to ban international slave trade for the next 20 years[11] (Rael 2015: 72-73).

A recurring source of tension was the admission of new states into the Union, as any states added as "slave states" gave a stronger voice for the Southern interests in federal legislation, largely due to the Three-fifths Compromise. As Rael (2015: 123) points out: "the problem for northern politicians was not so much that slavery itself was an institution that violated the fundamental principles of the nation and benighted its victims, but that slavery's defenders sought to manipulate the system

[11] All of the Atlantic seaboard states ended the importation of slaves by their own decision by the year 1798. However, South Carolina resumed its international slave trade in 1803, importing thousands of slaves before the African slave trade was federally banned in 1808 as the agreed-upon 20-year moratorium expired (Davis 2006: 156).

of national governance in their own minority interest". The Louisiana Purchase of 1803 doubled the size of the United States and facilitated its fast westward expansion. Much of this expansion was fueled by the surge in cotton cultivation, as slaveholders rushed to create cotton plantations in the newly acquired territories. The Louisiana Purchase also included areas where slavery was already well established, such as Louisiana, which had previously been under Spanish and French rule.[12]

The expansion of slavery westwards and northern interests to limit its expansion created numerous political crises and attempts to solve them. For one, the Missouri Compromise of 1820 admitted Missouri as a slave state, but with the condition that slavery would otherwise be prohibited north of the 36°30′ parallel. The admission of Texas in 1845 as a slave state after it had declared independence from Mexico caused further opposition.[13] In the 1850s, the fate of the Kansas-Nebraska territory came into question. As the decision was made that the fate of the eventual state of Kansas would be decided by popular vote in the territory,[14] the area erupted in violence as proponents and opponents of slavery clashed, a prelude to the Civil War (Rael 2015: 226–229).

As mentioned, most Northern politicians may have opposed the expansion of slavery primarily on the practical grounds of not wanting their own political influence to wane. However, from the 1830s onwards, a more vocal opposition to slavery also emerged in the Northern states. People such as William Lloyd Garrison (the editor of probably the best-known anti-slavery newspaper, *The Liberator*) called for immediate abolition of slavery in the US, and anti-slavery petitions flooded Congress. In response, Congress passed various gag rules that banned such petitions from being discussed on the floor. Though the more radical abolitionists were a small minority, they managed to provoke a strong reaction in the South, where slaveholders and politicians would rail against northern agitators stealing their human property and inciting insurrection. The South's reaction furthered the divide between the North and South, as Northerners indifferent to the plight of Southern slaves nevertheless took issue with the gag rules and Southern attempts to ban the

12 It is also worth noting that in Louisiana the racial hierarchies had developed under different circumstances than in the originally British-controlled colonies: New Orleans and its environs included a society with a very large population of "gens de couleur", free Black people who had under Spanish and French rule acquired a somewhat higher social standing than free Black people in the formerly English colonies (see Berlin 1974: 108–130).

13 Mexico had abolished slavery in 1829, though it allowed slave-holding American settlers to migrate to the area of Texas, and these settlers ultimately drove Texas into independence (Rael 2015: 191).

14 This countered the Missouri Compromise that should have banned slavery there.

posting of "incendiary materials", as such actions were considered affronts to the liberties of free Northern citizens (Rael 2015: 191).

Relations between the North and the South reached a breaking point in 1860 when Abraham Lincoln won the presidential election. Deeming his election a threat to the continuance of slavery in the South, South Carolina seceded from the Union in December 1860. It was later followed by Mississippi, Florida, Alabama, Georgia, Louisiana, Virginia, Arkansas, North Carolina and Tennessee to form the Confederacy. The Battle of Fort Sumter in April 1861 started the war. While "the Confederacy initiated the conflict in order to protect slavery", the Union did not enter into war with the goal of abolishing it, but to regain control of the seceding states (Rael 2015: 241). Nevertheless, it did not take long for emancipation to arise as a war issue for the Union (Finkelman 2012: 132). The Union forces had to choose what to do with an ever-increasing number of runaway slaves fleeing to their lines. As the army advanced into Confederate territory, the question expanded to all the enslaved people left in those areas. As the war went on, Lincoln and Northern politicians were ready to undertake more extreme measures regarding slavery. The Emancipation Proclamation came into force in 1863, freeing all slaves in the areas in rebellion against the federal government. Slavery in states that were at that point already under Union control, or had not seceded in the first place, like Maryland, were technically not affected by the proclamation (Finkelman 2012: 133). At that point it was nevertheless becoming evident that a Union victory would mean the end to the institution of slavery. The 13th Amendment, which abolished slavery in the whole of the United States, was passed by Congress while the war was still ongoing. The war ended in April 1865, and the 13th Amendment came into effect in December of the same year (Finkelman 2012: 133).

Although the overview given above stresses the official government-level developments, it is important to recognize the central role that enslaved and free Black people played in the eventual abolishment of slavery. As Berlin (2015: 9) expresses it, "from the beginning of emancipation in the flames of the American Revolution to slavery's final demise in the ashes of the Civil War experience and interest placed black people at the center of the movement for universal freedom. Without their resistance to captivity and without evidence that the enslaved preferred freedom, there could be no movement against slavery".

Unfortunately, the official abolishment of slavery did not necessarily improve the everyday life of the formerly enslaved. In practice, many former slaves had to continue working in their former masters' plantations, now nominally as free laborers. After a brief era where freedmen enjoyed liberties such as voting, the old White supremacist power structures soon took over in the South and began to disenfranchise the Black population, set forth segregation laws and brought about

the Jim Crow era (Davis 2006: 327–328; see also Litwack 2004). The racial divides caused by slavery are still visible in the United States of the 21st century.

2.5 Runaway slaves and other forms of resistance

Although many slaveholders wanted to uphold the fiction that people of African descent were well suited for slavery and, on the whole, well treated and content with being slaves, the actions of these enslaved people often betrayed another reality entirely. Slave resistance took a multitude of forms. Larger violent slave uprisings, the mere idea of which terrified slaveholders,[15] were not very common in North America nor were they successful. Among the best-known are the Stono Rebellion in South Carolina in 1739 and Nat Turner's rebellion in Virginia in 1831 (Clarke 1998: 97), whereas the German Coast uprising in 1811 in Louisiana, though probably involving the most slaves, has received less attention (Rael 2015: 157). Two other (in)famous uprisings, one planned by Gabriel Prosser in Virginia in 1800, the other by Denmark Vesey in South Carolina in 1822, were discovered before they could be set to motion. The uprisings (as well as planned uprisings) were all swiftly and brutally subdued and those suspected to be involved in them faced savage reprisals (Clarke 1998: 97). Such uprisings and even mere rumors of them were typically followed by stricter legal limitations on the freedoms of slaves along with free Black people. For instance, South Carolina implemented its slave code after the Stono Rebellion of 1739. It was modeled after the harsh slave code of the Caribbean colony of Barbados, "giving planters near total power over their human property" (Berlin 2004: 74).

While large-scale uprisings were rare, enslaved people would often engage in smaller individual acts of defiance. Some might act violently towards overseers or openly defy orders given to them, despite the fact that such actions provoked harsh punishments (Franklin & Schweninger 1999: 6–7). Many also habitually engaged in small actions which could be interpreted as acts of daily resistance or non-cooperation. Enslaved people might sabotage property, purposefully breaking farm equipment, damaging boats, and so forth. Stealing livestock, corn, tobacco, etc. from the slaveholders was also a common occurrence. Some also intentionally slowed down their work speed, worked carelessly, feigned sickness or pretended not to understand the orders they were given (Franklin & Schweninger 1999: 2–3; Wade 1967: 226; Clarke 1998: 100). In addition to all these actions, the enslaved protested

[15] For instance, the successful slave uprising in the French colony of Saint-Domingue, leading to the creation of the Republic of Haiti in 1804, was a major source of concern in the minds of American slaveholders (see Gabrial 2013).

by running away, often and in great numbers, posing a persistent problem for most slaveholders.

Although not all enslaved people found or took the opportunity to run away, it was one of the most visible ways resistance could be shown. The act of running away could be prompted by many different reasons and circumstances. Some men and women fled to protest an increased work load, harsh conditions or ill-treatment. The threat of cruel punishment was inherent in the institution of slavery, and the enslaved might escape to avoid whippings or other types of violence. The fear of being sold was a common motivator: many ran away after a slaveholder's death, since dividing the estate of the deceased could lead to families being broken up or sold to distant places. Hired slaves could grow frustrated with being sent away from their families to work for ever-changing employers. Finally, and most importantly, while some slaveholders were perplexed when their bondsmen escaped seemingly "without any cause", they failed to recognize the most obvious of reasons for running away: rejecting a fate under slavery and striving for freedom (see Mullin 1972, Franklin & Schweninger 1999). Bolton (2019: 8) notes that running away can, in the larger scale, be viewed as a general resistance to the institution of slavery, but that it is important to also recognize that "from a subjective perspective, runaway slaves were people willing to take dangerous risks to improve their physical, material, and psychological well-being", engaging in an action that often "involved ambition as well as a defiance of authority".

Enslaved people aiming for a permanent escape to freedom would naturally keep away for as long as possible, but some runaways returned on their own after some time had passed. Aiming for only a temporary escape, some used running away as a means to take an unauthorized break from their daily labor, possibly to visit friends and family members. In such cases, these people usually did not venture far away from home, and the slaveholders might not even go through the trouble of actively searching for the runaway if they assumed they would soon return (Franklin & Schweninger 1999: 98). Running away could also be used as a way to bargain for various concessions from the enslavers, as some of them were willing to "negotiate" with their slaves over things such as work routine, hiring arrangements and visitation privileges, and the runaway might return once their conditions had been met (Franklin & Schweninger 1999: 103–104).

For those wishing to make a permanent escape, staying in the immediate neighborhood was riskier. Some fugitives headed for remote areas with few inhabitants,[16] but many chose the anonymity of larger cities. As the free Black

[16] For instance, in the area of 17th-century Chesapeake, runaways would sometimes flee "towards the mountainous backcountry and lowland swamps to establish maroon settlements", though harsh winter weather and other factors did not make such

population in cities had increased, it also offered more possibilities for runaways to meld into the crowd and "pretend to be free" (Berlin 1974: 41). In the cities, runaways could also try to find work by posing as self-hired slaves (Franklin & Schweninger 1999: 134).[17] Another appeal of cities was that many of them were on the coast or along waterways, thus presenting fugitives opportunities to stow away on some vessel and put more distance between them and their pursuers (Wade 1967: 215–216). As the Northern states began abolishing slavery towards the end of the 18th century, many fugitives from the South headed there. This was, naturally, a more viable option for those living in states bordering the "free" states.[18]

When runaways stayed in the vicinity of their home, they would typically keep in contact with the enslaved people still working there, as they would often provide the runaways with food, clothing and information (Berlin 2004: 66). Fugitives might also rely on the help of friends and family members on other plantations (Franklin & Schweninger 1999: 68). Free Black people were often suspected of harboring runaways in the cities. Any people caught helping fugitive slaves risked harsh punishments, although typically the penalties were even harsher for free Black people than for White people guilty of the same, sentencing Black harborers of runaways to whipping while White harborers were punished by fines or imprisonment (Berlin 1974: 95). While sometimes White people assisted runaways in order to help them to freedom, others did it for their own gains, for instance planning on claiming the runaway as their own slave (Franklin & Schweninger 1999: 31).

Runaways were a mixed group, but some characteristics of the most typical runaways can be given (such research is often based on information found in runaway slave notices, see 4.2). Most of those attempting an escape were young men (Franklin & Schweninger 1999: 210). Likewise, there is some indication that mixed-race ("mulatto", as they were called at the time) slaves were proportionally both more likely to run away, and to be successful at it; for instance, mixed-race slaves were more often employed as house servants or in other such positions that allowed them to acquire skills such as literacy that helped with escaping and blending into

settlements viable in the long term (Berlin 2004: 65–66). Bands of runaways sometimes "gathered in remote and isolated areas", though usually they were not able to sustain themselves over longer periods of time (Franklin & Schweninger 1999: 86–89).

17 Though "self-hiring" was against the law, in practice many slaveholders in the 19th century allowed their slaves to find their own employers as long as the slave handed over an agreed-upon sum of money from their earnings regularly (Franklin & Schweninger 1999: 134).

18 After they had commenced the abolition process, the Northern states were often referred to as *free states*. It should not be forgotten that these "free" states still had some enslaved people of their own well into the 19th century.

the free Black population (Franklin & Schweninger 1999: 214–215). Nevertheless, both women and men, young and old, recently from Africa or well adapted to life in America, would strive for freedom. They ran away both alone and in groups both large and small, despite the fact that the chances of success were slim.

Runaways trying to avoid capture were fighting a system that was designed to make escape as difficult as possible. American slavery ran on the basic assumption that Black people were slaves until proven otherwise. Thus, the color of one's skin was all that was needed to be suspected of being a runaway. Enslaved people traveling or working outside the plantation or the slaveholder's household were also usually required to have written passes to prove that they were really carrying out the slaveholder's errands. Likewise, cities might require hired slaves to have badges to prove that they had permission to work in town.

As runaways were such a common concern for slaveholders, the local governments did their utmost to construct official structures to deal with the issue. Southern states all passed laws concerning runaways in the late 18th or early 19th centuries defining matters like who could be considered a runaway, how they should be apprehended and how they were to be dealt with after capture (Franklin & Schweninger 1999: 150). While the specifics varied from state to state, the main points remained similar. The laws usually declared that any White person had the right to capture a suspected runaway and have them confined in jail. The apprehender was typically promised a set reward and reimbursement for any traveling. After the suspected runaway had been entrusted to the care of the local sheriff, his responsibility was to advertise for the captured runaways to inform the owners that their runaways were in custody. After proving ownership of the runaway, the slaveholders needed to pay the necessary fees in order to reclaim them. If a slave (or a suspected slave) remained unclaimed for a set period of time, they would then be auctioned off to someone else to pay for the expenses accrued (Franklin & Schweninger 1999: 151).

Runaways would often also cross borders to a neighboring jurisdiction. In colonial times, the colonies often cooperated and returned suspected runaways to the people they had escaped from. However, with the emergence of "free" and slave states after the American Revolution, the question of returning runaways crossing state lines became more pressing. The United States Constitution included an act concerning the extradition of persons "held to service or labour in one State",[19] but did not specify how such returns would be conducted. In 1793, Congress passed the first Fugitive Slave Law, ensuring that "fugitive slaves could be seized on the sworn testimony of a master and returned to bondage without trial" (Mullen 2010: 401). In

[19] The United States does not use the word *slave* at any point.

response, many Northern states passed "personal liberty laws" to circumvent the Fugitive Slave Law. A second Fugitive Slave Act was passed in 1850, in an attempt to make it easier for slaveholders to recapture their runaway human property. It, too, was somewhat hampered by Northern states passing laws to make its enforcement difficult (Mullen 2010: 402–403).

While anyone had the right to capture a runaway, the responsibility was often directed to specific people and organizations. Initially planters and overseers might lead the search themselves, but in the long term this was not practical for them. Local authorities organized official slave patrols whose task was to control the slave population and hunt runaways. Some people would also earn their living as slave catchers. These people, often poor, non-slaveholding White people, were hired by slaveholders or overseers to track their runaway slaves, and were usually paid by day and mile (Franklin & Schweninger 1999: 156). In addition to people dedicated to tracking down runaways, many slaveholders also utilized so-called "negro dogs", which were kept and trained for the specific purpose of chasing down fugitives (Franklin & Schweninger 1999: 160–161; Bodenhorn 2015: 93).

This complex system focused on securing the human property of slaveholders worked effectively, as most runaways were eventually captured and returned to their enslavers. The system in fact worked so "effectively" that unlucky free Black people who were arrested as runaways might also be sold into slavery if they were not able procure proof of their free status in time (Franklin & Schweninger 1999: 183–189). Furthermore, the Fugitive Slave Acts of 1793 and 1850 also allowed for the "recapture" of suspected runaways to the Southern states, based on the slaveholder's testimony alone, which sometimes resulted in free Black people being kidnapped from the North and enslaved in the South (see Wilson 1994). However, despite the harsh punishments resulting from an unsuccessful escape and the meager chances of a permanent getaway, the potential for freedom was alluring and enslaved people continued to take their chances with it.

3 Contextualizing the runaway slave advertisements: Early newspapers in America

Although slavery was well established in North America already in the 17th century, the other necessary element for the appearance of runaway slave advertisements, namely the newspaper, entered the scene slightly later, in the early 18th century. The purpose of this chapter is to offer an overview of this material context for the genre under examination. I will first discuss the developments of the early newspapers in America in general, and in the second section focus on matters concerning the advertising section of those papers. Most of the discussion in this chapter is based on Frank Luther Mott's *America's Journalism: A History 1690-1960* (1962), which, though not a recent work, offers a very comprehensive overview of the development of American newspapers.

3.1 Development of newspapers in 18th and 19th-century America

The first newspapers that emerged in the British North American colonies were rooted strongly in the newspaper traditions that had previously emerged in England in the 17th century.[20] Before the British colonies established newspapers of their own, London papers were regularly shipped to readers in America (Clark 1994: 7). Also, when printers in America started publishing their own papers in the early 1700s, they were originally heavily copied from English models, though later undergoing an "Americanization" as they adapted to the American context (Clark 1994: 6).

Massachusetts was the first center of newspaper publishing in colonial North America. After one failed attempt in 1690,[21] newspaper publishing started in earnest in Boston in 1704 when the local postmaster, John Campbell, founded the *Boston*

[20] For an overview of the emergence of newspapers in Europe, see Pettegree (2014).

[21] *Publick Occurrences Both Forreign and Domestick* by the Boston printer Benjamin Harris was shut down by the Governor and Council after the first issue was published (Mott 1962: 9).

News-Letter. Originally it was a half-sheet (a single leaf, printed on both sides), though occasionally stretching to 3–4 pages in length (Mott 1962: 11). It was not immediately a very successful commercial endeavor, as "the literate, well-to-do public of New England was small", and the newspaper was considered something of a luxury item (Mott 1962: 12–13). The *News-Letter*'s format was identical to that of the *London Gazette*, and most of its content was also directly copied from the London papers (Clark 1994: 78). In 1719, the *News-Letter* got a competitor in the *Boston Gazette*, a paper that during the American Revolution gained fame as one of the most prominent Patriot newspapers (Mott 1962: 15). By 1735, Boston (with a population of under 20,000) was a town with five newspapers, and after two of them merged in 1741, it continued as a four-newspaper town for over 25 years (Mott 1962: 22).

Massachusetts did not remain the only place with its own paper for long. Pennsylvania was the second colony to join the newspaper business, as the *American Weekly Mercury* first came out in Philadelphia in December of 1719. This was followed in 1728 by a paper originally titled *The Universal Instructor in All Arts and Sciences: and Pennsylvania Gazette*, though the following year the paper was bought by Benjamin Franklin, who shortened its name to the *Pennsylvania Gazette* and led it to success (Mott 1962: 24–27). In addition to English papers, colonial Pennsylvania was also home to some papers in German, though these did not gain great popularity (Mott 1962: 29). The third colony with a newspaper was New York. There, newspaper publishing got its start in 1725 with the *New York Gazette*. The second paper was the *New-York Weekly Journal* in 1733.[22] When the original printer of the *New York Gazette* retired in the 1740s, his newspaper was replaced by two competing papers run by his apprentices: the *Weekly Post-Boy* (later renamed to *New York Gazette: or, the Weekly Post-Boy)* and the *Evening-Post* (Mott 1962: 31). By 1752, only the *New-York Gazette, or the Weekly Post-Boy* remained of these papers, but in 1753 New York once again got a competing paper in the *New York Mercury* (Mott 1962: 38). As new newspapers appeared, more and more people joined their readership as well. Clark (1994: 255) argues that already by the 1730s and 1740s, "neither advertisers nor prospective clients were confined to social or economic elites".

It is perhaps no surprise that Boston, Philadelphia and New York were the first three towns to get their own newspapers, as they were also the three largest towns in British North America at the beginning of the 18th century. Other places later followed in their footsteps. For example, in Connecticut the first paper, the

[22] This paper left its mark on the newspaper history of America as the printer, John Peter Zenger, was imprisoned for libel when he published writings critical of the colonial governor. The following lengthy trial, leading to a not-guilty verdict, has been considered as an early assertion of the freedom of the press in America (see Katz 1972).

Connecticut Gazette, was established in New Haven in 1755. In 1758, the town of New London started publishing the *New London Summary*, supplanted by the *New London Gazette* in 1763 (Mott 1962: 39). In contrast to the more northern colonies, some of which had multiple papers by the first half of the century, newspaper development was slower in the South. Mott attributes this chiefly to "the tendency towards larger farming units, which hindered the growth of populous towns" (1962: 40). Annapolis, Maryland did get its first paper, the *Maryland Gazette*, already in 1727, though it was abandoned in 1734, and a new *Maryland Gazette* did not emerge until over a decade later. South Carolina's first paper, the *South-Carolina Gazette*, started out in 1732, whereas Virginia, which by the 18th century had become the most populous colony, got its first *Virginia Gazette* in 1736. Georgia remained without a newspaper until 1763, with the *Georgia Gazette* in Savannah (Mott: 1962: 40-42).

As a whole, around the mid-century newspapers were well established in the North American colonies. Only Delaware and New Jersey had no papers, others had one or several, 23 in total[23] (Mott 1962: 43). At the time, these colonial newspapers were typically run by individual printers with the help of their apprentices. In the production of a newspaper, the printer "came to serve as editor, business manager, writer, and advertising salesman as well as compositor and pressman" (Clark 1994: 30). In addition to the business of newspaper publishing, they frequently also held other jobs, such as postmaster or bookstore keeper (Mott 1962: 47). According to Mott (1962: 46) the colonies had "some excellent printers and editors", while others were "careless, lazy, and comparatively illiterate". In the smaller towns in particular, the printers had less than ideal operating situations: they had to make do with worn type, use several sizes of type when they did not have enough of a supply of any one size and deal with difficulties in obtaining sufficient amounts of paper (Mott 1962: 44). The printers did very little writing of their own, consisting of some small local news items, but mostly relied on outside contributions sent directly to the paper or news compiled from other papers "by means of scissors and paste-pot" (Mott 1962: 47). Pasley argues that a heavy reliance on news from abroad also helped the newspaper printers to maintain an impartiality, and to avoid more local contested topics that might alienate part of the potential readership (2001: 27–28).

In the mid-1700s, the papers that these printers produced were still weeklies with some experiments of a bi-weekly publishing schedule (Mott 1962: 43). They typically had four pages, with two to three columns per page. Visually, there were some embellishments (larger type for the title and woodcuts) on top of the first page; illustrations were rare, some had decorative initial letters and "some varied the size of type with some consistency to set off blocks of type as well as for the more usual

[23] Approximately as many papers had been started but by that time already abandoned.

stylistic purpose of designating proper names and quotations", and there were often woodcuts to illustrate advertisements (Clark 1994: 7). The absence of informative headlines would have made it difficult for readers to pick out specific news articles to read, and the general idea probably was that the readers would read through the whole paper "column by column and page by page" (Clark 1994: 7). As the newspapers did not yet contain vast amounts of text, this was probably a reasonable expectation for the readers.

It was not easy for the early newspapers to obtain enough paying readers to make the endeavor financially profitable. Up to 1765, circulation of the papers was from a few hundred to a thousand or more, and "possibly five per cent of the white families in the colonies in 1765 received a newspaper weekly" (Mott 1962: 59). The papers would, however, reach many more non-paying readers as they were subsequently passed on to others for perusal. Within the town, the papers were distributed by a carrier and further away by the official postrider (Mott 1962: 60–61). As many of the early newspaper publishers were also serving as postmasters and thus had a vested interest in the cheap dissemination of (at least *their*) papers, newspapers were accorded special accommodations by the postal system, and were often carried free of charge or for a very small fee (Mott 1962: 60–61). The favorable treatment of newspapers in the mail would also carry over to the independent United States (John 1995: 37), paving the way for their later proliferation.

The American Revolutionary War and the political unrest that preceded it had a considerable effect also on newspapers. In particular, the Stamp Act of 1765 provoked a heated response also on the pages of newspapers, as it directly affected the newspaper printer-editors, for whom such an act would bring higher taxes (Mott 1965: 74). According to Pasley (2001: 33), from the 1760s to the start of the American Revolution, the newspaper press "was expanding nearly twice as fast as the population", as the papers became an increasingly used "political weapon". Staying completely neutral regarding politics was no longer a viable option as tensions escalated to warfare, and newspapers, too, usually had to choose whether to side with the Patriots or the Loyalists. The troop movements during the Revolutionary War also forced some papers to shut down their operations at least temporarily (Mott 1962: 79–80). While many papers disappeared during the Revolution, new ones sprang up to replace them; at the start of the war, the number of papers had been 37, and at the end of the war the total was 35 (Mott 1962: 95).

Upheavals in the landscape of American newspapers also continued in the decades following the Revolution. Many of the older colonial papers disappeared from the scene, and a great number of new ones were established, though many of them did not last a long time (Mott 1962: 113). While a great number of the colonial newspapers had been enterprises run by printers alongside their other printing business, the papers formed in the newly established republic were most often

founded to advocate for the emerging political parties (Mott 1962: 114; Pasley 2001). By the end of the 18th century, New York had become the most significant population center, commercial hub, and also the busiest center of newspaper publishing (Mott 1962: 133).

As the United States began its expansion, hopeful newspaper editors followed other settlers westwards. New Orleans got its first paper, *Moniteur de la Louisiane,* in 1794 and Mississippi got its *Gazette* in 1799 (Mott 1962: 140–141). Rapid expansion both in new territories and in newspaper titles characterized the first few decades of the 19th century, with the number of papers growing from 200 to 1,200. By the 1830s, the United States had the largest number of newspapers as well as aggregate circulation in the world (Mott 1962: 167).

The circulation for individual papers still typically remained fairly modest: Mott estimates that the average circulation at the turn of the century was around 600–700 (Mott 1962: 159). However, the popularity of coffee houses, taverns and "reading rooms" with their selection of newspapers ensured that at the time many of the newspapers had multiple readers (Mott 1962: 159). The first daily newspapers emerged in the 1780s. Although these papers were primarily made to serve the interests of the mercantile classes desiring fresh news on ships entering the ports with their cargo, they, too, often soon acquired political leanings (Mott 1962: 115–118). While still retaining the four-page format, the paper size in urban newspapers increased and allowed for 4- and 5-column papers (Mott 1962: 161). Pasley (2001: 32) notes that the use of illustrations and decorative typefaces actually grew somewhat less common in the early 19th-century papers, in contrast to late 18th-century colonial ones. The amount of text, however, kept increasing. Around the 1830s, metropolitan papers might already have six or seven columns per page (Mott 1962: 200). The early 19th-century invention of the steam-driven cylinder press also enabled printers to print their papers faster, in larger numbers, and to increase the page size (Mott 1962: 202–203, 294). While city papers took advantage of the improvements in new types of presses, the old hand-presses were still in use by country papers up to the mid-19th century (Mott 1962: 314).

The potential readership expanded widely in the 1830s with the introduction of so-called "penny papers". Their introduction to the market meant that more people were able to afford a newspaper. The New York *Sun*, established in 1833, was the first successful penny paper in America (Mott 1962: 222). In addition to the papers becoming more affordable, the reading public also grew because 19th-century developments in public education meant that more and more people were able to read, and American women, too, became a significant portion of the newspaper readership (Mott 1962: 304). The number of papers continued to increase, rising from about 1,200 in 1833 to about 3,000 in 1860, with thousands of short-lived papers emerging and perishing along the way (Mott 1962: 215–216). Railroads and

the telegraph helped the westward spread of newspapers, and most pioneer towns were eager to get their own paper for promotional and political reasons (Mott 1962: 282).

As already mentioned, most of the press was highly partisan. As the issue of slavery gained an ever-growing role in American politics (see 2.4), newspapers, too, aligned themselves accordingly. For instance, the *Charleston Mercury* was known as an ardent defender of proslavery opinions, but also Democrat papers in the North defended Southern slavery. On the other hand, the *New York Tribune* strongly advocated for many social issues and espoused strong antislavery views (Mott 1962: 259, 267, 275, 340). The political issues connected to slavery were also linked to questions about the freedom of the press, as Southern states limited the distribution of "incendiary publications" (for instance abolitionist newspapers), and some antislavery newspaper plants were destroyed by angry mobs (Mott 1962: 306–307). Naturally, once the American Civil War erupted, newspapers in the South met with wartime problems: lack of paper resulted in reducing the size of the papers, labor shortages made production difficult and, if the area ended up occupied by the Union army, the papers were also subject to suspensions and strong censorship (Mott 1962: 363).

Contrasting early colonial papers with the ones published in the 1860s, there are obvious differences. In general, the papers had grown in size and contained much more text than their predecessors. All this content was more clearly divided into different sections and organized by the use of headlines in the later papers. One point of newspaper publishing that had remained much unchanged from the earliest papers was the method with which newspaper editors filled most of the space on their pages: by copying and pasting items from other papers, sometimes with very little attribution of the original source.[24] As described by Murray (2014: 92), these copied texts "included everything from congressional proceedings and election returns, political prospects and military affairs, to murders, poems, and news of strawberry socials and large pumpkins". The circulation of newspapers from one editor to the other was supported by newspaper exchanges: dating from the colonial times, and codified into law by the Post Office Act of 1792, printers could exchange copies of their papers with printers of other newspapers free of charge in order to facilitate the sharing of information (John 1995: 32). John claims that by the 1840s, "every newspaper published in the United States received free of charge an average of 4,300 different exchange papers per year" (John 1995: 37). For this reason, communications between editors were usually conducted on the pages of the

[24] Cordell (2015) uses computer modeling to show how texts circulated in the networks of early 19th-century American papers.

newspaper instead of in separate letters, as the latter were subjected to much higher postal rates than newspapers (Murray 2014: 91).

3.2 Early advertising in newspapers

The name "newspaper" might suggest that for such publications, it was the transmission of *news* that was their main purpose, and that their main content was news from far and near. A large portion of the contents of these papers were, however, not actual news but texts that could be broadly categorized as advertisements. Although some early British newspapers such as the *London Gazette* initially held reservations about allowing advertising on their pages, the number of advertisements soon filled considerable portions of the pages (for an overview of advertising in early London newspapers, see Walker 1973). As the colonial printers in North America followed the British model, their papers also actively sought an advertising patronage to make the venture profitable.

As discussed in 3.1, the first papers in Boston were fairly humble-looking publications with a limited readership. Clark (1994: 112) observes that they "ran at most seven advertisements and often far fewer, filling between two and eight inches of space at the end of the last page". Though this does not seem like much, it is worth remembering that the *Boston News-Letter* started out as a two-pager and did not contain very much other text either. As new papers emerged, some of them began to attract a wider array of advertisements in every issue, and a large number of advertisements was the sign of a prosperous paper. While most colonial papers were typically four pages in length, it was the number of advertisements that might push the printers to occasionally publish longer ones (Mott 1962: 44). For instance, by the mid-1700s, Franklin's *Pennsylvania Gazette* would publish a six-page and sometimes even an eight-page paper to accommodate all the advertising (Mott 1962: 28). Likewise, the *New York Mercury*, founded in 1753, would often fill five of its six pages with advertisements (Mott 1962: 38). As the number of newspaper subscribers was low, advertising constituted the main source of potential profits for the newspaper editors in the colonial period (Mott 1962: 56).

The significance of advertising by no means waned after the American Revolution. Instead, as the papers grew in size, the number of advertisements that could be fit into their pages also increased. The significance of advertising was also reflected in the names of the newspapers, many of which incorporate the word "Advertiser" in their names: by 1821, 440 newspapers had included the word as part of their title (Brigham 1950: 30). *The New-York Journal; or, The General Advertiser*, the *Baltimore Gazette and Daily Advertiser* and the *Louisiana Advertiser* are a few examples of this. In the early 19th century, metropolitan dailies often devoted three fourths of the first page to advertisements, included more on page three and

dedicated the last page to them entirely. Most papers would fill more than half their space with advertisements, and in the case of mercantile papers, the most extreme cases were nine tenths advertising (Mott 1962: 200–201). The tendency to fill the front pages with advertising continued until the 1850s, at which time many 8-pagers moved it altogether to the later pages. The mid-century 8-pagers typically dedicated three or four pages to advertising, and the big four-page mercantile papers still had well over half of their space filled with advertisements (Mott 1962: 298–299).

When discussing advertisements in early newspapers, it is worth keeping in mind that what the word "advertisement" brought to mind for 18th and 19th-century newspaper readers differs from the perspective of present-day readers. Nowadays the word is most closely connected to *commercial* advertising. This shift in meaning is also evident in the *OED*'s definition of the word: "The calling of general attention to something, public notification; *(now esp.) the promotion of goods and services through a public medium;*" and "An instance of this, a public notice or announcement, *now esp. one advertising goods or services*." (*OED*, s.v. advertisement, italics mine). Görlach (2002) discusses the semantic narrowing 'advertisement' has undergone in more detail, noting that the commercial sense of the word slowly emerged from the original more general meaning of 'awareness, notice'. He mentions that a foreword in 18th-century books might be titled 'advertisement' and even the short texts found in newspapers "might refer to things lost and found, book reviews and more or less public notices" (Görlach 2002: 25–26). It is clear that in the case of 18th-century advertisements, notices advertising goods and services were only one category among others. For instance, in his description of the contents of colonial advertisements, Mott (1962: 56–58) first mentions the notices for various runaways.[25] According to Mott, colonial advertising also consisted of "long lists of general merchandise", lotteries, "advertisements of quacks and cure-alls", "announcements of vendues, of real-estate and livestock offerings, of the sailing of ships, houses to be let, lost and stolen items", and so on (Mott 1962: 56–58). As Keyes (2007: 26–27) notes, "this diversity suggests that people who distributed and read printed notices did not always conceive of advertising as a specialized tool for communicating commercial messages". Advertisements for runaways also surfaced as the largest individual topic in a computer-driven topic decomposition analysis of the 18th-century issues of the *Pennsylvania Gazette* (Newman & Block 2006). In his study focusing on 18th-

[25] This was not solely an American peculiarity: Sampson (1874: 70) offers examples of English advertisements from the 17th century and notes that "most of the notices at this period related to runaway apprentices and black boys, fairs and cockfights, burglaries and highway robberies, stolen horses, lost dogs, swords, and scent-bottles, and the departure of coaches".

century commercial advertisements in colonial Pennsylvania, Keyes (2007) estimates that the proportion of notices aimed at selling goods and services rose as the years progressed from a little over a quarter in the 1720s to nearly half around the 1750s (Keyes 2007: 27). In the 19th century, most of the advertising sections of newspapers were dominated by commercial advertisements, though these other types were still to be found among them.

As discussed in 3.1, early newspapers were not very striking visually. In the case of the earliest colonial advertisements, "not even cut-off rules separated the advertisements". However, some colonial papers soon introduced "small rude cuts of ships, horses, and runaways", thus breaking the monotony of the advertising sections (Mott 1962: 56). Some colonial papers distinguished themselves from the others by their attention to the visuals of the advertising section: for example, the *Pennsylvania Gazette* used many varied small cuts, and the *New York Post-Boy* varied type-sizes (Mott 1962: 56). Even after the Revolutionary war, illustrations in other parts of the paper were rare, but the stock-cuts persisted in the advertising section (Mott 1962: 96). The often-occurring paper shortages meant that sometimes printers had to end their papers with the promise that some advertisements that had been omitted would be "inserted in our next" (Mott 1962: 104). While "double-column spreads, cuts, and large type broke up the dreary monotony of many advertising pages about 1785", limited paper supplies and increased numbers of advertisements meant that already in the late 1790s, for the most part, "advertising typography [was] back to small type and single-column measure" (Mott 1962: 157). Since most papers kept a four-page format while the number of advertisements kept increasing, small type and only occasional tiny stock-cuts for illustration remained features of advertisements in American papers well into the 19th century (Mott 1962: 202, 298–299).

The prices people had to pay for placing their advertisements in the papers varied. Mott estimates that in the colonial era the price was "commonly three to five shillings for the first insertion of an announcement of less than ten lines, and one to three shillings for subsequent insertions", but that it (similarly to all prices) rose considerably at the time of the Revolutionary war (Mott 1962: 59, 104). In practice, some printers offered the length of advertisements in somewhat more ambiguous terms; for example, the *Virginia Gazette* (June 10, 1737) ends with the notice that "Advertisements, of a moderate Length, are taken in to be inserted in this Paper, for Three Shillings the first Week ; and for Two Shillings per Week after, for as many Weeks as they are order'd to be continued". "Moderate length" was also used at least by the *New York Mercury* and the *Maryland Gazette* in the 1750s to define the price of a standard advertisement. In the late 18th century and the 19th century, the unit of measure for the length of advertisements was the "square". The rates were

often low, and papers offered cheaper yearly rates for advertisers (Mott 1962: 158, 201–202).

People attempting to recapture their escaped runaways utilized newspapers and their advertising sections for their own ends as soon as the opportunity was available to them. Before the arrival of newspapers, slaveholders had to resort to other means to inform others of their runaways: general word of mouth, the "hue and cry" method (Hodges & Brown 1994: xxiv), or posting notices about runaways at guard houses (Wood 1975: 239). Newspapers offered a new way to spread the information to a large audience. As the 18th and 19th centuries progressed, newspapers had an ever-increasing readership, and furthermore, thanks to the web of interconnected newspaper editors, the slaveholder did not have to settle for advertisements only in the local paper, but, instead, notices could be directed to be spread to papers in more distant areas where the fugitive was suspected to be heading.

4 Advertising for runaway slaves

As newspaper advertising became possible for the slaveholders in North America, the genre of runaway slave notices emerged as a prominent feature in the advertising columns. For the slaveholders themselves, runaway notices were of only temporary value: their function was fulfilled if a slave was recaptured, or, if recapture became unlikely, the advertisers would eventually stop running the notice in the papers. Other groups, however, have found a different kind of value in these texts, and compilations of them emerged, first in the hands of 19th-century abolitionists, later in the hands of 20th and 21st-century researchers. The purpose of this chapter is, firstly, to offer an overview of these compilations that have been created over the years. Secondly, I will discuss the kinds of research that have been conducted based on the wealth of information these short texts contain.

When examining runaway slave notices, it should always be kept in mind that not every escape resulted in an advertisement being placed in the papers. As advertising for a runaway cost both time and money, and some runaways were expected to return on their own, it is likely that slaveholders placed notices mostly for enslaved people who were more likely to succeed in absconding or were of greater value to them. In other words, the notices do not necessarily serve as a representative sample of all runaways, and certainly not of all enslaved people; rather, they represent "runaways that warranted an advertisement" (Bodenhorn 2015: 92).

4.1 Compilations of runaway slave advertisements

The most famous early collection of runaway slave notices (or extracts thereof) is the book *American Slavery as it is: Testimony of a thousand witnesses* (1839), compiled by the abolitionists Theodore Dwight Weld and Angelina Grimké. The book included testimonials of people describing the miserable conditions of slaves in the South, but also "testimonials" by the slaveholders themselves. These took the form of extracts from Southern papers, and runaway slave notices were a type of text that was extensively sampled. These samples were used to draw attention to the scars and whipping marks, etc. found in the descriptions of the runaways. In the "Advertisement to the readers" at the beginning of the book, the authors also assured

readers that the original papers were to be found at their offices in case anyone were to doubt their veracity. To a smaller extent, other abolitionist publications (such as Garrison's *Liberator*) sampled the southern papers to prove their point.[26] While these compilations were made to serve the abolitionist agenda, and therefore the most egregious examples were probably chosen from among the multitudes of advertisements, they were still the first step of using these notices in a way different from their original purpose.

Later compilations were undertaken for the use of scholars and the general public interested in the various aspects these texts could reveal about slavery. Already in 1919, *The Journal of Negro History* published, in the *Documents* section of the journal, "Eighteenth Century Slaves as Advertised by Their Masters". It offers a short introduction, followed by about 120 notices, most of which are for runaways, though some are "for sale" notices and some concern captured runaways. The notices are grouped under various headlines (e.g. "Learning to read and write", "Relations between the slaves and the British during the Revolutionary War", or "Various kinds of servants") to show the information runaway notices provided on these various themes.[27]

An early comprehensive collection of 18th-century runaway slave notices was undertaken by Lathan Windley. His four-volume collection, *Runaway Slave Advertisements: A Documentary History from the 1730s to 1790* (1983), contains altogether several thousand notices from Virginia, North Carolina, Maryland, South Carolina and Georgia. While Windley's compilations focus on the Southern colonies in colonial and newly independent America, others later turned their interest on runaways from colonies further north. Smith and Wojtowicz (1989) focus on 18th-century runaway slave advertisements in the *Pennsylvania Gazette*, offering about 300 examples taken from its pages. Hodges and Brown (1994) focus on runaways from New York and New Jersey. Their collection, consisting of over 600 notices, is collected from several papers and also includes some advertisements from papers in other colonies, as long as the runaways originate from New York or New Jersey. Notices from newspapers published in 18th-century New England (Massachusetts,

[26] Charles Dickens' *American Notes* also used quotes from southern newspaper advertisements (or, actually, unattributed quotes from *American Slavery as it is*) to criticize the American public for the violence rooted in the system of slavery (McGill 2003: 127).

[27] The journal also states that these 18th-century advertisements show a time "when slavery was still of the patriarchal sort and can thus contrast his [the slave's] then favorable condition with the wretchedness of the institution after it assumed its economic aspect in the nineteenth century", seen as proof that at the time they were "climbing the social ladder to the extent of moving on a plane of equality with the poor whites" ("Eighteenth Century Slaves as Advertised by Their Masters" 1919).

Connecticut, Rhode Island and New Hampshire) have been collected in a book by Bly (2012). Meaders (1997), on the other hand, has compiled Virginian notices from the first two decades of the 19th century.

While a book format may set some limitations on how many examples of runaway notices can be feasibly included, nowadays internet databases provide the possibility to amass thousands of notices in an easily searchable format. These databases are freely available on the internet and collect notices from various different areas. The *Geography of Slavery in Virginia* database,[28] which is based on and expands Windley's work, contains Virginian notices from 1736 to 1803. The *North Carolina Runaway Slave Advertisements* project[29] has collected all known runaway slave advertisements published in North Carolina newspapers from 1751 to 1865. The *Texas Runaway Slave Project*[30] contains runaway slave advertisements, articles and notices[31] from newspapers published in Texas, and also non-newspaper materials such as court records related to runaways. Some runaway slave notices from Baltimore County (MD) between 1842 and 1863 have also been collected in their own database.[32] The most ambitious of the databases is *Freedom on the Move*,[33] which aims to collect all American runaway slave notices in the same place, using crowdsourcing for the transcription and adding of new notices. As of April 2022, they have over 32,000 notices (though the site interface does not make clear whether these include the same notice in multiple issues, nor how the notices are spread through different areas or times). Examples of runaway slave notices from papers published in Britain are collected on the webpage *Runaway Slaves in Britain: Bondage, freedom and race in the eighteenth century.*[34]

The internet databases, for the most part, contain both transcriptions of the notices and images of the original notices. The advertisements collected into books often contain some example images of the notices, but for the most part they only provide transcripts. These are, to a varying extent, faithful to the original layout, spelling, punctuation, etc. of the original notices. As I will discuss in 6.1, I have not relied on the abovementioned collections to collect the materials of this study, but instead have collected them directly from the newspapers. Nevertheless, I have utilized some of the collections to augment my data or to seek verification of my transcriptions.

28 http://www2.vcdh.virginia.edu/gos/index.html
29 http://libcdm1.uncg.edu/cdm/landingpage/collection/RAS
30 https://digital.sfasu.edu/digital/collection/RSP
31 They seem to use the term 'notice' for texts where sheriffs notify the public of runaways in jail, in contrast to 'advertisements' for announcing the escape of a runaway.
32 https://www.afrigeneas.com/library/runaway_ads/balt-intro.html
33 https://freedomonthemove.org
34 https://www.runaways.gla.ac.uk

4.2 Previous research based on runaway slave advertisements

The collections mentioned in 4.1 as well as others collected by researchers for their own use have been used to conduct or enrich a great number of studies, which will be discussed below. Hart (2014) notes that, as far as research related to colonial advertising is concerned, runaway slave advertisements in particular have been used for "mining […] for information" to "deduce the experiences and difficulties of enslaved Africans and their owners" (Hart 2014: 110 & fn. 3). This observation certainly holds true, as numerous studies on slavery are either based completely on data drawn from these advertisements, or, at the very least, cite the notices extensively in describing the lives and characteristics of the enslaved.

An early example of studies using these advertisements as their main source is Greene (1944), who uses notices from New England to examine "the personality of the slave himself", basing his observations on 62 notices and investigating the runaways' names, appearance, skills, where they ran to, etc. Mullin's influential 1972 book on slave resistance illustrates its arguments by including frequent direct quotes from runaway notices. Wood (1975) discusses slavery in colonial South Carolina up to the Stono rebellion, using extensive quotes from runaway notices in the chapter dedicated to fugitive slaves (Wood 1975: 239–268). Meaders (1975) looks at 1,863 runaway notices from South Carolina papers in 1732–1801, pointing out the various features they reveal of the slaves' struggles for freedom. Franklin and Schweninger (1999) compiled a database of runaways based on notices from 1790–1816 and 1838–1860 from Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, Tennessee and Louisiana (Franklin & Schweninger 1999: 328–332), thus enabling them to provide statistics for instance on the gender of the runaways, the types of "countenance" most often described, their destinations, etc. Bodenhorn (2015) mentions having sampled "nearly 2,500 advertised runaways from Virginia and North Carolina" for his book focusing on 19th-century African American life in the South. Bolton (2019) focuses on fugitivism in the Lower Mississippi Valley in the 19th century, and states that while his main source is news stories about fugitives, he also "draws on anecdotal evidence from more than 3,000 runaway slave advertisements […] and quantitative data collected from a representative sample of 1,396 of them". Rivers (2012) focuses on 19th-century Florida in his book about slave resistance, with runaway slave advertisements serving as one source of information on the times they ran away, the locations, ability to read, presence of children, etc. Clavin (2015) also uses runaway slave notices as one central source when investigating fugitive slaves around Pensacola.

While many of the above-cited works take into account a larger variety of different types of information present in the notices, other studies focus on particular aspects. Prude (1991) focuses on runaway notices for slaves and other types of

"unfree labor" as descriptions of people, investigating how the "lower sort" were described by the people higher up on the social ladder in minute details. Waldstreicher (1999) discusses the involvement of print culture in the creation of runaway notices, as well as how these notices reveal the interplay between the roles that slaveholders assigned to their bondsmen and their acknowledgement of the roles the runaways themselves assumed in order to "pretend to be free". Gomez (1997) investigates changes in African identity in the American South in colonial and antebellum times, noting that runaway slave advertisements are useful for "assigning ethnic identities to the slave population" as the advertisements "contain references to place of origin, original names, patterns of scarification, and so on" (1997: 5). Bradley (1998) focuses on how newspapers at the time of the American Revolution dealt with the issue of slavery and race, discussing runaway slave notices among other types of texts. White and White (1995) examine the hairstyles of the runaways, and in a later work (White & White 1998) they trace the history of African American expressive culture, using runaway slave advertisements as one source among many for information on enslaved people's clothing, hairstyles and communicative movements. Laversuch (2006) and Nick (2020) both examine the naming patterns of enslaved people in various areas.

Bly has examined the literacy rates of runaways (Bly 2008), interpreted the advertisements as showing various types of slave resistance, agency and culture (Bly 2016), and also interrogated the "silences" found in these notices; how, between the lines, the runaways could be seen as "co-authoring" these texts (Bly 2021). Cutter (2016) utilizes these notices as the main source for examining the phenomenon of "passing" as White. Lennon (2016) uses the reward sums in runaway notices as additional argumentation on the changes in the monetary value of slaves and the Fugitive Slave Act of 1850. Block (2018) examines 18th-century "missing persons advertisements" (both slaves and servants and other missing persons) and their physical descriptions to investigate the development of colonial racial ideologies.

While most of the studies focus on colonial and antebellum America, runaway notices from other areas have been the focus of some studies. Hunt-Kennedy (2020) investigates the description of runaways' bodies and the concept of disability in runaway advertisements from the British Caribbean, 1718–1815. Schneider (2018) reads the British Caribbean notices as narratives that "communicate runaways' self-emancipatory efforts, their priorities for free live, and their existence, resistance, and persistence in the face of systemic oppression" (Schneider 2018: 435). Nelson (2020) discusses runaway slave notices in Quebec papers.

Some of the abovementioned studies do not limit their scope to runaway slaves but also comment on notices about White indentured servants (e.g. Prude 1991 and Block 2018, mentioned above). Other groups of runaways have also been studied, e.g. Agostini (2007) examines notices for military deserters during the Seven Years'

War. Information about slavery is also found in other types of advertisements in the newspapers. For instance, Desrochers (2002) provides a view of the "Massachusetts slave market" using slave-for-sale notices published in the papers there, and Taylor (2020) investigates the connection between the slave trade and newspaper printers on the basis of for-sale notices of slaves that direct the readers to "enquire of the printer" for details of the sale.

The number of studies making use of runaway slave notices is, as the above review shows, vast. While the studies might make some remarks on the language used in the notices, and often provide plenty of direct quotes from the notices, their focus is, for the most part, on the fields of history and African American studies. The current study aims to offer a complementing viewpoint by approaching these notices from a more linguistic point of view, focusing on them as one specific genre of newspaper advertisements.

5 Theoretical and methodological framework

The current study investigates runaway slave notices as members of one particular genre. Therefore, it is necessary to first lay out the groundwork. In 5.1, I will discuss the concept of genre, focusing on the notions that I deem particularly relevant for the present study. As move analysis is used to structure most of the upcoming analysis, I will introduce it in more detail in 5.2. Finally, I will also discuss previous studies of genres related to the runaway slave notice, that is, studies focusing on early newspaper language and its various genres, in 5.3.

5.1 Defining genres

In order to make sense of the world around us, we categorize things based on their differences and similarities. This is also true in the case of texts, and we have names for the different kinds of texts we create and encounter: "text book", "poem", "grocery list", "letter to the editor", "dissertation" or "runaway slave advertisement", to give a few examples. The concept of *genre* is often used to refer to these various types of texts, as "text categories readily distinguished by mature speakers of a language" (Trosborg 1997: 6). While this sort of grouping of texts into named categories seems to be rather instinctive to people, formulating an all-encompassing definition for the term has not proven easy. As Stukker, Spooren and Steen (2016: 1) point out, "genre is a complex and multifaceted concept, comprising linguistic, pragmatic, and content-related knowledge with psychological, social and communicative aspects". It is therefore unsurprising that researchers have approached the phenomenon from various theoretical backgrounds and focusing on different kinds of texts.[35]

The different preoccupations of different fields of research have led to numerous attempts to define *genre.* One field with a long history of grappling with the concept of genre is literary studies, where researchers have naturally focused on the nature

[35] It should be noted that genre studies are not related to texts only, and can also be used for instance by art historians to categorize non-textual creations.

of literary texts (see Duff 2000). Other research traditions have concentrated their attention more on non-literary texts. In the field of linguistics, genre has drawn attention in systemic functional linguistics, building on the works of Halliday (e.g., Martin 1992), and English for Specific Purposes (Swales 1990, 2004; Bhatia 1993, 2004). Genre has also been studied in the field of rhetorics, placing emphasis on its role as social action (Miller 1984; Freedman & Medway 1994; Bergenkotter & Huckin 1995). As the purpose of this dissertation is not to investigate the theoretical underpinnings of the term in detail, but rather to use it as a starting point for the examination of one particular type of texts (i.e., the genre of runaway slave notices), my intention here is not to go into too much detail about the history of the term or the multitudes of definitions and applications given to it. For an overview of the use of the notion of genre, see for instance Swales (1990: 33–45), Trosborg (1997), Paltridge (1997) and Heikkinen et al. (2012). In any case, despite the separate research traditions, many genre scholars also emphasize how the insights by other research traditions can enrich the notions of genre (e.g., Devitt 2004). Sinding (2016: 309) observes that, in general, all subfields in genre research for both literary and extraliterary genres essentially analyze *discourse, situation* and *action.* Instead of attempting a precise definition of genre, below I will focus on some central aspects of genres which are most relevant for the present study.

In general, different genres can be seen as serving different purposes. For instance, Swales (1990) and Bhatia (1993) place the communicative purpose as a prioritized criterion in assigning texts to a particular genre, noting that a "genre comprises a class of communicative events, the members of which share some set of communicative purposes" (Swales 1990: 58). Although the placement of communicative purpose as the prioritized criterion of the definition has received its criticism,[36] the fact that writers use texts (and, consequently, texts of various genres) to accomplish a variety of actions is commonly accepted. Many researchers express support for defining genre on the basis of multiple variables without prioritizing any one of them. For instance, Trosborg (1997:11–12) favors a multicriterial model of genre, arguing that a Hallidayan view that specifies the field, tenor and mode, and offers a "description of the linguistic features realized in the ideational, interpersonal and textual components of particular texts" provides for the best definition of genres. Dimter (1985: 218), in turn, lists four categories forming the basis of everyday-

[36] In a later work, Swales himself admits that having communicative purpose as the main defining criterion does not always work: "…in light of all the various writings on genre over the last decade, I am less sanguine about the value and viability of such definitional depictions" (2004: 61).

language text classification:[37] text form, communication situation, text function and text content.

The sociocultural setting and the context of communication are seen as crucial in differentiating between genres. Genres can be seen as typified action responding to recurring conditions, which involve a social context (Devitt 2004: 13). To put it simply, similar conditions can lead to similar kinds of texts being produced, and these similar kinds of texts are then perceived as belonging to a particular genre. Institutions and their practices, the participants and their relationship to each other and the media used, need to be taken into account when describing genres. In the case of runaway notices, this includes for instance the advertisers and editors of the newspapers, the roles of whom will be discussed later in the analysis.

When looking at the social aspect of genres, it is also important to keep in mind that "genres reflect what the group believes and how it views the world" (Devitt 2004: 59). This is vital to keep in mind in the case of runaway notices, as they were written by people who wished to uphold the institution of slavery and those views undoubtedly influenced the language choices made in the texts. Another feature of genres is that they are typically primarily distinguished and named by ordinary language users, not researchers. As Devitt puts it, "the most significant genre labels for a rhetorical genre […] are the labels given by the people who use the genres" (Devitt 2004: 8). Görlach (2004: 9) notes that "when [genres] become conventionalized, the need for specific designations arises". Thus, examining the categories of texts that people in a particular community have is a good starting point for the genre repertoire of that community. The question whether "runaway slave notice/advertisement" was an actual genre label recognized by the people who produced these texts is discussed briefly in 7.1 and 8.

