

"FATHER WASN'T DE ONLIES' ONE HIDIN' IN DE WOODS":

THE MANY IMAGES OF MAROONS THROUGHOUT THE AMERICAN SOUTH

A Thesis

Presented to

The Faculty of the Department of American Studies

The College of William and Mary in Virginia

In Partial Fulfillment

Of the Requirements for the Degree of

Master of Arts

by

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2003

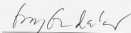
APPROVAL SHEET

This thesis is submitted in partial fulfillment of
the requirements for the degree of

Master of Arts


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For my mom. For my dad. For my family.
For everyone who has helped me along my way.
Thank you.

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I wish to thank Dr. Gray Christian for her guidance and advice. I wish to thank Dr. William Lerry and Dr. Herman Pinner for their constructive criticism.

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ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

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ABSTRACT

(S)he almost is not there. (S)he lurks just outside the imagination, just outside an experience of personal contact. Apparently, many journalists writing about maroons in antebellum newspapers experienced maroons only through planter or local and state militia reports; slaveholders warning White citizens about lurking fugitive slaves retold intimate information about maroons from memory; many ex-slaves reporting their maroon knowledge remembered, at times vividly, what other people told them about the secretive heroes; and a number of present day African-Americans experience maroons only through stories told by family members or visual artists. Thus, (re)telling these historical fragments as one story means providing the general public with a complete view of America's history.

Moving away from over-simplified history means imagining a space for United States maroons living in swamps, mountains, caves, forests, and non-man-made structures. Moving away from over-simplifications means being open to the fact that historical documents (as well as general human nature) actually prove that runaway slaves missed their mothers, fathers, wives, husbands, and children and wanted to be near them so they lived in the woods only a few miles from their loved one's slave quarters. Being open to life's complexities means leaving space for the runaway who got lost and did not know which way to head in the first place since most escapees may not have had a firm sense of national geography or useful escape routes like those of the Underground Railroad. Stories of maroons also leave open the possibility of demi-devil miscreants coming out of the swamp to disrupt a town's peaceful existence making life more than difficult for law-abiding citizens. Collectively, these social memories leave open the possible complexities of feelings associated with the American slave system – both sides of the slavery question included.

INTRODUCTION

*It is not in our story. It is not in our imagination, just outside our experience
in our own world. It is a woman, a person who has been from her life and her world
and she is not in our story, she is not in our imagination, just outside our experience*

*...and she is not in our story, she is not in our imagination, just outside our experience
in our own world. It is a woman, a person who has been from her life and her world
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INTRODUCTION

(S)he almost is not there. (S)he lurks just outside the imagination, just outside an experience of personal contact. (S)he is a maroon, a person who ran away from her/his enslavement and decided for one reason or another to stay within the confines of the slaveholding territory.

Apparently, many journalists writing about United States maroons in antebellum newspapers experienced maroons only through slaveholder or local and state militia reports; the few historians of United States marronage examine maroon history through the words of the aforementioned journalists; nineteenth-century North Carolina slaveholders confessed in newspapers to knowing where their runaway slaves-turned-maroons were "lurking"; many formerly enslaved people reporting their knowledge of maroons remembered, at times vividly, what other people told them about the self-freed heroes; and a number of present day African Americans experience maroons only through stories told by family members or visual artists. These historians, journalists, slaveholders, formerly enslaved people, and twenty-first-century African Americans, however, retell their maroon stories with a noticeable conviction as if they knew or know personally of whom they speak. What powers do these imagined maroons hold? And in what manner are their stories retold and for what audience?

Collectively, maroon stories, whether substantiated or not, make up a particularly interesting category of North American social memory. The storytellers may not be aware of each other but the images of North American maroons form a picture of a uniquely American experience during the country's era of slavery. Of general American social memory, David W. Blight states, "The sense of social memory in any region or

group depends on how much of its collective, cognitive energy is devoted to the work of selecting and imposing meaning on the past, how much effort it extends in remembering and forgetting as social units."¹ Although Americans collectively tend not to recall maroonage, somehow the stories persist. Fragments of the stories appear in the most common places, such as art exhibitions, family stories, and primary source documents just to name a few. Forgetting this kind of slavery resistance has made American slavery easier to teach and comprehend. We can understand the notion of a slave running away on the Underground Railroad. We can understand a slave breaking tools and stealing pigs. But how do we understand and explain the woman and/or man who decides to live in the bear-filled forests, the snake-filled swamps or the beast-filled mountains?

So, how do we begin to form an image of the American maroon? We look for story fragments and begin to piece them together by questioning their existence, connotations, and consequences. For example, why did Virginia enact the following eighteenth-century law?

Whereas many times slaves run away and lie hid and lurking in swamps, woods, and other obscure places, killing hogs, and committing injuries to the inhabitants...upon intelligence, two justices (*Quorum unus*) can issue a proclamation...if the slave does not immediately return, anyone whatsoever may kill or destroy such slaves by such ways and means as he...shall think fit. ...If the slave is apprehended...it shall...be lawful for the county court, to order such punishment to the said slave, either by dismembering, or in any other way...as they in their discretion shall think fit, for the reclaiming any such incorrigible slave, and terrify others from the like practices.²

¹ Blight, David W., "Southerners Don't Lie; They Just Remember Big," in *Where These Memories Grow: History, Memory, and Southern Identity* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2000), 348.

² Mullin, Gerald, *Flight and Rebellion: Slave Resistance in Eighteenth-Century Virginia* (London and New York: Oxford University Press), 57.

And then in the next century, why did the famous abolitionist Frederick Douglass include the following statement in his December 8, 1850 "Inhumanity of Slavery" lecture in Rochester, New York?

...One of the most telling testimonies against the pretended kindness of slaveholders, is the fact that uncounted numbers of fugitives are now inhabiting the Dismal Swamp [on the Virginia – North Carolina eastern border], preferring the untamed wilderness to their cultivated homes – choosing rather to encounter hunger and thirst, and to roam with the wild beasts of the forest, running the hazard of being hunted and shot down, than to submit to the authority of *kind* masters.

I tell you, my friends, humanity is never driven to such an unnatural course of life, without great wrong. The slave finds more of the milk of human kindness in the bosom of the savage Indian, than in the heart of the *christian* master. He leaves the man of the *bible*, and takes refuge with the man of the *tomahawk*. He rushes from the praying slaveholder into the paws of the bear. He quits the homes of men for the haunts of the wolves. He prefers to encounter a life of trial, however bitter, or death, however terrible, to dragging out his existence under the dominion of these *kind* masters.³

From laws to speeches, from articles to advertisements, from family stories to art exhibitions, these fragments persist in documented and oral history. It is only right that we acknowledge, examine, and try to understand their implications and meanings.

Moving away from over-simplified history means imagining a space for United States maroons living in swamps, mountains, caves, forests, and non-man-made structures. Moving away from over-simplifications means being open to the fact that historical documents (as well as general human nature) actually prove that runaway slaves missed their mothers, wives, husbands, and children and wanted to be near them so they lived in the woods only a few miles from their loved one's slave quarters. Being open to life's complexities means leaving space for the runaway who got lost and did not

³ Douglass, Frederick, *My Bondage and My Freedom* (New York: Dover Publications, Inc., 1969, unabridged and unaltered reproduction of the work first published in 1855 by Miller, Orton & Mulligan, New York and Auburn), 435-436.

know which way to head in the first place since most escapees may not have had a firm sense of national geography or useful escape routes like those of the Underground Railroad. Stories of maroons also leave open the possibility of demi-devil miscreants coming out of the swamp to disrupt a town's peaceful existence and make life more than difficult for law-abiding citizens. Collectively, these social memories leave open the possible complexities of feelings associated with the American slave system – both sides of the slavery question included.

CHAPTER I

METHODOLOGY

In order to complete this thesis, I examined a number of primary source materials. In the "Historian" section, I treated historian Herbert Aptheker's various studies as a form of primary source material in order to investigate his use of research material. I found that Aptheker was interested in exploring the revolutionary aspects of African Americans' enslaved lives, aspects that he justifiably felt were left out of his predecessors' and his peers' slavery texts. I treated Aptheker's books and texts as evidence of his thought patterns, as if they were diaries or letters traditional historians would see as valuable primary sources. In these works I consistently found evidence of Aptheker's material Marxism and his respect for revolutionary African American history.

In the "Journalist" section, I utilized traditional primary source material by examining nineteenth-century articles written about the maroon activity in North Carolina, Virginia, and Louisiana. These articles, which Aptheker cited, were not buried in the newspaper copy as insignificant items, but were given as much headline billing as articles on other topics, maybe even more. Instead of relying solely on Aptheker's short quotations, I found a number of the articles through the Special Collections and Archives departments of The Library of Virginia in Richmond, Virginia, the College of William and Mary's Swem Library in Williamsburg, Virginia, and *The New Orleans Times-Picayune* archives in New Orleans, Louisiana. I completed close readings on three of these articles. From Aptheker's citations, I also set up a database of cited maroon activity

in Alabama, Florida, Georgia, Louisiana, Mississippi, North Carolina, Oklahoma, South Carolina, Texas, and Virginia. I have included this database in the thesis as TABLE I.

In the "Runaway Slave Advertiser" section, I utilized North Carolina runaway slave advertisements collected and published in book form by Freddie L. Parker. Of the over 2,000 advertisements, I found 351 that contained the word "lurking," thus denoting the presence of runaway slaves who did not leave the boundaries of the American South. Once I tagged the 351 advertisements, I set up another database and cataloged the following information: Name, Sex, Age, Newspaper, Date Advertised, Amount of Time Gone, Lurking Purpose, Complexion or Race, Other Descriptions, and Reward. Because the advertisers did not always provide specific time markers, in the Amount of Time Gone category I used ½ month for any time gone between 15 days and 1 month. In a separate database, I examined the same kinds of fugitive slave advertisements but focused solely on New Bern, North Carolina, newspapers in order to isolate representative images of that city's maroons. I have included these databases in this thesis under TABLE II and TABLE III. From these databases, I have extracted the data quoted in the "Runaway Slave Advertiser" section.

In the "Former Enslaved African American" section, I utilized former slave narratives as collected and published by Hampton Institute (now Hampton University) in Hampton, Virginia, and the United States federal government's 1930s Works Progress Administration (WPA). The Hampton Institute and WPA collections were not the only collections I could have utilized for this project; they merely were well indexed and easily searchable. The Library of Congress has published the WPA's entire former slave narrative collection on-line through their American Memory project. Therefore, I could

use keywords and phrases, such as "in the woods," "in the swamp," "in a cave," or "runaway nigger," in order to gain access to the documents that I needed. Utilizing the on-line collection, I then could compare their transcripts to published transcripts in order to find the most in-depth version of the document. I included a short defense of utilizing former slave narratives, with special attention paid to the WPA narratives, under

APPENDIX D.

In the "Contemporary African American" section, I conducted two interviews in the early months of 2003 using a small tape recorder. I also took notes during our conversations. I am appreciative to Peggy Aarlien and Toni Wynn for taking time to speak candidly with me regarding their maroon stories and maroon art installation experiences. Both women spoke in-depth with me about their feelings and personal experiences. After meeting with both of them, I was encouraged that the bravery and fortitude of North American maroons still touches people's lives today, even in the most unexpected ways and at the most unexpected times.

CHAPTER II

THE MAROON AND THE HISTORIAN

Even though most North American maroons did not create sustained communities that evolved into societies inaccessible to the outside citizenry, the acts of marronage, short-term and long-term, were not diminutive in number nor were they isolated, unique events. In the absence of much enduring physical evidence of United States maroon communities, scholars of maroon history have had to rely exclusively upon the documentation of White citizen contact with maroons.⁴ These accounts, by today's academic standards, can be considered highly biased and racist in their descriptions and conclusions. Diligent and conscientious scholars, however, must read these accounts with discerning eyes and critical minds. These documents include, but are not limited to, newspaper accounts, runaway slave advertisements, laws, letters, speech transcriptions, and diaries.

Perhaps the best known historian to explore this array of documents is Herbert Aptheker, who began his work in the 1930s after realizing the lack of objectivity in mainstream scholarship of African American history, which usually was carried out by White scholars. While Aptheker "acknowledged his debt to Black scholars who preceded him," including W. E. B. Du Bois, Charles H. Wesley and Carter G. Woodson, he believed that these scholars were not receiving the credit they deserved in the academic

⁴ While there are some North American maroon archaeological sites, such as Fort Mose in Florida and proposed study sites in Virginia's Dismal Swamp, most of the scholarship remains document based.

community.⁵ Just before the time Aptheker began publishing his work on African American history, William E. Woodward, a White historian, published the best-selling historical biography entitled Meet General Grant, in which he asserted that antebellum Blacks were childlike.⁶ Aptheker had another theory in mind. Highly influenced by the ideologies of the Communist Party, Aptheker's work was "grounded in Marxist historical materialism, an insistence upon the objective nature and causal relatedness of historical facts."⁷ Therefore, in order to counter works like Woodward's, Aptheker's maroon history was rooted in the actions of the great many slaves who ran away from their slaveholders but who did not leave the boundaries of the slave-holding states.

Historian Herbert Solomon notes that Aptheker actively

...fought against the racist and apologetic modes of Black history studies because each "forgot" the Negro and focused on the Whites. Blacks did not fight for their own rights in either case. ... The actions and testimony of Blacks, rendered through prodigious research, provided the most compelling refutation of both currents. Those who had been reviled or silenced reappeared in Aptheker's work: ...the maroons who escaped slavery, carved communities out of swampy wilderness and defiantly fought guerilla wars against their oppressors.⁸

Aptheker worked to enlighten other historians and the public on the missing facts of African American history. Historian Julie Kailin notes that the research of Aptheker's peers who were writing on the subject of slavery and slave resistance in particular was "less penetrating and far from exhaustive."⁹ Aptheker himself asserted:

⁵ Solomon, Mark, "Herbert Aptheker's Contributions to African American History," in African American History and Radical Historiography: Essays in Honor of Herbert Aptheker ed. Herbert Shapiro (Minneapolis: MEP Publications, 1998), 3.

⁶ Kailin, Julie, "Toward Nonracist Historiography: The Early Writings of Herbert Aptheker," in African American History and Radical Historiography: Essays in Honor of Herbert Aptheker ed. Herbert Shapiro, (Minneapolis: MEP Publications, 1998), 20.

⁷ Solomon, 5.

⁸ *Ibid.*, 6-7.

⁹ Kailin, 23.

Prolonged and rigorous research is required into the still largely untapped source material from which an over-all history worthy of its subject may be obtained. Nothing can replace this basic procedure in scientific investigation, and it is only on the strength of such digging and probing, such sifting and weighing, that the discipline of Negro historical writing will be lifted above the level of fantasy, mythology, wish-fulfillment, and bigotry, into the realm of fact and reality."¹⁰

Thus, Aptheker undertook this work to honor the African American scholars he venerated and to meticulously sift through the confusion of documented historical accounts in maroon history. When writing about Nat Turner's 1831 rebellion, Kenneth M. Stampp admitted, "Even the historian cannot always distinguish between rumors and the facts. ... Whether caused by rumor or fact, the specter of rebellion often troubled the sleep of the master class."¹¹ In this manner, Aptheker was looking for the illusive maroons who caused so much trouble and who created a foundation for African American revolutionary action.

In an article entitled "Maroons Within the Present Limits of the United States," which was first published in a 1939 issue of the *Journal of Negro History*, Aptheker presents a running overview of contact between White Southern society and various types of maroons and maroon communities.¹² Richard Price, noted scholar of Saramaka Maroon history and culture, included Aptheker's "Maroons Within the Present Limits of the United States" in his 1973 book *Maroon Societies: Rebel Slave Communities in the Americas*. Aptheker's republished article is the collection's only article representing maroons in the United States while the other countries in the text are represented by at

¹⁰ Aptheker, Herbert, *To Be Free: Studies in American Negro History*, 2nd ed. (New York: International Publishers, 1993), 9.

¹¹ Stampp, Kenneth M., *The Peculiar Institution: Slavery in the Ante-Bellum South* (New York: Vantage Books, 1956), 136.

¹² See TABLE I for a database of Aptheker's cited maroon activity.

least two articles. In his 1979 and 1996 prefaces Maroon Societies, however, Price cites a number of other texts that either mention or focus on United States maroons.

Explaining the exclusion of other United States maroon articles, Price asserts, "Though Aptheker's paper is little more than a bare survey, it has not yet been superseded."¹³

From this "bare survey" emerges a road map dotted with instances of maroon activities as seen through the eyes of the White writers recounting or reporting the occurrences.

Aptheker does not go into detail regarding his findings but lays fertile groundwork for future study. He even gives future researchers clues as to where promising searches for maroon history may be found. Aptheker declares, "The mountainous, forested, or swampy regions of South Carolina, North Carolina, Virginia, Louisiana, Florida, Georgia, Mississippi, and Alabama (in order of importance) appear to have been the favorite haunts of these black Robin Hoods."¹⁴

Some eight years later, Aptheker published yet another article in the *Journal of Negro History* on maroons in the United States. His October 1947 article, entitled "Additional Data on American Maroons," also introduced original source material, this time focusing on the effect maroon activity had on South Carolina legislation and economy, as well as its effect on planter imaginations and physical security. These two articles are compressed versions of his first chapter, entitled "Slave Guerilla Warfare," in To Be Free: Studies in American Negro History, which was published in 1948. In exploring the evidence of North American marronage, Aptheker found it "a duty and a necessity to resurrect the treasure of the precious heritage that the Negro people have

¹³ Price, Richard, Maroon Societies: Rebel Slave Communities in the Americas, 3rd ed. (Baltimore, Maryland, and London: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1996), 150.

¹⁴ Aptheker, "Maroons Within The Present Limits of the United States," (*Journal of Negro History* Volume 24, Issue 2, April 1939), 167.

bestowed upon America."¹⁵ Each of these texts, therefore, characterizes the North American maroons as revolutionary figures constantly manipulating the way slaveholders dealt with their fugitive slave problem.

In his first article, Aptheker defines maroons in the following manner: "An ever-present feature of ante-bellum southern life was the existence of camps of runaway Negro slaves, often called maroons, when they all but established themselves independently on the frontier."¹⁶ His second article begins with another brief examination of United States maroons: "Some years ago the present writer called attention to fact that the existence of maroons – organized belligerent fugitive slaves – was not confined to the West Indies and South America, but was also a phenomenon characteristic of American slavery."¹⁷ In this article, Aptheker notes in a footnote that scholars W. E. B. Du Bois and G. B. Johnson, in their 1945 Encyclopedia of the Negro, apparently did not agree with his United States inclusive definition; their book insisted on marronage as "strictly a non-American phenomenon."¹⁸ The only two references to books on maroons Du Bois and Johnson cite are Dallas' The History of the Maroons, 2 vols. 1803; and Edwards' Observations on the Disposition, Character, Manners, and Habits of Life of the Maroon Negroes of the Island of Jamaica, 1801.¹⁹ As Aptheker observed, both texts deal with Jamaican maroons. No other books are presented by Du Bois and Johnson as maroon studies in their encyclopedia, which was meant to be a comprehensive look at Negro (or African American) history.

¹⁵ Aptheker, To Be Free, 10.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, 167.

¹⁷ Aptheker, "Additional Data on American Maroons," (*Journal of Negro History* Volume 32, Issue 4, October 1947), 452.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, n1, 452 (Underlines added).

¹⁹ Du Bois, W. E. B. and Guy B. Johnson, Encyclopedia of the Negro: Preparatory Volume, revised ed. (New York: The Phelps-Stokes Fund, Inc., 1946), 117.

Fortunately today, North American maroon scholarship is changing. Randall M. Miller and John David Smith's Dictionary of Afro-American Slavery includes an entry on maroons written by historian John D. Milligan. This four-page entry includes an acknowledgement and brief examinations of maroons in the United States, the Caribbean and Latin America. Milligan's basic definition of "maroon" states,

Though the term maroon sometimes is applied to individual fugitive slaves, it is applied here to independent communities, or variously, *cumbes*, *cimarrones*, *palenques*, and *quilombos*, of such people. These communities – which range from a few members and survived a brief time, to thousands of members and survived for decades – existed in the Americas virtually everywhere that plantation slavery existed. They were, however, more common where particular conditions[, such as the prevalence of absentee landowners,] prevailed.²⁰

Milligan cites Herbert Aptheker, Michael Craton, Eugene D. Genovese, Richard Price, Leslie B. Roul, Jr., Vera Rubin, Arthur Tuden, and himself as sources for his definition of maroon in the Americas, including the United States.

Aptheker broke new ground by ensuring that his readers knew that maroons were not extraordinary, but were a rather common feature in the American slavery landscape. Aptheker's 1939 contention regarding maroon history states, "Some contemporary writers and a few later historians have noticed, in a general and meager way, the existence of this feature of American slavery."²¹ The specific writers and historians to whom Aptheker was referring included Charles Johnson, William Russell, Frederick Olmstead, T. W. Higgins, James Parton, W. H. Siebert, S. M. Ellis, V. A. Moody and U. B. Phillips. Because Aptheker's mission was to present African American history as revolutionary and dynamic, such "meager" references to maroon activities were

²⁰ Miller, Randall M. and John David Smith, Dictionary of Afro-American Slavery (New York, Westport, Connecticut, and London: Greenwood Press, 1988), 432.

²¹ Aptheker, "Maroons Within The Present Limits Of The United States," 167.

insufficient. For example, the 1909 publication, The South in the Building of the Nation, a book which Aptheker attributes to U. B. Phillips but itself lists The Southern Historical Publication Society's J. A. C. Chandler as author, contains a short list of maroon communities and one newspaper quote. The short list concludes that there were "[t]housands [of maroons] in the West Indies, particularly in Jamaica" and on "the continent" where "Seminole Indians gave refuge to hundreds of runaway negroes, and swamp fastnesses in the Great Dismal or the Okefeonokee or on the Savannah River or the Chattahoochee, the Mobile or the Mississippi gave havens where the fugitives could rally on their own initiative."²² Phillips goes on to cite the July 21, 1827, edition of the *Charleston Observer* regarding a battle between Whites and "a nest of runaway negroes [who] were lately discovered in the fork of the Alabama and Tombeckbee rivers. ...Some of them had been runaway for years, and had committed many depredations on the neighboring plantations."²³ In sum, Phillips cursorily states, "Sometimes groups of runaways would gather in some of the natural [Southern] fastness and live for years in freedom."²⁴

Frederick Olmstead's 1860 book A Journey in the Back Country presents a possibly more meager example of marronage reporting. While in the Lower Mississippi Valley, Olmstead asked "an old negro" about "a set of stocks having holes for the head as well as the ankles."²⁵ Olmstead merely reports her answer:

"Dat ting, massa?" grinning; "well, sah, we calls dat a ting to put black people, niggers in, when dey misbehaves bad, and to put

²² Chandler, J. A. C., The South in the Building of the Nation: History of the Southern States Designed to Record the South's Part in the Making of the American Nation, to Portray the Character and Genius, to Chronicle the Achievements and Progress and to Illustrate the Life and Traditions of the Southern People, Volume IV (Richmond, Virginia: The Southern Historical Publication Society, 1909 - 1913) 228-229.

²³ *Ibid.*, 229.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, 229.

²⁵ Olmstead, Frederick Law, A Journey In the Back Country (New York: Mason, 1863), 30.

runaways in, sah. Heaps o' runaways, dis country, sah. Yes, sah, heaps on 'em round here."²⁶

Olmstead then reports that he went to bed without inquiring further about the "heaps o' runaways" still in "dis country." Twenty-five pages later, Olmstead begins his second chapter with a tradesman's report of maroons in "a hilly part of Alabama:"

Calling my attention to the unusually large cluster of negro cabins, he observed that a rugged range of hills behind them was a favorite lurking-ground for runaway negroes. It afforded them numerous coverts for concealment during the day, and at night the slaves of this plantation would help them to find the necessaries of existence.²⁷

This time he goes on to report his discussion with the same tradesman regarding the assumed "barbarous" treatment of "niggers."²⁸ Aptheker must have been frustrated by the absence of analysis. Although Olmstead may not have been known for historical analysis, Olmstead's travel logs were available to mainstream historians but were not utilized to construct maroon history. Aptheker must have seen this as a disheartening failure of scholarship. He himself noted that

... This [Negro] past has been clouded and obscured by distortion, omission, and, at times, by sanctimonious, patronizing sentimentality. This methodology has mirrored and simultaneously bulwarked the super-exploitation of the American Negro people. Denying them a past worthy of serious study and emulation weakens their fight for equality.²⁹

Despite these problems, in "Maroons Within the Present Limits of the United States," Aptheker contends that the American South continually found itself a battle zone of pro-slavery versus anti-slavery. There was hardly a time when the anti-slavery side was not contesting the system of slavery. Aptheker was able to locate at least 50 maroon

²⁶ *Ibid.*, 30.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, 55.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, 55.

²⁹ Aptheker, *To Be Free*, 9.

communities that existed between 1672 and 1864. He asserts that "notice of these maroon communities was taken only when they were accidentally uncovered or when their activities became so obnoxious or dangerous to the slavocracy that their destruction was felt to be necessary."³⁰ Intuitively, there are certainly more documented instances researchers can locate. Aptheker goes on to list chronologically an overwhelming number of maroon/slavocracy contact instances on 17 pages of the *Journal of Negro History*, thus making his point that American marronage existed and the slaveholding society was forced to take precious time away from its economic endeavors to combat this constant threat.

³⁰ Aptheker, "Maroons Within The Present Limits of the United States," 167.

CHAPTER III

THE MAROON AND THE JOURNALIST

Articles concerning maroon activities in *The Raleigh Register* (November 13, 1818), *The Norfolk and Portsmouth Herald* (May 12, 1823), and the New Orleans *Picayune* (July 19, 1837) can be seen as conduits, or mouthpieces, for the power of marronage: the invisibility, the possibility of terror, the air of fear, the never knowing who or what is around any swampy, marshy, or forest corner.³¹ Using this power of invisibility, United States maroons were able to control, even if the control was rather temporary, the minds and imaginations of the slaveholding class by threats and actual acts of violence.

The labels given to maroons in the three articles cited clearly show maroon influence on slaveholding society. "[M]araduers and villains" are showcased in *The Raleigh Register*. "[A]ssassins...desperadoes...out-lyers...miscreants...villains...monsters-in-human shape...gang...band...[and] banditti" are found in *The Norfolk and Portsmouth Herald*. "[An] outlaw...black scoundrel...terror to the community...demi-devil... Brigand of the Swamp...leader...fiend in human shape...enemy to society...gang...murderer... [and] nest of desperadoes" are detailed in the New Orleans *Picayune*. And this is only a word sampling from three articles that span 19 years. In "Maroons Within the Present Limits of the United States," Aptheker cites nearly 50 other articles published between 1672 to 1864 that employ the same manner of speech.³² Because newspapers were essential communication tools in an era long before electronic

³¹ See Appendix A, B, and C for a full transcription of the above cited articles.

³² Aptheker also cites letters and other documents not utilized in this thesis.

communication, such word choices must have affirmed and induced fears throughout the slaveholding communities and at the same time united slaveholders against this rather ubiquitous threat.

The article "Daring Negroes" appears in an 1818 issue of *The Raleigh Register* after a period Aptheker regards as a time of relative peace from slave conspiracies, insurrections, and maroon activity.³³ This quietness was marked by an economic depression which Aptheker asserts was "largely induced by soil exhaustion, the embargo and non-intercourse acts, and the war [of 1812] itself."³⁴ But once control was restored to the economic and political sectors, White attention returned to Black slaves. This "increased alertness on the part of the ruling class [was] reinforced by recent acts of repression, together with the growth of a feeling akin to exhaustion on the part of its victims."³⁵ The climax of Black resistance, therefore, led to the publication of this North Carolina article which warned its White readers that "It behoves the public to keep a strict look-out"³⁶ for maroons.

The shortest of the three cited articles, "Daring Negroes" is by no means the least influential of the maroon admonitions. This article highlights how maroon activity influenced North Carolina opinion and legislation. Starting with the title, the phrase "Daring Negroes" is obviously meant to invoke fear. The author quickly goes on to declare that these fearful beings now "infest this vicinity and have done considerable mischief." Using the word "infest" allows the fearful beings to be equated with fearsome animals or irritating pests: animals infest, people do not. On the other hand, historians

³³ Aptheker, *American Negro Slave Revolts*, 50th Anniversary ed. (New York: International Publishers, 1993) 244-262.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, 244.

³⁵ *Ibid.*, 261-262.

