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## Products of Circumstance: Eighteenth-Century Runaway Indentured Servant Advertisements in a Changing Atlantic World

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Products of Circumstance:  
Eighteenth-Century Runaway Indentured Servant Advertisements in a Changing Atlantic World

A thesis submitted in partial fulfillment  
of the requirements for the degree of  
Master of Arts in History

by

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Bachelor of Arts in History, 2012

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This thesis is approved for the recommendation to the Graduate Council.

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## **Abstract**

Although indentured servitude remained a viable source of labor in colonial America and eighteenth-century England, newspaper advertisements demonstrated the transformations of the perceptions associated with indentured servants in the midst of a changing Atlantic World. Not only were indentured servants perceived as a type of commodity in the rising consumerist culture of the eighteenth century; but, the perceptions of these individuals – reflected in runaway newspaper advertisements – changed depending upon the political, social, and economic circumstances in which they existed. The volatile nature of colonial life combined with the social, economic, and political implications of the changing Atlantic World, complicated the traditional colonial perception of an “other” and colonial America’s relationship with labor, indentured servants, and poor whites. Maintaining degrees of separation between the colonists and those defined as an “other” within the increasingly diverse colonies. Servitude in its various forms steadily increased throughout England as the changing Atlantic world created economic opportunities and cheaper access to luxury commodities such as servants for the middle class and the perception of an “other” shifted to exclude their colonial counterparts. Even as they maintained social control through the paradoxical nature of servitude and the intimate “othering” exemplified within the master-servant relationship. Although the layout of newspapers and the information included, at times, looked remarkably similar, the perceptions associated with indentured servitude vastly differed when placed in the context of the changing Atlantic World.

## **Acknowledgements**

This project stands as a testament to the education and knowledge I have gained as a graduate student of the J. William Fulbright History Department at the University of Arkansas. I am incredibly grateful for the dedication, persistence, and encouragement of my committee members, Dr. Freddy Dominguez, Dr. Jim Gigantino, and Dr. Caree Banton, as well as all the other professors in the department who have challenged and pushed my education. Although the purpose of this project is to meet the university and departmental requirements for completing a master's degree, researching perceptions of indentured servants in eighteenth-century newspapers has yielded something immensely more powerful. As I continue on into the doctoral program, my hope is to take the research I have established here and incorporate it into a broader analysis, an Atlantic world project.

However, I realize that my educational endeavors in the masters program have not been without a few growing pains, for myself and my family. As such, I would also like to acknowledge some of the amazing people in my life. I am thankful for my parents, Tammy and James Deuerling who have dutifully listened during times of hardships and proudly during my accomplishments; and, who have provided endless encouragement, support, and love through all the ups and downs of graduate school. To my family who has missed my absence at momentous events such as graduations and birthdays due to classwork, thank you for all of your unwavering love and support. Finally, I would like to acknowledge the love and support of my husband, Caleb, his patience, encouragement, and simple dedication towards my efforts in graduate school have made these past two years all the better!

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## Introduction

In the early eighteenth-century, facing poverty, hunger, and no connections, William Moraley boarded the *Bonetta* to travel across the Atlantic to arrive in Pennsylvania as an indentured servant.<sup>1</sup> Moraley and thousands of other indentured servants signed a contract guaranteeing their services to another individual for five to seven years. Traversing from England to colonial America, many indentured servants became disillusioned in the competitive, volatile climate of colonial America. Among various advertisements for eloped wives, lost cattle, or merchandise for sale, newspapers in England and colonial America contained hundreds of advertisements for runaway indentured servants. These advertisements reflect how the changing Atlantic world influenced transformations within the political, social, and economic climates of England and colonial America. For example, they demonstrate patterns in consumerism in England and colonial America, especially in notices alerting the public of disobedient servants who abandoned their contracts and threatened the status quo. The masters who fashioned the advertisements found in newspapers such as *The Pennsylvania Gazette* or *The Leeds Intelligencer*, tried not only to reacquire their fugitive servants or slaves but fashioned language to manipulate perceptions of the indentured servant, projecting the master's perception of them as an "other." The perception of an individual as an "other" could be intimate, such as the relationship between master and servant in England, or more direct such as the perceptions of Irish indentured servants in colonial America. Regardless, when combined with the influences of the changing Atlantic world and the rise of consumerism, newspaper advertisements proved a valuable tool for masters, reflecting socially perceived "others" in eighteenth-century England and colonial America.

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<sup>1</sup> William Moraley, *The Infortunate: The Voyages and Adventures of William Moraley, and Indentured Servant*. (Pennsylvania Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1992). 17.

The transformations that occurred within the institution of indentured servitude throughout the early modern period correlated to the social, political, and economic transformations of a society. With the establishment of the English colonies in the seventeenth-century and the rise of the Atlantic World, indentured servitude evolved in relation to the variety of changes occurring within the new transatlantic connections. In England, indentured servitude originated as a necessary institution for employing the poorer classes while colonial America relied on indentured servitude as a reliable form of cheap labor in the labor starved seventeenth and early eighteenth-centuries. Unlike Moraley's story, few sources directly from indentured servants survived throughout the years. However, newspaper advertisements provide a unique perspective into their past as they exist in mass quantities and act as a written snapshot of perception at a given moment in time. Analyzed in large samples within the context of the changing Atlantic world, these sources can shed light on the evolution of consumer trends, transforming perceptions on specific groups of individuals such as indentured servants, and even changing methods of community policing. As such, a large portion of the established historiography referencing indentured servants within the eighteenth-century relies on their abundant presence in newspaper advertisements.

In conjunction with economic historian Farley Grubb's work on indentured servitude, T.H. Breen's analysis of changing market conditions in late Colonial America and the various works of Gary Nash on colonial and pre-Revolutionary America, demonstrate the connections between consumerism, indentured servants, and the flexibility of colonial perceptions of an "other." The works of these three historians provided a necessary foundation on the growing consumerist culture of colonial America. Specifically, Gary Nash's work *The Urban Crucible* and T.H. Breen's *The Marketplace of Revolution* demonstrated the colonists growing reliance on

a consumer culture with what Nash declared the “disadvantages of the British mercantile connection.”<sup>2</sup> Throughout the eighteenth-century episodic events such as the 1769 boycott after the Townshend duties or the Boston Tea Party served as examples for colonists to exercise their consumerist power against England’s commercial monopoly and advertisements for runaway indentured servants reflected the increased awareness of consumer choice.

Advertisements published within a few years of these events demonstrated indentured servants awareness of the social, political, and economic changes occurring in eighteenth-century America as servants potentially targeting specific items such as homespun for thefts.

Furthermore, the incredibly detailed inventory lists of clothing contained in the advertisements reflected the master’s knowledge and engagement with the colonies consumer culture.

Additional works by American historians such as Ira Berlin, Kathleen Brown, and Jill Lepore demonstrated the flexibility of the perception of “other” as it transformed in relation to the changing Atlantic world and the volatile climate of colonial America. Berlin, for instance, argued as the social constructs of race, gender, and class fluctuated, it caused a resulting change over time, place, and peoples’ labor arrangements. How colonists perceived themselves and perceived others evolved parallel to the evolution of the colonial experience. In the volatile and unpoliced climate of colonial America, English colonists maintained their civility by defining themselves against individuals deemed barbarous and uncivilized such as the Irishman found in the advertisements of colonial America. Nevertheless, none of these works focused entirely on indentured servitude, instead the historians presented indentured servitude as a smaller part of their larger argument.

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<sup>2</sup> Gary Nash, *The Urban Crucible: Social Change, Political Consciousness, and the Origins of the American Revolution*. (Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press, 1979). 147.



On the other hand, works by English historians such as Bridget Hill, J. Jean Hecht, and Lorna Weatherill focused on servitude, but failed to analyze the perceptions of indentured servants in newspaper advertisements or analyzed specifically the perceptions of indentured servants who remained in England. Published prior to the twenty first century, Hecht and Hill's works on the servant class in eighteenth-century England are considered the leading works on servitude in England. Almost all the other works presented on servitude in eighteenth-century England referenced these two works at least once. However, their analysis on servitude poses two problems. Firstly, the works contradict each other as Hecht and Hill's works disagree on the gendered nature of servitude. While Hecht claims it is overtly masculine, Hill argues it grew increasingly feminized over the eighteenth-century. Secondly, the works focus almost entirely on domestic servitude which is just one of the many definitions of English servitude.

Nevertheless, when combined with more recent scholarship such as Weatherill's *Consumer Behavior and Material Culture in Britain, 1660-1760* along with economic and law based analyses such as Douglas Hay and Paul Craven's *Masters, Servants, and Magistrates in Britain and the Empire, 1562-1955*, the relationship between indentured servitude in eighteenth-century England and the rising consumerist culture becomes clearer. Where Hecht and Hill focused almost entirely on domestic servitude, Hay and Craven's work analyzed the legal and political transformations of indentured servitude that correlated to the changing legal and political climate of England and its colonies. Whereas Weatherill's work analyzed the relationship between consumerism and servitude. Finally, Linda Colley's work *Briton's: Forging the Empire 1707-1837*, analyzes the various political and social changes that England experienced throughout early modern period that reflected in the transformations of England's perception of an "other."

As clothing, physical appearance, trade, and the demographics of servitude represent major themes throughout the variety of servant and slave advertisements, numerous works have been published analyzing these themes within the broader themes of master and servant perceptions, colonial consumerism, and colonial authority. Older works such as Lewis Coser's "Servants: The Obsolescence of an Occupational Role" published in the late twentieth-century demonstrated the paradoxical nature of the master servant relationship within England. However, as consumerism in England and colonial America increased within the context of the changing Atlantic world, many historians such as Farley Grubb have analyzed the economic history of indentured servitude and its relationship to growing consumerism, including the economics of running away. Due to the sheer number of advertisements and the fluctuating nature of labor in colonial America many historians such as David Waldstreicher analyzed runaway servant and slave advertisements together. By doing so, historians demonstrate the perception of individuals who subverted the status quo while also demonstrating the growing contrast of perceptions regarding poor white servants and African slaves. However, recent articles demonstrating new analytical perspectives on advertisements such as Gwenda Morgan and Peter Rushton's "Visible Bodies" who used gaze theory to analyze the significance of the master's and society's gaze in constructing the runaway advertisements have been published.<sup>3</sup> Regardless of the length of the analysis, either book or journal, the secondary literature provided a context necessary for analyzing the relationship between the changing perception of indentured servants and defining a social "other" within the broader context of the changing Atlantic world.

Even with the wealth of secondary literature, analyzing indentured servitude within an Atlantic world context presents its own challenges. Although a rising trend in historical research,

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<sup>3</sup> Morgan and Rushton, "Visible Bodies: Power, Subordination and Identity in the Eighteenth-Century Atlantic World." *Journal of Social History* 39, no. 1 (2005): 40-42.

the ambiguity in defining an Atlantic world remains a point of contention for historians.<sup>4</sup> The Atlantic world represents an exchange of ideas, people, and goods in and around the Atlantic ocean and the Atlantic's interconnectedness resulted in fluctuating and permeable societal boundaries.<sup>5</sup> In other words, the directional movement of goods, ideas, or people did not follow a set trajectory and the political, social, or economic transformations resulting from the changing Atlantic world occurred differently within central locales such as Boston, or more peripheral places such as Florida.<sup>6</sup>

While more advanced scholarship analyzed upwards of a thousand advertisements or more, this project includes nearly one hundred primary sources published between 1720 and 1750. Although the sources represented here consist primarily on an analysis of runaway advertisements, a few newspaper articles regarding current events and pamphlet literature intended for the education of indentured servants published during the eighteenth-century have also been included. Instead of a broader analysis, this work is framed as a comparison of indentured servitude, its relationship to consumerism, and perceptions of indentured servants as an "other" within colonial America and eighteenth-century England. For colonial America, the sources derive from runaway advertisements located in Pennsylvania and Boston as indentured servitude continued to exist in these colonies throughout the eighteenth century whereas in places like Virginia, the institution of slavery began to replace indentured servitude by the end of the seventeenth-century. Sources from England are derived from newspapers throughout the entirety of the Kingdom of Great Britain including runaway advertisements published in

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<sup>4</sup> Alison Games, "Atlantic History: Definitions, Challenges, and Opportunities" *American Historical Review*, (June 2006): 745.

<sup>5</sup> Philip Morgan and Jack Greene, *Atlantic History: A Critical Appraisal*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008). 9.

<sup>6</sup> Eric Hinderaker and Rebecca Horn, "Territorial Crossings: Histories and Historiographies of the Early Americas," *The William and Mary Quarterly*, (July 2010): 398.

Scotland newspapers and two pamphlets published as educational materials for indentured apprentices in the eighteenth-century. The varied nature of servitude in England contrary to the almost singular definition of indentured servitude in colonial America, contributed to the wider geographical area of newspaper advertisements used for analysis.

As a comparative analysis, this work is organized accordingly and includes three main chapters. The first chapter, “Rise of the Atlantic World” is organized chronologically and describes the political, social, and economic changes that occurred with the establishment of the American colonies and the rise of the Atlantic world in the seventeenth-century. This initial chapter provides the reader with the context necessary to understand the influences of the changing Atlantic world on the relationships between indentured servitude, consumerism, and the transforming perceptions of an “other” within England and colonial America. The following chapters are organized thematically and are separated into colonial America and England. Chapter two “Hiding in Plain Sight” focuses on runaway indentured servant advertisements published within Boston and Pennsylvania. Unlike the advertisements in eighteenth-century England, the majority of runaway indentured servant advertisements focused on Irish indentured servants, and when placed within the context of the changing Atlantic world, the language of the advertisements demonstrates the ways in which colonists maintained degrees of separation from themselves and a perceived “other” such as the Irish. Chapter three “Forgiving Transgressions” analyzes runaway indentured servant and apprentice advertisements throughout England and Scotland. Unlike the distinct language and descriptions used to project the masters perceptions in the colonial American advertisements, the advertisements for runaway indentured servants in England contained more nuanced language pertaining to the indentured servant. When combined with the pamphlet literature intended to educate servants on appropriate behavior during their

contracts, the nuanced language of the advertisements demonstrates the paradoxical nature of servitude and an intimate social “othering” in eighteenth-century England.