Genres do not exist in isolation, but rather form networks that affect one another in various ways. For instance, Bhatia (2004: 57–58) discusses the concept of *genre colonies*, allowing "genres to be viewed at different levels of generalization", with genres being further divided into sub-genres or grouped together in more general super-genres. Features of one genre can also be borrowed into another, creating hybrid genres. Devitt (2004) also discusses the various sets that genres can form and the way they interact with each other. For instance, Devitt refers to "genre systems", a set of genres that are clearly linked with a common purpose (e.g. genres involved in a trial or a job search), noting that in such cases the genres often occur in an expected sequence (Devitt 2004: 56). "Genre repertoires" are a larger set of genres, often consisting of several genre systems, that some group uses to achieve all of its purposes. One instance of this is the legal genre repertoire (Devitt 2004: 57). As will

[37] Dimter talks about "text classes" instead of "genres".

be discussed later, runaway slave notices can also be placed among other genres that are closely linked with the recapturing of a runaway (e.g., notices of captured runaways).

One way that we recognize texts as belonging to a specific genre is by their formal features. Similar communicative purposes or other similarities in the situation lead to similarities in form. As Swales notes, genres have "patterns of similarity in terms of structure, style [and] content" (Swales 1990: 58). Identifying genre based on form alone would, however, be troublesome as not all genres have reliable formal features, and furthermore, the formal features may change over time. Therefore, many researchers believe that "at most […] genres are associated with but not defined by textual form" (Devitt 2004: 11). Examining the linguistic features and structuring of various genres is a staple part of genre studies, and also what the present study aims to do. One approach to this, move analysis, will be dealt with in more detail in 5.2.

Another important aspect of genres is their flexibility and mutability. By their nature, some genres are heavily conventionalized in their structuring, lexico-grammatical choices, or the content matter, whereas other genres allow a larger variability in their members (contrast for instance a patent application to a present-day commercial advertisement). Most researchers agree that genres cannot be accurately described by offering a comprehensive list of characteristics that a particular genre must fulfil. How, then, do we determine genre membership? Swales (1990: 49–52) turns to Wittgenstein's notions of family resemblance and the idea of categorization via *prototypes* (cf. Rosch 1975) to explain the variation found in genres, noting that some exemplars are more prototypical than others. Paltridge (1997: 53) further stresses the importance of prototype theory in genre identification, arguing that "an untypical instance of the particular genre belongs to the particular class in the absence of more specific information which might suggest to us otherwise" (Paltridge 1997: 62). In the present study, I aim to investigate both what a prototypical instance of the runaway notice looks like and how much variation the genre allows.

This flexibility in genres also means that the features of a genre do not remain fixed over time. Berkenkotter and Huckin (1995: 15) call genres "sites of contention between stability and change", as the recurring situations that resulted in their creation are only similar to one another to a certain extent, thus changes in the world also invariably affect genres. Swales, too, notes that genres are "constantly evolving" (Swales 1990: 53), and Taavitsainen (2001: 141) characterizes genres as "historical phenomena, sets of conventions that shift and reform from time to time". Although genres may gradually change considerably in their form or function over time, the genre labels may still remain the same (see the discussion on 'advertisement' in 3.2). While the majority of genre research is conducted on modern-day genres, the aspect

of potential historical change means that genre has been of interest also to people investigating historical discourse. This includes examining the genre repertoires of specific time periods (Görlach 2002, 2004) as well as tracking diachronic change in specific genres (for general discussion and examples, see Kohnen 2012).

The study of genres is somewhat complicated by questions of basic terminology. One closely related term is *text type*. For instance, Taavitsainen (2001: 139) remarks how the two terms "are often used vaguely, sometimes even interchangeably in the literature". Diller (2002) draws a distinction between the two by claiming genres belong to "folk typology", categorized by external and contextual criteria, with fuzzy boundaries. Text types, on the other hand, are the outcome of an expert typology, based on internal, formal-linguistic criteria (Diller 2002: 2–3). One example of text types is the division into narrative, descriptive, expository, argumentative and instructive text types proposed by Werlich (1983), another one is Biber's (1989) typology based on a set of lexical and syntactic features. Trosborg (1997: 12) also points out that genres typically refer to completed texts, whereas text types can cut across genres, and "linguistically distinct texts within a genre may represent different text types, while linguistically similar texts from different genres may represent a single text type". However, as pointed out by Schäffner (2000: 210–211), German-speaking authors in particular sometimes use the term *text-type* when referring to what other researchers would call *genres*. She clarifies that while the German terms 'Texttyp' and 'Textsorte' generally have the same division as text type and genre do in English (i.e., the former being more abstract and theoretical, the latter used "for an empirical classification of texts as they exist in a human society"), Textsorte is often translated as text type (possibly because the term *Genre* in German is typically restricted to literary genres).[38] Adding to the confusion, Fries (2015) notes that he uses the term *text classes* for the different types of texts found in newspapers (and acknowledges they might also be called "genres, sub-genres, or (traditional) text types"). Biber et al. (2007: 7–9) also point out how *register* and *genre* are sometimes used by researchers to discuss essentially the same thing. However, most researchers define *register* as situational language use, for example, legal or scientific writing, which often comprises multiple genres (Taavitsainen 2001: 141).

5.2 Move analysis

While genre analysis can have as its object of study the larger expert communities and all the interwoven genres that they produce, a significant portion of genre

[38] Many of the studies I refer to in this dissertation use "text type" in this way, e.g., Giezinger (2001), Görlach (2004), Borde (2015). For the sake of consistency, I will use the term *genre* also when discussing their work.

analysis also focuses on detailed examination of a specific genre. In some cases, like in the English for Specific Purposes strand of genre research, such investigation is linked to the idea of teaching new members in the discourse community the appropriate forms for effective communication. *Move analysis* is one approach towards describing the structure of genres, originally developed by Swales (1990) in the context of English for Specific Purposes to facilitate the teaching of the rhetorical structure of research articles to non-native speakers.

In move analysis, texts belonging to a particular genre are seen as consisting of a variety of *moves*.[39] Swales defines a move as "a discoursal or rhetoric unit that performs a coherent communicative function in a written or spoken discourse" (Swales 2004: 228–229). Or, as Bhatia phrases it, moves "realise a sub-set of specific communicative purposes associated with a genre" (Bhatia 2001: 84). As mentioned before, both Swales and Bhatia place the communicative purposes of a genre at the center of their definition of the term. Moves, then, work together to fulfil these purposes.

An often-cited example of move analysis is Swales' *Create a Research Space* (CARS) model of academic article introductions (Swales 1990: 140–166). According to this model, these introductions typically consist of three moves: Establishing a territory, Establishing a niche, and Occupying the niche (Swales 1990: 141). These moves work together to establish the main purpose of this genre, which is creating the research space. Later research has examined a variety of other texts using move analysis, with a particular focus on academic and professional genres. See, for example, Bhatia on (commercial) advertisements (2005), Henry and Roseberry (2001) on "Letter of Application", Upton (2002) on direct mail letters, Connor and Upton (2004) on grant proposals, and Yoon and Casal (2020) on applied linguistics conference abstracts (for more examples, see the review in Connor & al. 2007: 29). While the pedagogical aspect has undoubtedly affected the selection of texts chosen for scrutiny, move analysis has been conducted on other kinds of texts as well. Samraj and Gawron (2015) test the viability of move analysis on the genre of suicide notes. Move analysis has also been conducted on some historical materials; Peikola (2012) examines the genre of petitions in the Salem witch trials, whereas Groom and Grieve (2019) study the developments in the move structure of patent specifications from the 18th and 19th centuries.

Although move analysis can bring to light the similarities in the structuring of texts belonging to the same genre, it is important to realize that not all members of a genre follow a completely identical set of moves and some genres allow for more variation than others. For one, some moves are more central to the general

[39] The concept of moves is also sometimes used in other contexts, such as conversational analysis (for instance, Eggins & Slade 1997: 184–189).

communicative purpose of a genre than others. Depending on how frequently a move occurs in texts belonging to a specific genre, some moves can be characterized as conventional whereas other are optional (Connor et al 2007: 24). Samraj and Gawron (2015: 95) suggest that some genres are best described as having a set of "core moves", out of which one or more need to be selected, but none of which are obligatory by themselves. The complexity of a move structure also varies from genre to genre: some might have a simpler structure with three or four moves, while other genres have moves representing a larger number of different communicative functions (Connor et al. 2007: 31).

Moves can be further analyzed as having *steps*[40] that the move may consist of. That is, when fulfilling the communicative purposes of a particular move, the writer may choose between different approaches, utilizing all or some of them. The difference between moves and steps is, according to Moreno and Swales (2018: 40), that "interpretation of a given text fragment at the step level is usually articulated in more specific terms […] than at the move level". Referring back to Swales' CARS model, the move Establishing a territory can be realized by choosing one or all of the three steps Claiming centrality, Making topic generalization(s) and Reviewing items of previous research (Swales 1990). However, not all moves necessarily have a variety of steps, but instead "may only be expressed in one general functional-semantic way" (Connor et al 2007: 31).

Often both moves and steps occur in a relatively fixed order. Swales (1990: 145) argues that presenting the moves in a "numerical sequence" is justified when they "occur in suitably robust preferred orders", and in his CARS model, the moves and their constituent steps are numbered by the researcher. However, in relation to these introductions, Swales also presents the possibility that some moves may get repeated in cycles (Swales 1990: 158–159), meaning that the same move can occur several times in the same text. Upton (2002) also discusses cases of moves "embedded" in other moves, where one move is included inside another one. All in all, although ideally a genre's move structure can be presented in a numbered order, the reality is often more complex.

Another important aspect of moves and steps is that they are primarily defined by their functions, not by their form. Nevertheless, as Connor et al. (2007: 24) note, they "generally have distinct linguistic boundaries". The moves can vary greatly in length (Connor & al. 2001: 31), and thus a longer text does not necessarily contain more moves than a shorter one. Moreno and Swales (2018: 41) acknowledge that "it still remains unclear which is the minimal formal unit for annotating moves-and-

[40] Bhatia (2001: 85) prefers to use the term *strategies.*

steps". For instance, Cotos et al. (2015: 55) remark that in their study they have annotated "at the sentence-level for moves and at phrasal-level for steps".

The basis for moves is their rhetorical purpose. There has been some variance in whether all elements in the text should be included in move analysis. For instance, Bhatia (1993: 48), when initially proposing a move structure for direct mail letters, did not assign moves to features of the letter such as the date line, address information, salutation and signature. Upton (2002) remarks on this, and includes them in the analysis, as "practitioners view these structural elements as an important part of the direct mail letter, and they are intended to have an impact on the reader". Upton (2002) refers to these as structural *elements* (in contrast to rhetorical moves). This terminological distinction is used also by Crossley (2007: 7), who notes that these structural elements (such as the salutation or the complementary close in a letter) are "for the most part standardized patterns that rarely differ from one writer to another", only becoming meaningful if the writer leaves out an obligatory structural element. Sadeghi and Samuel (2013), on the other hand, label them structural *moves*. Others, such as Henry and Roseberry (2001), have included such elements among other moves. Likewise, Bhatia (2005), when examining the move structure of print advertisements, includes for instance "Signature, logo, etc." as one of the rhetorical moves of the genre. In this study, I will not be making a distinction between rhetorical moves and structural elements/moves, but rather label them all simply as moves.

Although move analysis has mostly focused on genres that are text-based, some research has also included multimodal aspects of genres under move analysis. Bhatia (2004) discusses, among other genres, the moves found in advertisements. He notes that advertisements are a genre that increasingly uses multi-modality, "sometimes for reader attraction, but often to highlight moves which have traditionally been realized in terms of typical lexico-grammatical resources" (Bhatia 2004: 66). In other words, some moves in an advertisement may be realized both by text and by an accompanying image. For instance, Lam (2013) conducts a multimodal move analysis on Internet group buying deals, a genre in which images play a large role in the construction of the genre.

Connor et al. (2007: 34) lay out the typical move analysis process, focusing on corpus-based studies of move analysis:

1) Determine rhetorical purpose of the genre.
2) Determine rhetorical function of each text segment in its local context; identify the possible move types of the genre.
3) Group functional and/or semantic themes that are either in relative proximity to each other or often occur in similar locations in representative texts. These reflect the specific *steps* that can be used to realize a broader *move.*

4) Conduct pilot-coding to test and fine-tune definitions of move purposes.
5) Develop coding protocol with clear definitions and examples of *move types* and *steps.*
6) Code full set of texts, with inter-rater reliability check to confirm that there is clear understanding of move definitions and how *moves/steps* are realized in texts.
7) Add any additional *steps* and/or *moves* that are revealed in the full analysis.
8) Revise coding protocol to resolve any discrepancies revealed by the inter-rater reliability check or by newly 'discovered' *moves/steps*, and re-code problematic areas.
9) Conduct linguistic analysis of move features and/or other corpus-facilitated analyses.
10) Describe corpus of texts in terms of typical and alternate move structures and linguistic characteristics.

They also point out that not all instances of move analysis include all the enumerated phases. Not all the steps listed above are relevant for the present study, but I have for the most part followed the process enumerated there. I have started by identifying the rhetorical purpose of the genre (i.e., enlisting the help of the public in capturing a runaway), followed by identifying the various move types found in it. The notion of *steps* (as mentioned under number 3 of the list) has been utilized in my analysis to a lesser extent, and I have mostly used them to illustrate cases where aspects of the same move occur in multiple places in an advertisement. I did not choose a smaller sub-set of my corpus for pilot-coding (step 4), but rather I created the move categories and their definitions (step 5) based on the familiarity I had with the notices after having transcribed them.[41] As I conducted the coding myself, there was no chance to check for inter-rater reliability (see steps 6 and 8), but when coding the notices in my corpus I did have to modify my initial coding protocol and list of moves to be coded (steps 6–8). As Connor et al. (2007: 34) point out, the linguistic analysis of move features can take many different forms. In my analysis, I have presented discussion of lexical and syntactic features of the moves that I consider to be most interesting for each move in question, focusing for instance on various fixed phrases occurring in the notices. I also comment on the typical ordering of the central moves of the runaway notice.

There are some challenges when using move analysis for runaway slave notices. One such issue is the length of these texts. Move analysis was originally developed

[41] I also had prior familiarity of the genre, having worked on it for my MA thesis (Mäkinen 2008).

for and has usually been applied to texts that are considerably longer than the average runaway notice. In such texts, single moves often comprise multiple sentences and may be several paragraphs in length. In contrast, the entire runaway notice might only consist of one paragraph and just a few sentences (or, in some cases, one very long sentence with a wide assortment of punctuation marks sprinkled in, the punctuation conventions of the 18th and 19th centuries differing from present-day ones). Thus, the identified moves are by necessity sometimes very short, and even a single sentence can be analyzed as containing several moves, which is not typically the case in move analysis. There is also some overlap between different moves, and defining boundaries between different moves can be problematic. This, however, is not unique to my materials. As Bhatia (1993: 93) remarks, no matter how clearly move criteria are defined, some cases can still "pose problems and escape identification or clear discrimination".

Another factor to take into account is that often the texts subjected to move analysis are products of academic or professional settings and have passed some sort of "quality control" to be recognized as members of their genre. For instance, if someone were to write a completely bizarre introduction to a research article, it would be rejected before publication, and thus would not end up as research material for someone doing a move analysis on the genre. On the other hand, the advertising section of 18th and 19th-century American papers was open to all who were willing to pay the advertising fee, and while most advertisers adhered to the established conventions for runaway notices, they were free to include more unexpected elements into them if it best suited their own purposes. As a result, the collection of runaway slave notices includes many examples that stray quite far from the prototypical runaway notice, and therefore sometimes resist attempts at neat categorization into moves (this will be addressed in 7.2.12).

However, I still believe that move analysis offers a suitable way of organizing the analysis of runaway notices. Some researchers have described the structure of genres in a somewhat similar manner, dividing the texts into sections using other names. For example, Alonso-Almeida (2013) divides 17th and 18th-century recipes into "stages or functional sections", whereas Borde (2015) divides Late Modern English death notices into various "structural elements". A discussion of the structure and linguistic features of a genre requires some organizing principle, and as a widely used methodology, move analysis was seen as the most fitting for the purposes of this study.

5.3 Researching early newspapers and early newspaper genres

The early development of the newspaper and the various subgenres it contains has in the last few decades attracted the notice of many researchers (see e.g. Palander-Collin et al. 2017; Bös & Kornexl 2015; Facchinetti et al. 2015; Studer 2008). Newspapers may contain matter-of-fact news items, opinionated letters-to-the-editor, official notices, flashy advertisements, and so forth, and even if such differences are even more evident in present-day newspapers, historical newspapers were also a collection of texts of very different natures. While newspapers can be considered one type of genre (as evidenced for instance by the fact that we have the term *newspaper* and a common understanding of what such a text usually consists of), mapping out its formal properties is problematic. As Studer (2008: 155) notes, the eclectic nature of a newspaper "makes it difficult for the researcher to speak of common textual criteria that represent general properties of the genre". According to Görlach (2004: 142), newspapers could also be viewed as "a conglomerate supertype as well as a cluster of more or less clearly distinct individual [genres] which have come to form a symbiotic ecosystem". An analysis of the newspaper has to take into account the multiple kinds of texts that are found on its pages. For instance, Fries and Lehmann (2006) study the lexical density of newspapers in the ZEN corpus, drawing attention to the fact that the lexical diversity varies greatly between different types of texts. Unsurprisingly, while some studies treat the newspaper as one unit, most studies of "newspaper language" focus on specific genres within the newspaper.

News articles, which form the core of newspapers, are naturally the focus of most historical studies on newspapers. For instance, Ungerer (2002) investigates the emergence of the top-down structuring of news articles in British papers, Jucker (2006) discusses how speech and thought were presented in early English newspapers and Bös (2015) tracks the development of metadiscourse in the reporting of news. The other texts occurring in the newspapers alongside the news articles have garnered less attention, and Fries (2015: 73) claims that for instance advertisements and other types of announcements have been somewhat neglected in studies of newspaper language.

As mentioned in 3.2, the advertising section of early newspapers contained a variety of texts which might not be instinctively labeled as advertisements by the present-day reader.[42] However, when studying the language of the advertising

[42] Fries (2001) discusses issues related to categorizing newspaper texts in the ZEN corpus. He notes that the corpus has, for instance, a separate category for "lost and found", characterizing it as "a very formalized text class with restricted vocabulary and syntax, which comes closely[sic] to the advertisement sections of newspapers", adding that

section, most of the attention has been given to commercial newspaper advertisements. Gieszinger (2001) provides a detailed study on advertisements in *The Times* from 1788 to 1996, examining the development of the formal, semantic and functional features of the genre. She adapts a framework originally created for modern advertising language by Leech (1966), who divides advertisements into five elements (headline, illustration, body copy, signature and standing details), to the historical materials. Likewise, Görlach (2004: 141–162) presents a "linguistic history of advertising", focusing on English commercial advertisements before 1900 and tracking how the early examples developed into modern advertising. In the study, he examines both the surrounding social and cultural factors as well as elements such as typography, vocabulary, syntax and style. Also Gotti (2005) examines 18th-century commercial advertisements with regard to their linguistic and stylistic features, and, like Gieszinger (2001), contrasts them with observations made by Leech (1966) on modern advertising.

Specific categories of early commercial advertising have also been examined. Auf dem Keller (2004, 2006) focuses her attention on the structures of two categories of early advertising: medical and book advertisements. The language of 18th-century medical advertisements has also been examined by Fries (1997). Specific aspects within commercial advertisements have also attracted some attention: Palander-Collin (2015) examines person-mention in 19th-century English commercial advertisements, and Wright (2006) studies the way street addresses and directions are expressed in mid-18th-century London advertisements. The general focus on commercial advertisements is understandable, as the ubiquity of commercial advertisements in the modern world offers an interesting point of contrast. Aside from commercial advertisements, the historical development of some short notice-type texts has been studied. For instance, the death notice in 19th and 20th-century English papers has been investigated by Fries (2006) and later by Borde (2015). Borde identifies a "relatively pre-set macro-structure" that comprises 13 structural elements which are either obligatory or optional in these notices.

To my knowledge, the genre of runaway slave notices or other types of runaway notices, or closely related types such as the various kinds of lost-and-found notices found in the advertising sections along them, have not yet received a detailed description focusing on their structure and linguistic features. Such notices were, however, very common in early newspapers and therefore an analysis of the genre from this perspective is well warranted.

> "[w]hereas in an advertisement proper something is being offered for sale, in the 'lost and found' section, a reward is being offered" (Fries 2001: 179). Fries has also conceded that "announcements […] are often indistinguishable from advertisements" (Fries 2015: 67).

6 Materials

To analyze the runaway slave notice as a genre, a suitable corpus of these notices had to be collected. In this section I will clarify how I collected my materials, consisting of 2,603 runaway notices in total. I will start by discussing my reasoning for collecting the advertisements directly from the papers instead of using ready compilations (6.1). Then I will introduce the two databases that the newspapers I collected the notices come from, *America's Historical Newspapers* by Readex and *Accessible Archives* (6.2). In 6.3, I will discuss the considerations made in choosing the geographical areas and newspapers, and how samples from the chosen newspapers were selected. I also explain what I have regarded as a runaway slave notice and what kinds of notices have been excluded from my study. I will end by discussing the way I transcribed and analyzed the notices, in 6.4.

6.1 Why collect the notices directly from the newspapers?

Over the years, runaway slave notices from various times and places have been collected into books and internet databases (see 4.1). Nevertheless, I made the choice to collect the materials for this study directly from the newspapers, because I found relying on pre-existing collections potentially problematic in several ways. Firstly, the existing collections have been collected with various aims: some focus only on one particular newspaper, others on a specific time period, some on runaways from a particular area. Books in particular may also pick and choose the most "interesting" advertisements when including all advertisements from a particular era is not possible. For instance, Smith and Wojtovicz (1989: 5) admit to having chosen the notices with "the most varied, interesting and extensive descriptions". Internet databases contain larger numbers of notices, but they, too, usually focus on a specific area or time period. The database that aims for the most comprehensive collection of runaway slave notices, *Freedom on the Move*, was not available when I started collecting my data (and, in any case, it is still an ongoing project). The existing compilations also very rarely explicitly define exactly on what basis they have included or excluded notices. As I will discuss later, it is, for instance, not necessarily

easy to draw a line between notices concerning slaves and ones concerning servants or apprentices.

As my interest is also on the visual aspects of the notices, being able to examine the original images of the advertisements is important. Although internet databases do usually include an image of the original notice alongside a transcription, the books typically do not. What neither the books nor the databases offer is a possibility to examine these notices in their textual environment. Locating the notices in the newspapers myself enabled me to make observations on how the changes in the newspapers as a whole (the increase in advertisements, emergence of woodcut illustrations, etc.) were reflected in changes in the runaway slave notices. Observing the myriad of other notices and advertisements also provided me insight into the similarities the runaway slave notices had with other texts in the papers. I also got an impression on how "visible" these notices were on the page at different times, as well as information on whether they were grouped together, and so forth. On the negative side, locating and transcribing the notices myself was a time-consuming endeavor, but I judged it to be the right choice as it enabled a deeper understanding of the genre.

6.2 Introducing the databases

America's Historical Newspapers (NewsBank/Readex)

The main source of the newspapers in this study is *America's Historical Newspapers* by Readex (a division of NewsBank). This collection consists of several series, but its core is *Early American Newspapers, 1690–1922*. As the years indicate, this database contains newspapers from both before and after the United States became independent. According to Readex, the database "has been created through partnerships with the American Antiquarian Society, the Library of Congress, the Wisconsin Historical Society and more than 90 other institutions". The database contains thousands of newspaper issues from all around the United States, and also some from the Caribbean.

The site allows searching for newspapers based on their titles, geographical location and time of publication. The database contains the newspapers as pictures that can be saved as PDF files. Many of them are based on microfilm images, and the quality of the images varies considerably. Transcriptions of the text are not provided, but the contents of the newspapers are searchable by text searches relying on OCR. As the quality of the original images varies greatly, such searches are not always accurate. The newspaper pages have also been digitally sectioned into separate units. These units have been classified under different "article types", such as "News Articles", "Advertisement", "Nameplate", "Shipping News", "Letters", Prices Current", "Death Notice" and "Poetry and Songs", and thus searches can be

limited to specific categories. In the case of "Advertisement", it is worth noting that while the earlier papers separate each advertisement as their own unit, in the later papers (where the number of advertisements was much greater) sections containing advertisements are marked as one unit, but each separate advertisement does not form a block of its own.

Accessible Archives

A small portion of my source newspapers comes from the *South Carolina Newspapers* collection of *Accessible Archives.* South Carolina was such a prominent slave state that its inclusion in the materials was a given, and *America's Historical Newspapers* did not have colonial newspapers from South Carolina. *Accessible Archives* also offers various other collections related to American history, and while some of its collections focus on newspapers (e.g. the collections *African American Newspapers, The Liberator, The Pennsylvania Gazette*), others include pamphlets and books. These other collections were either not pertinent to my study or contained materials also found in *America's Historical Newspapers*, so I have used *Accessible Archives* only for South Carolina papers from the years 1732–1780.

In contrast to *America's Historical Newspapers, Accessible Archives* contains both transcriptions of the newspapers and images of the original papers (available to download as JPEG files). The contents of the newspapers are divided into "articles", with every news item and advertisement as a separate "article". The site claims that the transcriptions have been done by double-keying, not relying on OCR. However, at least as far as the runaway slave advertisements are concerned, the transcriptions were not always entirely accurate.[43] Therefore, I have not relied fully on the transcriptions provided by the site, but compared them carefully with the accompanying images.

6.3 Choosing the materials

With the tens of thousands of notices for runaway slaves published in American newspapers, a sample of these notices needed to be collected for this study. The choices I made were guided by the desire to collect a corpus that would offer the possibility to examine possible diachronic variation and differences between areas where the institution of slavery, as well as other surrounding factors, varied. In addition, although variation between different newspapers was not one of the main goals of my study, the possible effects of specific newspapers' conventions were kept in mind during the collection of the data.

[43] For instance, runaway *sawyers* had turned into *lawyers*, and sometimes illegible words would be left out with no indication in the transcription.

6.3.1 Locations chosen for the study

In order to study possible variation related to the geographic location of the newspapers, I needed to include examples from a variety of colonies/states. It was not feasible to include all of them, so I had to omit some colonies/states. The advertisements in my corpus come from newspapers published in the following 12 areas: *Massachusetts, Connecticut, New York, Pennsylvania, Maryland, Virginia, South Carolina, Georgia, Tennessee, Mississippi, Louisiana* and *Texas*. Figure 1 shows the boundaries of the different states as they were in the year 1864, towards the end of the period under investigation in this study. These boundaries were quite different at earlier times, as many of the states did not exist at all during the 18th century or had slightly different borders.

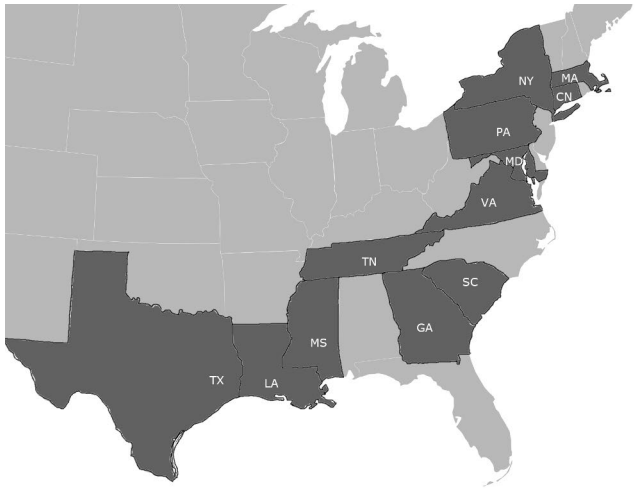


Figure 1. Places of publication of the newspapers in the corpus.[44]

As discussed in Chapter 2, the greatest difference regarding slavery can be drawn between the North and the South, the former gradually developing into free states after the American Revolution and the latter holding onto slavery until the end of the Civil War. Nevertheless, there are numerous smaller differences as well, which guided my selection. Massachusetts, though never home to a large enslaved population, was the birthplace of the first American newspapers and thus an obvious

[44] Original image: 'Blank US map 1864' (Master Uegly/Wikimedia Commons/CC-BY-SA 3.0); modified by the author.

inclusion for providing early examples of the runaway slave notice. Connecticut was added as another example of a colony/state from New England, and one where slavery endured for longer than in Massachusetts. Both New York and Pennsylvania were early centers of newspaper publishing. New York's relatively large number of enslaved people in the 18th century meant that despite gradual abolition, runaway slave notices carried on with regular frequency in the papers well into the 19th century. Pennsylvania, on the other hand, shared a long border with Maryland, and thus regularly drew runaway advertisements from there and other slave states even after notices concerning enslaved Pennsylvanian runaways had mostly disappeared.

As the northernmost of the slave states, Maryland represents a slaveholding state where slavery nonetheless was slowly declining towards the mid-19th century. As a border state, it also did not secede the Union to join the Confederacy during the Civil War. Virginia, alongside Maryland, was part of the Upper South. During the colonial period, it was the most populous colony, and afterwards also remained the largest slave-holding state in the United States. The other two areas in my materials that belonged to the original 13 colonies were South Carolina and Georgia, both Deep South areas that relied intensely on slave labor. Enslaved people formed a large proportion of the population as a whole in both of them. In the case of South Carolina, over half the population was enslaved during several time periods (see Table 1 in 2.2). Tennessee is an example of the early phases of the westward expansion of the United States. Mississippi, added as a state in 1817, was another example of states focused on cotton production by slave labor. Another later addition to the United States is Louisiana, where the previous colonial rule under the French and the Spanish created a somewhat different slave society. The French legacy is also apparent in some bilingual Louisiana newspapers in my data. Finally, Texas, joining the United States after periods of rule under Spain and Mexico, as well as brief independence, offers the westernmost examples of my materials (the earliest advertisements in my data from Texas are from the time it was still an independent republic).

An important point to note is that I have built my corpus based on the place of publication of the newspaper, not the place of residence of the person placing the notice or the location from which the runaway has escaped. As many slaveholders placed notices also in the papers of neighboring colonies/states, the same notices can be found in the papers published in various locales. Therefore, when in the analysis I contrast features between different areas, one should keep in mind that not all the notices were written by local advertisers. However, as will be shown in the analysis and discussion sections of this dissertation, comparing and contrasting different areas still brings to light some noticeable differences.

6.3.2 Choosing and sampling the newspapers

To collect my corpus of runaway slave notices, I have aimed to select two issues per year from two different newspapers (i.e., 4 issues per year in total) from each of the colonies/states. In practice, however, this was not always possible, so none of the areas are represented by 4 issues per year all the way from the early 18th century to the mid-19th. Newspaper publishing starts at different times in various places (see 3.1), so the early 18th century is not as well represented as later periods. The 19th century saw geographical expansion to places such as Mississippi, Louisiana and Texas, with newspapers emerging there advertising for the runaways of these new slave societies. At the same time, slavery was gradually abolished in the Northern states and runaway slave notices disappeared from the papers of those states. I have not searched through the Northern papers from the 1840s onwards, as it became apparent that coming across a runaway slave notice at that time was extremely unlikely.[45] In the case of Massachusetts, the cutoff point was even earlier, due to the earlier disappearance of slavery from the state.

Another limitation concerns the availability of newspaper issues in *America's Historical Newspapers* and *Accessible Archives*: even if a colony/state might have been publishing a newspaper at a particular time, if that newspaper (or issues of the newspaper) is not in the database, there is a gap in my materials. For the Southern papers, the final issue included is January 1865, as by June of that year, slavery had already been abolished throughout the United States. Details of how many newspaper issues per decade were examined for runaway notices are presented in Table 2.

[45] The habit some abolitionist papers had of copying Southern runaway notices in their own papers to criticize them means that some runaway slave notices can definitely be found in Northern papers from the 1830s onwards, just not in the advertising columns.

Table 2. Number of newspaper issues sampled.

	1704–1709	1710–1719	1720–1729	1730–1739	1740–1749	1750–1759	1760–1769	1770–1779	1780–1789	1790–1799	1800–1809	1810–1819	1820–1829	1830–1839	1840–1849	1850–1859	1860–1865	
MA	10	20	40	40	40	40	40	40	40	40	40	40	---	---	---	---	---	430
CN						10	35	40	40	40	40	40	40	40	---	---	---	325
NY				14	30	30	40	40	40	40	40	40	40	40	---	---	---	394
PA			20	27	40	39	40	40	40	40	40	40	40	39	---	---	---	445
MD			2	6		11	6	25	35	40	40	40	36	40	40	40	24	385
VA				8	5	15	18	38	26	40	40	40	40	40	39	39	24	412
SC				16	20	18	29	29	26	36	40	37	40	38	35	28	23	415
GA							14	1	5	34	40	37	36	37	38	38	24	304
TN										5	18	19	13	5			3	63
LA											9	10	17	7	28	34	22	127
MS												3	26	9	9	9		56
TX													1	15	36	40	23	115
	10	20	62	111	135	163	222	253	252	315	347	306	329	310	225	228	143	3471

A grey box indicates that no newspapers were available in the databases for that time/area. A box with dashes indicates that papers would have been available, but since the likelihood of finding runaway notices in them was minimal, the papers were not examined.

The issues chosen from each year were the first ones from January and July, when possible. Otherwise, the first available issue was chosen, so that the first sample for a year is from sometime in January–June, the second one from July–December. If, however, there were no issues available at all for the timespan of January–June for a particular year, I have not picked two issues from July–December, but rather only collected one issue to represent the year. The choice of months is not assumed to have any considerable effect on the notices themselves; the aim was simply not to have two issues that were published too close to one another, as those would often contain the same runaway notices. Even when collecting the samples approximately six months apart, I occasionally still came across the same runaway slave notice, as some of them ran for a considerably long time.

The decision to sample two different newspapers whenever two papers were available in the colony/state for each half-year was made for two reasons. Firstly, I wanted to decrease the risk that I had, by chance, picked a paper that had considerably fewer runaway notices than others. This proved a good strategy, as sometimes one paper I had chosen had no runaway notices at all in a particular decade while another one had several (for instance, in the 1850s and 1860s, the Maryland advertisements in my corpus all come from the *Sun*, as the other paper I chose contained no runaway notices in the issues consulted). Secondly, I wanted to make sure that the editorial influences of a particular paper did not significantly distort my results (for discussion on how editors of the papers influenced the notices, see 7.5.1).

The choice of newspapers was not based on any strict criteria. In the colonial period, there was very little choice to be made, as most places had only one or two papers. However, when there were more than two papers to choose from, the ones included were picked without consideration of the particular type of paper (e.g., political or mercantile) or its the political leanings. The papers include weeklies, bi- and tri-weeklies as well as dailies. In general, I have favored papers that had longer publishing runs. This was done on the assumption that a long-running newspaper was probably a successful newspaper, and a successful newspaper had plenty of advertising. When there are gaps in one paper's issues (missing years, etc.), I have filled those out with issues from another paper whenever possible. Thus, for some papers, I may have issues from several decades, whereas for some other papers, there may only be one or two issues in my data. I have also not taken into account the town or city where the paper is published. As a result, sometimes the two papers from a specific colony/state are published in the same town, sometimes in different ones.

I provide a complete list of the newspapers and their places of publication in the Appendix. The Appendix also shows how many issues of a particular paper are in my newspaper corpus. As early American newspapers often went through frequent

name changes, for the sake of simplicity I will refer to them by the title they are primarily referred by in the *America's Historical Newspapers* database.

6.3.3 Defining a runaway slave notice

One of the central aims of this dissertation is to investigate how much variation the genre of runaway slave advertisements can have, and, for that, a corpus of runaway notices is needed. However, in order to collect such a corpus, I first needed to make some decisions on exactly what texts I consider runaway slave advertisements. At first glance, the task seems simple enough: a runaway slave advertisement is a newspaper advertisement placed by the slaveholder in order to enlist the help of others to catch a runaway slave. In practice, such straightforward definitions run into a variety of problems when actually examining the notices found in the advertising columns.

Firstly, it should be noted that the slaveholder is not necessarily always the person placing the advertisement. A friend or an agent in town may just as well be responsible for placing the notice, a person might place a notice concerning both his own and his neighbor's runaways, or it might be the person to whom the enslaved person had been hired at the time of the escape. All these various types have been included. However, I have excluded notices placed by jailors or sheriffs concerning people that have broken away from their jails, even if these persons happen to be runaway slaves,[46] even though they are often included in compilations of runaway notices (e.g. Bly 2012). This was done as I consider their purpose to be slightly different: jailors were obligated to try to capture whoever escaped their jail (runaways and others), and in such instances the purpose of the advertisement was not so much to return the runaways to their "owners" but rather for the jailor to recapture the people he should have kept in jail.

Although the vast majority of enslaved people are reported to have run away of their own volition, some are reported to have been "taken away" by indentured servants escaping at the same time or "stolen" either by White people or possibly the slave's own family members. I have included all these instances in my materials. In other words, whether the advertiser thinks the slave has left intentionally or not makes no difference, as the aim of the advertisement is still to secure their return.

As I have chosen to focus on runaway *slave* advertisements, the biggest issue perhaps lies in how to decide which of the notices deal with enslaved people. As will become apparent in 7.4.1, the word *slave* is not very useful for identifying these advertisements, since it is rarely used in them. Instead, the advertisers typically

[46] Although sometimes very similar to regular runaway slave notices, these notices more often start with "Broke/Escaped from jail..."

referring to the fugitives by racial terms such as *Negro*. Naming offers little help either: although enslaved people are typically referred to by first name only, and indentured servants are more likely to be referred to by first and last name (and White indentured servants are always referred to by both), such a distinction cannot be relied on fully either. For instance, the *Connecticut Gazette*, Jul 9, 1757, has a notice for a "negro man slave" named "Thomas Quotta". On the other hand, in the following notice, "Sam" (no last name) is clearly stated to be "an indented servant". The status of "Bett", however, is left open: is she an indented servant as well, or a slave?

> RAnaway a negro man, named Sam, aged 50
> years, 5 feet 9 inches high, very fond of drink
> and plays on the fiddle, he pretends to be free, but
> is an indented servant of his own free will and ac-
> cord, he deceived Justice Westervilt of Paramus
> and he obtained from him a pass, dated 20th inst.
> to go to the southward; also, a negro woman na-
> med Bett, about 5 feet 10 inches high, considera-
> bly grey, speakes broken english, near 40 years of
> age. Whoever takes up said negroes, shall receive
> the above reward.
>
> JOHN GUION, Philip's Man-
> JOHN ARCHER, or, Westchester.
> Jan. 1
>
> (*Daily Advertiser* (NY), Jan 1, 1794)

I have collected the corpus with the assumption that texts referring to runaways as "Negro" or "Mulatto" are advertisements for runaway slaves, unless explicitly stated otherwise. This means leaving out the advertisements that clearly mention the runaway being indentured or an apprentice, as in this study I am treating them as separate (sub)genres. It also means that it is likely that some advertisements I have included may potentially be for Black indentured servants or apprentices, not slaves. In any case, there is no doubt that the vast majority of these advertisements do concern enslaved people. Advertisements that include both runaway White servants and enslaved Black people have also been included, but in the analysis I will mostly focus on the part concerning the enslaved.

I have not limited the corpus to enslaved people of African ancestry, as there are also occasional "Indian" slaves reported. Here, too, knowing the exact status is not simple. Of the small number of advertisements concerning Native Americans, some are explicitly referred to as slaves and others as indentured servants, in which case the classification is clear. However, there are also some Native American "servants"

(or, for instance, an "Indian wench") running away. With these cases, though it might be more likely for the Native Americans to be only in temporary servitude, compared to those of African ancestry, I have followed the same principle and included the uncertain cases in the corpus.

6.3.4 Collecting the runaway slave notices

I located the runaway slave notices in the newspaper samples by going through the newspapers I had collected one by one. An initial survey of the newspapers revealed that if all runaway slave notices located that way were to be included, the data would skew extremely heavily towards particular decades and particular states. As a result, I chose to include a maximum of 50 notices per decade for each state. This was done by cutting down the number of notices included from each issue, so I have not left out the latter part of the decade entirely but rather included only the first couple of notices per issue from each year. In several cases, the actual numbers would be more than double that. While the Southern states still dominate in the total number of notices, with this limit their number stays manageable. Furthermore, as one focus of this study is to describe the prototypical runaway notice, having larger numbers of notices from areas where larger numbers of these notices were published seems justified.

As already mentioned, it was fairly common for people to advertise for their runaways in several papers, whether local or ones in neighboring colonies/states. Likewise, these notices could run in the paper for several months. As a result, my initial collection of runaway notices contained a number of duplicates or near duplicates. While issues arising from comparing these duplicates are worth discussing (see 7.5), I aimed to have the notices in my main corpus represent as many *different* notices as possible. Therefore, any duplicate runaway notices were discarded.[47] If they came from places/time periods where over 50 notices had been potentially available, I chose a new notice from the ones originally left out to replace such discarded duplicates.

The resulting corpus contains 2,603 examples of runaway slave notices. The total word count is 346,414 words, with the average length of the notice being approximately 133 words (the length of the notices and issues related to it will be discussed in more detail in 7.2.13). Table 3 shows the composition of the corpus in more detail.

47 Ones that were partially duplicates but contained significant inclusions were kept in the data.

Table 3. Number of runaway slave notices in the corpus per area and decade.

	1704–1709	1710–1719	1720–1729	1730–1739	1740–1749	1750–1759	1760–1769	1770–1779	1780–1789	1790–1799	1800–1809	1810–1819	1820–1829	1830–1839	1840–1849	1850–1859	1860–1865	
MA	0	1	4	2	4	7	8	11	2	0	0	0	--- ---	--- ---	--- ---	--- ---	--- ---	39
CN						1	7	23	15	15	8	10	1	2	--- ---	--- ---	--- ---	82
NY				0	9	23	47	40	18	34	26	12	1	0	--- ---	--- ---	--- ---	210
PA			8	7	14	17	42	30	33	17	14	8	0	3	--- ---	--- ---	--- ---	193
MD			1	1		2	6	16	50	50	50	50	44	17	32	46	15	380
VA				1	1	13	27	50	35	45	50	50	50	41	34	41	16	454
SC				32	26	46	50	50	20	50	50	50	50	35	41	39	23	562
GA							23	2	16	50	50	50	50	41	31	26	29	368
TN										5	4	5	8	8			7	37
LA											3	14	26	12	50	50	16	171
MS												9	37	4	4	3		57
TX													0	8	20	14	8	50
	0	1	13	43	54	109	210	222	189	266	255	258	267	171	212	219	114	2603

As can be seen from Table 3, some time periods and places have very few advertisements. It is obvious that no far-reaching generalizations can be made from such small numbers, but it was nevertheless deemed useful to have at least some points of comparison also from these places/times to compare them with the tendencies discovered in the materials as a whole. In this table, I have presented the numbers by each decade, but in the analysis chapter, I will group the years into 20-year periods to make the tables less unwieldy.

6.4 Transcribing and analyzing the notices

As *America's Historical Newspapers* had the newspapers only available as images, the runaway slave notices had to be transcribed in order for me to analyze the data further. In the transcriptions, I have retained the original spelling, capitalization, italics, punctuation and line breaks,[48] as well as any obvious "mistakes" in the notices (such as repeated or missing words). The presence of a woodcut image is also mentioned in the transcription using the text [IMAGE]. I have not further described the contents of the image, but they are typically generic pictures of Black runaways, the same image being used in all notices of a particular paper (see 7.3.1 for details). Font sizing has not been replicated, but I have made note of it in cases where changes in font size are unusually eye-catching. I have replaced the 'long s', <ſ>, occurring in some of the 18th-century notices with a regular <s>. When presenting examples in the analysis, I will use bolding to draw attention to specific points in the notice. All bolding in the notices should be considered mine unless otherwise indicated.

As the quality of the images of the newspaper pages varied greatly, some of the notices were partly illegible. If a runaway notice was partly unclear due to damage to the page or other reasons, I attempted to locate a more legible version of the notice in previous or later issues of the paper. As noted, usually these notices ran in more than one issue, with no change whatsoever. Occasionally I have also consulted the available compilations of runaway notices, in case they have the same notice and have been working from a more legible copy. When neither of these approaches has been successful, I have marked the illegible words in brackets in my transcriptions.

Once the advertisements were transcribed, I used NVivo, a qualitative data analysis software tool, to mark the coding for the different moves and other elements. NVivo allows one to code sections of texts under user-defined "nodes" by

[48] When presenting examples in the dissertation, I retain the line breaks when presenting examples of the advertisements a whole. However, if the example focuses just on one move or other short sections, I have usually removed the line breaks, as keeping them would lead to many awkward-looking instances where the text, for instance, starts at the very end of the first line.

highlighting the text section in question. Once the texts were thus coded, I could examine how many times particular moves occurred in my corpus and study these moves in isolation. For some basic searches of particular words or phrases in the advertisements as a whole, I have also used AntConc, as such searches were more conveniently conducted with that tool.

7 Analysis

The aim of this analysis is to provide an in-depth examination of the runaway slave notice as a genre. Before moving on to examine the structure and language of these notices in more detail, I will first turn my attention to some more general observations of the genre, that is, the sociocultural and situational features that define the runaway slave advertisement (7.1). The main focus of the study is on the formal features of the genre, focusing particularly on move analysis in order to examine the structure and contents of the notices (7.2). I will then turn my attention to some features that interact with the issues brought up in move analysis, namely more visual aspects such as the use of images and headlines (7.3) and the various ways in which the notices refer to people (7.4). In the final section of the analysis (7.5), I examine matters that often include discussion of advertisements besides the ones included in my main corpus, including the role of the editors in the final appearance of the notices and the ways in which these notices might still change after they had originally been placed in the pages of a newspaper.

7.1 Sociocultural and situational features of the runaway slave advertisement

As discussed in 5.1, genres are not only defined by their formal features and content, but also a variety of contextual aspects. Viewed from a wide perspective, the runaway slave notice is a product of a society where slavery was legal, and which granted some members of that society the right to hold people in life-long servitude and demand their recapture if they made an attempt at freedom. This larger social context is described in Chapter 2. The more immediate context that prompted the creation of these texts was the escape (or disappearance) of an enslaved person. Not every escape resulted in a runaway notice, and the time between the escape and the publication of a notice varied greatly. The advertisements in my data include several examples where the runaway had escaped “last night”, but also for instance one notice published in 1822 seeks a person that has been a runaway “since the year 1817”.

Runaway slave advertisements are also highly defined by a specific medium, the newspaper, the general development of which is detailed in Chapter 3. The

importance of the newspaper context is relevant in the case of runaway slave advertisements, as similar types of texts could also be found as broadside poster advertisements, independent of the newspaper context and larger in size. Although I have not examined these posters in detail, the examples I have seen (for one example, see Franklin & Schweninger 1999: 58) seem to have more variation in type sizes than the average newspaper notice, but on the whole, the text they contain matches the ones in newspaper advertisements. The runaway slave notices are further defined by being situated among the advertisements in the newspaper. This distinction differentiates them from the republishing of these notices in abolitionist papers from the 1830s onwards, where they were placed among the editorial contents of the paper with some added commentary. There they were stripped of their original function, and instead served as condemnations of slavery as an institution.

Pinning down the actual producers of the runaway slave advertisements can be more complex than might be first assumed. These texts can be primarily considered as being created by the person placing the advertisement, who is typically named at the end of the notice (see 7.2.9). This person is, in most cases, also the person claiming ownership of the slave, and who therefore also has a direct interest in their recapture. However, an examination of the notices reveals that it is common for them to be placed by a variety of other people as well. My materials contain, for instance, several notices signed by the executors of a deceased person's estate. Some advertisers make explicit their role as "agents" of the slaveholder when signing the notice, or identify themselves as overseers or relatives. In other cases, the text does not make clear what the relationship between the slaveholder and the person placing the advertisement is, as in (1).

(1) [IMAGE] $15 REWARD. —Ran away from the plantation of Mr. Hippolyte Fupagnier, about six months ago, the Creole mulatto named CELESTIN, about 32 years old, 5 feet 6 or 7 inches high, (American measure ;) two front teeth missing and a scar on the left cheek, the hair growing very high up on his forehead. The above reward will be given to any one who will lodge said slave in one of the parish jails of the State, and make known to the subscribers where he can be found.
CAMPBELL & LABRANCHE,
J1-6t2m 45 Bienville street.
(*Times-Picayune* (LA) Jan 1, 1846)

In the above example, the present owner of the enslaved person is named, but no explanation to his connection to "Campbell & Labranche" is given. They, as well as some others whose names are found at the end of notices in my data (e.g. "Jacob Valk" and "Pulliam & Davis") were commission merchants or auctioneers, who might also place runaway slave advertisements in the papers and act as an intermediary on their customers' behalf.[49] As some notices also mention multiple people who can be applied to for a reward, but lack a specific subscriber, defining who exactly is "behind" the advertisement can be impossible. Furthermore, some advertisements remain anonymous and direct all communications to the newspaper office. Even in these less straightforward cases, it is usually safe to assume that the person placing the notice is still acting on behalf of the purported owner. At the same time, they also hint at the possible preceding texts that have led to the creation of the notice (i.e., members of the same *genre system*, to use Devitt's (2004: 56) term). For instance, has the agent in town received a letter from the slaveholder in the country, asking them to place a notice in the paper? How much of the wording of the notice comes from them and how much from the person whose name is at the bottom of the notice? Unfortunately, without access to those documents, such questions remain unanswered.

As mentioned above, some advertisements direct all communications to the newspaper office, thus showing how the newspaper editors might take a more involved position in the recapturing of runaways. Even in cases when they were merely offering their advertising columns for the use of the slaveholder in exchange for money, their role cannot be ignored when examining the genre. It is the printer-editors who are responsible for mediating the words given to them into the form of a newspaper advertisement. It is again impossible to know exactly how much impact the printer-editors had on the final text, but some of their influences will be discussed in passing throughout the analysis and in more detail in 7.5.1.

The target audience is also relevant in defining a genre. In the case of runaway slave advertisements, this audience can be considered the general public, or at least that part of the general public that had access to newspapers. In addition to this general newspaper-reading audience, some parts of the notice could be directed at more specific groups (see 7.2.5, 7.2.6 and 7.2.7).

As genres do not exist in isolation, but are linked to a variety of others, examining the genres most closely linked to that of the runaway slave advertisement can offer

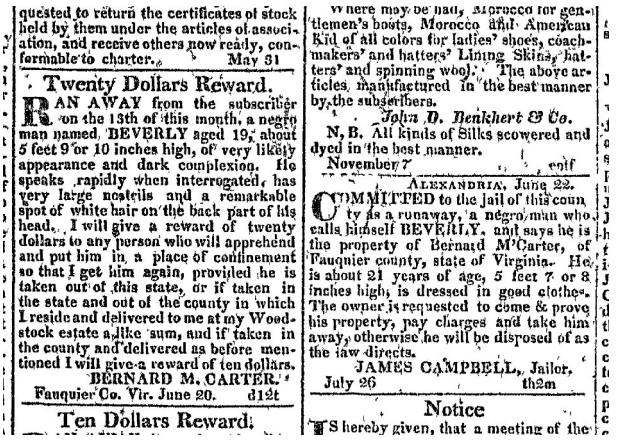
[49] In the case of Pulliam and Davis, they make their position as intermediaries clear by starting the advertisement with: "We are requested by Henry P. Davis to offer a reward of $10 of the apprehension of a negro man named HENRY" (*Richmond Whig* (VA), Jan 4, 1853). This, however, is the exception, and usually the idea that the advertiser is acting on behalf of the slaveholder is not expressed as explicitly.

interesting points of reference. Runaway slave advertisements are part of the very broad supergenre of "advertisements", similarly to all the other texts grouped under that heading in the early newspapers (for a discussion of the meaning of 'advertisement', see 3.2). In more specific terms, "runaway advertisements" or "advertisements for missing persons" include texts that share many features with that of runaway slave advertisements. In the case of notices concerning runaway servants, the main distinguishing factor is the status of the runaway. This distinction is valid from the point of view of modern-day researchers (as evinced by the numerous compilations focusing on runaway slave advertisements), but it is possible that for the advertisers of the day, such a distinction was not necessarily made, as both cases involved people whom the advertiser had the legal right to force back under their control. Advertisements about runaway apprentices also share many features with those for runaway slaves and servants. The newspaper pages occasionally contain advertisements seeking other people as well: thieves and murderers, missing children, military deserters, escapees from jail, runaway wives, etc. As example (2) shows, sometimes these notices for missing persons were also published in an attempt to save people who were seen as having been unlawfully enslaved.

(2) 25 Dollars Reward.
A DARK mulatto boy was kidnapped from the house of his aunt in Alexandria, on Thursday evening last. A person apparently a seafaring man, called at the house of a colored woman, and enquired if she could do some washing for him, and on receiving an answer in the affirmative, said, if she would let the boy go with him to his vessel, a short distance from her residence, he would send the clothes, and they must be washed by 11 o'clock the next day. The boy was sent with him and has not since been seen or heard from – it is believed he has been kidnapped. The Boy is a dark mulatto named JOHN McCARTY, about 8 years of age, with curled hair, and has a scar on the left side of the face; had on a pair of dark colored domestic pantaloons; his other clothing not recollected. It is hoped the humane will unite in endeavoring to rescue from bondage this boy, and bring the perpetrator of such an outrage to his merited punishment. dec24–3t
☛ The National Intelligencer and Baltimore American will publish the above three times, and send their accounts to this office.
(*Alexandria Gazette* (VA), Jan 3, 1826)

In addition to the various categories of missing people, another related genre is that of notices dealing with "lost property". Horses and cattle regularly wandered away from their owners and were advertised for. While they were, on the whole, reported as having "strayed" rather than "run away", there are also striking similarities in the wording of notices for animals when compared to runaway people. This similarity is further reinforced by them sometimes being found right after one another on the pages of the paper.

The people advertised for in the runaway slave notices could also appear in the advertising section in other contexts. Notices informing of the capture of (suspected) runaways were also commonly found in the papers, forming a sort of counterpart to the advertisements focused on in this study. Sometimes they might be posted by private individuals, but typically they were by jailors or sheriffs, who advertised for the runaways in their jails and requested their masters to come and collect them.



quested to return the certificates of stock held by them under the articles of association, and receive others now ready, conformable to charter. May 31

Twenty Dollars Reward.

RAN AWAY from the subscriber on the 13th of this month, a negro man named, BEVERLY aged 19, about 5 feet 9 or 10 inches high, of very likely appearance and dark complexion. He speaks rapidly when interrogated, has very large nostrils and a remarkable spot of white hair on the back part of his head. I will give a reward of twenty dollars to any person who will apprehend and put him in a place of confinement so that I get him again, provided he is taken out of this state, or if taken in the state and out of the county in which I reside and delivered to me at my Woodstock estate a like sum, and if taken in the county and delivered as before mentioned I will give a reward of ten dollars.

BERNARD M. CARTER.

Fauquier Co. Vir. June 20. d12t

Ten Dollars Reward.

Where may be had, Morocco for gentlemen's boots, Morocco and American Kid of all colors for ladies' shoes, coachmakers' and hatters' Lining Skins, hatters' and spinning wool. The above articles manufactured in the best manner by the subscribers.

John D. Benkhert & Co.

N, B. All kinds of Silks scowered and dyed in the best manner.