³⁶ "Daring Negroes," *The Raleigh (North Carolina) Register*, November 13, 1818.

will see that in order to "infest" the "vicinity" and to do "considerable mischief" one must be in the area on a consistent basis. One must have time to carry out numerous unlawful actions, such as robbing and setting fire to "Robert Young's Store, 8 or 10 miles on this side of Lewisburg...some nights ago," entering the "House of the Widow Fox, a short distance from thence," and stealing gold coins. And one must know the area fairly well, if not exceptionally well, in order to successfully carry out these deeds all in one night.³⁷ Most importantly, one must not have left the area, but rather be in hiding somewhere in this slaveholding vicinity. Clearly, Aptheker chose this article as an obvious example of "maroon activities...[that had become] serious enough to evoke notice from the local press."³⁸

Beginning at the end of the seventeenth-century, North Carolina slave owners "fought a constant battle to secure legislation to combat the problem of runaway slaves."³⁹ In 1699 the North Carolina colony passed a law that said residents who harbored runaways were doing so under penalty of 10 shillings per night plus damages. In 1715, the colony established its slave code, which reaffirmed the harboring law, established a "pass" or "ticket" system, and specified a reward system for the return of runaway slaves. And in 1741, the colony passed the Negro Act, which regulated the swift return of runaway slaves, including aid for apprehending and securing runaways. This Act remained in effect until 1865. A specific example of this aid included exemptions from the "swift return policy" for sheriffs who jailed captured runaways;

³⁷ *The Raleigh Register*.

³⁸ Aptheker, "Maroons Within The Present Limits Of The United States," *Journal of Negro History*, Volume 32, Issue 4, October 1947, 174.

³⁹ Parker, Freddie L., *Running for Freedom: Slave Runaways in North Carolina 1775-1840* (New York and London: Garland Publishing, Inc., 1993), 29-52. The information in the following paragraph can be verified in *Running for Freedom's* chapter on "Slaveowners, Runaways, and the Law."

these sheriffs could keep runaway slaves without being accused of withholding or trying to steal a slaveholder's property. *The Raleigh Register's* article even notes, "One of the them has been apprehended and lodged in our jail."⁴⁰ Slave patrol ordinances also helped slave owners between 1802 and 1830. The majority of these ordinances were established in response to rumors of slave conspiracies. Just as *The Raleigh Register* article begins with "A company of daring Negroes infest this vicinity,"⁴¹ fugitive slaves across North Carolina often

simply lurked in their neighborhood, hid in the woods during the day, and at night, visited relatives, friends, and acquaintances. Owners were often aware of these activities, and would sometimes inform their slaves that the runaway would be outlawed if he or she did not return home within a few days. ...Although slaveholders were compensated for the death of their fugitives, slaves were far more valuable to their owners alive. And for that reason, masters exhausted all avenues to capture their runaways. Only as a last resort did owners actually go before two Justices to have their slaves outlawed. And if advertisements for runaway slaves who were outlawed is an indication of the practice of legally outlawing runaways, then it was an act that occurred infrequently.⁴²

Aptheker noted that *The Norfolk and Portsmouth Herald* May 12, 1823 article "A Serious Subject" gave "an unusually full account of maroons."⁴³ This more than three-fourths of a column describes the often particularly violent efforts of Norfolk county maroons against a number of local residents. This article also notes the use of the common label for maroons of the time, "out-lyers."⁴⁴ These "out-lyers" began their marauding between the bookends of Denmark Vesey's 1822 discovered rebellion attempt in Charleston, South Carolina, and Nat Turner's 1831 successful rebellion in

⁴⁰ *The Raleigh Register*.

⁴¹ *The Raleigh Register*.

⁴² Parker, 37.

⁴³ *Ibid.*, 176.

⁴⁴ *The Raleigh Register*.

Southampton County, Virginia. After quoting *The Norfolk and Portsmouth Herald* article at length, Aptheker names the leader of this "banditti"⁴⁵ group as Bob Ferebee who was finally caught and executed on July 25, 1823. On June 26, 1823, one day less than a month before Ferebee's execution, *The American Beacon and Norfolk & Portsmouth Daily Advertiser* reprinted a *Herald* article that details Ferebee's trial for the murder of David Manning in 1818. This article states that Ferebee "frankly confessed that he did commit the murder." The journalist labels Ferebee a miscreant along with one other maroon named Lewis, also sentenced to death, and ends his article with a prayer mindful of other Virginia imagined maroons: "May their fate have its due influence in preventing the recurrence of those horrible atrocities for which they are doomed to suffer."⁴⁶

The name Ferebee shows up elsewhere in a folktale re-told by folklorist F. Roy Johnson in "The Devil in His Many Forms," a section of his 1965 collection Tales from Old Carolina:

Long before Isabella was born on the John Knight plantation, a very old woman had visited too late one afternoon on the opposite side of Black Mingle Pocosin; for the sun was setting as she reached the pocosin path.

The way grew very dark, so dark she had to tap out the running of the footbridges with her walking cane. As the darkness deepened a loud rumbling noise arose from deep within the pocosin. The wind blew up a black boiling thunderstorm. The old woman hurried to the side of the pocosin to an "off-cast" house.

The house had been abandoned so long that it was falling to pieces and passage could be gained to it only by beating back the thorn bushes and creeping vines.

The storm struck quickly and with fury. Trees were uprooted

⁴⁵ "A Serious Subject," *The Norfolk and Portsmouth (Virginia) Herald*, May 12, 1823.

⁴⁶ "Trial For Murder," *American Beacon and Norfolk & Portsmouth Daily Advertiser*, June 26, 1823.

and rain fell in torrents while the house creaked and groaned above the noise of the storm.

Then within there were whispering noises which told that drinks were being passed around. But no one could be seen as lighting flashes turned things a pale grey. Strangeness of the sounds suggested that there were witches' potions.

Suddenly a voice cried aloud, "Aunt Fereby, she won't drink it!"

"If she won't drink it, I'll make her drink it!" came a stern reply.

Badly frightened, the old woman ran from the house. Quickly her fears were justified. The storm vanished, and in its place light from the sun set spread across a cloudless sky.⁴⁷

Furthermore, in *Hidden Americans: Maroons of Virginia and the Carolinas*, historian Hugo Prosper Leaming utilizes this story to place Aunt Ferebee in the Dismal Swamp maroon community's spiritual leadership position. Leaming explains this story as Aunt Ferebee taking a leadership role in the "forced poisoning or reluctant participation in a ritual."⁴⁸ For Leaming, Aunt Ferebee is "a [rare] female figure of awe and power in the spiritual lore of the maroons" and a "cryptic"⁴⁹ figure. Leaming places Bob Ferebee, however, in the Paramount Chief position between 1822 and 1824.⁵⁰ Both Bob and Aunt Ferebee are members of Leaming's "first families of the Dismal Swamp maroons." Although some scholars tend to doubt Leaming's assertions that Dismal Swamp maroons actually created sustainable societies, Leaming's maroon images, just as Johnson's and Aptheker's, remain quite compelling.⁵¹

⁴⁷ Johnson, F. Roy, *Tales from Old Carolina* (Murfreesboro, North Carolina: Johnson Publishing Company, 1966), 223.

⁴⁸ Leaming, Hugo Prosper, *Hidden Americans: Maroons of Virginia and the Carolinas*. (New York: Garland Publishing, 1995), 287.

⁴⁹ Leaming, 257 & 338.

⁵⁰ Leaming, 328.

⁵¹ For book reviews see R. Detweiler's review in *CHOICE: Current Reviews for Academic Libraries* (November 1995, Volume 33, Number 3: 530) and Peter C. Stewart's review in *William and Mary Quarterly* (1996, Volume 53, Number 3: 666 - 667).

In American Negro Slave Revolts, Aptheker notes that Ferebee was active during an "era...of severe economic depression" and that this Tidewater region of Virginia "showed the following population development from 1820 to 1830: the number of [W]hites increased 3.2(%); the number of slaves, 5.0(%); and the number of free Negroes, 25.5(%)".⁵² If slavery scholar Orlando Patterson is correct in asserting that one factor leading to increased slave revolts is that "the slave population greatly outnumbers that of the master class,"⁵³ then the fact that the 1820 Virginia Tidewater and Piedmont population totaled 349,173 Whites and 414,575 Blacks (slave and free) may have been a contributing factor to what Aptheker describes as "another period of increased rebellious activity."⁵⁴ And it must be noted that this activity took place in treacherous swamps, where "geographical conditions favor guerilla warfare."⁵⁵

Undoubtedly, these slaveholding communities had something to fear; they were being killed, harassed, and robbed constantly, if their own newspaper articles are taken as truth. The people committing these crimes, however, apparently felt the same way and thus attempted to engage in violent measures to counteract their predicament. There is no evidence in any of the three cited articles that peace negotiations were ever deemed considerable or viable options. The only report of non-violent contact appears in *The Norfolk and Portsmouth Herald*. This article tells of a note sent to a White planter not as

⁵² Aptheker, American Negro Slave Revolts, 264.

⁵³ Patterson, Orlando, "Slavery and Slave Revolts: A Sociohistorical Analysis of the First Maroon War, 1665-1740", in Maroon Societies, ed. Richard Price, (Baltimore, Maryland, and London: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1996), 288. Other factors leading to slave revolts that Patterson lists include: "Where the ratio of local to foreign-born slaves is low. ...Where the imported slaves, or a significant section of them, are of common ethnic origin. ...Where there is a high incidence of absentee ownership. ...Where the economy is dominated by large-scale, monopolistic enterprise. ...Where there is weak cultural cohesiveness, reinforced by a high [male:female] sex ratio among the ruling population." These factors may also be tested for contributing factors toward the various styles and numbers of slave revolts across the Southern United States.

⁵⁴ Aptheker, American Negro Slave Revolts, 265.

⁵⁵ Patterson, 288.

a negotiation attempt, but rather as a clear warning "cautioning him not to appear out of his house after nightfall or he would certainly be murdered."⁵⁶ Here, the maroons exerted their power of invisibility through the mere possibility of their appearance. These maroons also showed that they are literate and capable of effective communication, skills that may have proved even more threatening to slaveholders than acts of violence. In sum, these Virginia maroons exerted control over their intended victim, who reportedly heeded their warning. The article's writer even strongly advised all the neighboring citizens to heed this written warning, especially since these maroons had successfully killed before. The writer stated, "Everyone who has haply rendered himself obnoxious to their vengeance, must indeed, calculate on sooner or later falling victim to it."⁵⁷ He also stated, "neither power of law, or vigilance or personal strength and intrepidity can avail" for all citizens were "at the mercy of these maroons."⁵⁸

Kenneth Greenberg, in his book Honor and Slavery: Lies, Duels, Noses, Masks, Dressing as a Woman, Gifts, Strangers, Humanitarianism, Death, Slave Rebellions, the Proslavery Argument, Baseball, Hunting, and Gambling in the Old South, maintains that Southern White males regarded themselves highly as men of honor and fortitude, who believed that the slave's word on any matter should be treated at all times with contempt. Greenberg writes, "Masters and potential masters distinguished themselves from slaves in many ways, but one of the most important distinctions involved the issue of lying. ...The words of the slave could never become objects of honor. Whites assumed that slaves lied

⁵⁶ *The Norfolk and Portsmouth Herald*.

⁵⁷ *The Norfolk and Portsmouth Herald*.

⁵⁸ *The Norfolk and Portsmouth Herald*.

all the time – and that their lies were intimately connected to their position as slaves.”⁵⁹ He also writes, “It is better to let a murder go unpunished than to honor the words of slaves.”⁶⁰ Paradoxically, although slaveholders reportedly assumed their slaves were all liars, this Norfolk community took the maroon letter to be true. The only answer Greenberg’s text seems to give to this question of a legitimate threat is that the slaveholders believed that running away, theft, and other criminal acts were part of the slaves’ inherently dishonorable make-up. Such vices were “understood as character traits of men with no honor rather than modes of revolt. Many masters came to expect and to tolerate a certain level of such behavior as part of life with slaves.”⁶¹ Therefore, in this distorted logic, the dishonorable letter, however unusual, coupled with the maroon’s previous actions could have been expected. Thus, the slaves’ inherent trait of lying need not be questioned.

Being “at the mercy” of these maroons put the White citizens in a particularly precarious predicament. They were under attack on all sides; physically, mentally, and by the power of the written word. Were not slaves prohibited from learning to read or write? Of the perplexing occurrence of the literate slave, historian David Waldstreicher writes, “The knowledge and will exercised by literate runaways...made it all the more tempting for the public sphere, such as [Benjamin] Franklin [and his future newspaper colleagues]...to find ways to deny the social importance of unfree and especially [B]lack

⁵⁹ Greenberg, Kenneth S., *Honor and Slaves: Lies, Duels, Noses, Masks, Dressing as a Woman, Gifts, Strangers, Humanitarianism, Death, Slave Rebellions, The Proslavery Argument, Baseball, Hunting, and Gambling in the Old South* (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1996), 11.

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, 39.

⁶¹ *Ibid.*, 50.

free labor.⁶² Like other slavery scholars before him, Waldstreicher later asserts, "...those who...could write had the most success running away."⁶³ Historians, such as John W. Blassingame, in his 1972 book The Slave Community: Plantation Life in the Antebellum South, and John Hope Franklin and Loren Schweninger, in their 1999 book Runaway Slaves: Rebels on the Plantation, also note that literate slaves were in a better position to free themselves by absconding from the South by means of forged passes that could make their journeys much easier.⁶⁴ These particular Virginia maroons, however, never left the South and managed great success in manipulating the minds of Whites and undermining the slavery system. Therefore, it seems that the Norfolk area's "heightened... agitation and alarm" stemmed in a considerable amount from the ominous note from the "lurking" "black" "assassins," "desperadoes," "out-lyers," "miscreants," "villains," and "monsters in human shape" who have found "a secure retreat from pursuit in neighboring swamps."⁶⁵

If these maroons had entered the sacred realm of print, after the killings, where else could and would they go? Some years later, in 1837, one New Orleans *Picayune* writer suggested an answer, "While they [,the maroons,] can support a gang [by robbery and agriculture] and have a camp, we may expect our slaves to run away and harrowing depredations to be committed upon society."⁶⁶ With such suggestions of maroon power, writers of such articles actually expressed a contradiction in the power structure of slavery, much as the "authors of advertisements often found themselves explaining,

⁶² Waldstreicher, "Reading the Runaway: Self-Fashioning, Print Culture, and Confidence in Slavery in the Mid Eighteenth-Century Mid-Atlantic," (*William and Mary Quarterly*, Volume LVI, Number 2, April 1999), 259.

⁶³ *Ibid.*, 259.

⁶⁴ Franklin, John Hope and Loren Schweninger, Runaway Slaves: Rebels on the Plantation (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999), 119.

⁶⁵ *The Norfolk and Portsmouth Herald*.

⁶⁶ "Squire - the Outlaw," *Picayune* (New Orleans), July, 19, 1837.

directly or by implication [a] failure of slavery and servitude as a cultural system."⁶⁷

Thus, the maroons presented a physical, as well as ideological and psychological, threat that the slavery system was not equipped to handle or deny.

Again, Aptheker describes 1837, the year of the New Orleans *Picayune* article, as a year that "marks the beginning of a severe economic depression that lasted for about five or six years."⁶⁸ This is also the year of the 2nd Seminole War in Florida, which lasted until 1843. Again, not only is there economic hardship, but maroons are taking advantage of the situation. This time, it is in the swamps near New Orleans. Aptheker reports, "In June of [1836]...maroon bands were especially active and dangerous in Gates County, North Carolina, and in the Cypress Swamp, near New Orleans."⁶⁹ A year later, Squire, the reported "Brigand of the Swamp" who led the maroons for at least three years, was accidentally found and killed by a Spaniard in the Cypress Swamp. Soon after, "his body was exhibited on the public square of the First Municipality...as he lay bleeding and weltering in his gore."⁷⁰ The *Picayune* reminded its New Orleans readership that Squire had a reward on his head for two thousand dollars, which was offered "some years ago."⁷¹ This killing and mounting for display must have appeased the minds of the New Orleans slaveholders only a little. Although the "notorious black scoundrel" was dead, the "demi-devil[is]" reign of "cruelty, crime and murder" had ended, and "two or three thousand slaves were encouraged to go and see" his dead body, his "encampment of outlaw negroes near the city" was certainly still active.⁷²

⁶⁷ Waldsteicher, 248.

⁶⁸ *Picayune*.

⁶⁹ Aptheker, *American Negro Slave Revolts*, 329.

⁷⁰ *Picayune*.

⁷¹ *Ibid.*

⁷² *Ibid.*

The article is reminiscent of a report concerning a colonial Louisiana Cypress Swamp leader known as St. Malò or Juan Malò, which was his name while he was a slave. In the 1780s, St. Malò's maroon settlement was located in the swamp area known to colonialists as Bas du Fleuve and to maroons as Ville Gaillarde. The word "gaillard" means "strong, healthy, free, adept, and clever."⁷³ Colonialists were quite terrified of this maroon settlement. "Both the syndic of the Cabildo of New Orleans and Governor Miro feared the establishment of a permanent settlement of maroons [led by St. Malò], as had occurred in Jamaica."⁷⁴ A folksong recounting St. Malò's capture was apparently sung even after the Civil War. Gwendolyn Midlo Hall in *Africans in Colonial Louisiana* notes that George Washington Cable quoted and translated the following Creole slave song of "an old woman in St. Bernard Parish"⁷⁵:

Alas, young men, come make lament,
For poor St. Malò in distress!
They chased, they hunted him with dogs,
They fired a rifle at him.
They dragged him from the cypress swamp,
His arms they tied behind his back.
They tied his hands in front of him,
They tied him to a horse's tail.
They dragged him up into the town,
Before those grand Cabildo men.
They charged that he had made a plot
To cut the throats of all the whites.
They asked him who his comrades were.
Poor St. Malò said not a word!
The judge his sentence read to him,
And then they raised the gallows tree.
They drew the horse - the cart moved off
And left St. Malò hanging there!
The sun was up an hour high.
They left his body swinging there

⁷³ Hall, Gwendolyn Midlo, *Africans in Colonial Louisiana: The Development of Afro-Creole Culture in the Eighteenth Century*, (Baton Rouge: Louisiana Press, 1992), 212.

⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, 212.

⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, 234 and 235n.

For carrion crows to feed upon.⁷⁶

The survival of this song through the colonial period, through Squire's maroon leadership, through the antebellum period, through the Civil War, through the 1959 publication of Creoles and Cajuns: Stories of Old Louisiana, and through the 1992 publication of Africans in Colonial Louisiana shows how a traceable historical memory of North American maroons has endured through oral tradition coupled with published documents.

As evidenced by these newspaper articles, the images of North American maroons are still alive, although rather faint in their popularity. These articles paint a picture of a violent set of individuals only out for *unjustified* revenge and devastation. Although these journalists probably did not come in contact with maroons, these same journalists were most likely successful in communicating the need for caution in their readers' footsteps while establishing fear in the same readers' imaginations. Fortunately for contemporary readers, this journalism is only one entry into the image of North American maroons.

⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, 234.

CHAPTER IV

THE MAROON AND THE RUNAWAY SLAVE ADVERTISER

Another way newspapers told the story of American marronage was through runaway slave advertisements that use the word "lurking" to describe runaway slaves. Just as Barbara McCaskill, in her article "'Yours Very Truly': Ellen Craft – the Fugitive as Text and Artifact," calls on literary scholars to examine fugitive slave autobiographies and their "cotangential visual representations" with a keener eye, the same manner of examination is possible when examining runaway slave advertisements for evidences of marronage.⁷⁷ Such critical reading provides a glimpse into a few of the then secret maroon and African American cultural nuances Sterling Stuckey believes "died on the night air."⁷⁸ This evidence of lurking runaway men, women, and children strongly suggests that not all runaways immediately headed for escape routes out of the slaveholding territories. While some of the cited advertisements suggest that runaways were temporarily lurking while awaiting passage out of the South, many of these advertisements suggest a longer-term decision to dwell or stay in the slaveholding area. The specified lurking occurred for days, weeks, months, or, even in some cases, years. The advertisement writers acknowledge this potential marronage by suggesting lurking places and specific intimate connections that would keep the runaway slave from leaving the slaveholding state.

⁷⁷ McCaskill, Barbara, "'Yours Very Truly': Ellen Craft – the Fugitive as Text and Artifact," *African American Review*, Vol. 28, No. 4, Winter 1994), 526.

⁷⁸ Stuckey, Sterling, *Slave Culture: Nationalist Theory and the Foundations of Black America* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1987), 10.

Freddie L. Parker's collection, Stealing a Little Freedom: Advertisements for Slave Runaways in North Carolina, 1791 – 1840, contains at least 351 advertisements in which nineteenth-century slaveholders utilized the word "lurking" to describe runaway slaves who remained in the vicinity. Parker's compilation is composed of advertisements from 75 North Carolina newspapers. In this compilation, the reported age of lurking North Carolina runaway slaves ranged between five months and 60 years old, including a five month old child named Peter and nine children 10 years old or younger. These children were labeled as lurking along with their self-freed lurking parents. The average reported age of lurking North Carolina runaway slaves was 28 years old. The reported complexions of these lurkers composed a spectrum of colors:

Black, Bright Mulatto, Bright, Coal Black, Common Black, Copper, Crow Black, Dark, Dark Black, Dark Copper, Dark Mulatto, Dark Though Not Black, Darker, High Yellow, Light, Light Black, Light But Darker Than Mulatto, Light Dark, Light Yellow, Little Yellow, Middling Black, Mulatto, Nearly Black, Neither Darkest African Black Nor Yellow But Rather Between The Two, Not Very Black, Pretty Black, Quite Black, Quite Dark, Quite Yellow, Rather Light, Rather Of A Yellow, Of Light Complexion Almost of the Indian Order, Rather Yellow, Somewhat Yellow, Tolerable Black, Tolerable Dark, Tolerably Black, Very Black, Very Bright Yellow, Very Dark, Yellow, Yellow Nearly Mulatto, Yellow Cast, Yellow Complexed Though Not a Mulatto, Yellowish, and Yellowish Cast.⁷⁹

Rewards for the capture of lurking North Carolina runaway slaves ranged between 5 cents and \$200, with an average of \$24. The reported sex ratio of lurking North Carolina runaway slaves was 75 females to 275 males (and one child whose sex was undesignated). But without viewing these people through the lens of statistics and/or property descriptions, twenty-first-century readers can read these descriptors as context or

⁷⁹ I extracted this list from the 351 runaway slave advertisements that use the word lurking as collected in Freddie L. Parker's Stealing A Little Freedom: Advertisements for Runaway Slaves in North Carolina, 1791 – 1840 (New York and London: Garland Publishing, Inc., 1994). See TABLE II for a database of the information found in these advertisements.

background to particular stories of North Carolina slavery and quests for freedom as evidenced in these journalistic sites of historical memory. Thus, we can read the mini-narratives of runaway slave advertisements as part of the North Carolina image of maroons.

As narrative sites of historical memory, these runaway slave advertisements reveal how North Carolina slaveholders viewed slaves as property but were also able to remember and communicate human qualities of most of their property in acute detail. 159 out of 351 lurking slaves were thought specifically to be with their wives, husbands, mothers, fathers, brothers, sisters, friends, and acquaintances. In some cases, the slaveholders reported knowing for a fact that their slaves were lurking in the company of loved ones. How can slaveholders give such intimate details without exposing a contradiction of pro-slavery reasoning? In their 1999 study *Runaway Slaves: Rebels on the Plantation*, John Hope Franklin and Loren Schweninger found this *lurking after loved ones* phenomena in the approximately 8,400 runaway slave advertisements they surveyed. In terms of separated husbands and wives, Franklin and Schweninger concluded, "Husbands separated from their wives accounted for a number of runaways. ... The relationship between husbands and wives was used by some owners to control their slaves. ... [Male slaves] who ran away to be with their wives were embarking on a risky and hazardous undertaking. Most were not successful, especially if the master knew where the spouse lived."⁸⁰ In 1850, pro-slavery intellectual George Fitzhugh wrote that slaveholders had such intimate knowledge of their slaves because slaves were dependent on their masters. Fitzhugh wrote:

⁸⁰ Franklin, John Hope and Loren Schweninger, *Runaway Slaves: Rebels on the Plantation* (Oxford University Press, 1999), 57 - 59. Franklin and Schweninger also considered runaways in search of other loved ones, husbands, parents, and relatives.

The slaves are well fed, well clad, have plenty of fuel, and are happy. They have no dread of the future – no fear of want. A state of dependence is the only condition in which reciprocal affection can exist among human beings – the only situation in which the war of competition ceases, and peace, amity and good will arise. A state of independence always begets more or less of jealous rivalry and hostility. A man loves his children because they are weak, helpless and dependent. He loves his wife for similar reasons. ...Hence, though men are often found at variance with wife or children, we never saw one who did not like his slaves, and rarely a slave who was not devoted to his master.⁸¹

Therefore, juxtaposing the word "lurking" to the knowledge of intimate human details in effect helps negate any contradiction and bolsters slaveholder power since, according to Fitzhugh, slaves were solely dependent upon their masters and happy being so.

The New Shorter Oxford English Dictionary defines "lurk" as "Be hidden; lie in ambush; conceal oneself, esp. furtively, in, under, about, etc. Formerly also live in concealment or retirement; move about secretively and furtively; steal along, away, [and] out."⁸² This definition pointedly labels the lurker as a threat and a danger, in this case, to the slaveholding community. Thus, the slave is still predatory even as he or she aspires to fulfill his or her human needs and desires. By acknowledging intimate relationships, the slaveholder opens himself or herself up to abolitionist criticism of breaking up families or of not treating other people in a Christian, humane manner. But by consciously or unconsciously labeling the runaway slave as a predator waiting in ambush, the acknowledgement of the slaves' ability to sustain and seek inmate relationships is neutralized. In her 1949 memoir Killers of the Dream, White Southern writer and activist Lillian Smith attempted to explain this contradictory impulse. She wrote, "Our grandparents called themselves Christians and sometimes believed they were. ...They

⁸¹ Fitzhugh, George, "Sociology For The South," in Slavery Defended: The Views Of The Old South, ed. Eric L. McKittrick (Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1963), 45.

⁸² Brown, Lesley (ed.), The New Shorter Oxford English Dictionary (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1993).

could not say, 'We shall keep our slaves because they are profitable, regardless of right or wrong.' ...Our grandfathers' conscience compelled them to justify slavery and they did: by making the black man 'different,' setting him outside God's law, reducing him to less than human."⁸³

According to these advertisements, nineteenth-century North Carolina maroons were looking forward to camping out near various kinds of intimate connections. Of these 351 advertisements there are at least 34 instances of runaway slaves lurking near their former residences; seven instances of wives near husbands; 61 instances of husbands near wives; four men and one woman near their sisters; four men near their brothers; 22 instances of sons and daughters of all ages near their parents; at least another 22 instances of men and women near relatives or relations; and at least 44 instances of men and women near friends, acquaintances, "connexions," as well as where well known, generally known, and sufficiently known. Conversely, however, fewer than 10 of the 351 lurking advertisements explicitly warn readers that the lurking slaves were outlawed, harboring guns and weapons for defense, killing animals, committing felonies, or blood-thirsty enough to brave the power of white men to take them in. One particularly interesting warning states, "There is no doubt but he is now lurking in the neighborhood, with a debased white woman, or with an unprincipled white man, disguised in female apparel also armed with gun and dangerous weapons." This small number of violent descriptions seems counter-intuitive, but the evidence suggests that more lurking runaway slaves were described as loving family members and friends than explicit beasts of prey. Thus, in this North Carolina case, lurking equals loving.

⁸³ Smith, Lillian, *Killers of the Dream* 2nd edition (New York and London: W. W. Norton & Company, 1994), 61.

A lasting impression of North American maroons does not need to be a violent impression. Although violence certainly occurred, both on the parts of slaveholders and maroons, more gentle emotions like love, loneliness, and spirituality need to be part of the memories and images of maroons. This love, loneliness, and spirituality helped make up the complexity of the humanity and violent actions involved in freeing one's self from enslavement. The runaway slave advertisers must have known this on some level since their words are the evidence for this assertion. Thus, nineteenth-century North Carolina runaway slave advertisements are mini-narratives that begin to paint a delicately intricate picture of North American marronage even as their authors did not intend to do so.

New Bern, North Carolina's advertisements prove to be an interesting case study for North Carolina coastal maroons. As seen above, this state's maroons apparently searched out safe places where they would not be detected to be enslaved. These safe places were naturally secluded areas such as swamps, forests, and caves. Other times these places were public areas where maroons would hide in plain view, blending in with the plethora of quasi-free or nominally free slaves, hired-out slaves, sea-faring slaves, and free people of color: such areas included cities like Charleston, South Carolina; Norfolk, Virginia; and even New Bern, North Carolina.

By today's standards New Bern was not and is not a major city. But during the colonial, federal, and antebellum periods, New Bern was a bustling wharf that hosted an international clientele and was home to many enslaved and free watermen, skilled and unskilled laborers, and house servants. In this atmosphere, fugitive slaves quite easily could blend into the multi-hued crowd of people. In this way, New Bern was a veritable

haven for maroons, as well as for runaway slaves on their way to Northern freedom. And the prevalent use of the fugitive slave descriptor "lurking" begins to reveal this story.⁸⁴

By definition, lurking took place over a period of time. In New Bern, between the 1770s and the 1840s, the lengths of time mentioned in the advertisements were as follows:

Length of Time Gone	# of Reported Instances
1 day	1
2 days	4
3 days	1
4 days	2
5 days	5
7 days	1
8 days	1
9 days	1
10 days	1
13 days	1
14 days	1
½ month	36
1 month	17
2 months	7
3 months	18
4 months	3
5 months	5
6 months	6
7 months	2
8 months	1 (this woman had "since had a child")
9 months	6
10 months	2
11 months	1
1 year	2
2 years	2
a fortnight	1
some weeks past	1
a few days ago	3
some time since	1
on Monday night last	1
a few days since	2

- ✓ ½ month = 15 days – 29 days
- ✓ months are recorded at 30 or 31 days⁸⁵

⁸⁴ See Parker, Freddie L., *Stealing a Little Freedom: Advertisements for Slave Runaways in North Carolina, 1791 – 1840*; and Windley, Lathan A., *Runaway Slave Advertisements: A Documentary History from 1730s to 1790, Volume 1, Virginia and North Carolina* Volume 1, Virginia and North Carolina (Wesport, Connecticut, and London: Greenwood Press, 1983).