As the changing Atlantic world profoundly transformed the cultures, societies, and people it touched, analyzing indentured servitude, consumerism, and the transforming perceptions of “others” contextualized within the Atlantic world, will shed light into the dark corners of history only beginning to brighten with the rising trend of Atlantic world scholarship.

## Chapter One: The Rise of the Atlantic World

Throughout the seventeenth-century, England's political, social, and economic climate evolved with the establishment and growth of its colonies in colonial America. The founding of Jamestown in 1607 birthed the connections, exchanges, and relationships of the Atlantic world. As a result, the traditional English institution of indentured servitude and its relationship to the perception of an "other," evolved with the changing social, political, and economic circumstances of England and colonial America in the seventeenth-century. While major events such as the English Civil War in 1640 and the Glorious Revolution of 1688 transformed the economic, political, and social climate of England altering indentured servitude and the socially perceived "others;" as early as 1619, the Virginia Company manipulated elements of the traditional English indentured servitude to better fit the volatile, ungoverned climate of Jamestown and in turn, created the space for a newly defined social "other" in colonial America.<sup>1</sup> As the social, political, and economic climate of England and colonial America continued to evolve with the rise of the Atlantic world and the beginning transformations of a freer market, indentured servitude and the perception of an "other" transformed accordingly.

Prior to the founding of colonial America and the growth of labor as a market, the individual relationship with labor in England began to transform during the early seventeenth-century. In rural areas throughout England, the fragments of feudal subordination from previous centuries in farming villages continued to dissipate or were abolished entirely encouraging the mobility of townspeople.<sup>2</sup> Interest in agriculture and service in husbandry declined throughout England as individuals from all over Europe migrated to urban centers such as London to engage

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<sup>1</sup> Galenson, David W. "The Rise and Fall of Indentured Servitude in the Americas: An Economic Analysis." *The Journal of Economic History* 44, no. 1 (1984): 5.

<sup>2</sup> Salerno, Anthony. "The Social Background of Seventeenth-Century Emigration to America." *Journal of British Studies* 19, no. 1 (1979): 41.

in the growing lucrative business of British manufacturing.<sup>3</sup> However, the boom in England's population due to migration and natural causes at the turn of the sixteenth-century combined with periodic famines and increased rents, exacerbated the price of foodstuffs – at times rising upwards of five hundred percent – and escalating poverty levels as underemployment surged in both rural and urban locations.<sup>4</sup> Faced with the growing number of the poverty stricken masses, local authorities took it upon themselves to not only supervise but ensure poor individuals engaged in some form of contracted labor.<sup>5</sup> Nevertheless, as poor individuals continued to flood urban centers looking for work only to remain unemployed and homeless, the founding of colonial America in 1607 provided the poor with an alternative to the hopelessness witnessed in England.

Within the first decade of the colony's existence, the colony established by the Virginia Company in the Chesapeake Bay struggled to survive economically and socially. While Jamestown remained easily defensible due to its location on the Chesapeake River, the colony remained prone to flooding and persistent attacks by Native Americans. Furthermore, the colonists arrived too late in the season to plant and grow crops and starvation exacerbated the already volatile climate of the colony. Nevertheless, the English monarchy granted the Virginia Company land in the Americas in exchange for the profits from newly established colonial industries. As such, the Virginia Company transformed the traditional English institution of indentured servitude to better fit the problems of colonization in colonial America. Indentured servitude represented a viable labor source that not only promoted England's colonization efforts through the immigration of European individuals, but the use of indentured labor promoted

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<sup>3</sup> Simon P. Newman, *New World of Labor: The Development of Plantation Slavery in the British Atlantic*. (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2013). 18.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.* 23.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*

economic growth and the profitability of crops in colonial America. Should the colony experience a less productive crop year or witness a decline in the economy, the flexible nature of indentured servitude allowed planters to buy or sell the remaining years of a servant's contract, increasing the demand for indentured labor.<sup>6</sup> By 1619, Virginia witnessed a boom in the tobacco industry, demand for cheap labor skyrocketed and the first one hundred individuals under indentured contracts representative of the indentured contracts in the eighteenth-century, arrived on American soil.<sup>7</sup>

Even in the late sixteenth-century prior to the establishment of Jamestown, the Virginia colony became the designated safe haven for England's poverty stricken masses.<sup>8</sup> Foreign diseases prevalent in North America further hindered economic and population growth in Virginia as hundreds of immigrants succumbed to the volatile climate of colonial America. In the early years of colonial Virginia's existence, African slaves and European indentured servants who survived North American diseases worked and lived alongside each other, assimilating the Virginia identity and sharing many of the rights and responsibilities as the Virginia colonists. While servitude and slavery remained fundamentally different, many African slaves arriving in Virginia gained or bought their freedom and became active members of Virginia society. Nevertheless, as the supply of labor fluctuated and servants and slaves arrived in Virginia, poor immigrants arriving under indentured contracts earned their freedom, the opportunity to establish their own household, and the potential to employ indentured servants of their own in colonial Virginia after serving a term of five or seven years. The cycle of labor in relation to indentured servitude in colonial America in the early seventeenth-century, ultimately increased colonial

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<sup>6</sup> Galenson, "The Rise and Fall of Indentured Servitude in the Americas: An Economic Analysis." 10.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.* 6.

<sup>8</sup> Morgan, "Slavery and Freedom." 16.



populations and encouraged economic growth. As the growing number of farmers required more laborers for producing more raw materials, those laborers gained their freedom became farmers themselves and continued the cycle. However, as the seventeenth-century progressed and the tobacco production increased, Virginia relied more heavily on slave labor.<sup>9</sup>

The relationship between cheap labor and increased crop production resulted in a profitable market for indentured labor as English merchants attempted to keep up with colonial America's steadily increasing demand for labor.<sup>10</sup> Newspapers throughout England contained advertisements enticing Irishmen, Scotsmen, and Englishmen to sign indentured contracts in exchange for land, money, or the prospect of the "American Dream." Public spaces like coffee houses cropped up across England and colonial America encouraging broader discussions of the politics and gossip contained in newspapers and created a space for business deals regarding consumer goods such as indentured or slave labor.<sup>11</sup> Hundreds of English merchants participated in the indentured labor market, driving increases in the economy of both England and colonial America.<sup>12</sup> According to David Galenson's article "The Rise and Fall of Indentured Servitude in the Americas: An Economic Analysis," anywhere from half to sixty-five percent of European immigrants arrived to the colonies under indentured contracts after the 1630s, and plantation colonies like Virginia consisted of nearly seventy-five percent of indentured servants.<sup>13</sup> Print media and the creation of public spaces ultimately allowed consumers, merchants, and producers to engage in the growing consumer culture influenced by the rise of the Atlantic world. By

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<sup>9</sup> Edmund Morgan, "Slavery and Freedom: The American Paradox." *The Journal of American History* 59, no. 1 (1972): 16-19.

<sup>10</sup> Galenson, "The Rise and Fall of Indentured Servitude in the Americas." 8.

<sup>11</sup> Steven Pincus, *1688: The First Modern Revolution*, (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2009.) 77-78.

<sup>12</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>13</sup> Galenson, "The Rise and Fall of Indentured Servitude in the Americas." 9.

simply listening to discussions or interacting with others, the coffeehouse and print media disseminated news and information on products, prices, and politics. Furthermore, the competing markets established by the growing connections of an Atlantic world presented a unique opportunity for individuals to act not only as independent consumers but also independent producers and buyers as well. Although French entrepreneurs Guillaume and Francois Billy, introduced in Robert Harms work *The Diligent*, made zero profit in their ventures with the slave trade, the economic climate of the sixteenth-century allowed for individuals like the Billy brothers to test their fortunes in the rapidly growing labor market.<sup>14</sup>

Economies and markets throughout England and colonial America reflected the economic boom and the growing engagement with consumers. Not only coffeehouses, in the late seventeenth-century, England and colonial American consumers acquired a variety of cultural amenities. Gas street lamps lit the streets of London beginning in the 1680s and pleasure gardens built by English elites created safe spaces for public walks, picnics, and leisurely activities.<sup>15</sup> As England continued to experience economic growth, rural culture grew increasingly obsolete as urban and commercial society influenced cultural and social trends.<sup>16</sup> The emphasis on urban and commercial society in the seventeenth-century reflected in the increasing engagement with consumer choice in colonial America as well.<sup>17</sup> The Dutch provided the colonists with a competitor to English merchants, allowing colonists to act as engaged consumers and control the prices for raw exports and material good imports. Due to lower shipping costs, Dutch merchants

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<sup>14</sup> Robert Harms, *The Diligent: A Voyage Through the Worlds of the Slave Trade*. (New York: Basic Books, 2002.) xiv and xvii.

<sup>15</sup> Pincus, 1688. 68.

<sup>16</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>17</sup> Christian J. Koot, *Empire at the Periphery: British Colonists, Anglo-Dutch Trade, and the Development of the British Atlantic, 1621-1713*. (New York: New York University Press, 2011). 36.

maintained an advantage over the English, offering more for colonial tobacco and offered English manufactured goods such as apothecary jars, flour, and beer at cheaper prices.<sup>18</sup> However, at the turn of the seventeenth-century, England implemented the Navigation Acts restricting colonial trade and outlawing non-English imports.<sup>19</sup> Only when the legal ramifications outweighed the monetary benefit did England regain tenuous authority over the colonial markets.

As a type of consumer product the massive influx of indentured servants, in conjunction with the increased competition for labor, and the related conflicts among immigrants and poor whites, challenged the perception of an “other” and led to the formation of racial constructs in colonial America.<sup>20</sup> During the first century of colonial America’s existence, the perception of race changed in order to maintain degrees of separation from the English settlers and those defined as inferior, whether that be Indians, indentured servants, or eventually, slaves.<sup>21</sup> As some of the first European interactions in colonies, conflicts with Indians transformed traditional English assumptions of an “other” as racial constructs expanded to include Indians. Demonstrated in the victimization of the English through the exaggerated images of Indian raids contained in newspapers, pamphlets, and letters, the racialization of Indians validated English superiority but also reaffirmed their civilized Englishness despite the ungoverned, volatile circumstances in which they lived.<sup>22</sup> The language of disgust used to establish the English as victims in print media also existed in physical encounters besides conflict as both Indians and the English perceived cultural differences with disgust. For example, Pennsylvania colonists

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<sup>18</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>19</sup> *Ibid.* 70-88.

<sup>20</sup> Morgan, "Slavery and Freedom: The American Paradox." 24.

<sup>21</sup> Ira Berlin, *Many Thousands Gone: The First Two Centuries of Slavery in North America*. (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2003). 12-14.

<sup>22</sup> Peter Silver, *Our Savage Neighbors: How Indian War Transformed Early America*. (New York: W. W. Norton & Company, 2008). xix.

compared the Iroquois eating meat to a pack of wolves, while the Indians remained vehemently disgusted by the English's greed for land.<sup>23</sup>

The perceptions of Native Americans as barbarous and savage derived from interactions among the English and Irish throughout the sixteenth and seventeenth-century. England's colonization efforts in Munster in 1582 emphasized the savage nature of the Irish and demonstrated English superiority represents one such example. Similar to later interactions with Native Americans, the English developed towns and fields in scientifically designated locations in Munster reflected the intellectual, cultural, and social advantage of the English over the nomadic farming Irish.<sup>24</sup> However, the Irish rejections of English agricultural and architectural techniques only served to validate English superiority who perceived the rejection as a primitive savagery representative of England's archaic past.<sup>25</sup> Nevertheless, in an effort to maintain separation from the civilized identity of the English in the volatile ungoverned climate of colonial America and its savage inhabitants, colonists defined themselves against the barbarity of their Indian neighbor. Events such as King Phillip's War in 1675, legitimized the superiority of the English while also emphasizing the tenuous separation between the colonists and the Indians.<sup>26</sup> Although the English did not physically participate in the barbarity reflected in the Indian ritual killings of traitors or criminals, the English's unprotested observance of such events mirrored the perceived cruelty of the Native Americans.<sup>27</sup> As the seventeenth-century progressed and the English population in colonial America increased, the separation between Indian and

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<sup>23</sup> James H. Merrell, *Into the American Woods: Negotiators on the Pennsylvanian Frontier*. (New York: W.W. Norton & Company, 1999). 154-158.

<sup>24</sup> John Patrick Montaña, *The Roots of English Colonialism in Ireland*. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011). 269.

<sup>25</sup> *Ibid.* Pg. 387.

<sup>26</sup> Silver, *Our Savage Neighbors*. 13.

<sup>27</sup> *Ibid.* 5.

Indian's hardened. By insisting on written treaties or communications, Pennsylvania colonists subverted the Delaware Indian's attempt to retain authority in Pennsylvania, successfully excluding the illiterate Indians.<sup>28</sup> While Indians represented an external "other" that established a unified English mentality in the volatile climate of colonial America, the influx of European indentured servants created a more internal threat.