November 7 eotf

ALEXANDRIA, June 22.

COMMITTED to the jail of this county as a runaway, a negro man who calls himself BEVERLY, and says he is the property of Bernard M'Carter, of Fauquier county, state of Virginia. He is about 21 years of age, 5 feet 7 or 8 inches high, is dressed in good clothes. The owner is requested to come & prove his property, pay charges and take him away, otherwise he will be disposed of as the law directs.

JAMES CAMPBELL, Jailor,

July 26 th2m

Notice

IS hereby given, that a meeting of the

Figure 2. Advertisements from the *Alexandria Gazette* (VA), Jul 1, 1817; *America's Historical Newspapers* (*NewsBank*/*Readex*).

The two notices in Figure 2 in deal with the same runaway and are even placed right next to one another on the page. As can be seen from this example, the notices about captures also often contained some description of the runaway (in this case, the slaveholder and the jailor provide slightly contradictory information about the height of the runaway). Advertisements offering slaves for sale were also a standard feature of the newspapers, as were other types of slavery-related advertisements, including ones seeking to purchase or hire enslaved people.

7.2 Move analysis of the runaway slave advertisement

While it is possible to examine the runaway notices in their entirety, and such an approach is used in other sections of this analysis chapter, dividing the texts into parts and examining these parts individually makes structuring the analysis easier. I have chosen to conduct a move analysis of the runaway slave advertisement in order to discover what the prototypical runaway notice is and what kinds of variation it may have.

As will become apparent in the analysis below, the moves in the runaway slave advertisement do not always appear in a set order and, furthermore, no advertisement in my corpus contains all the moves. The order in which I present them is, nevertheless, loosely based on the order in which they are often found in the advertisements. The eleven moves that I have identified in the notices are as follows:

1) *Announcing the escape*
2) *Describing the runaway*
3) *Promising a reward*
4) *Speculating on the whereabouts*
5) *Discouraging unwanted actions*
6) *Addressing the runaway*
7) *Instructions to other papers*
8) *Informing people of unrelated matters*
9) *Subscriber*
10) *Date and place*
11) *Editorial markings*

After presenting the moves individually, I will discuss some cases that fall outside the move categories proposed here.

I will start the analysis of each move with a description of the purpose it serves in the advertisement and then discuss how often it appears in the advertisements of my corpus. After that, I will move on to discuss the distinctive linguistic aspects that the move has. As the moves are quite different in their length and complexity, the aspects I focus on vary considerably from move to move. The aim is to investigate what the moves are typically like (in general content as well as wording), but also to discuss some more borderline examples of the moves to show how the advertisers might stray from the more expected alternatives. The issue of moves overlapping with one another is also discussed in relation to the moves in question. Throughout the analysis of the moves, I will also draw attention to the possible differences related to time or geographical areas.

7.2.1 Move: Announcing the escape

"RUN away from the subscriber, on *Saturday* the 21st of this month,
a Negro man slave named POPE"
(*Virginia Gazette* 1, Jul 4, 1766)

The main purpose of the *Announcing the escape* move is to inform the readers what has happened: someone has gone missing from their enslavers. As the name I have given to the move implies, the usual situation is one where the person is suspected of having run away of their own volition. Instances where the advertiser reports the slaves to have been stolen or otherwise gone missing (not necessarily by their own choice) are also included in this move. In addition to informing the public of the fact that an escape has happened, this move typically also contains some further details of it: the time of escape, from whom/where it happened and possibly other specifics on the circumstances. The inclusion of this move in the runaway notice seems quite evident, as it states the event that is the main reason why the notice was placed in the first place. However, as will be shown later, not all notices contain this move.

In this analysis I consider the move to have two possible steps. Firstly, there is the "initial announcement of the escape". In this step, the escape is presented as new information to the readers. In most cases, this is the only realization of the move in the advertisements, and it also contains information about when and from whom the escape has happened. However, in some cases, the escape is referred to later on in the advertisement. I call this potential second step "further details on the escape". The main distinction between these two steps is that, in the second one, the act of escaping is already taken as known information, and the step is used to include information about the circumstances of the escape. As the first step is by far the most common one, I will focus mostly on it in the analysis below.

I will first present a typical instance of the move in an advertisement, seen in example (3).

(3) [IMAGE] $25 REWARD. —**Ran away from the subscriber on Saturday, the 7th of June, the negro Boy LUCIEN,** formerly belonging to Mr. O. M. Miesegaes of this city. The boy is about 27 years old, strong and well made, has an acquiline nose, and keeps himself very straight when walking. He speaks French and English, and was dressed in blue pantaloons and coat. The above reward will be paid to whoever will deliver him at the Workhouse

of the 2d Municipality and inform of it.
je 17 tf CHS. KOCK, No. 22 Bank Place.
(*Times-Picayune* (LA), Jul 1, 1845)

Example (3) is quite a prototypical instance of the move *Announcing the escape*: It is situated at the beginning of the body text of the notice.[50] It also starts with the verb *ran away* fronted in the sentence, which gives further prominence to the act of escaping. This example also contains information about when and from whom the escape has happened in the same instance, and there are no further instances of the move (i.e., the step "further details on the escape") later on in the notice. As we will later see, not all instance of the move are this clear-cut. Before moving on to the more complex cases, I will discuss the popularity of the move in my corpus.

Since no runaway notice would have to be written if no escape had taken place, it is unsurprising that *Announcing the escape* is almost an obligatory move in the genre. In fact, 96% of the 2,603 advertisements include the move, and its occurrences in my data are detailed in Table 4. This table, and other such tables later on, include both the percentages and the number of occurrences out of the total number of advertisements. The times and areas with the lowest percentages (95% or under) are shaded in red. More specifically, the numbers presented here concern the move when realized by its first step. It is possible (though rare) for advertisements to only include the second step, "further details on the escape", but these cases are not included in the table. The move *Announcing the escape* is an expected part of the notices during the whole time period and in all the states in my materials. The lowest percentages for the move mostly occur in the 19th century. This is linked with the emerging tendency to place the move *Promising a reward* at the beginning of the advertisement, discussed further in 7.2.3.

[50] The notation [IMAGE] indicates that the advertisement had a woodcut. Such images and their relationship to this move will be discussed in detail in 7.3.1. Headlines will be focused on in 7.3.2.

Table 4. Occurrences of the move *Announcing the escape.*

	1700–1729	1730–1749	1750–1769	1770–1789	1790–1809	1810–1829	1830–1849	1850–1865	
MA	100% 5/5	100% 6/6	100% 15/15	100% 13/13					100% 39/39
CN			100% 8/8	100% 38/38	100% 23/23	100% 11/11	100% 2/2		100% 82/82
NY		100% 9/9	100% 70/70	100% 58/58	96.7% 58/60	100% 13/13			99.0% 208/210
PA	100% 8/8	100% 21/21	100% 59/59	100% 63/63	96.8% 30/31	100% 8/8	100% 3/3		99.5% 192/193
MD	100% 1/1	100% 1/1	100% 8/8	100% 66/66	96.0% 96/100	97.9% 92/94	95.9% 47/49	96.7% 59/61	97.4% 370/380
VA		100% 2/2	100% 40/40	98.8% 84/85	94.7% 90/95	95.0% 95/100	93.3% 70/75	93.0% 53/57	95.6% 434/454
SC		98.3% 57/58	97.9% 94/96	100% 70/70	95.0% 95/100	93.0% 93/100	85.5% 65/76	80.6% 50/62	93.2% 524/562
GA			100% 23/23	100% 18/18	98.0% 98/100	95.0% 95/100	97.2% 70/72	92.7% 51/55	96.5% 355/368
TN					100% 9/9	92.3% 12/13	100% 8/8	85.7% 6/7	94.6% 35/37
LA					100% 3/3	87.5% 35/40	93.5% 58/62	90.9% 60/66	91.2% 156/171
MS						97.8% 45/46	87.5% 7/8	100% 3/3	96.5% 55/57
TX							92.9% 26/28	100% 22/22	96.0% 48/50
	100% 14/14	99.0% 96/97	99.4% 317/319	99.8% 410/411	96.4% 502/521	95.0% 499/525	93.0% 356/383	91.3% 304/333	96.0% 2498/2603

In order to examine how it might be possible for a runaway notice to function if it does not announce the escape of a runaway, a look at the less typical realizations of the move are discussed next. For instance, in example (4), the escape is mentioned somewhat later in the notice compared to cases such as the one in example (3). The

example below also shows the ways in which moves sometimes intertwine in these notices.

(4) $30 REWARD WILL BE PAID
for **my fellow DICK** (or Richard, as he sometimes calls himself), about 30 years of age, **who ran away on the 23d ult.** Good height, large, prominent features; upper teeth much decayed, and a little hair on his chin. This fellow formerly belonged to Mrs. Jane V. Heyward, and is, no doubt, well known about Charleston. Has lately been seen as a laborer on the Bay, and fishing. Has a singular walk. WM. R. TABER.
October 27 sw
(*Charleston Mercury* (SC), Jan 16, 1861)

Example (4) starts with the move *Promising a reward*, and also includes some elements of the *Describing the runaway* move, before introducing the *Announcing the runaway* move in a relative clause at the end of the first sentence.[51] Although occurring later on in the notice than was the case in example (3), I consider this, too, to be an instance of the "initial announcement of escape" step of the *Announcing the escape move*, as I believe that at this point the act of running away is still presented as new information to the reader.

However, it is possible for the advertisement to only contain the second step of the move: to introduce further details of the escape without having explicitly announced the escape in the first place. An instance of this is seen in example (5).

(5) TWENTY DOLLARS REWARD
WILL be paid to any person who may lodge in the gaol of Savannah, the following NEGROES:
Tom, a very well made smart little fellow, has his hair tied behind, or rather on the top of his head, or near it; he is a cooper by trade. Fanny, his wife, a very likely young wench, about 5 feet 6 inches high, dresses very neatly, and has been a house servant. They are well known about Savannah and most of the plantations in the

[51] As the bolding I have added in the example indicates, I believe that the noun phrase "my fellow DICK" can be seen as part of the move *Announcing the escape* move, as it forms the referent of the relative pronoun. These first mentions of the runaway are particularly problematic when drawing boundaries between different moves, but, as will be discussed later in more detail, I have resolved the issue by considering them to belong to several moves simultaneously.

vicinity, where they have always lived till lately. It is supposed they will lurk about the plantation of George Millen, Esq. or some other in that neighborhood, from whence they will make frequent visits to the city. Ten dollars will be paid for the delivery of either of them separately. ***Fanny* run away about two weeks ago, *Tom* yesterday.** JAs. JONES.
Ship Yard, July 18, 1798. (*Georgia Gazette*, Jan 3, 1799)

In example (5), the sentence in bold is the first one in the notice that explicitly mentions that the slaves have run away. I would find it somewhat misleading to claim that the purpose of the sentence is to *announce* the escape at this point: having read this far into the advertisement, the reader most likely has gathered from contextual clues that the people, for whom a reward is offered and who are supposed to be "lurking" about a plantation, have indeed escaped from their enslavers. Creating a separate move to cover such cases, however, also seems counterintuitive. Therefore, I have resolved the issue by considering such cases a secondary step of the *Announcing the escape* move. However, as the central feature of *announcing* is missing in them, I have not included them in the percentages of Table 4, and in the discussion of the move, I mostly concentrate on the "initial announcement of escape" step of the move.

Of the 4% of the advertisements that I have classified as not containing the *Announcing the escape* move (as seen in Table 4), most still contain the "further details of escape" move, and thus the idea of running away is expressed in the notice in some way. Nevertheless, it is possible for notices not to contain any explicit mentions of running away at all:

(6) 50 dollars Reward.
THE above reward will be paid for the delivery to the Jailer at Savannah, of a negro fellow named ANSILL, formerly the property of the late Dr Michael J. O'Brien, at Bulls Island, South Carolina. Ansill is a likely black fellow, aged 24 years, about 4 feet 7 inches high, has a wife living at Mr. Wm. E. Beynand's plantation on Hilton Head, and is in the neighborhood of that Island, Bulls Island, or Dawfuskie, where he is well known.
dec 24 26—3w
(*Georgian*, Jan 1, 1829)

Despite the lack of any verbs denoting running away in example (6), it is still very clearly a member of the genre of runaway notices, and readers are expected to infer that an escape has taken place. Thus, while it is extremely common for the advertiser to announce explicitly the escape of a runaway, or at least refer to it somehow later on in the notice, the absence of such references does not affect the effectiveness of the runaway notice. Perhaps because so many advertisements initially overtly referred to running away, it is possible for some of them to leave it out entirely. As the text otherwise follows the typical features of the genre (including, for instance, quite typical instances of the moves *Promising a reward, Describing the runaway* and *Speculating on the whereabouts*), the readers can easily read between the lines and realize what type of notice they are reading.

Having established that *Announcing the escape* is a central (though not always strictly necessary) part of the runaway slave notice, I will now discuss the features of this particular move in more detail, focusing on the "initial announcement of the escape" step unless otherwise stated. I will focus my discussion on the word choices related to the escape, as they can reflect how the advertiser wishes to depict the event that has happened, but will also briefly comment on some other aspects of the move.

As already stated, by far the most common placement for *Announcing the escape* is at the very beginning of the body text of the advertisement with the verb (*run away*, *absconded*, etc.) fronted. This happens in 2,286 cases (of the 2,603 notices), which means that 88% of all advertisements highlight the act of escaping in such a manner. This is to be expected, as subject-verb inversion was a typical text-initiating strategy in early newspapers in general (Studer 2005: 69). The instances where the verb is not placed in the beginning are either those where the move is situated in a relative clause following the *Promising a reward* move (see example (4)) or cases where, while *Announcing the escape* is the first move, it uses the standard English word order or places, for instance, a temporal phrase at the beginning (examples (7) and (8)).

(7) **A Short, well set black fellow, named JACKO**, about 19 years of age, belonging to the estate of the late Mr. James Bolton, **has absented himself, for time past, from his duty** (*South Carolina Weekly Gazette*, Jul 5, 1783)

(8) ON the 7th of July last, RAN AWAY from the subscriber in Charles-Town, a very hairy, short, thick, chubby negro fellow, nam'd March (*South Carolina Gazette*, Jul 3, 1755)

By far the most common verb is *run away* in its various forms: *run away, ran away, runaway, ranaway, run-away and ran-away.*[52] Variations of *run away* are used in 87% of the instances of the move, making it the prototypical choice of verb. It is, however, not necessarily the only verb in this move, as sometimes advertisers cover various possible scenarios. For instance, "ranaway or stolen" is a combination that occurs in several advertisements, when the advertiser seems unsure whether their slaves have left on their own. One advertiser even adds a third option, suggesting that the missing 8-year-old boy is "Lost, stolen or ran away". It is also possible for the advertiser to start the notice with the *Announcing the escape* move declaring the fugitive has "run away", but later on in the notice (in the "further details on the escape" step) report that they suspect the person has in fact been "stolen" by someone. That is, they start the notice in the "expected" way even when it might not be the most accurate way to describe the situation.

In the instances of the move that do not use *run away*, there are several other rather synonymous verbs that the advertiser might opt for: *abscond, leave, absent (oneself), go (away/off), elope, run off, run, escape/make an escape, take one's departure, desert*.[53] Of these, *abscond* is the most common choice with 90 occurrences in "initial announcement of escape" (which still only covers about 3.6% of all instances); *leave* has 46 occurrences, *absent* (oneself) 41 and *go away*/*off* 19. The other options are even rarer.

The above verbs all largely mean the same – and indeed, many advertisers would use them synonymously. While they might opt for *run away* in the "initial announcement of escape" part of the *Announcing the escape* move, another one of the verbs could be used later on in the advertisement in the step "further details on the escape". There are, however, some differences in the meaning of the various verbs, which I will discuss next. It is possible that, if the advertisers chose an option other than the well-established *run away*, they may have tried to choose a verb that would, in their eyes, most effectively describe the manner of escaping.

The *OED* gives *run away* the following definitions: "To make off hurriedly, take to flight, flee; esp. to retreat hurriedly in the face of danger or opposition" and "To go away, esp. hurriedly, surreptitiously, or in secret, from where one is expected or required to stay; to abscond, desert, etc." (*OED*, s.v. 'run away'). *Abscond* on the other hand is defined as "To hide oneself; to flee into hiding, or to an inaccessible

[52] There are also eight instances of "runaway" as a noun or adjective that I have also considered as fulfilling the function of the *Announcing the escape* move. For instance, "HONORINE, a reddish negro wench… i**s a runaway** since the 24th of May last", "… reward for apprehending **run-away** HARRY", "…reward for **a Runaway Negro** named JIM".

[53] Although it is rare in runaway slave notices, "*Deserted…*" is the standard opening phrase for advertisements concerning military deserters.

place; to leave hurriedly and secretly, typically to elude a creditor, escape from custody, or avoid arrest" (*OED*, s.v. 'abscond'). It would seem that the main difference between the two is that while the first one has the focus on going away from somewhere hurriedly, the latter typically also includes the element of going into hiding (which, obviously, the runaways also did).[54]

Elope, *run off* and *run* also give the idea of (quickly) fleeing from somewhere. In contrast, *leave* and *absent* (*oneself*) and *go away*/*off* take a different angle: they do not indicate hurry or secrecy, but rather that the enslaved person simply left the place or person they were "supposed" to be at. While it might seem a more neutral choice, it also reinforces the idea that there is nothing that the slave is "fleeing from", they have just irresponsibly failed to stay put and do their work. Thus, if this is the image the advertiser wishes to project, it might explain the deviation from the more typical alternatives. On the other end of the spectrum, *escape* and *make an escape* typically hint at the fact that whatever the person is leaving is somehow dangerous or unpleasant. That is hardly the impression the slaveholders would like to enforce, and thus it is not surprising that such expressions occur very rarely in the runaway notices.

While all of the alternatives discussed above signal a voluntary escape, other verb choices in this move are in response to situations where the advertiser suspects the enslaved person has not instigated the escape. If another person is suspected to have taken the slave away, the enslaved person can be reported as having been *stolen*. The majority of advertisers who suspect this do, however, mention it together with *run away* (i.e., "RUN AWAY or STOLEN…"), and only a few are so confident that the person has been taken away by someone else that they only use *stolen* in the "initial announcement of escape". An important fact to keep in mind is that even when a person was reported as "stolen", it did not automatically mean that they were taken away unwillingly. For instance, one Maryland slaveholder placed a notice informing the public that his two slaves, a 22-year-old woman and her 18-month-old daughter, had been stolen. Later on in the notice (in the step "further details on the escape") he states that the "Negroes were taken away by one JOSEPH NORMAN, who pretends to keep the aforesaid Judith for his wife" (*Maryland Journal,* Jan 4, 1780). In this case, the "theft" could more accurately be characterized as a husband helping his wife and child escape. Thus, it seems that if the slaveholder suspected the involvement of other people (whether their motive was to help the slave, or to

[54] One advertiser considered the two verbs different enough to warrant listing both: "RAN AWAY, or absconded from the subscriber, on the 12th August, 1850, two Negro Men". (*Enquirer* (VA), Jan 3, 1851).

enslave them, or sell them on), he could advertise the person as having been "stolen", which (intentionally or not) masks the agency these "stolen" people might have had in the process.

When a notice concerns multiple runaways, most often they are all reported as having "run away". However, sometimes only one of them is characterized as having run away, and the others are simply "taken" or "carried off" by that person. This can happen when a White servant escapes with a Black slave.

(9) **RUN away on the 8th Instant, from the Subscriber, a Convict Servant Man,** […] **It is supposed he has taken with him, a Negro Fellow,** belonging to Antil Deaver, at the Head of Bush-River ; […] Whoever takes up the said Servant or Slave…
(*Pennsylvania Gazette*, Jul 7, 1743)

(10) **ELOPED, last night, John Ford,** patroon of my boat ; **and carried off with him a negro fellow named Jacob,** a jib sail, a small two oared boat, and several other articles belonging to said boat.
(*City Gazette* (SC), Jul 1, 1793)

In examples such as (9) and (10), it is impossible to know how these escapes actually took place and whether the slaves were active participants in them or not. However, as can happen when talking about enslaved people who were "stolen", such expressions fail to represent the enslaved people as actors in their own right. This is especially noticeable in example (10), where the "negro fellow named Jacob" is only one "piece of property" carried off, alongside a sail, a small boat, and other articles. In my data slaves were, as expected, never reported as "carrying off" white servants,[55] but men were sometimes reported as having "taken with them" their wives, (example (11)), and women quite often carried off their children (example (12)).

(11) Ranaway on the 21st ult. Negro SAUL, he is very black, high breast and slim waist, […]—Saul took away his wife named Luie, she is black, … (*Easton Gazette* (MD), Jul 5, 1823)

(12) In the month of October last, my servant MARIA. She is of a yellowish complexion, about 30 years old, […] She had previously

[55] A somewhat baffling example from Texas does, however, offer a reward for "a negro man named Joe" who "took off with him a Mexican and two horses, saddles and bridles". The Mexican is not named or described in any way in the notice. (*Weekly Houston Telegraph* (TX), Jul 1, 1837)

> prepared for elopement, having removed every article belonging to her and took with her her Daughter ANNETTE
> (*City Gazette* (SC), Jan 1, 1820)

In the case of small children being carried off by their parents, the depiction probably mirrors reality, as the decision to run away was in all likelihood made by the parent. However, in the case of women reported as being taken away by the male runaways, such word choices might reflect the societal view on male versus female agency.

Occasionally, advertisements report the slave to be "missing" or having "disappeared", which suggests that the advertiser does not think a regular running away has happened. For instance, one notice, starting with "HAS been missing since the morning of the 8th inst." later on adds: "As he has never had any cause or pretext whatever for absconding or leaving home, having always been treated with great lenity, kindness and indulgence, there is no doubt that he has been enticed away or carried off by the artifice of some designing person" (*Connecticut Gazette*, Jul 3, 1816). There are rare examples where the advertiser starts the notice with verbs such as "enticed away" or "deluded" away, making evident from the start that the advertiser suspects the enslaved person would not have left without outside involvement.[56] An unintentional disappearance can be also signalled by noting that the person is "lost" (as sometimes happens with children). One child is also reported to have "strayed away". When examining the advertising section of the newspapers as a whole, it is worth noting that whereas starting the notice with "ran away" usually indicates that the notice deals with a person, verbs such as "stolen", "lost", "missing" and "strayed" are more likely to be used at the beginning of notices concerning animals or various objects.

Mentioning *who* has run away (or otherwise disappeared) is obviously a crucial element in the *Announcing the escape* move. However, as it is also a part of this move that usually overlaps with the move *Describing the runaway,* it will be discussed in more detail there and in 7.4.1, which deals with references to the runaway in the advertisement as a whole.

As has already been mentioned, a typical instance of the *Announcing the escape* move (realized by the "initial announcement of the escape" step) includes some information about the circumstances of the escape. The place or person the fugitive has left is mentioned in this move about 80% of the time. Some examples that include both the person and their location are: "from the subscriber, near Augusta", "from Augustine Reid, of Morris Country, New-Jersey" and "from the subscriber living in

[56] More common are cases where the "initial announcement of the escape" reports the slave as having "run away", but later on in the notice (in the "further details of the escape") they might speculate on outsider involvement.

the state of Georgia, Oglethorpe county, near the Goose-pond on Broad river". Others mention just the place: "from Cape-Fear, in North-Carolina", "from the Louisiana state boat 'Experiment'" and "from the mines in Buckingham"; or the name of the person: "from Thomas Ogle". By far the most common expression used to convey the information in this move is the formulaic phrase "from the Subscriber", which by itself is not very informative, as the reader will need to refer to the end of the advertisement to find out who that person is. Also, if the information were to be left out entirely from the *Announcing the escape* move, the assumption would still probably be that the escape was from the person signing the notice. The use of the word *subscriber* to refer to the advertiser is discussed more in 7.4.2.

Mentioning the time of escape in the step "initial announcement of escape" is not quite as common, but still occurs in 77% of the notices. These expressions of time range from the highly specific ("on the 4th of July inst. at 7 o'clock, P.M.") to fairly specific ("last evening", "about the 15th of October last") and quite vague ("about twelve months ago", "some time since"). It is naturally useful for the reader attempting to capture a runaway to have some idea of how long ago the escape had taken place, thus the inclusion of this information is unsurprising. It is perhaps worth noting that the use of deictic expressions such as "last evening" or "yesterday" is quite common despite the fact that the advertisements were not always published on the day that they were written, and they could run in a paper for weeks or even months. To understand such references the readers would have to compare them to the *Date and Place* move or *Editorial markings* move to see when the notice was written or first published. The use of deictic expressions in early newspapers has also been discussed by Claridge (2015), who partly attributes their frequent use in early London newspapers to "overflow from the letter genre", which might hold true also here.

Even the "initial announcement of escape" step of the move *Announcing the escape* can also contain other details concerning the situation. In example (13) the advertiser expresses his opinion that the escape had been quite unprovoked and surprising. Example (14), on the other hand, goes into detail about the vessel the runaways escaped in.

(13) RANAWAY from mr. James Sterett's farm, on the Montgomery road, Elkridge, Anne Arundel county, Maryland, 4 miles from Ellicott's Mills and 14 from the city of Baltimore, on Saturday night, the 22d of June, without any cause, not having in any way misbehaved, a likely negro fellow named Charles …
(*Baltimore Patriot* (MD), Jul 1, 1822)

(14) WENT OFF from the Subscriber's Plantation (late Mr. Fenwicke's)

on John's Island, on the 11th instant, in an old black two-oared canoe, with very clumsey timbers, small stern sheets, and no fore-castle, and a piece of iron chain about two yards long fixed to her bow ; TWO NEGRO-MEN …
(*South Carolina Gazette and General Advertiser*, Jan 1, 1784)

These two examples also show what happens when lengthy details are included in this move: the reader has to read considerably far into the advertisement before the runaway is mentioned for the first time. It is probably at least partially for this reason that in similar situations most advertisers choose to mention such details later on in the advertisement, in the "further details on the escape" step.

Sometimes advertisements, although starting with the move *Announcing the escape*, do so in the form of a longer "story" or sequence of events leading to the escape or disappearance of the enslaved person. For instance, the person may have originally had permission to leave for a time but has not returned, in which case reporting them as having "run away" may seem illogical to the advertiser. This happens in example (15).

(15) WHEREAS a negroe fellow called CATO, a cooper by trade, and well known in Savannah, and his wife JUDY, a washer-woman, had a written licence from the subscriber to come to town, and there to work for a month from the 13th day of June last, but have not been seen or heard of since … (*Georgia Gazette*, Jan 4, 1769)

Other cases warranting a longer explanation in this move are, for instance, example (16), where the person starts by explaining how the slaves had come to be his property, as the situation is not usual: they have run away before the person was in possession of them in the first place. In example (17) the situation is again unusual: the slaves have been stolen and now the person who (supposedly) stole them has been jailed, and the advertiser is seeking information on where these slaves currently are.

(16) WHEREAS the subscriber, on the 28th day of April last, bought at publick vendue, at the Watch-house in Savannah, a NEGROE WENCH named SALLY, and her TWO MULATTO CHILDREN, lately the property of Capt. Edward Somerville, deceased, seized on execution by the provost-marshal of this province, and sold by him by virtue thereof ; And whereas the said wench and her children are said to be run away into the woods … (*Georgia Gazette,* Jul 5, 1764)

(17) ZEBULON RHOADS, who came from Carolina last Winter, and who is now in Goal on Suspicion of Stealing a Negro belonging to Charles Carroll, junr. Esq; who was apprehended in Company with him near

> Susquehanna, is supposed to have brought some Negroes from Carolina, which belong to the Subscriber, and to have disposed of them some where on the Eastern Shore of Maryland
> (*Maryland Gazette,* Feb 25, 1762)

Finally, example (18) is another unusually wordy instance of *Announcing the escape*. Instead of simply starting with "stolen, hid, or enticed away", the advertiser goes into great detail as to why the person in question most definitely would not have thought to run away on her own and what other options there might be for her disappearance.

(18) A FEMALE slave belonging to the subscriber, was sent upon an errand to one of the neighbors about dusk the evening of the 13th inst. since which she has not been heard of. The character and habits of the wench, so well known to the subscriber, and a variety of circumstances preceding and subsequent to the time of her absence, all tend to produce upon his mind's conviction that she has been kidnap'd by some villain or villains, probably for the purpose of exporting her to some of the southern states or W. India islands for sale. Nevertheless it is possible that she is kept in confinement somewhere in the city, for the purpose of obtaining the reward which is usually offered in such cases. And it is also possible, and but barely possible, that she has absented herself from his service of her own accord, being thereto seduced by some person of colour, though it is not known that she had any such acquaintance.
(*New York Evening Post*, Jan 2, 1810)

Examples like (18) show how much the advertisers might deviate from the typical way of starting a runaway notice to serve their purposes. In addition, it also shows how the advertisements sometimes reveal how seemingly incapable the slaveholders were of understanding that the people they enslaved might have felt the lure of freedom for freedom's sake.

7.2.2 Move: Describing the runaway

"… a yellow boy named JOE AUSTIN ; he is tall and slender, about five feet ten inches high, speaks slow, and difficult to understand, and shows a full set of white teeth, has a bushy head of hair of light color, and his countenance rather peaked; was bought in New Orleans in May, 1857, of Theodore Johnston, and says he was raised and sold in Charleston, South Carolina. […] Wears No. 10 shoe."
(*Daily Advocate* (LA), Jan 3, 1859)

The purpose of the move *Describing the runaway* is to provide the public with adequate information to identify the runaway. This is an important element of the runaway notice, as otherwise the public would not know who to be on the lookout for. This is also the move that has been of most interest to historians, as it can contain a wealth of information about these individuals. The previous studies done on runaway notices mentioned in 4.2 often focus on the various types of information found in this move (for example, Franklin and Schweninger (1999: 226) discuss the different types of "countenance" reported in the descriptions, and Block 2018 draws connections between the race of the runaway and how it correlates with the level of detail in the physical description). While the descriptions are inescapably colored by the slaveholders' perspective, and the details they included might reflect a negative attitude towards the runaway, the advertisers probably attempted to describe the runaways as accurately as possible, since, as Franklin and Schweninger (1999: 170) point out, "[i]t would not have benefited owners to include false information".

I argue that the move *Describing the runaway* is present in all the runaway notices, though to widely varying degrees. In its most basic form, this move is realized only by the noun phrase which is used to introduce the runaway. I call this step "initial identification", and consider it an obligatory part of the runaway notice. This part is also the one that is often syntactically part of the *Announcing the escape* move (serving as the subject of the clause). This, as I briefly mentioned in the previous section, I have analyzed as simultaneously belonging to both moves. In addition, *Describing the runaway* includes a second step that focuses purely on providing a description of the person, which I will refer to as "description proper". Example (19) shows how the initial mention of the runaway (bolded in the example) both functions to reveal to the reader *who* has escaped but also includes further description. The rest of the first sentence ("…, named MARIA, about 15 years of age,…") can be considered as belonging solely to the *Describing the runaway* move.

(19) RUN AWAY or DECOYED from the subscriber's house in Frederica, about six weeks ago, **a TALL SLIM LIKELY YOUNG NEGROE GIRL**, named MARIA, about 15 years of age, belonging to the estate of Raymond Demere, Esq. deceased. Whoever will apprehend and deliver … (*Georgia Gazette*, Jan 7, 1767)

Example (19) is a somewhat atypical example, as most instances of the "initial identification" do not contain multiple adjectives. However, I argue that, whatever

the noun phrase, it can still be seen as describing the runaway to some extent, revealing, for instance, the gender and race of the runaway.[57]

Particularly in some of the shortest notices in my data, the move *Describing the runaway* is only present in the form of the step "initial identification", which is embedded into some other move. In the case of example (20), it is part of both the *Promising a reward* move, which starts the advertisement, as well *Announcing the escape* forming the latter part of the first sentence.

(20) ONE HUNDRED DOLLARS REWARD
will be paid for proof to convict any white or re-
sponsible person of color, of harboring **my Coachman,**
WILL, who absconded on the 7th inst. Twenty dollars
will be paid for lodging him in the Work House.
D 27 †6 JOHN L. NOWELL.
(*Charleston Courier* (SC), Jan 1, 1845)

The minimal description of example (20) seems to rely on the public being familiar with the advertiser's coachman Will[58] due to his position, with no further description being needed. Even for people not familiar with the person, the coachman's race is revealed by him being referred to by first name only (as a rule, references to people of European descent in the advertisements include both first and last name). Another advertiser describes their runaway simply as "a sensible FELLOW named *Sandy*" (*South Carolina Gazette*, Jul 5, 1773). Such meager descriptions would probably not be especially helpful as a way for people to identify said runaways in a crowd if they were not familiar with them beforehand. It would, however, still inform the public that the advertiser is currently looking for a runaway, so any already captured but still potentially unidentified runaways might be more easily connected to them.

[57] One case where the existence of this move is somewhat dubious is an exceptional case that starts "NOtice is hereby given that many of the Negroes belonging to the Plantations of JOHN WALTERS Esq; are constantly running away" (*South Carolina Gazette*, Jul 5, 1735). The notice continues by promising a reward for anyone apprehending "the said Negroes". As the notice is not written as a reaction to any individual escape, there is no description of individual people. Even so, the expression "Negroes belonging to the Plantations of JOHN WALTERS" does set apart a group of people, and can be interpreted as the move *Describing the runaway.*

[58] Whether the name should be considered as part of the "initial identification" step or whether it could be seen as part of "description proper" is debatable. In this case, since there is a comma between "my Coachman" and "Will", the latter option could be argued for. However, there are also plenty of instances where no comma separates the two (e.g. "Negro man Ben"), in which case treating the two as belonging to two different steps seems less justified.

Other advertisers went into much more detail when describing the runaways, seemingly trying their best to provide a variety of characteristics to enable the readers of the paper to recognize the runaway if they ever came into contact with them. Example (21) shows an instance of the move *Describing the runaway* that comments on both the outer appearance and the skills and behavior of the runaway.

(21) … a Negro Man named Aleck—but no doubt will change his name. Had on when he went away, a clouded jain coat, a spotted vest, corduroy over alls, new shoes, a wool hat almost new—can talk English and German, but the English best—he is very fond of criticising in figures, or shewing his exploits in arithmetic—reads and writes English tolerable well, and can read German—about 28 or 29 years old, 5 feet 11 inches or 6 feet high, slim built, is very good at any farming business, and endeavours to excel in whatsoever he undertakes—has followed stilling.
(*Carlisle Gazette* (PA), Jul 1, 1801)

Since there is such great variety in how the *Describing the runaway* move is realized, it is not feasible to treat all the possible elements in the move in detail here. Instead, I will limit myself to giving a short overview of the types of information that are often included in the move. I will use a few example cases (the description of clothes and use of the word 'likely') to illustrate how differences can be observed between various areas and times.

The kinds of information often found in the *Describing the runaway* move include:

Race/skin color: As most notices utilize terms such as "negro" or "mulatto" to refer to the runaway, this in itself already gives some indication as to their appearance. Many advertisements also elaborate on this, offering descriptions such as "a yellow Negro woman", "very black Skin", "of a lighter complexion", or even "whiter than many who are called white men".

Name: In most cases the runaway is referred to by first name only, although there are some exceptions where the advertiser refers to the person by both first and last name. The advertisements also show how the runaways may have adopted last names, which the advertisers mention without fully acknowledging their legitimacy (e.g. "a negro Man named TOM, he often calls himself TOM CARD"). Possible aliases or names the runaway prefers instead of the ones imposed by their enslavers are also mentioned ("by the name of Kitty, but assumes the name of ANNE").

Age: Giving the age in years or a rough estimate of years is common in this move. Others might use more generic descriptors such as "young" and "old". Some indication of age is also revealed in word choices such as "girl" vs. "woman".

Appearance: Various aspects related to the runaway's overall appearance ("rather slim", "middle sized", "handsome", "6 feet high") as well as the appearance of specific body parts ("round faced", "one of his front teeth longer than the others", "bushy hair", "sharp pointed nose") are regularly remarked upon. The adverb "remarkably" is frequently used to draw attention to particularly distinguishable characteristics (e.g. "remarkably small ears").
Scars and other disfigurations: Whether occasioned by punishments and mistreatment, or accidentally received, various bodily disfigurations were also useful from the advertiser's perspective to provide identifying marks: "has a great Scar on one of his Shins", "some fore-teeth missing", "much pock marked", "branded on the Cheek I.S.", etc.
Clothing and other items taken by the runaway: The advertisements often contained a detailed description of the clothing the runaway had on or took with them that may take up most of the length of the advertisement, although briefer comments on the clothes also occur. I will discuss clothing in more detail later in this section. Sometimes the runaways also took with them horses, or guns or other possessions ("he has also taken with him a short Gun well mounted with Brass"). The listing of the various items may have been partly to help identify the runaway, but also partly because the advertiser wanted the items to be returned to them as well.
Behavior and personality: In addition to the outer appearance, advertisers also often attempted to describe the general demeanor of the runaways. Often these were rather general characterizations, such as "pleasant spoken", "surly when spoken to", "manner rather humble", "an artful, cunning fellow" or "has a lazy walk". Others attempted to come up with specific descriptions: "frequently uses the expressions 'yes indeed' and 'no indeed' in conversation"; "cannot count above 15, if you ask him how much 10 and 5 is, he can't tell such Question"; "is remarkably fond of playing at marbles, and consequently plays well from practice"; "He can walk upon his Hands with his Feet up in the Air".
Skills and occupation: Many notices also mention what kind of work the fugitive is proficient in ("a complete carpenter", "a blacksmith by trade", "a very good seamstress, washer and cook", "a tolerable shoe maker", "has been used to wait in the house"). These descriptions can be accompanied by suspicions that the fugitives may attempt to earn their living plying those trades while away. In addition to work-related skills, the advertisements often also indicate language skills ("speaks good English", "can't scarce speak a Word of English", "talks good English, Low-Dutch, and High-Dutch", "speaks the French language", "can read and write well").
Owner and previous owners: While the person claiming ownership of the runaway is sometimes indicated in the *Announcing the escape* move (as the person from whom the runaway escaped), in other cases such information is found in the description. For instance, a fugitive can be described as "belonging to D. Myers".

Also former owners or the "purchase history" may be part of the description ("He formerly belonged to Abraham Bush, of Rye"; "Said Negro was purchased from the estate of Wells"). The reason for mentioning former owner(s) might be the assumption that some might more easily recognize the runaway as the former slave of some person, but this part of the description also often links to the move *Speculating on the whereabouts*, as runaways might attempt to go back to their former neighborhoods in search of family members (see 7.2.4).

Family members and their whereabouts: Some advertisements mention family members the runaways have in various places ("The latter described fellow has a wife in Newbern", "These girls have a father living near Charles Bowie's, in Prince George's county"). Similarly to the mentions of the previous owners of the runaways, these are often explicitly followed by suspicions that the runaway may be heading their way or be harbored by them.

As I already pointed out, some runaways get minimal descriptions. However, comments in some advertisements suggest that the writers were aware that the conventions of the runaway genre expected them to provide a certain level of description that could be used to distinguish the runaway from others. Namely, there are multiple cases where the advertiser comments on the absence of an "expected" level of description. For instance, one advertiser notes: "he is so well known that a particular description of his person is deemed unnecessary" (*Augusta Chronicle* (GA), Nov 2, 1820).[59] The assumption that a runaway is "well known" is used in several advertisements as a reason for skipping a more thorough description. Some also refer to a distinguishing mark, which ensures identification without so much attention paid to other features, for instance, "a remarkable large scar that renders a description of his person and dress less necessary" (*Maryland Journal*, Jan 15, 1788). Likewise, many advertisers seem very conscious of the fact that, in addition to a more general description, they should ideally be presenting the readers with distinguishing marks. Variations of the phrase "no marks recollected" are often found in the descriptions. Again, commenting on an absence of features probably shows that their inclusion was seen as part of a typical runaway notice.

Most often the description is presented as a long list of characteristics, as seen in examples (22) and (23). In example (22) the description continues straight from the "initial identification" step, with only commas separating the numerous pieces of information. Example (23) starts the "description proper" in a new sentence, and even divides the description of clothing into its own sentence (though one omitting

[59] Before making this comment, the advertiser does describe the person by giving his name and height, mentioning his previous employment by "the Steam boat Company on the Savannah river" and characterizes him as being "very talkative" and "professing a great deal", which is more detailed than many other descriptions.

the subject), and example (24) divides the description into several sentences, as well as using colons to divide various aspects of the description. The fact that the writer of example (22) does not include a full stop until the end of the move *Description of the runaway* could be taken to indicate that the writer, too, considered this a complete unit in the advertisement. However, the latter two examples seem somewhat more reader-friendly at least in the eyes of the present-day reader.

(22) … A NEGRO MAN, named FRANK, about 5 feet 8 inches high, 28 years old, country born, very artful, pretty stout and well made, except his feet, which are very broad and flat, has a large scar on the top of his head, which was occasioned by a hurt, and has no hair upon it, had when he went away an iron on each leg and a chain between them, a pair of white negro cloth trowsers with buttons from the waistband down to the ancle, and a white negro cloth jacket. (*Georgia Gazette*, Jul 1, 1790)

(23) … negro Harry. He is about five feet six or seven inches high, well proportioned, black complexion, large mouth, flat nose, down look, and sulky when spoken to ; his feet remarkably small, and chews tobacco to excess. Had on when he went away, a deep blue broad cloth coat, white waistcoat, fustian small cloaths, Oznaburg shirt, yarn stockings, indifferent shoes and felt hat. (*Federal Gazette* (MD), Jan 2, 1800)

(24) ... a negro man who calls himself WAT MARTIN. He is a mulatto fellow, about 30 years of age, 5 feet 6 or 8 inches high : is remarkable on account of having red curly hair & grey eyes which generally appear to be sore : one of his legs somewhat shorter than the other, though scarcely to be perceived without nice observation : when standing, is very apt to stand fast on his right leg, and rather extend the left. In pronouncing the word whiskey,which he is very fond of, and apt to call for at a public house, he pronounces it whistey, also biscuit, bistet, waistcoat, westot. He is a very humble, obedient fellow, and when spoken to, has a down look. (*Enquirer* (VA), Jul 1, 1817)

Interestingly, a handful of texts signal the start of a description more overtly, as happens in example (25). Although such instances are rare, they indicate more clearly that at least some writers of the notices were acutely aware that "description" was a central element in a runaway notice.

(25) … two negro men, Miles and Solomon.
DESCRIPTION—MILES is black about 5 feet 10 inches high, weighs about 145 pounds, has extraordinary fine white teeth, and when he laughs or smiles they are a very prominent feature, and has a somewhat downcast look. His age is 23 years—wore off black clothing….
(*Chattanooga Daily Rebel* (TN), Jul 3, 1863)

In the examples I have dealt with so far, the whole of the move *Describing the runaway* occurs in one place in the notice, most typically immediately following the *Announcing the escape* move. Instances where the whole move (apart from the "initial identification" step) occurs at the end of the notice, after both *Announcing the escape* and *Promising a reward*, are very rare. Sometimes some elements of the description are placed apart from the rest of the move. For instance, *Describing the runaway* may be interrupted by the move *Speculating on the whereabouts*. Likewise, sometimes some elements of the move may be placed in a post-script at the end of the notice. While in some cases this is likely done in order to place extra emphasis on that particular aspect of description (e.g., "N.B. It is said he can read and write"), some cases seem more likely to be last-minute additions that the advertiser had forgotten to mention when writing the main bulk of the description. One advertisement in my data opts for the unusual choice of starting the body text of the advertisement with one aspect of the *Describing the runaway* move (followed by the *Announcing the escape* move, before moving on to more details in the *Describing the runaway* move): "**A large scar of an old burn round one eye, will discover Negro Dick**, who ran-away from my nail factory last night or this morning" (*Federal Gazette* (MD), Jan 2, 1800). In this case, the advertiser deviates from the usual order of moves to draw attention to the identifying detail he sees as instrumental for detecting the runaway.

I will now take a closer look at some specific features of the *Describing the runaway* move, starting with the description of clothing. Some comment on the clothing of the runaway is found in about 52.7% of the notices in my data. This includes both description of clothing and comments on how the advertiser is unable to describe it, or sees the description as unnecessary. Like in other aspects of description, the level of details given varies. Some descriptions are rather vague, and for instance one Virginian advertiser reports that two runaways "are well clothed in the usual manner for Negroes". Others present a much more detailed list, like the one in example (26).

(26) He carried with him, one brown homespun flannel coat and breeches almost new, and one scarlet broad cloth vest, with flowered pewter buttons also one coarse cinamon colour'd lappel'd broad cloth coat

> with metal buttons, one blue and white striped lappel'd linen vest, one such shirt, one fine white ditto, three coarse check'd woolen ditto, one course flannel out side jacket, and great coat mix'd, black and white wool, two pair ribb'd stockings, one pale blue worsted, the other brown thread, one old beaver hat, with a white metal button, and silver'd loop.
> (*Connecticut Courant*, Jul 2, 1771)

Many advertisers include a detailed description of clothes, only to conclude that the runaway has probably changed their clothing anyway. This might be because they feel that a description of clothes is expected, or it is also possible that they wish the clothes to be returned alongside the runaway. While the description of clothes is a common element in the advertisements in my corpus, there is some noticeable geographical variation, as can be seen in Table 5. The times and areas with percentages of 50% or more are highlighted in green, the shade of green being darker the higher the percentage is.

From the table, two noticeable trends can be observed. Firstly, one can roughly claim that the further north the runaway notice is from, the more likely they were to contain a description of the clothes. Secondly, the more time progresses, the less common mentions of clothing become. Some of the variation is in all likelihood explainable by the differences in slavery between the areas: enslaved people in the North were more likely to be household servants, and therefore probably not only had a better access to a variety of clothing but also, as they lived in close proximity to the slaveholder, a more detailed description of the clothes could be given. In contrast, many of the runaways in the south ran away from plantations, and probably had less distinctive clothing or their clothing was less well known to the slaveholder. When examining the development in time, the tendency to include a mention of the clothes decreases in most of the areas during the 19th century. I would assume that this might at least partly be due to the demands of the advertisements to be kept as short as possible.[60] The phrase often associated with this move is "had on when he/she went away", which occurs in that exact form 448 times in my corpus, with other notices choosing slight variations such as "had on when he/she went off", or using a different verb such as "left" or "absconded".

60 Prude (1991) also suggests that the increase of mass-produced clothing for slaves in the 19th century was partly the reason for the disappearance of more detailed clothes descriptions in runaway notices.

Table 5. Occurrences of description of clothing in the move *Describing the runaway*.

	1700–1729	1730–1749	1750–1769	1770–1789	1790–1809	1810–1829	1830–1849	1850–1865	
MA	100% 5/5	83.3% 5/6	100% 15/15	79.6% 10/13					89.7% 35/39
CN			100% 8/8	89.5% 34/38	82.6% 19/23	63.6% 7/11	0% 0/2		82.9% 68/82
NY		100% 9/9	82.9% 58/70	91.4% 53/58	75.0% 45/60	69.2% 9/13			82.9% 174/210
PA	75.0% 6/8	95.2% 20/21	88.1% 52/59	85.7% 54/63	87.1% 27/31	62.5% 5/8	66.7% 2/3		86.0% 166/193
MD	100% 1/1	100% 1/1	75.0% 6/8	84.8% 56/66	84.0% 84/100	77.7% 73/94	55.1% 27/49	44.3% 27/61	72.4% 275/380
VA		100% 2/2	50.0% 20/40	65.9% 56/85	68.4% 65/95	61.0% 61/100	46.7% 35/75	31.6% 18/57	56.6% 257/454
SC		44.8% 26/58	38.5% 37/96	42.9% 30/70	45.0% 45/100	42.0% 42/100	14.5% 11/76	11.3% 7/62	35.2% 198/562
GA			43.5% 10/23	50.0% 9/18	39.0% 39/100	23.0% 23/100	29.2% 21/72	10.9% 6/55	29.3% 108/368
TN					55.6% 5/9	53.8% 7/13	62.5% 5/8	42.9% 3/7	54.1% 20/37
LA					66.7% 2/3	20.0% 8/40	29.0% 18/62	13.6% 9/66	21.6% 37/171
MS						37.0% 17/46	50.0% 4/8	0% 0/3	36.8% 21/57
TX							28.6% 8/28	18.2% 4/22	24.0% 12/50
	85.7% 12/14	64.9% 63/97	64.6% 206/319	73.5% 302/411	63.5% 331/521	48.0% 252/525	34.2% 131/383	22.2% 74/333	52.7% 1371/2603

To give another specific example from the *Describing the runaway* move, I will now take a closer look at the adjective *likely*, which is used with some frequency in the notices (see example (19) above). With 284 occurrences in my corpus, it is not used in most advertisements nor is it the most common adjective (for instance, *stout* occurs more often). It is, however, more common than most adjectives used to describe the runaway (for instance, *young*, *tall, strong*, *slender* or *artful* are used less

frequently). The relatively frequent use of *likely* in the descriptions is interesting as it is also an adjective the exact meaning of which is difficult to pinpoint. The *OED* gives the word several different meanings, some linked to capability or promise ("showing promise of success, achievement, or excellence; promising. Chiefly with reference to people (esp. young people) or animals", "Capable, vigorous, strong, or having the appearance of being so"), others to physical appearance ("Of attractive appearance; good-looking, pretty, handsome") (*OED*, s.v. 'likely'). Webster's 1828 dictionary defines the word as "such as may be liked; pleasing; as a likely man or woman", adding that "The English apply the word to external appearance, and with them, *likely* is equivalent to handsome, well formed; as a *likely* man, a *likely* horse. In America, the word is usually applied to the endowments of the mind, or to pleasing accomplishments. With us, a *likely* man, is a man of good character and talents, or of good dispositions or accomplishments, that render him pleasing or respectable." (Webster's 1828, s.v. 'likely'). Although Webster makes no reference to slaves (and his description certainly seems to indicate that the word was not exclusively used to describe slaves at the time), slaveholders seem to have made wide use of it to describe enslaved people. Bradley (1998: 30) notes on its frequent use in 1770s advertisements for selling slaves, describing it "a somewhat all-purpose eighteenth-century word of affirmation that suggested suitability to task, health, and physical attractiveness".

This vaguely positive adjective was used in many advertisements to describe the runaways. The data presented in Table 6 shows how often it occurs in my corpus. The times and areas where the adjective occurs in 10% or more of the notices are shaded in green, with a darker shade for higher percentages. It includes both cases when the runaway is described as being "likely" and ones where the adjective is applied to, for example, the "face" or "countenance" of the runaway. The latter cases are less common, and seem more clearly linked to the idea of physical attractiveness, whereas *likely* as a more general descriptor probably included the idea of being strong and capable.

Table 6. Use of the adjective *likely* to describe the runaways.

	1700–1729	1730–1749	1750–1769	1770–1789	1790–1809	1810–1829	1830–1849	1850–1865	
MA	0%	16.7%	6.7%	15.4%					10.3%
	0/5	1/6	1/15	2/13					4/39
CN			0%	2.6%	17.4%	9.1%	0%		7.3%
			0/8	1/38	4/23	1/11	0/2		6/82
NY		22.2%	7.1%	6.9%	3.3%	7.7%			6.7%
		2/9	5/70	4/58	2/60	1/13			14/210
PA	0%	9.5%	15.3%	15.9%	6.5%	12.5%	33.3%		13.0%
	0/8	2/21	9/59	10/63	2/31	1/8	1/3		25/193
MD	0%	0%	0%	15.2%	8.0%	5.3%	4.1%	6.6%	7.6%
	0/1	0/1	0/8	10/66	8/100	5/94	2/49	4/61	29/380
VA		0%	25%	28.2%	20.0%	15.0%	12.0%	15.8%	18.9%
		0/2	10/40	24/85	19/95	15/100	9/75	9/57	86/454
SC		3.4%	16.7%	11.4%	11.0%	8.0%	6.6%	3.2%	9.3%
		2/58	16/96	8/70	11/100	8/100	5/76	2/62	52/562
GA			8.7%	16.7%	12.7%	11.0%	2.8%	12.7%	10.1%
			2/23	3/18	12/100	11/100	2/72	7/55	37/368
TN					44.4%	23.1%	12.5%	28.6%	27.0%
					4/9	3/13	1/8	2/7	10/37
LA					0%	12.5%	4.8%	4.5%	6.5%
					0/3	5/40	3/62	3/66	11/171
MS						15.2%	0%	0%	12.3%
						7/46	0/8	0/3	7/57
TX							0%	13.6%	6.0%
							0/28	3/22	3/50
	0%	7.2%	13.5%	15.1%	11.9%	10.9%	6.0%	9.0%	10.9%
	0/14	7/97	43/319	62/411	62/521	57/525	23/383	30/333	284/2603

While the use of *likely* does not offer as clear tendencies as the description of clothing, it seems that some areal differences can be observed. At least in my data, Virginian slaveholders appear to have the habit of describing their runaways with this word. In the 18th century, sometimes over a fourth of the Virginian runaways were described as being *likely*. One example from Georgia also makes it evident that

the adjective was commonly used to describe enslaved persons of a particular type, as the advertiser begins the description with the words "Bob is what is usually termed a "likely Boy," about 19 or 20 years old" (*Macon Telegraph* (GA), Jul 1, 1862). As the purpose of the *Describing the runaway* move is to provide the readers with means to identify the person, it is interesting that such a vague adjective as *likely* is as commonly used as it is. On the other hand, as already mentioned, most advertisers seem to have had the notion that a certain amount of description was a required part of the notice; characterizing the runaway as *likely* would at least nominally add to the description given, even if it was not particularly specific.

As a whole, the *Description of the runaway* move shows how differently the advertisers might approach the notices. For some, the move was intended to ensure that anyone reading it might be able to identify the runaway. Others seem to rely on either their servants being recognizable to the general public without further description or that identifying details were not necessary, and informing the public that they were missing a slave was enough detail.

7.2.3 Move: Promising a reward

"Any Person who takes up the said Negro and delivers him to the Master of the Work house, shall have 4 l. Currency Reward and all reasonable Expences, paid by the above *George Sommers* or *Smith & Coffins* in *Charlestown*."
(*South Carolina Gazette,* Jul 1, 1745)

Another central move found in nearly all the runaway notices is *Promising a reward*. At its simplest, this move might consist of mentioning a reward sum as a headline, but it nearly always goes into more detail, expressing what sort of conditions should be met for the reward to be paid and who will pay it. The purpose of this particular move is to provide the necessary impetus for the public to capture the runaway by offering financial compensation, and, to a lesser extent, to give directions on what to do with the runaway after capture. In addition to offering rewards for the return of runaways, the advertiser might also offer rewards on, for example, the return of a horse the runaway had escaped on, or information leading to the conviction of people helping the runaway. The inclusion of this move indicates that offering some money was often considered necessary to urge people into action.