Closely examining these New Bern lurking descriptions gives eight decade-based portraits of unregulated and uncontrolled persons who had a variety of reasons for not *living up* to their end of the slavery bargain. In the 1770s, 18 advertisements used the word "lurking." Three of these self-freed slaves were described as Hired-Out. The reported complexions of these people were two Yellowish, two Yellow, four Black, and one Very Black.⁸⁶ In the 1770s, the New Bern use of the word lurking was closely linked to outlawed slaves. Outlawing runaway slaves was a more drastic measure than merely advertising for them. Of this outlawing process, Parker states, "[b]ecause owners were compensated for the death of an outlawed slave, they sometimes offered a greater reward for the slave's head than for apprehending and returning the runaway home or confining the slave in jail."⁸⁷ Twelve of these advertisements describe legally outlawed maroons "lurking about, doing [or committing] Acts of Felony." One other advertisement warns that Smart, who had not been outlawed, "...is supposed to be lurking about Slocomb's Creek, with a Fellow belonging to Mr. Almond, and a Gang of Runaways belonging to the late Mr. Clear's Estate." Note the similar styles of each outlaw notice. Both indicate the name of the advertiser, give a brief description of the outlawed maroon, officially outline the colony's authority by "his Majesty's Name" to call for the return of the outlaw, and then give the subscriber space to add a personal comment or extra reward for the maroon's head. Of this time period, the *Dictionary of Afro-American Slavery* states, "[w]ith the coming of the American Revolution in 1775, Whigs feared a slave revolt in Wilmington[, only 25 miles north of New Bern], but an actual uprising seems to have

⁸⁵ See TABLE III for a database of the information found in these advertisements.

⁸⁶ I included complexion reports in this section to help disavow the stereotype that all light-skin slaves were happy with their enslavement since their masters were nicer to them because of their obvious "White blood."

⁸⁷ Parker, 36.

taken place in the coastal plain counties of Beaufort, Pitt, and [New Bern's county]

Craven.⁸⁸ Another secondary source suggests a slightly different scenario. In From

Africa to America: African American History from the Colonial Era to the Early

Republic, 1526 - 1790, William D. Pierson writes:

During the passions of 1775, ...the presence of increased patrols was not enough to stop the plotting of slaves under the leadership of a bondsman named Merrick in Wilmington, North Carolina. Although Merrick's revolt was quashed by white authorities before it ever got off the ground, according to the torture-forced confessions Wilmington blacks and their allies from Beaufort, Pitt, and Craven Counties were planning a common insurrection with the intent of burning their way, plantation by plantation, to the British lines and independence.⁸⁹

Along with the cited advertisements, these two accounts, although slightly different, suggest that colonial period maroons were living in a time of rampant resistance to slavery.

In the 1780s, only one advertisement used the word "lurking." This advertisement did not report his complexion but Tom, a Cooper by trade, was "supposed to be lurking about Edmund Hatch's, jun. in Jones county." In the 1790s, 10 advertisements used the word "lurking." Only one slaveholder reported his former slave's occupation, Blacksmith. More advertisers reported the complexions of their former slaves: one Very Black, one Midling Black, one Black, one Yellow, and two Mulattos. By the 1790s, only one of the lurking maroons was considered an official outlaw. The other maroons were reportedly lurking about specific towns, plantations, and other "places till [meeting] some captain, who will be base enough to secret or steal"

⁸⁸ Miller, Randall M. and John David Smith (eds.), Dictionary of Afro-American Slavery (New York and Westport, Connecticut, and London: Greenwood Press, 1988), 543.

⁸⁹ Pierson, William D., From Africa to America: African American History from the Colonial Era to the Early Republic, 1526 - 1790 (New York: Twayne Publishers, 1996), 132.

maroons away from the state. Job, for example, was believed to be waiting for passage to the Eastern Shore of Maryland, where he was raised. In the 1790s reports of lurking after and with loved ones begin to appear in North Carolina. For example, there was a family consisting of a husband, wife, and four children reported to be lurking about the city.

In the 1800s, five advertisements used the word "lurking." The reported complexions of four of these maroons were one Yellow, one Dark Mulatto, one Black, and one Very Black. Only two occupations were reported, one Cooper/Job-Carpenter and one Methodist Preacher named Simbo. This last report echoes a story told by an former slave to a Fisk University researcher in 1929. The Fisk story reads as follows:

One night there was a man come and had a little string about a foot long, and he had something on the end of it, and he was swinging it along and when it got to my father it stopped just as still. He said father was going to get whipped the next morning but he would keep him from getting the whipping. Sure enough the next morning they come got him, but they never touched him. This man was a runaway nigger. He just went around keeping people from getting killed.⁹⁰

In the unnamed former slave's story, otherworldly powers were the main concern of the wandering maroon, much like otherworldly powers, which were apparently the main concern for the Methodist Preacher maroon. As Simbo "is supposed to be lurking sometimes down Neuse river, and at others going up the same, and so he ranges through Craven, Jones, and Onslow counties," he "speaks very distinct" as well as reads and writes. From this description, Simbo was presumably a devout traveling minister, preaching and teaching on his travels. Thus, the story collected by the Fisk researcher echoes of travels of this spiritual practitioner. In *Black Culture and Black Consciousness*, Lawrence Levine asserts, "Conjurers sometimes intervened directly and mysteriously to

⁹⁰ Rawick, *The American Slave: A Composite Autobiography – Unwritten History of Slavery*. Fisk University, Volume 18 (Westport, Connecticut: Greenwood Publishing Company, 1972), 139.

protect the slave."⁹¹ The mere idea of this conjuring action, much like preaching, must have worked through these two maroons to touch a number of enslaved and free lives. Such wandering for moral and religious purposes seems to have been included as reasons for throwing off the chains of slavery by whatever means necessary.

In the 1810s, 35 advertisements used the word "lurking." The reported complexions of these maroons were as follows: one Very Dark, eight Dark, two Very Black, seven Black, one Middling Black, one Rather of a Yellow, four Yellow, two Yellowish, one High Yellow, one Light, and one Very Light Coloured Mulatto. Only three occupations were reported: Blacksmith, Carpenter, and Hired-Out. While four advertisers furnished explicit warnings of outlawed and armed maroons, 19 advertisers assert that the maroons were lurking after intimate connections. The advertisers mentioned two fathers, two mothers, one brother, six wives, one husband, four families or relations, two "connexions," six places where the maroons were raised, and two former residences.

In the 1820s, 52 advertisements used the word "lurking." The reported complexions of these maroons were as follows: two Light, one Rather Light, two Yellowish, nine Yellow, one Yellow Nearly A Mulatto, five Mulatto, six Black, two Quite Black, one Very Black, seven Dark, and one Quite Dark. In this decade, more occupations were recorded: one Painter (who ran away three times during the decade), one Carpenter, one House Carpenter, one Brickyard Worker, and one Caulker. With the appearance of the Caulker, New Bern's coastal culture begins to peek through the story

⁹¹ Levine, Lawrence W., *Black Culture and Black Consciousness* (Oxford, London and New York: Oxford University Press, 1977), 73.

of lurking maroon advertisements. During this time, water tradesmen, including Black watermen, were establishing and maintaining their businesses such that a future

...snapshot of New Bern's wharf district in 1850... would have revealed a veritable melting pot. The waterfront district was majority black. Coastal ports like Bath, Ocracoke, and even New Bern may have outwardly resembled backwater outposts on minor trade routes, but a tour of those harbor districts would have belied any notion of provincialism. There a visitor would have met black sailors from many nations, swapping the latest, scuttlebutt from Boston, San Juan, and Port-au-Prince in a half dozen languages⁹²

As evidenced by the growing number of lurking advertisements in this multi-cultural coastal city, maroons were creating a growing environment for their forms of physical and mental self-emancipation. By the Civil War, the "...more than 5,000 African American[s] eventually recruited in New Bern, most of them former slaves, became the core of the 35th, 36th, and 37th Regiments, United States Colored Troops, known originally as the African Brigade. ...This scene in New Bern hints at a different story: instead of docility, we see militancy."⁹³

In the 1830s, 44 advertisements used the word "lurking." The reported complexions for these advertisements were eight Dark, one Crow Black, two Very Black, one Quite Black, six Black, two Nearly Black, two Light Black, one Mulatto, one Light But Darker Than A Mulatto, three Light, and four Yellow. Only three occupations were reported, one House-Carpenter, one House Servant, and one Boating Worker. Aptheker found the 1830s to be an explosive period for maroon activity, especially in North

⁹² Cecelski, David, *The Waterman's Song: Slavery and Freedom in Maritime North Carolina* (Chapel Hill and London: The University of North Carolina Press, 2001), 141.

⁹³ *Ibid.*, 181.

Carolina.⁹⁴ Therefore, this high number of advertisements for lurkers in the 1830s may expose the increased fear of slave insurrections and elevated maroon activities.

With these 1830s advertisements, another part of the runaway slave story begins to peek through. This story is the plight and uncertainty of free Black status. On December 15, 1837, an advertiser called for the return of Frank Pilot who had "been free since 1829... [but] is now my property, as heir as law of his last owner." This advertisement comes on the heels of the 1831 Nat Turner rebellion in Southampton, Virginia. North Carolina slaveholders throughout the state felt the threat to their power and the legislation passed post-Nat Turner reflects as much. In Running For Freedom: Slave Runaways in North Carolina, 1775 – 1840, Freddie L. Parker states:

The Turner revolt greatly altered the relationship between blacks and whites in North Carolina and the South. The most blatant change in the relationship was the treatment of the slaves. After 1831 – culminating in the North Carolina Constitutional Convention of 1835 – the state enacted laws to reduce the threat of slave rebellion; and they sought to neutralize free blacks who were the vanguard of the abolitionist struggle in the state.⁹⁵

Had Frank Pilot demonstrated abolitionist tendencies or expressed abolitionist views?

We may never know but the fact that he was re-enslaved, whether he was living as a free man or a nominal slave, after being free since 1829 warrants some questioning.

In the 1840s, only five advertisements used word "lurking." The reported complexions of these runaways were as follows: two Yellow, one Dark Copper Colour, and one Very Black. There were no occupations reported for any of these lurking runaway slaves. These few advertisements, however, relate a story of self-freed persons

⁹⁴ Aptheker, Herbert, American Negro Slave Revolts. 50th Anniversary Edition, (New York: International Publishers, 1993), 325 – 329.

⁹⁵ Parker, Freddie L., Running For Freedom: Slave Runaways in North Carolina, 1775 – 1840, (New York and London: Garland Publishing, Inc., 1993), 42.

who ran away in groups. On December 16, 1840, a slaveholder advertised that two women, Lettice and Phillis, had runaway together although Lettice was "probably lurking about Newbern" and Phillis was lurking "in the neighborhood of Swift Creek." Throughout earlier years, self-freed groups of lurking maroons were advertised for on several occasions. In January 1775, Jem and Grace were "supposed to be lurking about [together], committing many Acts of Felony." In July 1777, Smart was "supposed to be lurking about Slocomb's Creek, with a Fellow belonging to Mr. Almond, and a Gang of Runaways belonging to the late Mr. Clear's Estate." In April 1796, Jim and March "may [have been] lurking some place about Newbern." In February 1798, Jack, Tamer, and their four children were "supposed to be lurking about the town of Newbern." In June 1812, Louisa, along with her 15 month old daughter, was supposed to be "lurking about Washington as she formerly belonged to Mr. Joel Dickerson of that place, and [had] a husband at Mr. James Remond's of Washington, by the name of Frank, belonging to the heirs of Thomas Blackledge." In October 1816, the family of Trusty, Dolly, Simon (10 years old), and Ben (6 years old) were "well known in the neighborhood and on Durhams Creek, Beauford County, where they were raised, and it [was] supposed they [were] lurking about there." In November 1817, husband and wife, Abram and Peg, were expected to be "lurking in Craven County on Neuse [River] where they [had] a number of connexions." In June 1821, Jim Randal and Abram Sparrow were "lurking about Newbern, committing acts of felony, &c." together. In May 1822, Allen Woodard was "lurking about Newbern as he carried a white woman there, with whom he was intimate as it was said." In May 1824, Stella and her 19 year old son were "probably lurking about this place or in Tarborough." In May 1825, the family of Jarvis, Viney, and their

18 month old son had "been traced to the vicinity of Newbern, about which they [were] probably lurking." September 30, 1826, Lilly and America were "lurking [possibly together] about Newbern and its vicinity, where they [were] sufficiently known without a description" even though Lilly had been gone for seven months and America had been gone for ½ month. In July 1829, Isaac, Peter, Betty, and Betty's 7 or 8 year old daughter Hannah were "believed to be lurking either in Jones or Carteret Counties." In January 1830, Isaac, Calvin, and Juda were "all lurking about Jones County, where they were raised and have many connexions." In this case, Isaac and Calvin had been away for three months and Juda had been away for eight months in which time she reportedly gave birth. In May 1833, Peter and Sam were "supposed to be lurking about either Slocumb's, Clubfoot's, or Coates' Creek." And in November 1836, Lucy and her 13 year old son York were "supposed to be lurking about the plantations of General Dudley, in Onslow, or they may have gone to the plantation of Hosea Murray in New Hanover County." Thus, even in New Bern and within its various groupings of runaways, there were differing notions and experiences of self-freeing initiatives.

Throughout the years, New Bern advertisers also gave a number of "unusual"⁹⁶ descriptions of maroons or extra information about maroons. Besides physical descriptions of general appearance, health problems, and whether Country born or a New Negro, other descriptions were present. On July 11, 1777, an advertiser reported that the 16 year old "Lad" Burr, who was "supposed to be lurking about committing many Acts of Felony," was hired-out but "immediately ran away." Burr was "some time after returned quite Naked, and being Cloathed immediately ran away again." On February 25,

⁹⁶ Schafer, Judith Kelleher, "New Orleans Slavery in 1850 as Seen in Advertisements" (*The Journal of Southern History*, Volume 47, Issue 1, February 1981), 52.

1797, an advertiser asserted that Isaac had "been from his infancy a noted run away, and [was] lightly branded on each cheek with the letter A." On May 7, 1814, an extra note appeared after an advertisement for Clarry. This note stated:

Mr. Hall, As the Fellow who signed the above, has no right or title to the above negro, Clarry: I forbid any person from molesting said Negro, or her children; she has a right to maintain herself and children, until I call on her. Nicholas A. Bray.

On July 15, 1815, Joe, who was supposedly lurking after his mother or his family, had "a small piece out of one ear by a bite." On November 8, 1828, Sukey was "at present (from appearance) a strict member of the Methodist Church." On January 9, 1830, an advertiser reported knowledge that Juda had "since had a child" during the eight months she had been a maroon. On March 14, 1834, the apparently pedophilic gaze of one advertiser resulted in the report that the 12 year old Mary, who had been gone for six months, was "well grown and likely." And as cited earlier, on December 15, 1837, Frank Pilot was reported to have "been free since 1829" but was "now my property, as heir as law of his last owner."

Once such descriptions have been isolated and analyzed, more rounded portraits of enslaved and self-freed life can become clear to present-day readers. These New Bern advertisements for lurking runaway slaves only account for a minute fraction of the American slavery story. Only time, interest, and diligence will bring to light even more information regarding life for the United States' enslaved and self-freed peoples. As such scholarship continues to grow, collective and popular memory will begin to fully accept the existence of United States maroons in all their various manifestations. When this finally happens, the fact that enslaved people possessed complex human attributes and desires will be understood, or at least understood better.

CHAPTER V

THE MAROON AND THE FORMERLY ENSLAVED AFRICAN AMERICAN

Although American popular memory does not easily acknowledge the existence of maroons across what is now the Southern region of the United States of America, marronage apparently was not an aberration in the minds of 1920s and 1930s former slaves. Therefore, former slave interviews are yet another resource researchers can use in order to understand North American marronage. In these interviews, a number of interviewees speak of runaway slaves who ran to the woods, hid in the swamps, decided that living with the bears was better than living with the masters, dug holes in the ground in which to live, and did not emerge from their hiding places until after the Civil War. Historian Paul D. Escott in Slavery Remembered: A Record of Twentieth-Century Slave Narratives estimates that in the Works Progress Administration (WPA) former slave narrative collection, 20.3% of reported types of personal resistance was "hid in the woods" and 25.2% of reported resistance by others was "hid in the woods."⁹⁷ Although there are pros and cons to using former slave narratives, coupling memories of maroons with other historical documents brings us closer to the North American heritage of marronage.

A few scholars, such as John Hope Franklin, Loren Schweninger, Gwendolyn Midlo Hall, and Gerald Mullin, have dedicated from at least one paragraph to numerous chapters on maroons in their book-length fugitive slave texts. But apparently, no scholar since Herbert Aptheker has dedicated their scholarship to general North American

⁹⁷ Escott, Paul D., Slavery Remembered: A Record of Twentieth-Century Slave Narratives (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1979), 81-82

marronage with such fervor and diligence. Given that most American historians tend to ignore or to gloss over the existence of maroons across the entire Southern region by using their existence as side notes or by concentrating on runaway slaves who ran to the North or to Canada, a number of questions begin to surface. Have they ignored this area of study because there is a general agreement that maroons only existed in the West Indies, South America, and Florida? And if they existed in Florida, why did they only exist along side Native American Seminoles? How often do historians dedicate more than a paragraph or a chapter to maroons in the United States? Fortunately, there are a number of contemporary scholars who are dedicating their scholarship efforts to United States maroons. One such scholar is Rebecca Bateman who researches issues surrounding Black Seminole maroon heritage. Some attention is also paid to maroons in other Southern states but that attention is quit limited. Paying close attention to former slave narratives across the Southern region, however, will show that at least the idea of American marronage existed throughout the slave holding territories. And ideas must come from somewhere.

Slavery scholars who have examined the WPA former slave narratives suggest that they can be valid resources for historical research. My first impulse in writing this paper was to reinvent the wheel and attempt to prove the advantages of using the former slave narratives in order to help construct United States maroon history. Charles T. Davis and Henry Louis Gates, Jr., in their 1985 book The Slave's Narrative assert, however, that such proof has already been established. They posit that scholars Paul D. Escott, C. Van Woodward, John Edgar Wideman, and especially John W. Blassingame have meticulously presented this proof. Sharon Ann Musher's 2001 article, "Contesting 'The

Way the Almighty Wants It': Crafting Memories of Ex-Slaves in the Slave Narrative Collection," also presents proof of former slave narratives' usability. Therefore, utilizing this proof in the examination of Virginia maroonage is a worthwhile endeavor.⁹⁸

Although numerous interviews with former slaves' were conducted and then published in American newspapers, journals, and books between the late 1770s and 1974, the most widely utilized narratives are found in the federal government's 1930s WPA collection. Consequently, if we depend solely on the WPA narratives, we leave out possibly thousands of usable narrative texts. In the case of the Virginia former-slave narratives, privately sponsored state interviewers collected their data independently of the federal administration. While over 300 former slaves were interviewed in Virginia, only 15 truncated narratives were sent to Washington to become part of the WPA collection. In Night Riders In Black Folk History, Gladys-Marie Frye comments on the Virginia narrative collection efforts:

Perhaps the best interviews came out of a special project headed by Roscoe Lewis at Hampton Institute, Hampton, Virginia. Lewis, a Black man of considerable direction and purpose, pulled together a very enthusiastic group of Black workers who combed the state to find former slaves. The results of this search were interviews exhibiting great authenticity and understanding, largely because the former slaves were able to trust and relate to the young Black interviewers from Hampton.⁹⁹

Although many of the Virginia former-slave narratives have been lost or destroyed, editors of the 1976 book Weevils in the Wheat managed to publish over 300 pages of narrative text. At least 15 of the narratives in Weevils in the Wheat mention marronage while only two WPA Virginia narratives mention marronage, and these two narratives are

⁹⁸ See Appendix D for further discussion of former slave narrative scholarship.

⁹⁹ Fry, Gladys-Marie, Night Riders In Black Folk History (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1975),

part of particularly badly edited and selected state collection. It must be noted here that these two WPA Virginia narratives also are a part of the Weevils in the Wheat collection.

One caution scholars of former-slave narratives tend to agree upon includes being wary of the editorial information presented with the narratives. For example, in Weevils in the Wheat, the editors present two interviews of Mr. Charles Grandy. In the first interview, which appears in the WPA collection, Mr. Grandy was born on February 19, 1842 in Mississippi. In the second interview, Mr. Grandy was born on January 31, 1842 in North Carolina. The first interview was completed by David Hoggard on February 26, 1937 and is a summary of their conversation. The second interview was completed by Claude Anderson and Emmy Wilson on May 18, 1937 and was presented as a transcript of Mr. Grandy's actual words. Such inconsistencies are points of concern, but being aware of such potential problems and weighing them against the less problematic portions of the interviews is a part of finding the value in the former slave narratives. One usable portion of the quotation-based interview reveals that Mr. Grandy knew the name of a maroon who ran to the woods, stayed around the plantation and stole hogs and chickens from that plantation. This maroon's name was John Sally. Mr. Grandy reports, "Dat ole man died in de woods. Never did come out."¹⁰⁰ If researchers only used the WPA summary of Mr. Grandy's first interview, the name of a Virginia maroon would not be revealed. In this way, expanding the surface area of usable text will open the field of slavery scholarship for the better.

After examining the WPA collection and Virginia's independently funded former slave interviews collection specifically for evidence of maroons, the Virginia

¹⁰⁰ Perdue, Jr, Charles L., Thomas E. Barden, and Robert K. Phillips (eds.), Weevils in the Wheat: Interviews with Virginia Ex-Slaves (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 1976), 117.

interviewers Claude Anderson and Susie Byrd, who were both Black, seemed to have had the greatest success in retrieving such information. John W. Blassingame, in "Using the Testimony of Ex-Slaves: Approaches and Problems,"¹⁰¹ and Sharon Ann Musher, in "Contesting 'The Way the Almighty Wants It': Crafting Memories of Ex-Slaves in the Slave Narrative Collection,"¹⁰² suggest that the Black interviewers had the most success when asking for information regarding resistance to slavery. Blassingame specifically cites the fact that many of the interviewees were "naturally guarded (and often misleading) in their responses to certain questions" since they were being interviewed in an atmosphere where "[m]any of the [white] WPA interviewers consistently referred to their informants as darkeys, niggers, aunteys, mammies, and uncles."¹⁰³

In the case of the Virginia collection, this suggestion proves to be true. Anderson and Byrd's transcriptions are filled with detailed accounts of marronage. Anderson reported at least seven maroon accounts; Byrd reported at least six. For example, Anderson's interview with Mr. Lorenzo L. Ivy makes the distinction between a maroon and an enslaved person who ran to the North. Mr. Ivy, who was born in 1850, reportedly said, "Dere was two kin's of runaways – dem what hid in de woods an' dem what ran away to free lan'."¹⁰⁴ Mr. Ivy's narrative goes on to describe the prevalence of short-term or petit marronage, especially in terms of his own grandmother. Mr. Ivy reportedly said, "Mos' slaves jes runaway an' hide in de woods for a week or two an' den come on back. My grandmother lived in de woods. Dey say her people treated her lak a dog. In

¹⁰¹ Blassingame, John W., "Using the Testimony of Former slaves: Approaches and Problems," in Charles T. Davis and Henry Louis Gates, Jr.'s *The Slave Narrative* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1985).

¹⁰² Musher, Sharon Ann, "Contesting 'The Way the Almighty Wants It': Crafting Memories of Former slaves in the Slave Narrative Collection," (*American Quarterly* 53.1, 2001).

¹⁰³ Blassingame, 85-86.

¹⁰⁴ Perdue, Barden, and Phillips, 153.

fac' dey treat her so bad she often come down to our place. After a while dey tell some one to tell her to come on home. Dey warn' goin' beat her anymore. She go on back fo' a while."¹⁰⁵ Here, Mr. Ivy's grandmother seemed to live alternately in the woods and with her family before returning to the plantation from which she ran. Mr. Ivy's narrative, unfortunately, does not appear in the WPA collection. Similarly, Byrd spoke with Mrs. Liza McCoy, born in 1844, who stated that she ran to the woods to escape punishment and only returned when she got hungry. Following the reasoning set out by Blassingame and Musher, Byrd may have been able to record this self-marooning information precisely because she was a young Black woman whom Mrs. McCoy apparently trusted rather immediately.

Of oral testimony, in his 1995 text, Doing Oral History, Donald A. Ritchie advises scholars to "[t]reat oral history as cautiously as any other form of evidence. ...A statement is not necessarily truer if written down at the time than if recalled later in testimony. ...Sometimes interviewees honestly cannot remember. They jumble names and dates and confuse people and places."¹⁰⁶ Therefore, when looking at former slave narratives, it seems that looking for repetition in similar themes and general events is one viable method of research. This method seems to work in terms of finding maroons in former slave narratives through phrases associated with runaway slaves such as running *to the woods* or *to the swamp* coupled with a time marker, be it a day or an extended period of time. As an example of petit marronage, Anderson reported in Weevils in the Wheat that Mr. William Brooks, who was born in 1860, said, "Some times dey beat 'em so bad dey run away an' hide in de woods. Ole Master he tell one a his slaves - tell 'em

¹⁰⁵ *Ibid.*, 153.

¹⁰⁶ Ritchie, Donald R., Doing Oral History, (New York: Twayne Publishers, 1995), 92.

come back. He ain' gonna beat 'em any mo'. Purty soon dey come back an' he beat 'em worse'n ever fer runnin' way."¹⁰⁷ Another example of a petit marronage narrative that appeared in both Weevils in the Wheat and the WPA collection is Anderson's interview with Ms. Elizabeth Sparks, who was born in 1841. Ms. Sparks stated, "Sometimes they beat [women] so bad, they jes' couldn't stand it an' they run away to the woods. If yer git in the woods, they couldn't git yer. Yer could hide an' people slip yer somepin' to eat. Then he call yer every day. ...Foreman git yer to come back an' then he beat yer to death again."¹⁰⁸

These narratives also give examples of marronage where maroons did not return to their respective plantations. In both Weevils in the Wheat and the WPA collection, Byrd reported that Mr. Charles Crawley, who was born in 1856, asserted, "Sometimes de slaves would go an' take up an' live at tother places; some of dem lived in de woods off of takin' things, sech as hogs, corn an' vegetables from other folks farm."¹⁰⁹ Byrd also spoke with Mrs. Liza Brown, who was born in 1859. Mrs. Brown remembered maroons who would sometimes "take to de woods again an' stay."¹¹⁰ Anderson spoke with Mrs. Mollie Booker, who was born in 1850, and she recalled, "Runaways use to come to our house all de time to git somepin to eat. Dey stayed in de woods a long time an' dere beards growed so long dat no one could very well recerginize dem. Dey actually look like wild men."¹¹¹ Unfortunately, this report did not make it into the WPA collection. As we have seen, without knowledge of Weevils in the Wheat, scholars of WPA former-slave narratives can only give a skewed version of Virginia maroon history. This is

¹⁰⁷ Perdue, Barden, and Phillips, 57.

¹⁰⁸ *Ibid.*, 274.

¹⁰⁹ *Ibid.*, 78.

¹¹⁰ *Ibid.*, 63.

¹¹¹ *Ibid.*, 54-55.

especially true since most WPA administrators wanted to make all former slaves' speech patterns appear exactly the same and to make the slavery experience appear to be a less complex than it actually was. With the knowledge of Weevils in the Wheat, scholars are given a glimpse into the foodways and the appearances of Virginia's long-term maroons. If nothing else, the narratives can be used as springboards into other forms of documentary research.

Some scholars have suggested that portions of the former slave narratives may be examples of unfounded information and/or not actually experienced. Even so, we must take into account that the stories are extremely consistent and repetitive even coming from older people whose memories may have been failing them and who, as far as we know, did not know each other. If their memories were failing them, this consistent hearsay made a tremendously strong impression, such as with Ms. Cornelia Carney, who was born in 1838. Ms. Carney recalled that her own father lived in the woods. She also recalled, "Mama used to send John, my oldes' brother, out to de woods fo' father, an' what he didn't git fum us de Lawd provided. Never did ketch him, though ole Marse search real sharp. Father wasn't de onlies' one hidin' in de woods. Dere was his cousin, Gabriel, dat was hidin' an' a man name Charlie."¹¹²

Being that finding repetition is of the utmost importance, Weevils in the Wheat shows us that Anderson and Byrd, along with William T. Lee, recorded similar maroon stories. Mr. Arthur Greene, Rev. Ishrael Massie, Mrs. Sis Shackelford, and Ms. Martha Showvley reportedly spoke of maroons who dug holes in the ground in which to live.¹¹³ Some of the maroons even lived with their families in these holes. Skeptics of this

¹¹² *Ibid.*, 67.