The interactions between Irish and English in Munster in 1582 demonstrated the English perceptions of the wild Irish and reflected in perceptions of Irish indentured servants as an "other" in colonial America during the seventeenth-century. While England's efforts in Munster in 1582 validated English perceptions of superiority, traditional Irish culture remained the popular majority despite England's colonization efforts in Ireland. However, events such as the English Civil War and the Glorious Revolution of 1688, transformed England's political and social climate effectively validating the English perception of the Irish's racial inferiority. During the ten years of the English Civil War beginning in 1640, citizens and officials purged papal iconoclasm from churches throughout England.<sup>29</sup> Furthermore, with the glorious revolution in 1688, many Irish individuals fought to maintain the throne of James II. The atrocities committed by the Irish in the name of the Catholic King depicted in English print media, such as burning towns and shooting into a crowded church, stoked fear of the Irish throughout England.<sup>30</sup> Whether religious, political, or cultural, the efforts to replace Catholic symbols during the English Civil War and the Irish support of James during the revolution in 1688 justified perceptions of the Irish as an "other" in England during the seventeenth-century. Mirroring the social climate of England and derived from earlier English perceptions of the Irish as a racial

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<sup>28</sup> Merrell, *Into the American Woods*. 216.

<sup>29</sup> Leora Auslander, *Cultural Revolutions: Everyday Life and Politics in Britain, North America, and France*. (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2009.) 53.

<sup>30</sup> Pincus, *1688*. 247.

“other,” pushed individuals of Irish and German heritage to the fringes of civil society. Furthermore, the close proximity of African slaves and European indentured servants in the Chesapeake region during first half of seventeenth-century blurred racial lines and emphasized the colonial perceptions of the Irish as a racialized “other.”<sup>31</sup> However, the colonial relationship to slavery in the seventeenth-century in Pennsylvania differed from that of Virginia.<sup>32</sup>

The pivotal moment of racial construction in Virginia occurred during Nathaniel Bacon’s Rebellion in 1670. Although indentured servitude represented the majority of the labor supply for colonial America in the early seventeenth-century, the numbers of indentured servants fluctuated as the economic, political, and social climate of European countries fluctuated and either enticed individuals to stay or pushed them to immigrate. As a result, slave labor increasingly supplemented indentured labor to meet colonial America’s growing labor demands. However, the rising number of poor freedmen – both servant and slave – combined with the competitive volatile climate of colonial America, exacerbated individual discontent and led to the uprising known as Bacon’s Rebellion.<sup>33</sup> Edmund Morgan’s analysis of Bacon’s Rebellion demonstrated the construction of race in colonial Virginia as colonists established a direct link between race, slavery, and labor. By enfranchising the poor white immigrants and freedmen, Virginia colonists ultimately “differentiated them from their black laborers” Morgan stated, and began the transformation to a race based society.<sup>34</sup> Whereas the rapidly increasing diversity of the Pennsylvania colonies reflected in the social “othering” of Irish and German immigrants, Bacon’s Rebellion represented a flashpoint event for transforming perceptions of race in colonial. The existing social, political, and economic environment necessary for Nathaniel

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<sup>31</sup> Berlin, *Many Thousands Gone*. 29.

<sup>32</sup> Morgan, "Slavery and Freedom: The American Paradox." 28.

<sup>33</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>34</sup> *Ibid.*

Bacon's Rebellion in 1670 could not be exactly replicated in colonies such as New York or Boston, resulting in vastly different racial dynamics throughout colonial America.

The difference in racial constructs in Virginia and Pennsylvania during the seventeenth-century demonstrated the flexibility of racial constructs throughout colonial America. Whether Indian, Irish, or slave, the racialization of "others" provided a basis for defining English civilization in the volatile and ungoverned climate of colonial America. As racial constructs fluctuated to maintain degrees of separation from English and the perceived non-English, the racialization of an "other" such as the Indians provided colonists with a common identity. Nevertheless, as the rising Atlantic world encouraged economic growth and labor demands in colonial America continued to be unabated, English merchants capitalized on the lucrative prospects of the slave trade and Africans represented a new "other." The Atlantic triangle loosely followed the English merchants who brought trade goods to Africa, then traversed to America carrying slaves, and arrived back to Europe with the raw materials such as tobacco produced in colonial America.<sup>35</sup> In the early beginnings of the slave trade in colonial America, English ships gathering sugar in the Caribbean islands on the second part of the three legged journey, picked up individuals forced into slavery to sell in colonial American ports.<sup>36</sup> While colonial America produced raw materials for English manufacturers, England supplied the labor necessary to continue the increasing production, whether that be indentured servant or slave from the Caribbean and eventually specifically slaves Africa. England slave merchants, however, provided not only colonial America with slaves, but also shipped slaves to Spanish American and supplemented French slave shipments in the West Indies.<sup>37</sup> As a type of commodity, English

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<sup>35</sup> Gregory E. O'Malley, *Final Passages: The Intercolonial Slave Trade of British America, 1619-1807*. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2014.) 8.

<sup>36</sup> Berlin, *Many Thousands Gone*. 47.

<sup>37</sup> *Ibid*.

merchants remained acutely aware of the American slave market, selling to alternative markets to supplement economic downturns or selling slaves at specific ports such as Charleston, South Carolina which garnered higher profits than more northern ports.<sup>38</sup> The engagement and specific strategies of English slave merchants further influenced the varying relationship to slavery throughout colonial America.

Although racial constructs fluctuated throughout colonial America in the seventeenth-century, the increased reliance on slave labor and the growing number of slave societies influenced by the continued coalescence of an Atlantic world, challenged the flexibility of racial constructs. Ira Berlin's work *Many Thousands Gone* discusses race as a historical construct and demonstrates the various perceptions of slavery and race throughout colonial America.<sup>39</sup> In Northern areas such as Pennsylvania, slavery supplemented indentured labor reflected by servants and slaves working alongside each other on farms. While slavery arrived in Virginia as early as 1619, colonists increasingly relied solely on slave labor transitioning entirely to slave society as early as 1640.<sup>40</sup> Furthermore, the colonial relationship varied throughout the colonies, not only Pennsylvania and Virginia, other areas defined by Berlin included the low country including South Carolina, Georgia, and Florida and also the lower Mississippi Valley.<sup>41</sup> "In each region," Berlin stated, "slavery had its own geography, demography, economy, society, and – of course – history."<sup>42</sup> In the Chesapeake region, slaves engaged in personal economic endeavors such as shoemaking whereas slavery in the low country looked remarkably similar to plantation slavery in the late eighteenth and nineteenth-century.<sup>43</sup> However, even if Virginia failed to

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<sup>38</sup> O'Malley, *Final Passages*. 4.

<sup>39</sup> Berlin, *Many Thousands Gone*. 1.

<sup>40</sup> *Ibid.* 29 and 44.

<sup>41</sup> *Ibid.* 7-13.

<sup>42</sup> *Ibid.* 7.

<sup>43</sup> *Ibid.* 34.



transition to an economy based entirely on African slave labor either because of availability or price, a constant supply of European indentured servants that adequately met the demands of Virginia plantations remained relatively impossible especially since immigration correlated to the economic climate of an individual's home country.<sup>44</sup> If a country experienced economic growth and stability, immigration decreased whereas in the case of famine or underemployment, immigration through institutions such as indentured servitude increased. As such, the supply of indentured servants continuously fluctuated and remained unreliable. Nevertheless, Virginia transitioned from an economy built on indentured and slave labor to a plantation economy, relying entirely on slave labor; whereas Pennsylvania became the preferred destination for indentured servants.

Founded in 1681 by William Penn, Pennsylvania grew increasingly diverse as farmers and merchants engaged with the availability and price of the labor market fluctuating between European indentured servants and African slaves.<sup>45</sup> As a Quaker himself, Penn encouraged religious toleration in Pennsylvania in an attempt to maintain the safety and authority of the Pennsylvania Quakers.<sup>46</sup> However, Penn's desire for religious toleration inadvertently presented Pennsylvania as a sanctuary for religiously oppressed individuals such as the Roman Catholic Irish.<sup>47</sup> According to Peter Silver, "This reputation – together with the availability of unrivaled farming land for freehold purchase, the lack of military service or church tithes, the desperate need for labor, and a series of economic crisis in Europe – made the port of Philadelphia an astonishing place to be in the first half of the century."<sup>48</sup> Although the increasing numbers of

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<sup>44</sup> Morgan, "Slavery and Freedom: The American Paradox." 25.

<sup>45</sup> Berlin, *Many Thousands Gone*. 55.

<sup>46</sup> Silver, *Our Savage Neighbors*. 4.

<sup>47</sup> *Ibid.* 5.

<sup>48</sup> *Ibid.*

indentured servants largely satisfied Pennsylvania colonists demand for labor, slavery nevertheless remained a marginal market especially in the areas of Pennsylvania connected to the North's breadbasket.<sup>49</sup> The social, political, and economic climate of Pennsylvania in the late seventeenth-century ultimately represented the circumstances for colonial perceptions of indentured servants in the succeeding century.

With the founding of Jamestown in 1607 and the subsequent economic, political, and social transformations in England, the connections, exchanges, and relationships representative of the Atlantic world began to appear. As England merchants engaged in a growing labor market supplying colonial America with free or bound labor, colonists in turn utilized labor to produce raw materials for British manufactured goods. However, as the Atlantic world only began to coalesce in the seventeenth-century, the supply of labor continuously fluctuated in relation to England and colonial America's economic fluctuations; and, the efforts to keep up with the colony's increasing labor demands through the varying market of indentured servitude and African slavery ultimately resulted in the very different relationships and perceptions of labor throughout colonial America. Demonstrated in the transformation of colonial Virginia's relationship with indentured servitude and slave labor prior to Bacon's Rebellion and after, as well as the vastly different perceptions of indentured servitude in Pennsylvania and Virginia in the late seventeenth-century, the rise of the Atlantic world can easily be defined as a world in flux. Nevertheless, the connections, exchanges, and relationships of the Atlantic world established in the seventeenth-century continued to solidify in the following century. Reflected in the changing political, social, and economic climate of England and colonial America of the eighteenth-century and represented in runaway indentured servant advertisements.

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<sup>49</sup> O'Malley, *Final Passages*. 7. and Berlin, *Many Thousands Gone*. 180.

## Chapter Two: Hiding in Plain Sight

In 1720, master James Carroll published an advertisement in the *American Weekly Mercury* describing three of his indentured servants who had runaway. At eighteen, Henry Goatly was the youngest of the three. The other two, Thomas Barns and Edmund Lerner, Carroll determined to be about twenty-three years old when they absconded from his contract. Goatly, Barns, and Lerner's youth and gender represent the majority of indentured servants found in the runaway advertisements in Boston and Pennsylvania during the eighteenth century. Although there were exceptions in the age statistics such as forty-five-year old runaway servant William Ossier or the fifty-year-old John Clark, men in their twenties represented the majority of runaway servants published in advertisements.<sup>1</sup> Only about one thousand female servants arrived per year during the 1750s.<sup>2</sup> However, that number dropped drastically just after the Seven Years War to a little over two hundred female servants immigrating to British America each year.<sup>3</sup> Regardless of their age or gender, from 1700 to 1775, over 103,600 indentured servants arrived in British America and 22,530 alone arrived in Pennsylvania during the last twenty-five years of that period.<sup>4</sup> Without friends or family connections, German, Irish, and English servants arrived in a volatile colonial climate bound to contracts for six years or until the individual reached the

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<sup>1</sup> *Pennsylvania Gazette*, published as *The Pennsylvania Gazette* (Philadelphia, Pennsylvania). 06-09-1768. Page Supplement 1. and *American Weekly Mercury*, published as *THE AMERICAN Weekly Mercury*. (Philadelphia, Pennsylvania). From Thursday, August 30, to Thursday September 6, 1733. Page 4.

<sup>2</sup> Farley Grubb. "Servant Auction Records and Immigration into the Delaware Valley, 1745-1831: The Proportion of Females among Immigrant Servants." *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society*, vol. 133, no. 2, (1989). 160.

<sup>3</sup> *American Weekly Mercury*, published as *THE AMERICAN Weekly Mercury*, (Philadelphia, Pennsylvania). 11-17-1720.

<sup>4</sup> Aaron S. Fogleman. "From Slaves, Convicts, and Servants to Free Passengers: The Transformation of Immigration in the Era of the American Revolution." *The Journal of American History*, vol. 85, no. 1, (1998). 44. and Grubb, "Servant Auction Records and Immigration into the Delaware Valley, 1745-1831). 160.

age twenty-two if they were younger than fifteen.<sup>5</sup>

The social, economic, and political landscape of British America witnessed the beginnings of transformation at the turn of the seventeenth century. In the north, colonial society evolved differently than the plantations of the south, such as Virginia. Rather than replace the institution of servitude entirely, slavery supplemented cheap labor in urban cities and rural areas where the economy relied on Atlantic commerce as opposed to cash crops.<sup>6</sup> After a brief economic decline following Queen Anne's war, Boston's economy grew stagnant while other colonies such as New York or Pennsylvania experienced an economic boom. The demand for cheap labor, in turn, fluctuated in relation to each city's economy. For Boston, the need for indentured servants declined during the eighteenth century while massive numbers of indentured servants entered Pennsylvania, whispered to be the "best poor man's country."<sup>7</sup> In the cities of Boston and Philadelphia, runaway advertisements reflected the rise and decline of indentured servitude. The entire Mid-Atlantic region reported close to three thousand white indentured runaways in newspaper advertisements.<sup>8</sup> Although the demand for indentured servants grew increasingly less in British America, the white Europeans who comprised the contract labor force looked remarkably similar to the immigrant servants who arrived almost a century prior.