Only 11 notices make no reference at all to a reward in the 2,603 notices that make up my corpus. In other words, 99.6% of the notices make some promise of

reward.[61] For the ones in which no reward is mentioned, and thus, there are also no directions to apprehend the runaway, several are from the North at a period when slavery was waning, and the advertisement comes with remarks on how the runaway should not be hired. This was probably an attempt to force the runaway to return by making it harder for them to operate in the city independently. Such advertisements are also quite similar to ones regarding runaway apprentices, for whom usually quite nominal rewards or none were offered; it is indeed a possibility that some of these notices in my data actually did concern runaway apprentices, not enslaved people.

In the early notices, the *Promising a reward* move is typically placed towards the end of the notice, often as the last move before the move *Subscriber* (or, as happens in example (27), the *Subscriber* move is embedded in it; see 7.2.9 for discussion on this).

(27) *RUN-away, on tuesday the 18th June, from* Robert Campbell*,* […], *a negro wench named* Phillis*, or* Phillida*, is about 19 years old,* […]
Whoever takes up and secures the said wench, so as her master may have her again, shall have FORTY SHILLINGS reward, and all reasonable charges paid, by
ROBERT CAMPBELL.
(*New-York Mercury*, Jul 1, 1754)

While this style and placement of the move *Promising a reward* stays common to the end, the introduction of headlines (see 7.3.2) brings a change to the typical appearance of the move, namely the adding of the reward sum (or one of the possible reward sums) at the beginning of the notice. As shown in example (28), this development could and often would leave the *Promising a reward* move in its expected place towards the end of the notice, though, with the headline included, it often refers back to it with expressions such as "the above reward".

(28) **20 Dollars Reward.**
RUNAWAY from the subscriber's plantation […] **Whoever will apprehend said fellow and deliver him to the subscriber, or lodge him in jail, so that he can get him, shall receive the above reward with reasonable expenses.**

[61] Franklin and Schweninger (1999: 175) claim that in their database of notices collected from 1790–1816 and 1838–60, a considerably larger number of notices promised no reward, ranging from nearly 24% in the earlier period to 21% in the latter one. They note that "a significant minority did not offer any remuneration for the return of their slaves". This does not seem to be true for my data, although it also covers the time periods of Franklin and Schweninger's study.

N. DELAIGLE. February 16.
Tf. (*Augusta Chronicle* (GA), Jul 5, 1811)

The proliferation of reward sum headlines typically resulted in the *Promising a reward* move appearing twice in the notice: the headline gives some indication of a reward and the latter half of the move goes into detail about the instructions on how to claim it. Very rarely, only 45 times, the reward sum is mentioned only in a headline with no further specifications in the body text.

An alternative strategy for expressing the *Promising a reward* move has already been mentioned in connection to the move *Announcing the escape*, namely, opening the body text of the advertisement with a promise of reward. As happens in example (29), in such cases the reward-sum-as-headline forms part of the first sentence syntactically.

(29) **Five Dollars Reward**
Will be given to any person who will apprehend and deliver to me a Negro Girl, by the name of SARAH, about 16 years of age, very likely in person, … (*Norfolk Gazette and Publick Ledger* (VA), Jul 1, 1807)

As the practice of mentioning the reward sum became common before the practice of placing the entire *Promising a reward* move at the beginning of the advertisement, it seems probable that the latter was a direct consequence of the former. As will be discussed below, an approach like this might still result in part of the move occurring towards the end of the notice, if further details about the reward are given.

Table 7 shows the emergence of the new ordering of the core moves, that is, starting the body text of the advertisement with the move *Promising a reward* instead of *Announcing the escape*. The times and areas where the percentage is 10% or more are shaded green, with darker shades indicating higher percentages.

Table 7. Advertisements starting the body text with the move *Promising a reward*.

	1700–1729	1730–1749	1750–1769	1770–1789	1790–1809	1810–1829	1830–1849	1850–1865	
MA	0% 0/5	0% 0/6	0% 0/15	7.7% 1/13					2.6% 1/39
CN			0% 0/8	0% 0/38	0% 0/23	0% 0/11	0% 0/2		0% 0/82
NY		0% 0/9	0% 0/70	0% 0/58	5.0% 3/60	0% 0/13			1.4% 3/210
PA	0% 0/8	0% 0/21	1.7% 1/59	0% 0/63	6.5% 2/31	0% 0/8	0% 0/3		1.6% 3/193
MD	0% 0/1	0% 0/1	0% 0/8	1.5% 1/66	7.0% 7/100	5.3% 5/94	6.1% 3/49	8.2% 5/61	5.5% 21/380
VA		0% 0/2	2.5% 1/40	2.4% 2/85	12.6% 12/95	17.0% 17/100	20.0% 15/75	19.3% 11/57	12.8% 58/454
SC		0% 0/58	1.0% 1/96	1.4% 1/70	7.0% 7/100	12.0% 12/100	28.9% 22/76	37.1% 23/62	11.7% 66/562
GA			0% 0/23	0% 0/18	8.0% 8/100	11.0% 11/100	6.9% 5/72	18.2% 10/55	9.2% 34/368
TN					0% 0/9	15.4% 2/13	0% 0/8	28.6% 2/7	10.8% 4/37
LA					0% 0/3	20.0% 8/40	21.0% 13/62	22.7% 15/66	21.1% 36/171
MS						6.5% 3/46	12.5% 1/8	0% 0/3	7.0% 4/57
TX							25.0% 7/28	13.6% 3/22	20.0% 10/50
	0% 0/14	0% 0/97	0.9% 3/319	1.2% 5/411	7.5% 39/521	11.0% 58/525	17.2% 66/383	20.7% 69/333	9.2% 240/2603

As shown in Table 7, the tendency to start the body text with a promise of reward becomes somewhat more common in the 19th century, having been all but absent in the earlier years. As mentioned, I speculate that this was a result of the introduction of the reward sum in the headline (also, compare to Table 4 to see how the introduction of this order sometimes led to the *Announcing the escape* move being left out entirely). Starting with a promise of reward also made it possible to phrase

runaway notices in very few words, as some advertisers would condense the entire runaway notice into one sentence. A separate table for notices with this move in the more typical end position is not presented here, as such cases more or less cover the remaining percentages for the following reasons: a) only 11 notices have no reward move at all; b) just 45 cases[62] have the reward mentioned only in the headline. This means that the rest have the move *Promising a reward* towards the end of the notice. Furthermore, of the notices that do start with the *Promising a reward* move (as listed in Table 7), a considerable portion also had another instance of the move towards the end of it. In such cases, the latter occurrence of the *Promising a reward* move usually goes into more detail about the conditions of the reward or promises an alternative reward. In example (30), the first instance of the move specifies a reward for the capture of the runaway, whereas at the end of the notice, another reward is promised for information to convict people for helping the runaway. I also consider "Apply to ROBERTSON & BLACKLOCK" to be part of the move, as it directs the readers to who should be contacted to claim the reward. Example (31) mentions one reward at the beginning of the notice, but then at the end goes into detail to explain how the first-mentioned sum is if the runaway is caught from farther away, defining other sums depending on the distance.

(30) FIFTY DOLLARS REWARD will be given
for the apprehension and delivery to the Master
of either Work House in Charleston, or any Jail in the
State of ROBERT sometimes called BOB, who […]
Fifty dollars in addition to the above reward will be paid upon
proof to conviction of his being harbored by a white or
colored person. Apply to
ROBERTSON & BLACKLOCK.
(*Charleston Courier,* (SC), Jan 2, 1854)

(31) Eighty Silver Dollars, or Ten Half Joes Reward, FOR apprehending one of the most unprincipled Fellows in the State of Maryland, who absconded the 27th of October last, a dark MULATTO SLAVE, named DICK […]
—I will give Five Half Joes to any one who will put him in gaol, so that I get him again, or that sum, and all reasonable travelling charges, when delivered to me, if taken within 50 miles ; if 80 miles, Fifty Dollars ; if 100 miles, Sixty Dollars; if 120 miles, Seventy Dollars ;

[62] Nearly all of these cases occur in the 19th century.

> and if 150 miles or upwards, the above Reward, and all reasonable travelling charges paid, by the subscriber, living in the upper part of Ann-Arundel County, in the State of Maryland. CHARLES ALEXANDER WARFIELD. (*Maryland Journal*, Jan 15, 1788)

Example (31) shows why the original placement of the move at the end of the notice remained popular. As the move could go into detailed specifics when stipulating the size of the reward, including all this information at the beginning of an advertisement would push mention of the actual runaway and their description very far into the body of the text.

It is beyond the scope of this study to comment on the precise reward sums offered.[63] In any case, this would be incredibly difficult due to the variety of different currencies in circulation during the colonial period, when all colonies had their separate currencies and foreign coins were in wide circulation. This is seen in my data, which includes advertisements defining rewards for instance in the following manners: "forty Shillings Reward, New-York Money", "FIFTY POUNDS current money of this province", "Six Pistoles Reward", "Two Guineas reward" and "One Thousand Pounds, Continental Currency, or Twelve Pounds Hard Money Reward". See also example (31), where the reward is defined as "Eighty Silver Dollars, or Ten Half Joes", "joes" referring to a Portuguese gold coin. While the 19th-century notices usually set their rewards in dollars, an 1840 notice from Texas defines the reward as "five hundred dollars reward in Texas money", Texas not yet being part of the United States at the time. To add to the complexity, the reward offered for a runaway in the notice might also be dependent on how far they had traveled (as seen in example (31)) or whether they were brought back to the advertiser instead of placed in a jail.

Usually the rewards are given as specific sums. Some advertisers favor vaguer expressions, the most common of which is a promise of a "liberal" reward (or being rewarded "liberally"). Some promise "handsome" and "generous" rewards, or a reward "more than adequate to their troubles", while others a "suitable" reward or being "well" rewarded. One advertiser also simply notes that the person returning the runaway "shall receive a reward", making no commitment as to its actual size. Of course, a person responding to any of these advertisements by capturing the runaway probably would not know how the advertiser defined a "liberal" reward before applying for it. Perhaps for this reason, most advertisers preferred to mention precise sums.

[63] However, for instance Franklin and Schweninger (1999) have concluded that the most sizeable rewards were reserved for runaways who "possessed special skills or were especially clever, active, handsome, and articulate", or ones who were otherwise suspected to be more likely to get away (Franklin & Schweninger 1999: 173–175).

As recovering runaways from a distance could be costly, the advertisers would also often promise to cover extra "expenses" or "charges" that the recapture of the runaway might cause. While some promise to pay "all" expenses, the phrasing more typically seeks to protect the advertiser from any extravagant charges. Namely, the promise is usually to pay "(all) reasonable charges/expenses". The second most common alternative is characterizing the charges as "necessary",[64] while others modify the charges with "lawful", "legal", "ordinary", "fair", "needful", or "proper". It is unclear whether notices that make no reference to these charges whatsoever would be expected to pay them nonetheless. However, as they are frequently mentioned, it seems as if the advertisers expected the readers to need the reassurance that such money would be forthcoming.

All the states/colonies had their own slave codes, which varied slightly from one another and were modified as years passed (see Miller 2012). These laws usually provided some guaranteed reward for people capturing runaways. For instance, Virginia's 1705 "An act concerning Servants and Slaves" defines how many hundred pounds of tobacco should be paid to anyone capturing a runaway at different distances. Likewise, the 1740 South Carolina "Act for the Better Ordering and Governing of Negroes and other Slaves in this Province", guarantees "fifteen pence, current money, per mile" for anyone returning a runaway slave to their master or the warden of the work-house. Some of the occurrences of the move *Promising a reward* include references to these guaranteed-by-law sums. The phrase "besides what the Law allows" is the most common instance of this. This phrase, with some variation,[65] is used by Virginian advertisers in particular. Of the 56 instances in my data, 41 come from Virginian papers,[66] and the last instance is from 1803, so mostly its usage is restricted to 18th-century Virginian advertisements (being present in about 18.5% of Virginian advertisements in the time period 1700–1809). Using the opposite approach, some advertisers explicitly follow the mention of a reward sum with the phrase "including what the law allows". This expression is only used 11 times, 7 of which come from Maryland papers, the rest from Virginia, South Carolina, and Pennsylvania (and of these, 2 were Maryland slaveholders advertising in the papers of neighbouring colonies). Though the numbers are very small, they are examples of a particular phrase gaining some limited popularity in a specific area.

64 One advertiser covers both options by promising "all necessary or reasonable charges paid".

65 For example, "over and above what the law allows", "Twenty shillings more than the law allows", "besides the Mileage agreeable to law", "besides the allowance by law", "double what the law allows".

66 The others originate from advertisements in Georgia, South Carolina, Maryland and Pennsylvania papers; however, of these, three are Virginian advertisers.

As for the basic structuring of the move *Promising a reward,* the advertisers had several alternatives to choose from when writing their notices. The sentence can start with either a mention of the reward, the person promising the reward, or the potential recipient of the reward. The latter is the typical beginning especially in the early advertisements. It most often starts with *whoever/whosoever*, and sometimes with comparable expressions such as *any person / any one.*

(32) Whoever will bring the said slave to me, or give me notice by which I may get him again, shall receive a suitable reward for their trouble (*Connecticut Gazette*, Jul 9, 1757)

(33) Any person or persons who will take up the said slave, and deliver him to me, shall receive a reward of 5 l. sterling, and any person that will give notice of the said negroe being harboured, shall upon conviction of the offender, receive a reward of 10 l. sterling. (*Georgia Gazette*, Jul 1, 1767)

The wording in examples (32) and (33) can be seen as engaging the reader, who may be that "any person" who is eligible to gain the reward by capturing the runaway.

On the other hand, starting the move by mentioning the subscriber and their role in paying the reward has a somewhat different effect. In examples like (34), the advertiser's presence receives emphasis, as they express personal responsibility for paying the reward.

(34) I will give the above Reward to any person who will take, and have him regularly committed to Augusta Jail, so that I get him. (*Augusta Chronicle* (GA), Jan 1, 1803)

Finally, the move can start with a mention of the reward sum. In cases where the move *Promising a reward* is placed at the beginning of the notice, this happens almost automatically since the reward sum is mentioned in the headline. However, it can also happen when the move is placed towards the end of the notice, as is the case in example (35). The notice has the headline "Ten Dollars Reward" and at the end of the notice the advertiser defines what the ten dollars will be given for in addition to offering a larger sum for the conviction of anyone stealing or hiding the runaway.

(35) The above reward with all reasonable expenses will be paid to any person that will deliver said negro to me, or secure him in jail, so that I get him again, —and if stolen or concealed by a white person, the sum of one hundred dollars, on conviction of the offender. (*Augusta Chronicle* (GA), Jan 3, 1807)

While the abovementioned ways of starting the *Promising a reward* move are all available throughout the whole period and in all places, as they are different ways of phrasing the same information, they can be used to illustrate subtle changes that happen in the prototypical runaway notice. As discussed earlier in this section, the move can occur in several places in the notice simultaneously: the headline, the start of the notice and towards the end of the notice. Since the last option is the original one, and also persists as the most common option to the end, I have only included those cases in the percentages presented in Figure 3 and Figure 4 below. The figures show the changes across time (Figure 3) and variation between different geographical areas (Figure 4) regarding what element the reward move at the end of the notices starts with. In Figure 3 and Figure 4, *Receiver of reward* refers to the move starting with "Whoever"/ "Any person" or similar constructions (see examples (32) and (33)), *Payer of reward* refers to ones of the style "I/The subscriber will give/pay..." (see example (34)), *Reward* to ones that start with the mention of the reward sum (see example (35)), and *Other* includes rare variants not easily categorized under the other cases.

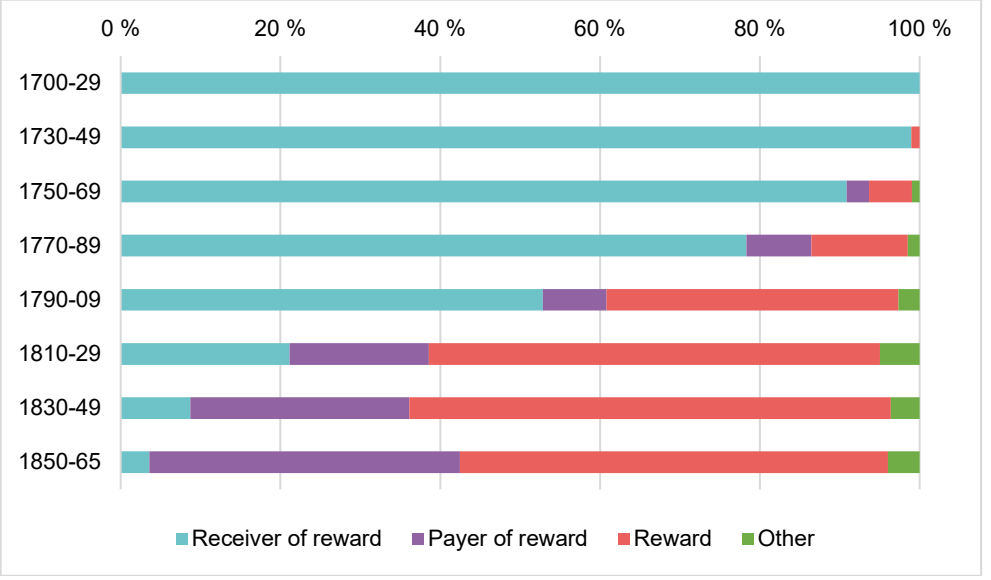


Figure 3. Variation in the way of starting the *Promising a reward* move with regard to time.

As can be seen in Figure 3, starting the move with a mention of the potential receiver of the reward (the vast majority of these using the wording "Whoever…") dominated until roughly the 1790s and nearly disappears from use in the 19th century. The

options that win out during the 19th century are, to a lesser extent, the one where the giver of the reward is placed as the subject ("I will give a reward…"), but to a greater extent the option which places the mention of reward at the beginning. I have already suggested that this development may be linked to the introduction of the reward-sum-as-headline. With the reward having already been mentioned in the headline, it is already old information at the end of the notice. Therefore, it is logical to place it in the subject position of the sentence forming the *Promising a reward* move (often referring to it as "the above reward" at that point).

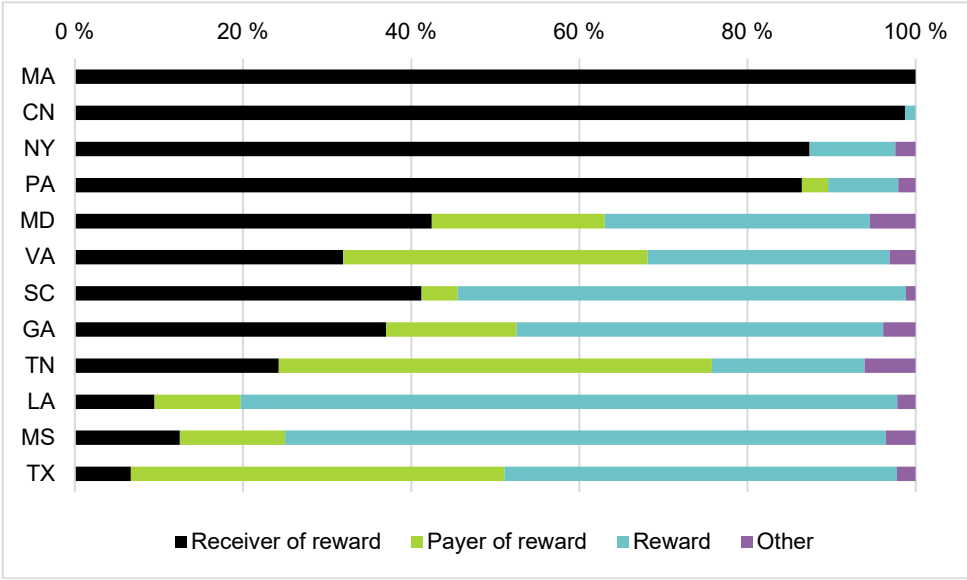


Figure 4. Variation in the way of starting the *Promising a reward* move with regard to place.

When examining the differences between the areas show in Figure 4, it is worth noting that the uneven way in which the corpus of this study comes from different time periods makes it difficult to eliminate the variable of time from an examination of geographical differences. In other words, the reason why the Northern colonies/states seem to favor the *Receiver of reward* ("Whoever…") beginning is due to the fact that these advertisements mostly come from the 18th century. One geographical difference that does not seem to be as easily explainable, and instead perhaps hints at regional preference for one form over the other, is Maryland, Virginia, Tennessee and Texas using the *Payer of reward* structure almost as often

as the *Reward* structure, whereas South Carolina, Georgia, Louisiana and Mississippi show a clear preference of the latter option.[67]

As has already been mentioned, the move *Promising a reward* usually includes conditions that have to be met in order to claim the reward. While some short advertisements promise the reward simply "for (the runaway)", usually the actions are further specified. It is not enough that the runaway is simply apprehended, but they must also be delivered either to the advertiser (or other people named in the advertisement) or to a secure holding place (such as a jail or the work house). Most advertisers accept either option, but others mention only one or the other. If the runaway is in custody, the advertiser also needs confirmation that they have been captured in order to go and reclaim them. Therefore, many advertisers also mention that they will need to be informed on where the runaway is held. As jailors also frequently advertised for people who had broken out of jail, it is perhaps no wonder that many advertisers specify that the runaway should be confined in a *safe* jail. Sometimes the advertiser also states their willingness to pay a reward simply for information on where to find the runaway, without the need to capture them. The advertiser may also explicitly state who should be contacted to claim the reward.

The verb phrases that typically occur in this move to refer to the required actions include: *take up, apprehend, secure, confine, commit, lodge, deliver, return, bring, convey, give notice/information.* Usually the move includes two or three of them in some combination (e.g. "whoever will take up, secure, and return said fellows", see also example (36) below, using the verbs *apprehend, secure* and *deliver*). Although the realizations of the *Promising a reward* move deal with a fairly limited pool of actions expressed by a limited number of verbs, giving a clear example of the prototypical way the move is phrased is difficult, since so many variables are at play. Instead, there is a variety of customary phrases that advertisers combine to suit their own needs. One typical phrase used in connection with this move is "so that I get (him/her/them) (again)" or some close variant of it.[68] Such a phrase is found in approximately 25% of the instances of the *Promising a reward* move. [69]

There seems to be some geographical variation as to what type of conditions are given for the reward. For instance, Maryland advertisers in particular seem more likely than others to name different reward sums depending on where the runaway is captured, often offering considerably larger sums in case the runaways are

67 Since Figure 4 only shows percentages, it is important to keep in mind that these percentages are based on a relatively small number of advertisements in the case of Tennessee, Texas and Mississippi.

68 For instance, "so that/as his Master/the Subscriber/he gets him (again)", "so that I can/may get him (again)".

69 This percentage rises to 30% if variants with the verb *have* instead of *get* are also included.

apprehended "out of the State". This is in all likelihood result of Maryland directly bordering the "free" state of Pennsylvania to the north. The phrase "out of the State" occurs in the *Promising a reward* move of nearly 25% of all Maryland advertisements in my corpus. This does not include any possible variations to the phrase and also includes all the advertisement from pre-Revolution Maryland (i.e., ones that would not refer to a "state" in the first place).[70] Another noticeable regional difference is the tendency of South Carolina advertisements in particular to offer separate rewards for information on anyone harboring or otherwise helping the runaway. These reward sums were often also much larger than ones promised for the capture of the runaway, and were to be paid "on conviction of the offender". Offers of reward for proof of harboring (or capture and conviction of anyone "stealing" the slave) can be found in 27.9% of South Carolina notices. They are second most common in Georgia notices, where they are present in 17.1% of the notices; the other areas are at 10% or under. I do not know whether the slave code of South Carolina made it particularly profitable for slaveholders to prosecute people aiding runaways or whether such offers were made mostly to discourage anyone from even considering giving them assistance. In any case, runaway notices from South Carolina were more likely to have *Promising a reward* moves that contained phrases such as "on conviction of the offender" or "on proof to conviction" than notices from other states.

So far, I have focused on the more typical realizations of the *Promising a reward* move and pointed out some of the differences between various areas and times. What most of the *Promising a reward* moves have in common is that they are rather matter-of-fact when informing the public about the reward. Namely, they tell the public what needs to be done to claim a reward, but do not explicitly *ask* them to act accordingly. I will end this section by including a few more examples that illustrate some less typical features of this move.

Example (36) contains at the beginning of the notice a rather typical instance of the *Promising a reward* move. What is more unusual is the expression of gratitude in the final sentence: anyone capturing the runaways will receive not only the reward but also his "thanks".

(36) 20 DOLLARS REWARD !
I WILL give the above reward for appre-
hending and securing in the Augusta
jail, or any other safe jail, my two negro

[70] Of all the occurrences of the phrase "out of the State" in the *Promising a reward* move, 62.6% are found in Maryland advertisements (Maryland advertisements form about 14.6% of my total corpus).

boys, BOLIN & PERRY. If they are de-
livered to me eight miles above Petersburg,
all reasonable expenses shall be paid in
addition to the above reward or half the a-
mount for either of them singly. […]
Any person apprehending and secur-
ing them or either of them shall also receive
my thanks—or any information respecting
them sent to Cook's Law Office, Elbert Co.
Ga will be conferring an obligation on,
BEVERLY C. COOK.
(*Georgian*, Jan 1, 1828)

The advertiser also mentions that "any information respecting them" would be "conferring an obligation" on him. While some advertisers promise monetary rewards for any information on the runaways, expressions of gratitude are more common in those cases (e.g. "information respecting [the runaway] will be thankfully received", "Any person that will give information such as will enable me to get him again will confer a great favor"). In general, openly expressing the idea that the public is doing a favor to the advertiser by capturing a runaway is rare.

Although very uncommon, sometimes the advertisers also frame the capture of the runaway as the "right thing to do" for the good of the community. For instance, example (37) mentions the reward simply as "a further inducement", trusting that the outrage over the alleged actions of the runaway would prove the primary motivation for the "good people of this state".

(37) As the cause of his running away was the attempting a rape upon the body of a white woman, I hope that the good people of this state will exert themselves in apprehending him, so that he may be brought to justice. As a further inducement, I will give the above reward to any person that I may seize him if out of this county, and secure him in any gaol.
(*Virginia Gazette and Alexandria Advertiser,* Jul 28, 1791)

Using a different approach, the advertiser in (38) feels the need to justify offering a reward to regain his "negro man-servant" (who he describes as being "between 40 and 50 years" and "very infirm"), claiming to be acting purely altruistically. He claims he does not want the runaway to "suffer want or care", and furthermore, wants to avoid the possibility of the runaway becoming anybody else's "expence". This is the only advertisement in my corpus to use such a strategy to convince its readers.

(38) He having been a faithful servant I should be unwilling he should suffer for want of care, or be an expence to any town or individual

person ; to prevent which, whoever will return him within two months, shall be paid for their trouble and reasonable expences ; and if not returned within said term, only sixpence reward, and no charges.
(*Connecticut Gazette*, Jan 7, 1796)

Another advertiser, as seen in example (39), also sees the need to justify offering a reward (in this case, an unusually sizeable one, "$500 REWARD IN SPECIE"). Here, too, the advertiser appeals to the common good (i.e., letting this one runaway escape would set a bad example for other slaves).

(39) I am creditably informed by a Gentleman from Chambersburg that Ben would have been brought back to me from that place but my reward was so high they thought it would not be paid. I now state my reason for this high reward—this man Ben has been a favorite of mine & I have indulged him so much that it has spoiled him, and I own a number of slaves and there are a great many in the neighborhood in which I live is my reason for wishing him not to escape. If any Gentleman will deliver him to me at my farm, my Honor stands bound for the payment of Five Hundred Dollars in Specie in less than five hours from the delivery, or if any Gentleman will write to me at Louisville, Ky. and tell me where he is, so that I get him I will pay them two Hundred Dollars in Specie.
(*Baltimore Gazette and Daily Advertiser* (MD), Jan 2, 1826)

In addition to justifying the size of the reward, the advertiser in this case also mentions how the public might be skeptical of actually receiving the reward sums mentioned in the advertisement. Such a doubt in his willingness or ability to pay the promised sum has led this particular advertiser explicitly to place his "Honor" at stake for the payment of the reward (and a speedy payment is promised as well). As a further deviance from the expected wording, instead of a more general "any person" as a possible capturer of the fugitive and recipient of the reward, the advertiser refers to "any Gentleman". While most advertisers did not opt for overt persuasion or justifications in this move, the above examples show that such approaches, though rare, still occasionally occurred.

7.2.4 Move: Speculating on the whereabouts

> "She is no doubt lurking about town, or the plantation occupied by John Millen, Esq. last year, to whom she was hired."
> (*Georgian*, Jul 1, 1829)

The purpose of the move *Speculating on the whereabouts* is to facilitate the capture of a runaway by suggesting where they might be found at the time or where they might be making their way. Some advertisers present these speculations with an air of certainty, seemingly having a good idea of where the runaway is, while others present several possible options. Advertisers may also report actual sightings of the runaway, which I assume serve the same purpose of telling the readers where the search should be concentrated.

As instances of this move, I have considered suspicions of where the runaway is (example (40)), suspicions of where they might be headed (example (41)), and mentions of the runaway having been sighted somewhere (example (42)). It is also possible that the advertisers mention both where the runaway has already been spotted and add speculation on where they are headed.

(40) He is suspected of being in the vicinity of Skidaway island or White-Bluff. (*Savannah Republican,* Jul 1, 1809)

(41) He will, no doubt, endeavor to make to the North.
(*Sun* (MD), Jul 3, 1855)

(42) He has been seen lurking about town.
(*Pennsylvania Journal, or, Weekly Advertiser*, Jul 4, 1771)

I have, however, not included instances where the advertiser suspects the runaway is, for instance, "harbored by some white person", without giving any indication of the location or who this person might be. Drawing the line at exactly what should be included in this move is somewhat difficult, and some of these issues (such as speculations about the runaway "passing as a free man") will be discussed later on in this section.

Approximately 38.5% of the advertisements in my data contain the move *Speculating on the whereabouts.* It is therefore not as central a move as the three moves discussed before, but it is still by no means an unexpected one. Details of how the move occurs in my corpus are found in Table 8. The times and areas where the percentage is 20% or more are shaded with green.

Table 8. Occurrences of the move *Speculating on the whereabouts*.

	1700–1729	1730–1749	1750–1769	1770–1789	1790–1809	1810–1829	1830–1849	1850–1865	
MA	0% 0/5	0% 0/6	6.7% 1/15	7.7% 1/13					5.1% 2/39
CN			0% 0/8	2.6% 1/38	4.3% 1/23	9.1% 1/11	0% 0/2		3.7% 3/82
NY		22.2% 2/9	22.9% 16/70	29.3% 17/58	26.7% 16/60	30.8% 4/13			26.2% 55/210
PA	0% 0/8	9.5% 2/21	22.0% 13/59	41.3% 26/63	32.3% 10/31	50.9% 4/8	33.3% 1/3		29.0% 56/193
MD	0% 0/1	0% 0/1	37.5% 3/8	33.3% 22/66	36.0% 36/100	47.9% 45/94	34.7% 17/49	36.1% 22/61	38.2% 145/380
VA		100% 2/2	52.5% 21/40	63.5% 54/85	50.5% 48/95	61.0% 61/100	68.0% 51/75	54.4% 31/57	59.0% 268/454
SC		22.4% 13/58	32.3% 31/96	51.4% 36/70	35.0% 35/100	40.0% 40/100	60.5% 46/76	45.2% 28/62	40.7% 229/562
GA			13.0% 3/23	22.2% 4/18	35.0% 35/100	47.0% 47/100	48.6% 35/72	47.3% 26/55	40.8% 150/368
TN					11.1% 1/9	53.8% 7/13	75.0% 6/8	42.9% 3/7	45.9% 17/37
LA					0% 0/3	17.5% 7/40	16.1% 10/62	15.2% 10/66	15.8% 27/171
MS						45.7% 21/46	87.5% 7/8	66.7% 2/3	52.6% 30/57
TX							35.7% 10/28	45.5% 10/22	40.0% 20/50
	0% 0/14	19.6% 19/97	27.6% 88/319	39.2% 161/411	34.9% 182/521	45.1% 237/525	47.8% 183/383	39.6% 132/333	38.5% 1002/2603

As Table 8 shows, some areas seem to be more likely to include this move than others. In the North, Massachusetts and Connecticut stand out in being the least likely to provide the readers with this information in the advertisements. Of the Southern states, Louisiana has a comparatively low number in contrast to the others. On the other hand, Virginian advertisers include the move in over half of their

notices, the numbers staying steadily high at all times. Exactly what leads to these differences is unclear: did, for instance, slaveholders from Massachusetts simply not know where their runaways were heading or did they assume the runaways would stay nearby and such information was not worth mentioning? As will be discussed in 7.2.5, Northern advertisements often contained warnings directed to masters of vessels not to carry off the runaways, so in those cases the "suspected heading" might be indirectly signaled by that move instead.

When examining the numbers presented in Table 8, it is also important to keep in mind that I have only included instances where the advertiser has explicitly stated that they know or suspect the runaway to be in a particular place. In many instances of the move, the advertiser provides information as to why they believe the runaway is at that specific place, as can be seen in example (43). In most cases, this information consists of references to places where the runaway has previously lived, or where their family members (or acquaintances) are currently residing, as happens here:

(43) He has a wife at Capt. Geo. Holman's in Fluvanna, and is **probably lurking about there, or General Cooks's** from whom I purchased him. (*Enquirer* (VA), Jan 1, 1829)

Since I have coded information concerning family members, etc., as part of the *Describing the runaway* move, there is usually some overlap between the two moves in cases where the mention of family members is immediately followed (or preceded) by suspicions that the runaway may be there. There are, however, also many cases where, for instance, family members on other plantations are mentioned *without* explicitly stating that the runaway might be there, which I have not considered as instance of the *Speculating on the whereabouts* move. It is reasonable to suspect that in such cases the advertiser might expect the readers to infer that such information is meant to convey suspicions of their whereabouts as well. This interpretation is strengthened by cases such as example (44), where, after mentioning a previous owner and the location of the runaway's wife, the advertiser states that, nevertheless, he believes the runaway to be elsewhere.

(44) he formerly belonged to the estate of Mr. James Leeson, and had a wife of Mr. Bellinger, at Asley River ; **but is supposed to be about Indian Land**
(*Columbian Herald* (SC), Jul 4, 1785)

The above example both suggests that mentions of family and former owners were probably usually meant as indications on where the runaway might be, but also that this was nevertheless not always the case.

When present in the notice, the move *Speculating on the whereabouts* is usually found immediately following the *Describing the runaway* move. The description

often ends with the information about the family members and places the runaway is familiar with, which then smoothly leads into the discussion on where the runaway is likely to be. While it is the most common placement for the move, *Speculations on the whereabouts* can also be found elsewhere. For instance, sightings of the runaway may be placed at the very end of the notice (especially when such sightings are a later addition to the notice; for updates on the notices after their initial publication, see discussion in 7.5.2).

Some advertisers also seem to think that the reader of the notice would expect them to include information on where the runaway is heading. That is, in my data, there are some instances where the advertiser comments on not being able to provide that kind of information.

(45) Having lived in S. Carolina, Tennessee, Mississippi and the upper part of this State, I have no idea of his probable course.
(*Georgia Telegraph*, Jan 7, 1845)

(46) As Tom left his employer without any previous difference, no conjecture can be formed of the course he has gone.
(*Baltimore Gazette* (MD), Jan 2, 1826)

Remarks like the ones in examples (45) and (46) show that, at least for some people, *Speculating on the whereabouts* is such a fixed part of the runaway notice that, if no speculations can be provided, this needs to be commented on.

I will now move on to discuss the typical contents and language of these notices. Firstly, the locations where the slave has been sighted, is suspected to be at, or where they might be heading are the central piece of information contained in this move.[71] How precisely the locations are expressed varies greatly. Some advertisers point out specific areas, such as "in the neighborhood of the Coal Pits in Chesterfield county", others give the location on the level of towns ("in Georgetown or Alexandria"), others on the level of states ("making his way for Tennessee" or "some of the free Negro States") or even general directions such as "the Northward". Although most advertisers give only one or two options (specific or general), others list a variety of possible options. In addition to basing their speculations on where the runaway has family or where they have previously lived, the advertisers sometimes also give other reasons for why they think the runaway is where they say they are. For instance, "…

[71] The destinations runaways had have also interested many historians working on the runaway slave advertisements. For summaries of what places were commonly mentioned, see, for instance, Franklin and Schweninger (1999: 318–321).

as he has been heard to express his intention of going that way" or "… up Ogechee or Canouchie to the Indians, as the fellow speaks the language". Some mention previous escape attempts and assume the runaway will go the same way again ("The fellow has got it in his head to go to the Spaniards, and always takes the same route he has now done").

As the name *Speculating on the whereabouts* implies, the information presented in this move typically involves a degree of uncertainty. The confidence levels expressed by the advertisers in making guesses on the location or intended destination vary considerably. The most common verb used to relay the information in this move is *suppose*,[72] which is used in about one third of the instances of this move. *Expect*, *suspect, believe* and *think* are also occasionally used. *Probable/probably/in all probability* is used to indicate the level of certainty in about 23% of the instances of the move, while the use of *possible/possibly* is quite minimal in comparison. The modal auxiliary *may* is present in about 20% of the instances of the move. Finally, about 5% of the advertisers presenting their assumptions with the phrase *no doubt*. Although expressions conveying possibility or uncertainty are sometimes present in other moves (e.g. "has a scar over one of her eyes, **I think** the left" or "**I suspect** he has other clothes with him" in a description), *Speculating on the whereabouts* is particularly characterized by them.

The movements of the runaway are often reported using expressions such as "he is making his way (to x)" or simply the verb *go*. If the runaway is assumed to be somewhere (and not on their way somewhere else), some advertisements report this in a neutral manner by using *be* (e.g. "It is supposed he is still in town"). However, the verb *lurk* is also used in about 16% of the occurrences of the move, which (probably intentionally) paints the runaway's presence in a specific neighborhood in a more sinister light.[73] About 13% of the instances of the move also refer to the runaway being *harbored* somewhere (most often by relatives or acquaintances).

As I mentioned towards the beginning of this section (and as is evident from the name I chose for the move), I have limited the *Speculations on the whereabouts* move to instances that mention a more or less specific place or places. There are, however, a few other types of speculation that often appear in the notices either in connection with speculations on where the runaway is, or separately from them. Fairly common are, for instance, suspicions that the runaway will attempt to "pretend to be free", as it is sometimes phrased. In example (47) the advertiser mentions where the person might be heading and why, followed by suspicions of him attempting to "pass for a free man" as well as suspicions of him being in possession of a pass.

72 "I suppose that…", "It is supposed that…" or "He is supposed to be…".
73 A few advertisers also use the similarly negative-sounding verbs *skulk* and *prowl.*

(47) As he has been a waiter to John Ridout, Esq; for several years past, and is well acquainted in Annapolis and Baltimore, it is not improbable he may make for one of those places, and will endeavour to pass for a free man, and perhaps may have a forged pass. (*Maryland Journal,* Jul 6, 1784)

As the example shows, these various kinds of suspicions often occur together and therefore, it might be justified to consider them all as being part of some larger "Speculations" move. However, I have opted not to do this, as using such broader a category would introduce new problems. For instance, mentions such as "it is likely he has changed his dress" or "probably may have changed his name" are clearly speculations, but seem to serve quite a different purpose than the cases that I have included in the move so far.

7.2.5 Move: Discouraging unwanted actions

"All persons are forewarned harbouring or employing said negro, under the penalty of the law."
(*New York Evening Post,* Jul 1, 1824)

The previously discussed moves were mostly aimed at the reader of the notice being able to identify a runaway and capture them for return to the advertiser, that is, direct them to do something. In contrast, the main purpose of the move *Discouraging unwanted actions* is to stop people from doing things that would make the capture of the fugitive more difficult. More precisely, this move focuses on discouraging people from helping the runaway either intentionally or unintentionally. To accomplish this, advertisers often resort to threats of legal action, as will be detailed below. As instances of this move, I have considered cases where the advertiser mentions some kind of undesired behavior that the public could engage in and either directly cautions them not to do so, or informs them of the penalties anyone engaging in such behavior will receive. This move is usually easily distinguishable from any others in the runaway notice, but I will be discussing some overlap between this and other moves below.

The move *Discouraging unwanted actions* occurs in about 21% of the notices in my corpus. Although by no means an obligatory move, it is nevertheless a rather common occurrence, as approximately one fifth of advertisers have considered it a necessary inclusion. Table 9 shows the popularity of the move in different times and places, with percentages of 20% or over shaded in green.

Table 9. Occurrences of the move *Discouraging unwanted actions.*

	1700–1729	1730–1749	1750–1769	1770–1789	1790–1809	1810–1829	1830–1849	1850–1865	
MA	0% 0/5	66.7% 4/6	60.0% 9/15	53.8% 7/13					51.3% 20/39
CN			0% 0/8	36.8% 14/38	56.5% 13/23	45.5% 5/11	100% 2/2		41.5% 34/82
NY		11.1% 1/9	34.3% 24/70	31.0% 18/58	53.3% 32/60	53.8% 7/13			39.0% 82/210
PA	12.5% 1/8	14.3% 3/21	33.9% 20/59	28.6% 18/63	9.7% 3/31	12.5% 1/8	0% 0/3		23.8% 46/193
MD	0% 0/1	0% 0/1	0% 0/8	19.7% 13/66	23.0% 23/100	22.3% 21/94	4.1% 2/49	4.9% 3/61	16.3% 62/380
VA		0% 0/2	5.0% 2/40	17.6% 15/85	40.0% 38/95	18.0% 18/100	10.7% 8/75	3.5% 2/57	18.3% 83/454
SC		19.0% 11/58	33.3% 32/96	25.7% 18/70	28.0% 28/100	32.0% 32/100	22.4% 17/76	4.8% 3/62	25.1% 141/562
GA			21.7% 5/23	22.2% 4/18	18.0% 18/100	19.0% 19/100	1.4% 1/72	3.6% 2/55	14.1% 49/368
TN					0% 0/9	0% 0/13	0% 0/8	0% 0/7	0% 0/37
LA					33.3% 1/3	42.5% 17/40	21.0% 13/62	6.1% 4/66	20.5% 35/171
MS						8.7% 4/46	12.5% 1/8	0% 0/3	8.8% 5/57
TX							0% 0/28	0% 0/22	0% 0/50
	7.1% 1/14	19.6% 19/97	28.8% 92/319	26.0% 107/411	29.9% 156/521	23.6% 124/525	11.5% 44/383	4.2% 14/333	21.0% 557/2603

As can be seen in Table 9, advertisers in the North seem to have favored this move: Massachusetts, Connecticut and New York are the only places where at certain time periods this move is found in over half of the advertisements collected in my data. In the South, Louisiana and South Carolina stand out, with this move being consistently present in over 20% of the notices. In Virginia, there seems to have been

a temporary increase in the popularity of this move in the 1790s and 1800s, but the overall presence of the move is quite low. The notices I have from Tennessee and Texas do not have this move at all. As will be discussed later, many of the instances of *Discouraging unwanted actions* are aimed at boat captains in particular, to stop runaways from making their escape by sea (or other waterways). It is therefore likely that advertisements from coastal towns would carry this move more often, which could explain some of the regional differences seen in Table 9. Examining the development in time, there is no clear peak in the popularity of the move. However, towards the last few decades there is a noticeable drop in its use. On the whole, the later advertisements tend to be slightly shorter in length, so perhaps this element was seen as less integral and dropped when a shorter advertisement was desired; conversely, it is possible that the later advertisements were generally shorter *because* this move had been dropped for some other reason.

The move *Discouraging unwanted actions* can be realized in three slightly different ways, as illustrated by the examples (48)–(50).

(48) All masters of vessels are forbid harbouring or carrying off said negro. (*Connecticut Courant*, Jan 2, 1781)

(49) N.B. All House-keepers, Masters of Vessels and others are hereby forbid to Harbour, Conceal or carry off said Wench, as they may depend on being prosecuted according to Law.
(*New York Mercury*, Jul 7, 1760)

(50) Whoever harbors or entertains the said fellow, may depend on being prosecuted with the utmost severity.
(*South Carolina Gazette,* Mar 3, 1759)

In cases of the type shown in example (48), the advertiser warns or forbids the public (or certain parts thereof) not to do something. Instances of this move similar to the one in example (49) add a threat of legal action for those who do not comply. Example (50) illustrates the third option: the advertiser does not explicitly warn or forbid people not to do the undesired actions, but instead they simply declare that anyone caught doing such actions will be facing legal consequences. One might also consider the move to potentially consist of two steps: "warning people not to do unwanted actions" and "threatening legal action for people who do unwanted actions". From that perspective, examples such as (48) consist of the first step, examples such as (50) of the second step, whereas examples such as (49) have both of the steps.

Examples (48) and (49) also illustrate another feature that sets the move *Discouraging unwanted actions* apart from the previously described moves, namely

that this move is often targeted at a specific audience instead of the whole readership of the paper. Most commonly referred to are "masters of vessels", who are mentioned by that term in over half of the occurrences of this move. Additionally, the advertisers direct their warnings towards "boatmen", "batteaumen", "mariners", "captains", "patroons" and "skippers", working on "boats", "ships", "privateers", and (from the 19th century onwards) "steamboats". Escape by waterways was a common tactic used by runaways, as, when successful, it enabled them to get far away from their starting place and pursuers quickly. Therefore, it is not surprising that seamen were a particular concern for the slaveholder trying to regain possession of their fugitive slaves. Other specific groups are mentioned more rarely, but for instance "stevedores", "house-keepers, "butchers" and "recruiting officers" are singled out in my data, the assumption being that the particular runaway was likely to turn to those groups to seek employment. Advertisers who direct their warnings to specific groups often also add "and others" to extend their message to cover everyone else as well (see example (49)). Some of the instances of the move do not have a more specific target, referring instead to "all persons" or "whoever".

The actions that the advertisers do not want the public to be committing do not vary much from one advertisement to the next. The main concerns are that somebody is either hiding the runaway, helping them move away from their current location or hiring them to work. In many instances of the move, several of these undesired actions are listed (e.g. "are forbid to harbour, conceal, or carry off"). The most common verb is *harboring* (occurring in 69% of the *Discouraging unwanted actions* moves), followed by *carrying off/away/out of state* (41%) and *employing* (20%) the runaway. Other actions the advertiser seeks to discourage in this move include *taking off/on board*/etc., *concealing*, *entertaining*, *conveying off/away, secreting*, *aiding, assisting, trading with*, and *trusting* the runaway. One advertiser also cautions the public against *buying* the runaway (the notice concerns an enslaved person who is suspected to have been stolen).

The advertisers have some choice in what verb to use to dissuade the addressees from the undesired action. The most commonly used verbs are *caution* (present in 29% occurrences of the move), *for(e)warn* (28%) and *forbid* (28%). More rarely the advertisers *warn*, *request* or *desire* people not to do something. The politest options, *request* and *desire*, are rarely used, and the more forcible choices are preferred. This is unsurprising, since harboring or transporting runaways were illegal activities, and it was probably not seen as necessary to politely request people not to break the law. The three most common options, *caution*, *for(e)warn* and *forbid*, also have different undertones: *forbid* could be seen as the strictest option, a command not to do something, whereas *caution* and *for(e)warn* suggest the reader should take heed of possible dangers. How aware the advertisers were of these semantic differences

when writing their notices is another question. The move *Discouraging unwanted actions* can also use more than one of the verbs, as in example (51).

(51) N.B. All masters of vessels are forwarned to take off said Negro, and those going to the back country are also forbid. (*Pennsylvania Journal, and Weekly Advertiser*, Jul 6, 1785)

Example (51) uses both *forwarn* and *forbid*, which the advertiser seems to treat as synonyms. Concerning the perceived differences between the verbs, a curious example is offered by one Virginian advertiser, seen in example (52).

(52) … masters of vessels, batteaumen, and all other persons, are cautioned, forbidden and forwarned from harbouring, concealing or employing the said slave, or from carrying him out of the state at their peril (*Virginia Argus*, Jul 7, 1802)

The advertiser seems to be covering all options, by cautioning, forbidding *and* forwarning people from engaging in actions to help the runaway. Binominals have long been a feature of English legal language (see e.g. Hiltunen 1990: 54), so the writer may be attempting to emulate official-sounding legal language to make the warning more effective.

Another recurring feature of the move *Discouraging unwanted actions* is the mention of consequences for those who *do* commit such actions. Whether mentioned in connection to the act of cautioning/forbidding (as seen in example (49)), or just stating that those who do the unwanted actions will face consequences (as seen in example (50)), references to legal complications are common in this move. The word *law* is mentioned in 43% of the instances of this move, and *prosecution/prosecuting* in 16% of them. Another common expression is "at (one's) peril", as seen in example (53).

(53) Masters of Vessels and others are forbid to harbor or carry off said Boy **at their peril**. (*City Gazette* (SC), Jan 1, 1805)

The phrase "At (one's) peril" occurs in nearly half of the instances of this move. This phrasing seems to have been most popular in Maryland, Pennsylvania, New York and Virginia, whereas Connecticut, Massachusetts and Louisiana usually use the phrasing "under the (severest) penalty of the law", showing local tendencies in the preferred phrasing of the move. The emphasis placed on potential legal punishment also shows considerable variation, as seen in examples (54) and (55).

(54) Masters of vessels and all others are cautioned not to carry the said Wench off the state, as they will be prosecuted as the law directs. (*Carolina Gazette* (SC), Jan 4, 1811)

(55) I forewarn all persons whatsoever from harboring said negro in the

least degree, under the severest penalty that the law may inflict, as I shall spare no pains to punish the offenders.
(*Enquirer* (VA), Jul 1, 1823)

Some advertisers (such as the one in example (54)) seem content to sternly remind people that aiding runaways is a crime and possible offenders will be held legally responsible. In contrast, others (such as example (55)) take a more threatening approach, promising the "severest" penalties, or prosecution to the "utmost rigor of the law".

The move *Discouraging unwanted actions* is typically placed towards the end of the notice. While sometimes placed immediately before the *Promising a reward* move, more often it is placed after that move, and thus also at the end of the advertisement (followed only by the name of the advertiser, the *Subscriber* move). Presenting the two moves together, using a similar structure, as happens in example (56), can give the readers the impression that they are given two possible outcomes. One leads to a reward, while the other one leads to prosecution.

(56) Whoever will apprehend the said Negro, and deliver him to me, or the Warden of the Work House, shall receive 3 l. Reward : And whoever harbours the said Negro, shall be prosecuted to the utmost severity of the Law. (*South-Carolina Gazette,* Jan 2, 1749)

Discouraging unwanted actions is also the most common type of information that is set apart from the main body of the text by placing it after the name of the advertiser. In this position, it is often introduced by *N.B.* and sometimes also with a manicule. Of the 121 cases in my corpus where some piece of information is placed at the end of the notice with *N.B.* in the front, 67 are the move *Discouraging unwanted actions*.

Very rarely, the whole advertisement starts with the move *Discouraging unwanted actions*, as seen in example (57).

(57) THis is once more to forwarn all persons
from entertaining or harbouring a Negro boy, bought
of Mssrs. *Cleland* & *Wallace*, named *Shadwell*, belonging to
me, or else they may certainly expect to be prosecuted, and
whoever brings him to me his right Owner, shall have 10
l. reward paid by EDW. MORRIS.
(*South Carolina Gazette*, Jul 5, 1735)

While example (57) does also eventually offer a reward for anyone returning the runaway, the advertiser does not seem to be as concerned with the runaway making his escape as they are with the assistance the fugitive is receiving from others.

I will end this section with a discussion of some borderline cases that might also be argued to belong to this move. Occasionally advertisers include sentences such as

the ones in examples (58) and (59), which do not explicitly mention any *unwanted* actions, but instead ask for people to be alert.

(58) ☛ Captains of steamboats will be on their guard if said boy should attempt to leave the city on their boats.
(*Times-Picayune* (LA), Jul 1, 1849)

(59) Captains of vessels are requested to be careful, as he may offer to work with a pass or badge, or conceal himself on board.
(*Charleston Courier* (SC), Jan 2, 1843)

Comments such as the ones in (58) and (59) do serve a purpose very closely linked to the move *Discouraging unwanted actions* and are often targeted at the same groups. However, since there are no unwanted actions mentioned in them, I have not included them as instances of the move (and since they are so rare, they do not merit the creation of a move of their own). Instead of saying "don't do this" or "be careful not to do this", they just say "be careful", perhaps politely implying that the captains of vessels surely would not *intentionally* let a runaway board their ship. I will return to the question of various types of requests for action in 7.2.12.

7.2.6 Move: Addressing the runaway

"If Tom returns of his own accord, he will be forgiven."
(*City Gazette* (SC), Jan 1, 1824)

A rarely occurring but distinctive move in runaway notices is *Addressing the runaway*. What sets this move apart from the others is that its message is primarily directed at the runaways themselves, not the general public. The purpose of this move is to convince the fugitive slaves to return on their own, with the slaveholder typically offering "forgiveness" in exchange. The voluntary return of the runaway would be the most convenient and cheapest alternative for the advertiser, as in such a case there would be no need to pay any reward or jail fees, which anyone else capturing the runaway would result in.

Trying to encourage runaways to return via advertisement was perhaps not as implausible as it might seem. As discussed in 2.5, runaways were not always aiming for a permanent escape to freedom. Instead, they could stay away for shorter periods of time, for instance in fear of punishment for something or to protest what they perceived as especially unfair treatment. If the slaveholder suspected that the runaway was not aiming for a getaway and instead might be prolonging their absence specifically in fear of punishment, it was not impossible that such promises of

forgiveness might induce them to return. Another question necessarily prompted by the existence of such a move is whether the runaways themselves were expected to be reading these notices. I would assume the more likely possibility is that the advertisers expected that the contents of the advertisement would reach the ears of the runaway some way, probably by word of mouth. In fact, one advertiser even starts this move with "If said negro hears of this advertisement and shall return to his duty…" (*Connecticut Courant*, Jul 2, 1771).[74] In the case of runaways hiding in larger cities, possibly even harbored by White people, the fact that they were being advertised for in the newspapers could be expected to reach their ears.

The move *Addressing the runaway* is not used often in runaway slave notices: in my materials, it is only found in 47 notices, or 1.8% of them. Table 10 shows where and when the move occurs in my corpus (the instances have been bolded). As notices from newspapers in Maryland, Virginia, Louisiana, Mississippi, Tennessee and Texas did not contain this move in my corpus, they have been left out of the table.

Table 10. Occurrences of the move *Addressing the runaway*.

	1700–1729	**1730–1749**	**1750–1769**	**1770–1789**	**1790–1809**	**1810–1829**	**1830–1849**	**1850–1865**	
MA	0%	0%	0%	7.7%					2.6%
	0/5	0/6	0/15	**1/13**					1/39
CN			0%	2.6%	0%	0%	0%		1.2%
			0/8	**1/38**	0/23	0/11	0/2		1/82
NY		0%	0%	0%	0%	15.4%			1.0%
		0/9	0/70	0/58	0/60	**2/13**			2/210
PA	0%	0%	0%	1.6%	3.2%	0%	0%		1.0%
	0/8	0/21	0/59	**1/63**	**1/31**	0/8	0/3		2/193
SC		0%	8.3%	10.0%	10.0%	6.0%	3.9%	3.2%	6.4%
		0/58	**8/96**	**7/70**	**10/100**	**6/100**	**3/76**	**2/62**	36/562
GA			0%	11.1%	2.0%	1.0%	0%	0%	1.4%
			0/23	**2/18**	**2/100**	**1/100**	0/72	0/55	5/368

[74] Another advertisement I have come across, but which is not included in the main corpus of this study, also provides insight into how runaways were expected to receive the message: "as he has no doubt gone to the north by the aid of persons who can read, it is hereby declared to him that if he will return within one month of this date, he will be forgiven, and may resume his services free from the punishment he merits" (*Alexandria Gazette* (VA), Jan 1, 1816).