¹¹³ Variations of this hole-home theme can be found throughout the many collections of former slave narratives.

Virginia maroon hole-home theme may say that the former slaves or interviewers concocted this story. Therefore, we must take under consideration the conditions in which the stories were told. Byrd interviewed Mr. Greene and Rev. Massie. Anderson interviewed Mrs. Shackelford. And Lee interviewed Ms. Showvley. Three different interviewers received four different stories of maroon hole-homes. Mr. Greene was interviewed in Petersburg, Virginia on April 16, 1936 or 1937. Rev. Massie was interviewed in Petersburg, Virginia on April 23, 1937. Mrs. Shackelford was interviewed in Phoebus, Virginia, date unknown. And Ms. Showvley was interviewed in Roanoke, Virginia on May 19, 1937. Thus, all four interviewees were interviewed at different times and in different places with little possibility of story collusion on the part of interviewees or interviewers. Consequently, looking for repetition in story line themes proves to be a promising research method.

The Georgia WPA narratives, as found on The Library of Congress' American Memory website, convey a similar hole-home theme. In these Georgia narratives, however, the hole is a cave. For example, Ms. Leah Garrett of Richmond County, Georgia told a detailed cave-home story involving a family living in a cave for a number of years:

One of de slaves married a young gal, and dey put her in de "Big House" to wuk.. One day Mistess jumped on her 'bout something and de gal hit her back. Mistess said she wuz goin' to have Marster put her in de stock and beat her when he come home. When de gal went to de field and told her husband 'bout it, he told her whar to go and stay 'til he got dar. Dat night he took his supper to her. He carried her to a cave and hauled pine straw and put in dar for her to sleep on. He fixed dat cave up just lak a house for her, put a stove in dar and run a pipe out through de ground into a swamp. Everybody always wondered how he fixed hat pipe, course dey didn't cook on it 'till night when nobody could see de smoke. He ceiled de house wid pine logs, made beds and tables out of pine poles, and dey lived in dis cave

seven years. Durin' dis time, de had three chillun. Nobody wuz wid her when dese chillun wuz born but her husband. He waited on her wid each chile. De chillun didn't wear no chothes 'cept a piece tied 'round deir waists. Dey wuz just as hairy as wild people, and dey wuz wild. When dey come out of day cave dey would run everytime dey seed a pusson.

De seven years she lived in de cave, diffiant folks helped keep 'em in food. Her husband would take it to a certain place and she would go and git it. People had passed over dis cave ever so many times, but nobody knowed dese folks wuz livin' dar. Our Marster didn't know whar she wuz, and it wuz freedom 'fore she come out of dat cave for good.

Mrs. Celestia Avery of Troupe County, LaGrange, Georgia, reportedly told a similar maroon family story in a similar cave:

Mrs. Avery related the occasion when her Uncle William was caught off the Heard plantation without a pass, and was whipped almost to death by the "Pader Rollers." He stole off to the depths of the woods here he built a cave large enough to live in. A few nights later he came back to the plantation unobserved and carried his wife and two children back to this cave where they lived until after freedom. When four years later his wife had given birth to two children. No one was ever able to find his hiding place and if he saw any one in the woods he could run like a lion.

These maroon images must have been inspiring as there were African American men, women, and children living just outside slaveholder control and somewhere inside freedom but close enough to touch or simply hear about.

If scholars are not ready to believe former slave narratives word-for-word, another option is to use these narratives as evidence for theoretical assertions. For example, slavery scholars, such as John Hope Franklin and Loren Schweninger, agree that planters generally found it a tolerable nuisance when slaves ran to the woods, swamps or other plantations for short periods of time before returning to the plantation from which they escaped. These scholars agree that there were varying reasons for such toleration,

including visiting family members, escaping threats of punishment or resting from work. Sometimes reasons for marronage benefited the slaveholders, as well, especially those who hired out their slaves. For example, in Milton L. Randolph's Weevils in the Wheat interview with Mr. William L. Johnson, Jr., who was born in 1840, Mr. Johnson reported, "I had two uncles, Edmund and John Johnson who never worked more than four months during the four or five years they were hired out. Then they would go with the person who hired them, work about a month, then steal off into the woods and stay until their time was out. They would return to their original owners in Goochland. Of course, the master never punished them for doing this – he didn't care cause he collected his contract just the same."¹¹⁴ Scholars may not believe the former slave interviews word-for-word, but the themes presented in the interviews certainly contain the potential to further the existing scholarship and the understanding of the North American maroon image.

In context, marronage stories create an image of illusive men, women, and children existing outside slaveholder control. A freedom story told by an enslaved person tells a story of hope and possibility. Reading the memories of formerly enslaved people gives a glimpse into the memory of slavery and this memory includes acts of liberation. Although most of the speakers may have been the ones who stayed in bondage and did not make successful attempts to physically free themselves, evidently their minds were not held by the same chains that held their bodies. The belief and/or knowledge of someone else living unsuspected and free yet still residing in the enslaved territory must have been inspiring, if not the source of a smile or chuckle from time to time.

¹¹⁴ Perdue, Barden, and Phillips, 166.

CHAPTER VI

THE MAROON AND THE CONTEMPORARY AFRICAN AMERICAN

Although contemporary African Americans living in the United States generally do not experience a popular collective memory of North American maroonage, maroons still exist as a separate United States people-group, called Black Seminoles, Seminole Freedmen, or Seminole Scouts.¹¹⁵ Because Black Seminoles have established enduring group cohesion, anthropologists and historians study them for their uniqueness. Not having a popular collective memory of other United States maroons, however, does not preclude individual and small group memory experiences of maroon stories and maroon image fragments. For example, prolific African American writer Lorraine Hansberry's mother related a family maroon story, which was later included in her informal 1969 posthumous autobiography To Be Young, Gifted and Black. Hansberry's memory fragment reads:

My mother first took us south to visit her Tennessee birthplace one summer when I was seven or eight. I woke up on the back seat of the car while we were still driving through some place called Kentucky and my mother was pointing out to the beautiful hills and telling my brothers about how her father had run away and hidden from his master in those very hills when he was a little boy. She said that his mother had wandered among the wooded slopes in the moonlight and left food for him in secret places. They were very beautiful hills and I looked out at them for miles and miles after that wondering who and what a "master" might be.¹¹⁶

¹¹⁵ The United States distinction is important here because African Americans, as scholars tend to label them, in Suriname, Jamaica, and Brazil, for example, experience vivid collective memories of maroonage in their respective countries. See especially the works of Richard and Sally Price, Kenneth W. Porter, Rebecca Bateman, Thomas A. Britten, and Bruce E. Twyman.

¹¹⁶ Nemirotf, Robert, To Be Young, Gifted and Black: Lorraine Hansberry in Her Own Words (New York: New American Library, 1970), 53.

By including this maroon story fragment in her autobiography, Hansberry did more than question the idea of oppression: she explained, without explicitly stating, her apparent acceptance of her grandfather's self-freeing actions and her great-grandmother's courageous aid as unsurprising givens even as they were necessities. Such story fragments, therefore, may have worked as internal support for Hansberry's successful writing career. These fragments helped shape the whole person and the writer. Similar are the cases of poet and educator Toni Wynn in Norfolk, Virginia, and graduate student Peggy Aarlien in Williamsburg, Virginia.

In January 2003, Toni Wynn drove to the Virginia Contemporary Museum of Fine Art to view Whitfield Lovell's art installation entitled *Sanctuary: The Great Dismal Swamp*. Upon leaving the building, Wynn had not only viewed the installation, she reports that she had experienced it. Wynn smelled the woodchips covering the entire floor, maneuvered through the hanging cypress limbs, and carefully listened to the crickets, the mesmerizing swamp noises, and the faceless voices all around her. She said she was "drawn in so quickly"¹¹⁷ that her senses were altered – an experience Wynn loved as a writer. In "The Black Writer's Use of Memory," Melvin Dixon suggests "Memory, whether acquired (through received images as in [Countee] Cullen) or lived (recalled or recollected images in [Leopold Sedar] Senghor and [Derek] Walcott) or mythological (as in [Audre] Lorde), is the poet's chief means of writing the self into the larger history of race."¹¹⁸ After experiencing *Sanctuary*, Wynn reported that she went back to read the exhibition panels. There she read one of Lovell's inspirations for this art installation, Henry Longfellow's poem "The Slave in Dismal Swamp." At this point,

¹¹⁷ Transcribed from a recorded interview in February 2003.

¹¹⁸ Dixon, Melvin, "The Black Writer's Use of Memory" in Genevieve Fabre and Robert O'Meally's *History & Memory in African American Culture* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1994), 26.

Wynn recalled that she was "given permission to write the nature poems"¹¹⁹ she has been wanting to write for some time. This process echoes Dixon's assertion as Wynn's poetic journey into nature writing by way of Virginia/North Carolina acquired, mythologized, and possibly lived memories of maroons. Although critics do not believe Longfellow actually came in contact with maroons, he supposedly wrote this maroon inspired poem on a return boat ride to England. Longfellow's poem reads as follows:

The Slave in Dismal Swamp

In the dark fens of Dismal Swamp
The hunted Negro lay;
He saw the fire of the midnight camp
And heard at times a horses tramp,
And bloodhounds distant bay.

Where will-o-wisps and glow worms shine
In bulrush and brake;
Where waving mosses shroud the pine,
And the cedar grows and the poisonous vine,
Is spotted like the snake.

Where hardly a human foot could pass
Or human heart would dare,
On the quaking turf of the green morass
He crouched in the rank and tangled grass
Like a wild beast in his lair.

A poor old slave, infirm and lame;
Great scars deformed his face;
On his forehead he bore the brand of shame,
And the rage that hid his mangled frame
Were the livery of disgrace.

All things above were bright and fair,
All things were glad and free;
Lithe squirrels darted here and there,
And wild birds filled the echoing air
With songs of liberty.

On him alone was the doom of pain,

¹¹⁹ Transcribed from a recorded interview in February 2003.

From the morning of his birth;
On him alone the curse of Cain
Fell like a flail on the garnered grain,
And struck him to the earth.¹²⁰

On one hand, Longfellow was a White poet writing in meter and rhyme. Wynn, on the other hand, is an African American free verse poet who relates better to Longfellow's content than to his use of form. If the maroon in the poem only existed in Longfellow's mind, he now exists in Wynn's memory as a muse and/or reminder that her African American ancestral experience and culture gives her "permission" to write nature poems.

Peggy Aarlien, on the other hand, came to her maroon memories by a different avenue. Her maroon memories emerge as family lore, much like many of the above cited former slave narratives. Aarlien remembered her family maroon story in fragments:

The story I'm about to tell you is actually remnants of a story. It was told to my father from those in the family that was before him. He's memory is not up to the best, so I'm not sure how accurate the story is but it's a story that kind of floats around within the family and it might have changed throughout the generations.

But it goes something like this that an uncle, how far back we don't know, was fleeing from slavery in the – perhaps it would be in the Mississippi area because that's where my father's family is and the Indian side of the family is – the Mississippi area, or in a nearby state like Tennessee – it could also be there because there's family in Tennessee. So, it's probably in the Mississippi Delta, in that area. And so this uncle, this slave running away, was so adamant at not being caught that he would rather turn into a tree.

I believe the tree would be an Oak tree but the Oak tree is also revered so much by my father and grandfather who was actually Native American and was Cherokee that stayed with the Chickasaw tribe. And the Oak tree was very special to the tribe so that might be something from the Native American side or it was not an Oak tree because Oak trees are not found predominately found in the Delta area...

But either way there was always a talk about this special Oak tree,

¹²⁰ Davis, Hubert J., *The Great Dismal Swamp: Its History, Folklore and Science* (Richmond, Virginia: Cavalier Press, 1962), 58-61.

which was called Uncle. Now, the name of the uncle, I don't know. And I've spoken with some of the cousins and there are so many names of uncles...

The story now goes, there was a hollow end at the bottom of the tree. He went lived in the hollowness of the tree. And rather than not be caught, he became part of the tree.

Aarlien reported that her Mississippi maroon uncle's story reminds her of an old person dying in a hollow of a tree and becoming the saying "dust to dust." This Oak tree resurfaces in Aarlien's family as a magical, healing element. The story also is healing for Aarlien inasmuch as she sees in it that the uncle and other slaves did not die out of bitterness and did not lose their humanity. For Aarlien, the imagined maroons like her uncle were "ordinary people who did extra-ordinary things." They are heroes because they preserved their humanity at all costs.

In the same manner, civil rights activist Pauli Murray remembered the numerous stories her former Yankee soldier African American Grandfather used to tell her. In Proud Shoes: The Story of an American Family, Murray writes, "It made me feel very proud to know how brave Grandfather was and how he had fought for freedom, although I did not understand then what freedom really was."¹²¹ In both Aarlien and Murray's cases, un-witnessed family stories of bravery and risk taking by a free African American man and a self-freed slave provide support for the two women's worldviews. These two cases, thus, would be fine case-studies for testing correlations between self-esteem and strong family story-telling traditions.

Family lore can work as oral history, a record of events, and an unpredicted source of encouragement. In Bond of Iron: Master and Slave at Buffalo Forge, Charles B. Dew

¹²¹ Murray, Pauli, Proud Shoes: The Story of an American Family (Boston, Massachusetts: Beacon Press, 1999), 10.

describes two similar stories of one enslaved man named Garland Thompson, Sr.. In these stories Mr. Thompson can chop his wood stack quota in either one and a half days or in one half of a day. The first story is Mr. Thompson's family lore and the second story is Mr. Thompson's former owner's family lore. Of these stories, Dew writes:

Garland's feat, impressive enough when accomplished in a day and a half, was now being done in even less time. Chopping nine cords of wood – the slave's weekly quota – in half a day seems beyond reach of anyone, but the accuracy of this and other tales of Garland Thompson's life as a slave is not a primary concern here. The point is the sense of pride and the image of strength, resistance and manhood these stories convey, a tradition that was passed down to succeeding generations of his own family and that impressed white members of the Buffalo Forge community as well.¹²²

In the same manner, Aarliën and her cousins remember their ancestral uncle. Aarliën's sense of humanity is reaffirmed even as her ancestral uncle's transformation is obviously "beyond the reach of anyone."¹²³

In "'You Must Remember This': Autobiography as Social Critique," Jacquelyn Dowd Hall asks, "How, in practice, is memory transferred from one generation to another, impressed in the body, and sustained by everyday performance of self? What is – or should be – the relation between individual memory, social memory, and history, between how people in general make sense of their personal and collective pasts and how historians practice their craft?"¹²⁴ Retelling their stories and memory experiences as momentary-historians, both women expressed a change in spirit as a result of United States marronage. Wynn says maroon history gave her "permission" to write nature poems about African American people, because they have partaken of nature's gifts for

¹²² Dew, Charles B., *Bond of Iron: Master and Slave at Buffalo Forge* (New York and London: W. W. Norton & Company, 1994), 211.

¹²³ *Ibid.*, 211.

¹²⁴ Hall, Jacquelyn Dowd, "'You Must Remember This': Autobiography as Social Critique," (*The Journal of American History*, Vol. 85, No. 2, September 1998), 465.

so long. Aarliën says her particular maroon history inspired her to keep living through her adversities because her family's story always reminds her of the humanity of us all. These usable pasts, although pasts not their own, fuel their future endeavors. Hall's "collective historians" did not present Wynn and Aarliën with their maroon stories. Their maroon stories came from artists and family members. If each of these women had relied on traditional Euro-centric "collective historians," would they have been given permission to write the nature poems or been inspired to live life? Sterling Stuckey asserts:

When one bears in mind that slave folklore was not created to be transcribed or even to be heard by whites, one must conclude that what was eventually transcribed is probably just a small portion of that which died on the night air or continues to live, undetected by scholars, in the folk memory.¹²⁵

In this way, Wynn through Lovell and Aarliën through her family have breathed a bit of Stuckey's "night air" and are allowing scholars and others to experience a little of the illusive maroon historical image that is still alive in their memories.

¹²⁵ Stuckey, Sterling, *Slave Culture: Nationalist Theory and the Foundations of Black America* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1987), 10.

CHAPTER VII

THE MAROON AND THE IMAGE

In her 1941 Underground Railroad study, Let My People Go: The Story of the Underground Railroad and the Growth of the Abolition Movement, Henrietta Buckmaster wrote a passionate rendition of a North American maroon experience. Reminiscent of Herbert Aptheker's historical views and a creative writer's imaginative language, Buckmaster wrote:

The bayous of Louisiana and the swamps of Florida, the mountains of the Atlantic states and the backlands of Mississippi and Alabama all sucked in the fugitive like a man-eating plant. He was called a maroon, and as such was the legal victim of any man who cared to track him down. It did not matter whether he stayed within his deeply concealed community, built houses, raised cattle or became a farmer, or whether he became a desperado and raided farms and villages at night. He was an unredeemed Negro; and his success was a constant inducement to other slaves who knew, out of the trees, from the air, God knows where, that he was cleverer than the master. More than that, having accomplished his freedom, he was apt to become infected with a desire to share it, or a desire for vengeance, or a desire to set at nothing the things that had in the past set themselves over him, or any of the other desires that made an insurrectionist. Nothing could rouse a slaveholder to action more quickly than this thought.¹²⁶

After a paragraph-length discussion of maroon settlements, Buckmaster continued:

But these encampments were few and hard to find; the slave could only hear of them by vague report. When he set out blindly for freedom anything might lie to the north of the south, the east of the west. Beyond the confines of his plantation world was only what rumor, imagination, or his own intelligence created.¹²⁷

¹²⁶ Buckmaster, Henrietta, Let My People Go: The Story of the Underground Railroad and the Growth of the Abolition Movement (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1992), 17-18.

¹²⁷ *Ibid.*, 18.

And much like American history, Buckmaster ends this story and moves on to the comparatively better documented Underground Railroad narrative.

There is no one image of a United States maroon, there are many – many pieces of little documented images. And taken together these many compose the one truth of their existence. Fragments make up these images. From historians to journalists to slaveholders to former slaves to contemporary African Americans, the idea of the self-freed former slave has lived, has made people react, has made people change, has survived. Other vessels for maroon story fragments include, but are not limited to, stories found in twentieth-century film and nineteenth-century literature. One twentieth-century film includes Haile Gerima's 1993 *Sankofa*, which was fantastically popular at film festivals, African American cultural events, colleges, and universities, even though not distributed by traditional Hollywood methods. Four nineteenth-century novels include Harriet Beecher Stowe's 1856 novel Dred; A Tale of the Great Dismal Swamp; Richard Hildreth's 1836/1856 novel Archie Moore: The White Slave or Memories of a Fugitive; Martin R. Delany's 1812 – 1815 serially published Blake or The Huts of America; and William Wells Brown's 1853 novel Clotel: Or, The President's Daughter. Brown's novel is interesting to note because he chose to fuse factual documents and actual stories with his fictitious storyline. Early in the novel, Brown cites a 1838 newspaper article which echoes the maroon narratives of many former slaves:

There are hundreds of Negroes who run away and live in the woods. Some take refuge in the swamps, because they are less frequented by human beings. A Natchez newspaper gave the following account of the hiding-place of a slave who had been captured: --

"A runaway's den was discovered on Sunday, near the Washington Spring, in a little patch of woods, where it

had been for several months so artfully concealed under ground, that it was detected only by accident, though in sight of two or three houses, and near the road and fields where there has been constant dialing passing. The entrance was concealed by a pile of pine straw, representing a hog-bed, which being removed, discovered a trap-door and steps that led to a room about six feet square, comfortably ceiled with plank, containing a small fire-place, the flue of which was ingeniously conducted above the ground and concealed by the straw. The inmates took the alarm, and made their escape; *but Mr. Adams and his excellent dogs being put upon the trail, soon run down and secured one of them*, which proved to be a Negro-fellow who had been out about a year. He stated that the other occupant was a woman, who had been a runaway a still longer time. In the den was found a quantity of meal, bacon, corn, potatoes, &c. and various cooking utensils and wearing apparel."

--*Vicksburgh Sentinel*, Dec. 6th, 1838.¹²⁸

What can we do with these images but acknowledge them and accept them for the collective force that they are, formally and informally, concretely and abstractly? The maroon of what is now the United States of America fits quite easily into today's idea of American multiculturalism. No one description fits all maroons or all Americans. Thus, these images of North American maroons help create the unique American story.

¹²⁸ Brown, William Wells, *Clotel; Or, The President's Daughter* (Introduction and Annotations by William Edward Farrison, New York: Carol Publishing Group, 1989), 82.

APPENDIX A

The Raleigh Register November 13, 1818

Daring Negroes - A company of daring runaway Negroes infest this vicinity, and have done considerable mischief. One of them has been apprehended and lodged in our jail, who has some articles with him, which had been taken from Robert Young's Store, 8 or 10 miles on this side of Lewisburg, which these villains, some nights ago first set fire to, which bringing out the proprietor (who was waked from his sleep by the fire) while he was in the act of endeavoring to put out the fire, they shot and mortally wounded him, and during the time which it took him to creep to a neighboring house, they robbed his Store. Young, after suffering greatly from his wounds for some days, died. They had the same night, entered the house of the Widow Fox, a short distance from thence, and breaking open a desk, carried away two Half Eagles, which was all the money in it. If they should attempt to pass these pieces of gold, it may lead to a discovery. It behooves the public to keep a strict look-out for these daring marauders.

APPENDIX B

The Norfolk and Portsmouth Herald Vol. XXVII, No. 4104 Monday Morning, May 12, 1823

A Serious Subject

The inhabitants of the southern section of Norfolk county, but more particularly those in the neighborhood of the Great Bridge, have for some time been kept in a state of mind peculiarly harassing and painful, from the too apparent fact that their lives are at the mercy of a band of lurking assassins, against whose fell designs neither the power of the law, or vigilance, or personal strength and intrepidity, can avail. - These desperadoes are run-away negroes (commonly called out-lyers), who find a secure retreat from pursuit in neighboring swamps, in which most of them have been all their lives employed in cutting timber or getting lumber, and with the dreary haunts of which they are perfectly familiar. Their first object is to obtain a gun and ammunition, as well to procure game for subsistence as to defend themselves from attack, or accomplish objects of vengeance - The topography of this section of the country being calculated to favor their murderous purposes and to shield them discovery, detection in the execution of their horrid purposes is almost impossible without an accident.

Several of the citizens of that part of the county have, at different times, been shot by these miscreants, while quietly engaged in their occupations, - some while riding along the public road at noon-day, others while at work in their fields, or at the very doors of their dwellings; and it was by the hand of one of these merciless villains that Mr. *William Walker* was murdered a few evenings ago, as we stated in a former paragraph - an act which has heightened the agitation and alarm that previously existed, and which imperiously calls for some efficient steps to be taken for the protection of the lives of the citizens in that quarter. No individual after this can consider his life safe from the murdering aim of these monsters in human shape - Every one who has haply rendered himself obnoxious to their vengeance, must, indeed, calculate on sooner or later falling a victim to it. A gentleman at the Great Bridge, thus situated, received, a short time since, a note from one of the gang, cautioning him not to appear out his house after nightfall, or he would certainly be murdered! With a knowledge of the perfect ease and promptitude with which this threat might be carried into execution, we may readily imagine the effect it produced on the mind of the intended victim, who, however, undaunted he might be, could see no possible means [of?] safety, by night, at least, but in the sanctuary of his dwelling.

Since writing the above, we are informed, that a large body of the militia of Norfolk county are ordered on a tour to patrol the forests and swamps which are understood to be the refuge of this banditti. We sincerely hope that they may be successful in ferreting them out, and thus relieve the neighboring inhabitants from a state of perpetual anxiety and apprehension, than which nothing can be more painful.

APPENDIX C

New Orleans Picayune

July 19, 1837

Squire—the Outlaw!

This notorious black scoundrel was yesterday killed by a Spaniard in the swamp near the Bayou road. It will be remembered by all our citizens that Squire was the negro who has so long prowled about the marshes in the rear of the city, a terror to the community, and for whose head a reward of two thousand dollars was offered some years ago.

The life of this negro has been one of crime and total depravity. The annals of the city furnish records of the cruelty, crime and murder. He had killed several white men in this place before he fled to the swamp, and has up to the time of his death, eluded, with a dexterity worthy of a more educated villain, all the searching efforts of justice to capture him. He has lived for the last years an outlaw in the marshes in the rear of the city. Many years since he had his right arm shot off; he is said, notwithstanding this deprivation, to have been an excellent marksman, with but the use of his left arm. Inured by hardships and exposure to the climate, he has subsisted in the woods and carried on, until this time, his deeds of robbery and murder with the most perfect impunity — the marshes surrounding the city being almost impenetrably to our citizens.

This demi-devil has for a long time ruled as the "Brigand of the Swamp." A supposition has always found believers that there was an encampment of outlaw negroes near the city, and that Squire was their leader. He was a fiend in human shape and has done much mischief in the way of decoying slaves to his camp, and in committing depredations upon the premises of those who live on the outskirts of the city. His destruction is hailed, by old and young, as a benefit to society.

A Spaniard was yesterday morning in the swamp, and proved the successful foe of this enemy to society. Squire raised his gun to shoot him; but failed, the gun having snapped. Immediately the Spaniard rushed upon him with a big stick — he gave him a blow which brought him to the ground, when his brains were literally beat out by the infuriated man. Proud of his victory, the conqueror came into the city and reported what he had done. On hearing that Squire was dead the authorities determined to have his body hauled to the city and forthwith appointed a guard of men to repair to the swamp and bring it.

About two o'clock yesterday his body was exhibited on the public square of the First Municipality. For the sake of example, two or three hundred slaves were encouraged to go and see it. Squire was so well known to the negroes of the city, it was thought it would have a salutary effect to let them gaze upon the outlaw and murderer as he lay bleeding and weltering in his gore. So enormous have been the crimes of the negro that the large multitude of slaves assembled to see the last of him, shuddered at the bare recital of his bloody and murderous deeds.

It is to be hoped that the death of this leader of the outlaw negroes supposed to be in the swamp will lead to the scouring of the swamp round about the city. This nest of desperadoes should be broken up. While they can support a gang and have a camp, we may expect our slaves to run away and harrowing depredations to be committed upon society.

APPENDIX D

Utilizing Former slave Narratives

In "The Art and Science of Reading WPA Slave Narratives," Paul D. Escott calls for a balanced approach in examining former slave narratives. To achieve this balance, Escott asserts that researchers must use a "rigorous mathematical analysis" along with "a cautious, impressionistic use of these sources."¹²⁹ Researchers must be aware, Escott warns, that these narratives are not "direct transcriptions of the interview itself" but are transcriptions of interview notes, ranging from scanty to thorough. Because these narratives cannot be trusted to be direct quotes, other factors must be weighed in order to arrive at the narratives' usability. Among other suggestions, Escott suggests that researchers compare story content for usable consistent themes, pay attention to the form of address used by the interviewee or interviewer, assess the degree of interviewee responsiveness and appraise the influence of second- and third-hand testimony.¹³⁰ Escott also calls for the use of a quantitative method of research, which will "allow the researcher to test for and examine the relationships that he [or she] suspects."¹³¹

In "Using the Testimony of Former slaves: Approaches and Problems," John W. Blassingame also presents reasons for researchers to cautiously use the WPA narratives. Along with the fact that interviewees were on average 80 years old, Blassingame places much of the blame of poor narrative presentation on the ill-trained and unsympathetic interviewers, on the non-standardized editing methods and on the political intentions of administrators. Blassingame suggests that such perceived unreliability is why many scholars, especially Ulrich B. Phillips, have not utilized the former slave narratives in their research. Blassingame cites the statistic that merely "three of the sixteen state studies of plantation slavery published between 1902 and 1972 drew even moderately on slave testimony."¹³² By not utilizing former slave narratives, historians have been missing out on invaluable resources. Of this missed opportunity, Blassingame asserts, "The fundamental problem confronting anyone interested in studying black views of bondage is that the slaves had few opportunities to tell what it meant to be chattel."¹³³ Therefore, despite their technical difficulties, the former slave narratives become important to the study of North American slavery. Fortunately, Blassingame writes, "In the final analysis, the methodological skills possessed by the historian and the questions he [or she] wants to answer will determine whether he [or she] uses the narratives or the interviews."¹³⁴ Consequently, Blassingame challenges the researcher to assess himself (or herself) before assessing the narratives.

By discussing the case of the greatly flawed Mississippi WPA narratives, Sharon Ann Musher's "Contesting 'The Way the Almighty Wants It': Crafting Memories of Former

¹²⁹ Escott, Paul D., "The Art and Science of Reading WPA Slave Narratives," in Charles T. Davis and Henry Louis Gates, Jr.'s *The Slave's Narrative*, p40.

¹³⁰ *Ibid.*, pp43-44.

¹³¹ *Ibid.*, p46.

¹³² John W. Blassingame, "Using the Testimony of Former slaves: Approaches and Problems," in Charles T. Davis and Henry Louis Gates, Jr.'s *The Slave's Narrative*, p79.

¹³³ *Ibid.*, p79.