Like William Moraley, a poor Londoner who entered into servitude in hope of bettering his status, the life of an indenture began out of hardship, existed through hardship, and ended in

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<sup>5</sup> Mary Sarah Bilder. "The Struggle over Immigration: Indentured Servants, Slaves, and Articles of Commerce." *Missouri Law Review* 61, (1996): 755.

<sup>6</sup> Ira Berlin, *Many Thousands Gone: The First Two Centuries of Slavery in North America*. (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1998). 7.

<sup>7</sup> James T. Lemon, *The Best Poor Man's Country: Early Southeastern Pennsylvania*. (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1972) 12.

<sup>8</sup> Barry Levy, "Levelers and Fugitives: Runaway Advertisements and the Contrasting Political Economies of Mid-Eighteenth-Century Massachusetts and Pennsylvania." *Pennsylvania History: A Journal of Mid-Atlantic Studies*, vol. 78, no. 1, (2011). 5.

hardship.<sup>9</sup> An indentured servant's contract became a story of poverty and failure – rarely did a servant gain their freedom having also gained the opportunity to improve their station in life.<sup>10</sup> Regardless of the difficulties faced by indentured servants in eighteenth century British America, these individuals signed contracts for a limited number of years. In the midst of the changing Atlantic World, the institution of slavery in the colonies continued to solidify as the desired source of labor. Societies that once existed with slavery transformed into societies that could not exist without slavery.<sup>11</sup> Even as indentured labor worked alongside slaves in Boston and Philadelphia and the massive number of runaway advertisements reflected the miserable quality of life experienced by both groups; indentured servants ultimately gained their freedom after a given amount of time whereas slaves remained, to live and die, unfree.<sup>12</sup> Nevertheless, runaway advertisements for indentured servants are as rich with information as they are numerous.

Eighteenth century colonial newspaper advertisements looked not so very different from the modern version of the weekly gazette. The papers included reports on crimes such as robberies and thefts, information regarding the market such as when and where certain commodities would be sold, but, colonial newspapers also included printed excerpts written by masters looking for their runaway indentured servants and slaves. Newspapers such as the *American Weekly Mercury* or the *New England Weekly Journal* published hundreds of advertisements for runaway servants, sometimes as many as seven on one page.<sup>13</sup> These brief but incredibly detailed excerpts included physical descriptions of the fugitive, described the clothing

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<sup>9</sup> William Moraley, *The Infortunate: The Voyages and Adventures of William Moraley, and Indentured Servant*. (Pennsylvania Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1992). 14.

<sup>10</sup> Gary Nash, *Red, White, and Black: The Peoples of Early North America*. (New Jersey: Prentice Hall, 2010). 208.

<sup>11</sup> Berlin, *Many Thousands Gone*. 7-9.

<sup>12</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>13</sup> *Pennsylvania Gazette*, published as *The Pennsylvania Gazette*. (Philadelphia, Pennsylvania). 06-09-1768. Page Supplement 1.

that was worn and stolen, their ability to speak English and whether they were literate; but, also surreptitiously defined the indentured servant through the perception of the Master and colonial society at large. These runaway advertisements illustrate the changing Atlantic World on colonial perceptions of indentured servitude and its relationship to the definitions of an “other” in eighteenth century British America.

With prospects of land and opportunity, migrants travelled to the colonies under indentured contracts unaware of the volatile climate of colonial America. The social and economic atmosphere of the colonies in the midst of a changing Atlantic world formed a paradox for incoming indentured servants. Although the social and economic opportunities attracted migrants to the colonies through indenture, at the same time, the hostile nature of life in the colonies created an atmosphere conducive for individuals to run away from their contracts. From Indian raids, to Queen Anne’s War, the Seven Years War, and eventually the American Revolution, the eighteenth century’s volatile environment provided a perfect situation in which to run away and begin life anew outside of their contractual boundaries. Taking with them the tools thought necessary to create a new identity, indentured servants seized the opportunity to runaway created by the colonies unpredictable state. Tomas, a twenty five year old runaway indentured servant from Lancaster County Pennsylvania had served “for some time a soldier in the Royal-American Regiment.”<sup>14</sup> Indentured servant and former soldier William Smith ran away wearing his Dragoon uniform.<sup>15</sup> War simultaneously provided a hectic colonial state to

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<sup>14</sup> *Pennsylvania Gazette*, published as *The Pennsylvania Gazette*. (Philadelphia, Pennsylvania). 06-09-1768. Page Supplement 1.

<sup>15</sup> *American Weekly Mercury*, published as *THE AMERICAN Weekly Mercury*. (Philadelphia, Pennsylvania). From Thursday December 2, to Thursday December 9, 1736. Page 3.

easily disappear and a temporary occupation for the under and unemployed.<sup>16</sup> Another Pennsylvania newspaper advertised indentured servant James Flanningam who ran away “in company with a man, who has been a soldier in the Royal American Regiment” in 1768, seven years prior to the American Revolution.<sup>17</sup> Although war exhibited an external stimulus for social, political, and economic change throughout the colonial America, colonial life in the eighteenth century experienced a vast array of internal conflict as well.

Conflict in the eighteenth century was not a new phenomenon to colonies since even in its infancy, the colonial climate experienced numerous conflicts resulting in social change. Due to the massive numbers of disillusioned and poor freedmen in Virginia who had access to arms, Bacon’s Rebellion in 1670 ultimately reshaped colonial engagement with poor whites.<sup>18</sup> The colonies began the transition from a class based society to that of a race based society.<sup>19</sup> This pivotal moment in colonial history served as a foundation for how the colonists perceived themselves and defined the “other.” Almost a century later, the colonies continued to experience land riots from the disillusioned poor. Whereas Bacon’s Rebellion transformed Virginia society’s class and race dynamic, Pennsylvania existed as a colony with slaves and yet never established the same system of racial categorization. The influx of cheap labor from across Europe and Africa and the appeal of opportunities possible within the colonies led to ethnically heterogeneous cities such as Philadelphia. Individuals of English heritage were faced with a constant influx of Ulster Irishman or German immigrants from southern Rhineland who, after

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<sup>16</sup> Gary B. Nash, *The Urban Crucible: The Northern Seaports and the Origins of the American Revolution*. (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2009). 104.

<sup>17</sup> *Pennsylvania Gazette*, published as *The Pennsylvania Gazette*. (Philadelphia, Pennsylvania). 02-04-1768. Page Supplement 1.

<sup>18</sup> Edmund Morgan, "Slavery and Freedom: The American Paradox." *The Journal of American History* 59, no. 1 (1972). 21-22.

<sup>19</sup> *Ibid.*

serving the length of their indentured contract became squatters and contributed to an ever increasing poor white social class.<sup>20</sup> However, landlords incited land disputes in pockets of squatters such as Irish or German settlements in order to maintain their land titles contested by Indians.<sup>21</sup> Land riots grew increasingly common throughout the eighteenth-century.

In 1766, Pennsylvania colonist William Prendergast, a migrant from County Kilkenney in Ireland, rallied a group of several hundred tenant and small farmers against the New York elite.<sup>22</sup> Eventually arrested and charged with high treason the riot led by Prendergast failed to promote immediate social reform unlike the foundation of a racial binary established by Bacon's Rebellion; however, Prendergast proved an exception to colonial perceptions associated with the Irish "other." News articles defined him as "sober, honest, and an industrious farmer much beloved by his neighbors," the direct opposite to the descriptions of runaway Irish indentured servants who were seen as drunkards, swearers, and liars.<sup>23</sup> Prendergast ultimately received a reprieve from execution and a royal pardon for his part in the land riots due to the widespread sympathy he received throughout New York. Overcoming the negative connotations associated to being Irish, he proved exempt. When defined in opposition to the elite New Yorkers, Prendergast became not only a leader but also a heroic symbol for the hundreds of diverse individuals who were sympathetic to and joined in his cause.<sup>24</sup>

The benevolent description associated with Prendergast when compared to the more antagonistic descriptions of other Irish individuals especially that of runaway indentured

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<sup>20</sup> Peter Silver, *Our Savage Neighbors: How Indian War Transformed Early America*. (New York: W.W. Norton & Company, 2009). 6; 8.

<sup>21</sup> *Ibid.* 14.

<sup>22</sup> Gary B. Nash, *The Unknown American Revolution: The Unruly Birth of Democracy and the Struggle to Create America*. (New York: Penguin Group, 2005). 83-86.

<sup>23</sup> *Ibid.* 85.

<sup>24</sup> *Ibid.*



servants, remained an exception. European perceptions founded in the seventeenth century through the interactions with groups such as Irish influenced colonial perceptions and compounded the hostile climate of the colonies over a century later. For example, the colonization of the “wild Irish” in the early seventeenth century provided England with a basis for their interactions with Native American’s during the colonization of the America’s.<sup>25</sup> The colonists perceived these two distinct peoples as not very distinct at all and the savagery of each group should be dwelt with similarly.<sup>26</sup> Furthermore, the later rebellion of the Irish in 1641 set a precedent for English violence, validating the barbarous nature of English warfare in spite of Christian morality, especially when they were fighting against those they deemed barbarians, wild, and heathen.<sup>27</sup> Regardless, the influx of hundreds of immigrants attributed to the growing diversity of the colonies provoking uneasiness and disgust of non-English individuals, and ultimately contributed to the volatile climate of colonial America.<sup>28</sup>

The unpredictable experience of the colonies reflected in every aspect of colonial life not just the runaway advertisements. The long passage to the America’s, migrants witnessed the death of hundreds of passengers, ships filled with vomit, diarrhea, and starvation only to end up in a city port unaware of the current political, social, or economic climate they had arrived in.<sup>29</sup> For example, as colonists pushed immigrants to the fringes of civil society, German and Irish settlements cropped up further and further west, causing violent disputes and competition for land with Indians such as the Delaware.<sup>30</sup> As the new immigrants tried to establish a life in the

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<sup>25</sup> Matthew Frye Jacobson, *Whiteness of a Different Color: European Immigrants and the Alchemy of Race*. (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1998). 38.

<sup>26</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>27</sup> Jill Lepore, *The Name of War: King Phillip’s War and the Origins of American Identity*. (New York: Knopf Doubleday Publishing Group, 2009). 11.

<sup>28</sup> Silver, *Our Savage Neighbors*. 13.

<sup>29</sup> *Ibid.* 6-7.

<sup>30</sup> *Ibid.* 8.

colony, violent confrontations occurred within the miscommunications between Native Americans and the newcomers. Ostracized from main European settlements, migrants formed settlements in Native American/European borders only to have them burned to the ground by Penn's ancestors.<sup>31</sup> Complicating colonial aggression, violent disputes did not adhere to a binary code of European versus Native Americans. Germans fought against the Irish in the Philadelphia marketplace over voting rights in 1742.<sup>32</sup> Indian raids indiscriminately attacked the settlements of Germans, Irish, and English. The entire Pennsylvania climate burned with the competition to equally coexist and the violence of survival.

The desire for property and the growing influence of an American dream established an individualistic and competitive behavior within colonial America.<sup>33</sup> Whereas in the earlier centuries individuals identified themselves in association to larger social institutions such as church or kinships, the diversity of peoples, circumstances, and experiences in colonial America emphasized the individual identity over the community. The rise of the individual over the community represented one of the fundamental differences between England and colonial American society within the Atlantic world.<sup>34</sup> Combined with the miserable quality of life in the colonies and the incessant story of socioeconomic failure, competition and individuality shaped the perceptions of poor labor which became imitated in runaway advertisements.

The underlying theme of disgust, or rather, the negative connotations colonists ascribed to the identity of an individual such as barbarous or savage, remained prevalent in English perceptions of the Irish, Germans, and later the Native American's, and continued to contribute to violent disputes in Pennsylvania. The disgust associated with perceptions of the "other"

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<sup>31</sup> *Ibid.* 8-10.

<sup>32</sup> *Ibid.* 13.

<sup>33</sup> Nash, *Red, White, and Black.* 211.

<sup>34</sup> *Ibid.*

provided a necessary degree of separation to keep the members of English society distinct from all others.<sup>35</sup> Although the concept of revulsion inferred in the descriptions of indentured servant runaway advertisements, specifically Irish, published in the eighteenth century, news articles published during the same period presented more blatant examples of disgust. For example, a brief paragraph published in New York in 1736 describes an Irishman who “after several attempts of that kind, accomplished his Design and committed a Rape on a young Woman there, whom he used very barbarously after the fact...”<sup>36</sup> Four years later on March 24<sup>th</sup>, 1740 the Boston Evening Post published another “horrible tragedy.”<sup>37</sup> According to the excerpt, a group of eight or ten Irishmen attacked a gentleman’s home.<sup>38</sup> Not only did the group kill the master and servants of the house, but they also murdered a child “in a most barbarous manner...” and “...tortur’d it in order to find the Mother saying, *Make the Calf Blair, and the Cow will come.*”<sup>39</sup>

While there is no evidence as to the extent to the facts surrounding these events, by simply identifying these individuals as Irish not only justified the perceptions of barbarity and villainy attached to this identity; the dissemination of the articles inclined readers to project these negative perceptions onto other Irish immigrants. Other more recognized events such as Pontiac’s Rebellion earned the Scotch-Irish “Paxton Boys” the derogatory titles “white savages” and instilled fear throughout Philadelphia.<sup>40</sup> When analyzed in conjunction with Virginia’s earlier Bacon Rebellion, both events allude to an increased awareness and fear of the poor white masses throughout colonial America. Furthermore, the language used to describe the Scotch-Irish Paxton

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<sup>35</sup> Lepore, *The Name of War*. 12.