As can be seen from Table 10, the use of this move is almost exclusive to South Carolinian runaway notices. As mentioned, six states in my materials yielded no examples of this move. There are a few cases from the Northern states of Massachusetts, Connecticut, New York and Pennsylvania. The contents of the move in these states also were typically somewhat different from the southern cases (as is discussed later in this section). Furthermore, a closer investigation of the cases from Georgia papers revealed that, out of the five notices with the move, two were in fact placed by South Carolinian slaveholders.

This move is found in about 6.4% of the notices from South Carolina papers, so it is by no means a common feature in them either. The inclusion of this move peaks at the end of the 18th and the beginning of the 19th century, at which time one in ten of the South Carolina notices in my data includes this move, but occasional inclusions of it continue until the end. So, while it is not accurate to say that a typical South Carolinian runaway notice included this move, if such a move was included, the advertisement typically came from South Carolina.[75]

It seems unlikely that South Carolinian slaves in particular would be more likely than others to be persuaded to return voluntarily. Of course, once some South Carolinian advertisers had included this move, others might be more likely to imitate them (and for some reason or other, this "innovation" mostly failed to catch on in other places). Finally, it should be noted that although the message of the move is directed to the runaway, it is also read by everyone else. By including this move, the advertisers might also want to present themselves as potentially forgiving and reasonable masters who can act benevolently towards their slaves.

As the goal of the move *Addressing the runaway* is to persuade the runaway to return, this move informs the runaway what they will gain if they do so. The move is typically quite simple, nearly always consists of a single sentence, starting with an if-clause (mentioning the act of returning), followed by the main clause (which defines what the runaway gains from a voluntary return). Similarly to the move *Promising a reward*, this one, too, could be characterized as a 'promise' in terms of speech acts. However, only two advertisements use the performative verb *promise* in this move, so most of the examples are indirect promises (see example (60)).

(60) If they return they will not be punished for what they have done. (*Charleston Courier* (SC), Jan 1, 1840)

75 Since the total numbers are so small, I conducted a small test by using the *Freedom on the Move* database. Searching with words that are often linked to the move (*forgive, forgiven, pardoned*) does not yield many results even in that database, and most of the ones that do come up are, indeed, from South Carolina. Its neighbor, North Carolina (which is not included in my materials), also has occasional examples of this move in its notices.

Example (60) also shows the most typical verb that expresses the desired action, *return*, which is used in 41 out of the 47 cases. The rest use expressions such as "come home", "surrender" and "deliver himself up". Only in one instance does this if-clause not carry the idea of the slave returning, but rather it states "If he wishes to obtain his freedom, he may by paying one hundred dollars, and the expence accrued since he went off" (*Pennsylvania Journal*, Jul 5, 1786).

The voluntariness of this return is usually expressed by the phrase "of (his/her/their) own accord" (21/47), and also by "voluntarily" and "of his own free will". In a few cases, it is also specified to whom or what the runaways need to return to, including, for instance, "to their mistress", "to me", "home", and, most commonly, "to (one's) duty" (7/47). The word choice in the last case reinforces the idea that by absconding, the fugitives have not only run away from someone, but also their responsibilities.

A time limit for this offer of "leniency" is expressed in 12 occurrences of this move. This includes a fairly unspecific "in a reasonable Time", as well as "within a few days" and "immediately". One runaway is granted freedom at a later date, if he returns to his master "previous to my leaving Philadelphia, or joins me at NY previous to my departure for Georgia". The rest give a more specific number of days and months ranging from "in 4 days" to "within three Months".[76]

As for the incentives offered in the second part of this move, the most common is the promise that the runaway will be "forgiven" or "pardoned" or that their "past Offences[77] will be passed over unnoticed". Others promise instead that the runaway "will not be punished". In addition to the forgiveness/lack of punishment, two advertisers also promise to receive the returning slave "kindly".

While the examples from South Carolina, Georgia and Connecticut only offer lack of punishment as an incentive to return, the examples from Massachusetts, New

[76] All of the examples of this move in my data come from advertisements that at the same time offer a money reward for anyone else who might capture the runaways. However, a search of the *Freedom on the Move* database uncovered at least one notice where the promise of reward does not come into effect until after the time limit given in the *Addressing the runaway* move runs out: "As Martin run away under the impression of his being sold to Mr. Boylan, and as he had no objections to live with me, if he returns in one month from this time, he shall be received and pardoned and I will put him on my Westbrook Farm in Johnston county, near to where his wife lives. Should he not come in, within the time specified, the above reward will be given for his apprehension and delivery to me in Raleigh." (*Raleigh Register and North Carolina Weekly Advertiser*, May 15, 1827)

[77] "Offences" are referred to in several of the instances of this move. It is not always evident if the "offence" is simply the act of running away or if it sometimes also refers to something specific the person had done prior to it.

York and Pennsylvania papers show the advertisers willing to make greater concessions to secure the runaway's return. Example (61) starts by promising a lack of punishment (which the advertiser further points out would be deserved), and then adds a possibility for the runaway to choose a new master or a possibility to earn his freedom.

(61) —If he returns voluntarily he shall not be whipt as he deserves, but I will either sell him to a Good Ship-Master, or lett him as he shall chose, till he has Earnt his prime Cost, &c, when I will give him his Freedom (*Boston News-Letter*, Jul 5, 1770)

Similarly, a New York advertisement offers voluntarily returning runaways "the privilege of working themselves free" (*New York Gazette*, Jul 1, 1800), and a Pennsylvanian advertiser claims he will give the runaway "his freedom on arriving at the age of thirty-one years" (*Philadelphia Gazette*, Jul 1, 1794). While these few examples are not enough to make any extensive claims, the situation in the North was considerably different to South Carolina at the time. In the late 1700s the Northern slaveholders probably already saw a possible emancipation looming in the future. In order to squeeze some final money from their financial investment, they would offer an "officially recognized" freedom at a later date in exchange for the (potentially unsure) freedom the runaways had claimed for themselves.

The idea that slaveholders were sometimes ready to make some concessions concerning the principal reason that had prompted the slave to escape can be seen in the move *Addressing the runaway*, as happens in example (62), where the primary reason for the escape is supposedly the separation of a husband and wife after the death of their previous owner.

(62) RUN AWAY in *March* last, two Negroes that belonged lately to the estate of *John Parker* deceased, viz. *Tom*, bought by Mr. *Ainslie*, and *Phœbe* his wife, bought by the subscriber ; supposed to lurk about *Ponpon*, where they are well known and often seen, & whence offers have been made to purchase the wench. Whoever gives such information of any white person's harbouring them, that he, she or they be convicted thereof, shall have a reward of *ONE HUNDRED* POUNDS —— **As I have now bought Tom (of Mr. *Ainslie*), if he and his wife will return to their duty, their offence will be pardoned.** But, if they don't, then a reward of 10 l. for each, will be given to any person who delivers them to *Charles Lowndes*. (*South-Carolina Gazette*, Aug 10, 1752)

The advertiser in example (62), having purchased both of the enslaved people (and therefore, at least in his own eyes, solved the issue), gives them the choice to return of their own volition. Example (63) offers a more cryptic version of the move.

(63) If Captain returns of his own accord he shall be forgiven, as the pretext for his running away, though unreasonable, shall be removed. (*Carolina Gazette* (SC), Jul 2, 1801)

The advertisement offers no clues as to what the "pretext" in example (63) refers to, but whatever it was, the move seems to have been added to the notice to signal to the runaway that he had "won" on that point (even though the advertiser labels it as "unreasonable").

There is probably no easy way of finding out whether the inclusion of the *Addressing the runaway* move was an effective strategy in getting runaways to return on their own. However, as seen in example (64), at least one person begins their whole notice with a complaint that the runaways had not heeded the offer made in a previous advertisement.

(64) WHEREAS the Advertisement
formerly published, and continued for
a considerable time in this *Gazette*, by the subscriber,
offering remission of the punishment justly due to *Boston* and his wife *Sue*, two negroes formerly belonging
to Mr. *Hugh Cartwright*, on the terms therein mentioned, hath failed of the end thereby intended: I
[IMAGE] do hereby promise and engage to pay, unto any person or persons, who shall or
will bring in and deliver to me, the said
negro fellow *Boston* and his wife, within
One Month from the date hereof, dead or
alive, the sum of *FIFTY POUNDS* current money of this province. **At the same time I do also promise, that if the said negroes will voluntarily come home and surrender themselves, I will yet forgive them , notwithstanding their absence since *October* last.** *June* 19th, 1754.
JAMES MICHIE.
(*South-Carolina Gazette*, Jul 4, 1754)

At the end of the notice, the advertiser still adds the move *Addressing the runaway*, promising forgiveness. Considering how in the previous sentence he offers a reward for them "dead or alive", the offer of "forgiveness" certainly does not seem to be coming from an exceptionally lenient slaveholder. Forgiveness is balanced with a

threat of stricter punishment also in a notice that ends the *Addressing the runaway* move with "but should he not immediately comply with this offer, he may depend on being severely punished when taken". In another case, the advertiser first offers a reward for the capture of the runaways, then addresses them with an offer of forgiveness for a return in ten days, but follows that immediately with a further specification of the reward: "But if he does not then return, nor is taken; in that case the above reward will be given for him dead or alive". This, in addition to informing potential slave catchers of the outlawing of the slave, also is probably still addressed to the fugitives as well, to raise the stakes of them staying away.

As seen in example (65), instead of combining promises of forgiveness with dire consequences, at least one advertiser opts for a different manner of persuasion.

(65) Hyacinthe has always hitherto been a very faithful and much valued servant, and if he will return of his own accord, this fault shall be forgiven. (*City Gazette* (SC), Jul 1, 1822)

This South Carolina advertiser's unusual strategy to convince the runaway to return willingly is to preface the promise of forgiveness with some flattery.

The most typical place for this move is at the end of the main body of the notice before the name of the subscriber, where it occurs in half the cases. It is sometimes placed in a paragraph of its own, but more often it follows directly after the reward move. The second most typical place is after the subscriber's name, often starting with "*N.B*" in that case.

7.2.7 Move: Instructions to other papers

"*The Delaware Journal, Baltimore Sun and Centreville Times, insert the above three times and charge advertiser*."
(*Easton Gazette* (MD), Jan 1, 1848)

Another rare move with a very specific purpose is the move *Instructions to other papers*. The purpose of the move is to get editors of newspapers besides the one where the advertisement was originally placed to copy it in their own papers, and consequently spread the message of the advertisement to more people. In addition to the request to copy the advertisement, this move may also give directions as to how long the notice ought to run and how the paper can receive its advertising fees. The target audience of this move is very specific: the editors of other papers. As discussed in Chapter 3, newspaper editors were connected to one another via their extensive newspaper exchanges, and communication between editors happened on the pages

of the newspaper, so spreading an advertisement to different papers could be done in this manner.

The move *Instructions to other papers* is quite rare in my data overall, as only 94 of the 2603 notices, or 3.6%, have this move. Table 11 shows when and where the move can be found (occurrences are bolded).

Table 11. Occurrences of the move *Instructions to other papers*

	1700–1789	**1790–1809**	**1810–1829**	**1830–1849**	**1850–1865**	
MA	0%					0%
	0/39					0/39
CN	0%	0%	0%	0%		0%
	0/46	0/23	0/11	0/2		0/82
NY	0%	0%	0%			0%
	0/137	0%	0/13			0/210
PA	0%	0%	12.5%	100%		0.5%
	0/151	0/31	**1/8**	0/3		1/193
MD	0%	0%	11.7%	6.1%	0%	3.7%
	0/76	0/100	**11/94**	**3/49**	0/61	14/380
VA	0%	0%	13.0%	6.7%	8.8%	5.1%
	0/127	0/95	**13/100**	**5/75**	**5/57**	23/454
SC	0%	1.0%	6.0%	18.1%	5.5%	2.7%
	0/224	**1/100**	**6/100**	**5/76**	**3/62**	15/562
GA	0%	0%	6.0%	18.1%	5.5%	6.0%
	0/41	0/100	**6/100**	**13/72**	**3/55**	22/368
TN		0%	23.1%	0%	0%	8.1%
		0/9	**3/13**	0/8	0/7	3/37
LA		0%	0%	4.8%	0%	1.8%
		0/3	0/40	**3/62**	0/66	3/171
MS			6.5%	37.5%	66.7%	14.0%
			3/46	**3/8**	**2/3**	8/57
TX				7.1%	13.6%	10.0%
				2/28	**3/22**	5/50
	0%	0.2%	8.2%	8.9%	4.8%	3.6%
	0/841	1/521	43/525	34/383	16/333	94/2603

As there are no occurrences of the move in the earlier decades, I combined them into one column to streamline Table 11. As for the various areas, no notices from Massachusetts, Connecticut or New York have this move. The earliest occurrence in my data comes from a South Carolina advertisement in 1802.[78] In the 19th century, it was used with some frequency (but with a slight drop in its popularity in the final decade and a half). With the number of newspapers increasing and spreading to new areas in the American West, it was probably not very feasible to deliver an advertisement to all the newspapers separately, so using this move was a good way to ensure that the advertisement spread to various papers.

The most bare-bones example of the move *Instructions to other papers* in my data is found in a runaway notice in the *Alexandria Gazette* (VA) (Jan 1, 1845) that ends with "[Leesburg Washingtonian – 3t]". I interpret this to mean a request to the *Leesburg Washingtonian* to copy the advertisement three times. Not much wordier, but at least containing a verb are examples such as "☞ Constitutionalist copy." or "☞ Enquirer copy as above."

Most of the occurrences of the move go into slightly more detail, as seen in examples (66)–(68).

(66) ☞ The Editors of the *Winyah Intelligencer*, and *Fayetteville Observer*, will insert the above in their respective papers for two months, and forward their accounts to the editor of the *Camden Journal*, for payment. (*Charleston Courier* (SC), Jul 1, 1829)

(67) ☞ The Augusta and Savannah papers are requested to insert the above three or four times. (*Augusta Chronicle* , Jul 1, 1822)

(68) ☞The Editor of the Baltimore Patriot will please publish the above until countermanded, and send the account to me for payment. R.W.B. (*Baltimore Patriot* (MD), 1821)

The verb phrases found in the move are *copy, publish, insert* and *give (x) insertions.* As the examples I have so far presented show, there is also variation in how politely the request is presented. Straightforward imperatives like in the shortest examples occur rarely. More typically, the request is expressed with the modal auxiliary *will* (as happens in examples (66) and (68)). Example (67) is one of the 14 (out of 94)

78 Based on a search for "please copy" and "insert" in the advertisements of *America's Historical Newspapers*, it seems that the first advertisements/notices of any kind to request copying into multiple papers appear in the 1790s.

instances of the move that *request*[79] that the advertisement be copied to other papers, and example (68) is one of the 24 instances of the move that also includes the word *please*.

As can also be seen from examples (66)–(68), the move usually also indicates how many times or how long the advertisement should run in the paper. Another piece of information is how the other paper will be able to collect the money for the advertisement. While some advertisers ask for the bill to be sent to them personally, as happens in example (68), the more typical choice is to ask them to send it to the paper originally posting the advertisement (as happens in example (66)). For the newspapers asked to copy the advertisement, doing so before receiving payment might have been something of a gamble, as they had to trust that the far-away advertiser would eventually pay the advertising bill, so the other paper acting as an intermediator may have been seen as a more reliable option. As seen in example (69), some advertisers who did not direct the money through the newspaper office added the promise that the payments would be made "immediately", perhaps to convince the other papers to take the risk.

(69) The Maryland Gazette of Annapolis, the Maryland Republican of do. the Federal Gazette and Patriot of Baltimore, and the papers at Elkton and Easton, are required to insert the above advertisement till forbidden, and forward their accounts to the post office at Friendship, Md. and their claims will be immediately remitted. H. C. (*Easton Gazette* (MD), Jul 7, 1821)

On the other hand, example (70) shows that there might have been a risk the other way around, too: the other papers billing for an advertisement they never published. At least in this case, the papers where the advertisement is published are asked to be sent in alongside the bills.

(70) The Editors of the Alabama Republican, Knoxville Register, Nashville Whig and Arkansas Gazette will give the above three insertions and forward their bills to the Office of the Blakely Sun, together with the papers containing the advertisement, for payment. (*Mississippi State Gazette*, Jul 7, 1821)

One question that concerns this move in particular is who should be interpreted as being behind the move: the advertiser or the editor of the newspaper. In some of the notices it is clearly the advertiser speaking, as they can refer to themselves in the first person or sign this move with their initials (see examples (68) and (69)). However, the bills are directed to be sent "to this office" in over one third of the

[79] One actually "acquests" it, which I assume to be a mistake.

cases, a wording that seems more logical as used by the editors of the paper rather than the advertiser. Likewise, the extremely short instructions first discussed also sound more characteristic of editor-to-editor messaging. Whether worded by the advertiser or the editor, the request must nevertheless have originated from the advertiser.

Example (71) is one of the instances of the move that directs payment "to this office". I have collected this example from the *Augusta Chronicle*, one of the papers which has been asked to copy the notice.

(71) ☞ The Editors of the *Savannah Georgian, Augusta Chronicle, Milledgeville Recorder, Columbia State Gazette*, and *Chronicle,* Camden, will publish the above twice a week for two weeks and forward their bills to this office for payment. —*Chas. Cour*. (*Augusta Chronicle,* Jan 4, 1826)

The *Augusta Chronicle* have added the attribution "—*Chas. Cour.*" to the end, to keep the reference to "this office" the same.

Instructions to other papers is a move that does not concern most readers of the newspaper. It is, unsurprisingly, placed at the very end of the advertisement, in its own paragraph. Most of the instances of *Instructions to other papers* in my corpus are also preceded by a manicule. While it is sometimes used to draw attention to other pieces of information in the notices, it seems to be the marking of choice to draw the attention of the editors. This move does not provide readers information about runaway slaves, but, instead shows some of the workings of the interconnected web of newspapers that spread these notices to larger and larger audiences.

7.2.8 Move: Informing people of unrelated matters

"*A large Quantity of very good Bricks are to be disposed of at that Plantation or deliver'd in town*" (*South Carolina Gazette*, Jul 1, 1745)

Sometimes the runaway notice includes additional messages which have very little to do with the capturing of a missing slave. Instead, they are better described as a secondary advertisement on a different topic, added on to the runaway notice. I have classified these as the move *Informing people of unrelated matters.* Although their purpose is not linked to capturing the runaway, they are still placed in the same advertisement, and therefore need to be briefly explored when discussing the flexibility of the runaway slave advertisement genre.

Whenever this move was included, its motivation was probably for the advertiser to "get two advertisements at the price of one". A slaveholder placing a notice for a runaway would include a short sentence or two at the end on some other matter that they wished to inform the public on (and something that they might not have bothered to advertise for separately), probably at no extra cost.

The move *Informing people of unrelated matters* occurs only 18 times in my corpus, or in about 0.7% of the notices. Since the numbers are so minimal, I have not presented them in a separate table. The few examples that are to be found in my corpus are all found in the 18th-century advertisements. I suspect this might be linked with the growth in the number of newspaper advertisements in general. While the readers of the early papers could be expected to skim through all the advertisements in a paper, thus catching, for instance, a sales notice added to the end of a runaway notice, as the number of advertisements grew, such small "off-topic" additions would be more easily missed by readers, rendering them less useful.

Examples (72) and (73) show two runaway advertisements that include the runaway notices with the move *Informing people of unrelated matters* added to the end of the notice.

(72) Five Dollars Reward
Will be given to any person who will apprehend and bring to the subscriber, no. 75 Wall street, a certain mulatto woman named SUKEY, or SUKE, belonging to the estate of the late Wm. Mooney, deceased, aged between 25 and 30 years. She is a very stout, fat wench, is well known in this city, and formerly belonged to Mr. Winchop, butcher. She had leave of absence during the late fever, on promise of returning, and as she has not returned according to promise, the above reward will be given for her apprehension and delivery as above. All persons are forwarned not to harbour, conceal or hire said wench at their peril.
MARY MOONEY.
N. B. The subscriber has an excellent Billiard Table that she wishes to hire out ; likewise an upper room, fureished[*sic*] or unfurnished, with a stove in the same, having no fire place, no. 75 Wall street. Jan 1 tf
(*Daily Advertiser* (NY), Jan 1, 1799)

(73) RUN AWAY the 2d of December,
inst. a sturdy negro wench named MOLLY, has a scar
or bump upon her upper lip, somewhat blear ey'd, speaks very
thick but fluently ; had on a white negro cloth jacket and coat,
shoes and stockings, and has taken a blanket with her. Who-
ever apprehends the said wench, and delivers her to me, or to
the warden of the work-house, shall receive Fifty Shillings ; and
whoever will give information of her being harboured or em-
ployed, so that the offender may be brought to justice, shall
receive Ten Pounds reward : And as I have reason to think, she
will not scruple to disguise herself as a man, in order to get on
board some vessel ; all masters of outward bound vessels, as well
as coasters, are hereby cautioned against receiving said wench
on board their vessels, on any pretence whatsoever.
WILLIAM GOWDEY.
Who has to sell, a negro fellow, that has been used a boat, and a handy girl, fit to attend about a house or on children.
(*South Carolina Gazette*, Jan 7, 1764)

As can be seen from examples (72) and (73), the move consists of a short text that alone can be considered an advertisement of a different genre. Example (72) offers a billiards table and an upper room for hire, whereas example (73) contains a for-sale notice for some other enslaved person. Various types of for-sale notices are the most common instance of this move in my data with people, horses, bricks, land, etc. being offered to interested buyers. Other instances of the move include people looking to hire overseers and buy books, searching for a lost canoe, and asking for the public to settle their accounts with them.

The move *Informing people of unrelated matters* is typically found towards the end of the advertisement. It is most often found as a separate paragraph after the name of the subscriber (as in examples (72) and (73)), or in a few cases immediately before the name of the advertiser. In any case, it is set apart from the main body text of the runaway notice.

As this move deals with a variety of different matters, there is little sense in investigating the linguistic features of the move in detail. One thing that can, however, be noted is that the move often contains phrases that refer back to the rest of the notice. This means that while the matter discussed in the move might be quite separate from the escape of a slave, these moves would often not be able to function entirely separately as "mini-notices". For example, many of the instances of this move are in the form of a relative clause that has the subscriber's name as the referent, such as "Who will give good encouragement to an overseer (properly recommended) that understands the making of good Indico" (*South Carolina*

Gazette, Jan 6, 1757), as well as example (73). In the rest of the cases, this move consists of a complete sentence or several sentences. Even then, they may contain expressions such as "Said James Macky" or "at that Plantation" which refer back to the main body of the advertisement.

Finally, my materials also contain one example where the runaway notice itself forms such an addition to an advertisement of a different genre. Example (74) is, for the most part, a lengthy notice informing the public of an auction sale of a deceased person's estate, including some enslaved people.

(74) *PUrsuant the last will and testament of* William Miller*, late of* Charlestown*, carpenter deceased, will be sold to the highest bidder, on Thursday the 11th day of February, at his late Dwelling-house on White Point, the following real and personal Estate of said deceased viz.*
A Tract of 1000 acres of Land, distant about 9 miles from Rogers's *tavern in St. Mark's parish,* […]
Also a small tract of 275 acres of land at Cainhoy, in St. Thomas's parish, butting northwardly on land of […]
Also a Lot of Land on White-Point, the west side of Broughton's battery, […]
Also sundry articles of houshold furniture, among which are on eight day clock in a mahogany case, […]
Also twelve Negroes, of which five are carpenters, a young waiting man, a young fellow fit for the field, or other common labour, an old fellow with his wife , both of them tolerable cooks the latter can also spin and wash very well, and a young wench cook, washer and ironer, with her two children, the one a girl of 6 years old, the other a boy under 12 months ; likewise a milch cow, two wagon horses, a horse cart, a chest of carpenters tools, a canoe 25 feet long and 4 wide, with eight head of cows, calves and yearlings […]
Josiah Smith, jun. } Executors.
Edward Darrell
P. S. One of the carpenter negroes, a young fellow named LONDON, having absconded about two months since, a reward of Twenty Dollars will be paid, for delivering him to the Warden of the Workhouse, or double that sum to such person as shall inform where or by whom he is harboured, to be paid on conviction of the offender.
(*Gazette of the State of South Carolina*, Jan 20, 1779)

At the end of the lengthy auction sale notice is a post-script, which functions as a runaway slave advertisement, referring to one of the people who is to be subjected to the auction. The post-script has the necessary elements of a runaway notice: a brief description of the runaway, an announcement of his escape and a promise of reward (which, in typical South Carolina fashion, includes a reward for information to convict harborers of the runaway). It is, however, still linked to the preceding advertisement, as that one contains the name of the people behind the notice as well as an indication of where the person has escaped from.

7.2.9 Move: Subscriber

"J.P.W. RICHARDSON, Adm'r
of A. ROSS, dec'd."
(*Easton Gazette* (MD), Jan 3, 1824)

Most of the runaway slave notices end with the name of the person placing the advertisement, visually set apart from the rest of the text, similarly to signatures in letters. Although very often consisting only of the name of the person, it is still an important part of the runaway advertisement and warrants some examination. The *Subscriber* move identifies the person or persons behind the advertisement. Unless otherwise stated in the notice, it was probably assumed that the subscriber is also the individual from whom the runaway has escaped, the person who will be responsible for paying the reward, and to whom the escapee should be returned. Typically, the advertisers also regularly refer to themselves as "the Subscriber" throughout the advertisement, only revealing their name in the *Subscriber* move.

I have taken as a defining criterion of the *Subscriber* move that it must be somehow visually set apart from the rest of the advertisement (not just being the last words of the last sentence). While the name of the subscriber is the main content of this move, it can also include some further details, most often information on the status of the subscriber or where they are to be found.

My materials contain 2,348 advertisements with a *Subscriber* move, meaning that it is present in 90.4% of the notices and a prototypical part of the genre. Table 12 details the times and places when this move occurs. The times and areas with the lowest percentages (under 80%) are highlighted in red.

Table 12. Occurrences of the move *Subscriber*.

	1700–1729	1730–1749	1750–1769	1770–1789	1790–1809	1810–1829	1830–1849	1850–1865	
MA	0% 0/5	16.7% 1/6	53.3% 8/15	84.6% 11/13					51.3% 20/39
CN			100% 8/8	97.4% 37/38	100% 23/23	81.8% 9/11	100% 2/2		96.3% 79/82
NY		100% 9/9	70.0% 49/70	84.5% 49/58	68.0% 41/60	69.0% 9/13			74.8% 157/210
PA	37.4% 3/8	90.5% 19/21	84.7% 50/59	90.5% 57/63	96.8% 30/31	87.5% 7/8	100% 3/3		87.6% 169/193
MD	100% 1/1	100% 1/1	100% 8/8	98.5% 65/66	96.0% 96/100	98.9% 93/94	98.0% 48/49	88.5% 54/61	96.3% 366/380
VA		100% 2/2	100% 40/40	99.8% 84/85	100% 95/95	99.0% 99/100	94.7% 71/75	96.5% 55/57	98.5% 446/454
SC		74.1% 43/58	93.8% 90/96	95.7% 67/70	90.0% 90/100	90.0% 90/100	75.0% 57/76	64.5% 40/62	84.9% 477/562
GA			95.7% 22/23	100% 18/18	98.0% 98/100	97.0% 97/100	100% 72/72	98.2% 54/55	98.1% 361/368
TN					100% 9/9	100% 13/13	100% 8/8	100% 7/7	100% 37/37
LA					66.7% 2/3	85.0% 34/40	82.3% 51/62	86.4% 57/66	84.2% 144/171
MS						100% 46/46	87.5% 7/8	100% 3/3	98.2% 56/57
TX							100% 28/28	95.5% 21/22	98.0% 49/50
	28.6% 4/14	77.3% 75/97	86.2% 275/319	94.4% 388/411	92.9% 484/521	94.7% 497/525	90.6% 347/383	87.4% 291/333	90.7% 1361/2603

As can be seen from Table 12, there are only a few areas and time periods when adding the name of the subscriber to the end of the notice was not the norm. The most noticeable of these is Massachusetts, where the early notices rarely contain this move. The cases without a subscriber move will be discussed later in this section.

The advertisements that do contain the *Subscriber* move can be roughly divided into two types. In one, the *Subscriber* move is its own separate unit at the end of the notice (as seen in example (75)); in the other, it is syntactically part of the last sentence of the advertisement (as seen in example (76)). I will refer to these as the independent and the embedded type.

(75) Twenty dollars specie will be paid for the delivery of either of the above negroes to the Warden of the Work-house in Savannah, or to the subscriber at Little Ogechee.

Ja^{S}. Cochran.

(*Georgia Gazette*, Oct 23, 1788)

(76) Whoever will take up and secure said negro in any gaol, so that I may get him again, shall receive the above reward, and reasonable charges if brought home, paid by

WILLIAM DAVIS, jun.

(*Maryland Gazette*, May 19, 1785)

In example (75), the *Subscriber* move is easy to categorize as a separate element of the runaway notice. Cases such as example (76) are somewhat more problematic, since in this instance the name of the advertiser is set apart from the rest of the text similarly to example (75), but at the same time it is a part of the *Promising a reward* move.

The independent *Subscriber* move is the more common option, used in approximately 69% of the notices, whereas the embedded variant can be found in about 21% of them. Table 13 shows where and when the rarer of the two, the embedded *Subscriber* move, was mostly used, with percentages of 50% and over highlighted in green.

Table 13. Occurrences of the embedded *Subscriber* move.

	1700–1729	1730–1749	1750–1769	1770–1789	1790–1809	1810–1829	1830–1849	1850–1865	
MA	0,0 % 0/5	16.6% 1/6	26.7% 4/15	46.2% 6/13					28.2% 11/39
CN			75,0 % 6/8	71.1% 27/38	34.8% 8/23	0,0 % 0/11	0,0 % 0/2		50.0% 41/82
NY		88,9 % 8/9	65,7 % 46/70	43,1 % 25/58	16,7 % 10/60	7,7 % 1/13			42.9% 90/210
PA	37,5 % 3/8	85,7 % 18/21	76,3 % 45/59	55,6 % 35/63	38,7 % 12/31	0,0 % 0/8	0,0 % 0/3		58.5% 113/193
MD	100 % 1/1	100 % 1/1	50,0 % 4/8	62,1 % 41/66	31,0 % 31/100	8,5 % 8/94	4,1 % 2/49	3,3 % 2/61	23.7% 90/380
VA		100 % 2/2	15,0 % 6/40	15,3 % 13/85	1,1 % 1/95	3,0 % 3/100	1,3 % 1/75	3,5 % 2/57	6.2% 28/454
SC		37,9 % 22/58	34,4 % 33/96	18,6 % 13/70	11,0 % 11/100	8,0 % 8/100	10,5 % 8/76	17,7 % 11/62	18.9% 106/562
GA			30,4 % 7/23	27,8 % 5/18	10,0 % 19/100	9,0 % 9/100	1,4 % 1/72	1,8 % 1/55	9.0% 33/368
TN					22,2 % 2/9	0,0 % 0/13	0,0 % 0/8	14,3 % 1/7	8.1% 3/37
LA					33,3 % 1/3	2,5 % 1/40	19,4 % 12/62	24,2 % 16/66	17.5% 30/171
MS						2,2 % 1/46	0,0 % 0/8	33,3 % 1/3	3.5% 2/57
TX							3,6 % 1/28	4,5 % 1/22	4.0% 2/50
	28,6 % 4/14	53,6 % 52/97	47,3 % 151/319	40,1 % 165/411	16,5 % 86/521	5,9 % 31/525	6,5 % 25/383	10,5 % 35/333	21.1% 549/2603

As can be seen from Table 13, the embedded *Subscriber* move is more common in the 18th century. Advertisements from certain areas favor this version of the move, in particular Pennsylvania, Connecticut, New York and Maryland. Examining Table 12 and Table 13 together, we can also see for instance that Virginia adopts an independent *Subscriber* move from the start and uses it consistently throughout the

years, whereas the neighboring Maryland has more variance between the use of the independent and embedded versions depending on the time period.

As the *Subscriber* move typically only consists of the name of the advertiser, it does not allow for much linguistic description. What can be said is that the move usually contains both the first and last name of the advertiser or advertisers, with the first name sometimes abbreviated ("ALEX.", "JNO.", "BENJ.", etc.). In cases where the advertisement is placed by a business partnership, the advertisement is often signed only by the last names of the partners (e.g. "DOUGLAS and ROE", "O'Neal & Bird"). The advertisements sometimes have two (or even three) names in the subscriber move. Occasionally, there are also indications that one person has placed the notice in the paper on another one's behalf, e.g. "J. C. CALHOUN, per F. M. ADAMS".

The name of the subscriber can be followed by some definition of their position. Some examples include: "WM. P. WELHAM, Manager of Magnolia Grove Estate", "J. ROUSSEAU, cabinet maker", "CHARLES WICKLIFF, Administrator", "ISAAC MINIS, qual. ex'or", "MANSELL J. SMITH, Overseer of the Public Hands". Some of these were probably added to clarify why the person was placing the advertisement (for instance, the people identified as the executors of a deceased person's estate), while some, such as the "cabinet maker", may be included to make the identity of the advertiser clearer.

Another piece of information sometimes found at the end of the *Subscriber* move is the location where the advertiser lives. If it is not expressed elsewhere in the notice, such information is needed for people who would want to contact the person after capturing the advertised-for runaway. Examples include: "Kathrin Kerr, living in the Green-Dragon House", "HUGH SHERWOOD, of Huntington", "MICHAEL FLECK, Richmond county, near Spirit creek", "RUTH NORWOOD, Residing on the road to Bell-Air, four miles from the city of Baltimore" and "JOHN HEINE, 215 Tchoupitoulas street". In the 19th century, people in larger cities might give a specific street address (as seen in the last example), whereas others often relied on more general directions.

The embedded *Subscriber* move is most often embedded into the *Promising a reward* move. The connection is formed by a variety of phrases, including "paid by", "on application to", "delivered to", and "from". These place the *Subscriber* move in a position where it identifies either the person paying the reward, the one the runaway should be handed over to, or the one who should be contacted for the reward. In later advertisements, the *Subscriber* move is also sometimes introduced by "Address".[80]

[80] I assume this should be interpreted as "Please address this person for the reward", although it might also be seen as "Here is my address", especially if the name of the subscriber is followed by where they live.

In some cases, the *Subscriber* move is also embedded into the *Discouraging unwanted actions* move (e.g. "*Any person employing her, will be sued by* William Cripps.").

As mentioned earlier, while the move is a very typical part of the runaway notice, it is not present in all of them. There are several different types of advertisements that omit this move. Example (77) is typical of early 18th-century advertisements in Massachusetts.

(77) R*AN away from his Master Mr.* James Adams
of Boston *Blockmaker, on the 26th of Nov.*
last, a Negro Boy named Cicero*, about 17*
Years old, spare and thin, of a tawney Complection,
and has a Scar in his Lip, speaks good English ;
had on a double breasted Jacket with white, mettle
Buttons, a Cotton and Linnen Shirt, Leather Bree-
ches, short Trouzers, yarn Stockings, and old Shoes.
Whoever shall take up the said Runaway, and him
safely convey to his said Master in Boston, shall have
Ten Pounds *Reward, Old Tenor, and all necessary*
Charges paid. All Masters of Vessels are cautioned
against carrying off the said Servant, on the Penalty
of the Law.
(*Boston Gazette*, Jan 4, 1743)

In cases like example (77), the identity of the advertiser is revealed already in the *Announcing the escape* move, and it is not added to the end of the advertisement. It is, however, also possible that the advertiser is kept anonymous. The *Charleston Courier* in the 19th-century, in particular, has several advertisements that end with "Apply at this office", leaving the name of the person seeking the runaway unstated. Also, as happens for instance in (78), some advertisers prefer to direct people to a street address, without specifying who lives there.

(78) TEN DOLLARS REWARD WILL BE
paid for the arrest and imprisonment in the Charles-
ton Work House of PETER ASHE. He is a dark mulat-
to, of medium height, about forty years of age. He has
been employed in various capacities in the city, and has
frequently acted as Cook aboard of vessels, in which latter
employment he has repeatedly served the U. S. Coast Sur-
vey. Apply to 73 Broad-street.
December 15 tuf
(*Charleston Courier*, Jan 1, 1858)

The absence of a clearly marked *Subscriber* move also means that when several people are named as possible contacts (as often happens), the advertisement does not place any one of them as being the primary person behind the advertisement. This happens for instance in example (79).

(79) 20 DOLLARS REWARD.
ABSCONDED from the Bayou
La Fourche, about the 15th of
the month, a MULATTO who calls
himself JOHN DARBY, aged 30
years, about 5 feet 10 inches high,
walks slow and at first appearance
would be supposed to be lame ; he
speaks French and English and looks
down when spoken to. The above
reward will be given for delivering
him either to Mr. Henry Brown, on
the Fourche or to Mr. Wm. Brown,
the collector of this port.
(*Orleans Gazette and Commercial Advertiser*, Jul 13, 1807)

This example comes from a bilingual paper, and the French version of the advertisement (located in the French half of the same paper) interestingly seems to differentiate between the two possible contact persons by typographical means. In it, "Henri Brown" is written in capitals and italicized, whereas "William Brown" is just in capitals, which might indicate Henri is the person placing the notice.

The mention of multiple contact persons does not automatically mean that a *Subscriber* move is not present. Example (80) has a clearly marked subscriber, even if an alternative contact is named after it.

(80) … any Goal so that he may
be got again, shall receive the above reward
and all reasonable charges.
WILLIAM EDGAR, Junr.
Or application may be made to P.W. Gal-
laudet, Hartford.
(*Connecticut Courant*, Jul 6, 1803)

One thing to keep in mind when examining the *Subscriber* move is that the printer was mostly in control of the layout. Therefore, in cases where the name of the subscriber is at the same time part of the final sentence, it was the printer's choice whether or not it was spaced apart from the rest of the text.

7.2.10 Move: Date and place

"Bay Side, Talbot county, Dec. 3, 1792."
(*Maryland Herald and Eastern Shore Intelligencer*, Jan 7, 1794)

Another simple move found in the notices is the mention of the date and place where the advertisement was written, much in the same way as in letters. This move is placed either at the beginning of the notice (when it was typically aligned to the right), or at the end of the notice. This move is present in approximately one fourth of the notices; the detailed numbers can be seen in Table 14. The times and areas where the move is present in 20% of the notices or over are highlighted in green. Table 14 only includes cases where both the place and the date of writing are mentioned. Most advertisements do include a date at the end, but in such instances, it is often hard to determine whether it is the date of publication (provided by the editor of the paper) or the date the advertisement was written (provided by the advertiser). In the case of the person placing the notice delivering it to the newspaper on the same day, these two might naturally be one and the same. So, although only 24.8% of the notices include both date and place, most advertisements do have a date.

There are rather marked differences in the popularity of this move, with Connecticut and Mississippi advertisers in particular including the move in their notices, whereas South Carolina and Louisiana have very low percentages. I speculate that the differences may at least partly be due to whether the advertisements in a particular place's paper were mostly local or from farther away. When sending their advertisement to a paper published in a distant town, the advertiser might be more inclined to add a date and place, whereas someone placing a notice in the local paper of the town they lived in might be less likely to do so. It should also be remembered that the *Subscriber* move sometimes contained, in addition to the name of the person, the location where they lived. If that information is mentioned there, the advertiser might see no need to express it in the *Date and place* move as well.

Table 14. Occurrences of the move *Date and place*.

	1700–1729	1730–1749	1750–1769	1770–1789	1790–1809	1810–1829	1830–1849	1850–1865	
MA	20.0% 1/5	0% 0/6	26.7% 4/15	61.5% 8/13					33.3% 13/39
CN			50% 4/8	81.6% 31/38	91.3% 21/23	18.2% 2/11	100% 2/2		73.2% 60/82
NY		11.1% 1/9	7.1% 5/70	34.5% 20/58	10.0% 6/60	7.7% 1/13			15.7% 33/210
PA	12.5% 1/8	57.1% 12/21	22.0% 13/59	25.4% 16/63	41.9% 13/31	37.5% 3/8	0% 0/3		30.1% 58/193
MD	0% 0/1	0% 0/1	12.5% 1/8	48.5% 32/66	37.0% 37/100	21.3% 20/94	22.4% 11/49	8.2% 5/61	27.9% 106/380
VA		0% 0/2	32.5% 13/40	37.6% 32/85	50.5% 48/95	30.0% 30/100	34.7% 26/75	17.5% 10/57	35.0% 159/454
SC		0% 0/58	5.2% 5/96	21.4% 15/70	10.0% 10/100	6.0% 6/100	7.9% 6/76	6.5% 4/62	8.2% 46/562
GA			21.7% 5/23	50.0% 9/18	35.0% 35/100	16.0% 16/100	31.9% 23/72	20.0% 11/55	26.9% 99/368
TN					11.1% 1/9	23.1% 3/13	37.5% 3/8	14.3% 1/7	21.6% 8/37
LA					33.3% 1/3	5.0% 2/40	6.5% 4/62	3.0% 2/66	5.3% 9/171
MS						69.6% 32/46	25.0% 2/8	66.7% 2/3	63.2% 36/57
TX							32.1% 9/28	40.9% 9/22	36.0% 18/50
	14.3% 2/14	13.4% 13/97	15.7% 50/319	39.7% 163/411	33.0% 172/521	21.9% 115/525	22.5% 86/383	13.2% 44/333	24.8% 645/2603

Examples of this move and the two typical placements for it can be seen in (81) and (82):

(81) **WILLIAMSBURG, January 7, 1780.**
RUN away from the subscriber, a likely well made
negro fellow named HARRY, about 35 years
old. He lived last year at Mocox island, near Barrett's

ferry, in James City county and is probably lurking
in that neighbourhood, or about this city. I will
give ONE HUNDRED DOLLARS to any person
who will deliver him to the subscriber.
(II) BURWELL STARKE.
(*Virginia Gazette* 1, Jan 8, 1780)

(82) 50 DOLLARS REWARD!
RANAWAY on the 25th of March last, my Negro Man
BILL HORTON. He is about 23 years of age; five feet
nine or ten inches high, weigh about 160 pounds, is yellow
complected, and has a bushy head of hair. He is a boy of
some smartness, and was dressed in plain homespun clothes
and broad-brimmed country-made wool hat. The above re-
ward will be paid for his apprehension and confinement, so
that I get him : or, if delivered to me, all necessary expenses
will be paid in addition to the above.
JOHN WEBB.
P.S. —His wife was carried to Randolph county last winter,
and he may attempt to follow her.
Newton Factory, Ga., June 3d, 1861. j 6-wtf
(*Augusta Chronicle* (GA), Jul 2, 1861)

Placement of this move at the end of the notice (as happens in (82)) is the more common alternative, covering about 81% of the instances of this move. The instances where the move is placed at the beginning of the notice mostly come from the 18th century.

7.2.11 Move: Editorial markings

As the final move, I will briefly discuss the sometimes cryptic abbreviations and numbers appearing often in smaller type at the very end of the notice. I have named these *Editorial markings*. They are, as far as I understand, notations made by the editors to the advertisements and aimed specifically at the editors themselves, so that they can keep track of how long an advertisement has run and whether it should still be republished. That is, for all the other readers of the newspaper, these markings are usually of no real interest. One exception may be that, in cases where the advertiser does not include the *Date and place* move, the editor's marking of the first date of publication may serve as a useful reference point. As was mentioned in the previous

section, when there is a date at the end of the advertisement, it can sometimes be impossible to tell whether it is placed there by the advertiser at the time of writing or whether the editors have put it there to signal the first date of publication. However, sometimes the dates are in an unusually abbreviated format (e.g. "d5" for December 5) that seem most likely to originate from the printers/editors.

In addition to the first date of publication, the *Editorial markings* move often includes a variety of other abbreviations and numbers the printers used to keep track of the advertisements in the paper. The conventions vary greatly from one paper to the next. A pair of numbers, such as "36 39", may signify the issue numbers the advertisement should be put in (as happens in issues of the *New-York Journal* in 1772). The *City Gazette* (SC) uses notations such as *mwf* or *stuth* to indicate which days of the week the advertisement should run, sometimes in connection with a number, like *stuth9* (which, as far as I am able to decipher it, signals that the advertisement should be inserted Saturdays, Tuesdays and Thursdays, nine times in total). The *Baltimore Gazette and Daily Advertiser* (MD) has abbreviations like *je 25-eo4t* (every other day, four times, with June 25th being the first) or *je 30-d4t* (daily four times). The Maryland *Torch Light* has examples such as *36 3w* (three weeks, starting from issue 36), the *Federal Gazette* (MD) uses *d6t-eo9t* (daily six times, then every other day 9 times). A commonly found abbreviation in many papers is *tf*, meaning the advertisement is to be inserted "till forbid", or, *wtf,* "weekly till forbid".

It is possible that some advertisers were familiar with the abbreviations used and may have included for instance *tf* at the end of their notices themselves. I find it more probable that the information on how long the advertisement should run may have been conveyed to the editors in some other manner (as was done when these instructions were conveyed in the move *Instructions to other papers*) and these were then translated into the shorthand abbreviations by the editors for their own convenience.[81] Example (82) in the previous section also contains *Editorial markings* at the end of the notice. As can be seen, the initial publication of the advertisement (signaled by "j 6", i.e., June 6th) is three days later than when the advertisement was written.

[81] Also, this notice in the *Alexandria Gazette* regarding advertising rates indicates that sometimes advertisers did not remember to specify how long an advertisement should run: "Advertisements inserted three times for one dollar per Square, and twenty-five cents per square for each insertion afterwards. Those sent without a specification of the number of insertions, will be published until ordered out, and charged accordingly" (*Alexandria Gazette*, Jan 13, 1825). In such cases in particular, it would be important for the printer of the paper to keep track of how long the advertisement had been running.

7.2.12 Move analysis: summary and problem cases

In the preceding sections, I have presented a move analysis of the runaway slave advertisement. Below, I summarize how large a percentage of the advertisements in my corpus contain the various moves:

1) *Announcing the escape*	96.0%
2) Describing the runaway	100%
3) Promising a reward	99.6%
4) Speculating on the whereabouts	38.5%
5) Discouraging unwanted actions	21.0%
6) Addressing the runaway	1.8%
7) Instructions to other papers	3.6%
8) Informing people of unrelated matters	0.7%
9) Subscriber	90.4%
10) Date and place	24.8%
11) Editorial markings[82]	-

As the percentages show, the moves *Announcing the escape, Describing the runaway, Promising a reward* and *Subscriber* are all part of the prototypical runaway notice, whereas the rest are more optional and some very rare. The eleven moves that I have described in the analysis so far are ones that I saw as having clearly definable purposes, and were also ones that occurred with such frequency that including them in a description of the genre seemed sensible. Although with the help of these eleven moves, most runaway slave advertisements can be described quite satisfactorily, there are still some elements that do not easily fit in those categories. I will now move on to discuss some of these cases.

There are some advertisements where an element has a clear separate purpose, but of which there are so few occurrences that the creation of a separate move category does not make sense. One such case is offering the runaway for sale while they are still on the run, as seen in example (83).

(83) [IMAGE] ONE HUNDRED DOLLARS REWARD. —Ran away from the subscriber on the 15th inst., a negro woman named BETSY, aged about 35 years, medium size, long nose, pop eyes, upper front teeth out except one ; answers quick when spoken to. The

[82] I have not provided a percentage for the move *Editorial markings*, but I would estimate that well over half of the advertisements have some of these notations made by the printers/editors.

above reward will be paid for her apprehension or any information that will lead to it.
The above mentioned woman I will sell running, at below price, together with her three children.
CHAS. PRIDE, 301 Magazine st.
my16—tf or corner of Camp and Bartholomew st.
(*Times-Picayune* (LA), Jan 1, 1852)

This move has a clearly separate purpose from any others in the genre, that is, resolving the issue not by recapturing the runaway, but by selling them to somebody else. However, as this happens in only four advertisements in my data, creating a separate move for it seems excessive. In a way, it is similar to the *Informing people of unrelated matters* move, which can also include offers of sale. The crucial difference is that, unlike the instances I have included in that move, cases like the for-sale offer in example (83) are much more closely related to the purpose of the advertisement as a whole.

Example (84), which comes from a Civil War era Virginian paper, contains two sentences that also serve to illustrate the case of rare moves.

(84) RANAWAY from the 2d Division of Winder Hospital on the 15th of the present month, two negro men, named Nat and Dudley.
Nat was hired of N. Welsh, of the city of Richmond, is about 30 years of age, black, about 5 feet 8 or 9 inches high, with a scar under one eye.
Dudley was hired of Mr Allsop, of Pittsylvania county, Va, is about 30 years of age, dark copper color, about 5 feet 10 or 11 inches high.
A liberal reward will be paid for the apprehension of these negroes and their deliverance to me at Winder Hospital.
The owners of said negroes are hereby notified of their absence. The Provost Guard is also requested to use their endeavors to apprehend them.
A. G. JANE,
june 30 8t Chief Surgeon Winder Hospital.
(*Richmond Whig* (VA), Jul 1, 1862)

It is clear that the first bolded sentence has a distinct communicative purpose, which is further emphasized by the use of *hereby*: the advertiser notifies the people he had hired the slaves from that they have run away. This is, however, the only advertisement in my data to use the notice for this purpose.

The same notice also contains a request for the Provost Guard to apprehend the runaways. This leads to the somewhat larger issue of various requests occasionally

found in the runaway notices, that is, cases where the advertiser specifically requests the readers (or some particular group) to do something. I have already mentioned how some requests are closely related to the *Discouraging unwanted actions* move (see the end of section 7.2.5), as well as requests of a very specific kind, namely *Instructions to other papers*. However, there are other requests that also sometimes occur:

(85) If apprehended I wish him to be securely ironed, for he will get away if possible. (*Savannah Republican* (GA), Oct 9, 1813)

(86) If said Daniel be apprehended, I wish his free papers taken from him and preserved so that I can get possession of them.
(*Augusta Chronicle* (GA), Jan 4, 1847)

(87) … also, I request all persons who have the opportunity of reading this advertisement, that they would be kind enough to inform their Negroes of the discription and the reward
(*Georgia Journal,* Sep 28, 1814)

(88) I would request my customers that have been neglected by the new bread carrier, to have the goodness to inform me of the neglect, and they will be properly attended to.
(*Charleston Courier* (SC), Jan 1, 1858)

The issue with the various requests is that the actions that are requested vary so much that grouping them all under one move seems counterproductive. Several of these requests have to do with the treatment of the runaway after they are captured, as happens in (85) and (86), so I have dealt with these by including them in the *Promising a reward* move. Example (87) might also be grouped under that move, although it has an aim not usually found in the advertisements: a request for spreading awareness of the reward to other people (in this case the enslaved populace). On the other hand, requests such as the one found in example (88) about a runaway (who had served as a bread carrier) are not easily included in any of the already described moves.

As one final example to illustrate the ways in which advertisers may include unexpected elements in the notices, I present example (89), which is the start of one Massachusetts advertisement.

(89) TO all worthy *Brothers*
and other Generous *Commanders* of Ships or other Vessels sailing between the Poles, — as also to all the valorous Sons of Zebulon and others, *wherever dis-*

> *pers'd* upon the wide surface of old Ocean, or upon any Island or Main-land upon this habitable Globe, into whose Hands these may chance to fall : — ☛ Note well, —THAT on the 23d of May 1770, *SCIPIO,* a Negro Man near 23 Years old, Ran from the Subscriber, — He is five Feet …
> (*Boston News-Letter*, Jul 5, 1770)

Addressing the target audience of the notice does happen occasionally in some types of advertisements (e.g., commercial advertisements, see Gieszinger 2001: 243–244), but this is the only such occurrence in my data. In this case, the main function of this start is, due to its strikingly poetic style, most likely to provoke the curiosity of the reader. It is also very well illustrates the fact that some advertisers thought their message would be best received by deviating noticeably from the expected style.

The highlighting of these more problematic cases is not meant to convey the idea that runaway slave notices cannot be satisfactorily described by move analysis. Instead, I point out that the genre does allow for interesting variation and some advertisers might choose to include more unexpected elements in their notices, if it suited their needs. Also, if move analysis were to be conducted on an even larger corpus than the one in this study, it may be useful to create separate move categories for some of these rarer instances.

There are also two important aspects that could also potentially have been integrated into the move analysis, but which, to enable a more thorough exploration of them, are treated in section 7.3. Namely, this means the images found in some notices (closely linked to the *Announcing the escape* move) and the headlines of the notices, which have already been referred to in passing when discussing the *Promising a reward* move, but which may also contain elements that fall outside the move categories proposed here.

7.2.13 Moves and the length of the runaway notices

As already mentioned in Chapter 6, the average length of a runaway slave notice in my materials is approximately 133 words. Now that I have introduced the various moves that are found in the notices, I will go into more detail about the variation found in the lengths of the notices and what might lead to this variation. I have presented the data in two box plots, the first of which (Figure 5) shows the variation in the lengths of the notices through the different periods, and the second of which (Figure 6) shows the differences between the colonies/states under investigation. In both of the figures, the X marks the average (or mean) length of the notices, and the line inside the box marks the median length of the notices. On the whole, the median is slightly lower than the average. This is the result of some exceptionally long

notices (marked as circles on the charts) raising the average word count. In a box plot, approximately the middle 50% of the notices are situated inside the "box".

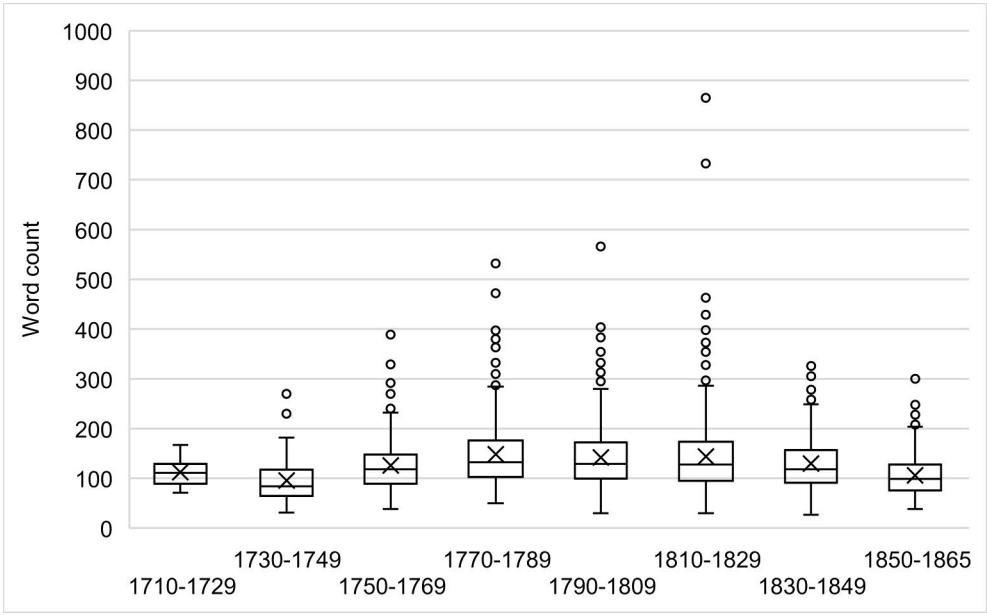


Figure 5. Length of the notices with regard to time.