¹³⁴ *Ibid.*, p93.

slaves in the Slave Narrative Collection" urges researchers to ask specific questions and use as many resources as possible when utilizing former slave narratives as evidence. Asking specific questions, such as did former slaves in Virginia recall the existence of maroons, and using the narratives as only one of many sources of validation is productive scholarship in Musher's view. She writes, "As one of the few records of slaves' thoughts and feelings, the Slave Narrative Collection is invaluable even if it contains complicated sources. ... Researchers should approach the former slave interviews warily, studying the biases that shaped them and cross-referencing the information they contain against other sources."¹³⁵ Since the interviewees, interviewers, editors and administrators all had their own agendas, the researcher must understand those agendas before entering the world of these narratives.

Thus, understanding former slave narratives in terms of intersections between interviewees, interviewers and editors is one step out of many which will help us understand North America's history, especially its maroon history. There is so much potential in understanding history through the words of the people who lived that history. Many of the more detailed accounts of North American maroonage, for example, may be utilized by inspired researchers, such as archaeologists, to locate maroon camps and communities. If not exact locations, then the general sites might be located. Archaeologists might even look for sites in Virginia's Southampton County where Mrs. Virginia Hayes Shepherd reported knowledge of maroons.¹³⁶ But even if sites cannot be located, using a variety of former slave narratives will help American maroons begin to firmly plant themselves in American historical memory. This strategy, however, may only work if scholars recognize the pros and cons of such usage and proceed with optimistic caution. In this way, from the memories and mouths of former slaves, past the personal views of white and black interviewers and through the pencils and typewriters of manuscript editors, will we even begin to understand the evidence of the historically illusive United States of America maroon.

¹³⁵ Sharon Ann Musher, "Contesting 'The Way the Almighty Wants It': Crafting Memories of Former slaves in the Slave Narrative Collection," in *American Quarterly* 53.1 (2001), p24.

¹³⁶ *Ibid.*, p259.

Date	AL	FL	GA	LA	MS	NC	OK	SC	TX	VA
December 1816								■		
June 1818										■
November 1818						■				
December 1818						■				
Summer 1819								■		
May 1820						■				
1821								■		
May 1821								■		
August 1821						■				
September 1821						■				
December 1821						■				
Summer 1822								■		
May 1823										■
June 1823										
July 1823										■
October 1823								■		
December 1825								■		
June 1827	■									
November 1827				■						
1829										
Summer 1829								■		
September 1830						■				
October 1830						■				
November 1830						■				
December 1830						■				
January 1831						■				
August 1831										■
June 1836				■						
1837		■								
1838		■								
1839		■								
1840		■								
1841		■								
January 1841						■				
September 1841	■									
October 1841				■						

TABLE II
"Mangling" North Carolina Manuscripts

Date	AL	FL	GA	LA	MS	NC	OK	SC	TX	VA
1842		■								
1843		■								
February 1844					■					
November 1846				■	■					
1850s	■			■						■
September 1850							■			
October 30, 1851									■	
1853									■	
August 1856						■				
March 1857					■					
1858		■								
October 1859						■				
August 1860	■									
1861				■						
June 1861								■		
April 1862		■								
October 1862										■
January 1863	■									
August 1864		■								
January 1864						■				

TABLE II

"Lurking" North Carolina, Maroons

Name	Sex	Age	Newspaper	Date	Time Gone	Lurking Purpose	Race	Other Descriptions	Reward
Sam	M	N/A	American Recorder (Washington)	March 15, 1816	6 months	well known	N/A		\$15
Cato	M	40	American Recorder (Washington)	June 25, 1819	5 months	well known	N/A	Lost some upper teeth	\$15
Anthony	M	N/A	American Recorder (Washington)	November 19, 1819	19 days	place or wife	Dark	Stout	\$20
Bill	M	23	American Recorder (Washington)	January 5, 1821	11 months	well known	Very Black	Little bow-legged	\$25
George	M	24	American Recorder (Washington)	January 5, 1821	6 months	free sister where raised	Very Black	Remarkably large white eyes	\$25
Ayers	M	19	American Recorder (Washington)	May 4, 1821	1/2 month	Place	Yellow	Thick set; Down look	\$10
Achillis	M	30	American Recorder (Washington)	August 17, 1821	1/2 month	Wife	Dark Black	Slender; Cooper by trade	\$10
Ceasar	M	26	American Recorder (Washington)	January 18, 1822	1 month	Relatives or where raised	N/A	Too well known	Suitable
Pluto	M	26	American Recorder (Washington)	December 5, 1823	1/2 month	Place	Dark	Spare built	\$25
Hardy	M	N/A	American Recorder (Washington)	April 16, 1824	2 months	Wife	Dark	Scar on either the right or left cheek, which not retollected; Well known	\$5
Maria	F	19 or 20	Cape Fear Recorder (Wilmington)	July 21, 1830	1 month	relations	Mulatto	Thick set round form; Has rather down look; Speaks quick when spoken to	\$10
Bill Cain	M	N/A	Cape Fear Recorder (Wilmington)	July 21, 1830	7 months	Wife	N/A	Slender	\$10
John	M	27	Carolina Centinel (New Bern)	May 16, 1818	2 months	w/guns and weapons for defense in Vine Swamp	Dark	Lean face; Round body; Well made; Speaks plain; Can read tolerably well; Scar on one of his heels	\$25
Isam	M	25	Carolina Centinel (New Bern)	July 25, 1818	1 month	place	Dark	Stout built; Looks fierce out of his eyes	\$20

Name	Sex	Age	Newspaper	Date	Time Gone	Larking Purpose	Race	Other Descriptions	Reward
Jerry	M	23	Carolina Centinel (New Bern)	January 30, 1819	7 days	relations	Light	Slender	\$25
Caldswow	M	26	Carolina Centinel (New Bern)	March 13, 1819	3 days	wife and relations	Dark	N/A	\$20
Ephraim	M	N/A	Carolina Centinel (New Bern)	March 27, 1819	15 days	place	Middling Black	Looks very sulky; Has a tooth which grows from the rough of the mouth, near the middle	\$10
Nero	M	30	Carolina Centinel (New Bern)	April 17, 1819	4 months	2 wives	Yellowish	Impediment in his speech; Insolent in his address; Lost one of his upper fore teeth	\$50
Caesar	M	45 or 46	Carolina Centinel (New Bern)	November 27, 1819	3 months	former residence	N/A	Lofly carriage; Lips in his speech, particularly when angry or frightened; Left shoulder lower apparently than his right; Feet slender in proportion to their length, the large toes of his feet have been injured by cold	\$20
Collins	M	18	Carolina Centinel (New Bern)	July 1, 1820	6 months	place	Yellow	Disfigured in his right fore finger by being mashed; Down look when spoken to	\$25
Sam	M	20	Carolina Centinel (New Bern)	August 26, 1820	1/2 month	sister	Black	Has a scar, occasioned by a cut, on or near one of his knees	\$20
Nat	M	N/A	Carolina Centinel (New Bern)	November 25, 1820	10 months	acquaint-ances several	Quite Black	Large flat nose; Very small ears; Stout made; Stutter very badly	\$50
Toney	M	N/A	Carolina Centinel (New Bern)	April 21, 1821	N/A	acquaint-ances committing felony	N/A	Cut on his foot, which occasions him to walk lame	Liberal
Jim Randal Abram	M	N/A	Carolina Centinel (New Bern)	June 2, 1821	N/A	committing felony	N/A	Legally outlawed	\$50
(Abram Sparrow)	M	N/A	Carolina Centinel (New Bern)	June 2, 1821	N/A	committing felony	N/A	Legally outlawed	\$50
Gilford	M	22 or 23	Carolina Centinel (New Bern)	July 28, 1821	1/2 month	wife	Dark	Legally outlawed; Large scar on his head	\$10
Tom Whitfield	M	34 or 35	Carolina Centinel (New Bern)	December 8, 1821	1 month	wife	N/A	Painter by trade	\$10

Name	Sex	Age	Newspaper	Date	Time Gone	Lurking Purpose	Race	Other Descriptions	Reward
Allen (Allen Woodard)	M	30	Carolina Centinel (New Bern)	May 18, 1822	2 weeks	place w/white woman	Yellow	Tolerable size; Very ingenious; Has lately been confined in the Newbern "goal"; Was whipped - his back is pretty much scarred; House Carpenter by trade	\$50
Lankfield	M	25	Carolina Centinel (New Bern)	June 1, 1822	2 months	place	Mulatto	As likely as is commonly seen	\$25
Cot	M	25	Carolina Centinel (New Bern)	July 13, 1822	2 days	father and mother	Black	N/A	\$25
Hughes	M	40	Carolina Centinel (New Bern)	October 5, 1822	N/A	wife	N/A	Walks a little lame; Caulker by trade	\$10
Mark (Mark Ralph)	M	50	Carolina Centinel (New Bern)	December 7, 1822	1/2 month	former residence	N/A	Carpenter by trade	Reasonable
Charles	M	40	Carolina Centinel (New Bern)	April 12, 1823	1/2 month	wife	N/A	Stammers a little	\$25
Humphreys	M	25	Carolina Centinel (New Bern)	April 12, 1823	1/2 month	wife	N/A	Has a down look	\$25
Jerry	M	21 or 22	Carolina Centinel (New Bern)	July 19, 1823	1 month	wife and connexions	Mulatto	N/A	25 cents
Jerry	M	N/A	Carolina Centinel (New Bern)	September 6, 1823	1/2 month	wife, mother, and wanted dead		One leg more bowed than the other; Thin visage; Remarkable large feet; Artful, cunning, and rather impudent when spoken to	\$200
Daniel	M	16	Carolina Centinel (New Bern)	January 24, 1824	1/2 month	place	Mulatto	Has had his thigh broke; Limp particularly when he attempts to run	\$10
Aaron	M	N/A	Carolina Centinel (New Bern)	May 22, 1824	some weeks past	place	Yellowish	Common size	\$5
Stella	F	35 or 37	Carolina Centinel (New Bern)	May 29, 1824	a few days ago	place w/Jacob	Yellow	Ordinary size	\$10
Jacob (Stella's Son)	M	19	Carolina Centinel (New Bern)	May 29, 1824	a few days ago	place w/Stella	Yellow	Slender made; Has had his right hand bowed so as to draw up his fingers	\$10
John	M	30	Carolina Centinel (New Bern)	July 24, 1824	1 month	escape	Yellowish	N/A	\$100

Name	Sex	Age	Newspaper	Date	Time Gone	Larking Purpose	Race	Other Descriptions	Reward
Dan	M	18	Carolina Centinel (New Bern)	December 4, 1824	5 days	brother escaped	Black	A pleasing countenance; Stammers when accused of any thing improper	\$10
Jarvis	M	23	Carolina Centinel (New Bern)	May 28, 1825	1/2 month	w/Jarvis and Child	Black	Tall and slim	\$20
Viney	F	28	Carolina Centinel (New Bern)	May 28, 1825	1/2 month	w/Jarvis and Child	Yellow	Of small stature; Has a scar on one of her cheeks; Has lost one of her upper fore teeth	\$10
Jarvis & Viney's Son	M	18 months	Carolina Centinel (New Bern)	May 28, 1825	1/2 month	escaped	N/A	Description of the child unnecessary, as it will doubtless be found with its mother	N/A
Jerry	M	27 40 or	Carolina Centinel (New Bern)	June 25, 1825	5 months	connexions	N/A	Has a large scar on one of his shoulders	\$25
Rachel	F	45	Carolina Centinel (New Bern)	December 3, 1825	1 year	husband	Light	N/A	\$10
Tom (Tom Whitfield)	M	35 or 40	Carolina Centinel (New Bern)	December 3, 1825	2 years	place	Dark	House Painter by trade	\$10
Lewis	M	25	Carolina Centinel (New Bern)	December 31, 1825	1/2 month	former residence	Yellow	Has a scar on one side of his face; Speak very quick; Impudent fellow	\$15
Marinda	F	N/A	Carolina Centinel (New Bern)	April 22, 1826	N/A	where well known	N/A	A particular description is deemed unnecessary as she is well known	\$10
Cato	M	34	Carolina Centinel (New Bern)	September 2, 1826	4 days	place	Dark	Has downcast look; Remarkably large feet	\$30
Dick	M	N/A	Carolina Centinel (New Bern)	September 2, 1826	1/2 month	place	Black	Tall slim fellow	\$10
Lilly	F	N/A	Carolina Centinel (New Bern)	September 30, 1826	7 months	sufficiently known	N/A	Sufficiently known without description	\$15
America	F	N/A	Carolina Centinel (New Bern)	September 30, 1826	1/2 month	sufficiently known	N/A	Sufficiently known without description	\$15
Caesar	M	20 35 or	Carolina Centinel (New Bern)	March 3, 1827	2 months	place	Yellow	Thick set	\$10
Ally	F	40	Carolina Centinel (New Bern)	March 3, 1827	3 months	places	Very Black	Stout large figure; Full in the face; Thick lips	\$20

Name	Sex	Age	Newspaper	Date	Time Gone	Lurking Purpose	Race	Other Descriptions	Reward
Brisler	M	26	Carolina Centinel (New Bern)	April 7, 1827	2 days	places	Black	Large eyes	\$10
Solomon	M	30	Carolina Centinel (New Bern)	May 5, 1827	N/A	wife	Yellow (nearly a mulatto)	N/A	\$10
Aaron	M	40	Carolina Centinel (New Bern)	June 9, 1827	N/A	place	Yellow	N/A	\$5
Bate	M	22	Carolina Centinel (New Bern)	April 19, 1828	1/2 month	wife	N/A	Scar near the right elbow, on his arm, from a burn; Ran from Brickyard	\$10
Gilbo	M	25 or 30	Carolina Centinel (New Bern)	August 9, 1828	N/A	wife	Light	Has an impediment in his speech when closely interrogated	\$26
Sukey	F	28	Carolina Centinel (New Bern)	November 8, 1828	13 days	mother, sister, and other relatives	Rather Light	At present (from appearance) a strict member of the Methodist Church	\$25
Isaac	M	24	Carolina Centinel (New Bern)	July 25, 1829	1/2 month	places	Yellow	Has a scar on the cheek, having the appearance of being cut by a knife; A white spot on one of his eyes	\$10
Peter	M	18	Carolina Centinel (New Bern)	July 25, 1829	1/2 month	places	Dark	N/A	\$10
Betty Hannah (Betty's Daughter)	F	25	Carolina Centinel (New Bern)	July 25, 1829	1/2 month	places	Dark	N/A	\$5
Tom Whitfield	M	40	Carolina Centinel (New Bern)	July 25, 1829	1/2 month	with Betty	Mulatto	N/A	\$5
Isaac	M	N/A	Carolina Centinel (New Bern)	October 10, 1829	9 months	place	Dark	Stout and well made House Painter by trade	\$25
Calvin	M	N/A	Carolina Centinel (New Bern)	January 9, 1830	3 months	where raised and many connections	N/A	N/A	\$25
	M	N/A	Carolina Centinel (New Bern)	January 9, 1830	3 months	where raised and many connections	N/A	N/A	\$25

Name	Sex	Age	Newspaper	Date	Time Gone	Lurking Purpose	Race	Other Descriptions	Reward
Juda	F	N/A	Carolina Centinel (New Bern)	January 9, 1830	8 months	where raised and many connexions	N/A	Has since has a child	\$35
Peter	M	26	Carolina Centinel (New Bern)	May 1, 1830	N/A	places	Black	Stout; Has a plain scar through his left eye brow	\$5
George	M	N/A	Carolina Centinel (New Bern)	May 8, 1830	3 months	wife	Yellow	Very stout	\$10
Polly	F	N/A	Carolina Centinel (New Bern)	April 25, 1832	2 days	husband (a free man)	Yellow	Tall slim woman	\$10
Peter	M	N/A	Carolina Centinel (New Bern)	May 13, 1833	N/A	places	N/A	A description unnecessary	\$50
Sam	M	N/A	Carolina Centinel (New Bern)	May 13, 1833	N/A	places	N/A	A description unnecessary	\$50
Tempy	F	27 or 30	Carolina Centinel (New Bern)	December 20, 1833	N/A	mother or husband	Light but Darker than a Mulatto	N/A	\$10
Daniel	M	35	Carolina Centinel (New Bern)	March 7, 1834	1 month	escape by vessel	Dark	Well proportioned and of a pleasing countenance	\$30
Mary	F	12	Carolina Centinel (New Bern)	March 14, 1834	6 months	connexions	Light	Well grown and likely	\$25
Henry Oldfield	M	30	Carolina Centinel (New Bern)	November 4, 1835	6 months	connexions	Yellow	N/A	\$40
Simon	M	28	Carolina Centinel (New Bern)	November 4, 1835	2 months	connexions	Dark	Has an impediment in his speech, occasioned by the loss of his front teeth	\$40
Lucy York (Lucy's Son)	F	27	Carolina Centinel (New Bern)	November 4, 1835	N/A	w/York	N/A	Small stature; Rather spare inside; Has a small scar on her face; A down look	\$25
	M	13	Carolina Centinel (New Bern)	November 4, 1835	N/A	w/Lucy	N/A	Appears sullen when spoken to	\$25
Pollock	M	19	Carolina Centinel (New Bern)	November 2, 1836	4 months	parents	Black	On first looking at any person, he looks straight, but if he continues to look any length of time he squints his one eye	\$50

Name	Sex	Age	Newspaper	Date	Time Gone	Lurking Purpose	Race	Other Descriptions	Reward
Isaac	M	35	Carolina Centinel (New Bern)	December 14, 1836	1/2 month	places	Black	N/A	\$35
Bob	M	27	Carolina Centinel (New Bern)	March 29, 1837	28 days	wife	Quite Black	Scout-built	\$15
Abraam	M	27	Carolina Federal Republican (Newbern)	March 16, 1809	9 months	place	Yellow	likely	\$20
Caso	M	N/A	Carolina Federal Republican (Newbern)	February 29, 1812	1 month	place	Black	Round shouldered; The lower part of his right ear cropped off	\$10
Louisa	F	22 or 23	Carolina Federal Republican (Newbern)	June 6, 1812	9 months	husband	Rather of a Yellow	N/A	\$25
Louisa's Daughter	F	15 months	Carolina Federal Republican (Newbern)	June 6, 1812	9 months	father	N/A	N/A	\$25
Ben	M	40	Carolina Federal Republican (Newbern)	June 13, 1812	3 months	seen in vicinity and committing acts of felony	Dark	Thick set; Stoops very much	\$20
Peter	M	N/A	Carolina Federal Republican (Newbern)	January 2, 1813	N/A		N/A	Legally outlawed; Keeps lurking	\$25
Tom	M	25	Carolina Federal Republican (Newbern)	January 2, 1813	1/2 month	wife	Very Dark	Has scar on one of his cheeks just below his eye	\$25
Andrew	M	N/A	Carolina Federal Republican (Newbern)	April 3, 1813	5 days	former residence	Very Light Coloured Mulatto	N/A	\$20
London	M	N/A	Carolina Federal Republican (Newbern)	April 9, 1814	8 days	place	High, Yellow	Very artful	\$20

Name	Sex	Age	Newspaper	Date	Time Gone	Lurking Purpose	Race	Other Descriptions	Reward
Charles	M	N/A	Carolina Federal Republican (Newbern)	April 30, 1814	1 month	places	Very Black	Can read and write; Probable has a free pass; Can play on the violin; Shows guilt very remarkable by wrinkling (sic.) his face when accused; Was taken up and put in jail at Newbern about four years ago	\$20
Clarry	F	N/A	Carolina Federal Republican (Newbern)	May 7, 1814	6 months	former hired out place	Dark	Tall and stout made; note: "Mr. Hall, As the Fellow who signed the above, has no right or title to the above named negro, Clarry: I forbid any person from molesting said negro, or her CHILDREN; she has a right to maintain herself and children, until I call on her. Nicholas A. Bray (May 7, 1814)	\$15
Greeg	M	30	Carolina Federal Republican (Newbern)	July 23, 1814	5 months	neighborhood	Very Black	Walks with his toes very much out	\$30
Anthony	M	23 or 25	Carolina Federal Republican (Newbern)	May 30, 1815	N/A	wife	Yellowish	N/A	\$20
Joe	M	28	Carolina Federal Republican (Newbern)	July 15, 1815	1 month	mother or relations	Black	His toes a little in; Has a large scar on his right hand, occasioned by a burn; Has a small piece out of one ear by a bite; Is an arch sprightly fellow	\$10
Caesar	M	17	Carolina Federal Republican (Newbern)	July 6, 1816	10 months	place for escape	Yellow	Thick set; Well-grown; Full eyes	\$50
Daniel	M	N/A	Carolina Federal Republican (Newbern)	July 6, 1816	3 months	where raised or brother	Black	A low well-made fellow	\$10
Caesar	M	N/A	Carolina Federal Republican (Newbern)	July 6, 1816	3 months	wife	Black	Tall	\$50

Name	Sex	Age	Newspaper	Date	Time Gone	Larking Purpose	Race	Other Descriptions	Reward
Trusty	M	45	Carolina Federal Republican (Newbern)	October 19, 1816	3 months	where raised	Black	A down look; Has a blemish in one of his eyes	\$10
Dolly Simon (Trusty & Dolly's Son)	F	50	Carolina Federal Republican (Newbern)	October 19, 1816	3 months	where raised	Yellow	Large and very compulent	\$10
Ben (Trusty & Dolly's Son)	M	10	Carolina Federal Republican (Newbern)	October 19, 1816	3 months	where raised	N/A	N/A	\$10
Abram (Peg's Husband)	M	6	Carolina Federal Republican (Newbern)	October 19, 1816	3 months	where raised	N/A	N/A	\$10
Peg (Abram's Wife)	F	35	Carolina Federal Republican (Newbern)	November 15, 1817	5 days	connexions w/Peg	Yellow	Stout well made fellow; Has lost some of his fore teeth; Is branded with the letters E.H. on his cheek	\$40
Dave	F	25	Carolina Federal Republican (Newbern)	November 15, 1817	5 days	connexions w/Abram	Yellow	Sparte made; A squint eye Slender made; Somewhat Pock broken; Has a scar on the breast cut of with a knife, from appearance; A load of shot above his knee; Is sensible and cunning	\$30
Mansel	M	37	Carolina Federal Republican (Newbern)	December 13, 1817	2 months	mother	N/A		\$20
Mary (free Charlotte)	M	N/A	Carolina Federal Republican (Newbern)	January 3, 1818	1 month	wife and relations	Dark	N/A	\$20
Redlock	F	16	Carolina Observer (Fayetteville)	February 14, 1818	5 months	place	N/A	Thick built; Generally wears a pleasing countenance; Is very likely; Passes by the free name of Charlotte	\$20
George	M	30	Carolina Observer (Fayetteville)	February 27, 1823	1 month	wife	Bright	Slender made; Pleasing countenance; Has tolerable thick lips	\$20
	M	N/A	Carolina Observer (Fayetteville)	June 19, 1823	2 months	wife	Very Black	Of rather small stature; Of a pleasing countenance	\$20

Name	Sex	Age	Newspaper	Date	Time Gone	Lurking Purpose	Race	Other Descriptions	Reward
Tom	M	27	Carolina Observer (Fayetteville)	October 23, 1828	1 day	wife	Black	Likely; A pleasant countenance; Very intelligent	\$20
Dick	M	24 or 25	Carolina Observer (Fayetteville)	July 30, 1829	1 month	mother	Mulatto	Very plausible fellow; Well known; Blacksmith by trade	\$5
Jerry	M	17	Carolina Observer (Fayetteville)	September 17, 1829	N/A	mother	Dark	N/A	\$25
Zenia	F	N/A	Catawba Journal (Charlotte)	November 23, 1824	N/A	place w/ a child	N/A	N/A	\$10
A Child	N/A	N/A	Catawba Journal (Charlotte)	November 23, 1824	N/A	w Zenia	N/A	N/A	\$10
Chloe	F	18 or 19	Catawba Journal (Charlotte)	July 4, 1826	1/2 month	place w/Bill	Rather Yellow	N/A	N/A
Bill	M	17	Catawba Journal (Charlotte)	July 4, 1826	1/2 month	place w/Chole	N/A	Quite small of his age	N/A
John or Jack	M	24	Charlotte Journal	September 11, 1835	N/A	mother or wife	Black	N/A	\$50
Herry	M	40	Charlotte Journal	November 11, 1836	Some time since	former residence	Black	Front teeth out; A little stoop shouldered; Speaks quick	\$10
Jim	M	30	Charlotte Journal	March 3, 1837	5 months	former residence and Ready Gold	Yellow	N/A	\$30
Frank (Frank Munton)	M	N/A	Edenton Gazette and North Carolina General Advertiser	October 13, 1809	Upwards of a year past	Edenton having the power of white men to take him	Pretty Black	A very desperate blood-thirsty fellow; Thick set; Has some of his fore-teeth out; Somewhat ball-headed; Has a smiling artful countenance when spoken to	\$20
Peter	M	26	Edenton Gazette and North Carolina General Advertiser	November 24, 1809	5 months	place	Black	Low and spare made	\$25
Dick	M	18	Edenton Gazette and North Carolina General Advertiser	December 15, 1809	1 month	where raised	Very Dark	Slim; His upper lip is remarkably thick; Has a double appearance when he laughs	\$20

Name	Sex	Age	Newspaper	Date	Time Gone	Lurking Purpose	Race	Other Descriptions	Reward
Woodford	M	25	Edenton Gazette and North Carolina General Advertiser	January 4, 1811	2 months	mother	Pretty Black	Thin visage; Somewhat boy-kneed; Has very large feet and long arms	\$50
Negro Girl	F	18	Edenton Gazette and North Carolina General Advertiser	January 14, 1812	N/A	in and about town	Yellow	Artful lively girl; Has a notable scar on her right elbow, occasioned by a burn	\$30
Tom	M	N/A	Edenton Gazette and North Carolina General Advertiser	May 26, 1812	1 month	place	Light	His toes very scraggy, so much so, that when bare/foot, his track is very notable	\$30
Paldo	M	N/A	Edenton Gazette and North Carolina General Advertiser	June 23, 1812	5 days	place	Pretty Black	Tolerable well made	\$15
Lydia	F	45	Edenton Gazette and North Carolina General Advertiser	October 20, 1812	6 days	place	Pretty Black	Slim made	\$5
Sampson	M	18 or 20	Edenton Gazette and North Carolina General Advertiser	October 29, 1816	N/A	place	N/A	N/A	\$50
Stephen (yellow Stephen or Outlaw's Stephen)	M	32	Edenton Gazette and North Carolina General Advertiser	July 27, 1819	2 months	wife	Mulatto	Tolerably spare made; Has a down look when spoken to; Stammers a little when speaking; Artful cunning man; Ran from Fishery; Can Cobble, Cooper, do Rough Carpenter's work and make almost every thing that can be useful on a plantation	\$30
Annes	F	N/A	Edenton Gazette and North Carolina General Advertiser	September 7, 1819	N/A	relations	Tolerable Dark	Tall; Pretty stout	\$15
Jack	M	36 or 37	Edenton Gazette and North Carolina General Advertiser	October 16, 1820	N/A	wife	Yellow	Has a scar over his right eye	\$25
Peter (Peter Halsey)	M	40	Edenton Gazette and North Carolina General Advertiser	November 20, 1820	N/A	wife	Pretty Black	Slim	\$20

Name	Sex	Age	Newspaper	Date	Time Since	Lurking Purpose	Race	Other Descriptions	Reward
Sam	M	30	Edenton Gazette and North Carolina General Advertiser	November 20, 1820	N/A	wife	N/A	Pretty thick set, Much pock-broken	\$15
Flora	F	33 or 34	Edenton Gazette and North Carolina General Advertiser	December 25, 1820	N/A	place	Yellowish Cast	Tall; Very slender	\$25
Harry	M	18 or 19	Edenton Gazette and North Carolina General Advertiser	December 25, 1820	6 months	place	Light	N/A	\$100
Jack	M	23	Edenton Gazette and North Carolina General Advertiser	December 25, 1820	6 months	wife	Pretty Black	Thin visage	\$100
Cherry (Bennett's Cherry)	F	40	Edenton Gazette and North Carolina General Advertiser	October 15, 1821	N/A	place	Yellowish	Slim built	\$10
Dave	M	N/A	Edenton Gazette and North Carolina General Advertiser	November 11, 1828	4 months	father and well acquainted	Dark	Quite a likely fellow; Has a full set of teeth, the upper ones a little projecting	\$50
Andrew	M	30	Edenton Gazette and North Carolina General Advertiser	February 24, 1829	6 months	place	Dark	N/A	\$50
Mariam	F	N/A	Edenton Gazette and North Carolina General Advertiser	March 24, 1829	about a fortnight past	place	N/A	N/A	\$5
Clarriss	F	N/A	Edenton Gazette and North Carolina General Advertiser	March 24, 1829	about a fortnight past	place	N/A	N/A	\$5
Bill	M	22 or 23	Edenton Gazette and North Carolina General Advertiser	July 28, 1829	1/2 month	places	Very Black	N/A	\$50
Giles	M	35	Edenton Gazette and North Carolina General Advertiser	July 28, 1829	2 months	places	Dark	Very grey	\$50