<sup>36</sup> *New-York Weekly Journal*, published as *THE New-York Weekly JOURNAL*. (New York, New York). 10-11-1736. Page 1.

<sup>37</sup> *Boston Evening-Post*, published as *The Boston Evening-Post*. (Boston, Massachusetts). 03-24-1740. Page 1.

<sup>38</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>39</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>40</sup> Nash, *The Unknown American Revolution*. 26.

Boy's or other groups such as the Germans within this context of fear demonstrate the growing relationship between immigrants, poor labor, and the negative perceptions associated with both. The negative connotations associated with individuals of Irish heritage influenced the perceptions of white indentured servants in the colonies which echoed in the language used in runaway advertisements.

Eighteenth century British American advertisements overwhelmingly use the term runaway as the title for each advertisement pertaining to escaped indentured servants or slaves as opposed to the terms “eloped” or “absented” found in the English advertisements. The concept of running away provokes an image of an adolescent or socially dependent individual running away from an authority figure, whether it be parents or masters. Out of practicality, using the same headline for each advertisement makes local surveillance easier. Should a young white male without any connections enter a city headhunters or suspicious townsfolk could easily find the runaway advertisements to determine if the nefarious individual fit the description of any of the reported fugitives. However, the rise of individuality and the hostile environment of the colonies effected the ways in which colonies perceived the runaways. As early as 1700, Pennsylvania law defined servants as having absented or runaway interchangeably, noting that “if any servant shall absent him or herself from the service of their master...” and later “whoever shall apprehend or take up any runaway servant...”<sup>41</sup> The language shifts depending upon the perspective – the servant absents himself while society is charged with the authority to police the runaways. Statutes passed in 1778 demonstrate the first instance the term “run away” is ensconced in Pennsylvania law and is directed not at servants, but slaves.<sup>42</sup> The

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<sup>41</sup> *Pennsylvania. The Statutes At Large of Pennsylvania from 1682 to 1801.V 2. 1700-1712.* (Harrisburg: Clarence M. Busch, State Printer of Pennsylvania, 1896.) 55.

<sup>42</sup> *Pennsylvania. The Statutes At Large of Pennsylvania from 1682 to 1801.V. 9. 1776-1779.* (Harrisburg: Clarence M. Busch, State Printer of Pennsylvania, 1896.) 276.

interchangeability of the wording reflects the interchangeability of labor in Pennsylvania. As a market based economy, the demand for labor remained situated within its cities such as Philadelphia, although labor existed in rural areas as well.<sup>43</sup> However, bound labor remained integral to Pennsylvania's economy, working in shipyards, bakeries, or numerous other businesses.<sup>44</sup> While indentured servants remained the preferred form of labor, the availability and price of servants fluctuated in correlation to the economy, as such, Pennsylvania colonists utilized servant and slave labor interchangeably.<sup>45</sup>

While newspaper advertisements do not reflect the changing verbiage of the statutes passed in Pennsylvania from 1710 to 1778, the generalized use of the title runaway alludes to an overlap in the public perception of fugitive indentured servants and slaves. Running away challenged colonial authority and the use of the term in newspaper headlines regardless of servant or slave, illustrated a disruption of the colonies status quo.<sup>46</sup> By publicizing the runaway, the master enlisted the community, headhunters, and even other literate servants to police the deviants. Advertisements symbolized the opposing sides of authority in colonial America. It not only described an individual who challenged authority by running away and attempting to creating a new identity outside the acceptable bounds of civic behavior (thievery); but, colonists attempted to reestablish both the master's authority and colonial authority through the printing of newspaper advertisements and ultimately, through its readers.

The language used and the detailed descriptions of runaway indentured servant advertisements allowed colonists to project an image of rebellious individuals and to act as an

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<sup>43</sup> Nash, *The Urban Crucible*. 67.

<sup>44</sup> *Ibid.* 67-70.

<sup>45</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>46</sup> Gwenda Morgan and Peter Rushton. "Visible Bodies: Power, Subordination and Identity in the Eighteenth-Century Atlantic World." *Journal of Social History* 39, no. 1 (2005). 52.

extension of colonial authority. Masters fashioned the advertisements to describe their runaway servant as playing a role, similar to stepping into the role of one of Shakespeare's characters. Publicizing the runaway attempted to make the role temporary; and either ended successfully when the fugitive was returned to the master or in failure with the runaway ultimately disappearing to start life anew.<sup>47</sup> The idea of "confidence men" portrayed by some masters alludes to the idea that servants adopted and shirked roles, much like clothing, quickly and with ease in order to create fools out of civilized society.<sup>48</sup> However, through the act of running away, indentured servants attempted to adopt a new "social skin."<sup>49</sup> Many indentured servants were economically, politically, and socially aware and engaged with these concepts in an attempt to establish a new social identity by shirking the old one. The still somewhat flexible social climate of northern British America made the potential for adopting a new "social skin" possible.<sup>50</sup>

Whether cognizant or subconscious, the dual nature of perceptions and the servant's potential for adopting a new "social skin" existed within the colonial mentality.<sup>51</sup> In a runaway advertisement published in New York in 1767, Amos Alexander described his runaway servant Thomas Mc'Neely and included a postscript that declared Mc'Neely "followed the soap boiling business" even though he was by trade, a cooper.<sup>52</sup> According to the advertisement, he arrived in the colonies May of the previous year and was literate.<sup>53</sup> His ability as a scholar, his interest in a different trade, and the increased familiarity of New York he gained during his year in service

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<sup>47</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>48</sup> Waldstreicher, David. "Reading the Runaways: Self-Fashioning, Print Culture, and Confidence in Slavery in the Eighteenth-Century Mid-Atlantic." *The William and Mary Quarterly* 56, no. 2 (1999): 248.

<sup>49</sup> Morgan and Rushton, "Visible Bodies." 41.

<sup>50</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>51</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>52</sup> *New-York Journal*, published as *The New-York Journal; or, the General Advertiser*. (New York, New York). 07-23-1767. Page Supplement 1.

<sup>53</sup> *Ibid.*

provided Mc'Neely with the tools necessary to adopt a new identity and escape from his contract with Alexander. At the same time, Alexander knew the potential for Mc'Neely to utilize those skills to disappear and alerted the public through his advertisement. Out of a survey of fifty runaway servant advertisements published between 1720 and 1770, twelve percent discussed how long the individuals had either been in the country, where they were originally born, or how long remained in their contracts. Although Samuel Waldo of Boston, Massachusetts did not explicitly state when his servant Edward Glasbine arrived, Waldo's published advertisement offered the remaining four years of his Glasbine's contract for purchase.<sup>54</sup> It reads "whoever shall take up said Runaway, and convey him to Mr. *Samuel Waldo's* at *Boston* aforesaid, shall have *Forty Shillings* Reward, and all necessary Charges paid : Or any Person inclining to purchase said *Glasbine's* four Year Service, may have the same on reasonable Terms."<sup>55</sup> At twenty year's old Glasbine had probably been in the colonies for less than two years.<sup>56</sup> The longer an individual such as Mc'Neely or Glasbine stayed in the colonies, the more likely they adapted to the colonial way of life and used the knowledge they gained to better assimilate and disappear.

Regardless of their time spent in the colonies, knowledge of a trade, such as Mc'Neely and the soap boiling business, better allowed a former servant to escape, creating an image of an independent and productive individual of society. Thirty percent of the surveyed articles

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<sup>54</sup> *New-England Weekly Journal*, published as *New England Weekly Journal*. (Boston, Massachusetts). 07-18-1738. Page 2.

<sup>55</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>56</sup> Bilder, "The Struggle Over Immigration." 755. If using Bilder's model for the relationship between the age of the servant and the length of the contract associated. Placed here for convenience, Bilder states: "local courts usually determined the age of indentured servants lacking indentures" and the length of the contract would reflect the determined age of the individual. For instance between 18-22 years a contract would be six years and if an individual were below the age of 15, the contract would exist until that person reached 22 years."

mentioned a trade; whether the individual engaged with a particular trade or pretended to know of a trade. Runaway servant Anthony Kentey had worked as a tailor for so long his master George Glen described his left index finger as being “much prick’d with The Needle.”<sup>57</sup> Whereas Daniel Hornby claimed his runaway servant John Doren “pretends to be a Maltster and Brewer.”<sup>58</sup> After running away, knowledge of a trade provided a servant with the skills necessary to start a business or earn a wage for themselves while English allowed an individual to better assimilate into English society. Although a servant’s knowledge of a trade assisted in fashioning a new identity outside their contract, command of English is arguably more useful as the more a runaway assimilated into civil society the least likely they would be discovered and brought back to their master.

However, the desire to start anew and work on their own did not go unnoticed by masters. For example, Simon Mulguinee’s master claimed “It is probable he travels with a false pass, which he got from one of his shipmates, in the name of Butler, or it is probable he may work at his trade, as a free man.”<sup>59</sup> Surprisingly, only a tenth of the surveyed articles mentioned a pass. A pass allowed a servant to move more freely across colonial boundaries in the interest of their master; however, passes provided runaways with a ticket to cross colonial boundaries and increase the distance between themselves and their master.<sup>60</sup> Runaways obtained passes in one of two ways. Either, a servant forged the pass using their command of the English language and

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<sup>57</sup> *Boston Evening-Post*, published as *THE Boston Evening-Post*. (Boston, Massachusetts). 09-19-1737. Page 2.

<sup>58</sup> *American Weekly Mercury*, published as *THE AMERICAN Weekly Mercury*. (Philadelphia, Pennsylvania). From Thursday September 19th, to Thursday September 26th, 1734. Page 3.

<sup>59</sup> *Pennsylvania Journal* (Philadelphia, Pennsylvania). 12-04-1766. Page 1.

<sup>60</sup> David Waldstreicher. "Reading the Runaways: Self-Fashioning, Print Culture, and Confidence in Slavery in the Eighteenth-Century Mid-Atlantic." *The William and Mary Quarterly* 56, no. 2 (1999). 262.



any literacy skills they may have. This was the case for sixteen or seventeen-year-old indentured runaway Edmund Ryan who spoke “pretty good English, but has something of the Irish tongue.”<sup>61</sup> Out of the fifty advertisements, twelve percent mentioned the servant’s ability to speak English (either in concurrence with speaking with an Irish inflection or alone) regardless of their ability to speak it well or scattered. Philadelphia master George Sheed described his runaway servant George Tanner as “sometimes English sometimes Irish as it may suit his purpose.”<sup>62</sup> Language and literacy became a dangerous combination, creating an opportunity for a servant to forge their own pass, such as the case with thirty six year old runaway William Fetherstone.<sup>63</sup> An alternative to forging their own pass, the runaway obtained a pass from a former servant now free. .Pennsylvanian Nathan Lewis included an addendum in his advertisement for runaway servant John Houte claiming “*It is supposed he has got an old Indenture of James Ross’s, that serv’d his time with the said Master.*”<sup>64</sup> Regardless of their trade or education, the physical image portrayed by a servant by their clothing represented the most important factor in establishing a new “social skin.”<sup>65</sup>

Indentured servants were cognizant of the colonial political, social and consumer climate evident through the changes in stolen clothing that began to include homespun as British Americans began to challenge the authority of Britain on American consumerism. For example, five months before the Stamp Act was passed in March, 1765, eighteen year old indentured

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<sup>61</sup> *New-England Weekly Journal*, published as *New England Weekly Journal*. (Boston, Massachusetts). 01-27-1736. Page 2.

<sup>62</sup> *American Weekly Mercury*, published as *THE AMERICAN WEEKLY MERCURY*. (Philadelphia, Pennsylvania). From Thursday February 25, to Thursday March 4, 1741-2. Page 4.

<sup>63</sup> *Pennsylvania Gazette*, published as *The Pennsylvania Gazette*. (Philadelphia, Pennsylvania). 06-09-1768. Page Supplement 1.

<sup>64</sup> *Pennsylvania Gazette*, published as *The Pennsylvania Gazette*. (Philadelphia, Pennsylvania). From June 22, to June 28, 1738. Page 3.

<sup>65</sup> Morgan and Rushton, “Visible Bodies.” 41.

servant Zedekiah Marlin ran away and among the items stole was a “striped homespun Jacket.”<sup>66</sup> Clothing provided an individual with the opportunity to change appearance and thus change their “social skin,” to hide literally within plain sight.<sup>67</sup>

Stolen clothing usually derived from their masters and provided an outward appearance of a different class. A new wardrobe from either their master or another servant provided the perfect ensemble for a servant’s new identity.<sup>68</sup> When servant John Grady ran away, he took his masters “new blue Kerfy coat and Breeches with Brass buttons, and four of his master’s Holland shirts that are new.”<sup>69</sup> Hair pieces made up another items commonly seen in runaway advertisements such as the “light-color’d Wigg” taken by Edmund Murphy.<sup>70</sup> The most obvious reason behind the wigs was to simply change one’s physical appearance; however, the wig also allowed the individual to elevate their status as wigs were not common in lower classes.<sup>71</sup> While some servants left hurriedly and took whatever items most easily accessible, not all thefts were without strategy such as the case of homespun. Breen argued non-imported goods such as homespun “invited provincial consumers to think of the objects of market desire – the things in themselves – increasingly in terms of political principle.”<sup>72</sup>

By stealing homespun, servants demonstrated their knowledge of the colonies changing consumer climate, awareness of trends, and the social importance ascribed to different commodities. Not only political, Breen continues that “The call for a public display of homespun

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<sup>66</sup> *Pennsylvania Gazette* (Philadelphia, Pennsylvania). 11-08-1764. Page 1.