Examining Figure 5, one can see some indication that the earliest decades of the 1700s had slightly shorter notices, and the average length of the notices peaks around the turn of the century, then declining towards the mid-19th century. This development may be linked to several factors. For instance, the earliest notices had no separate headlines (see 7.3.2), which add at least a few words to the length of later notices. In the move *Describing the runaway*, the description of clothing becomes less common as time goes on, and also the move *Discouraging unwanted actions* is less likely to be included in the last few decades compared to the late 18th and early 19th centuries. Also, the strategy of starting the advertisement with the *Promising a reward* move instead of the move *Announcing the escape* has the potential to present approximately the same information in fewer words. What cannot be so easily determined is whether these changes happened because the advertisers wanted to create shorter notices or whether the shorter notices were a result of these developments. As the cost of the notice was dependent on its length, it may well be that the pricing policies of newspapers also had an effect on how long the advertisers aimed their notices to be. I would assume that most would aim not to pass the length covered by the standard advertising fee (see 3.2 for discussion on how newspapers

defined the standard length of advertisements). Nevertheless, as can be seen from the figures above, some advertisers did not hesitate to publish extremely lengthy advertisements when they deemed it necessary. On the other hand, based on the editors' notices I have seen in the papers, the editors did not offer any special low fee for extremely short advertisements compared to ones of an average length. That means that the extreme brevity of some notices is probably not due to the financial concerns of the advertiser, but rather that they felt any other details to be superfluous, perhaps assuming that a brief advertisement would serve their purposes the best.

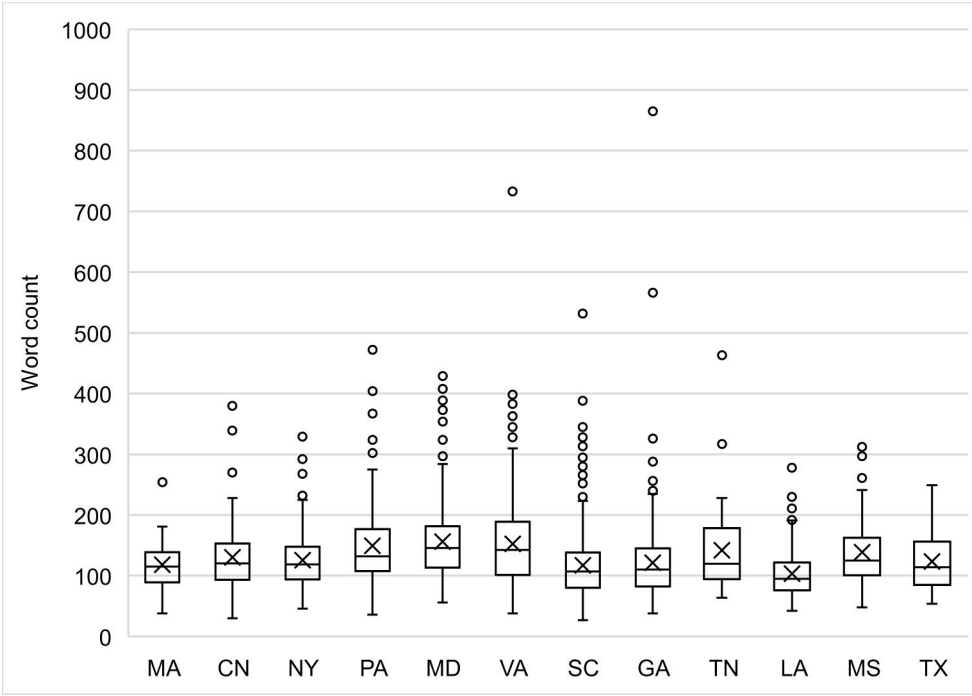


Figure 6. Length of the notices with regard to place.

From Figure 6 we can see that Louisiana and South Carolina advertisements were often on the shorter side compared to some of the others. As these were both places with a larger enslaved population and, as a result, places where runaway notices were an everyday feature in the papers, the advertisements were more likely to be streamlined to the basic necessities. In the other areas, various reasons may be behind the somewhat longer notices. For instance, as was mentioned in connection with the *Reward move*, Maryland advertisers often gave lengthy specifics on the reward sum

(depending on the distance covered), which could partly explain why those notices were on the longer side.

The range in the word count of the notices in my data is wide. The shortest advertisement is only 27 words, whereas the longest one is 865 words. I will now present some of these more extreme cases to show what this discrepancy stems from.

Only about 2% of the notices in my data are 50 words or fewer in length. Examples (90)–(92) are examples of these shorter-than-average notices. Example (90) is also the shortest notice in my materials.

(90) TEN DOLLARS REWARD, will be paid to
any person, who will apprehend and lodge in the
Work House, my Mulatto House Servant JEMMY.
D 17 THOS. CORBET.
(*Charleston Courier* (SC), Jan 2, 1837)

(91) Four Dollars Reward,
Is offered to any one who will take up and commit to
Gaol, a NEGRO FELLOW, named ALSINDOR, be-
longing to
Langlois de Barrille.
December 17 eod 6
(*City Gazette* (SC), Jan 1, 1808)

(92) Six-pence Reward.
RAN AWAY about the 10th of last month, a mu-
latto woman named Phillis. Whoever will se-
cure said woman, and bring her to No. 133, south
Water-street, shall receive the above reward.
July 1. D3t
(*Philadelphia Gazette* (PA), Jul 1, 1795)

As examples (90) and (91) demonstrate, at its shortest the runaway slave notice may consist of a single sentence. In example (91), even the *Subscriber* move is syntactically part of that one sentence. Examples (90) and (91) do not include the move *Announcing the escape* in any form, but rather center around the *Promising a reward* move. The description of the runaway is limited to the "initial identification"

step,[83] "my Mulatto House Servant JEMMY" in example (90). In example (91), the "Negro Fellow" is only further described by his name and who he "belongs" to. Example (92) follows the more common structure of the *Announcing the escape* move followed by *Promising a reward* (though lacking, for instance, the *Subscriber* move). However, in this case, too, the description of the runaway is limited to naming them, which results in a short notice. Also, the move *Promising a reward* in each case only mentions one place to take the runaway to, and does not offer any alternative reward sums. In conclusion, the exceptional brevity of the advertisements is not primarily due to a lack of the core moves, but rather due to the extremely concise way in which these moves are presented.

On the other end of the spectrum, there are several factors which might increase the number of words in the notices. The longest notice in my data (from *Georgia Journal*, Jan 19, 1814), with its 865 words, has both a somewhat exceptional situation for the escape and a large number of runaways. Already the headline for the notice, "Atrocious and Unparalleled ROBBERY, On Amelia Island, East-Florida", shows that the notice is not the most typical runaway notice. The advertisement starts by recounting how a "party of armed men" "came to the subscriber's plantation, made him prisoner […] pillaged his house and carried off 36 Valuable Negroes". The length of the notice is mostly due to 33 of these people then being named and described at least in a few words (e.g., "JACK, an African, slight made, wants some fore teeth, speaks good English"). The advertiser continues by naming and describing the suspected robbers, whom they have taken and where they might be heading. The *Promising a reward* move is of an average length. Bringing further length to the notice is a lengthy *Instructions to other papers* move directing the "Printers of the Charleston Courier and Times, and Printers of Newspapers, in Savannah, Augusta, and Milledgeville, state of Georgia, Wilmington, and Raleigh, N. Carolina, Richmond, in Virginia, the State of Tennessee, Kentucky, and Mississippi Territory" to insert the notice for three months.[84] This is followed by a request for "all persons hearing of said Negroes, to forward information to him per Mail". All this results in an exceptionally long advertisement.

The second longest advertisement, 733 words in length (*Alexandria Gazette* (VA), Jul 2, 1827), on the other hand, is about a single runaway. Its length is due to

[83] As discussed in 7.2.2, I consider such cases to simultaneously belong to both the moves *Promising a reward* and *Describing the runaway.*

[84] I have not investigated whether the notice was indeed circulated as widely as the advertiser hoped. However, in my initial gathering of materials, I did come across another copy of the same advertisement in a Tennessee paper. Interestingly, the message had become slightly garbled at some point of the transmission chain, as the Tennessee version contained several errors (the name "Cora" was spelled "Corn", some words had been left out, etc.)

it straying away from the typical arrangement and contents of a runaway notice to a certain extent. The advertisement starts with the explanation that a changed situation (knowledge of thefts) has prompted the current notice and an appeal to various groups to catch the fugitive:

(93) WHEREAS I am convinced, by a late disclosure of facts, that my negro man NORRAGE, has been engaged for a considerable time past, as a regular agent in the commission of more highhanded thefts, than I was first aware of, to the great loss of my neighbors and myself; and as I believe the dread of further legal punishment occasioned by his elopement on the 10th of November last; I therefore deem it an imperative duty to awaken the vigilance of the community at large, and particularly of Sheriffs, Constables, and Police Officers, that this artful scoundrel may be apprehended, and that he and his concealed co-partners in guilt, may be brought to condign punishment.

The "negro man Norrage" has apparently been advertised for before, as the advertiser also notes: "For fear of inaccuracy in my last advertisement, I will again describe his person." Then follows a typical description of the runaway, although perhaps slightly more detailed than average. Next comes the move *Promising a reward*, including details on different sums depending on where the runaway is captured, followed by a short *Discouraging unwanted actions* move.

Adding further length to the already quite long advertisement is a wordy postscript,[85] shown in example (94).

(94) P.S. As false reports may, or perhaps have already counteracted my endeavors in recovering the above-mentioned scoundrel, I take this occasion to guard an honest energetic community against the reports of light minded or designing persons, who might otherwise lessen the requisite vigilance by representing him as secured or restored to me, when in reality he is not; and moreover, to inform them that I will announce in this, or one paper in this District, his apprehension or recovery by me whenever it takes place. I have

[85] The postscript seems to really have been written at a later date than the rest of the advertisement. The main part of the advertisement, ending with the *Subscriber* move includes the *Editorial markings* "dec 16 d3t1awtf" (daily three times, once a week till forbid), whereas the postscript has the notation "june 21 – 1awtf". More discussion on "updates" added to runaway notices is found in 7.5.2.

been lately informed that he has contrieved to obtain, at
the time of his elopement, forged papers, shewing
that he was then free, and assumed a name quite dif-
ferent from that of Norrage. He will no doubt
change his former appearance as much as possible to
avoid detection. My friends, and the honest portion
of my fellow-citizens, who may be travelling in differ-
ent parts of this or any other country, are earnestly so-
licited to notice the above description of this artful
scoundrel, and to aid in securing this violator of all law,
who exercised, even without suspicion, a consi-
derable time before his detection, a felonious a-
gency for the abandoned of every description and
every colour, and by these he has been assisted,
I have no doubt, in making his escape. There
is, I think, a probability of his having sought refuge in
one of the non-slave-holding states or cities of the U-
nion, or perhaps in a foreign country. The above re-
ward in every respect will be paid with great pleasure
and at a short notice, if the above advertisement be
complied with faithfully.
june 21—1awtf. H.D.H.
(*Alexandria Gazette* (VA) Jul 2, 1827)

Some of the contents of the postscript are ones that would not be out of place in any runaway notice: suspicions of him having escaped North and having altered his appearance and clothing and possibly having free papers. However, there are also several elements that are not a typical part of the runaway advertisement. The advertiser promises to inform everyone when the runaway is captured to avoid "false reports". He returns to the mention of the reward, adding that it will be paid "with great pleasure and at a short notice". Most noticeably, he attempts to persuade the readers by painting the runaway in an extremely negative light ("the abovementioned scoundrel", "this artful scoundrel" and "violator of all law"). He does the same to anyone aiding the runaway ("light minded or designing persons", "the abandoned of every description and every colour"), contrasting them with "an honest energetic community" and with "my friends, and the honest portion of my fellow-citizens" (I will discuss references to people in more detail in 7.4). The extravagant style of the writer is in stark contrast to the matter-of-fact style of most runaway notices. The advertisement's unusual length is therefore a combination of it including a wide variety of moves, some information that is not normally found in runaway advertisements at all, as well as the overall verbose style of the writer.

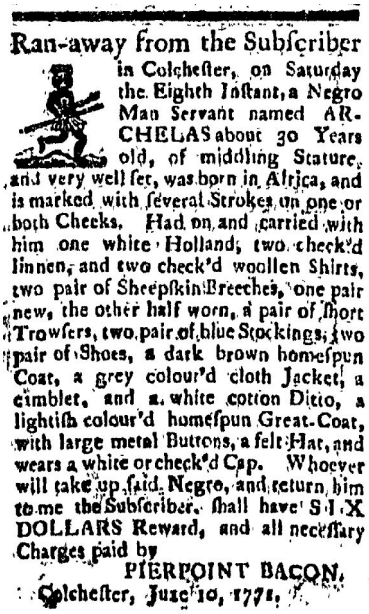
In contrast, the third longest notice in my data, with 566 words (*Augusta Herald* (GA), Jul 11, 1804), contains no particularly unexpected elements. The advertisement concerns five runaways, who all receive descriptions of an average length, some also with suspicions of where they might be heading. The *Promising a reward* move is at the end of the advertisement, not for each runaway separately (as is sometimes the case). All in all, the advertisement follows the style of a prototypical runaway notice, and the number of people described is the only reason for its considerable length.

7.3 Visual aspects of the runaway notices

In the analysis so far, I have concentrated mostly on the structuring and language of runaway slave notices. However, the advertisements are not only a collection of words, but their visual appearance on the pages of the newspaper also merits some attention. In this section, I will concentrate on these more visual matters concerning images and the layout of the notices. I will also draw links between the issues discussed in this section and the move analysis provided in 7.2, as these matters are interconnected.

7.3.1 The use of woodcuts in the advertisements

As has been pointed out in 3.2, early newspapers were often rather monotonous in their appearance. Nevertheless, the advertising sections were occasionally livened up by various kinds of woodcuts placed in front of some advertisements. In the newspapers used in this study, images of ships decorating notices about vessels departing for various ports were usually the first ones to appear. Runaway slave notices were, however, also among the earliest types of notices that would regularly be accompanied by woodcuts (such as the one seen in Figure 7).


Ran-away from the Subſcriber

in Colcheſter, on Saturday the Eighth Inſtant, a Negro Man Servant named ARCHELAS about 30 Years old, of middling Stature, and very well ſet, was born in Africa, and is marked with ſeveral Strokes on one or both Cheeks. Had on and carried with him one white Holland, two check'd linnen, and two check'd woollen Shirts, two pair of Sheepſkin Breeches, one pair new, the other half worn, a pair of ſhort Trowſers, two pair of blue Stockings, two pair of Shoes, a dark brown homeſpun Coat, a grey colour'd cloth Jacket, a cimblet, and a white cotton Ditto, a lightiſh colour'd homeſpun Great-Coat, with large metal Buttons, a felt Hat, and wears a white or check'd Cap. Whoever will take up ſaid Negro, and return him to me the Subſcriber, ſhall have SIX DOLLARS Reward, and all neceſſary Charges paid by

PIERPOINT BACON.

Colcheſter, June 10, 1771.

Figure 7. Runaway slave advertisement with a woodcut (*New-London Gazette* (CN), Jul 5, 1771); *America's Historical Newspapers* (*NewsBank/Readex*).

In my data, 687 notices (26.4%) include an image depicting a runaway. When and where they are found in my corpus is detailed in Table 15, with percentages of 40% and over shaded in green. Although some general tendencies in the use of images in the runaway notices can be seen in Table 15, it is important to keep in mind that the inclusion of an image depended very highly on the practices of the newspaper. In other words, if I had chosen to collect my materials from slightly different papers, the results for particular places and times might look very different. Some newspapers did not include any such images in front of the advertisements, while others seem to have included one in front of all the runaway slave notices in the paper. I do not know whether the inclusion of such an image was something that had to be separately requested by the advertiser or whether it was added at the discretion of the printer.[86] In some issues, there are runaway advertisements both with and without the accompanying image. It seems plausible that some advertisements might be left without an image because the printer had a limited supply of the woodcuts, not enough for all the runaway notices in the paper. From the newspapers' perspective, the inclusion of such images was largely a question of space, and a printer struggling with limited paper supply and wanting to fit as many different

[86] At least the advertising fees published in the papers themselves did not (as far as I have seen) make mention of the images or any extra costs linked to them.

advertisements as possible on the pages might be tempted to leave them out (see also Turner 1965: 25).

Table 15. Occurrences of runaway images in the advertisements.

	1700–1729	1730–1749	1750–1769	1770–1789	1790–1809	1810–1829	1830–1849	1850–1865	
MA	0% 0/5	0% 0/6	6.7% 1/15	0% 0/13					2.6% 1/39
CN			0% 0/8	10.5% 4/38	0% 0/23	0% 0/11	0% 0/2		4.9% 4/82
NY		0% 0/9	8.6% 6/70	10.3% 6/58	6.7% 4/60	0% 0/13			7.6% 16/210
PA	0% 0/8	0% 0/21	0% 0/59	1.6% 1/63	0% 0/31	0% 0/8	33.3% 1/3		1.0% 2/193
MD	0% 0/1	0% 0/1	0% 0/8	21.2% 14/66	0% 0/100	3.2% 3/94	69.4% 34/49	52.5% 32/61	21.8% 83/380
VA		0% 0/2	25.0% 10/40	9.4% 8/85	6.3% 6/95	0% 0/100	1.3% 1/75	0% 0/57	5.5% 25/454
SC		10.3% 6/58	37.5% 36/96	14.3% 10/70	77.0% 77/100	90.0% 90/100	42.1% 32/76	4.8% 3/62	45.2% 254/562
GA			26.1% 6/23	33.3% 6/18	43.0% 43/100	15.0% 15/100	65.3% 47/72	21.8% 12/55	35.1% 129/368
TN					0% 0/9	0% 0/13	100% 8/8	0% 0/7	21.6% 8/37
LA					33.3% 1/3	17.5% 7/40	93.5% 58/62	93.9% 62/66	74.9% 128/171
MS						17.4% 8/46	12.5% 1/8	33.3% 1/3	17.5% 10/57
TX							35.7% 10/28	77.3% 17/22	54.0% 27/50
	0% 0/14	6.2% 6/97	18.5% 59/319	11.9% 49/411	25.1% 131/521	23.4% 123/525	50.1% 192/383	38.1% 127/333	26.4% 687/2603

The fact that the images were so dependent on the newspaper makes it difficult to make any definite statements about differences between areas. For instance, the extremely high numbers in Louisiana from the 1830s onwards are explainable by the

fact that almost all my data there comes from the *Times-Picayune*, which was diligent in inserting an image in front of every runaway notice. However, South Carolina's 90% in the 1810–1829 period comes from several papers, which all favored images in the runaway notices. In any case, it seems that the first peak in popularity of the images was in the 1750s, when several newspapers included them. For Virginia, this was also the peak of the trend, and Virginian newspapers from then on mostly contained runaway notices without an accompanying image. The most consistent use of the images is in the 1830s and 1840s, when over half of the advertisements in my data included them.

Although the image used varied slightly from paper to paper (see Figure 8 for some examples), it is usually a fairly simple image of a Black figure walking or running. Lacey (1996) notes how runaway notice images vary from figures in African headdress and short skirts, to "partially draped figure[s] in flight" and well-dressed servants, "showing Africans at different stages of acculturation into American slave society" (Lacey 1996: 144).

Figure 8. Examples of woodcuts depicting runaways from various newspapers; *America's Historical Newspapers* (*NewsBank/Readex*).

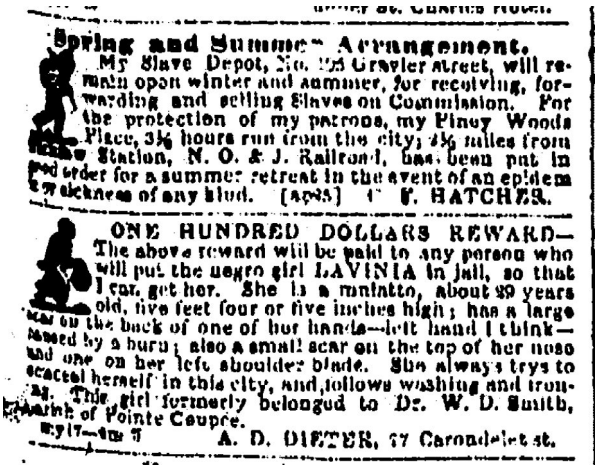
Most often, all the runaway notices in a particular paper had the same image in front of them, or, at the most, there were two variants, one for a female and one for a male runaway. Some papers, such as South Carolina's *City Gazette* around the 1810s, stand out by displaying a larger variety of different, quite detailed images.

Figure 9. Examples of images in runaway notices from the *City Gazette* (SC), Jul 1, 1816; *America's Historical Newspapers* (*NewsBank/Readex*).

The variety in the images used by the *City Gazette* may have brought more visual excitement to the advertising columns of the paper, with images of runaways sitting under trees or walking past different backdrops. However, when several different images were used, it may have simultaneously made it more difficult to identify the runaway notices from among other types of notices: in such a case, a reader interested in runaway notices could not identify them by simply searching for a particular image on the page. Furthermore, at a glance, it is more difficult to figure out exactly what these more intricate images depict. Therefore, it is understandable that most papers favored a more simplified image that was easily identified.

I would argue that the immediate purpose of the images was to capture the attention of the reader. Particularly in the early papers, when very few types of advertisements had their corresponding stock images, runaway notices had an advantage: the inclusion of images in front of these texts undoubtedly drew the eye to them. On a more specific level, I suggest that the purpose of these images is closely linked to the purpose of the *Announcing the escape* move, or, in fact, could be analyzed as being an optional visual step of that move. Just like the typical "Ran away" start of the advertisement, the presence of the image announces that an escape has happened. Furthermore, as notices for White indentured servants carried different images (when they had any at all), the image also revealed whether the fugitive was a Black person or White. If a reader was interested in knowing about potential runaways, the images made it easy to locate such notices simply by skimming through the paper, looking for the familiar figure.

While the above was true for most advertisements in the papers, there were, however, a few exceptions where the presence of such an image did not function solely as a genre marker of *runaway* slave advertisements. For instance, the Louisiana *Times-Picayune* in the 19th century and the *Georgia Gazette* in the 18th century would include a similar image also in front of other types of slave-related advertising such as for sale notices.



Spring and Summer Arrangement.

My Slave Depot, No. [illegible] Gravier street, will remain open winter and summer, for receiving, forwarding and selling Slaves on Commission. For the protection of my patrons, my Piney Woods Place, 3½ hours run from the city; 2½ miles from [illegible] Station, N. O. & J. Railroad, has been put in good order for a summer retreat in the event of an epidemic or sickness of any kind. [illegible] F. HATCHER.

ONE HUNDRED DOLLARS REWARD—The above reward will be paid to any person who will put the negro girl LAVINIA in jail, so that I can get her. She is a mulatto, about 20 years old, five feet four or five inches high; has a large scar on the back of one of her hands—left hand I think—caused by a burn; also a small scar on the top of her nose and one on her left shoulder blade. She always trys to conceal herself in this city, and follows washing and ironing. This girl formerly belonged to Dr. W. D. Smith, [illegible] of Pointe Coupee.

[illegible] A. D. DIETER, 17 Carondelet st.

Figure 10. Two advertisements from the *Times-Picayune* (LA), Jul 1, 1861; *America's Historical Newspapers* (*NewsBank/Readex*).

One example of this is seen in Figure 10, where the advertisement on the top concerns a "slave depot" operated by the advertiser, for "receiving, forwarding and selling slaves on Commission". It contains a similar type of image as the runaway slave notice underneath it. The slight difference in the images is due to the runaway notice having the image used for female runaways; the image used in the "slave depot" advertisement is identical to ones in advertisements for male runaways later in the same paper. In papers that followed such conventions, the images reveal the general topic of the notice (i.e., enslaved people), but not the specific type of notice.

As the woodcuts were usually the same for all the runaway notices in a paper, they did not portray specific information about a runaway's appearance other than their race. As Lacey (1996: 145) puts it, "the visual image signaled a general category of persons, and the verbal account gave a detailed listing of physical traits, costume, skills and speech". In some cases, however, merely looking at the images would give some additional information about the runaways. As already pointed out, most newspapers had separate images for men and women, which meant that this piece of information about the runaway was available simply by looking at the image. Sometimes the image, or the presence of two images in one notice, also indicated that the advertisement concerned multiple runaways.

Figure 11. Woodcut depicting a man, woman and child (*Georgia Gazette,* Oct 18, 1792); *America's Historical Newspapers* (*NewsBank/Readex*).

Figure 11, which depicts three runaways, a man, woman and child, accompanies a notice concerning the escape of "Five New Negroes". These five runaways include a husband and wife, but the advertisement makes no mention of small children, as the three others are all young men. While the image does not offer an accurate depiction of the party of runaways, it does at least signal that there are several of them.

Another example where the woodcut has been selected to more specifically mirror the contents of the advertisement can be seen in Figure 12. It comes from a notice about "a small NEGRO BOY […] who carried off a Brown BAY HORSE", and the accompanying image is of a figure on horseback. The example comes from the *City Gazette* (SC), which, as was already mentioned, had a larger collection of images at their disposal.

Figure 12. Woodcut depicting a figure on horseback (*City Gazette* (SC)*,* Jul 1, 1797); *America's Historical Newspapers* (*NewsBank/Readex*).

In conclusion, the use of these images probably had the primary goal of drawing attention to the notice merely with the presence of *some* visual element. I have not included a separate *Catching the readers' attention* move in the move analysis, but if such a one were included, these images would (alongside headlines, discussed in the following section) be a central part of it. These images also serve some of the same purposes as the verbal elements of the *Announcing the escape* move, that is,

they announce that an enslaved person has run away (the exception being places where such images were used for all slave-related advertisements). Finally, they could further reinforce some aspects of description of the runaway such as whether they were a man or a woman or whether there were multiple runaways.

7.3.2 Headlines in runaway notices

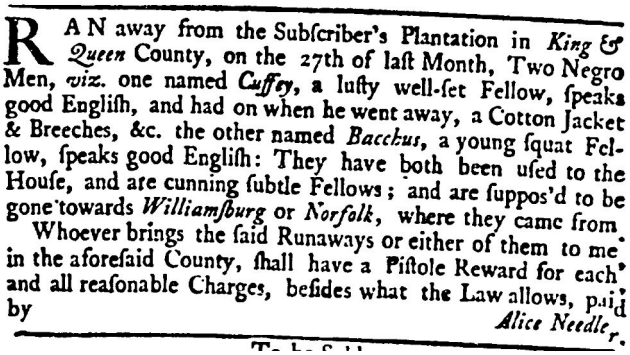
When discussing the move *Promising a reward*, I have frequently made reference to the presence of headlines in the advertisements. However, as the headlines can contain elements from other moves as well, and since the headlines in my materials come in various different forms, I will discuss them separately here. Bhatia (2004, 2005) includes "Headlines" as the first move when analyzing the move structure of book blurbs (2004: 175) and commercial print advertisements (Bhatia 2005: 214–215), mentioning that their purpose is "reader attraction", but he does not go into further detail about them. While "reader attraction" is undoubtedly also a function present in the headlines in my data, the complex ways in which headlines manifest and the various matters included in them call for a more detailed examination. I will first introduce the types of headlines that can be found in my materials and then turn my focus onto their contents and the reasons why I have not simply classified them as a separate move.

Classifying headlines[87] or even determining what counts as one in early newspapers is not an easy task. As Studer (2008: 115) describes it, on the pages of early 18th-century English newspapers, we "encounter a confusing graphic layout in which various headline types interact and overlap with the running text". The problem is largely rooted in the fact that the sections of text that are visually marked may not always function thematically as a headline to the text that follows. Giezinger (2001), in her study on the development of commercial advertisements in the *Times*, deals with the issue by dividing the headlines found in them into four categories: "graphic", "thematic", "prototypical" and "quasi-headlines". Studer (2008), studying headlines in all kinds of 18th-century newspaper texts in the ZEN corpus, finds Gieszinger's classification problematic, since it partly combines both typographical and functional criteria (Studer 2008: 115). Instead, he proposes a

[87] Schneider (2000), examining the development of headlines in British newspapers, differentiates between *headings* (which "do not give any specific information about the content of the news stories following" and simply serve the purpose of grouping news) and *headlines* (which "provide […] information about the content of an article") and uses the term *head* to refer to both (Schneider 2000: 48). I, however, will be referring to them as headlines throughout the discussion, as applying such a distinction to the runaway advertisements is not particularly pertinent to my analysis.

division based solely on typographical criteria, dividing headlines into *major*, *minor*, *integrated*, *combined* and *embedded* headlines, building on the classification originally proposed by Werlich (1983). As a separate categorization, he classifies the headlines based on their function (attributive, thematic, performative and structural). In the discussion below, I will be using the typographical criteria used by Studer.

The most common kind of headline found already in the earliest runaway notices is what Studer classifies as *integrated* headlines, that is, headlines where "visualization occurs within the first line of a news item", but that are not a "self-contained unit" and are rather just "emphasis in the commencing phrase" (Studer 2008: 116). In my materials, this often takes the form seen in Figure 13, where the start of the advertisement is signaled by a large initial together with the first word or phrase written in (large) capital letters. Sometimes the first word or phrase can also be highlighted by other means, such as bolding or, as happens in Figure 14, the use of a different typeface altogether.

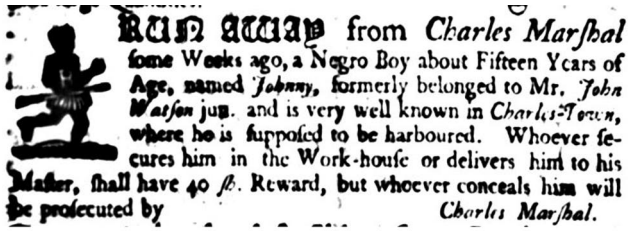


RAN away from the Subſcriber's Plantation in *King & Queen* County, on the 27th of laſt Month, Two Negro Men, *viz.* one named *Cuffey*, a luſty well-ſet Fellow, ſpeaks good Engliſh, and had on when he went away, a Cotton Jacket & Breeches, &c. the other named *Bacchus*, a young ſquat Fellow, ſpeaks good Engliſh: They have both been uſed to the Houſe, and are cunning ſubtle Fellows; and are ſuppos'd to be gone towards *Williamſburg* or *Norfolk*, where they came from.

Whoever brings the ſaid Runaways or either of them to me in the aforeſaid County, ſhall have a Piſtole Reward for each and all reaſonable Charges, beſides what the Law allows, paid by

Alice Needler.

Figure 13. Advertisement from the *Virginia Gazette,* Mar 21, 1745; *America's Historical Newspapers* (*NewsBank/Readex*).



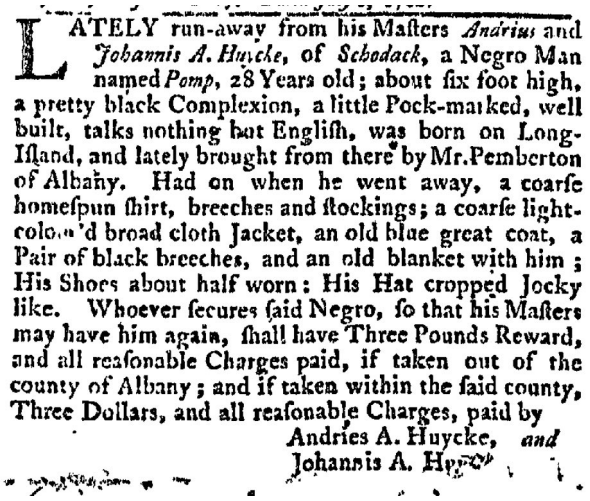
RUN away from *Charles Marſhal* ſome Weeks ago, a Negro Boy about Fifteen Years of Age, named *Johnny*, formerly belonged to Mr. *John Watſon* jun. and is very well known in *Charles-Town*, where he is ſuppoſed to be harboured. Whoever ſecures him in the Work-houſe or delivers him to his Maſter, ſhall have 40 *l*. Reward, but whoever conceals him will be proſecuted by

Charles Marſhal.

Figure 14. Advertisement from the *South Carolina Gazette*, Jul 6, 1747; *Accessible Archives.*

In practice, the newspapers would usually place such an emphasis on the first word of the advertisement, no matter what the word was, resulting in some advertisements in my corpus with integrated headlines such as "LATELY", "WHEREAS", or

"ANY", which serve very little other purpose than to mark the start of the advertisement. This happens in Figure 15.



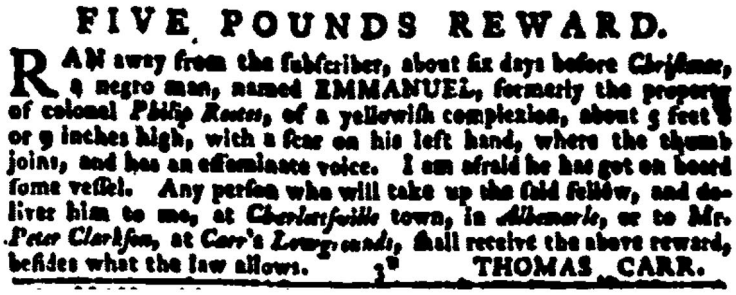
LATELY run-away from his Maſters *Andrius* and *Johannis A. Huycke*, of *Schodack*, a Negro Man named *Pomp*, 28 Years old; about ſix foot high, a pretty black Complexion, a little Pock-marked, well built, talks nothing but Engliſh, was born on Long-Iſland, and lately brought from there by Mr. Pemberton of Albany. Had on when he went away, a coarſe homeſpun ſhirt, breeches and ſtockings; a coarſe light-colour'd broad cloth Jacket, an old blue great coat, a Pair of black breeches, and an old blanket with him; His Shoes about half worn: His Hat cropped Jocky like. Whoever ſecures ſaid Negro, ſo that his Maſters may have him again, ſhall have Three Pounds Reward, and all reaſonable Charges paid, if taken out of the county of Albany; and if taken within the ſaid county, Three Dollars, and all reaſonable Charges, paid by

Andries A. Huycke, *and*
Johannis A. Hu[illegible]

Figure 15. Advertisement from the *New-York Gazette*, Jul 5, 1762; *America's Historical Newspapers* (*NewsBank/Readex*).

However, as mentioned in the discussion of the *Announcing the escape* move, by far the most common way to start the move is by placing the verb announcing the escape at the start of the first sentence (as happens in Figure 13 and Figure 14). As a result, most of these integrated headlines also serve the function of revealing the type of notice that is to follow, that is, one concerning some kind of runaway. In advertisements that start with the *Promising a reward* move, the first word is typically the reward sum, which may be similarly highlighted as an integrated headline. Since integrated headlines are present in nearly all the advertisements in my data (either alone or together with a major headline), there is not much that can be said about their development in time or popularity.

Major headlines are the type of headline modern readers are most familiar with. They can be defined as "instances of clearly marked-off textual sequences which stand out from the immediate textual environment by spacing between the lines and larger, heavier type" (Studer 2008: 115). Figure 16, with its major headline "FIVE POUNDS REWARD.", is a typical example of such a headline in runaway slave notices. As can be seen, the advertisement also contains an integrated headline such as those discussed above (i.e., "RAN…"), so according to Studer, this would be categorized as a combined headline. This is true for most advertisements in my data with a major headline.



FIVE POUNDS REWARD.

RAN away from the subscriber, about six days before Christmas, a negro man, named EMMANUEL, formerly the property of colonel *Philip Rootes*, of a yellowish complexion, about 5 feet 8 or 9 inches high, with a scar on his left hand, where the thumb joins, and has an effeminate voice. I am afraid he has got on board some vessel. Any person who will take up the said fellow, and deliver him to me, at *Charlottsville* town, in *Albemarle*, or to Mr. *Peter Clarkson*, at *Carr's Lower Ferry*, shall receive the above reward, besides what the law allows. THOMAS CARR.

Figure 16. Advertisement from the *Virginia Gazette* 2, Jul 6, 1775; *America's Historical Newspapers (NewsBank/Readex).*

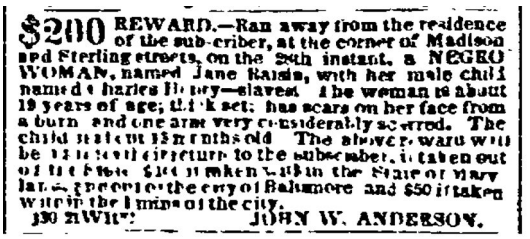
Major headlines were not present in the earliest notices, but instead, were an innovation that gained ground during the 18th century. Table 16 shows the percentage of notices in my data that have a major headline, with percentages of 20% or over highlighted in green. In the table, I have included both instances that contain only a major headline and ones with combined headlines (that is, a major and integrated headline).

The earliest occurrence of a major headline in my data comes from a South Carolina paper in 1746. As seen from Table 16, major headlines start being included with increasing frequency around the time of the American Revolution. Some areas (or some newspapers) adopted the major headline earlier and more eagerly than others. The neighboring colonies/states of New York, Pennsylvania and Maryland seem to lead the way, as in the period 1770–89 already over half of the advertisements in their papers contain major headlines. Such headlines are more or less the norm in the following decades in all the papers, but a dip in their usage can be seen in the last two periods in several states.

Table 16. Major headlines (and combined headlines) in the advertisements.

	1700–1729	1730–1749	1750–1769	1770–1789	1790–1809	1810–1829	1830–1849	1850–1865	
MA	0%	0%	0%	0%					2.6%
	0/5	0/6	0/15	4/13					4/39
CN			0%	21.1%	69.6%	100%	100%		45.1%
			0/8	8/38	16/23	11/11	2/2		37/82
NY		0%	7.1%	69.0%	90%	76.9%			51.9%
		0/9	5/70	40/58	54/60	10/13			109/210
PA	0%	0%	16.9%	81.0%	96.8%	100%	100%		52.8%
	0/8	0/21	10/59	51/63	30/31	8/8	3/3		102/193
MD	0%	0%	12.5%	71.2%	90%	71.3%	46.9%	16.4%	62.6%
	0/1	0/1	1/8	47/66	90/100	67/94	23/49	10/61	238/380
VA		0%	10%	31.8%	84.2%	79.0%	45.3%	15.8%	51.3%
		0/2	4/40	27/85	80/95	79/100	34/75	9/57	233/454
SC		1.7%	6.3%	32.9%	90.0%	100%	38.2%	11.3%	45.6%
		1/58	6/96	23/70	90/100	100/100	29/76	7/62	256/562
GA			8.7%	44.4%	86.0%	93.0%	76.4%	96.4%	80.7%
			2/23	8/18	86/100	93/100	55/72	53/55	297/368
TN					55.6%	84.6%	87.5%	28.6%	67.6%
					5/9	11/13	7/8	2/7	25/37
LA					100%	62.5%	45.2%	7.6%	35.7%
					3/3	25/40	28/62	5/66	61/171
MS						87.0%	100%	100%	89.5%
						40/46	8/8	3/3	51/57
TX							85.7%	95.5%	90.0%
							24/28	21/22	45/50
	0%	1.0%	8.8%	50.6%	87.1%	84.6%	55.6%	33.0%	56.0%
	0/14	1/97	28/319	208/411	454/521	444/525	213/383	110/333	1458/2603

The decrease in the presence of a major headline in the papers is for the most part linked to their replacement with what Studer terms minor headlines, or headlines where "the textual sequence is a self-contained unit printed at the beginning of the opening and separated from the following text by a full stop" (Studer 2008: 116). This happens for example in Figure 17.

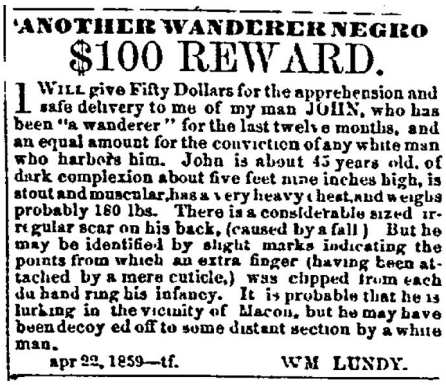


$200 REWARD.—Ran away from the residence of the sub-criber, at the corner of Madison and Sterling streets, on the 28th instant, a NEGRO WOMAN, named Jane Raisin, with her male child named Charles Henry—slaves. The woman is about 19 years of age; thick set; has scars on her face from a burn and one arm very considerably scarred. The child is eleven months old. The above reward will be paid on their return to the subscriber, if taken out of the State, but if taken in the State or Maryland, exclusive of the city of Baltimore, and $50 if taken within the limits of the city.
JOHN W. ANDERSON.

Figure 17. Advertisement from the *Sun* (MD), Jul 1, 1854; *America's Historical Newspapers* (*NewsBank/Readex*).

Minor headlines such as the one in Figure 17 were a more recent development in the runaway notices, as they were practically nonexistent in the 18th century. However, the dip in the usage of major headlines in places such as South Carolina, Louisiana and Virginia from the 1830s onwards, seen in Table 16, goes mostly hand-in-hand with an increase in minor headlines in those places. I assume that the rise of their popularity is closely linked with the space-saving concerns of the later newspapers.

Some of the headlines in my data are more complex than the ones discussed so far. Since they contain combinations of various types of headlines, they still fall under Studer's classification of combined headlines. Examples of these more unusual combinations are for instance cases with two major headlines (followed by an integrated headline), seen in Figure 18, and a combination of a major and a minor headline in Figure 19.

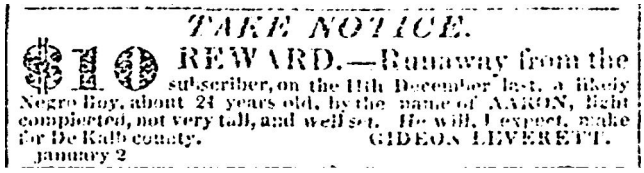


ANOTHER WANDERER NEGRO
$100 REWARD.

I WILL give Fifty Dollars for the apprehension and safe delivery to me of my man JOHN, who has been "a wanderer" for the last twelve months, and an equal amount for the conviction of any white man who harbors him. John is about 45 years old, of dark complexion about five feet nine inches high, is stout and muscular, has a very heavy chest, and weighs probably 180 lbs. There is a considerable sized irregular scar on his back, (caused by a fall) But he may be identified by slight marks indicating the points from which an extra finger (having been attached by a mere cuticle,) was clipped from each hand during his infancy. It is probable that he is lurking in the vicinity of Macon, but he may have been decoyed off to some distant section by a white man.

apr 22, 1859—tf. WM LUNDY.

Figure 18. Advertisement from the *Macon Weekly Telegraph* (GA), Jul 2, 1859; *America's Historical Newspapers* (*NewsBank/Readex*).

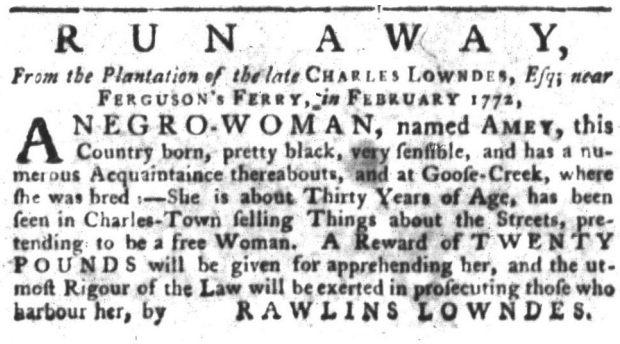

TAKE NOTICE.

$10 REWARD.—Runaway from the subscriber, on the 11th December last, a likely Negro Boy, about 24 years old, by the name of AARON, light complected, not very tall, and well set. He will, I expect, make for De Kalb county. GIDEON LIVERETT.

january 2

Figure 19. Advertisement from the *Georgia Journal*, Jan 2, 1830; *America's Historical Newspapers* (*NewsBank/Readex*).

In the late 18th century, some newspapers experimented with the layout of the advertisements to a larger extent. For instance, Figure 20 shows a combined headline that has what Studer (2008:116) calls an "appendix to the major headline" in italics between the major headline and the integrated headline.[88] Figure 21, with a number of its lines centered, might even fall under Studer's classification of embedded headlines, or "texts in which display lettering occurs to the extent that the distinction between the headline part and the main body of text is virtually impossible" (Studer 2008: 116).

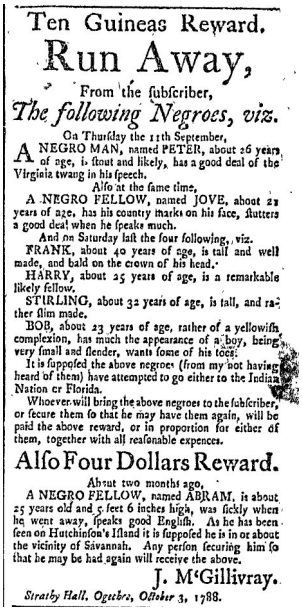

RUN AWAY,

From the Plantation of the late CHARLES LOWNDES, *Esq; near* FERGUSON's FERRY, *in* FEBRUARY 1772,

A NEGRO-WOMAN, named AMEY, this Country born, pretty black, very ſenſible, and has a numerous Acquaintaince thereabouts, and at Gooſe-Creek, where ſhe was bred:—She is about Thirty Years of Age, has been ſeen in Charles-Town ſelling Things about the Streets, pretending to be a free Woman. A Reward of TWENTY POUNDS will be given for apprehending her, and the utmoſt Rigour of the Law will be exerted in proſecuting thoſe who harbour her, by RAWLINS LOWNDES.

Figure 20. Advertisement from the *South Carolina Gazette* Jul 2, 1772; *Accessible Archives.*

[88] I have located another version of the advertisement from Figure 20 in another paper (the *South Carolina and American General Gazette*). There, the layout is much more simple. The advertisement starts with an integrated headline and continues on the same line, with no switch to italics or centering of the lines ("RUN away, from the plantation of…"). This shows that the layout was at the hands of the printer-editors, and the advertisers probably had very little input on the matter (this issue is discussed further in 7.5.1).



Ten Guineas Reward.

Run Away,

From the ſubſcriber,

The following Negroes, viz.

On Thurſday the 11th September,

A NEGRO MAN, named PETER, about 26 years of age, is ſtout and likely, has a good deal of the Virginia twang in his ſpeech.

Alſo at the ſame time,

A NEGRO FELLOW, named JOVE, about 21 years of age, has his country marks on his face, ſtutters a good deal when he ſpeaks much.

And on Saturday laſt the four following, viz.

FRANK, about 40 years of age, is tall and well made, and bald on the crown of his head.

HARRY, about 25 years of age, is a remarkable likely fellow.

STIRLING, about 32 years of age, is tall, and rather ſlim made.

BOB, about 23 years of age, rather of a yellowiſh complexion, has much the appearance of a boy, being very ſmall and ſlender, wants ſome of his teeth.

It is ſuppoſed the above negroes (from my not having heard of them) have attempted to go either to the Indian Nation or Florida.

Whoever will bring the above negroes to the ſubſcriber, or ſecure them ſo that he may have them again, will be paid the above reward, or in proportion for either of them, together with all reaſonable expences.

Alſo Four Dollars Reward.

About two months ago,

A NEGRO FELLOW, named ABRAM, is about 25 years old and 5 feet 6 inches high, was ſickly when he went away, ſpeaks good Engliſh. As he has been ſeen on Hutchinſon's Iſland it is ſuppoſed he is in or about the vicinity of Savannah. Any perſon ſecuring him ſo that he may be had again will receive the above.

J. M'Gillivray.

Strathy Hall, Ogeeche, October 3, 1788.

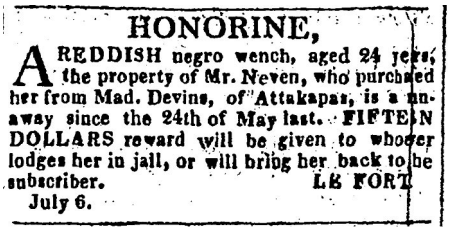
Figure 21. Advertisement from the *Georgia Gazette,* Oct 23, 1788; *America's Historical Newspapers* (*NewsBank/Readex*).

In the 19th century, these more elaborate layouts in the runaway notices disappeared as advertisements conformed to layouts that took less space on the page.

I will now move on to discuss the contents of the headlines in more detail. I have already pointed out that the integrated headlines typically highlighted the verb in the *Announcing the escape* move. Furthermore, as can be seen from most of the examples of headlines I have provided so far, the typical major and minor headline contained a mention of the reward sum. As mentioned in the discussion of the *Promising a reward* move, it seems that most advertisers relied on the mention of a sum of money as the most reliable way to catch the readers' attention. While rewards were occasionally offered in the headlines of other types of advertisements as well,[89] spotting advertisements with a reward sum in the headline was most likely to lead the reader to a runaway notice.

89 An interesting example of this can be seen in 19th-century advertisements peddling various miracle cures, which sometimes also begin with a headline stating a "reward". For instance, a notice in the *Times-Picayune* (Jul 1, 1845) starts the advertisement with "**$1000** REWARD if a radical cure is not effected." The adoption of the reward sum headline by a commercial advertisement (i.e., one where offering a reward is not actually the central purpose of the notice) can be seen as further proof that headlines stating a reward were considered especially eye-catching.

Once major headlines had become common, sometimes parts of the notice that were not the reward sum were also placed into them. In the absence of a reward sum headline, the typical starting phrase of the *Announcing the escape* move, "Run away," would sometimes be placed on a separate line functioning as a major headline. Some advertisements also place the name of the runaway as the headline, as happens in the advertisement seen in Figure 22.[90]



HONORINE,

A REDDISH negro wench, aged 24 years, the property of Mr. Neven, who purchased her from Mad. Devins, of Attakapas, is a runaway since the 24th of May last. FIFTEEN DOLLARS reward will be given to whoever lodges her in jail, or will bring her back to the subscriber. LE FORT

July 6.

Figure 22. Advertisement from *Courrier de la Louisiane,* Jul 9, 1821; *America's Historical Newspapers (NewsBank/Readex).*

In a similar manner, other advertisements have major headlines such as "MARCUS, *One of the House Servants at Mount Vernon*" and "GROOM NED". Some major headlines combine both the act of running away and the person: "ABRAM ran-away", "Belinda and Clem; Runaway Negroes", "Runaway slaves" and "Two Negroes ran away". In these cases, the headline contains information that is typically part of the *Announcing the escape* and *Describing the runaway* moves.

All the examples of headlines discussed so far contain information that could just as well be placed in the body of the advertisement and which form part of the moves *Announcing the escape, Promising a reward* or *Describing the runaway*. In addition to these more typical cases, sometimes the headline has content that is not found anywhere else in the advertisement. That also means that they fall outside the categories I have created in the move analysis. One specific type is headlines whose only function is to draw the attention of the reader: "Look at this!", "Take notice", "Attention!", etc. Such headlines are by no means limited to runaway notices, and can be found in a variety of different types of advertisements. Some of the runaway advertisements contain headlines simply reading "Advertisement" or "Notice". The latter in particular is a common beginning for various types of other notices in the advertising section, though rarely found at the start of runaway slave notices. A type

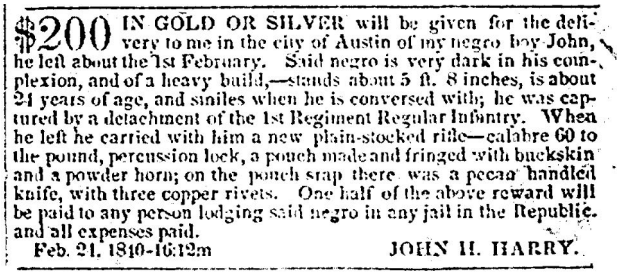
[90] The advertisement in Figure 22 has a French equivalent in the same paper. Interestingly, the French notice has the major headline "Esclave en Marronage." (Slave run away.), with the name of the runaway at the beginning of the body of the advertisement instead: "HONORINE, négresse rougeâtre, …".

of headline more specific to runaway advertisements prompts the readers into action by direct commands using imperative word forms: “Stop the runaway!”, “Stop the villain”, “Look out for the runaway!”, “Look out for him!” and “Arrest the Runaway!” Headlines such as these neatly encapsulate the main communicative purpose of the runaway notice, as this is the action the advertisers hope their notices will encourage the readers to take. Interestingly, such direct commands are almost completely absent in the body text of the advertisement, where, instead, the common strategy is to inform the reader that a slave has run away, and that the advertiser will give money to whoever captures the runaway, but without directly asking or requesting anyone to do so. In an exceptional case, one advertiser in my materials chooses an unexpected command as the headline: “Open his Mouth and look in”. One could assume that the strangeness of the headline might have been successful in arousing the curiosity of the readers to read the rest of the notice. A closer look at the advertisement reveals that the headline contains an effective way to identify the runaway, since “most of his teeth are decayed by the venereal disorder, with an entire loss of the palate of his mouth” (*Maryland Gazette*, May 19, 1785). While some runaway advertisements had these more unsual headlines, the vast majority still relied on the prototypical reward sum headline as the best way to attract the reader’s attention.

7.3.3 Visual highlighting of information

In addition to the use of headlines, different kinds of information in the rest of the advertisement could also be highlighted with the help of italics, capitals, bolding and different typefaces. As will be seen below, in some cases these other pieces of information are more prominently highlighted (e.g. with larger type) than the headlines, so it is worth examining exactly what is made visually prominent to the readers of runaway notices. While the variety in visual highlighting is not as complex as for instance in early modern book title pages (see, e.g., Ratia & Suhr 2017; McConchie 2013), the reader of an 18th or 19th-century runaway slave notice was confronted with a text that used a variety of visual means to draw the eye to different pieces of information.

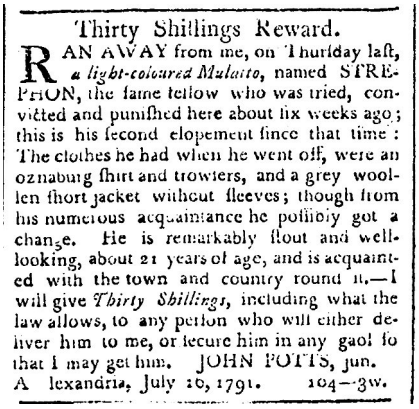
While it is possible for the visuals of the advertisement to be quite uncomplicated, as happens in Figure 23 (which uses capital letters only for the integrated headline and the name of the subscriber), more typically the body text of the advertisement also includes some instances of phrases in italics or capital letters, as seen in Figure 24.