Name	Sex	Age	Newspaper	Date	Time Gone	Linking Purpose	Race	Other Descriptions	Reward
Henry	M	N/A	Edenton Gazette and North Carolina General Advertiser	January 2, 1830	N/A	sister	N/A	Description is deemed unnecessary; Sawyer by trade	\$15
Joe	M	24	Elizabeth City Star and North Carolina Eastern Intelligencer	February 11, 1826	1/2 month	wife	Little Yellow	Has a scar over one eye; Well formed; Ran without any cause (as he has twice before done)	\$20
Jane	F	N/A	Elizabeth City Star and North Carolina Eastern Intelligencer	September 29, 1831	N/A	place	Dark	Rather tall; Blind in left eye	N/A
Jim (Jim Sucker)	M	N/A	Fayetteville Observer	May 15, 1822	N/A	place	N/A	Outlaw	\$20
Houser Prosper	M	30	Fayetteville Gazette	February 26, 1833	1 month	acquaintances	Dark	Has rather small eyes	\$15
Scip	M	25	Fayetteville Observer	March 25, 1834	1/2 month	place were formerly hired out	Yellow	Has high forehead	\$25
Davy	M	23	Fayetteville Observer	December 31, 1835	2 months	where raised, wife, and relations	N/A	Slender built; Speaks rather slow; Walks very little lame	\$25
Hector	M	N/A	Fayetteville Observer	February 2, 1837	a few weeks ago	well known	N/A	N/A	\$20
Moses	M	20	Fayetteville Observer	April 13, 1837	1/2 month	place	Yellow	When spoken to smiles	\$25
Hannah (Tillah)	F	N/A	Fayetteville Observer	April 25, 1838	some weeks since	place where previously hired out	Mulatto	Has lived among the free coloured people a considerable time, and she has also lived among, and has been employed and entertained by some of the lower order of white people in that County during the last Winter and Spring	\$5
Dick	M	28	Fayetteville Observer	May 2, 1838	1 month	place where previously hired out	Very Black	Down look; Has had one of his legs and one of his arms broken	N/A

Name	Sex	Age	Newspaper	Date	Time Gone	Larking Purpose	Race	Other Descriptions	Reward
Edy	F	30	Fayetteville Observer	March 20, 1839	4 years	relations	Dark	Ordinary size; Has good countenance	\$15
Stephen	M	26 or 27	Fayetteville Observer	March 20, 1839	1/2 month	relations	Dark	Has no beard or whiskers	\$15
Carlisle	M	N/A	Fayetteville Observer	May 1, 1839	4 months	place former residence	Dark	Rather slow spoken; Very stout built	\$50
Catherine	F	N/A	Fayetteville Observer	June 12, 1839	3 months	residence	N/A	N/A	\$10
George	M	20	Free Press (Halifax and Tarboro)	July 30, 1824	10 months	wife	Tolerable Black	Spore made; Thin visage; Has some teeth out before	\$40
Polly	F	28	Free Press (Halifax and Tarboro)	August 22, 1826	5 months	w/free black man	Yellow	Spore made; Has a mild look and genteel appearance, (for a negro), when well dressed; An expert hand at roguery; Is well calculated to deceive unless tightly and closely examined	\$30
Tim	M	25	Free Press (Halifax and Tarboro)	August 22, 1826	3 months	former residence	Light Dark Color	Stout and well made; Will weigh about 170 pounds	\$25
Loke	M	50	Free Press (Halifax and Tarboro)	September 15, 1827	1 month	wife	Dark	Well known; House Carpenter and Millwright by trade	\$10
Washington	M	24	Free Press (Halifax and Tarboro)	October 6, 1827	1 month	former residence	Dark	Stout built; Has no particular marks about him recollects; Excellent Field Hand	\$50
Jacob	M	N/A	Free Press (Halifax and Tarboro)	February 8, 1828	2 months on Monday last	former residence	N/A	N/A	Liberal
Silas	M	28	Free Press (Halifax and Tarboro)	March 28, 1828		where raised	Very Black	Spore made; Is apt to stutter a little when speaking; Has no particular marks recollects	\$10

Name	Sex	Age	Newspaper	Date	Time Gone	Larking Purpose	Race	Other Descriptions	Reward
Peter	M	35 or 40	Free Press (Halifax and Tarboro)	May 30, 1828	2 months	wife	Dark	Is stout and well made	\$20
Cory	M	28	Free Press (Halifax and Tarboro)	August 1, 1828	1 month	place w/Fanny, Nanny, Emily, Arno, and Adaline	Very Black	Spare made; Long whiskers	\$20
Fanny	F	N/A	Free Press (Halifax and Tarboro)	August 1, 1828	1 month	place w/Fanny, Nanny, Emily, Arno, and Adaline	Very Black	Well set negro; The signs of being a cook may be seen on her arm from the heat of fire; Cook by trade	\$20
Nanny	F	8	Free Press (Halifax and Tarboro)	August 1, 1828	1 month	place w/Fanny, Cory, Nanny, Arno, and Adaline	Very Black	Has thin made; Has thin jaws; Has very long head	N/A
Emily	F	28	Free Press (Halifax and Tarboro)	August 1, 1828	1 month	place w/Fanny, Cory, Nanny, Arno, and Adaline	Yellow Cast	N/A	N/A
Arno	M	5	Free Press (Halifax and Tarboro)	August 1, 1828	1 month	place w/Fanny, Cory, Nanny, Emily, and Adaline	N/A	Was born on the 17th of February last	N/A
Adaline	F	21	Free Press (Halifax and Tarboro)	August 1, 1828	1 month	place w/Fanny, Cory, Nanny, Emily, and Arno	Very Bright Yellow	Stout and well made; Has a burnt place on the left side of her head, which she received by falling in the fire when an infant; This girl is in the habit of combing her black hair over this burnt place to hide the scar; Has been brought up in my house entirely; I expect she will attempt to pass as a free girl, and change her name	\$20

Name	Sex	Age	Newspaper	Date	Time Gone	Marriage Purpose	Race	Other Descriptions	Reward
Peter	M	35 or 40	Free Press (Halifax and Toronto)	August 1, 1828	4 months	wife	Dark	Stout and well made	\$20
Isaac	M	35 or 40	Free Press (Halifax and Toronto)	January 30, 1829	1 year, 4 months	place	N/A	Stout built; Rather slow spoken	\$25
Sam	M	35	Free Press (Halifax and Toronto)	April 10, 1829	1/2 month	place	Yellow	Stout built; Very sensible	Liberal
John	M	30	Free Press (Halifax and Toronto)	July 17, 1829	2 months	w/Cinderella and Frank	Dark	Thin visage; Has high cheek bones	\$25
Cinderella	F	20	Free Press (Halifax and Toronto)	July 17, 1829	2 months	w/John and Frank	Dark	A likely negro; Tall; Well made	\$25
Frank (Cinderella's Son)	M	2	Free Press (Halifax and Toronto)	July 17, 1829	2 months	w/John and Cinderella	N/A	N/A	\$25
Dixon	M	28	Free Press (Halifax and Toronto)	October 16, 1829	2 days	wife	Dark	Has a rather down look	\$10
Guy	M	N/A	Free Press (Halifax and Toronto)	November 16, 1830	N/A	wife	N/A	Well known; Cooper by trade	\$40
Isam	M	25 or 30	Free Press (Halifax and Toronto)	January 25, 1831	2 months	former residence	Dark	Common size; Is inclined to limp walking	\$20
Peter	M	20 or 25	Free Press (Halifax and Toronto)	July 12, 1831	8 days	former residence	Yellow	Has a notable scar on the back part of his head, occasioned by a burn	\$20

Name	Sex	Age	Newspaper	Date	Time Gone	Larking Purpose	Race	Other Descriptions	Reward
Bryant	M	22 or 23	Free Press (Halifax and Tarboro)	April 27, 1833	8 days	father and mother	Quite Yellow	Stout built; Quite yellow for the appearance of his hair which is as knotty as the negro's usually is; Has long lips, large feet; Has a down look when spoken to; Repeat runaway	\$25
Courtney	F	30	Free Press (Halifax and Tarboro)	May 4, 1833	6 months	place (no doubt)	Very Black	N/A	\$25
Alfred	M	21 or 22	Free Press (Halifax and Tarboro)	March 28, 1834	2 months	place	Dark	Slender built	\$10
Isaac	M	40 or 45	Free Press (Halifax and Tarboro)	July 18, 1834	N/A	wife	Dark	N/A	\$20
Israel	M	20 or 21	Greensborough Patriot	November 12, 1831	1 month	former residence	Dark	Speaks slow when he is spoken to; Plays well on fiddle	\$20
Creecy	F	25 or 27	Halifax Minerva	August 27, 1829	1 month	place	Tolerably Black	Down look; Weak voice; Round shoulder; In bad state of health, being either pregnant or otherwise swelled	\$10
Altmore	M	24	Halifax Minerva	September 17, 1829	1/2 month	place	N/A	Large and stout; Of rather a down look and smiling countenance	\$30
Sam	M	25	Recorder	August 9, 1820	1/2 month	wife	Black	Stout made; Very likely	\$10
Jack	M	22 or 23	Hillsborough Recorder	March 5, 1828	2 months	wife (pretended) and many relations	Mulatto	Long, full face; Rather a down look; Would weigh about two hundred pounds; Wanted dead or alive	\$10
Sawney	M	20	Hillsborough Recorder	October 22, 1828	1 month	where raised	Neither Darkest African Black nor Yellow, but rather between the two colours	Straight limbed; Square made; A high forehead; Large nose; Thick lips; Speaks quick when spoken to; and is quite a sensible negro	\$20
Bob	M	40	Hillsborough Recorder	July 25, 1831	1/2 month	sister	Very Dark	N/A	\$10

Name	Sex	Age	Newspaper	Date	Time Gone	Marking Purpose	Race	Other Descriptions	Reward
Jacob	M	21 or 22	Miners and Farmers Journal (Charlotte)	September 21, 1831	1 month	not known	Light Black	Low thick built fellow; Quite an impediment and ill look; A large scar on the back of one hand	\$10
Jears	M	26	Miners and Farmers Journal (Charlotte)	May 10, 1834	2 months	wife	Not Very Black	Round shouldered; Has an impediment in his speech	\$15
Jake	M	24	Miners and Farmers Journal (Charlotte)	July 12, 1834	4 months	places	Light Black Color	Well built; With a scar on the back of one hand	\$20
Randall	M	28	Miners and Farmers Journal (Charlotte)	October 18, 1834	1/2 month	gold mines	Yellow	N/A	\$10
Simbo	M	N/A	Newbern Gazette	August 15, 1800	9 months	place	Black and Smooth	Can read and write; Smooth skin; Speaks very distinct; Methodist Preacher	\$40
Fack	M	22	Newbern Herald	March 9, 1809	a few days ago	place	Very Black	N/A	\$10
John	M	40	Newbern Herald	May 13, 1809	1 month	wife	N/A	Down look; Has lost one of his upper fore teeth	\$50
Quako (John Brown)	M	37	Newbern Herald	November 27, 1809	10 days	acquainted	Dark Mulatto	Very stout made; Very artful; He can write; Professes to be a Cooper and a Job-Carpenter	\$40
Jesse	M	30	Newbern Spectator and Literary Journal	May 2, 1829	3 months	parents	Quite Black	Slender built; Knockkneed; Stutters somewhat when talking fast	\$25
Jerry Randall	M	35	Newbern Spectator and Literary Journal	August 1, 1829	2 years	relations	Quite Dark	Has a large scar on one of his shoulders	\$25
Tom	M	30	Newbern Spectator and Literary Journal	September 5, 1829	Sometime since	place	Dark	When spoken to, has a rather down look	\$20
Isaac	M	22 or 25	Newbern Spectator and Literary Journal	October 24, 1829	3 months	place	N/A	It is probable that he will alter his name, and perhaps attempt by forged papers, to pass for a freeman; Well proportioned; Has very hollow feet; Has a brazen look	\$50
Ellis	M	25	Newbern Spectator and Literary Journal	July 10, 1830	1 month	place	Dark	Slender form; Committing felonies	\$50

Name	Sex	Age	Newspaper	Date	Time Gone	Lurking Purpose	Race	Other Descriptions	Reward
Moses	M	35	Newbern Spectator and Literary Journal	August 7, 1830	2 months	places	Very Black	Stout made	\$10
Simon	M	N/A	Newbern Spectator and Literary Journal	May 7, 1831	1/2 month	former residence	Light	Stout made	\$10
Aaron	M	45	Newbern Spectator and Literary Journal	May 7, 1831	1/2 month	wife	Dark	Has lost some of his front teeth	\$10
Merinda	F	30	Newbern Spectator and Literary Journal	June 18, 1831	3 months	former residence	Light	Slender made	\$5
Rachel	F	50	Newbern Spectator and Literary Journal	October 21, 1831	1/2 month	places	N/A	Has a sore mouth	\$10
Ezekiel	M	24	Newbern Spectator and Literary Journal	February 17, 1832	9 months	wife	Dark	Can read and write tolerably well; May attempt to pass as a free man; House-Carpenter by trade	\$20
Bill	M	60	Newbern Spectator and Literary Journal	January 24, 1834	1/2 month	relations	Black	Stout made	\$5
Toney	M	30	Newbern Spectator and Literary Journal	February 7, 1834	3 months	relations and friends	Black	Close made; Smooth skin	\$100
Chloe	F	N/A	Newbern Spectator and Literary Journal	December 25, 1834	N/A	place	N/A	House Servant by trade	\$25
Jesse Morgan	M	12	Newbern Spectator and Literary Journal	April 24, 1835	1/2 month	connections	Mulatto	N/A	Reasonable
Dick	M	50	Newbern Spectator and Literary Journal	July 24, 1835	1 month	former residence	N/A	Straight and well proportioned	\$25
Caroline	F	15	Newbern Spectator and Literary Journal	December 25, 1835	6 months	place	Light Black	Talks very sensibly	\$15
Hornee	M	20	Newbern Spectator and Literary Journal	February 10, 1837	4 days	pretends to have a wife	Crow Black	Visage rather thin, with small full eyes, aquiline nose, countenance rather prepossessing at first sight, but upon close examination is indicative of the most cunning malignancy; Stoops when walking; When his attention is suddenly attracted, the balls of his eyes protrude and expose a complete white circle around them	\$25

Name	Sex	Age	Newspaper	Date	Time Gone	Larking Purpose	Race	Other Descriptions	Reward
Jack	M	35 or 36	Newbern Spectator and Literary Journal	March 17, 1837	9 days	where well known and former residence	Light Black	W rights about one hundred and forty pounds	\$10
Sampson	M	30	Newbern Spectator and Literary Journal	December 8, 1837	1/2 month	brother and some connexions	Dark	Rather spare built; Small eyes; Has rather a down look and a bad countenance	\$50
Frank Pilot	M	50	Newbern Spectator and Literary Journal	December 15, 1837	N/A	former residence	Dark	Has been free since 1829; Is now my property, as heir as law of his last owner	\$10
Roxana	F	35	Newbern Spectator and Literary Journal	December 22, 1837	5 days	husband and many acquaintances	N/A	Has large white eyes; Has a rough, husky face, a mole under her chin; Has lost all her upper front teeth except two which are much decayed	\$10
Bob	M	28	Newbern Spectator and Literary Journal	January 12, 1838	11 months	wife	Black	Stout made	\$25
Sidney	F	N/A	Newbern Spectator and Literary Journal	June 15, 1838	1/2 month	place	N/A	A description of her is deemed unnecessary	\$10
Henry	F	N/A	Newbern Spectator and Literary Journal	August 17, 1838	1 month	place	Nearly Black	Quite slim; Speaks very fast; Stammers when questioned particularly	\$15
Tyler	F	N/A	Newbern Spectator and Literary Journal	August 17, 1838	1 month	place	Nearly Black	N/A	\$15
Antony	M	N/A	Newbern Spectator and Literary Journal	October 19, 1838	3 months	where raised	N/A	Stout in proportion; Has some scars about his ankles, I believe; A fine looking negro	\$50
Washington	M	28	Newbern Spectator and Literary Journal	January 11, 1839	4 months	relations and well acquainted	Yellowish	Stout built; Has long bushy hair and prominent eyes; Is very intelligent; When spoken to answers promptly	\$100
Isaac	M	30	Newbern Spectator and Literary Journal	October 11, 1839	1 year	place	Very Black	Active; Intelligent; Works in Boating	\$50
Maria	F	30	Newbern Spectator and Literary Journal	October 18, 1839	7 months	relatives	Dark	Is slow of speech when spoken to	\$25

Name	Sex	Age	Newspaper	Date	Time Gone	Linking Purpose	Race	Other Descriptions	Reward
Lot	M	25	Newbern Spectator and Literary Journal	May 16, 1840	2 days	relations	Dark Copper Colour	Well made; Thickset; is very likely; Has several scars on his feet, occasioned by cuts of axes	\$25
George	M	20	Newbern Spectator and Literary Journal	July 25, 1840	1/2 month	relations	Very Black	Stout and well formed	\$15
Joe	M	50	Newbern Spectator and Literary Journal	August 1, 1840	on Monday night last	acquaintances	N/A	Slender form; Swoops a little	\$25
Lettice	F	26	Newbern Spectator and Literary Journal	December 16, 1840	a few days since	place	Yellow	N/A	\$10
Phyllis	F	22	Newbern Spectator and Literary Journal	December 16, 1840	a few days since	place	Yellow	N/A	\$10
Dublin	M	17	North Carolina Journal (Fayetteville)	October 19, 1831	10 days	place	N/A	Rather slow of speech; Had no marks except one on his left wrist, occasioned by the cut of a cooper's adze; Carried off a scythe blade, as an excuse that he has been to get it mended	\$5
James	M	22	North Carolina Circular	July 10, 1805	1 month	about the same place as Harmin	Very Black	Has small legs; Has long feet; Has a scar on one of his eyebrows	\$20
Harmin	M	20	North Carolina Circular	July 10, 1805	1 month	place as James former residence and well acquainted	Yellow	Stout and well made	\$20
Sambo	M	25 or 26	North Carolina Journal (Halifax)	April 21, 1800	1 month		Yellow	Likely, sprightly fellow; Very humble; Waiting Man by trade	Generous
William	M	21	North Carolina Journal (Halifax)	September 21, 1801	1 month	father and mother	Rather Light	Well made fellow; Inclining to be corpulent; Full dull eyes, the whites inclined to be yellow; Can read and perhaps write	\$10
Juba	M	N/A	North Carolina Journal (Halifax)	April 28, 1806	3 months	town or island	Yellow	N/A	\$10
Ben	M	N/A	North Carolina Journal (Fayetteville)	April 6, 1831	1/2 month	former residence	Very Dark	Stoutly made; Rather inclined to be bald; Has an impediment in his speech	\$10

Name	Sex	Age	Newspaper	Date	Time Gone	Lurking Purpose	Race	Other Descriptions	Reward
Charles	M	30 or 35	North Carolina Journal (Fayetteville)	January 4, 1832	1 month	place	Dark Mulatto	Has a good countenance, inclining to laugh when spoken to; Good humor; Is well set and stout; Has no visible mark except 3 or 4 of his teeth are out, 2 in front	\$10
Nelson	M	25	North Carolina Journal (Fayetteville)	April 1, 1835	4 months	wife	Rather Yellow	Stout built; No particular marks recollected; Quite an intelligent fellow	\$20
Wise	M	26	North Carolina Journal (Fayetteville)	September 27, 1837	1/2 month	places	N/A	N/A	\$20
Clary	F	19	North Carolina Journal (Fayetteville)	September 27, 1837	6 months	place	Dark	Has a very large mouth	\$10
Squire	M	35 or 36	Minerva and Raleigh Advertiser	May 19, 1806	2 months	place	Yellowish	Middle size; Bushy hair and a little grey	\$20
Black	M	30 or 31	North Carolina Raleigh Advertiser	May 19, 1806	2 months	place	Darker	Spare made; Knappy hair; A young and down look	\$20
Elijah	M	18 or 19	North Carolina Minerva and Raleigh Advertiser	May 19, 1806	2 months	place	N/A	Not well grown for his age; Has a scar under one eye	\$10
Anthony	M	22	North Carolina Minerva and Raleigh Advertiser	June 23, 1820	3 days	after waggons	Very Black	Wide mouth; Strongly made	\$10
Issie	M	26	North Carolina Standard (Raleigh)	February 6, 1835	2 months	wife	Dark Skin	Well proportioned; Has white eyes; Speaks remarkably low; Wore large whiskers	\$25
Finney	F	22	North Carolina Standard (Raleigh)	November 3, 1836	3 months	place	Black	Stout; Has large white eyes; So well known that a further description is deemed unnecessary	\$15
Levil	F	17	North Carolina Standard (Raleigh)	May 16, 1838	4 months	relations or places	Bright Mulatto	Very pleasing countenance; Speaks mildly when in common conversation	\$50

Name	Sex	Age	Newspaper	Date	Time Gone	Lurking Purpose	Race	Other Descriptions	Reward
Tom	M	42 or 43	North Carolina Standard (Raleigh)	September 4, 1839	6 months	former residence	Of Light Complexion, Almost of Indian blood	Rather light built; Lank or hollow jawed; Wears his hair combed up in front; When spoken to has a down look; No particular mark recalled, except a scar from a severe cut on his right fore finger. It is believed he has with him Free Papers belonging to James Lucas or Locust, who froze to death in January last in the neighborhood	\$30
Wilson	M	N/A	North Carolina Standard (Raleigh)	August 19, 1840	11 months	place	Dark	There is no doubt but he is now lurking in the neighborhood, with a debased white woman, or with an unprincipled white man, disguised in female apparel also armed with gun and dangerous weapons; Is stoutly made; Weighs from 185 to 190 pounds; Has an abrupt manner when met by any person; Has a scar upon the left temple near the ear, which was produced by a burn; Without being round shouldered, he bends forward considerably when walking. His feet are unusually large and his toes turn out when walking	\$100
China	F	45 or 50	North Carolina Standard (Raleigh)	November 18, 1840	1 year, 1 month	place	N/A	Low and corpulent in person	\$10
Dan	M	N/A	People's Press (Wilmington)	December 18, 1833	N/A	place	N/A	N/A	\$5
Bob	M	22	People's Press (Wilmington)	May 7, 1834	1/2 month	father and mother	Very Black	N/A	Liberalty
Dick	M	45	People's Press (Wilmington)	November 26, 1834	1 year	places	N/A	Has a considerable stammering in his speech	\$10

Name	Sex	Age	Newspaper	Date	Time Gone	Lurking Purpose	Race	Other Descriptions	Reward
Andrew	M	22	People's Press (Wilmington)	February 25, 1835	N/A	mother and brother	Light	Well known	\$15
Dick	M	45	People's Press (Wilmington)	June 17, 1835	1/2 month	places	Mulatto	Has a considerable stammering in his speech	\$50
Tony	M	28 or 29	People's Press (Wilmington)	September 18, 1835	1/2 month	wife	Black	Strong built	\$10
Lewis	M	21 or 22	People's Press (Wilmington)	September 25, 1835	N/A	places	Yellow	Ordinary size	\$100
Sally	M	25	People's Press and Wilmington Advertiser	January 1, 1836	9 months	well known	N/A	N/A	\$20
Burrell (Jack Hammond)	M	26	Raleigh Register and North Carolina State Gazette	November 30, 1802	N/A	place	Mulatto	Dangerous that he should find a lurking place; Ourlawood; Well built; Of common stature	\$100
James	M	21 or 22	Raleigh Register and North Carolina State Gazette	March 25, 1805	1/2 month	place	Very Black	Knock-kneed, one larger than the other	\$10
Billy	M	34	Raleigh Register and North Carolina State Gazette	July 21, 1815	7 months	wife	N/A	Has a large scar on his breast, occasioned by a burn received some years ago, is about common stature; Carpenter by trade	\$50
Tom	M	N/A	Raleigh Register and North Carolina State Gazette	January 19, 1821	11 months	wife	N/A	N/A	\$10
Caleb	M	30	Raleigh Register and North Carolina State Gazette	May 4, 1824	10 months	as free person	Light	Stout made; Broad across the shoulders; Speak slowly; Has a long, loping walking, and bends forward considerably, as he walks; Has marks of the whip	\$50
Judy	F	40	Raleigh Register and North Carolina State Gazette	May 4, 1824	10 months	as free person	Copper Coloured	Middle size; Quick spoken; Blinks her eyes very much, when detected in an error; She also has the mark of the whip; Excellent Weaver	\$50

Name	Sex	Age	Newspaper	Date	Time Gone	Lurking Purpose	Race	Other Descriptions	Reward
Aaron	M	40	Raleigh Register and North Carolina State Gazette	April 10, 1827	N/A	place	Dark	Quite a knowing, polite fellow; From a fall received from a horse by which his leg was injured, he limps when walking; Has a remarkable scar over his right eye, occasioned by a blow from a rock during a flight	\$10
Drew	M	33	The Star and North Carolina State Gazette (Raleigh)	October 24, 1838	2 months	relations	Dark, though not Black	Has no very notable marks recollected; Has lost the two front under teeth	\$50
Arthur	M	42	Rosnoke Advocate (Halifax)	September 8, 1831	2 years, 1 month	places	Dark	Has thick lips; Slammers; Has a cancer on the bottom of his right foot; Very good Shoe Maker	\$15
William	M	21 or 22	Rosnoke Advocate (Halifax)	January 19, 1832	8 months	places	Yellow	Of common stature; Has long bushy hair; His upper teeth a little decayed; Has a down look when spoken to; No other particular marks recollected	\$20
Elan	M	21	Rosnoke Advocate (Halifax)	June 14, 1832	1/2 month	places	N/A	No particular marks recollected	\$10
Neal	M	24 or 25	Southern Telescope (Greensborough)	February 24, 1837	1/2 month	places	Copper Color	Has straggle teeth; Has a pleasant countenance; Remarkably quick-spoken	\$10
Isaac	M	19	Tarboro Press	March 12, 1836	1/2 month	place	N/A	Thick set	Liberal
Jim	M	24	Tarboro Press	October 1, 1836	1/2 month	wife	Black	Middle size	\$25
Tom	M	56	Tarboro Press	October 27, 1836	1 month	killng animals	N/A	Has killed and injured my cattle, hogs, sheep, &c; A malicious negro and will certainly resist an attempt to take him	\$100
Allen	M	34	Tarboro Press	January 21, 1837	1/2 month	wife	N/A	Has a crooked knee occasioned by a white swelling when a boy	\$34
Dick	M	25 or 26	Tarboro Press	March 18, 1837	1 month	wife	N/A	With no particular marks on his person	\$20
Esweek	M	27	Tarboro Press	February 10, 1838	1 month	wife	Light	Has two scars on his breast	\$25

Name	Sex	Age	Newspaper	Date	Time Gone	Lurking Purpose	Race	Other Descriptions	Reward
Jack	M	36 or 37	Tarboro Press	February 17, 1838	3 days	father who is living as a free man	Dark	Stout built; Very likely and intelligent fellow; Generally goes well dressed; Has no doubt a considerable sum of money with him	\$100
Rose (Amazon hopping Bob)	F	20	Tarboro Press	March 2, 1839	9 months	husband, father, mother, and connections	Dark	Slender	\$20
Hassy	M	N/A	Tarboro Press	February 1, 1840	1 year	wife who is a free woman	N/A	N/A	\$25
	F	20	Tarboro Scaevola	December 1, 1837	1 month	father and mother	Black	Common size	All Charges and Satisfy
Peter (Burklow's Peter)	M	N/A	The American (Fayetteville)	September 26, 1816	N/A	place perhaps every night	Yellow	Can read and write tolerable well; Stout built; Has a brand on one of his cheeks; Has a thick bushy head of hair; Will drink more than enough whenever he can procure it; Carpenter of much ingenuity by trade	\$20
Stanely	M	18	The Harbinger (Chapel Hill)	June 12, 1834	2 days	place	N/A	Very slender, Large eyes; Pleasant countenance when spoken to	\$5
Ben	M	25	The Star (Raleigh)	February 8, 1810	6 months	place	Black	Likely; Stout and well made	\$15
Jack	M	28	The Star (Raleigh)	April 17, 1812				Has a scar on his forehead; Has a part of one of his upper foreteeth broken off; One of his wrists broke and crooked; His right leg pretty much shot with small shot which will show very plainly; Tolerable Shoemaker by trade	\$20
Demicy	M	N/A	The Star (Raleigh)	October 28, 1814	2 months	various places	Mulatto	Large	\$10