<sup>67</sup> Morgan and Rushton, “Visible Bodies.” 41.

<sup>68</sup> Levy, “Levelers and Fugitives.” 21.

<sup>69</sup> *Boston Evening-Post*, published as *THE Boston Evening-Post*. (Boston, Massachusetts). 05-22-1738. Page 2.

<sup>70</sup> *New-England Weekly Journal*, published as *New England Weekly Journal*. (Boston, Massachusetts). 03-21-1738. Page 2.

<sup>71</sup> Morgan and Rushton, “Visible Bodies.” 46.

<sup>72</sup> T.H. Breen, *The Marketplace of Revolution: How Consumer Politics Shaped American Independence*. (New York: Oxford University Press, 2004). 227.

had an unmistakable class edge to it. In fact it represented an inversion of an earlier consumer rhetoric...It was now the wealthy gentlemen....who had to wear homespun garments however unappealing they may have seemed.”<sup>73</sup> Indentured servant Francis Whistle took with him two homespun jackets in 1766, the same year Parliament repealed the Stamp Act and just one year before the colonies boycotted British goods.<sup>74</sup> The very newspapers that advertised the indentured servants also served as a way to keep servants informed of the colonies current political, economic, or social climate. As the colonies consumer culture increased in voracity, the servants, the labors they provided, as well as the clothes stolen from their masters, became an extension of the colony’s rising consumer culture and represented yet another commodity in the changing market of the Atlantic world. Even terms associated with commodities such as “importers” and “imported” transformed to define servants and their handlers.<sup>75</sup> The language of advertisements, whether consumer language or the terminology used to define the fugitive, ultimately creates a dual image of the individual and how colonial authorities perceived that individual.

Combined with the different variables of runaway indentured servant advertisements such as disgust, perceptions, and commodification, the language of the advertisements reflected the gender dynamics of eighteenth-century colonial America. While gender dynamics represented the socially acceptable behavior of civilized men and women in colonial America, when an individual failed to adhere to gender norms, their moral character remained questioned. Advertisements printed in colonial America describing males utilized negative language and imagery to establish the moral character of the runaway. For instance, Master James Carrol

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<sup>73</sup> *Ibid.* 266.

<sup>74</sup> *Pennsylvania Journal* (Philadelphia, Pennsylvania). 12-04-1766. Page 1.

<sup>75</sup> Bilder, “The Struggle Over Immigration.” 765-67.

described his runaway servant Thomas Barns as a “Thieving, Sly fellow” while John Munday who ran away from his master in Little Britain Township is described as a “great swearer and drunkard.”<sup>76</sup> Many times the writer uses the language of an advertisement to imply an individual’s character, relying on the reader’s own imagination to foster an undesirable image of the runaway, such as William Tinsely’s master who claimed Tinsley had “a mean aspect.”<sup>77</sup> The negative qualities imbued in the descriptions of male servants such as meanness, drunkenness, or swearing created by the master is then passed onto the reader. The association of a servant as “apt to drink” is prevalent in a number of the male descriptions and accentuates the runaway’s uncivilized behavior and subversion to authority.<sup>78</sup> Interestingly, the few descriptions of female runaways are more genteel in nature than their male counterparts.

The difference in description between male and female advertisements mirrors the colonies eighteenth century gender dynamics. An article in the *American Weekly Mercury* described runaway servant Elinor Caughland an Irish servant girl who ran away from her widower mistress Rutter.<sup>79</sup> Rutter described Caughland as “short Stature but thick, pretty much pitted with the Small-Pox, black hair and good Skin, had on when she went away, an ash colour’d Calaminco Gown, blue quilted Petticoat, a red short Cloak, and a red and white Silk Handkerchief.”<sup>80</sup> Another advertisement describes Hannah Tompson as “short and thick, with

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<sup>76</sup> *Pennsylvania Gazette*, published as *The Pennsylvania Gazette*. (Philadelphia, Pennsylvania). 06-09-1768.

<sup>77</sup> *American Weekly Mercury*, published as *THE AMERICAN Weekly Mercury*, (Philadelphia, Pennsylvania). 11-17-1720. and *New-England Courant*, published as *THE New-England Courant*. (Boston, Massachusetts). From Monday July 2, to Monday July 9, 1722. Page 2.

<sup>78</sup> *American Weekly Mercury*, published as *THE AMERICAN Weekly Mercury*, (Philadelphia, Pennsylvania) • From Thursday, August 30, to Thursday September 6, 1733.

<sup>79</sup> *American Weekly Mercury*, published as *THE AMERICAN Weekly Mercury*, (Philadelphia, Pennsylvania). From Thursday, March 20, to Thursday March 27, 1740. Page 4.

<sup>80</sup> *Ibid.*

Grey eyes, brown Thick hair, a full Face, and fair if it be clean, she speaks very quick and in the Bristol fashion : Had when she went away, a yellow bird ey'd Callimanco Gown and muslin border'd apron”<sup>81</sup> The attributes associated with articles for male advertisements such as stolen clothing or language used to denote moral character are missing from the advertisements for both Caughland and Tompson.

One of the purposes in printing runaway advertisements aimed at isolating an individual who subverted authority; however, each advertisement became an extension of colonial society's gender roles. For advertisements of men, the thefts and simply running away aimed at stripping men of any respectability they may have had, whereas the printed advertisements for female servants served as physical documentation of the woman's character. Who they associated with as well as what their associations said about them defined female identity and became a powerful form for maintaining control.<sup>82</sup> Gossip and public appearances, which naturally transferred into forms of print media, became integral for maintaining colonial authority.<sup>83</sup> Although the advertisement for Hannah Tompson contained an addendum proclaiming forgiveness for the runaway servant's sins should she return “home” her reputation forever remained sullied in print form.<sup>84</sup> Furthermore, the advertisement for Tompson remained distinct from Caughland's and was the only one out of a group of fifty that presented any sort of forgiveness from the master. Although contextual facts regarding the relationship between master and servant are missing, the assumption being forgiveness was presented because of Tompson's English heritage, particularly

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<sup>81</sup> *Pennsylvania Gazette*, published as *The Pennsylvania Gazette*. (Philadelphia, Pennsylvania). 10-08-1741.

<sup>82</sup> Kathleen M. Brown, *Good Wives, Nasty Wenches, and Anxious Patriarchs: Gender, Race, and Power in Colonial Virginia*. (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1996). 285.

<sup>83</sup> *Ibid.* 285-286.

<sup>84</sup> *Pennsylvania Gazette*, published as *The Pennsylvania Gazette* (Philadelphia, Pennsylvania). 10-08-1741.

from Bristol.<sup>85</sup> The degrees of separation did not exist, even though she was of a different class, the master may have viewed the English girl as an extension of their home. Advertisements for runaway female servants not only provided a description of the individual but surreptitiously defined the individual's identity. Such as the case of Elizabeth Cunningham, a pregnant twenty three year old Irish servant, the printed advertisement served as a public shaming of the runaway woman.<sup>86</sup> Not only had she run away from her contractual obligations as a servant, but Cunningham committed a severe crime as both a woman and servant, she was most likely pregnant out of wedlock.

Combined with secondary literature, the runaway advertisements demonstrated the growing relationships between migrants such as the Irish and colonial America's poor lower class. Advertisements did not simply provide a description of these individuals but alluded to the individual's social identity, the one they perceived of themselves and the one colonists perceived of them. Indentured servants ultimately made up a large portion of non-English migrants in colonial America. Drawn to British America by the whispers of opportunity and the hope of a better life immigrants from the poorer classes of Europe arrived in British America's ports without friends, fathers, or connections.<sup>87</sup> However, many if not most indentured servants failed to improve their economic status after their contract expired and their lives characterized a combined story of failure in the larger context of the Atlantic world.<sup>88</sup> The runaway advertisements for indentured servants published in the eighteenth century demonstrated the

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<sup>85</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>86</sup> *Pennsylvania Gazette*, published as *The Pennsylvania Gazette*. (Philadelphia, Pennsylvania). 02-04-1768. and Brown, *Good Wives, Nasty Wenches, and Anxious Patriarchs*. 285-286.

<sup>87</sup> Farley Grubb, "Fatherless and Friendless: Factors Influencing the Flow of English Emigrant Servants." *The Journal of Economic History*, vol. 52, no. 1 (1992). 91.

<sup>88</sup> Nash, *Red, White, and Black*. 208.

fluctuating perceptions of colonial America's poor immigrant identity in Boston and Pennsylvania. Instead of embracing diversity, colonists continued to perceive themselves socially different from an "other," separating themselves by degrees. The interactions with Ireland in the early seventeenth century not only provided colonial Americans with an arsenal of language to establish difference, but influenced the cultural connotations associated with the perceptions of the Irish and runaway indentured servants in the eighteenth century. The degrees of separation decreased; however with the onset of the American Revolution. Necessity and war temporarily established a new parameter for defining difference and where your allegiance lay determined how you were perceived.

### Chapter Three: Forgiving Transgressions

A small, shoeless, and dirty Tommy Williams approached the stoop of Mr. John Stock one dusky English evening, begging for scraps of food. After bringing him some bread and cheese, Stock began a conversation with Williams, wondering how the child had ended up in his impoverished state. After the boy's father passed away, his mother squandered their remaining money and financially burdening the family friends who had taken them in. In the end, both child and mother became the responsibility of the parish. Surviving off the charity of the city's residents, the boy brought whatever he gained from begging back to "mammy instead of buying cakes."<sup>1</sup> Out of pity and a sense of obligation to charity, Stock bought him three loaves of bread and told him to call again the next day. Williams promptly arrived on Stock's doorstep the following evening and after a difficult visit with his mother at the poor house, Stock successfully convinced her to let him send Williams to school for one year after which he would enter an apprenticeship under Stock as a shoemaker. The story, found in the five-part novel *The Two Shoemaker's* by Hannah More, a female playwright and author, represents the typical beginnings of indentured servitude in eighteenth-century England.<sup>2</sup>

The social, political, and economic climate of England looked vastly different from its colonies in North America at the turn of the eighteenth century. Only two decades after the Glorious Revolution, the start of the eighteenth-century marked a fundamental change in English history, economy, politics, and society.<sup>3</sup> The increased influence of a changing Atlantic world in conjunction with stable and increasingly prosperous colonies in North America and the West

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<sup>1</sup> Hannah More. *The Two Shoemakers*. Dublin. M. DCC. XCV. (1795). Eighteenth-century Collections Online. Gale. University of Arkansas. 21 April 2017. 11-14.

<sup>2</sup>*Ibid.*

<sup>3</sup> Steven Pincus, *1688: The First Modern Revolution*. (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2009). 12-13.



Indies, early eighteenth-century England accumulated significant world power. Events such as England's victory over the French and Spanish in the war of Spanish succession in 1713 contributed to the growing power of England.<sup>4</sup> Despite a national debt of over seventy five million pounds, the preoccupation with importing raw materials from England's colonies combined with the exportation of a labor force necessary for colonization and manufactured goods for sell within the colonies, propelled an economic boom within England itself.<sup>5</sup> Major metropolitan areas such as London expanded the city limits to meet the needs of its growing population, the interests of new landowners, investors, and projects to establish new towns broke ground.<sup>6</sup> England's engagement with the Atlantic world and the subsequent economic boom made luxury commodities cheaper and more easily accessible to English consumers.<sup>7</sup> As production of raw materials increased in the colonies, English producers took advantage of the voracious consumerism of colonial America.<sup>8</sup> Through this system of exchange, colonial America's demand for manufactured goods in turn stimulated England's economy and the individual accumulation of wealth.<sup>9</sup>

The changing Atlantic world and the growing accessibility of goods in the eighteenth-century inadvertently affected England's social structures, muddling the once rigid distinctions between upper and middle class families.<sup>10</sup> Originally associated as a type of luxury commodity,

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<sup>4</sup> Nash, *The Urban Crucible*. 34.

<sup>5</sup> Gary B. Nash, *The Unknown American Revolution: The Unruly Birth of Democracy and the Struggle to Create America*. (New York: Penguin Group, 2005). 45.

<sup>6</sup> Jerry White, *A Great and Monstrous Thing: London in the Eighteenth-century*. (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2013). 26.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.* and Robert S. DuPlessis, *The Material World: Clothing, Commerce, and Colonization in the Atlantic World 1650-1800*. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2016). 18.

<sup>8</sup> Breen, *The Marketplace of Revolution*. 18.

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>10</sup> Coser, Lewis A. "Servants: The Obsolescence of an Occupational Role." *Social Forces* 52, no. 1 (1973): 37.

the employment of servants no longer reflected the strict class structure of English society. However, the changing Atlantic World made even once luxury commodities more easily accessible. As middle class families engaged with the rising consumption of luxury goods throughout England, employing servants – as either a luxury or a necessity – became increasingly common within the middling classes. Between 1650 and 1749, nearly forty percent of all English households, from the upper echelons of society to the middling classes, hired servants. In London alone, estimates of the entire servant population ranged from 50,000 to an astronomical 200,000 from 1709 to 1775. Eighteenth-century England witnessed on average anywhere between one and three servants employed within middling class households, elites maintained upwards of fifteen servants or more. As England engaged with the changing Atlantic world and the fluctuating influences on consumerism, the accessibility of servants as a luxury commodity transformed English perceptions accordingly. Although elites emphasized the quantity of luxury goods to maintain distinction from the rising middle class, the practice of keeping servants within a household complicated the perceptions of wealth and status, contrary to the employment of servants in earlier centuries.<sup>11</sup>

Prior to the fifteenth century, social status determined an individual's employment, such as servitude. However, labor transformed in correlation with the social, political, and economic changes that took place after the bubonic plague, becoming a contract based institution as opposed to a socially determined obligation.<sup>12</sup> After the devastating ravages of the plague in the early fourteenth century, the impetus for new governmental and legal regulations transformed

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<sup>11</sup> Schwarz, Leonard. "English Servants and Their Employers during the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries." *The Economic History Review*, New Series, 52, no. 2 (1999): 237-238; 249.