$200 IN GOLD OR SILVER will be given for the delivery to me in the city of Austin of my negro boy John, he left about the 1st February. Said negro is very dark in his complexion, and of a heavy build,—stands about 5 ft. 8 inches, is about 24 years of age, and smiles when he is conversed with; he was captured by a detachment of the 1st Regiment Regular Infantry. When he left he carried with him a new plain-stocked rifle—calabre 60 to the pound, percussion lock, a pouch made and fringed with buckskin and a powder horn; on the pouch strap there was a pecan handled knife, with three copper rivets. One half of the above reward will be paid to any person lodging said negro in any jail in the Republic, and all expenses paid.

Feb. 21. 1840-16:12m JOHN H. HARRY.

Figure 23. Advertisement from the *Austin City Gazette* (TX), Jul 1, 1840; *America's Historical Newspapers (NewsBank/Readex)*.



Thirty Shillings Reward.

RAN AWAY from me, on Thurſday laſt, *a light-coloured Mulatto*, named STREPHON, the ſame fellow who was tried, convicted and puniſhed here about ſix weeks ago; this is his ſecond elopement ſince that time: The clothes he had when he went off, were an oznaburg ſhirt and trowſers, and a grey woollen ſhort jacket without ſleeves; though from his numerous acquaintance he poſſibly got a change. He is remarkably ſtout and well-looking, about 21 years of age, and is acquainted with the town and country round it.—I will give *Thirty Shillings*, including what the law allows, to any perſon who will either deliver him to me, or ſecure him in any gaol ſo that I may get him. JOHN POTTS, jun.

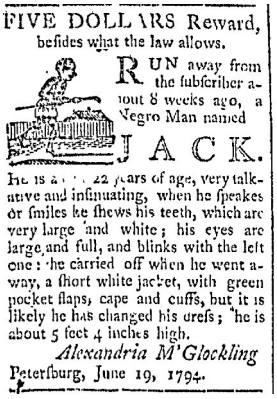
Alexandria, July 16, 1791. 104—3w.

Figure 24. Advertisement from the *Virginia Gazette and Alexandria Advertiser*, Jul 28, 1791; *America's Historical Newspapers (NewsBank/Readex)*.

In Figure 24, capital letters are used for both the name of the runaway and the advertiser (other people are not mentioned in the advertisement, so we do not know whether they would have received the same treatment). Italics are used for the phrase "a light-colored Mulatto", which is the phrase by which the runaway is initially identified. Likewise, italics are used for the reward sum when it is mentioned in the *Promising a reward* move, even though it is also highlighted by placing it in the headline. The advertisement is a fairly representative one concerning the types of information that are highlighted, as proper names, racial designations and reward sums are the elements that are most likely to receive such treatment. However, there is great variance between different newspapers, and sometimes even between different advertisements in the same issue of a paper. Sometimes the name of the runaway receives no highlighting, whereas the racial designation does (e.g., "a MULATTO BOY, named Brice"), or vice versa. Sometimes none of the proper names are highlighted in any manner, while at other times the names of the runaway and the advertiser are written in capital letters, but other people's names are not. The earliest notices have a tendency to systematically italicize a large number of words:

all names of people, all place names, names of months and days of the week, which meant that spotting the italicized words was not very helpful in picking out the important pieces of information in the notice.[91]

A somewhat curious case are notices where the name of the runaway becomes the most visually prominent textual element in the notice despite occurring in the middle of the notice, not in a headline at the beginning. An example of this is seen in Figure 25.



FIVE DOLLARS Reward,
beſides what the law allows.

RUN away from the ſubſcriber about 8 weeks ago, a Negro Man named

JACK.

He is about 22 years of age, very talkative and inſinuating, when he ſpeakes or ſmiles he ſhews his teeth, which are very large and white; his eyes are large and full, and blinks with the left one: he carried off when he went away, a ſhort white jacket, with green pocket flaps, cape and cuffs, but it is likely he has changed his dreſs; he is about 5 feet 4 inches high.

Alexandria M'Glockling

Peterſburg, June 19, 1794.

Figure 25. Advertisement from the *Virginia Chronicle,* Jul 3, 1794; *America's Historical Newspapers* (*NewsBank/Readex*).

As already mentioned, it was common practice for the name of the runaway to receive some visual highlighting, as it was often written in capital letters. However, it becoming the textual element with most visual emphasis in the whole advertisement (as in Figure 25) is probably not due to it being considered the most important element in the text. Instead, in such cases the printer has probably aimed to create a visually eye-catching advertisement by employing display lettering in some part of the notice.[92] Such examples in my data usually also occur towards the end of the 18th century and disappear when the advertisements adopt a more space-saving layout in the 19th century.

In addition to the typical targets of visual highlighting discussed above, some advertisements also italicize or capitalize some details in the move *Description of*

91 This was especially true in notices where the practice of italicizing *all* place names lead to italics also being used in descriptions of clothes in expressions such as "*Virginia* made cloth trousers", "Breeches of *Russia* drill" or "*Irish* stockings".

92 In a similar manner, notices about ships could also have the name of the vessel written in much larger letters than the rest of the notice.

the runaway. Examples (95)–(98) show some cases where a particular element in the description of the runaway receives additional visual emphasis:

(95) His complexion is remarkably light for a boy of color, & exhibits no characteristic of his origin, except *large freckles* on his face and body (*Federal Gazette* (MD), Jul 1, 1799)

(96) … 25 years of age has a forward impertinent look, a scar over one of his eyes, *remarkably small ears*, is fond of strong drink and dress… (*Columbian Mirror and Alexandria Gazette* (VA), Jul 1, 1797)

(97) … weighs about 140 pounds, READS and WRITES, and plays on the violin. (*Weekly Houston Telegraph* (TX), Jan 4, 1860)

(98) … he pretends to be a *free* Negro (*Boston News-Letter*, Jul 7, 1763)

Examples such as these are quite rare in my material, and usually the various elements of the description receive no special visual emphasis. However, the ability to read and write (as seen in (97)) is visually highlighted in two other notices in my data as well.

An important thing to keep in mind is that the choice of what elements received visual highlighting and what type it was (capitals, italics, etc.), usually rested in the hands of the printer-editors. This is easily provable by comparing versions of the same advertisement published in different papers (see 7.5.1 for details).

7.4 References to people in the runaway notices

The runaway slave notice is centered around one particular person: the runaway. Usually, most of the notice revolves around them: what they have done, what they look like, what will be given for their return. The other central figure in the notice is the advertiser, who is usually (though not always) the person who the runaway has escaped from and who they should be returned to. In addition to them, other people, too, are often mentioned in the advertisement for various reasons: previous owners of the runaway, other people the runaway may be returned to, people suspected of helping or having stolen them, etc. Various groups can be addressed specifically in the notice, for instance, masters of vessels, with warnings directed at them. The audience as a whole might also be referred to. While I have commented on some of these features already in the discussion of the various moves, I will dedicate this separate section to discuss the issue in more detail, as many of the features described

here occur in several moves simultaneously, and therefore a larger view of the runaway advertisement as a whole more easily captures the phenomenon.

7.4.1 Referring to the runaways

The runaway plays a central part in the core moves of a runaway notice: *Announcing the escape* mentions the identity of the person escaping, *Describing the runaway* offers a description of them and *Promising a reward* promises a reward for their capture. As seen in example (99), this usually leads to various references to the person.

(99) Ran away, from the subscriber, on the 21st instant, ***a Negro Man named WILLIAM***, **a very dark Mulatto** ; he is **a stout well-formed Fellow**, about 24 years of age, 5 feet 8 or 10 inches high, has rather a sour forbidding countenance : […] As he is **an artful Fellow**, he may, in order to disguise himself, exchange his clothes : He is **a very complete Gentleman's servant**, and **a pretty good shoe-maker**, […] Whoever takes up and secures **the said Negro**, in any gaol, so that I may get him again, shall receive the above Reward, and all reasonable charges, paid by

BERNARD O'NEILL.

N.B. All masters of vessels and others, are hereby forewarned from harbouring or carrying him off, at their peril.
(*Maryland Journal*, Jan 6, 1784)

In example (99), the runaway is first introduced as "a Negro Man". In the description, he is described as being a "Mulatto", a "Gentleman's servant" and a "shoemaker", as well as being referred to twice as a "Fellow". In the *Promising a reward* move, he is referred to as "the said Negro". In addition, he is referred to by the third person pronouns *he/him* throughout the notice. As a whole, example (99) is quite representative of the typical ways in which the runaways are referred to in the notices, and the way in which these references may vary.

As mentioned in the move analysis, the typical starting point of a notice is the *Announcing the escape* move, or, more rarely, the *Promising a reward* move. Both of these necessarily include some reference to the runaway, either as the person running away, or as the one for whose return a reward is offered. This introduction, which I also categorize as the "initial introduction" step of the *Describing the runaway* move, is realized in various ways: "a negro girl", "my servant DICK", "a dark MULATTO SLAVE", "NEGRO ALICE", "my fellow Bob", "a Negro Man

Servant", "Emanuel", "two Negro Men", "the slave woman VENICE", "a BERMUDA NEGROE SAILOR", "an Indian (carpenter) slave", "my cook", etc.

Although the possibilities for variation are great, some options are considerably more common than others. In the first mention of the runaway, in well over 80% of the cases, the head noun of the noun phrases is a noun indicating the gender of the runaway: *man/men,*[93] *fellow(s), boy(s),*[94] *woman/women, wench(es), girl(s)*. Of these options, *man/men* is more common than all the others combined.

The other element that is nearly always present is a word referring to the "race" of the runaway, most typically "Negro", but also "Mulatto" and "Indian". In the initial introduction, the word usually modifies the head noun (e.g. "Negro man"). It is used as the head noun typically only in cases with multiple runaways ("the following FIVE NEGROES", "two Negroes"); instances such as "ran away, […] a negro" are very rare. There are also occasional runaway advertisements that use terms like "mustee"[95] or "griffe",[96] as well as ones using "black" and "colored".[97] In the case of "black", it is sometimes difficult to distinguish whether the reference is more generally to the "race" of the runaway (e.g. "a black girl" used in the same way most advertisements use "a negro girl") or referring to a particularly dark skin color (as happens in advertisements where the person is first identified as "a negro man" and then in the description "[he] is a black man").

In addition to identifying the runaway by their gender and perceived "race", there are other, less common alternatives. The word *slave* can occur both as the head noun ("a stout Molatto Negro Slave") and as a modifier ("the slave boy ISAAC"). The same holds true for the word *servant* ("a Negro servant"/ "a Mulattoe Servant Man"). Even rarer are instances where the person is primarily identified by a more specific job description such as "my Cook".

The runaway is usually introduced using an indefinite article, but occasionally a definite one. A third option is including a possessive pronoun or genitive form, signaling the ownership of the runaway: "my boy Elias", "my Mulatto Man", "my Negro Man Slave", "my servant girl BETTY", "the subscriber's WENCH". Although not the most common option by any means, it occurs with some frequency.

93 While most of the references refer to the person being an adult male, it is worth keeping in mind that *man* could also be used in the meaning of *manservant* (*OED*, definition 7 a. s.v. 'man'), which might be the meaning intended especially in notices referring to, for example, "my man SHADRACK".

94 The word *boy* is used in the advertisements in two different ways. Some instances clearly reflect the young age of a male runaway, but *boy* could also be used to refer degradingly to adult male slaves (see *OED* definition A.1.a. and A.1.c., s.v. 'boy').

95 One-eighth Black ancestry (*OED*, s.v. 'mustee').

96 Three-quarters Black ancestry; or a person of Black and Native American ancestry (*OED*, s.v. 'griffe').

97 My data contains only a few examples of "colored", all from the 19th century.

Unlike an advertisement announcing the escape of, for instance, "a Mulatto Man", one introducing the person as "my Mulatto Man" makes it immediately clear that the person is, first and foremost, perceived as someone belonging to another person.

Many of the examples given so far also include the name of the runaway. While the name is typically mentioned at least in the course of the description, in other cases it is a more integral part of the initial identification of the runaway. Some introduce their runaways by calling them, for instance, "Negro Barna", but occasionally the name alone forms the primary reference. Even in these cases, the advertisers usually include some description of the skin color of the runaway, or refer to them later on with racial terms. However, example (100) offers an interesting case of an advertisement when this does not happen:

(100) DAVID and Aaron ran away from the
mines in Buckingham some time ago,
and are now lurking about Mrs. KENNON's
in Chesterfield, and Kennon's warehouse in
Charles City, where they are both so well
known as to need no description. They
may be taken with little trouble, and I will
give 5 l. for each of them delivered to me,
or 3 l. if to any person in my service, or
confined in prison.
6w. WILLIAM KENNON.
(*Virginia Gazette* 2, Apr 21, 1768)

The two runaways in the notice in example (100) are simply identified as "David and Aaron". No description of their outer appearance is given as they are "so well known". However, even a reader of the *Virginia Gazette* who was not familiar with "David and Aaron" could probably guess their skin color, simply by the fact that they were advertised for using only their first names.

After the runaway has been introduced in the first move (usually *Announcing the escape*), it is possible to refer to him or her only by using personal pronouns from that point forward (as happens in example (100)). However, most advertisements include a variety of nouns either to refer back to the person and further describe them (see example (99)). One interesting detail in the usage of nouns in reference to the runaway is the use of *man* as opposed to *fellow.* As already stated, *man* is overwhelmingly the noun of choice when the runaway is first introduced, nearly always modified by a racial term. However, later on in the advertisement, for instance in the description, the preference is for the use of the word *fellow* ("he is a slim Fellow", "a remarkably stout, active, well made fellow"), whereas descriptions using *man* ("He is a tall boney man") are rare in comparison. The word *fellow* has a

variety of meanings, some with very positive connotations, but in North America it also came to be used to mean a Black person in particular (*OED*, definition 13., s.v. 'fellow'). The general picture the notices give is that the runaway may readily be called a "Negro man", but referring to him as simply a "man" was not that common – he was more likely to be a "fellow" than a "man".

Describing the runaway using nouns with a clear negative connotation, such as *villain, rascal* or *scoundrel*, occurs quite rarely and is usually accompanied by mention of some specific actions by the runaway considered negative in the eyes of the advertiser. On the other hand, there are also a few isolated cases where the runaway is mockingly referred to as a *gentleman* or a *lady*. The three occurrences found in my materials are all used in connection to the runaway's perceived fondness for finer clothing: "it is also probable the *gentleman* has a blue Umbrella with him" (*Baltimore Patriot* Jul 2, 1821), "… is a very dressy lady" (*Federal Gazette* (MD), Jan 1, 1801), "… a very dressy and fine-spoken lady" (*Maryland Journal*, Jan 1, 1790). One advertisement also identifies the runaway as "a negro sir named HENDRICK" (*Connecticut Courant*, Jul 3, 1811), again standing out from other runaway advertisements by choosing a word most slaveholders would not use in connection with the people they enslaved.

To examine the references to runaways in the notices from another angle, I have also investigated the use of the constructions [*said/aforesaid/above/above-mentioned/above-described/above-named* + noun(s) referring to the runaway]. These types of constuctions often occur when the runaway is referred to later on in the notice, so to focus on these later mentions and to investigate what nouns were the most commonly used after the initial identification of the runaway, I conducted word searches for these particular phrases.[98] By far the most common alternative is the construction using *said,* used 1,691 times in connection with a reference to the runaway. *Above* is used 157 times, and all the rest 86 times in total. For this reason, in the discussion below, I will call this group of words *said/etc.*

[98] Searching for the phrases does not uncover all possible ways that the runaway might be referred to later on in the advertisement. As was mentioned, personal pronouns and proper names are also used. Another option was naturally to refer to the person simply by using a definite article in front of the noun, but searching for such phrases also yields occurrences that function as the initial identification of the runaway (in any case, my impression is that using expressions such as "the said Negro/Fellow" rather than "the Negro/Fellow" in later references to a person is considerably more common in these texts).

The nine nouns that most typically occur following *said/etc.* are listed below:

negro(es)	934
fellow(s)	240
slave(s)	162
runaway(s)	131
boy(s)	127
wench(es)	65
[name of runaway]	57
servant(s)	53
girl(s)	22

As the above list includes only the most common variants, it excludes some that are also present, such as "said mulatto" or "said woman",[99] as well as various instances with a noun phrase consisting of several words, such as "above-described negro man" or "said Indian slave". As can be seen, the later references to the runaway primarily refer to them by their race, the most defining character setting them apart from the free population.

As investigating all possible noun phrases referring to the runaway is not feasible, I will use the more limited sample of nouns found in the [*said/etc.* + noun(s) referring to the runaway] construction also to illustrate some differences between various geographical areas in how they typically refer to the runaways. Table 17 includes the most common nouns that appear in the construction, taken from the previous list. The table shows which nouns are the most commonly found in this constrution in the different states. The percentages are counted from all variations of the [*said/etc.* + noun referring to the runaway] construction found in the notices, not from the total number of notices in my corpus.

[99] The *wench* vs. *woman* distinction mirrors that of *fellow* vs. *man*.

Table 17. Percentage of selected nouns in the [*said/etc.* + noun referring to the runaway] construction.

	negro/es	*fellow/s*	*slave/s*	*boy/s*	*runaway/s*	*servant/s*
MA	35.2%	9.3%	0%	3.7%	20.4%	24.1%
CN	48.6%	3.7%	7.3%	8.3%	15.6%	6.4%
NY	51.4%	4.3%	3.3%	6.2%	8.6%	4.3%
PA	60.9%	6.1%	4.6%	1.0%	3.0%	7.1%
MD	45.0%	18.3%	7.3%	5.0%	9.2%	0.8%
VA	41.9%	14.5%	17.6%	6.2%	6.2%	0.7%
SC	53.5%	19.6%	3.5%	4.6%	3.5%	0.5%
GA	51.7%	17.4%	0.9%	10.4%	3.0%	0%
TN	37.5%	16.7%	4.2%	29.2%	4.2%	0%
LA	27.2%	0%	40.8%	12.6%	4.9%	3.9%
MS	57.5%	10.0%	10.0%	12.5%	5.0%	0%
TX	51.5%	0%	18.2%	12.1%	0%	0%

The most noticeable deviation from the expected proportions between the six nouns here considered is seen in the case of Louisiana. There, the most commonly used expression is not "said negro/es" (as is the case in all the other areas), but instead "said slave/s". I speculate that this might be partly due to the large group of free people of color that had developed in Louisiana under French and Spanish rule, in which case it might be more likely to refer to runaways by a term that specifically points out their status as a slave and not a term most closely linked to race. How to account for the relatively large proportion in Virginian advertisements using the expression "said slave(s)" cannot be explained as easily. However, the free Black population was larger in places such as Maryland and Virginia, in contrast to deep south states like Georgia and South Carolina, where the usage of the expression is much lower.[100] In a previous study, I have also suggested that runaway notices featuring a runaway who is described as "mulatto" are more likely to use the word *slave* than ones where the person is described with the term "negro", which might account for some of the differences (Mäkinen 2017). From Table 17 we can also see that the expression "said fellow" does not occur in the Louisiana and Texas advertisements in my corpus at all, but is commonly used in the other Southern

[100] Overall, the Louisiana occurrences of the word *slave* account for 21.5% of all occurrences in my data, while Louisiana advertisements only account for 6.6% of all the notices. For Virginia, the same is 27.3% of occurrences of *slave*, with 17.4% of all notices. By contrast, Georgia's figures are 2.0% and 14.1%.

states. On the other hand, "said servant" forms a noticeable portion of the occurrences in the Northern states in particular. This is to be expected, as a large portion of the enslaved population worked as household servants there.

The fact that the construction [*said* + noun] is so common in the notices is also perhaps worth noting. On average, the runaway notices in my data use the construction [*said* + noun referring to the runaway] 1.5 times per advertisement.[101] Additionally, the notices occasionally also use the construction when referring to places or other people ("said county", "said district", "said Mr. John Calvert"). Studies of Middle and Early Modern English have shown that, by the end of the Early Modern period, the anaphoric reference *said* + noun was mostly used in the legal register, with declining usage in other registers (see Kilpiö 1997; Leung & der Wurff 2018). Perhaps the frequent use of constructions with *said* is at least partly due to the advertisers' attempts to make the runaway slave notices sound more like official documents.

7.4.2 Referring to the advertiser

In some of the runaway notices, the advertisers remain completely anonymous, directing communications via the newspaper office or to some address, or it might be unclear which of the several people named in a runaway notice is the one responsible for placing it (see discussion on the *Subscriber* move in 7.2.9). However, in most cases some person is singled out as having placed the notice, either by the presence of the *Subscriber* move or otherwise inferable by the contents of the notice. In this section, I will examine how the advertisers refer to themselves in the notices.

The use of first person pronouns is the clearest way people situate themselves as the person whose voice is heard in the notice. Table 18 shows how many of the advertisements in my materials contain at least one instance of some first person pronoun (singular or plural), with percentages of 30% or over shaded in green. Slightly over half of the advertisements (52.3%) contain at least one first person pronoun, which is assumed to refer to the person or persons "behind" the advertisement.

[101] The average is less than 1 (0.78) in only Connecticut and Massachusetts, whereas the highest average is in Georgia (1.87).

Table 18. Runaway advertisements containing first person pronouns.

	1700–1729	1730–1749	1750–1769	1770–1789	1790–1809	1810–1829	1830–1849	1850–1865	
MA	0% 0/5	0% 0/6	6.7% 1/15	46.2% 6/13					17.9% 7/39
CN			50.0% 4/8	55.3% 21/38	47.8%% 11/23	9.1% 1/11	50% 1/2		46.3% 38/82
NY		22.2% 2/9	14.3% 1/70	20.7% 12/58	5.0% 3/60	0% 0/13			12.9% 27/210
PA	25.0% 2/8	4.8% 1/21	20.3% 12/59	20.6% 13/63	35.5% 11/31	37.5% 3/8	66.7% 2/3		22.8% 44/193
MD	100% 1/1	100% 1/1	12.5% 1/8	51.5% 34/66	49.0% 49/100	70.2% 66/94	67.3% 33/49	85.2% 52/61	62.4% 237/380
VA		50.0% 1/2	80.0% 32/40	84.7% 72/85	84.2% 80/95	88.0% 88/100	82.7% 62/75	91.2% 52/57	85.2% 387/454
SC		41.4% 24/58	54.2% 52/96	58.6% 41/70	19.0% 19/100	33.0% 33/100	44.7% 34/76	46.8% 29/62	41.3% 232/562
GA			43.5% 10/23	33.3% 6/18	39.0% 39/100	58.0% 58/100	93.1% 67/72	87.3% 48/55	62.0% 228/368
TN					77.8% 7/9	100% 13/13	100% 8/8	85.7% 6/7	91.9% 34/37
LA					0% 0/3	15.0% 6/40	32.3% 20/62	33.3% 22/66	28.1% 48/171
MS						69.6% 32/46	75.0% 6/8	100% 3/3	71.9% 48/57
TX							75% 21/28	77.3% 17/22	76.0% 38/50
	21.4% 3/14	29.9% 29/97	38.2% 122/319	49.9% 205/411	42.0% 219/521	57.1% 300/525	66.3% 254/383	68.8% 229/333	52.3% 1361/2603

My data shows a slight increase in the use of first person pronouns as time proceeds. There are also noticeable differences between the areas. Virginia stands out by including first person pronouns in the advertisements consistently throughout the years. Although with smaller sample sizes, places such as Tennessee, Mississippi and Texas also show a tendency to use such pronouns. In contrast, the Northern

colonies/states mostly avoid first person mentions in their notices (Connecticut being something of an exception to this). In the South, Louisiana and South Carolina use first person pronouns in fewer than half of the advertisements. It would be interesting to investigate whether such differences hold true for the advertising section of the newspapers in general. For instance, Gotti (2005) notes of the English commercial advertisements of the 18th century that the addresser/advertiser "never chooses to appear directly in the text by using first person pronouns" (Gotti 2005: 24). As can be seen from Table 18, the advertisers for runaways in American papers clearly occasionally did, though more rarely in the 18th than in the 19th century.

Despite being present in over half of the notices, first person pronouns were not the only nor even the preferred way the advertisers had of referring to themselves. Instead, they most commonly turned, at least initially, to the term *subscriber*. This way of referring to the advertiser in the third person is common particularly in the *Announcing the escape* move, where the escape is reported to have happened "from the Subscriber". Later on in the notice, the runaway can be instructed to be returned "to the Subscriber's plantation", etc. Some advertisers remain consistent throughout the advertisement, by referring to themselves by the word *subscriber*, or combining it with sentences in the passive, as in example (101).

(101) Fifteen Dollars Reward,
RANAWAY from **the Subscriber** on
the 27th of May last, a likely coun-
try born NEGRO FELLOW, named
JOE, about 35 years of age, six feet high,
has one fore tooth out, and two or three
marks on his breast occasioned by the whip.
He has worked at the coopering business
—**It is supposed** he will make for New-
bern, North-Carolina, as he was raised
there, and purchased from Hardy Gat-
ling. Whoever will secure the above
fellow, so that **the Subscriber** can get him
again shall receive the above reward, and
if brought to **the subscriber's residence** on
Horne's Creek, all reasonable charges will
also be paid.—It is probable the fellow
may endeavour to pass for a free man, as
he has before attempted a deception of
that kind. BENJAMIN MOCK.
July 11. (2t*1)
(*Augusta Herald* (GA), Jul 11, 1804)

What happens more commonly, however, is that the advertiser begins with a reference to the *subscriber*, but later in the advertisement (especially in the *Promising a reward* move), first person pronouns are also used, as the runaway is directed to be returned "to me", or "so that I get him again", as happens in example (102).

(102) Twenty Guineas Reward.
Upper Marlborough, October 28, 1788.
[IMAGE] WENT away from **the subscri-**
ber, on Friday last, a mu-
latto man named SIMON, a good
blacksmith, twenty-eight years of
age, five feet ten inches high, one
of his ankles is larger than the other,
carries himself pretty erect and of soft insinuating
manners ; his mother and brothers live with Henry
May, blacksmith, near South river church, where,
it is probable, he may be secreted at times ; his wife
lives in Baltimore with Samuel Chase, Esquire, so
that he will, perhaps, divide his time between those
places. Ten guineas will be given to any person se-
curing the above fellow, **so that I get him again**, or
the above reward, if brought home.
D. MAGRUDER.
All masters of vessels are hereby cautioned against
taking him on board. (*Maryland Gazette*, Dec 18, 1788)

Inconsistencies in how the advertisers refer to themselves may be due to the advertiser considering that a third-person reference by means of *subscriber* is the expected, more official tone, for the notices. It was certainly how most of the advertisers start their notices.[102] However, towards the end of the notice, many advertisers revert to first-person references. As I suggested when discussing the various ways of structuring the *Promising a reward* move, sometimes first-person references there may have the function of stressing exactly who is personally engaging to pay the mentioned rewards. Additionally, from a more practical point of view, referring to the subscriber by third person pronouns towards the end of the advertisement may result in confusion, as the runaway has also been referred to by

[102] Although some *Announcing the escape* moves do start, for instance, "RAN AWAY from me, on Thursday last,", these are in the minority. Some advertisers also state that the runaway has escaped from "me, the subscriber".

third person pronouns, leading to phrasings such as "Whoever will apprehend said fellow and deliver him to the subscriber, or lodge him in jail, so that *he can get him*…". This potential confusion can be avoided by use of the first person (e.g. "The above reward will be paid by *the subscriber* for the delivery of the said man to *me* or for securing him in any jail so that *I* can get him.")

The word *subscriber* or *subscribers* occurs 1933 times in the corpus. This means that, on average, it appears about 0.7 times per notice, keeping in mind, however, that some advertisements might use the word several times (see example (101)). The table below shows how often the word *subscriber* occurs in the different areas.

Table 19. Occurrences of the word *subscriber/s* in the notices.

	total number of notices	occurrences of the word *subscriber*	occurrences of *subscriber* per notice
MA	39	11	0.3
CN	82	103	1.3
NY	210	141	0.7
PA	193	149	0.8
MD	380	332	0.9
VA	454	356	0.8
SC	562	387	0.7
GA	368	343	0.9
TN	37	27	0.7
LA	171	85	0.5
MS	57	60	1.1
TX	50	31	0.6

In Connecticut and Mississippi, the word occurs more than once per notice on average, with very high numbers also in Georgia, Maryland, Virginia, Tennessee and Pennsylvania. The lowest occurrences are in Massachusetts, Louisiana and Texas (as discussed in connection to the *Subscriber* move, Massachusetts notices did not usually have a *Subscriber* move, thus also the absence of the word *subscriber* in the actual notice is expected). The alternative *undersigned*, which in meaning is synonymous to *subscriber*, is much rarer, with only 30 occurrences in my data. Of these, 17 come from Louisiana papers, and one from a Louisiana advertiser in another state's newspaper. The notices in French found in some of the Louisiana papers often use the term *soussigné*, of which the more direct translation into English

would be *undersigned*, and I suspect that this may be the reason why the word *undersigned* appears mostly in the Louisiana advertisements.

Sometimes the advertisers refer to themselves as the *master/mistress*[103] or the *owner* of the runaway. The numbers presented in Table 20 give the number of times such words occur in the notices in reference to a relationship to the enslaved person (i.e., excluding references to "masters of vessels", "master of the work house", etc.). Although most of the time the person being referred to by the terms *master/mistress/owner* is also the advertiser, the numbers also include several cases referring to a previous "owner" of the enslaved person or cases where the *owner/master/mistress* is mentioned, but is a separate person from that placing the advertisement. Also included are instances such as suspicions that the runaway may "deny the name of his master" or that they had had permission to go to town to "look for a new master".

Table 20. Occurrences of the words *master, mistress* and *owner* in the advertisements.

	total number of notices	occurrences of *master/mistress*	occurrences of *master/mistress* per notice	occurrences of *owner*	occurrences of *owner* per notice
MA	39	57	1.46	0	0
CN	82	20	0.24	3	0.04
NY	210	127	0.60	5	0.02
PA	193	92	0.48	18	0.09
MD	380	44	0.12	18	0.05
VA	454	14	0.03	7	0,02
SC	562	40	0.07	12	0.02
GA	368	9	0.02	12	0.03
TN	37	2	0.05	1	0.03
LA	171	11	0.06	5	0.03
MS	57	4	0.07	2	0.04
TX	50	2	0.04	1	0.02

On the whole, Table 20 shows that none of the options (*master/mistress/owner)* are used very often in the advertisements. There is, however, a noticeable difference in the use of the word *master* between the Northern areas (Massachusetts in particular, where the average is more than once per notice) and the South. While such phrasings

[103] Most of the advertisers or the reported "owners" were male, so *master* is by far the more common variant (408 to 14 occurrences).

may partly be up to chance, perhaps the fact that many of the Northern runaways were servants, and were often advertised alongside White servants, who also had "masters", may have something to do with the tendencies observed here. In the case of Massachusetts, part of the reason is probably also the lack of a *Subscriber* move (discussed in 7.2.9), which often leads to the master of the runaway being mentioned both in the *Announcing the escape* move and in the *Promising a reward* move. References to the *owner* of the runaway are even rarer.[104] In my data, the figures are highest in Pennsylvania followed by Maryland; also, as Pennsylvania was a popular target for Maryland runaways, many Pennsylvania notices are actually from Maryland advertisers. Overall, it is not a common way for the advertisers to refer to themselves or for others to refer to the person claiming ownership of the enslaved person (in contrast, it is frequently used in the "captured" notices posted by jailors, see Mäkinen 2017). Despite the relatively infrequent use of the word *owner*, there were other ways of expressing the idea of enslaved people as the property of somebody else (e.g. the phrase "belonging to", or the use of expressions such as "my negro man" described in the previous section).

Finally, *advertiser*, referring to the person the enslaved person has run away from, occurs three times as well as one additional time in the *Instructions to other papers* move ("insert the above three times and charge advertiser"). Interestingly, the three advertisements that refer to *advertiser* in the *Announcing of escape* move all lack the *Subscriber* move, and instead direct all communications to the office of the newspaper. As the newspaper is acting as an intermediator in these cases, it is possible that they are also more responsible for the wording of the advertisement as a whole. The one advertisement that contains the word in the *Instructions to other papers* does have a subscriber, but, as speculated in my discussion of the *Instructions to other papers* move (see 7.2.7), that move in particular may often originate from the pen of the editor. Based on this rather limited evidence, I am tempted to argue that *advertiser* was perhaps not a word the advertisers would use for themselves, but one that the editors were more likely to use to refer to them.

7.4.3 Referring to other people

Besides the runaway and the advertiser, the runaway notices often mention several other people by name. These can be former owners of the runaway or people the runaway can be returned to. Usually referred to by both first and last name, these references sometimes also include titles and are further defined by places where the person is to be found: "Whoever brings her to my plantation at Ponpon, or to *Doct.*

[104] Two advertisements also refer to the *proprietor* of the runaway.

Samuel Carne in Charles Town", "she was late the property of *John Bernard, of Fell's Point"*, "She was raised in the estate of the *rev. Price Davies, dec. of Newkent county*, and sold to *mr John Piemont*". While the advertisements often refer to the runaway's relatives living in different places, these relatives typically remain nameless, especially if they are also enslaved ("*Her husband* belongs to Col. James Legare, and she has *a free sister named Grace Alston*, staying in Hull-street; also *a sister* belonging to Mr. F. Mitchell"). If the advertiser has a clear idea of who has "stolen" their slaves away, such people also may get named in the notices ("my black woman, named PEGGY, was enticed away from me, by *Samuel Townsend, Patrick Monroe, Joseph Orston and others*", "the said negroes were stolen by *Isaac W. Baker*, a young man just of age"). Unnamed people are sometimes referred to by *gentleman* ("He was seen by a gentleman about a week ago on Chisolm's wharf", "hired to a gentleman at or near Richmond, whose name I do not recollect").

One group of persons who are referred to in a particularly noteworthy way are those who are suspected of having helped the runaway in some way.

(103) …and had on, when he went away, an Iron collar about his Neck, with which he could not have travelled ; therefore it is supposed **some evil-disposed Person** has taken it off.
(*Virginia Gazette* 1, Aug 27, 1756)

(104) He is supposed to be lurking on Long-Island, and **harboured by negroes or ill disposed persons**
(*New York Gazette, and Weekly Mercury*, Jul 1, 1771)

(105) … and no doubt has received of **some malicious person** a free pass
(*Enquirer* (VA), Jan 2, 1821)

(106) It is supposed she is lurking about Town, or harboured by **some person of depraved principles**
(*Mississippi State Gazette*, Feb 3, 1821)

(107) 'Tis supposed he is harboured by **some base White Woman**, as he ¨ has contracted intimacies with several of that Sort lately
(*Pennsylvania Journal, or Weekly Advertiser*, Jul 7, 1763)

As seen in examples (103)–(107), the exact wording used to condemn the people helping the runaway varies. Other examples include one advertiser suspecting that the runaway may have left Georgia "with the assistance of villainy" (*Georgia Journal*, Aug 9, 1815), one offers an extra reward "for the apprehension of the rascal who gave him free papers" (*Augusta Chronicle* (GA), Jan 4, 1847) and another

justifies a reward offered for information on any White harborers with a desire to prosecute "such Pests to Society" (*South Carolina Gazette*, Jan 25, 1772). While, on the whole, such mentions are not found in most runaway notices, when they are present, their intended effect is clear. The suggestion is that the expected, gentlemanly, approach is to follow the law and return the runaway to their enslaver, whereas the people siding with the runaway, offering them help (by freeing them of chains, etc.), must be acting in malice or have a misguided sense of what is right and what is wrong.

The audience of the notice (that is, the readers of the paper) is typically referred to in the move *Promising a reward* by general terms such as *whoever* or *any person or persons*, and the more targeted groups such as *masters of vessels* in the move *Discouraging unwanted actions* (see 7.2.3 and 7.2.5). Requests for particular groups of people to be vigilant or to act in a specific manner can be expressed by politely referring to them as gentlemen:

(108) Any gentleman of my acquaintance will greatly oblige me, by furnishing the said servant with the necessary means for his joining me. (*Philadelphia Gazette*, Jul 1, 1794)

(109) If any of the gentlemen of the army should meet with him, it is requested they will stop him (*New York Gazette*, Jul 7, 1777).

Examples (108) and (109) belong to the various specific requests that are sometimes found in the notices, but that are so rare that I have not assigned them to a specific move.

Finally, example (110) is another case of a notice that specifies the people to whom the advertiser directs his message. The person writing the advertisement clearly deviates from the expected norms of runaway slave notices and adopts a more bombastic style.

(110) Now, these are humbly to request all people, nations, kindreds, tongues and languages, and especially all masters and shippers of vessels, of all colours and sizes, to apprehend him the said Charles, alias Sam Tawneymore, or by whatever other name he may attempt to pass, and put him in some secure gaol so that I get him again, or bring him home to me, and I'll pay the above reward, and all reasonable charges, as sure as my name is RICHARD ELLIS. (*Pennsylvania Journal, or Weekly Advertiser*, Jan 4, 1786)

While most advertisers would refer to this group as "whoever" or "any person", the advertiser in example (110) opts for a wordier alternative, purely for stylistic reasons, I assume. The notice is also exceptional in that it explicitly "requests" the capture of the runaway, which does not normally happen in the *Promising a reward* move. It

serves as another example of advertisers adapting an unexpected style probably in order to secure the attention of the reader more effectively.

7.5 Runaway slave notices on the pages of the newspapers: changes and updates

In this final analysis section, I will present some observations on the genre of runaway slave notices that require examination not only of the advertisements that form my corpus, but also comparisons to versions of the same advertisement in different papers or in subsequent issues of the same paper. The overarching theme of this section is: what happens to the advertisement once it reaches the newspaper? I will first discuss the effects the editors had on the visual appearance and the wording of the advertisements, as well as the question of where they placed these notices in their newspapers. Then I will look at how the advertisement may change once it had been published in the paper, that is, how advertisers sometimes updated their notices along the way. Finally, I will give some examples of intertextuality between the runaway notices, showing how sometimes the reader was expected to be familiar with the contents of other runaway advertisements to understand fully the one they were reading.

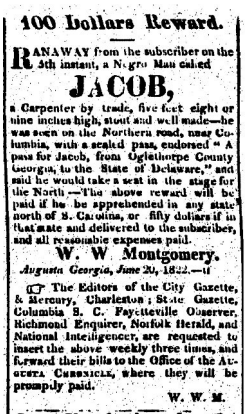
7.5.1 Influence of the editors

The runaway advertisement (like other advertisements in the newspapers) can be seen as a joint creation between the advertiser and the editor of the newspaper. In the move analysis, I have already suggested that the move *Instructions to other papers* was often written by the editor of the paper. It is probably safe to assume that, in general, the advertiser was responsible for the message of the notice and the editor for most of the visual aspects. However, the actual process by which these advertisements were created is partly opaque to the present-day reader. For instance, might the advertisers enter the office of the editor and give a verbal description of the runaway and the conditions of their escape, and leave it to the editor to put the message in writing and choose some of the wording? While the *Date and place* move in many notices strongly suggests that they were written at the place of residence of the advertiser and then sent to the newspaper for publication, not all advertisements carry that move. I have speculated that at least some of the notices without a *Subscriber* move that direct all inquiries to "this office" may be more directly penned by the editors. Taylor (2020) has examined colonial slave sale advertisements that direct the readers to "enquire of the printer". Regarding these notices, Taylor remarks that it is not known whether these texts were composed by the editor of the paper, his printers, or his advertisers, and speculates, as I do, that while some

advertisements were probably sent to the advertisers, others might result from printers "translat[ing] an advertiser's details into the generic conventions of slave sale notices" (Taylor 2020: 305–306).

The fact that many advertisers tried to maximize the audience for their runaway notices by publishing them in several different newspapers opens the possibility to examine at least some of the smaller effects the editors or printers had on the notices, particularly on their visual appearance (aspects of which have been discussed in 7.3). When collecting my main corpus, I excluded any duplicates, but here I will present some observations that a comparison between such duplicates can show about how the runaway slave notice might be shaped by different printers.

For instance, Figure 26 and Figure 27 represent what is essentially the same advertisement, the first one originating from the pages of the *Augusta Chronicle* in Georgia, the second one from the *Enquirer* in Virginia.



100 Dollars Reward.

RANAWAY from the subscriber on the 5th instant, a Negro Man called

JACOB,

a Carpenter by trade, five feet eight or nine inches high, stout and well made—he was seen on the Northern road, near Columbia, with a sealed pass, endorsed "A pass for Jacob, from Oglethorpe County Georgia, to the State of Delaware," and said he would take a seat in the stage for the North.—The above reward will be paid if he be apprehended in any state north of S. Carolina, or fifty dollars if in that state and delivered to the subscriber, and all reasonable expenses paid.

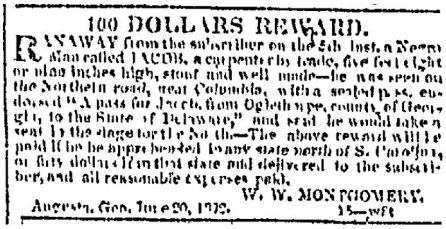
W. W. Montgomery.

Augusta Georgia, June 20, 1822.—tf

☞ The Editors of the City Gazette, & Mercury, Charleston; State Gazette, Columbia S. C. Fayetteville Observer, Richmond Enquirer, Norfolk Herald, and National Intelligencer, are requested to insert the above weekly three times, and forward their bills to the Office of the Augusta Chronicle, where they will be promptly paid.

W. W. M.

Figure 26. Advertisement from the *Augusta Chronicle* (GA), Jul 1, 1822; *America's Historical Newspapers (NewsBank/Readex).*



100 DOLLARS REWARD.

RANAWAY from the subscriber on the 5th inst. a Negro Man called JACOB, a carpenter by trade, five feet eight or nine inches high, stout and well made—he was seen on the Northern road, near Columbia, with a sealed pass, endorsed "A pass for Jacob, from Oglethorpe county, of Georgia, to the State of Delaware," and said he would take a seat in the stage for the North.—The above reward will be paid if he be apprehended in any state north of S. Carolina, or fifty dollars if in that state and delivered to the subscriber, and all reasonable expenses paid.

W. W. MONTGOMERY.

Augusta, Geo. June 20, 1822. 15—wft

Figure 27. Advertisement from the *Enquirer* (VA), Jul 2, 1822; *America's Historical Newspapers (NewsBank/Readex).*

The *Augusta Chronicle* is the original paper where the notice was published, and the notice in that paper includes the *Instructions to other papers* move, directing the

Enquirer (among other papers) to copy it. The text of the Enquirer version remains faithful to the original (but leaves out the *Instructions to other papers* move). Only the word "instant" is abbreviated to "Inst." in the *Enquirer*. The visuals of the notice undergo a more noticeable change: The use of capital letters in the headlines differs, and an examination of the advertising sections of both pages confirms that both advertisements follow their own paper's standards. In the *Augusta Chronicle*, all headlines only capitalize the first letters of the words, whereas the *Enquirer* uses all capitals for them. The *Enquirer* also systematically uses capital letters for the name of the subscriber, while the original highlights the name by a larger type size. Most noticeably, the prominence of the runaway's name (larger font and a line of its own) disappears when the notice is copied in the *Enquirer*.

When there is no clear evidence that one advertisement has been copied from the other, but instead it is possible that the advertiser has sent the advertisement to both papers independently, it is again difficult to know whether some differences between the notices originate from the advertiser or the printer. For instance, examples (111) and (112) come from two New York papers.

(111) Stop the Runaway,
Absented himself from his master's employ, on Tuesday morning last, a mulatto boy named JACK, about 16 years of age, full face and pretty stout built, has an awkward swaggering walk ; had on when he went away, tow trowsers, an old blue jacket with red cuffs, and green hkf. round his neck—has formerly been a chimney sweep. Whoever will apprehend said boy and give information at no. 40, John-street, shall be satisfactorily rewarded. All masters of vessels and others are cautioned against harboring him at their peril. june 25. 2w
(*New York Gazette*, Jul 1, 1801)

(112) STOP THE RUNAWAY.
A mulatto boy named JACK, absented himself from his master's employ on Tuesday morning last ; he is about 16 years of age, full face and pretty stout built, has an awkward swaggering walk. Had on when he went away, tow trowsers, an old blue jacket with red cuffs, and a green handkerchief round his neck ; has formerly been a chimney sweep. Whosoever will ap-

prehend said boy, and give information at No 40 John street, shall be satisfactorily rewarded. All masters of vessels and others are cautioned against harbouring him at their peril. June 25 1w
(*Daily Advertiser* (NY), Jul 1, 1801)

Like in the previous pair of notices, examples (111) and (112) differ in the use of capital letters in the headline, and, once again, both papers follow the style also used in other advertisements on their pages. More interestingly, example (111) starts the notice in the typical way, with the verb fronted, whereas example (112) uses the regular English word order. It is possible that the advertiser sent these different versions to the papers, but I find it equally possible that the editor of the *New York Gazette* might have changed the order to the one commonly used in runaway notices. Since the advertisement in example (111) inverts the word order, the description carries on from "a Mulatto boy named JACK" with only a comma in between. Example (112), where the *Announcing the escape* move ends with the words "on Tuesday morning last", includes the words "he is" at the beginning of the description. The advertisements also contain other minute differences: "handkerchief" vs "hkf.", and "whoever" vs. "whosoever", and differences in where semicolons and dashes are used.

More radical differences between the same notice are also possible, as seen in examples (113) and (114), which come from papers in 1750s New York:

(113) [IMAGE] RUN *away from the Subscriber, about 5 weeks ago, a young Negro Man called* Hannibal*, alias,* Sandy*, born at* Barbados *: He is about 5 Feet high, thick liped, with big Cheeks ; has a down Look, a Scar under his Chin, and talks much : Had on when he went away, a short brown jacket with Hooks and Eyes, and a striped double-breasted do. Leather Breeches, and an old Hat and Wig. Whoever secures the said Negro, so that his Master may have him again, shall receive* FORTY SHILLINGS *Reward, and all reasonable Charges paid, by* CORNELIUS TIEBOUT.
(*New-York Mercury*, Jan 2, 1758)

(114) *RUN away from the Subscriber, about five weeks ago, a young negro man called* Hanibal*, alias* Sandy*, born at* Barbados *: He is about 5 feet long, thick lip'd, and thick cheek'd, has a down look, a scar under his chin ; a fellow that will talk much ; had on when he went away, a brown short jacket with hooks and eyes, a*

> *black and white strip'd homespun double-breasted jacket, a leather pair of breeches, and an old wigg and hat. Whoever secures the said negro, so that his master may have him again, shall have forty shillings reward, and all reasonable charges paid, by* J2†
> *Cornelius Tiebout.*
> (*New-York Gazette, or the Weekly Post-Boy*, Jan 2, 1758)

It seems unlikely that both advertisements faithfully represent an advertisement originally written by the same person, as they differ for instance in the use of capital letters for nouns, the punctuation chosen and the spelling of words such as *Hannibal/Hanibal*, *Wig/wig, liped/lip'd* and *striped/strip'd.* Furthermore, some parts of the description are phrased differently: "with big Cheeks" vs. "and thick cheek'd", and "and talks much" vs. "a fellow that will talk much", the phrasings used in (113) seeming more in line with ones typically found in runaway notices. Exactly what process led to these differences can only be guessed at. Did Cornelius Tiebout send approximately the same advertisement to the two papers, but the editor of the *Mercury* edited it to a greater extent? Or did he dictate the contents of the notice at the printing offices of the two papers, the spelling reflecting the writing style of whoever wrote the advertisement down? Whatever the case, it seems that some crucial role was played by the printers of the two papers for the end results to differ this noticeably.

When discussing the use of headlines in the notices, I also noted that comparisons between different papers showed that sometimes an editor might place the starting phrase of the advertisement as a major headline while in another paper the layout is less complex. Despite possible differences in layout, it seems reasonable to expect that the text found in the headline is often provided by the advertiser. For instance, many advertisements refer back to the headline in the body text of the notice by "the above reward", so if the headline was not provided by the advertiser, the printers would need to have modified the text of the advertisement further. Likewise, at a time when most advertisements in the papers had headlines, it seems logical that an advertiser composing their notice would include one in it, based on that model. However, there are also some clear cases of headlines originating from the editors of the paper: for instance, the *City Gazette* (SC) issues in 1820 and 1821 have the unusual headline model of "[name of fugitive] ran-away", (e.g. "MARGARET ran-away") in nearly all of the runaway notices. In many of these, this headline is then followed by a second one, which, as is usually the case, announces the reward. The suspicion that the first type of headline was an addition by the editor to all the runaway notices in the paper can be further confirmed, as one of notices was copied from another paper, and the original paper did not contain such a headline.

Although the printers/editors of the newspapers do not make themselves overtly visible in the advertisements in my materials, Carlisle (n.d.) draws attention to an

interesting North Carolina notice from the *Edenton Gazette and North Carolina General Advertiser*. The runaway notice promises a 30-dollar reward for a "likely yellow NEGRO GIRL". At the very end of the advertisement is a note by the printer: "If this Girl has a name, the owner would have done well to have announced it to the public.—Pr." Either the printer wanted to make sure that nobody would think that he had made a mistake by accidentally leaving out a crucial piece of information,[105] or in his mind, the name of the runaway was such a central part of a runaway notice that its omission needed some comment.

Another aspect where the printer's/editor's influence is seen in the notices is their placement in the newspaper columns of the papers. For most of the 18th century, the inner organization of advertisement columns in the newspapers was quite minimal. Originally, all advertisements were grouped under the heading "Advertisements" at the end of the paper (see 3.2). Even when advertisements started increasing in number and found their place on the first page as well as later pages of the paper, there does not seem to have been much concern in organizing them by theme. However, as the number of advertisements grew, so did the need for organization. Gradually, separate headings for certain types of advertisements started to emerge: for instance, "Auction sales" might receive a separate column in the paper. As the number of commercial advertisements grew in the 19th century, most papers included more and more columns dedicated to a specific type of advertisement. This was to be expected, as the growth in the number of advertisements meant it was increasingly unfeasible for the casual reader to skim through all the notices to find what they might be looking for. By the mid-19th century, some papers had quite a number of different headings in the advertising columns, such as "Dry goods", "Wants", "Housing", "Balls" and "New York Advertisements". Nevertheless, even these papers carried many notices that did not fall under any of the more specific headings.

Runaway slave notices, though a fairly common type of notice in the papers, are grouped under a specific subheading only in a few papers in my materials. For instance, the July 1, 1828 issue of the *New-Orleans Argus* has ten runaway slave notices, all placed under a section titled "RUNAWAY NEGROES". This section is immediately followed by the heading "DETAINED IN JAIL", under which notices about captured runaways are to be found. The paper is bilingual, with about half of its pages in French, and some of the advertisements are repeated in French in the French half of the paper. However, the French advertisements are not grouped under any heading in the French half, but occur among advertisements of various types. An issue of the Mississippi paper *Ariel* (Aug 3, 1827) has one column with the

[105] Sometimes the printers might indeed leave out crucial information. I have come across runway notices where, for instance, the name of the subscriber has dropped from the end of the notice at some point in its publication history.

subheading "RUNAWAYS", which is filled with notices about runaway slaves and captured runaways. The paper also has one runaway notice and several captured runaways on a previous page, in a column titled simply "ADVERTISEMENTS", so the reader cannot actually find all the advertisements under the more specific heading.

One question at least some printers seemed to grapple with is whether runaway slave notices should be grouped with other types of "lost property" or not. Some issues of the *Times-Picayune* (e.g. Jan 1, 1842) have a section titled "LOSSES", which groups runaway slave notices together with notices concerning strayed horses and lost dogs. On the other hand, the *Sun* in Maryland (e.g. Jul 2, 1849) has a "Lost and found" section, which usually has notices about animals (and even about a 3-year-old child who has "strayed away" from home), but runaway slave notices are not placed in this category. Instead, they are found elsewhere in the paper, without a heading in their column. In the 1860s, the *Sun* still has the "Lost and found" section, but has also introduced a new section heading called "Personal". Runaway notices are grouped under that heading, alongside a very varied assortment of notices including ones for astrologists, runaway wives, corsets, "female pills" and other medicines, etc. The *Sunday Delta* in Louisiana (1860) titles one of its columns "Lost - Found - Run away", with runaways advertised for alongside various types of lost and found property.[106] The *Daily True Delta* (1862) includes runaway notices under "Wants--Lost--Found" alongside notices concerning guns, ponies, "a lady wanting a situation", etc. In addition, sometimes runaway notices are found under columns dedicated to advertisements concerning a particular city (e.g. "Houston advertisements") and in some papers under the category "Miscellaneous". One of the runaway advertisements in my data is also found in a column titled "At Jacob Valk's Office", (*South Carolina Gazette* Jan 2, 1775), as the commissions merchant Jacob Valk had his own column in the paper, dedicated to his various advertisements.

Most runaway advertisements in my data, however, are not found under columns with specific titles but rather they are placed among advertisements of various kinds. This might be because runaway notices were not always very numerous in a single paper, and thus perhaps the editors thought they did not warrant a heading of their own. The more elaborate groupings in the papers grew more common in the 1850s and 1860s, at which time the vast majority of the advertisements were commercial advertisements. When there are several runaway notices in a paper, they can be found in a cluster, but not consistently. The printers may have aimed to group similar types of notices together, particularly if they were inserted in a paper at the same time, but as the notices often ran for several issues, the printer would probably not reorganize

[106] Similarly to the Maryland *Sun*, the paper also has a "Personal" section, but it does not place runaway notices there.

the whole advertising page to insert a new runaway notice to be near others of its kind. In any case, the examples in my data where these advertisements are grouped under specific subheadings seem to indicate some unease concerning exactly what other types of notices runaway slave notices should overtly be contrasted with.

7.5.2 Updated runaway notices

It was common for advertisers to direct the newspapers to publish their runaway notices "till forbid". This means that the same advertisement might run in the papers for several months, sometimes even over a year. Most of the time, the advertisements are repeated from one issue to the next in completely identical form, not even correcting obvious mistakes like a repeated word (suggesting that advertisements that were republished in several issues were not typeset again between issues). In other cases, however, the advertisements received various kinds of updates along the way. Such updates were sometimes clearly marked as updates to the original notice, but at other times the alterations might only be spotted when comparing the old and new advertisements to one another.

A typical update to the notices is the raising of the reward sum. When a runaway notice had been published in a paper for a while without success, some advertisers increased the promised reward. The advertisement in example (115) promises five dollars for the capture of the runaway.

(115) [IMAGE] RUN AWAY, on the 26th instant, A NEGRO CLY, about 5 feet 3 or 4 inches high, of a yellowish complexion, speaks very broken English, branded OS on one shoulder, his country marks appear very plain in his face, he is not much inclined to talk ; had on when he went away a check woollen shirt, white Negro cloth jacket, and overalls that are patched on the seat with cloth of a different colour. **A reward of five dollars** will be given to whoever will secure him in the Common Gaol, and apply at G. Denison's, or to
WILLIAM W. GALE.
Savannah, December 31, 1793.
(*Georgia Gazette*, Jan 9, 1794)

When collecting my newspaper samples from six months apart, I came across the "same" advertisement in the July 3, 1794 issue. The only difference between the notices was that the reward sum had been changed to "20 dollars" in the text. The *Date and place* move at the bottom of the advertisement had also remained the same, so tracking down when the change had happened would need to be done by going through the issues in between.