Name	Sex	Age	Newspaper	Date	Time Gone	Lurking Purpose	Race	Other Descriptions	Reward
Billy	M	34	The Star (Raleigh)	March 10, 1815	2 months	where raised	N/A	Has a large scar on his breast, occasioned by a burn received some years ago; A more particular description is deemed unnecessary; Carpenter by trade	\$25
Lewis	M	25	The Star (Raleigh)	April 7, 1815	3 months	place	Very Black	Bow legged; Does not weigh more than 140; No particular marks recollected	\$10
Robert Stephen (Goodwin's Stephen)	M	25	The Star and North Carolina State Gazette (Raleigh)	August 15, 1817	1 month	place	Black	Well made; Has a down look; Speaks short	\$10
Chaney	F	25	The Star and North Carolina State Gazette (Raleigh)	December 26, 1817	15 days	place	N/A	Has remarkable thick lips; Stout and well made; Is inclined to be rather talkative	\$5
Phoebe	F	N/A	The Star and North Carolina State Gazette (Raleigh)	March 5, 1819	5 months	former residence	Copper Colour	Wears her hair plaited around her head	\$20
Phoebe's Daughter	F	16 or 17 months	The Star and North Carolina State Gazette (Raleigh)	September 17, 1819	5 months	mother	Yellow Complexioned	Carried off her child; Tall; Slender; Has large eyes; Has a thin visage	\$25
Allen	M	30	The Star and North Carolina State Gazette (Raleigh)	September 17, 1819	5 months	w/Phoebe	N/A	N/A	\$25
Simon	M	25	The Star and North Carolina State Gazette (Raleigh)	June 9, 1820	2 months	place	N/A	Of a common size; Has a grun look	\$20
Anthony	M	22	The Star and North Carolina State Gazette (Raleigh)	June 30, 1820	2 months	place	N/A	Stout built; Active; Was once shot in Franklin county, and now bears marks of the shot in one of his arms and on his body	\$15
					10 days	after waggons	Very Black	Wide mouthed; Strongly made	\$10

Name	Sex	Age	Newspaper	Date	Time Gone	Lurking Purpose	Race	Other Descriptions	Reward
Neel	M	40	The Star and North Carolina State Gazette (Raleigh)	April 7, 1826	4 days	places	Dark	Spare built; Rather inclined to be gray haired; Has a down look; Speaks quick and lively; Is a very cunning and artful chaps; Cooper by trade	\$25
Pleasant	F	28	The Star and North Carolina State Gazette (Raleigh)	August 4, 1826	1 month	habit of lurking at a plantation	Dark	Common size; Has a round face; Has a yellow spot on the left cheek; It would appear from looking at her under teeth, that she had lost one from about the middle of them, but has not	\$15
Juda	F	22	The Star and North Carolina State Gazette (Raleigh)	July 5, 1827	1/2 month	relations	Somewhat Yellow	Rather slim built; Small breast; Speaks and looks very fierce when spoken to. Takes considerable pains with her hair	\$10
Bob	M	N/A	The Star and North Carolina State Gazette (Raleigh)	August 16, 1827	1/2 month	wife	N/A	N/A	\$10
Peter (Peter Wolf)	M	N/A	The Star and North Carolina State Gazette (Raleigh)	January 1, 1829	1/2 month	place	Yellow	Rather above a middle size; Limpes a little in his gait	\$10
Mark	M	N/A	The Star and North Carolina State Gazette (Raleigh)	January 1, 1829	1/2 month	place	Quite Black	Of rather a pleasing countenance	\$10
Elisba	M	27	The Star and North Carolina State Gazette (Raleigh)	September 2, 1830	5 months	place	Light	Has a scar in the corner of his left eye; His foot turns out more than the right; Blacksmith by trade	\$20
Simon	M	25	The Star and North Carolina State Gazette (Raleigh)	October 14, 1830	7 months	place	Common Black	Has white teeth; Generally dresses genteely for a negro; Professes to be a baptist	\$25
Manuel	M	21	The Star and North Carolina State Gazette (Raleigh)	May 19, 1831	1 month	places	Yellow complected, though not a mulatto	Is very likely; Will weigh about 175 or 180 lbs	\$20
Arnold	M	28	The Star and North Carolina State Gazette (Raleigh)	December 6, 1833	2 months	well known	N/A	Slim built; Free spoken	\$20

Name	Sex	Age	Newspaper	Date	Time Gone	Lurking Purpose	Race	Other Descriptions	Reward
Jo	M	35 or 40	The Star and North Carolina State Gazette (Raleigh)	September 1, 1831	10 months	former residence	Quite Black	Of common size; A very keen, shrewd fellow When spoken to is apt to look down; His teeth is tolerably wide apart; House Carpenter by trade	\$30
Daniel	M	33	The Star and North Carolina State Gazette (Raleigh)	November 25, 1831	1/2 month	behind a wagon	Black		\$25
Ephraim (Roundtree's Ephraim)	M	N/A	The Statesman, and Third Congressional District Advertiser (Washington)	February 7, 1835	1/2 month	wife	N/A	Stout built; Has large eyes and wide face	\$50
Flora	F	20 or 25	Republicans or American Whig (Wilmington)	May 23, 1809	1/2 month	place	Yellow	N/A	\$10
Tom	M	25	True Republican and Newbern Weekly Advertiser	October 24, 1810	1/2 month	place	Black	Tall and stout built; Blacksmith by trade but not very artful	\$20
Sara	M	27 or 28	True Republican and Newbern Weekly Advertiser	November 21, 1810	1/2 month	place	Black	Legally outlawed; Stout thick set; Has very large feet; Wanted dead or alive	\$100
Deck	M	22	True Republican and Newbern Weekly Advertiser	February 19, 1811	2 months	father	Dark	Stout and well made; Has a scar on his upper lip; Carpenter by trade	\$25
Phereba	F	38	Washington Whig and Republican Gazette	July 29, 1840	10 days	relations or husband	Yellow	Tall and spare built	\$8
Hannah	F	27 or 28	Western Carolinian (Salisbury)	July 4, 1820	A Short Time Since	where generally known	N/A	Middling size	\$25
Hannibal	M	35	Western Carolinian (Salisbury)	July 25, 1820	Some time since	places	N/A	N/A	\$10
Jim	M	35	Western Carolinian (Salisbury)	September 18, 1827	1 month	where well known	Yellow	Rather pleasing countenance, but a down cast look; A little below the ordinary stature	\$50

Name	Sex	Age	Newspaper	Date	Time Gone	Larking Purpose	Race	Other Descriptions	Reward
Charles	M	20	Western Carolinian (Salisbury)	February 13, 1832	1 month	places	N/A	Height unknown; Rather slender made; Has large full eyes; Stutter considerably	\$10
Bill	M	40	Western Carolinian (Salisbury)	March 8, 1834	1/2 month	places	Dark	Slightly bald; Shoe-maker by trade	\$20
Ben	M	N/A	Wilmington Advertiser	February 17, 1837	6 months	relations and acquaintances	Very Dark	I deem it unnecessary to give a more particular description of him	\$20
Celia	F	N/A	Wilmington Advertiser	April 28, 1837	N/A	place	N/A	N/A	\$10
Absalom	M	55 or 60	Wilmington Advertiser	January 19, 1838	2 months	former residence	Yellow	Wears his hair long and bushy; Speaks rather low and thick	\$20
Dick	M	N/A	Wilmington Advertiser	February 2, 1838	N/A	wife	Black	Stout; Course looking fellow of mine	\$50
Adam	M	25	Wilmington Advertiser	February 16, 1838	1/2 month	places	Very Black	Has a vacancy in his front teeth, both above and below, as if a tooth had been extracted; He has never had a tooth where there seems to be the two missing	\$25
Isaac	M	35	Wilmington Advertiser	May 11, 1838	1 month	friends	Not Very Black	Stout built fellow; Speaks slow and distinctly, with a downward look	\$45
Stephenny	M	22	Wilmington Advertiser	May 24, 1839	2 months	Places	Of Light Complexion	Of ordinary size	\$20
Maria Porter	F	40	Wilmington Advertiser	August 9, 1839	2 months	Places	Black	Tall; Thin	\$20
Luzer	F	35	Wilmington Advertiser	September 13, 1839	8 months	former residence	N/A	Has a small scar on her forehead	\$20
Junior	M	45	Wilmington Advertiser	November 27, 1839	10 days	places or relations	Coal Black	Cook by trade	\$25
Sambony	M	N/A	Wilmington Gazette	January 2, 1800	N/A	Place	N/A	N/A	\$8
Isaac	M	N/A	Wilmington Gazette	March 6, 1800	N/A	streets at night	Mulatto	N/A	\$5

Name	Sex	Age	Newspaper	Date	Time Gone	Larking Purpose	Race	Other Descriptions	Reward
Jenny	F	N/A	Wilmington Gazette	April 10, 1800	Sometime Since	Place	N/A	N/A	\$5
Isaac	M	27	Wilmington Gazette	May 5, 1803	1/2 month	on the way to town	Mulatto	Thick lipped; Has a small scar on his upper lip; Has a lump on one of his big toes; Has a very small bit off the back part of one of his ears; Rough Carpenter by trade	\$50
Dinah	F	N/A	Wilmington Gazette	February 7, 1804	3 months	within a few miles of town	Yellowish	Has a thick under lip which projects more than is usual; Has an upper foretooth broke out, the loss of which is apparent when she speaks; Has a large bushy head of hair	\$8
Ned	M	19 or 20	Wilmington Gazette	May 12, 1807	About A Week Ago	Place	N/A	Well proportioned; Extremely artful and evasive in his answers	\$10
Ajaz (Jack)	M	45 or 50	Wilmington Gazette	December 15, 1807	N/A	brother	N/A	Generally limps in walking	\$10
Ned	M	30	Wilmington Gazette	December 15, 1807	On Tuesday Last	wife or town	N/A	Shout made; Bow legged; Has lost two of his upper fore teeth	\$10
Molly	F	30	Wilmington Gazette	December 15, 1807	About 3 Weeks Ago	Place	Very Black	A little parrot towed; Has a hair mold on her chin	\$10
Toney	M	35	Wilmington Gazette	June 19, 1810	N/A	Wife	N/A	Ship-Carpenter by trade	\$20
John	M	18 or 19	Wilmington Gazette	June 19, 1810	1/2 month	Place	Very Dark	Very square built	\$10
Squire	M	37	Yadkin and Carawba Journal (Salisbury)	June 22, 1830	5 days	Places	Quite Black	Hair low down on his forehead; Down countenance	\$10

TABLE III
"Lurking" New Bern, North Carolina Maroons

Name	Sex	Newspaper	Date	Time Gone	Job	Lurking Statement	Age	Race	Reward	Other Descriptions
Abraham	M	North-Carolina Gazette (New Bern)	September 2, 1774	3 months	N/A	...is supposed to be lurking about, committing many Acts of Felony...Legally Outlawed	20 or 21	N/A	40 s. (alive) 5 l. (for his Head)	A short well-made fellow; Has a scar over one of his Eyes
Jem	M	North-Carolina Gazette (New Bern)	January 13, 1775	N/A	N/A	...are supposed to be lurking about, committing many Acts of Felony...With Grace...Legally Outlawed	23	N/A	N/A	Lassy
Grace	F	North-Carolina Gazette (New Bern)	January 13, 1775	N/A	N/A	...is supposed to be lurking about, doing Acts of Felony in this Province Legally Outlawed	25	Yellowish	N/A	N/A
Jack	M	North-Carolina Gazette (New Bern)	March 24, 1775	N/A	N/A	...is supposed to be lurking about, doing Acts of Felony in this Province Legally Outlawed	25	Black	N/A	Country born Fellow
Adam	M	North-Carolina Gazette (New Bern)	March 24, 1775	1 month	Hired Out	...is supposed to be lurking about, doing Acts of Felony in this Province...Legally Outlawed	38	N/A	N/A	N/A
Jem	M	North-Carolina Gazette (New Bern)	May 5, 1775	N/A	N/A	...is supposed to be lurking about, doing Acts of Felony in this Province...Legally Outlawed...is supposed to be lurking about, doing Acts of Felony in this Province...Legally Outlawed...is supposed to be harboured or kept out by his Wife, named Rachel, a Wench belonging to Mr. Isaac Vonvielle, and it is very possible he is lurking in the Neighborhood of his plantation	28	N/A	3 l.	A stout likely Fellow

Name	Sex	Newspaper	Date	Time Gone	Job	Lurking Statement	Age	Race	Reward	Other Descriptions
Charles	M	North-Carolina Gazette (New Bern)	May 12, 1775	N/A	N/A	...is supposed to be lurking about, committing acts of Felony in this Province...Legally Outlawed ...he formerly belonged to the Estate of the Rev. Alex. Stewart, and is well known about Durham's Creek, where his supposed he is harboured, run away from him, and is supposed to be lurking about, committing many Acts of Felony... Legally Outlawed	20	Black	20 s. (alive) 5 l. (for killing him)	A short, thick, well set Fellow
Billy	M	North-Carolina Gazette (New Bern)	July 14, 1775	N/A	N/A	...is supposed to be lurking about, and committing many Acts of Felony... Legally Outlawed	N/A	Yellow	5 l. (for whoever brings the Head of the said Slave)	N/A
Billico	M	North-Carolina Gazette (New Bern)	October 6, 1775	N/A	N/A	...is supposed to be lurking about, and committing many Acts of Felony... Legally Outlawed... He is supposed to be lurking about the Town of Newbern	21	Black	20 s. (alive) 5 l. (for his head)	Well set Fellow; Country born
Bob	M	North-Carolina Gazette (New Bern)	October 6, 1775	1 day	N/A	...well known in Dobbs County, where he is supposed to be gone, having a Wife in Capt. Cobbs's family...and is supposed to be lurking about, committing many Acts of Felony... Legally Outlawed	N/A	N/A	40 s. (alive) 5 l. (for his Head)	N/A
Swart	M	North-Carolina Gazette (New Bern)	July 4, 1777	N/A	N/A	He is supposed to be lurking about Slocumb's Creek, with a Fellow belonging to Mr. Almond, and a Gang of Runaways belonging to the late Mr. Clear's Estate	N/A	Very Black	\$5	Well made and very likely; Speaks broken English, but very artful and insinuating

Name	Sex	Newspaper	Date	Time Gone	Job	Lurking Statement	Age	Race	Reward	Other Descriptions
Dublin	M	North-Carolina Gazette (New Bern)	July 11, 1777	5 months	Hired Out	...supposed to be lurking about committing many Acts of Felony	30	Yellowish	\$4	A New-Negro and speaks broken English; Has sharp filed teeth; Has never since surrendered
Burr	M	North-Carolina Gazette (New Bern)	July 11, 1777	5 months	Hired Out	...supposed to be lurking about committing many Acts of Felony	16	Black	\$4	Rather Nock Knee'd; Well grown of his age; Some time after returned quite Naked, and being Cloathed immediately run away again
Abraham	M	North-Carolina Gazette (New Bern)	November 20, 1778	N/A	N/A	It is supposed he is lurking about White Oak or Newbern	N/A	Yellow	25 Pounds	Tall; Slim
Tom	M	State Gazette of North-Carolina (New Bern)	February 7, 1788	a fortnight	Cooper	...is supposed to be lurking about Edmund Hatch's, jun. in Jones county.	N/A	N/A	\$20	N/A
Joe	M	Gazette, or Impartial Intelligencer and Weekly Advertiser (New Bern)	March 23, 1791	N/A	N/A	He is supposed to be lurking about Mr. Foy's, Mr. Witherspoon's or Swift-creek	18 or 19	N/A	\$15	Country born and talks good English
Rose	F	North-Carolina Gazette, or Impartial Intelligencer and Weekly Advertiser (New Bern)	March 29, 1794	6 months	N/A	...it is probable she is lurking about the town of Newbern, or over Trent	50	Very Black	\$10	Shout built; Has a scar over her right eye bone, a flesh mole on one of her ears, near as large as a pea

Name	Sex	Newspaper	Date	Time Gone	Job	Lurking Statement	Age	Race	Reward	Other Descriptions
Marcus	M	North-Carolina Gazette, or Impartial Intelligencer and Weekly Advertiser (New Bern)	April 26, 1794	1/2 month	N/A	...has been seen near Newbern, and is supposed to be lurking about that town	30	Black	5 Pounds	Has lost some of his foreteeth; Has been marked with the swatch
Jim	M	North-Carolina Gazette, or Impartial Intelligencer and Weekly Advertiser (New Bern)	April 30, 1796	1 month	N/A	... was hired last summer to Mr. David Murrell near Newbern, it is probable he may be lurking some place about Newbern and the other end [March] with him	25	Mulatto	\$5	Stout and well built; Has a remarkable large foot, and a small piece off one of his ears
March	M	North-Carolina Gazette, or Impartial Intelligencer and Weekly Advertiser (New Bern)	April 30, 1796	1 month	N/A	...may be lurking [with Jim] some place about Newbern	18	N/A	\$5	Stout and well built; His left hand was burnt when an infant, and has but his first finger and thumb
Jim	M	North-Carolina Gazette, or Impartial Intelligencer and Weekly Advertiser (New Bern)	May 21, 1796	1/2 month	N/A	...it is probable he is lurking about Newbern, or gone to Washington	25	Mulatto	\$10	Sickly complexion; Straight tied hair; Speaks good English

Name	Sex	Newspaper	Date	Time Gone	Job	Lurking Statement	Age	Race	Reward	Other Descriptions
Job	M	North-Carolina Gazette, or Impartial Intelligencer and Weekly Advertiser (New Bern)	January 21, 1797	N/A	N/A	...He was raised on the Eastern Shore of Maryland, and it is supposed he is lurking in, or about the neighborhood of Newbern, in order to get a passage to that Country, by water, under the character of a freeman	N/A	Mixling Black	\$10	Speaks plain English; Has a hoarse voice; Lost one of his upper teeth; Has a down look when spoken to
Isac	M	North-Carolina Gazette, or Impartial Intelligencer and Weekly Advertiser (New Bern)	February 25, 1797	N/A	Black-smash places till he meets some (pretty apt at captain, who will be base that business)	He has relations in the family of Mr. John Komegoy, on Trent, and acquaintances in Newbern, and about Mr. Southy Rew's on south river, and may lurk about these	19	N/A	\$20	A stout well looking fellow; Has large bold eye, tho' a mild countenance; Has been from his infancy a noted run away, and is highly fondled on each cheek with the letter A.
Jack	M	North-Carolina Gazette, or Impartial Intelligencer and Weekly Advertiser (New Bern)	February 24, 1798	1/2 month	N/A	...[With wife and 4 children] they are supposed to be lurking about the town of Newbern	N/A	N/A	5 l.	N/A
Tamer	F	North-Carolina Gazette, or Impartial Intelligencer and Weekly Advertiser (New Bern)	February 24, 1798	1/2 month	N/A	...[With husband and 4 children] they are supposed to be lurking about the town of Newbern	N/A	Yellow	5 l.	N/A

Name	Sex	Newspaper	Date	Time Gone	Job	Lurking Statement	Age	Race	Reward	Other Descriptions
Simbo	M	Newbern Gazette	August 15, 1800	9 months	Methodist Preacher	He is supposed to be lurking sometimes down Neuse river, and at others going up the same, and so he ranges through Craven, Jones, and Onslow counties	N/A	Black and Smooth	\$40	Can read and write; Smooth skin; Speaks very distinct
Abram	M	Carolina Federal Republican (Newbern)	March 16, 1809	9 months	N/A	It is supposed he is lurking about Mrs. Spaight's plantations on Brice's Creek	27	Yellow	\$50	likely
Jack	M	Newbern Herald	March 9, 1809	a few days ago	N/A	It is expected that he is lurking about Newbern	22	Very Black	\$10	N/A
John	M	Newbern Herald	May 13, 1809	1 month	Sailor	It is probable he is lurking about Wilmington or Newbern, or in the neighborhood of Mr. Edmond Hinch, jun. on Trent, in Jones county as he has a wife there ... he is acquainted along the sea coast from here to the Virginia, live and may lurk about Wilmington, Newbern, Edenton, or Beaufort, or perhaps get some retired place in the country	40	N/A	\$50	Down look; Has lost one of his upper fore teeth
Quako (John Brown)	M	Newbern Herald	November 27, 1809	10 days	Professes to be a Cooper and a Joiner and a Carpenter	I think it is probable that he is lurking about Newbern, and will endeavor to make his escape on board some Northward bound vessel	37	Dark Mulatto	\$40	Very stout made; Very artful; He can write
Sam	M	True Republican and Newbern Weekly Advertiser	November 21, 1810	1/2 month	N/A		27 or 28	Black	\$100	Legally outlawed; Stout thick set; Has very large feet; Wanted dead or alive

Name	Sex	Newspaper	Date	Time Gone	Job	Lurking Statement	Age	Race	Reward	Other Descriptions
Tom	M	True Republican and Newbern Weekly Advertiser	October 24, 1810	1/2 month	Blacksmith (Not Very Artful)	...it is understood he is lurking about Newbern. He was some days ago seen lurking about Newbern, where his father lives, and is no doubt there at this time, or in the County of Lenoir, where he was raised	25	Black	\$20	Tall and stout built
Dick	M	True Republican and Newbern Weekly Advertiser	February 19, 1811	2 months	Carpenter		22	Dark	\$25	Stout and well made; Has a scar on his upper lip
Cato	M	Carolina Federal Republican (Newbern)	February 29, 1812	1 month	N/A	It is supposed he is lurking about Newbern, or its vicinity	N/A	Black	\$10	Round shouldered; The lower part of his right ear cropped off
Ben	M	Carolina Federal Republican (Newbern)	June 13, 1812	3 months	N/A	... was lately seen lurking about in Jones County It is supposed she is lurking about Washington as she formerly belonged to Mr. Joel Dickenson of that place, and was a husband at Mr. James Remond's of Washington, by the name of Frank, belonging to the heirs of Thomas Blackledge	40	Dark	\$20	Thick set; Stoops very much
Louisa	F	Carolina Federal Republican (Newbern)	June 6, 1812	9 months	N/A		22 or 23	Rather of a Yellow	\$25	N/A
Louisa's Daughter	F	Carolina Federal Republican (Newbern)	June 6, 1812	9 months	N/A	With her mother, Louisa lurking near father	15 months	N/A	\$25	N/A

Name	Sex	Newspaper	Date	Time Gone	Job	Lurking Statement	Age	Race	Reward	Other Descriptions
Andrew	M	Carolina Federal Republican (Newbern)	April 3, 1813	5 days	N/A	...probably lurking about Newbern and its vicinity	N/A	Very Light Coloured Mulatto	\$20	N/A
Peter	M	Carolina Federal Republican (Newbern)	January 2, 1813	N/A	N/A	...keeps lurking about Newbern and its vicinity... Outlawed	N/A	N/A	\$25	Legally outlawed; Keeps lurking
Tom	M	Carolina Federal Republican (Newbern)	January 2, 1813	1/2 month	N/A	...it is supposed said fellow is lurking about that Town or in its vicinity, for he has a wife there	25	Very Dark	\$25	Has scar on one of his cheeks just below his eye
Charles	M	Carolina Federal Republican (Newbern)	April 30, 1814	1 month	N/A	...he was taken up and put in jail at Newbern about four years ago, it is supposed he is either a lurking about there, or in Washington	N/A	Very Black	\$20	Can read and write; Probable has a free pass; Can play on the violin; Shows guilt very remarkable by wrinkeling (sic.) his face when accused; Was taken up and put in jail at Newbern about four years ago
London	M	Carolina Federal Republican (Newbern)	April 9, 1814	8 days	N/A	...no doubt will be lurking about Newbern	N/A	High, Yellow	\$20	Very artful
Greely	M	Carolina Federal Republican (Newbern)	July 23, 1814	5 months	N/A	I think it is probable that he is lurking about in the neighborhood of Mr. Enoch Master's on South River	30	Very Black	\$30	Walks with his toes very much out

Name	Sex	Newspaper	Date	Time Gone	Job	Lurking Statement	Age	Race	Reward	Other Descriptions
Clarry	F	Carolina Federal Republican (Newbern)	May 7, 1814	6 months	Hired Out	...she was hired in Newbern by Donum Mumford last year - I have good information that she is now lurking about there ...and I am informed that his mother lives in Wilmington, where likely he may be lurking, or on Beaver Creek, he formerly belonged to William T. How, de'd, which family of Negroes he is of	N/A	Dark	\$15	Tall and stout made; note: "Mr. Hall, As the Fellow who signed the above, has no right or title to the above named negro, Clarry. I forbid any person from molesting said negro, or her CHILDREN; she has a right to maintain herself and children, until I call on her. Nicholas A. Bray (May 7, 1814)
Joe	M	Carolina Federal Republican (Newbern)	July 15, 1815	1 month	N/A	...he is lurking about the neighborhood of Trent Bridge and has a wife at Thomas Hall's on or near Island Creek, where I suppose he is lurking perhaps harboured	28	Black	\$10	Has toes a little in; Has a large scar on his right hand, occasioned by a burn; Has a small piece out of one ear by a bite; Is an arch sprightly fellow
Anthony	M	Carolina Federal Republican (Newbern)	May 30, 1815	N/A	N/A	It is supposed he is lurking about Newbern, and am told he has altered his dress, and wears a tanned hat, and it is believed that he will try to get on board of some vessel and make his escape out of the State	23 or 25	Yellowish	\$20	N/A
Caezar	M	Carolina Federal Republican (Newbern)	July 6, 1816	10 months	N/A		17	Yellow	\$50	Thick set; Well-grown; Full eyes

Name	Sex	Newspaper	Date	Time Gone	Job	Lurking Statement	Age	Race	Reward	Other Descriptions
Daniel	M	Carolina Federal Republican (Newbern)	July 6, 1816	3 months	N/A	...was raised up Neuse at the plantation of Mr. William Blackledge, above Cox's ferry, has a brother (a Pilot) at Ocracoke, by the name of Cain; it is likely he will be lurking about one or both of those places	N/A	Black	\$10	A low well-made fellow
Caezar	M	Carolina Federal Republican (Newbern)	July 6, 1816	3 months	N/A	...has a wife by the name of Demah, belonging to Mr. John Frazier, in Newbern, and no doubt he is lurking about there or on Trent and White Oak rivers	N/A	Black	\$50	Tall
Trusty	M	Carolina Federal Republican (Newbern)	October 19, 1816	3 months	N/A	The above Negroes are well known in the neighborhood, and on Durhams Creek, Beauford County, where they were raised, and it is supposed they are lurking about there (Family: Trusty, Dolly, Simon & Ben)	45	Black	\$10	A down look; Has a blemish in one of his eyes
Dolly	F	Carolina Federal Republican (Newbern)	October 19, 1816	3 months	N/A	The above Negroes are well known in the neighborhood, and on Durhams Creek, Beauford County, where they were raised, and it is supposed they are lurking about there (Family: Trusty, Dolly, Simon & Ben)	50	Yellow	\$10	Large and very corpulent

Name	Sex	Newspaper	Date	Time Gone	Job	Larking Statement	Age	Race	Reward	Other Descriptions
Simon	M	Carolina Federal Republican (Newbern)	October 19, 1816	3 months	N/A	The above Negroes are well known in the neighborhood, and on Durhams Creek, Beauford County, where they were raised, and it is supposed they are lurking about there (Family: Trusty, Dolly, Simson & Ben)	10	N/A	\$10	N/A
Ben	M	Carolina Federal Republican (Newbern)	October 19, 1816	3 months	N/A	The above Negroes are well known in the neighborhood, and on Durhams Creek, Beauford County, where they were raised, and it is supposed they are lurking about there (Family: Trusty, Dolly, Simson & Ben)	6	N/A	\$10	N/A
Dave	M	Carolina Federal Republican (Newbern)	December 13, 1817	2 months	N/A	...it is thought he is lurking about in the neighborhood of Tarborough, having a mother in that place.	37	N/A	\$30	Slender made; Somewhat Pock broken; Has a scar on the breast cut of with a knife, from appearance; A load of shot above his knee; Is sensible and cunning
Abram	M	Carolina Federal Republican (Newbern)	November 15, 1817	5 days	N/A	I expect they are lurking in Craven County on Neuse, where they have a number of connections (Family: Abram and Peg)	35	Yellow	\$40	Shoot well made fellow; Has lost some of his fore teeth; Is branded with the letters E.H. on his cheek
Peg	F	Carolina Federal Republican (Newbern)	November 15, 1817	5 days	N/A	I expect they are lurking in Craven County on Neuse, where they have a number of connections (Family: Abram and Peg)	25	Yellow	\$40	Spare made; A squint eye

Name	Sex	Newspaper	Date	Time Gone	Job	Lurking Statement	Age	Race	Reward	Other Descriptions
Mary (Charlotte)	F	Carolina Federal Republican (Newbern)	February 14, 1818	5 months	N/A	I understand she is lurking about Newbern and its vicinity...he has a wife at Mrs. Margaret Foy's, on Trent River, also has some relations at William S. Hill's on Whitesoak which it is very likely he will be lurking about some place or the other.	16	N/A	\$20	Thick built; Generally wears a pleasing countenance; Is very likely; Passes by the free name of Charlotte
Mmanuel	M	Carolina Federal Republican (Newbern)	January 3, 1818	1 month	N/A	...he is supposed to be lurking about Washington, N.C. or Lenoir County.	N/A	Dark	\$20	N/A
Isam	M	Carolina Centinel (New Bern)	July 25, 1818	1 month	N/A	He has been lurking about Vine Swamp, in this county, and about my own neighborhood - and has frequently been seen with a gun and other weapons for defense.	25	Dark	\$20	Stout built; Looks fierce w/out of his eyes
John	M	Carolina Centinel (New Bern)	May 16, 1818	2 months	N/A	He has a wife belonging to Mr. Eubanks, on White Oak, was formerly hired to Samuel Davis of Carteret County, had a wife belonging to W. Prescott on Hindnot's creek, and is probably lurking about that neighborhood... It is expected that he is armed	27	Dark	\$25	Lean face; Round body; Well made; Speaks plain; Can read tolerably well; Scar on one of his heels
Nero	M	Carolina Centinel (New Bern)	April 17, 1819	4 months	N/A		30	Yellowish	\$50	Impediment in his speech; Insolent in his address; Lost one of his upper fore teeth