<sup>12</sup> Christopher Tomlins, *Freedom Bound: Law, Labor, and Civic Identity in Colonizing English America, 1580-1865*. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010). 234-235.

England's relationship with labor to encourage social and economic recovery. In response to the increasing poverty-stricken population, English Parliament instituted a number of poor laws, the first of which passed almost two centuries after the initial outbreak during the Tudor reign in the early sixteenth century.<sup>13</sup> While English Poor Laws created an outlet for the underemployed through workhouses and contracted labor such as servitude, it also increased monarchical authority to enforce the civil responsibilities and the local administration of the poor, influencing society's engagement with the poverty-stricken masses.<sup>14</sup> The English Poor Laws resulted in adolescents and children such as Tommy Williams as a viable supply for society's demand for indentured servants and apprentices. As the monarchy continued to enforce authority over English labor, the Crown unwittingly influenced the changing perceptions of labor into the eighteenth-century.

The transformation of England's relationship with labor expanded the definitions of servitude, reflecting in the various uses of indentured in the newspaper advertisements. Newspapers published advertisements for runaway indentured apprentices and/or runaway indentured servants with no distinct difference in the structure, format, or details of either category. Generic and flexible, servitude in England defined a multitude of domestic careers depending upon demographics such as age and gender, the place of employment, and the contractual nature of the job itself.<sup>15</sup> Early English legislation not only defined a domestic servant separate from the category of a covenant servant, but also excluded domestic servants from master-servant regulations.<sup>16</sup> Enforced by local magistrates, these regulations included

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<sup>13</sup> Paul Slack, *The English Poor Law, 1531-1782*. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995). 9.

<sup>14</sup> *Ibid.* 10.

<sup>15</sup> Coser, "Servants: The Obsolescence of an Occupational Role." 236.

<sup>16</sup> Douglas Hay and Paul Craven, *Masters, Servants, and Magistrates in Britain and the Empire, 1562-1955*. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina, 2004). 7.

language regarding the rights and responsibilities of both the employer and employee, including specific language that regulated maximum servant wages and provided masters with a formal and legal punishment for servants who breached their contract in ways such as failing to adhere to curfew or running away. Described as a highly skilled individual, a covenant servant entered a contract, with an employer describing the amount of time and the conditions for which they would work; however, the domestic servant and covenant servant may perform similar if not the same duties. In the eighteenth-century, adult indentured contracts reflected the language of covenant agreements as individuals ultimately bonded themselves to a master for longer than an annual year. Furthermore, in the late seventeenth-century the language of both contracts in conjunction with the master-servant regulations allowed for a master to sue a runaway servant in order to financially force him to return, although informal means of regaining a servant were generally permitted throughout the subsequent century. As relationships with transformed in the eighteenth-century due to monarchical authority, covenant agreements from the previous century influenced the language of indentured contracts.

As opposed to the few major colonial newspapers of the Americas, England contained a plethora of public newspapers printed throughout the eighteenth-century. Advertisements for runaway indentured servants remained second in number only to advertisements for wayward wives who eloped from their husbands.<sup>17</sup> The sheer number of advertisements for eloped wives and indentured servants demonstrates the English desire for maintaining authority over individuals who threatened the status quo. Regardless, from 1720 to 1780, eighteen different newspapers contained a group of thirty-nine surveyed articles. Similar to the demographics of runaway indentured servants represented in colonial America, the overall demographics of

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<sup>17</sup> *Ibid.* 6-7; 34; 68; 77-78.

runaway indentured servants in eighteenth-century England consisted almost entirely of white men aged twenty-one years and younger. For instance, the Scotland based newspaper *The Caledonian Mercury*, reported on December 21, 1758 that fourteen year old Alexander Fraser, the youngest in the sample, ran away from his master.<sup>18</sup> Mirroring the circumstances of Tommy Williams from Hannah More's work, servants entering into indentured contracts like Fraser derived from the fatherless population.<sup>19</sup> Without a father, the member of the household who negotiated a child's future employment, indentured servitude remained a cheaper alternative for employment as most apprenticeships required an entry fee and masters or recruiters could exploit a lack of patronage by negotiating longer contracts.<sup>20</sup>

English advertisements ranged from a brief eleven-word description published in London's *The Daily Register of Commerce and Intelligence* to incredibly detailed descriptions comparable to the advertisements of runaway indentured servants published in colonial America newspapers.<sup>21</sup> However, unlike the explicitly defined "runaways" of the colonial America advertisements, when compared in their entirety, English advertisements contained a multiplicity of terms to define runaway indentured servants. For example, out of the thirty-nine advertisements between 1720 and 1780, fifty-six percent of the advertisements contained the descriptive title "runaway" while the remaining thirty four percent of advertisements contained alternative language such as eloped, absented, or absconded. By analyzing runaway indentured servant advertisements, the perception of "others" reflected in eighteenth-century English newspapers excludes the directness present in colonial American newspapers. Rather, the

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<sup>18</sup> *Caledonian Mercury* - Thursday 21 December 1758.

<sup>19</sup> Grubb, Farley. "Fatherless and Friendless: Factors Influencing the Flow of English Emigrant Servants." *The Journal of Economic History* 52, no. 1 (1992): 91-95.

<sup>20</sup> *Ibid.* 86 and 96.

<sup>21</sup> *Public Ledger or The Daily Register of Commerce and Intelligence* (London, England), Wednesday, October 1, 1760; Issue 226.

nuanced language imbedded within the advertisements, its omissions, and the societal understandings of indentured servants demonstrates a unique paradox of othering in English indentured servitude.

The process of “othering” through indentured servitude reflected itself in the simultaneous inclusive and isolating nature of eighteenth-century English servant life.<sup>22</sup> Published in London at the end of the eighteenth-century *The Apprentice’s Companion*, a pocketbook on the proper behavior of indentured servants and apprentices by the master of an orphan workhouse claimed, “All mankind know that subordination is necessary to the peace of society.”<sup>23</sup> The rules, demands and obligations of a servant enforced subservience to the master’s household and limited servant individuality.<sup>24</sup> A servant essentially reflected the master, and a servant who behaved inappropriately potentially damaged the master’s reputation and thus, became easily dispensable. The master essentially absorbed the servant’s identity and yet the asymmetric dynamic of servitude reinforced the servant as an “other,” both within the household and outside it.<sup>25</sup> Instances in which servants who received second hand clothing from masters and mistresses as a way to reflect the master’s social status exaggerated the “othering” of servants as the passed down clothing inadvertently separated servants from their friends and family in lower social standing while simultaneously exaggerating the separation between master and servant.<sup>26</sup>

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<sup>22</sup> Coser, "Servants: The Obsolescence of an Occupational Role." 32.

<sup>23</sup> R.L., *The Apprentice’s Companion; or, Advice to a boy, upon being bound apprentice; and for his conduct during his apprenticeship*. By R.L master of the Orphan Working School. London. (1795). 27.

<sup>24</sup> Coser, "Servants: The Obsolescence of an Occupational Role." 33.

<sup>25</sup> *Ibid.* 36.

<sup>26</sup> Gwenda Morgan and Peter Rushton. "Visible Bodies: Power, Subordination and Identity in the Eighteenth-Century Atlantic World." *Journal of Social History* 39, no. 1 (2005). 45.

The ambiguous nature of English servitude formed a paradox even as the master-servant relationship mirrored the social requirements necessary for a peaceful society.<sup>27</sup> The indenture contract itself contained language that emphasized the paradoxical nature of a master-servant relationship. For example, Samuel Richardson published a pocketbook companion for indentured apprentices in the mid-eighteenth century contained a portion of an indentured contract stating, “During which term the said apprentices his (sic) master faithfully shall serve, his secrets keep...he shall do no Damage to his said master.”<sup>28</sup> The contract required loyalty and through faithful service alluded to the necessary establishment of a fictive relationship in order for the servant to be productive. For example in part two of More’s publication *The Two Shoemakers*, More claims Stock’s servants “considered their master as their best friend.”<sup>29</sup> However, the intimate knowledge of a master’s secrets and legal obligation to maintain them simultaneously isolated servants from other members of the household through competition, the confidence of friends and family through observation, and ultimately established the servant’s subservience to the master.

As the changing Atlantic World promoted increased wealth within England’s middle class, language used to describe the master-servant dynamic in educational pamphlets reflected the social expectations of middling or lower class individuals and maintained degrees of social separation. Largely played out within the confines of the master’s household, the master and servant relationship established an intimate mechanism of control that influenced social interactions within English society. In its introduction, Richardson’s pocketbook claims to have been “written principally with a view to regulate the Behaviour, and improve the morals of the

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<sup>27</sup> R.L., *The Apprentice’s Companion*. 27.

<sup>28</sup> Samuel Richardson, *The apprentice’s [v]ade mecum: or, [Y]oung man’s pocket-companion. In three parts*. Dublin. MDCCXXXIV. (1734). 12-13.

<sup>29</sup> More. *The Two Shoemakers*. 7.

Youth of this Kingdom.”<sup>30</sup> While R.L.’s companion stated the duties of a servant owed “to your master are included many duties which you owe to society at large, and which when you come to be a man, you will have to perform to other men, as you now have to perform them to your master.”<sup>31</sup> Under the supposition of educating a servant or apprentice on the expectations and appropriate behavior necessary for success while in contract, R.L.’s companion and Richardson’s pocketbook demonstrated a bias towards the master. The pamphlets encouraged the subservience of a servant while within the household and as an individual within civil society, or suffer divine repercussions. R.L.’s companion claimed both master and servant would face God’s judgement for their behavior towards the other; although in the case of the servant, the companion deemed a servants more susceptible to uncivil, wrong, or distrustful behavior.<sup>32</sup> Regardless, the appropriate behavior of individuals within English society alluded to in both pamphlets ultimately established itself first within the master’s household.

Expected to live and work within the master’s household, master’s scrutiny of servant duties, relationships, and their daily lives in general severely limited that servant’s privacy and freedom.<sup>33</sup> Validating the scrutiny of servant life, *The Apprentice’s Companion* stated, “it is as much your masters duty to watch over the right use of your time, which is his property, as it is to watch over any other part of his property. And it is also a duty which he owes to you, to watch over you...”<sup>34</sup> This not only validated the inclusive and isolating nature of servitude, but, by claiming surveillance as a duty owed to the servant, the companion claims the mutual benefit of

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<sup>30</sup> Richardson, *The apprentice’s [v]ade mecum*. 3.

<sup>31</sup> R.L., *The Apprentices Companion*. 33.

<sup>32</sup> *Ibid.* 34-36.

<sup>33</sup> *Ibid.* 33. and, Beattie, J. M. "The Criminality of Women in Eighteenth-Century England." *Journal of Social History* 8, no. 4 (1975): 86.

<sup>34</sup> R.L., *The Apprentices Companion*. 26.



a masters watchfulness.<sup>35</sup> The high level of surveillance also potentially deterred servants from running away or allowed masters to become aware of plans for running away and attempt to intervene.<sup>36</sup> However, when deterrence or intervention failed, the fabricated friendship established between master and servant provided the master with an intimate knowledge of the runaway's intentions to establish a new identity free from their current contract. This was the case for runaway indentured servant William Torin. Aware of the potential for her servant to reach out to his family in London, mistress Miss Fleming included her assumption in the publication in hopes of hastening the return of her servant, Torin. The advertisement published in the *Bath Chronicle and Weekly Gazette* in June of 1780, claimed Torin "performs tolerably well on the violin, and having been brought up in London, is supposed to be gone that road."<sup>37</sup>

Although Torin's destination for London may have been an obvious connection for Miss Fleming to make, other advertisements included more specific and detailed assumptions with little prior information. A *Manchester Mercury* advertisement for runaway indentured servant Benjamin Irwin published in 1782 stated, "Whereas there is Reason to believe that the said Benjamin Irwin is gone into Lancashire, with a View of getting Work in some of the Printfield's there."<sup>38</sup> Either Irwin's master received information from a third party regarding his whereabouts or more likely, the intimate relationship established between master and servant contributed to Irwin's subconscious sharing of information, alluding to his subsequent intentions. Regardless, when runaways occurred, masters utilized polite language in advertisements to surreptitiously project perceptions of the servant while at the same time, attempted to salvage society's perception of themselves.

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<sup>35</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>36</sup> Coser, "Servants: The Obsolescence of an Occupational Role." 32.

<sup>37</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>38</sup> *Manchester Mercury* - Tuesday 21 May 1782.

The preoccupation with politeness throughout English society reflected in the nuanced language of England's newspaper advertisements, distinct from American advertisers who used specific descriptions such as "of a down leering Look" to project negative perceptions or runaway indentured servants throughout society.<sup>39</sup> Eighteenth-century English advertisements surreptitiously manipulated perceptions of absconded indentured servants using more nuanced language and offers of forgiveness. Of the surveyed advertisements, twenty-three percent contained addendums or phrases regarding the concept of forgiveness should a servant return to their master voluntarily. If runaway indentured servant Francisco Seaman returned to his master John of Harwich, the advertisement claimed, "he will be kindly received, and the Fault forgiven, being the first offence, and it is believed he was inticed away."<sup>40</sup> Likewise, Master William Banks declared John Hoggion would "be taken again into his said Master's service" should he return immediately whereas indentured servant James Laing's transgression would be forgiven should he return to Glasgow in eight days.<sup>41</sup> Similar to colonial America newspapers, writing a public advertisement enlisted the community as an extension of authority to police and regain runaway servants, yet in England the newspaper advertisements more seriously threatened society's perceptions of the master.