Even more radical changes in the "same" notice can happen. Example (116) is the original notice published in the *City Gazette* (SC) on November 29, the day that is also marked in the notice as the first day of publication. Example (117) shows what the advertisement looks like a couple of months later. Although "original date of publication" is still the same at the bottom of the advertisement, a two-person runaway notice has turned into a one-person notice.

(116) 100 Dollars Reward,
[IMAGE] Will be given for the apprehension of **two fellows** named CÆSAR **and JIM**. **They were** formerly the property of Mr Villeponteaux, of St. John's Berkley, and late the property of Henry L Carnes of Georgetown. Cæsar, is a likely black fellow, remarkably short hair, country born, about five feet, nine or ten inches high and inclined to bow leg. **Jim, is also a likely black fellow, about five feet, ten inches high, square shouldered and very athletic. They have** a mother, belonging to Mr. Edward Carew of Charleston, and a father named Dover, to Mr. Tennants, in Goose Creek—also relations at Mr. Nowell's mills, in St Thomas'. The above reward, **or 50 dollars for each**, will be paid on **their** delivery to me, or lodged in either of the Jails, in Charlestown or Georgetown.

CHARLES HUGGINS,
Nov 29 Georgetown, S. C.
(*City Gazette* (SC), Nov 29, 1825)

(117) 50 Dollars Reward,
[IMAGE] Will be given for the apprehension of **a *FELLOW***, named CÆSAR. **He was** formerly the property of Mr Villeponteaux, of St. John's Berkley, and late the property of

Henry L Carnes of Georgetown.
Cæsar, is a likely black fellow,
remarkably short hair, country
born, about five feet, nine or ten
inches high and inclined to bow leg. **He**
has a mother, belonging to Mr. Edward Carew
of *Charleston*, and a father named Dover, to Mr.
Tennants, in Goose Creek—also relations at Mr.
Nowell's mills, in St Thomas'. The above reward
will be paid on **his** delivery to me, or lodged in
either of the Jails, in Charlestown or Georgetown.
CHARLES HUGGINS,
Nov 29 *Georgetown, S. C.*
(*City Gazette*, Jan 4, 1826)

It seems that one of the brothers, Jim, had been captured some time in between the two versions of the notice. Instead of writing a new advertisement, the advertiser apparently had directed the paper to delete all mentions of the second runaway from the notice, and to keep the advertisement otherwise the same.

Another option that some advertisers used was keeping the original advertisement as is, but adding postscripts as updates, as happens in example (118).

(118) RUN away from James Searles two Negro
Women, one named Delia, having with her a sucking
Child, and she speaks very little English ; and the other
named Clarinda, speaks very good English, she formerly
belonged to Madam Trott: They took a Cyprus Ca-
noe about 25 Foot long and 3 Foot wide. Whoever will
give Intelligence of them, so as they may be had again,
shall be rewarded by James Searles.
N. B. Delia is brought back, and 3 l. Reward for
Clarinda.
(*South Carolina Gazette*, Jul 1, 1732)

Instead of a new advertisement (or modifying the existing one as happens in example (117)), the advertiser in (118) notes in a postscript that one of the runaways has already been captured. At the same time, he defines the reward for the woman whose escape still continued.

Example (119) includes two separate additions to the runaway notice They, similarly to the original notice, are marked with the first date of publication, the three

dates (March 29, April 16 and June 11) making it easier to track the evolution of the advertisement. The final addition (made on June 11) is the sentence starting with "Since the above negro broke out of....". The move *Instructions to other papers* is present already in the earlier version of the notice.

(119) THIRTY DOLLARS REWARD—Will be given for apprehending and securing in jail, so that I get him again, negro man GEORGE, who ranaway from my residence in Goochland on 28th March last. He is a very likely black fellow, strong made, about twenty-one or twenty two years old, and five feet four or five inches high. He carried away with him a blue cloth Sunday coat, together with his working clothes. George was out nearly all of last year, employed in the neighborhood of Cuckoo, Louisa, as a ditcher, and was about two weeks ago taken out of Staunton jail. —Being a very crafty fellow, should he be apprehended and not well secured, he will make his escape.

THOMAS MILLER.

La Vallee, (Goochland), March 29.

N.B. George was again, about a week ago, taken out of Staunton jail, and made his escape about 20 miles this side of Staunton, in the neighborhood of which place he is probably lurking. . . . . .☞Since the above negro broke out of Staunton jail, he has been confined in that of Greenbrier, which he has also broken out of.

April 16. T. M.

☞The Editor of the Staunton Observer will please insert the above three times, and forward his account for payment to the subscriber, living near Goochland courthouse. THO: MILLER.

June 11. 10..tf

(*Enquirer* (VA), Jul 2, 1819)

Both of the later additions in example (119) concern the captures and subsequent escapes of the runaway (at the same time proving the aptness of the final sentence of the original notice: "Being a very crafty fellow, should he be apprehended and not well secured, he will make his escape").

According to the advertising rates often mentioned on the pages of the newspapers, the price of placing a new advertisement in the paper was usually higher than "subsequent insertions". Some papers also promised that "inconsequential" modifications to the advertisement could be made without a further charge, which would be one reason why some advertisers preferred to add updates to their old notices instead of writing entirely new ones.

7.5.3 Intertextual references between runaway notices

In general, runaway slave notices functioned as independent texts (also evinced by the fact that similar texts could be circulated as broadside poster advertisements, away from the context of a newspaper). The examples presented in this section show, however, that sometimes the advertisers assumed that the readers were also familiar with other notices in the same paper, or previous advertisements that they had written.

Examples (120) and (121) both refer back to previous advertisements by the same person. The first one complains about how the previous advertisement had not succeeded in getting the runaways to return (for more on this advertisement, see the *Addressing the slave* move in 7.2.6), the second one acknowledges that a previous advertisement had already contained a description of the runaway, but a new and possibly improved version of the description is found in the current notice (for more on this advertisement, see 7.2.13).

(120) WHEREAS **the Advertisement formerly published, and continued for a considerable time in this Gazette**, by the subscriber, offering remission of the punishment justly due to Boston and his wife Sue, two negroes formerly belonging to Mr. Hugh Cartwright, on the terms therein mentioned, hath failed of the end thereby intended: …
(*South Carolina Gazette*, Jul 4, 1754)

(121) For fear of inaccuracy in my last advertisement, I will again describe his person. (*Alexandria Gazette* (VA), Jul 2, 1827)

Previous advertisements on the same runaway are also mentioned in examples (122) and (123).

(122) N. B. This Fellow **was advertised in the New-York Papers the 5th of June, and in Newhaven the [12th?] of June 1759** ; was

afterwards taken up in Waterbury, and was put into Litchfield Goal, from thence he was brought to Bedford, and there made his Escape from his master again. (*New York Gazette*, Jan 5, 1761)

(123) RUN-away from Lawrence Janse Van Buskerk, near Hackinsack, a negro man who **was lately advertised in the MERCURY**, named Æsop (*New-York Mercury*, Jan 5, 1756)

I suspect that the references to previous advertisements in (122) and (123) are made, because (at least in (122)) a previous advertisement had successfully led to capture of the runaway at least for some time. This means that people who identified the runaway the first time might now more easily recognize them if informed that the same person is once again missing.

In other cases, knowledge of the contents of other notices in the paper is expected to give additional information on the runaway:

(124) RUN away on the 8th Instant, from the Subscriber, a Convict Servant Man, named Thomas Overton, […] It is supposed he has taken with him, a Negro Fellow, belonging to Antil Deaver, at the Head of Bush-River ; **which Negro has been advertised in the News-Paper** ; but may since have chang'd his Apparel.
(*Pennsylvania Gazette*, Jul 7, 1743)

(125) …the Negro woman FANNY, who ran away in the month of June last, and **has been long advertised; she has been so fully described that a repetition is considered unnecessary**, particularly as she is generally known in and about the city. (*Georgia Gazette*, Jul 4, 1799)

The advertisement in example (124) is signed by two people, Michael Lawless (whose "convict servant man" is the main focus of the notice) and Antill Deaver, and promises a reward for either "the said Servant or Slave". While the convict servant gets a detailed description, the "Negro Fellow" does not. It is noted that he "has been advertised in the News-Paper", and thus the necessary information for identifying him is already out there, the only update in this advertisement being that the clothing description of the original advertisement may no longer be accurate. The advertisement in example (125) also skips a description of the runaway, excusing it not only because the woman is "known", but also because she has been described in previous advertisements.

Other kinds of references to previous advertisements can also be found. One advertiser alerts the readers that their runaway is "supposed to be with Mr. Richard B. Wylly's negroes, which are advertised in this paper" (*Savannah Republican* (GA),

Jan 5, 1809), this other advertisement therefore providing a description of the runaway's potential travel companions. Another advertiser threatens punishment "with the utmost rigor of the law" to any harborers or employers of a runaway, "as he has for several years past been advertised to that effect" (*Savannah Republican* (GA), Jul 2, 1807). That is, he cites the long-running advertisements as a reason why everyone should be well aware that the person is a runaway. These examples, though not very numerous, show that some advertisers expect the readers of their advertisements to be able to draw on their knowledge of other runaway advertisements in the papers to provide additional information for fully understanding a notice.

8 Discussion

In the previous chapter I analyzed the genre of runaway slave notices by conducting a move analysis on the advertisements in my corpus. In addition to describing the various moves and their features, I also examined some aspects of the genre not easily covered by move analysis. Features such as references to the various people involved or the general visual aspects of the advertisements were more easily dealt with when examining the advertisement as a whole, and therefore they were not subsumed under the move analysis. In this chapter, I will draw together the various strands of analysis to discuss the findings in connection with my research questions and what kind of picture of the genre my research has created. I will discuss what move analysis, alongside the other approaches, can tell us about the features of a runaway notice and how the notion of a prototypical runaway notice might change depending on the time and place. I will also evaluate how well move analysis works to examine a genre like the runaway slave notice. Before moving on to discussing my results I will, however, start by introducing two "runaway notices" that, for reasons explained below, did not form part of my corpus, but which I believe can serve as a worthwhile lead-in to discuss various aspects pertinent to my study.

The first of these examples comes from a 1786 issue of the *Worcester Magazine.*[107] While combing through the advertising sections of Massachusetts papers in the 1780s as I was collecting my corpus, I did not come across runaway slave notices. This was to be expected, considering the speedy disappearance of slavery in the state during that decade (see 2.3). What was not as expected was finding the following "advertisement" placed in the poetry section of the paper.

[107] The reason why this "magazine" was included in my materials (which were collected from newspapers) was because it is included in *America's Historical Newspapers* as an alternative title for the newspaper *Massachusetts Spy*. When, for a period of two years, Massachusetts legislators placed a tax on all advertisements in newspapers, the printer of the *Massachusetts Spy* changed his publication into the *Worcester Magazine* in protest. While the outer appearance of the publication was changed to a magazine format and its publication turned weekly, the contents remained for the most part the same, and once the tax was repealed, publication of the newspaper-format *Massachusetts Spy* resumed (Mott 1958: 92–93).

From the VIRGINIA GAZETTE.
ADVERTISEMENT.
OLD Negro TOM has run away,
His freedom to obtain ;
And all the old patrollers say,
He can't be caught again.
Whoever takes the runagade,
And brings him safe to me,
For all his labour shall be paid,
Ten pounds shall be his fee.
Old Tom is nearly six feet high,
Flat nose and curly hair,
Virginia born, and prone to lie,
And sometimes he will swear ;
Plays well upon the violin,
And works beyond compare,
Can turn his hand to any thing,
But never heard a pray'r.
Sometimes he wears a cotton coat,
And sometimes naked goes,
One of his eyes is half put out ;
The frost has cropt his toes.
I never learnt the wretch to read,
For 'twas as plain as light,
The more he knew, the more he'd plead
That freedom was his right.
The slave is given much to pride,
And loves his sharpshin[108] cash ;
His back is like an oxe's hide,
So often borne the lash.
Old Tom is aged forty years,
And yet I truly tell,
For all his toil and all his cares,
I never wish'd him well.
If he would serve me twenty more,
Contented I should be ;
To heaven or hell he then might soar,

108 Sharpshin: "Apparently originally a name for some coin of very small value; later, used as a type of what has little value. *U.S.*" (*OED*, s.v. 'sharpshin')

And be entirely free.
I want old Tom to do my work,
That I may live at ease,
To raise my bread and fat my pork,
And do just what I please.
If, in the term of fifteen days,
Old Tom comes home to me,
I'll only lash him for his ways,
From death he shall be free :
But if he longer time remain,
And live a lawless stray,
The law has made the matter plain,
And any man may slay. H. B.
(*Worcester Magazine* (MA), Jul 6, 1786)

The poem (referred to as the "Old Tom" poem from now on), which the magazine claims to be taken from the *Virginia Gazette*, seems at first glance to be a runaway slave notice put into verse form, especially as it is titled "ADVERTISEMENT". Since the *Worcester Magazine* treats it as a poem and not an advertisement the readers are expected to respond to, I did not include it in my corpus. A more pertinent question, however, is whether the text had originally appeared as a genuine runaway slave notice in the *Virginia Gazette.* Unfortunately, there are only a few extant issues of this particular *Virginia Gazette*[109] in the *America's Historical Newspapers* database for the 1780s. Therefore, I was unable to ascertain whether the poem truly originates from that paper, and if so, whether it was placed among other advertisements or in the poetry column.[110] The latter case would indicate that it was not meant to be taken as a genuine advertisement at all, which, as I will argue later, is the more probable case here.

Although I could not confirm the origins of the "Old Tom" poem/advertisement in the *Virginia* Gazette, a search in *America's Historical Newspapers* did uncover an

[109] In the 18th century, several newspapers in Virginia went by the name *Virginia Gazette*, some of them even publishing concurrently. In this case, the *Virginia Gazette* in question would be the Richmond-based *Virginia Gazette* (1782–96), sometimes also published under the name *Virginia Gazette and Weekly Advertiser.*

[110] The extant issues of the *Virginia Gazette* show that the fourth page of the paper is generally dedicated to advertisements. However, the page often also includes at the beginning of the page a column titled "POET'S CORNER.", containing a poem sent by a reader or copied from another paper, which might be where the "Old Tom" poem was first published.

earlier publication of the poem in the *Pennsylvania Packet* on June 6, 1786 (also attributing it to the *Virginia Gazette*), and the *Newport Mercury* (RI) on June 19, 1786 (with the claim "The following is an original Advertisement, taken from a late Virginia Gazette"). In the same year, it was also published in *Loudon's New York Packet* (June 22, 1786) and finally the *State Gazette of South-Carolina* (Aug 10, 1786). Interestingly, the same poem resurfaces a few years later, in the *Independent Gazetteer* (PA) on November 5, 1789, and the *Herald of Freedom* (MA) on December 25, 1789. This time around, both papers name the *Jamaica Centinel* as the source of the poem. Whether the poem had in the intervening years made its way to British papers in the Caribbean and from there back to the United States remains to be investigated. In any case, the spread of the poem from one paper to another is an example of the complex networks between newspaper editors and the habit they had of copying materials from each other (see 3.1). The same networks also allowed for the spread of genuine runaway notices from paper to paper, though in such cases, payment and direct requests for copying were needed (see 7.2.7, Move: *Instructions to other papers*).

Before moving on to discussing what features of the prototypical runaway advertisement are present in the "Old Tom" poem and why I believe the text is not meant as a genuine advertisement, I will present another poem that my browsing through the pages of 18th and 19th-century newspapers uncovered. The poem/advertisement (or "public notice" as it labels itself) shown below (and referred from here on as the "Apprentice" poem) comes from a Connecticut paper in 1811. As the notice concerns a runaway apprentice, not an enslaved person, it was not included in my corpus, but it still merits some discussion here. It shows that a runaway notice *can* be set into verse and still clearly fulfil its intended purpose of enlisting the help of the public in capturing a runaway.

PUBLIC NOTICE.
ON February the twenty fifth day,
From the subscriber ran away,
A certain boy, a spruce young blade,
Apprentice to the Cooper's trade –
Alexander S. Kennedy is his name,
From Santa Cruz he lately came ;
His stature small, tho' five feet high,
Four inches more or very nigh ;
Complexion dark as Creoles are,
Strait is his form and black his hair ;
His age is just about eighteen,
And on him now there may be seen
A light surtout, and striped vest,

Brown pantaloons, and for the rest,
Blue stockings, mittens, hats and shoes,
And other things which we call clothes.
Who'er will bring him back to me,
Shall have three farthings as a fee ;
But from the time he ran away,
No charges will I ever pay,
Let no one now, him trust or harbour,
As they're forbid by
STEPHEN BARBER.
Hebron, March 4.
(*Connecticut Gazette*, March 13, 1811)

Unlike is the case for the "Old Tom" poem, I see little reason to doubt that the "Apprentice" poem is meant as a genuine runaway notice. Together, the examples provide a good starting point for a discussion on the notion of a prototypical runaway notice, as well as a discussion on the relationship between a runaway slave notice and runaway notices concerning other people.

Firstly, there are features in both of the poems that are very familiar to readers who have encountered runaway notices before. In the analysis chapter, I began the move analysis by introducing the three central moves of the genre: *Announcing the escape* (see 7.2.1), *Describing the runaway* (see 7.2.2) and *Promising a reward* (see 7.2.3). In my corpus, 96% of the advertisements contained *Announcing the escape*, all contained the move *Describing the runaway* (even if in some notices this description might be limited to a noun phrase), and over 99% contained the *Promising a reward* move. These three moves can also be found in both the poems. *Announcing the escape* is found at the beginning of both the poems, as it is in the vast majority of the runaway notices in my data. Both the poems devote most of their lines to what could be classified as *Describing the runaway*. In the "Apprentice" poem, this move comes immediately after the *Announcing the escape* move, as is typical of a runaway notice, followed by *Promising a reward*. In the "Old Tom" poem, *Promising a reward* is included already in the second stanza, after which the writer moves on to *Describing the runaway*. Although my data contains some notices that present the moves in this order, it is a deviation from the prototypical order.

In addition to the three core moves of a runaway notice, other moves can also be identified. The "Apprentice" poem ends with "Let no one now, him trust or harbour / As they're forbid by / STEPHEN BARBER", which is a clear instance of the move *Discouraging unwanted actions* (see 7.2.5). That move is present in about 21% of the notices in my data, and therefore cannot be considered part of a prototypical runaway slave notice. However, in my data, the Northern colonies/states of

Massachusetts and Connecticut have the highest occurrences of the move, 51% and 41% of the notices respectively. Therefore, while still not necessarily a prototypical feature of a runaway notice in those areas, it is a more likely feature there than elsewhere. The "Apprentice" poem also contains what I have called the *Subscriber* move (see 7.2.9): the name of the advertiser set somehow visually apart from the rest of the notice. This is a feature in about 90% of the advertisements in my data, so in this, too, the text follows a prototypical runaway notice. However, since the name of the subscriber is embedded syntactically into the *Discouraging unwanted actions* move instead of being independent of the preceding text, it is not the most prototypical realization of the move. At the end of the "Apprentice" poem is the move *Date and place* (see 7.2.10), informing the readers when and where the notice was written. The "Old Tom" poem might also be interpreted as having a *Subscriber* move, represented by the initials H.B. at the end of the notice. Using initials only is, however, not at all a typical realization of the move. The penultimate stanza of the poem could be seen as the move *Addressing the runaway* (see 7.2.6), though an exceptionally harsh one that only promises not to kill the runaway in case of a voluntary return. *Addressing the runaway* is altogether a rare feature in my data, present in under 2% of the notices, most of which are South Carolinian.

Both the poems contain moves that are central to runaway notices and also some that are less common, but still possible additions to them. Examining the contents of the moves in more detail shows why I believe the "Apprentice" poem to be a genuine runaway notice but the "Old Tom" poem not to be so. In the "Apprentice" poem the move *Announcing the escape* together with *Date and place* indicates the time and place of the escape as is typical in runaway notices, while such information is missing from the *Announcing the escape* move of the "Old Tom" poem. The *Describing the runaway* move in both poems gives plenty of information that is typical of runaway notices: age, outer appearance, clothing, skills and so forth. However, while the cruel nature of slavery is apparent in plenty of runaway slave advertisements with their casual mentions of scars, whip-marks, and lost fingers or toes, the "Old Tom" poem takes this a step further. The writer admits the reason for not teaching "old Tom" to read or write is to keep him ignorant so he would not know to plead for freedom, and notes that he has "never wished him well". Expressing the wish to squeeze another twenty years of work out of 40-year-old Tom, he callously remarks that after that Tom would finally be "entirely free" to go to heaven or hell. These admissions, alongside comments such as "I want old Tom to do my work, that I may live at ease", make it likely that the poem was at least partially meant as a critique of the way slaveholders treated the people they held enslaved, by taking the familiar format of the runaway notice and including in it information the advertisers writing them might well be thinking but would not admit

to in writing.[111] It is worth noting here that despite the critical stance the poem takes on at least some aspects of slavery, some of the papers that published the poem also had an assortment of real runaway slave notices in their advertising columns, so the poem's inclusion did not signal any strict anti-slavery views of the paper as a whole.

A runaway advertisement containing the expected set of moves in the expected order does not automatically make the text a prototypical runaway notice. If that were the case, the "Apprentice" poem could be considered a fairly prototypical runaway notice, since it contains no unexpected moves and the information it presents in them is in line with that found in most runaway notices. In my analysis of the various moves of the genre, I have drawn attention to the fact that many of the advertisements rely greatly on a relatively limited pool of phrases and word choices to realize the various moves. A prototypical example of the runaway notice uses these phrases when presenting its information. For instance, when the advertisement opens with the move *Announcing the escape*, my data shows that the verb denoting the escape is fronted in the vast majority of the cases (see 7.2.1). Likewise, the phrase "had on when (s)he went away" is often used to introduce a list of clothing. These elements are absent in the two poems, which are more preoccupied with creating rhymes. Some of these more fixed expressions are, however, also represented in the poems. For instance, the *Promising a reward* move starts with "Whoever…", the prototypical start for the advertisements at least during the 18th century (see 7.2.3). The fact that the poems rhyme is obviously the main stylistic feature that sets them apart from a prototypical runaway notice, but in connection to this, the poems also lack phrases that one would expect in the notices and introduce ones that seem out of place. This can also be seen for instance in the references to the runaways (see 7.4.1). While initially identifying a runaway by the phrase "Old Negro TOM" would not seem out of place in a prototypical runaway notice, referring to him further on mostly familiarly as "old Tom" (in addition to "the runagade", "the slave" and "the wretch") would be an unusual strategy, since in runaway slave notices references such as "said Negro" or "said Fellow" are more common. While the writer of the "Apprentice" poem uses the unusual expression "spruce young blade"[112] to refer to the runaway to force a rhyme, he mostly keeps to third person pronouns, another strategy commonly seen in runaway notices. He also refers to himself as the

[111] Another 18th-century example of a text seemingly in the form of an advertisement, but instead providing satirical commentary on a topic, is discussed in detail by Sklar and Taavitsainen (2017), who dissect a mock medical advertisement in a 1750s British magazine.

[112] Blade: "a brisk man; a bold, forward man; a rake" (Webster's Dictionary 1828, s.v. 'blade').

"subscriber" in the move *Announcing the escape*, while later on turning to first person pronouns, as is typical of the advertisements in my data (see 7.4.2).

The final point I wish to make with the help of the second poem is the relationship between runaway slave notices and other types of runaway notices. As the discussion above has shown, a runaway *apprentice* notice (in the form of a poem) can be used to point out several features that have arisen in my analysis of runaway *slave* notices. As I was collecting my data from the advertising columns of the newspapers, it quickly became apparent that enslaved people were not the only ones advertised for as runaways, and in the Northern papers in particular, most of the runaways were indentured servants and convicted servants of European origins, as well as apprentices. It was also clear that these various notices for runaways share many common features. In fact, some advertisements deal with slaves and indentured servants escaping together. In the chapter introducing the materials for this study, I also discuss how it sometimes might be impossible to distinguish between notices for runaway slaves and Native American or Black indentured servants based on the text of the advertisement, since the word *slave* is not often used (see 6.3.3 and 7.4.1). Why then draw a potentially artificial boundary between the different groups and focus this study solely on the genre of runaway slave advertisements? I believe that it is important to acknowledge that the people in the 18th and 19th centuries probably did not have clearly distinct categories such as "runaway slave advertisement" and "runaway indentured servant advertisement" when writing their notices. Instead, there was a larger category of people who could be forced to return the place they had left, including at least slaves, servants, apprentices and military deserters, and one way to enlist help in getting them back was via advertisements. Likewise, it is important to acknowledge that the advertisements for various runaways share many features, and in some cases this can result in advertisements that are identical aside from the "status" of the runaway. Nevertheless, I believe the choice to focus only on runaway slave notices can be justified. For one, slavery was legally a distinct form of unfree labour in American history, and focusing on advertisements dealing only with enslaved people is a reasonable way to limit the scope of the study, particularly considering the significance of the institution both at the time as well as with regard to its far-reaching consequences for present-day American society. Secondly, even if the line between runaway notices for slaves and ones for other types of runaways may at times seem nebulous, I argue that drawing the line using any other criteria to examine runaway notices would inevitably lead to similarly blurry lines. Which texts are similar enough that it makes sense to examine them together? Ones informing the public about escaped slaves and servants? Apprentices? Military deserters? Wanted thieves? Lost children? Free Black people kidnapped to be enslaved? Wives who have left their husbands?

The runaway apprentice poem I have discussed functions very much like runaway slave notices, but there are some details that might point at differences between the two. The "Apprentice" poem has the headline "Public notice.", whereas my analysis of runaway slave advertisements shows the overwhelming majority of headlines consisting of the reward sum (see 7.2.3 and 7.3.2). Based on my cursory examination of notices concerning runaway apprentices, they seem more likely to contain meager reward sums (like the three farthings and no additional fees mentioned in the poem), and such small sums might be less likely to be placed as headlines. This also raises the question whether the results for a prototypical runaway notice headline would be significantly different from the ones presented in my analysis if the materials contained advertisements for all types of runaways. Also, the wider the inclusion of different types of runaways in the materials of a study is, the more variation is found in the typical word choices of the notices. While enslaved people, servants and apprentices are most often found in notices starting with "Run away…", ones for military deserters nearly always begin with "Deserted…". Notices about wives who have left their husbands typically start with "Whereas…", the husband informing the public that he will not be paying any debts in his wife's name from then on, but not setting a reward for anyone returning her. However, I have come across notices that start with "Run away…" but deal with a wife or a lost dog.[113] On the other hand, a runaway slave notice that begins with "Whereas…" is unusual among runaway notices, but in the advertising section there are plenty of other notices that have a tendency to start that way. All in all, this reinforces the idea that genres in real life include "blurred boundaries and fuzzy edges" (Devitt 2020: 46). I believe that, whatever the type of advertisement is the focus of study, a familiarity with the advertising section as a whole is a great advantage, as it better enables the researcher to see the influences that the advertisements have on one another.

I will now return to my main research questions, introduced in Chapter 1. The first question was: *What is a prototypical American runaway slave advertisement?* The prototypical runaway slave advertisement deals with the escape of a single runaway, and the person behind the notice is the slaveholder claiming ownership over this person. The advertisement starts with a major headline that announces a reward sum. The body of the notice begins with the move *Announcing the escape*. The opening phrase is *RAN/RUN away…*, followed by information on when the runaway left "the Subscriber" (as the advertiser prototypically refers to themself at this point; later on in the notice, first person pronouns are used). The identity of the runaway is most likely realized as a "Negro man", or some other noun phrase

[113] "Strayed…" is the usual start for notices about missing horses and cows, whereas dogs and other pets are often reported as "Lost".

revealing both the race and gender of the person. The *Announcing the runaway* move is followed by *Describing the runaway*, in which the advertiser lists physical characteristics and other identifying features of the runaway. Typically this also includes some mention of the clothing of the runaway, most likely introduced by the phrase "had on when he/she went away". The move *Describing the runaway* is followed by the move *Promising a reward*. In it, the advertiser specifies the conditions for the reward or rewards, including some notion of the runaway either being secured somewhere (typically, a jail) or brought back to the advertiser. At the end of the prototypical advertisement, there is the *Subscriber* move, that is, the name of the advertiser placed separately from the body text of the notice. In the prototypical advertisement, the names of the runaway and the advertiser stand out from the text by the use of capital letters or italics, as does the reward sum in the major headline and the opening phrase (*RUN away…*) of the body text. The runaway's name is mentioned in the description, but later on they are likely referred to as the "said Negro". The general style of the prototypical notice is fairly matter-of-fact. It does not contain any emotional appeals nor does it directly ask or request the public for help. On the pages of the newspaper, the prototypical runaway notice is not found in a column specifically dedicated to other runaway notices, and is instead situated among various kinds of advertisements.

It should also be noted that, while some rarer moves cannot be considered as being part of the prototypical runaway notice, such moves may still have prototypical realizations when they do occur. For instance, when present, *Addressing the runaway* is typically realized in fairly formulaic ways (see 7.2.6).

The second research question was: *What kinds of variation and change can be found in the genre of runaway slave notices and what reasons can be found behind this variation?* While the first research question dealt with the question of what is most typical for a runaway slave notice, this one sets out to see what forms a runaway slave notice *can* take. The advertisers (and the editors of the paper) can use the notices to target a variety of audiences and provide various types of messages, as is evinced by the repertoire of possible moves identified in the analysis. In addition to the moves already mentioned as forming part of the prototypical notice, *Speculating on the whereabouts* is meant to provide assistance for would-be capturers by helping them to look in the right places, whereas *Discouraging unwanted actions* is used to ensure that the runaways will not be assisted during their escape. Some advertisers attempt to get the runaway to return willingly by including the move *Addressing the runaway*. Spread of the advertisement from one paper to the next is achieved by *Instructions to other papers.* Some advertisers might even use their runaway notice to simultaneously inform the public of a desire to sell a house or hire an overseer (*Informing people of unrelated matters*). In a manner similar to letters, the notices may contain a line indicating *Date and place*. The advertisements often also contain

markings made by the printers and editors of the papers, to keep the advertisement running for the desired time (*Editorial markings)*. Furthermore, some advertisers included elements that fall outside the move categories proposed here, but which were so rare that they did not merit a move of their own (see discussion in 7.2.12).

Although I have made some general statements about what a prototypical runaway notice looks like, an important factor to keep in mind is that the prototype looks slightly different depending on the specific place under scrutiny. For instance, colonial Virginian advertisements often included the phrase "besides what the law allows" in their *Promising a reward* move (referring to the local laws regarding the capture of fugitives), Maryland advertisements specify rewards for runaways caught "out of the State", and South Carolina advertisers offer extra rewards for information on people harboring their runaways. South Carolina advertisements were also most likely to address the runaway in the advertisement. The Northern colonies/states were more likely to refer to the runaways as "servants" and the advertisers as "masters" than advertisements further south did, and Louisiana notices in particular used the word "slave" in reference to the runaways. As I have discussed, many of such differences are possibly the results of differences in, for instance, the local slave laws, the size of the enslaved and free Black population, whether the enslaved people were more likely to act as household servants or work in the fields, whether slaveholding states bordered on "free" states, and so forth. Some of the differences observed (e.g. the way Virginian advertisers favored the "I will pay…" start to the *Promising a reward* move more than advertisements from other places did) are, however, more difficult to explain by such background factors. Instead, in such cases the more likely alternative is that certain phrases are more widely used in the advertisements of a certain area because, once a particular phrasing had been repeated several times in the advertisements, other people would consciously or unconsciously follow that model when composing their own notices, leading to a self-reinforcing circle.

As these notices occurred in American newspapers from the early decades of the 18th century to the 1860s, some shifts in the typical features of the notice are to be expected. For instance, previously I mentioned the reward-headline as a part of the prototypical runaway notice, as it is found in the majority of advertisements. However, this was not the case for notices in the first half of the 18th century, since major headlines in the notices were a later innovation. The emergence of headlines is also an illustrative example of how one change can have a ripple effect on the rest of the notice. As a result of the introduction and spread of headlines (typically mentioning the reward sum) to runaway notices during the course of the 18th century, changes could also be observed in the rest of the advertisement. While the prototypical ordering of the three core moves (*Announcing the escape, Describing the runaway, Promising a reward*) remains the most common option, the inclusion

of one part of the *Promising a reward* move (i.e., the reward sum) into the headline led to advertisers in increasing numbers moving *Promising a reward* as a whole from the end of the notice to the beginning, especially in the 19th century (see 7.2.3). Even in advertisements that did not reverse the order of these core moves, the inclusion of the headline caused a shift in the typical phrasings found in the *Promising a reward* move, with a change from the "Whoever…" structure to the "The above reward…" structure becoming the most popular option. The introduction of headlines in the runaway notices follows the larger developments in the newspapers and their advertising sections as a whole. Similarly, the emergence of the move *Instructions to other papers* only in the 19th century links to both the westward expansion of the United States and the expanding networks between newspaper editors (as detailed in 3.1).

So far, I have drawn attention to the larger tendencies that can be perceived when comparing different areas or different time periods against each other. However, another source of variation in the runaway notices is individual writers who deviate from the "expected" model to better serve their own purposes. The circumstances behind the advertisements could vary widely: some people advertised for runaways who had successfully evaded capture for years, some suspected that the disappearance had not been voluntary and that the enslaved person had been stolen, sometimes middlemen placed notices on behalf of the slaveholder, sometimes the notice had to be updated as new information about, for example, recent sightings of the runaway emerged. The genre of runaway notices was flexible enough that it offered the advertisers the possibility to mold it to match these specific circumstances and include, for instance, a lengthier backstory of the escape if such was seen as necessary. Although the notices were typically characterized by a rather practical and unemotional style (with features typical of official documents and legal language found in moves such as *Promising a reward* or *Discouraging unwanted actions*), some advertisers would take the opportunity to deviate from this and include emotional pleas, express thankfulness for any help given, add unusual headlines, give descriptions in a more personal style and so forth, probably in the hopes that a unique approach would make their advertisement more effective. Such cases are notable since they deviate from the expected. Nevertheless, as runaways were a constant issue for many slaveholders, in most cases they probably did not spare much effort to come up with new and innovative ways to advertise for their runaways, but rather relied on imitating the style of the advertisements they had previously used, or seen in the papers.

My third and final research question was: *What kind of an image of slavery do these notices construct?* Firstly, it must be stated that the section of the runaway notices that provides most information about how the advertisers perceived and depicted the people they enslaved is the *Describing the runaway* move. As I mention

in 7.2.2, a detailed description of the various ways runaways are characterized in that move and the different ways these descriptions create images of enslaved people, is a topic too wide to be treated in this dissertation, and therefore I decided on a more general overview of the move as a whole. One reason for this decision was also that previous research has offered focused studies on several of these aspects (see e.g. Block 2018 for a detailed analysis on the depictions of the outer appearances of 18th-century runaways and the image they create; see also other studies listed in 4.2). While I leave this aspect of the runaway notices to other researchers, I have, nevertheless, throughout the analysis commented on various features that show how the language of the notices advocates for a certain view of the institution of slavery as well as the people involved. For instance, in the move *Announcing the escape*, the advertisers who report the runaways having been "stolen", "enticed" or "taken away" minimize the agency the person might have had in the situation, whereas the use of verbs such as "lurk" when reporting on the suspected whereabouts of the runaway depicts their current freedom as nefarious. The fact that the people were mostly referred to by terms connected to their race served as a constant reminder of what made these people different from most of the presumed readership of the newspapers. The legality of slavery is reinforced in the *Discouraging unwanted actions* move in particular, with its frequent reminders that anyone that does help the runaway can be prosecuted. A reminder of whose side the law takes is also present in those *Promising a reward* moves that promise the reward on "proof to conviction" of anyone harboring the runaway. The depiction of people aiding the runaways as for instance "ill-disposed" portrays these actions as unequivocally malicious. Also, the fact that most advertisers did not resort to requesting or entreating the public to capture the runaway indicates that they trusted most people to act "accordingly" and capture the runaway if only they were made aware of the situation. The formulaic, mundane nature of most of the advertisements also reinforces the idea of runaway slaves being a commonplace occurrence that the slaveholders habitually had to address.

Finally, I will offer some concluding thoughts on the usefulness of move analysis and the other approaches I used for dealing with the materials of this study. Although move analysis has its roots in the study of present-day academic and professional genres, it has since been used to examine an increasingly wider range of texts. In this study, I believe I have shown that move analysis can also offer useful insights into a historical text genre such as runaway slave notices. Dividing the advertisements into moves allows for a structured examination of the genre. Approaching the texts from the viewpoint of moves brings into focus the different types of actions that are either typically performed in the genre or that can potentially be performed in it, and how they work together to fulfil the main purpose of the advertisement. One problem all researchers conducting move analysis have to wrestle with is defining the boundaries

between various moves. In short texts such as the runaway slave notice such divisions may be even more challenging, as moves are typically not paragraph-length but shorter, and there is frequently also interlap between moves or they are embedded in one another. For this study, this is especially relevant in the case of the three core moves and the difficulty of defining the limits of the *Description of the runaway* move, parts of which are often embedded in the two other main moves (see discussion in 7.2.2). However, accepting that some elements simultaneously belong to more moves than just one offers a solution to this problem. To provide a more thorough examination of the genre of runaway notices, I have accompanied the move analysis with other types of analysis as I saw fit. This was done in cases when I believed it would be more fruitful to examine the runaway notice as a whole rather than focus on one particular aspect of it. For instance, I have examined the references to various people (see 7.4). While some of these references are typically connected to particular moves (e.g. references to specific groups in the move *Discouraging unwanted actions*), dealing with the matters in connection with each move separately might cause one to lose sight of the larger picture. I also made the choice to treat the visual aspects of the runaway notices in a separate section (7.3) instead of integrating them directly into move analysis as some researchers have done (see, e.g., Lam 2013). As I have pointed out, the woodcut images (discussed in more detail in 7.3.1) could be interpreted as an optional visual step of the *Announcing the escape* move, and thus could also have been discussed more closely in connection with the move, but devoting a section of its own to this feature allowed me to go into more detail. Deviating from some move analyses (e.g. Bhatia 2005), I have also not treated "headline" as a move of its own, but rather discussed its development and contents in 7.3.2, as the headlines of 18th and 19th-century runaway notices often consist of elements that are clearly part of other moves.

Move analysis is not only concerned with identifying the moves, but also analyzing the features within a move. The number of potential points of interest is nearly unlimited, and therefore the researcher necessarily has to focus on some features while ignoring others. In this study, I have dealt with features that, based on my reading of the notices, seemed most pertinent. Such a choice is by its nature subjective, and I do not claim that I have covered all features that might merit study. However, as I have conducted my research by reading through the numerous advertisements of my corpus multiple times while marking various moves and other features into them, I can claim reasonable familiarity with both the usual and unusual features these notices have to offer.

This study has aimed to provide both quantitative and qualitative data on the genre of runaway notices. While analyzing a corpus as large as the one used for this study (2,603 advertisements) is time-consuming, it is also required for investigating, for instance, the subtler differences in the genre between different areas or times.

Furthermore, a close reading of all the texts in my corpus has also enabled me to discover and discuss rare and interesting strategies that some advertisers utilize in their notices. As stated above, having the possibility to examine the notices in their original context also provides useful insights in describing the particularities of the genre. In order to fully understand these texts, one needs to understand both the societal context (i.e., slavery in its many forms) as well as the material context of the newspapers.

9 Conclusion

In this dissertation I have examined the genre of American runaway slave notices in detail. The aim was to provide a description of the genre covering the whole timespan of its presence in North American newspapers, starting from the beginning of newspaper publishing in the early 1700s and ending with the abolition of slavery in the United States in 1865. The corpus was collected from 12 different colonies/states, representing both places where slavery was more marginal and ones where it was deeply entrenched. Using a corpus of 2,603 runaway slave advertisements, I identified the prototypical runaway slave notice and the kind of variation that is found in the genre. A further overarching question was what kind of an image these notices create of the institution of slavery.

Using move analysis to structure the bulk of the analysis, I described the different moves that the advertisers could undertake within the genre to achieve various purposes, some obligatory and some optional to the genre. These moves, their ordering and linguistic realizations show subtle variance from one area to the other as well as developments across the period under scrutiny. What this study also demonstrates is that, while most advertisers did follow the typical conventions of the genre rather closely, the genre of runaway slave notices could be very flexible as some advertisers molded the genre to better suit their needs.

The current study shows that by analyzing a large corpus of texts with an understanding of their historical and material context, it is possible to map in detail the structure, variation and change in one specific genre. The study also gives further evidence that move analysis is a fruitful approach for studying historical newspaper genres.

The study points to several potential avenues for further research. The early advertising sections are teeming with various types of (non-commercial) advertisements that have, so far, received very little attention from researchers. Description of these various types of notices (whether via move analysis or other means) and the interplay between their linguistic features would merit further study. In the case of the runaway slave notices, the most obvious points of comparison are found in the notices for other types of runaways and missing persons. Runaway slave notices are not a feature unique to American newspapers, so it could also be

worthwhile to contrast the findings of this study with runaway notices from other areas where enslaved people's desire for freedom led to the appearance of such advertisements. Finally, a closer look at these notices in the context of abolitionist newspapers could also result in interesting findings regarding how authentic runaway slave notices were framed in a new textual environment to make them work against the institution they were originally created to defend.

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Appendix

This list includes the title of the newspaper (as listed on *America's Historical Newspapers* and *Accessible Archives*), their place of publication, the range of years my data comes from and the number of issues I have consulted. If the title of the paper is preceded by an asterisk, that signifies that I did not locate any runaway slave notices in any of the issues I went through.

MASSACHUSETTS

Boston News-Letter (Boston); 1704–1776 (143 iss.)
Boston Gazette (Boston); 1719–1798 (158 iss.)
Massachusetts Spy (Worcester); 1775–1819 (87 iss)
**Columbian Centinel* (Boston); 1799–1819 (42 iss.)

CONNECTICUT

Connecticut Gazette (New Haven); 1755–1767 (16 iss.)
New-London Summary (New London); 1758–1763 (11 iss.)
Connecticut Gazette (New London); 1763–1839 (147 iss.)
Connecticut Courant (Hartford); 1764–1839 (151 iss.)

NEW YORK

New-York Weekly Journal (New York); 1733–1749 (34 iss.)
New-York Evening Post (New York); 1745–1752 (9 iss.)
New-York Gazette, or Weekly Post-Boy (New York); 1747–1769 (20 iss.)
New-York Mercury (New York); 1752–1768 (32 iss.)
New-York Gazette (New York); 1760–1767 (16 iss.)
New-York Journal (New York); 1770–1776 (14 iss.)
New-York Gazette, and Weekly Mercury (New York); 1768–1783 (31 iss.)
Royal American Gazette (New York); 1777–1783 (14 iss.)

New-York Packet (New York); 1784–1789 (12 iss.)
New-York Journal (New York) 1784–1789 (12 iss.)
Daily Advertiser (New York); 1790–1801 (24 iss.)
New-York Daily Gazette (New York), 1790–1795 (11 iss.)
New-York Gazette (New York), 1795–1819 (49 iss.)
Evening Post (New York), 1802–1839 (76 iss.)
**Commercial Advertiser* (New York), 1820–1839 (40 iss.)

PENNSYLVANIA

American Weekly Mercury (Philadelphia); 1720–1746 (53 iss.)
Pennsylvania Gazette (Philadelphia); 1736–1775 (79 iss.)
Pennsylvania Journal, or, Weekly Advertiser (Philadelphia); 1746–1789 (85 iss.)
Pennsylvania Packet (Philadelphia); 1777–1790 (25 iss.)
Pennsylvania Ledger: or the Virginia, Maryland, Pennsylvania, and New-Jersey Weekly Advertiser (Philadelphia); 1776–1778 (4 iss.)
**Royal Pennsylvania Gazette* (Philadelphia), 1778–1778 (1 iss.)
Independent Gazetteer (Philadelphia); 1790–1793 (8 iss.)
Gazette of the United States (Philadelphia); 1790–1799 (19 iss.)
Philadelphia Gazette (Philadelphia); 1794–1800 (14 iss.)
Carlisle Gazette (Carlisle); 1800–1817 (22 iss.)
Poulson's American Daily Advertiser (Philadelphia); 1801–1819 (38 iss.)
Democratic Press (Philadelphia); 1810–1819 (17 iss.)
**Carlisle Republican* (Carlisle); 1819 (1 iss.)
Washington Review and Examiner (Washington); 1820–1836 (29 iss.)
**Washington Reporter* (Washington); 1820–1829 (10 iss.)
**Berks and Schuylkill Journal* (Reading); 1820–1829 (18 iss.)
Philadelphia Inquirer (Philadelphia); 1832–1839 (17 iss.)
**National Gazette* (Philadelphia); 1830–1839 (11 iss.)

MARYLAND

Maryland Gazette (Annapolis); 1729–1734 (8 iss.)
Maryland Gazette (Annapolis); 1751–1789 (32 iss.)
Maryland Journal (Baltimore); 1773–1795 (53 iss.)
Dunlap's Maryland Gazette, or, The Baltimore General Advertiser (Baltimore); 1773–1779 (12 iss.)
Maryland Herald, and Eastern Shore Intelligencer (Easton); 1790–1797 (16 iss.)
Maryland Herald and Hager's-Town Weekly Advertiser (Hagerstown); 1798–1799 (4 iss.)

Federal Gazette (Baltimore); 1800–1815 (20 iss.)
American and Commercial Daily Advertiser (Baltimore); 1801–1849 (48 iss.)
Republican Star (Easton); 1800–1809 (10 iss)
American (Baltimore); 1800–1801 (2 iss.)
Baltimore Patriot (Baltimore); 1813–1834 (28 iss.)
Republican Gazette and General Advertiser (Frederick); 1817–1819 (6 iss.)
Easton Gazette (Easton); 1821–1864 (45 iss.)
Baltimore Gazette and Daily Advertiser (Baltimore); 1826–1838 (15 iss.)
Sun (Baltimore); 1838–1865 (49 iss.)
Torch Light (Hagers-Town); 1835–1836 (3 iss.)
American and Commercial Daily Advertiser (Baltimore); 1844–1849 (10 iss.)
**Easton Star* (Easton); 1850–1859 (20 iss.)
**Annapolis Gazette* (Annapolis); 1860 (2 iss.)
**National American* (Bel Air); 1865 (2 iss.)

VIRGINIA
Virginia Gazette 1[114] (Williamsburg); 1736–1780 (60 iss.)
Virginia Gazette 2 (Williamsburg); 1766–1776 (22 iss.)
Virginia Gazette 3 (Williamsburg); 1775–1780 (5 iss.)
Virginia Gazette and Weekly Advertiser (Richmond); 1782–1796 (14 iss.)
Virginia Journal and Alexandria Advertiser (Alexandria); 1784–1789 (11 iss.)
Norfolk and Portsmouth Journal (Norfolk); 1788–1789 (2 iss.)
Virginia Gazette and Alexandria Advertiser (Alexandria); 1789–1792 (6 iss.)
Columbian Mirror and Alexandria Gazette (Alexandria); 1792–1800 (17 iss.)
Virginia Herald (Fredericksburg); 1797–1799 (6 iss.)
Norfolk and Portsmouth Chronicle (Norfolk); 1790–1791 (3 iss.)
Virginia Chronicle (Norfolk); 1792–1794 (5 iss.)
Times; and District of Columbia Daily Advertiser (Alexandria); 1799–1800 (3 iss.)
**Virginia Gazette and Agricultural Repository* (Dumfries); 1793 (1 iss.)

[114] In the case of the *Virginia Gazettes*, I will slightly deviate from the system by which *America's Historical Newspapers* divides the papers. In that database, there are altogether five separate *Virginia Gazettes* (all published in Williamsburg), reflecting some of the changes in printers. To simplify everything slightly, I have adopted the view that these five papers can be divided into three separate newspaper lines, which I call *Virginia Gazette* 1, 2 and 3. *Virginia Gazette* 1 is the first one, started by Parks in 1736; *Virginia Gazette* 2 by Rind in 1766 and *Virginia Gazette* 3 by Purdie in 1775. For An overview of the three "versions" of the *Virginia Gazette* and their printers, see https://research.colonialwilliamsburg.org/DigitalLibrary/va-gazettes/VGAllIssues.cfm

Enquirer (Richmond); 1804–1851 (80 iss.)
Alexandria Daily Advertiser (Alexandria); 1801–1804 (7 iss.)
Norfolk Gazette and Publlick Ledger (Norfolk); 1804–1809 (11 iss.)
Virginia Argus (Richmond); 1801–1804 (7 iss.)
Alexandria Gazette (Alexandria); 1810–1865 (110 iss.)
Richmond Whig (Richmond); 1841–1865 (41 iss.)
**Richmond Examiner* (Richmond); 1861–1862 (2 iss.)

SOUTH CAROLINA

South-Carolina Gazette (Charleston); 1732–1775 (85 iss.)
South-Carolina Gazette and Country Journal (Charleston); 1773 (2 iss.)
South Carolina and American General Gazette (Charleston); 1767–1775 (20 iss.)
Gazette of the State of South Carolina (Charleston); 1777–1780 (6 iss.)
South-Carolina Weekly Gazette (Charleston); 1783–1786 (7 iss.)
South-Carolina Gazette and General Advertiser (Charleston); 1783–1784 (3 iss.)
Columbian Herald (Charleston); 1784–1796 (22 iss.)
Charleston Morning Post (Charleston); 1786–1787 (3 iss.)
City Gazette (Charleston); 1788–1833 (85 iss.)
South-Carolina State-Gazette (Charleston); 1799 (2 iss.)
**Georgetown Gazette* (Georgetown); 1798 (2 iss.)
Carolina Gazette (Charleston); 1800–1824 (25 iss.)
Charleston Courier (Charleston); 1803–1865 (97 iss.)
Times (Charleston); 1806–1817 (4 iss.)
**Southern Patriot* (Charleston); 1833–1848 (28 iss.)
Camden Journal (Camden); 1840–1841 (3 iss.)
Charleston Mercury (Charleston); 1854–1865 (21 iss.)

GEORGIA

Georgia Gazette (Savannah); 1763–1770 (15 iss.)
Royal Georgia Gazette (Savannah); 1781 (2 iss.)
Georgia Gazette (Savannah); 1788–1802 (22 iss.)
Augusta Chronicle (Augusta); 1792–1865 (103 iss.)
Columbian Museum (Savannah); 1797 (1 iss.)
Augusta Herald (Augusta); 1800–1806 (9 iss.)
Savannah Republican (Savannah); 1807–1851 (20 iss.)

**Farmer's Gazette* (Sparta); 1803–1806 (3 iss.)
Georgia Argus (Milledgeville); 1814–1816 (2 iss.)
Reflector (Milledgeville); 1817–1819 (3 iss.)
Georgia Journal (Milledgeville); 1810–1817 (12 iss.)
Georgian (Savannah); 1821–1829 (17 iss.)
Georgia Journal (Milledgeville); 1830–1835 (9 iss.)
Daily Constitutionalist (Augusta); 1833–1864 (8 iss.)
Southern Banner (Athens); 1834–1836 (2 iss.)
Macon Weekly Telegraph (Macon); 1830–1860 (62 iss.)
Columbus Tri-Weekly Enquirer (Columbus); 1856–1858 (4 iss.)
Macon Telegraph (Macon); 1861–1865 (10 iss.)

TENNESSEE

Knoxville Gazette (Knoxville); 1794–1798 (5 iss.)
Tennessee Gazette (Nashville); 1800–1807 (15 iss.)
Carthage Gazette (Carthage); 1808–1817 (18 iss.)
Tennessee Herald (Shelbyville); 1818 (2 iss.)
Nashville Gazette (Nashville); 1819–1827 (15 iss.)
National Banner and Daily Advertiser (Nashville); 1834–1836 (5 iss.)
Chattanooga Daily Rebel (Chattanooga); 1862–1863 (3 iss.)

LOUISIANA

Orleans Gazette and Commercial Advertiser (New Orleans); 1805–1819 (16 iss.)
Louisiana Planter (Alexandria); 1810 (1 iss.)
Louisiana Herald (Alexandria); 1819 (1 iss.)
Louisianian (St. Francisville); 1819 (1 iss.)
Louisiana Advertiser (New Orleans); 1820–1827 (5 iss.)
Courrier de la Louisiane (New Orleans); 1821–1824 (7 iss.)
**Louisiana State Gazette* (New Orleans); 1825–1826 (2 iss.)
New Orleans Argus (New Orleans); 1828–1832 (4 iss.)
Times-Picayune (New Orleans); 1837–1865 (56 iss.)
Weekly Advocate (Baton Rouge); 1846–1860 (8 iss.)
Jeffersonian Republican (New Orleans); 1845–1846 (4 iss.)
Daily Delta (New Orleans); 1848–1863 (3 iss.)
Daily Advocate (Baton Rouge); 1854–1860 (12 iss.)
**Daily True Delta* (New Orleans), 1861–1864 (4 iss.)
Sunday Delta (New Orleans), 1860 (1 iss.)

**New Orleans Times* (New Orleans); 1865 (2 iss.)

MISSISSIPPI

Mississippi State Gazette (Natchez); 1818–1825 (13 iss.)
Statesman and Gazette (Natchez); 1825–1832 (15 iss.)
Ariel (Natchez); 1825–1828 (7 iss.)
Southern Clarion (Natchez); 1831 (2 iss.)
**Southern Galaxy* (Natchez); 1831 (1 iss.)
Mississippi Free Trader (Natchez); 1844–1854 (18 iss.)

TEXAS
Texas Gazette (Austin); 1829–1830 (3 iss.)
**Constitutional Advocate and Texas Public Advertiser* (Brazoria); 1832–1833 (2 iss.)
**Advocate of the People's Rights* (Brazoria); 1834 (1 iss.)
Texas Republican (Brazoria); 1834–1835 (3 iss.)
**Telegraph and Texas Register* (West Columbia); 1836–1837 (2 iss.)
Weekly Houston Telegraph (Houston); 1837–1860 (24 iss.)
Standard (Clarksville); 1842–1865 (46 iss.)
Austin City Gazette (Austin); 1840–1842 (5 iss.)
**Victoria Advocate* (Victoria); 1851 (2 iss.)
**Weekly Journal* (Galveston); 1852 (2 iss.)
San Antonio Ledger and Texan (San Antonio); 1853–1859 (9 iss.)
Texas State Gazette (Austin); 1855–1859 (5 iss.)
Houston Tri-Weekly Telegraph (Houston); 1860–1865 (9 iss.)
Dallas Weekly Herald (Dallas); 1861 (2 iss.)

TURUN
YLIOPISTO
UNIVERSITY
OF TURKU

Painosalama, Turku, Finland 2022

ISBN 978-951-29-8872-3 (PRINT)
ISBN 978-951-29-8873-0 (PDF)
ISSN 0082-6987 (Print)
ISSN 2343-3191 (Online)