Name	Sex	Newspaper	Date	Time Gone	Job	Lurking Statement	Age	Race	Reward	Other Descriptions
Jerry	M	Carolina Centinel (New Bern)	January 30, 1819	7 days	N/A	It is supposed he is lurking about Newbern, or Stourcumb's Creek, having relations at both places	23	Light	\$25	Slender
Gahgow	M	Carolina Centinel (New Bern)	March 13, 1819	3 days	N/A	He formerly belonged to the heirs of Hardy Hukins, was sold to the subscriber by Roger Jones, Adm'r of said Hukins, has a wife on Beaul's creek, and relations near Wilkinson's Point, at one of which places he is probably lurking	26	Dark	\$20	N/A
Ephraim	M	Carolina Centinel (New Bern)	March 27, 1819	1/2 month	N/A	...it is likely he will lurk about Newbern with a view of getting away in some vessel	N/A	Middling Black	\$10	Looks very sulky; Has a tooth which grows from the rough of the mouth, near the middle. He is a very ignorant fellow, but a good hand to work
Caezar	M	Carolina Centinel (New Bern)	November 27, 1819	3 months	N/A	He was purchased by Archibald McFayden of Stephen W. Winn, near Newbern, in whose neighborhood he is probably now lurking	45 or 46	N/A	\$20	Lofy carriage; Lips in his speech, particularly when angry or frightened; Left shoulder lower apparently than his right; Feet slender in proportion to their length, the large toes of his feet have been injured by cold
Sam	M	Carolina Centinel (New Bern)	August 26, 1820	1/2 month	N/A	It is supposed he is lurking about the plantation of Mr. John C. Stanly and between there and Kinston, near which place he has a sister	20	Black	\$20	Has a scar, occasioned by a cut, on or near one of his knees

Name	Sex	Newspaper	Date	Time Gone	Job	Lurking Statement	Age	Race	Reward	Other Descriptions
Collins	M	Carolina Centinel (New Bern)	July 1, 1820	6 months	N/A	He is supposed to be lurking about Newbern or Wilmington, waiting for an opportunity to go off on board a vessel ...he has acquaintance on Neuse River, Swift Creek, and Cotterman, at one of which places he is probably lurking	18	Yellow	\$25	Disfigured in his right fore finger by being mashed; Down look when spoken to
Nat	M	Carolina Centinel (New Bern)	November 25, 1820	10 months	N/A	I expect he is lurking about Newbern, where he has several acquaintances	N/A	Quite Black	\$50	Large flat nose; Very small ears; Stout made; Stutter very badly
Toney	M	Carolina Centinel (New Bern)	April 21, 1821	N/A	N/A	He has a wife at Mr. Gaston's Mills, where he is probably lurking	N/A	N/A	Liberal	Cut on his foot, which occasions him to walk lame
Tom Whitfield	M	Carolina Centinel (New Bern)	December 8, 1821	1 month	Painter	...has a wife at Mr. Edward Quin's in Washington, where he was last seen, and about which place I suspect he is lurking, as he is well known in that neighborhood	34 or 35	N/A	\$10	N/A
Gilford	M	Carolina Centinel (New Bern)	July 28, 1821	1/2 months	N/A	...lurking about Newbern, committing acts of felony, &c. (with Abrahm Sparrow)	22 or 23	Dark	\$10	Legally outlawed; Large scar on his head
Jim Randal	M	Carolina Centinel (New Bern)	June 2, 1821	N/A	N/A	...lurking about Newbern, committing acts of felony, &c. (with Jim Randal)	N/A	N/A	\$50	Legally outlawed
Abram (Abrahm Sparrow)	M	Carolina Centinel (New Bern)	June 2, 1821	N/A	N/A	...belongs to the estate of Williams Shepout, deceased, late of Newbern, in which place and its neighborhood he is well known, and where he is probably lurking	N/A	N/A	\$50	Legally outlawed
Mark (Mark Ralph)	M	Carolina Centinel (New Bern)	December 7, 1822	1/2 months	Carpenter		50	N/A	Reasonable	N/A

Name	Sex	Newspaper	Date	Time Gone	Job	Lurking Statement	Age	Race	Reward	Other Descriptions
Cot	M	Carolina Centinel (New Bern)	July 13, 1822	2 days	N/A	I expect he will be lurking about Snow Hill, in Greene county, as his father has his time, and lives in that vicinity	25	Black	\$25	N/A
Linkfield	M	Carolina Centinel (New Bern)	June 1, 1822	2 months	N/A	I expect he is lurking about Newbern or Wilmington	25	Mulatto	\$25	As likely as is commonly seen
Allen (Allen Woodward)	M	Carolina Centinel (New Bern)	May 18, 1822	2 weeks	House Carpenter	It is probable he will be lurking about Newbern as he carried a white woman there, with whom he was intimate as it was said	30	Yellow	\$50	Tolerable size; Very ingenious; Has lately been confined in the Newbern "goal"; Was whipped - his back is pretty much scarred
Hughes	M	Carolina Centinel (New Bern)	October 5, 1822	N/A	Caulker	... he is supposed to be lurking about the plantation of Mr. John R. Leigh, on White Oak, having a wife there	40	N/A	\$10	Walks a little lame
Charles	M	Carolina Centinel (New Bern)	April 12, 1823	1/2 month	N/A	He is probably lurking in the neighborhood of John Fonville, in Craven County, where he has a wife	40	N/A	\$25	Stammers a little
Humphrey	M	Carolina Centinel (New Bern)	April 12, 1823	1/2 month	N/A	It is believed that he is lurking about Mr. Blackledges plantation, in Lenoir County, where [he] has a wife	25	N/A	\$25	Has a down look
Jerry	M	Carolina Centinel (New Bern)	July 19, 1823	1 month	N/A	There is reason to believe that he is lurking about the plantation of Thomas Britle, on New-River, Onslow County, where he has a wife and other connexions	21 or 22	Mulatto	25 cents	N/A

Name	Sex	Newspaper	Date	Time Gone	Job	Lurking Statement	Age	Race	Reward	Other Descriptions
Jerry	M	Carolina Centinel (New Bern)	September 6, 1823	1/2 month	N/A	He has a wife at Simon's Foscue's, in my neighborhood, and a mother at Benjamin D. Gray's, on the Neuse Road, near the plantation of John C. Stuntz; about which places, and between them and Newbern, he will likely be found lurking	N/A	Mulatto	\$200	One leg more bowed than the other; Thin visage; Remarkable large feet; Artful, cunning, and rather impudent when spoken to
Dan	M	Carolina Centinel (New Bern)	December 4, 1824	5 days	N/A	He has a brother at the plantation of John F. Smith, Esq. on Brice's Creek, where he is probably lurking	18	Black	\$10	A pleasing countenance; Stammers when accused of any thing improper
Daniel	M	Carolina Centinel (New Bern)	January 24, 1824	1/2 month	N/A	I suspect he is lurking about Newbern, or Mr. Benners' plantation on Wilkenson Point	16	Mulatto	\$10	Has had his thigh broke; Limp particularly when he attempts to run
John	M	Carolina Centinel (New Bern)	July 24, 1824	1 month	N/A	I understand he is now lurking in the neighborhood of Clubfoot's Creek, endeavoring to effect his escape from the State	30	Yellowish	\$100	N/A
Aaron	M	Carolina Centinel (New Bern)	May 22, 1824	some weeks past	N/A	... is probably lurking about this town	N/A	Yellowish	\$5	Common size
Stella	F	Carolina Centinel (New Bern)	May 29, 1824	a few days ago	N/A	Stella and Jacob are probably lurking about this place, or Tarborough	35 or 37	Yellow	\$10	Ordinary size
Jacob (Stella's Son)	M	Carolina Centinel (New Bern)	May 29, 1824	a few days ago	N/A	Stella and Jacob are probably lurking about this place, or Tarborough	19	Yellow	\$10	Slender made, Has had his right hand burned so as to draw up his fingers

Name	Sex	Newspaper	Date	Time Gone	Job	Lurking Statement	Age	Race	Reward	Other Descriptions
Rachel	F	Carolina Centinel (New Bern)	December 3, 1825	1 year	N/A	She has a husband at Mr. James Harrison's, 13 miles above Trenton, where it is probable she is lurking.	40 or 45	Light	\$10	N/A
Tom (Tom Whitfield)	M	Carolina Centinel (New Bern)	December 3, 1825	2 years	House Painter	I expect he is lurking about Newbern, or some part of Craven County.	35 or 40	Dark	\$10	N/A
Lewis	M	Carolina Centinel (New Bern)	December 31, 1825	1/2 month	N/A	He formerly belonged to the late Richard Witherington, of Lenoir County, and is probably now lurking in that quarter, or in some of the neighbouring seaports towns.	25	Yellow	\$15	Has a scar on one side of his face; Speak very quick; Impudent fellow.
Berry	M	Carolina Centinel (New Bern)	June 25, 1825	5 months	N/A	It is supposed he is lurking about the plantations of John R. Dornell or of Richard D. Spaight, Esqrs, where he has connections.	27	N/A	\$25	Has a large scar on one of his shoulders.
Jarvis	M	Carolina Centinel (New Bern)	May 28, 1825	1/2 month	N/A	They have been traced to the vicinity of Newbern, about which they are probably lurking (Family: Jarvis, Viney & Son).	23	Black	\$20	Tall and slim.
Viney	F	Carolina Centinel (New Bern)	May 28, 1825	1/2 month	N/A	They have been traced to the vicinity of Newbern, about which they are probably lurking (Family: Jarvis, Viney & Son).	28	Yellow	\$10	Of small stature; Has a scar on one of her cheeks; Has lost one of her upper fore teeth.
Jarvis and Viney's Son	M	Carolina Centinel (New Bern)	May 28, 1825	1/2 month	N/A	They have been traced to the vicinity of Newbern, about which they are probably lurking (Family: Jarvis, Viney & Son).	18 months	N/A	N/A	Description of the child unnecessary, as it will doubtless be found with its mother.

Name	Sex	Newspaper	Date	Time Gone	Job	Lurking Statement	Age	Race	Reward	Other Descriptions
Martinda	F	Carolina Centinel (New Bern)	April 22, 1826	N/A	N/A	A particular description is deemed unnecessary as she well known in Newbern and its vicinity, where she is supposed to be lurking.	N/A	N/A	\$10	A particular description is deemed unnecessary as she is well known
Cato	M	Carolina Centinel (New Bern)	September 2, 1826	4 days	N/A	He is probably lurking in the neighborhood of Daniel Simmons, on South West or on Cypress Cree, or about Trenton	34	Dark	\$30	Has downcast look; Remarkably large feet
Dick	M	Carolina Centinel (New Bern)	September 2, 1826	1/2 month	N/A	...It is supposed he is lurking about the plantation of Mr. McDaniels, near Trent Bridge	N/A	Black	\$10	Tall slim fellow
Lilly	F	Carolina Centinel (New Bern)	September 30, 1826	7 months	N/A	These women are lurking about Newbern and its vicinity, where they are sufficiently known without a description	N/A	N/A	\$15	Sufficiently known without description
America	F	Carolina Centinel (New Bern)	September 30, 1826	1/2 month	N/A	These women are lurking about Newbern and its vicinity, where they are sufficiently known without a description	N/A	N/A	\$15	Sufficiently known without description
Brister	M	Carolina Centinel (New Bern)	April 7, 1827	2 days	N/A	It is supposed that he is lurking about Newbern or in its vicinity	26	Black	\$10	Large eyes
Aaron	M	Carolina Centinel (New Bern)	June 9, 1827	N/A	N/A	It is supposed that he is lurking about Newbern	40	Yellow	\$5	N/A
Cesnar	M	Carolina Centinel (New Bern)	March 3, 1827	2 months	N/A	It is supposed he is lurking about Newbern	20	Yellow	\$10	Thick set

Name	Sex	Newspaper	Date	Time Gone	Job	Lurking Statement	Age	Race	Reward	Other Descriptions
Ally	F	Carolina Centinel (New Bern)	March 3, 1827	3 months	N/A	It is supposed that she is lurking about town, or in the vicinity ... supposed to be lurking about Mr. Wright Stanley's plantation, as he has a wife there	35 or 40	Very Black	\$20	Stout large figure; Full in the face; Thick lips
Soleman	M	Carolina Centinel (New Bern)	May 5, 1827	N/A	N/A	He has a wife in Newbern - was formerly owned there, and is probably lurking about the Town	30	Yellow (nearly a mulatto)	\$10	N/A
Bate	M	Carolina Centinel (New Bern)	April 19, 1828	1/2 month	From Brickyard	He has a wife at Mr. William Barrows, on the road leading to Pembroke, in which neighborhood he may possibly be lurking	22	N/A	\$10	Scar near the right elbow, on his arm, from a burn
Gilbo	M	Carolina Centinel (New Bern)	August 9, 1828	N/A	N/A	It is believed that she is lurking about Newbern, as she has a mother living with Mrs. Ann M.L.M., a sister, the property of Judge Donnell, and several other relatives in town	25 or 30	Light	\$26	Has an impediment in his speech when closely interrogated
Sukey	F	Carolina Centinel (New Bern)	November 8, 1828	13 days	N/A	It is believed that he is lurking about either in Newbern, or the neighborhood of Slocumb's Cree, where he has relatives	28	Rather Light	\$25	At present (from appearance) a strict member of the Methodist Church
Jerry Randall	M	Newbern Spectator and Literary Journal	August 1, 1829	2 years	N/A	These negroes are believed to be lurking either in Jones or Carteret Counties	35	Quite Dark	\$25	Has a large scar on one of his shoulders has a scar on the cheek, having the appearance of being cut by a knife; A white spot on one of his eyes
Isaac	M	Carolina Centinel (New Bern)	July 25, 1829	1/2 month	N/A		24	Yellow	\$10	

Name	Sex	Newspaper	Date	Time Gone	Job	Lurking Statement	Age	Race	Reward	Other Descriptions
Peter	M	Carolina Centinel (New Bern)	July 25, 1829	1/2 month	N/A	These negroes are believed to be lurking either in Jones or Carteret Counties	18	Dark	\$10	N/A
Betty Hannah (Betty's Daughter)	F	Carolina Centinel (New Bern)	July 25, 1829	1/2 month	N/A	These negroes are believed to be lurking either in Jones or Carteret Counties	25	Dark	\$5	N/A
Jesse	M	Newbern Spectator and Literary Journal	July 25, 1829	1/2 month	N/A	These negroes are believed to be lurking either in Jones or Carteret Counties	7 or 8	Mulatto	\$5	N/A
Tom Whitfield	M	Carolina Centinel (New Bern)	May 2, 1829	3 months	N/A	This fellow's parents live in Jones County, this State, and he may probably be lurking there	30	Quite Black	\$25	Slender built; Knock-kneed; Statters somewhat when talking fast
Issue	M	Newbern Spectator and Literary Journal	October 24, 1829	3 months	N/A	...has commexions at Brice's Creek, where, or about Mr. Issue Taylor's plantation or in Newbern, he is probably lurking	40	Dark	\$25	Stout and well made
Tom	M	Newbern Spectator and Literary Journal	September 1829	Sometime since	N/A	He has been lurking about Newbern for some time past, and will no doubt endeavor to get on board of some vessel, in order to reach the Northern States	22 or 25	N/A	\$50	It is probable that he will alter his name, and perhaps attempt, by forged papers, to pass for a freeman; Well proportioned; Has very hollow feet; Has a brazen look
Moses	M	Newbern Spectator and Literary Journal	August 7, 1830	2 months	N/A	...it is more probable that he is lurking in the neighborhood of Spring Garden, or Newbern	30	Dark	\$20	When spoken to, has a rather down look
	M	Newbern Spectator and Literary Journal	August 7, 1830	2 months	N/A	It is probably lurking about Fort Barmwell, Core Creek, and Newbern	35	Very Black	\$10	Stout made

Name	Sex	Newspaper	Date	Time Gone	Job	Larking Statement	Age	Race	Reward	Other Descriptions
Isaac	M	Carolina Centinel (New Bern)	January 9, 1830	3 months	N/A	They are all lurking about Jones County, where they were raised and have many connexions	N/A	N/A	\$25	N/A
Calvin	M	Carolina Centinel (New Bern)	January 9, 1830	3 months	N/A	They are all lurking about Jones County, where they were raised and have many connexions	N/A	N/A	\$25	N/A
Juda	F	Carolina Centinel (New Bern)	January 9, 1830	8 months	N/A	They are all lurking about Jones County, where they were raised and have many connexions	N/A	N/A	\$35	Has since has a child
Ellis	M	Newbern Spectator and Literary Journal	July 10, 1830	1 month	N/A	It is understood that he is lurking in the neighborhoods of Trent Bridge, and the Cross Roads on White Oak	25	Dark	\$50	Slender form; Committing felonies
Peter	M	Carolina Centinel (New Bern)	May 1, 1830	N/A	N/A	I expect he is lurking about Newbern, or between Trent River and Bachelor's Creek	26	Black	\$5	Stout; Has a plain scar through his left eye brow
George	M	Carolina Centinel (New Bern)	May 8, 1830	3 months	N/A	He has a wife near the plantation of John B. Dawson, on Swth Creek, about which place and Newbern, he is probably lurking	N/A	Yellow	\$10	Very stout
Merinda	F	Newbern Spectator and Literary Journal	June 18, 1831	3 months	N/A	She formerly belonged to Mrs. Daves, and is probably lurking in the neighborhood of Newbern	30	Light	\$5	Slender made
Simon	M	Newbern Spectator and Literary Journal	May 7, 1831	1/2 month	N/A	He was purchased near Raleigh - and will probably be lurking in that neighborhood	N/A	Light	\$10	Stout made

Name	Sex	Newspaper	Date	Time Gone	Job	Lurking Statement	Age	Race	Reward	Other Descriptions
Aaron	M	Newbern Spectator and Literary Journal	May 7, 1831	1/2 month	N/A	He formerly lived in Edenston, where he has a wife, and it is supposed that he will be lurking in that neighborhood	45	Dark	\$10	Has lost some of his front teeth
Rachel	F	Newbern Spectator and Literary Journal	October 21, 1831	1/2 month	N/A	It is probable that she is lurking somewhere in Newbern or its vicinity	50	N/A	\$10	Has a sore mouth
Polly	F	Carolina Centinel (New Bern)	April 25, 1832	2 days	N/A	It is supposed she is in Newbern, or lurking about Slocomb's Creek, as her husband, Ezekiel Chance, a free man, resides thereon	N/A	Yellow	\$10	Tall slim woman
Ezekiel	M	Newbern Spectator and Literary Journal	February 17, 1832	9 months	House-Carpenter	He is probably lurking about the plantation of Michael N. Fisher, on Hamdock's Creek, about 25 miles from Newbern, where he has a wife	24	Dark	\$20	Can read and write tolerably well; May attempt to pass as a free man
Tempy	F	Carolina Centinel (New Bern)	December 20, 1833	N/A	N/A	Her mother lives in Newbern, and she has a husband at the plantation of Mr. John Burney on Broad Creek, about one of which places she is probably lurking	27 or 30	Light but darker than a Mulatto	\$10	N/A
Peter	M	Carolina Centinel (New Bern)	May 13, 1833	N/A	N/A	They are supposed to be lurking about either Slocomb's, Clubfoot's, or Coates' Creek	N/A	N/A	\$50	A description unnecessary
Sam	M	Carolina Centinel (New Bern)	May 13, 1833	N/A	N/A	They are supposed to be lurking about either Slocomb's, Clubfoot's, or Coates' Creek	N/A	N/A	\$50	A description unnecessary

Name	Sex	Newspaper	Date	Time Gone	Job	Lurking Statement	Age	Race	Reward	Other Descriptions
Chloe	F	Newbern Spectator and Literary Journal	December 25, 1834	N/A	House Servant	...is probably lurking about town - or perhaps she may be on the plantation of Mrs. Smith, below Newber	N/A	N/A	\$25	N/A
Toney	M	Newbern Spectator and Literary Journal	February 7, 1834	3 months	N/A	He has relations and friends in Curriet, and is probably lurking about Beaufort or the Straits	30	Black	\$100	Close made; Smooth skin
Bill	M	Newbern Spectator and Literary Journal	January 24, 1834	1/2 month	N/A	...probably lurking about New River, in Onslow County, where he has relations	60	Black	\$5	Stout made
Mary	F	Carolina Centinel (New Bern)	March 14, 1834	6 months	N/A	She is probably lurking in or about Newbern, or she may have gone to Hillsborough or Washington, at all or which place she has connections	12	Light	\$25	Well grown and likely
Daniel	M	Carolina Centinel (New Bern)	March 7, 1834	1 month	N/A	He is probably lurking about the town of Newbern with the intention of going on board of a vessel	35	Dark	\$30	Well proportioned and of a pleasing countenance
Jesse Morgan	M	Newbern Spectator and Literary Journal	April 24, 1835	1/2 month	N/A	He has connections on Chinquepi, in Jones county, and on Core Creek, in Craven County, at one of which places he is probably lurking	12	Mulatto	Reasonable	N/A
Caroline	F	Newbern Spectator and Literary Journal	December 25, 1835	6 months	N/A	It is understood that she has been lurking in the suburbs of the town for some time	15	Light Black	\$15	Talks very sensibly
Dick	M	Newbern Spectator and Literary Journal	July 24, 1835	1 month	N/A	He was raised in Jones County, and formerly belonged to Joseph King, of Newbern, where it is probable he is lurking	45 or 50	N/A	\$25	Straight and well proportioned

Name	Sex	Newspaper	Date	Time Gone	Job	Lurking Statement	Age	Race	Reward	Other Descriptions
Henry Oldfield	M	Carolina Centinel (New Bern)	November 4, 1835	6 months	N/A	He has connections on White Oak, in that county, and also in Onslow county, in which neighbourhoods he is probably lurking	30	Yellow	\$40	N/A
Simon	M	Carolina Centinel (New Bern)	November 4, 1835	2 months	N/A	He has connections on the plantations of George Wilson and Thos. J. Pasteur, Esqrs. - at one of which places he is probably lurking	28	Dark	\$40	Has an impediment in his speech, occasioned by the loss of his front teeth
Lucy	F	Carolina Centinel (New Bern)	November 4, 1835	N/A	N/A	They are supposed to be lurking about the plantation of General Dudley, in Onslow, or they may have gone to the plantation of Hosea Murray, in New Hanover County (with son York)	27	N/A	\$25	Small stature; Rather spare made; Has a small scar on her face; A down look
York (Lucy's Son)	M	Carolina Centinel (New Bern)	November 4, 1835	N/A	N/A	They are supposed to be lurking about the plantation of General Dudley, in Onslow, or they may have gone to the plantation of Hosea Murray, in New Hanover County (with mother Lucy)	13	N/A	\$25	Appears stollen when spoken to
Isaac	M	Carolina Centinel (New Bern)	December 14, 1836	1/2 month	N/A	It is probable he is lurking about Carr or Harlow's Creek	35	Black	\$35	N/A
Pollock	M	Carolina Centinel (New Bern)	November 2, 1836	4 months	N/A	He is probably lurking about J. C. Stanly's plantation on the Washington road, where his parent reside	19	Black	\$50	On first looking at any person, he looks straight, but if he continues to look any length of time he squints his one eye

Name	Sex	Newspaper	Date	Time Gone	Job	Lurking Statement	Age	Race	Reward	Other Descriptions
Frank Pilot	M	Newbern Spectator and Literary Journal	December 15, 1837	N/A	N/A	...formerly belonged to the late William Blackledge, Esq. was raised in Craven County, and lived for some time in Newbern, where he is not doubt lurking	50	Dark	\$10	Has been free since 1829; is now very prosperous, as heir as law of his late owner
Roxana	F	Newbern Spectator and Literary Journal	December 22, 1837	5 days	N/A	She is probably lurking about the plantation of Mr. Jno. Charlton, on Cove Creek, Craven County, where she has a husband, and a great many acquaintances	35	N/A	\$10	Has large white eyes; Has a rough, husky face, a mole under her chin; Has lost all her upper front teeth except two which are much decayed
Stampsom	M	Newbern Spectator and Literary Journal	December 8, 1837	1/2 month	N/A	He has a brother belonging to Daniel Williamson, (of this county,) and some connections in Newbern, where he may be lurking	30	Dark	\$50	Rather spare built; Small eyes; Has rather a downy look and a bad countenance
Horace	M	Newbern Spectator and Literary Journal	February 10, 1837	4 days	N/A	It also pretends to have a wife in the immediate vicinity of Trent Bridge, and may be occasionally lurking in that neighborhood	20	Crow Black	\$25	Visage rather thin, with small full eyes, aquiline nose, countenance rather prepossessing at first sight, but upon close examination is indicative of the most cunning malignancy; Swoops when walking; When his attention is suddenly attracted, the balls of his eyes protrude and expose a complete white circle around them
Jack	M	Spectator and Literary Journal	March 17, 1837	9 days	N/A	where well known and former residence	35 or 36	Light Black	\$10	Weights about one hundred and forty pounds

Name	Sex	Newspaper	Date	Time Gone	Job	Lurking Statement	Age	Race	Reward	Other Descriptions
Bob	M	Carolina Centinel (New Bern)	March 29, 1837	1/2 month	N/A	He is supposed to be lurking in the vicinity of Newbern or about the plantation of Thomas J. Pasteur, at Green Spring, about a mile below the town, where he has a wife	27	Quite Black	\$15	Stout-built
Halv	F	Newbern Spectator and Literary Journal	August 17, 1838	1 month	N/A	They are supposed to be lurking about George Garner's in Craven county, near Newbern	N/A	Nearly Black	\$15	Quite slim; Speaks very fast; Stammers when questioned particularly
Tyler	F	Newbern Spectator and Literary Journal	August 17, 1838	1 month	N/A	They are supposed to be lurking about George Garner's in Craven county, near Newbern	N/A	Nearly Black	\$15	N/A
Bob	M	Newbern Spectator and Literary Journal	January 12, 1838	11 months	N/A	He is believed to be lurking in the neighborhood or about Green Spring, where he has a wife	28	Black	\$25	Stout made
Sidney	F	Newbern Spectator and Literary Journal	June 15, 1838	1/2 month	N/A	... is probably lurking about the town	N/A	N/A	\$10	A description of her is deemed unnecessary
Antony	M	Newbern Spectator and Literary Journal	October 19, 1838	3 months	N/A	I think it highly probable that he is lurking about Newbern, as he was raised by a Mr. Hancock, & that place	N/A	N/A	\$50	Stout in proportion; Has some scars about his ankles, I believe; A fine looking negro
Washington	M	Newbern Spectator and Literary Journal	January 11, 1839	4 months	N/A	He formerly belonged to Jas. A. Averet, Esq., of Richlands, Onslow county, his relatives in Newbern and Raleigh, and is well acquainted in Kingston and Trenton - it is therefore probable that he is lurking in one of those places	28	Yellowish	\$100	Stout built; Has long bushy hair and prominent eyes; Is very intelligent; When spoken to answers promptly

Name	Sex	Newspaper	Date	Time Gone	Job	Lurking Statement	Age	Race	Reward	Other Descriptions
Isaac	M	Newbern Spectator and Literary Journal	October 11, 1839	1 year	Boating	He is supposed to be lurking between Newbern and Waynesboro, on the river, as he has been for several years employed by Lovick Fore of Wayne, in boating ... is probably lurking in or about Newbern, among her relatives, or on the plantation formerly owned by Jas. P. Daves, dec. ... but having acquaintances in the town of Washington and in Hyde County, he may perhaps be lurking in the neighborhood of one of those places	30	Very Black	\$50	Active; Intelligent
Maria	F	Newbern Spectator and Literary Journal	October 18, 1839	7 months	N/A	Leticia is probably lurking about Newbern, and Phillis in the neighborhood of Swift Creek	30	Dark	\$25	Is slow of speech when spoken to
Joe	M	Newbern Spectator and Literary Journal	August 1, 1840	on Monday night last	N/A	Leticia is probably lurking about Newbern, and Phillis in the neighborhood of Swift Creek	50	N/A	\$25	Slender form; Swoops a little
Leticia	F	Newbern Spectator and Literary Journal	December 16, 1840	a few days since	N/A	Leticia is probably lurking about Newbern, and Phillis in the neighborhood of Swift Creek	26	Yellow	\$10	N/A
Phillis	F	Newbern Spectator and Literary Journal	December 16, 1840	a few days since	N/A	He has relations on the north side of Bay River, in the neighborhood Blacksour, - and also in Beaufort county, in the neighborhood of Mr. Gabriel Roberson, - at one of which places he is probably lurking	22	Yellow	\$10	N/A
George	M	Newbern Spectator and Literary Journal	July 25, 1840	1/2 month	N/A		20	Very Black	\$15	Stout and well formed

Name	Sex	Occupation	Birth	Place	DOB	Age	Living Statement	Age	Sex	Residence	Other Occupations
		Business Representative and	July 14,				In a statement that I am well as far as I know, I have no knowledge of any other persons, and will probably make an attempt to get in the North in some way.	25	Male	1911	None
J. L.	M	Secretary	January 1, 1911		1936	25		25	Male	1911	None

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