Including the language of forgiveness reflected England's preoccupation with politeness and demonstrated the master's discreet manipulation of society's perceptions of themselves and their servant. Publicizing the master's offer of forgiveness through the runaway advertisements, served to assuage any rumors of a master's inability to control their servant and thus, their

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<sup>39</sup> *New-England Weekly Journal*, published as *New England Weekly Journal*. (Boston, Massachusetts). 03-21-1738. Page 2.

<sup>40</sup> *Ipswich Journal* - Saturday 15 February 1772.

<sup>41</sup> *Lloyd's Evening Post* (London, England), September 29, 1773 - October 1, 1773; Issue 2536. 17th-18th Century Burney Collection Newspapers. and *Caledonian Mercury* - Saturday 16 August 1760.

household.<sup>42</sup> By specifically including language such as “the Fault forgiven” and “inticed away,” Seaman’s master redirected the perception of fault onto an evil third party, responsible for undermining the master’s authority and the relationship established between Seaman and his master.<sup>43</sup> Furthermore, the allusive nature of the polite language found in the advertisements served an ulterior motive besides simply reacquiring the servant. If Liang or Hoggion read their advertisement in the newspaper, the inclusion of forgiveness and the polite language used in the advertisement could dissuade them from betraying their master’s potentially ruinous secrets. The language and the addendum of forgiveness did not directly reflect the masters moral character; however, the individual engagement with and the publication of an individual’s politeness formed a printed image of the masters wealth and social standing.<sup>44</sup> Although the majority of advertisements demonstrated the power of suggestion through the language of politeness, a few advertisements projected the negative perceptions of servants by publicizing criminal acts committed by the individual.

Although the various pamphlets ranked the crimes of a servant from least to most severe in order to warn masters of potential escalation, running away proved not only a crime in and of itself, but the act of running away and preceded more sever criminal activities. According to Samuel Richardson’s pocketbook companion for indentured servants, running away signified a “natural and almost unavoidable consequence” of a servant who participated in drinking or visiting England’s immoral playhouses.<sup>45</sup> A servant with a proclivity for alcohol represented an individual who already engaged in the first four steps of disreputable behavior, such as swearing

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<sup>42</sup> Dawson, Mark S. "First Impressions: Newspaper Advertisements and Early Modern English Body Imaging, 1651—1750." *Journal of British Studies* 50, no. 2 (2011): 282.

<sup>43</sup> *Ipswich Journal* - Saturday 15 February 1772.

<sup>44</sup> Langford, "The Uses of Eighteenth-Century Politeness." 315.

<sup>45</sup> Richardson, *The apprentice's [v]ade mecum*. 24.

and cursing.<sup>46</sup> Thus, a runaway indentured servant's criminal activity would naturally progress, accorded Richardson, from theft to murder, eventually ending in execution at the gallows.<sup>47</sup> In 1777, an advertisement describing runaway indentured servant James Curley stated "...there are strong reasons to render him suspected of a most daring burglary."<sup>48</sup> Even though the advertisement failed to include specific details regarding a committed crime or articles stolen, simply publishing the assumption of Curley's participation in a crime damned him as a criminal and warned other employers from potentially hiring a liability.<sup>49</sup> Another article published in the *Daily Journal* on Thursday, February 24, 1732 contained an advertisement for absented indentured servant William Harris.<sup>50</sup> According to his master Thomas Plumsted, Harris not only ran away under false pretenses claiming to go to St. Albion's, but he also robbed two one hundred pound notes from Plumsted.<sup>51</sup> Even though Plumsted's advertisement contained an addendum forgiving Harris if he returned within a given amount of time, Harris already exhibited an inclination for lying, thievery, and running away – all perceived as criminal acts in master-servant relationships in both England and colonial America. Simply by publishing the advertisement, Plumsted made a public proclamation regarding Harris' inclination for wicked behavior and the potential for Harris to escalate to more severe crimes.

Perceived as intimate criminal acts, the fictitious friendship between master and servant created opportunities for servants to commit both thefts and robberies. Contrary to Harris' robbery of Plumsted's two hundred pounds, thefts remained the more common crime committed

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<sup>46</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>47</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>48</sup> *Newcastle Courant* - Saturday 22 March 1777.

<sup>49</sup> Dawson, "First Impressions." 282.

<sup>50</sup> *Daily Journal* (London, England), Thursday, February 24, 1732; Issue 3476. 17th-18th Century Burney Collection Newspapers.

<sup>51</sup> *Ibid.*

against masters throughout the eighteenth-century.<sup>52</sup> When William Fraiser ran away from his master Colonel Alexander Makensie, Fraiser stole “several Things being the wearing Apparel of his said Master.”<sup>53</sup> Appearing in the *London Post* in 1720, the advertisement for Fraiser lacked a description of the articles he stole leaving the reader to speculate whether Fraiser stole the Colonel’s military uniforms or simply his civilian threads. Regardless, English advertisements for runaway indentured servants containing thefts generally lacked the depth of detail found in the colonial American newspapers. For example, the items Enos Walley stole from his master included “a brown coat, blue waistcoat, and a new pair of grounded lamb breeches” whereas runaway indenture servant Jonathan Risbee stole “large Quantities of foreign Brandy and Rum, and likewise household Linnen and Provision.”<sup>54</sup> Masters did include details regarding clothing associated with specific trades such as runaway indentured servant Thomas Clarke who “had lived in a Farmer’s Service, and had Cloaths with him suitable for that Employ.”<sup>55</sup> However, specific amounts, name brands, location of manufacture, and even the condition of the articles stolen remain absent from English advertisements for runaway indentured servants.

The absence of detail in the theft of clothing reflected the difference in the nature of the consumerist culture of eighteenth-century England and colonial America. In the midst of the changing Atlantic world, English commerce increased six fold transforming household expenditures.<sup>56</sup> As the second largest expenditure of households, clothing came second only to

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<sup>52</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>53</sup> *Evening Post* (1709) (London, England), July 9, 1720 - July 12, 1720; Issue 1708. 17th-18th Century Burney Collection Newspapers

<sup>54</sup> *General Evening Post* (London, England), March 9, 1779 - March 11, 1779; Issue 7052. 17th-18th Century Burney Collection Newspapers. and *Ipswich Journal* - Saturday 15 February 1772.

<sup>55</sup> *The Ipswich Journal* - Saturday 12 December 1767.

<sup>56</sup> Duplessis, *The Material Atlantic*. 7.

food.<sup>57</sup> While families spent up to fifteen percent of their annual spending budget on clothing alone, the purchases of clothing varied widely to reflect current fashion trends, class status, and individual personality.<sup>58</sup> Removing the overwhelming variety of choices for ready to wear manufactured clothing products, more often, families purchased raw cloth and hired tailors to create jackets or dresses specific to individual tastes.<sup>59</sup> When compared to the simple descriptions found in the English advertisements, colonial America advertisements looked similar to a probate list than an advertisement for a runaway indentured servant. For example, colonial Pennsylvanian John Bull described the items of clothing stolen by runaway indentured servant William Ossier as

“a blue furtout coat, part of the shirt cut off all round, the cuffs made less than when new, two or three old jackets, one whereof brown or snuff coloured; the fore parts of which have been green plush, but is much faded; the other black the fore parts of which are velvet; they are all worn and ragged. Took also with him an old pair of soggathy breeches, and old tow trowsers; he has two new shirts, made of Ruffia linen, with brown homespun thread; had on an old beaver hat, and half worn shoes, lately soaled.”<sup>60</sup>

Contrary to the simpler descriptions contained in the English advertisements, the inventory style lists found in the colonial American newspapers suggested two distinctions between colonial American consumers and English consumers in the eighteenth-century. One, colonial American consumers maintained a broader knowledge and engagement with imports, exports, and even manufacturers, influencing consumer choices.<sup>61</sup> Two, the printed advertisements in colonial America represented colonial perception of servants, the labors they produced, and the goods they stole as consumer products. The lack of detail in English advertisements represented the

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<sup>57</sup> Lorna Weatherill, *Consumer Behavior and Material Culture in Britain, 1660-1760*. (Abingdon-on-Thames: Routledge, Taylor, and Francis Group, 2002). 119.

<sup>58</sup> *Ibid.* 4.

<sup>59</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>60</sup> *Pennsylvania Gazette*, published as *The Pennsylvania Gazette* (Philadelphia, Pennsylvania). 06-09-1768. Page Supplement 1.

<sup>61</sup> T.H. Breen, *The Marketplace of Revolution*. 53-58.

perception of the servant, the labors they produced, and the relationship with the master as a luxury investment, retaining more value than the products of clothing they may have stolen. While print media seemed to facilitate a unified nation of engaged consumers in colonial America, English consumers maintained a wider variability of product awareness reflected in the more simple descriptions of clothing in runaway indentured servant advertisements.<sup>62</sup>

The changing Atlantic World of the eighteenth-century witnessed a paradox in the English perception of an “other.” Whereas the individual and volatile nature of colonial America cultivated a very individualized perception of an “other,” reflected in the runaway advertisements for Irish indentured servants, the community of eighteenth-century England perceived themselves in relation to the “others” of colonial America.<sup>63</sup> The community mentality of England reflected in the omissions of runaway indentured servant advertisements. Defining language such as “Irishman” or “brogue on the tongue” lacked in the English advertisements replaced instead with specific places of birth such as “Halloway in Scotland,” or simply no implicating information at all.<sup>64</sup> Although, the society of England maintained degrees of separation from social and cultural “others” such as indentured servants from their masters, the more distinct perceptions of difference in England existed along binary categories of separation such as male and female, white and black, British and distinctly not British, even if Britishness was a projection.<sup>65</sup> Similar to the gendered nature of colonial American advertisements, the newspapers in eighteenth-century England contained specific language in association to the

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<sup>62</sup> Berry, Helen. "Polite Consumption: Shopping in Eighteenth-Century England." *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society* 12 (2002): 377.

<sup>63</sup> Linda Colley, *Briton's: Forging the Nation, 1707-1837*. (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1992). 6.

<sup>64</sup> *Public Advertiser* (London, England), Tuesday, April 3, 1759; Issue 7614. 17th-18th Century Burney Collection Newspapers.

<sup>65</sup> Colley, *Briton's*. 6.

different sexes; however, only a single advertisement for a female runaway servant existed in the surveyed articles.

Contrary to the increasingly rigid perceptions and social positions of women in colonial America, the position of women within eighteenth-century England fluctuated.<sup>66</sup> A vast majority of poor women remained visible within the public sphere working for wages in a variety of positions from domestic service to coal mining, and if single or widowed, the income along with whatever property remained legally theirs until married.<sup>67</sup> Divided into opposing sides, traditional scholarship disagrees on the gendered nature of servitude in eighteenth-century England. J. Jean Hecht's foundational work emphasizes the masculine nature of servitude while historian Bridget Hill claimed the increased feminization of servitude throughout the eighteenth-century. The lack of advertisements for female servants potentially contradicts Hill's argument; however, there are two possible explanations. The regularity of women in public may have made runaway female indentured servants less noticeable limiting the effectiveness of an advertisement, explaining the lack of a female presence in the sample. Also, the negative perceptions of women active within public sphere may have deterred more female servants from running away. This dynamic is present in the lone female advertisement for runaway indentured servant, Hannah Radcliffe. On March 25, 1766 the *Leed's Intelligencer* contained an advertisement describing three runaway indentured servants from their master Mr. John Stell of Kighley; eighteen-year-old Peter Greenwood, fifteen year old Joseph Kirshaw, seventeen-year old Radcliff.<sup>68</sup> The two lines dedicated to Radcliff's description included not only her age, but information regarding her mother, Mary Radcliffe, who Stell declared a spinster, and two words

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<sup>66</sup> *Ibid.* 239.

<sup>67</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>68</sup> *Leeds Intelligencer* - Tuesday 25 March 1766.



regarding her physical features: “tall and lusty.”<sup>69</sup>

Although Stell’s description of Radcliff is brief, the language used emphasizes the gender rhetoric within England and bares similarities to the gendered language of colonial America’s advertisements. Subjected to various forms of harassment, many female servants experienced their first sexual encounters – either consensual or not – with their masters or other male members of the household.<sup>70</sup> In conjunction with running away, Stell deliberately created a sexualized image of Radcliff using the descriptive term “lusty.”<sup>71</sup> By including Radcliff’s mother’s status as an unmarried woman, Stell surreptitiously described her lack of means, prospects, and reliable connections without a male head of household.<sup>72</sup> Even as the two lines devoted to Radcliffe represented the only advertisement for a female indentured servant within the sample, when combined with the multiple advertisements for eloped women, England newspapers became a medium for projecting social stigmas onto specific individuals such as women. For example, the advertisement for Edward Quay’s wife Sarah explicitly stated “this is to give Notice, that I forewarn any Body to trust her from this Day, for if they do, they must answer it at their own Peril.”<sup>73</sup> When combined with the more numerous advertisements for eloped wives, the language of the advertisements demonstrated society’s lack of trust for disobedient women, whether it be runaway wives or runaway female servants.

While the gendered language of advertisements reflected the similar societal perceptions of women who failed to behave in England and colonial America, the language used in runaway

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<sup>69</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>70</sup> Bridget Hill, *Women Work and Sexual Politics in Eighteenth-century England*. (London: Routledge, Taylor, and Francis Group, 2005). 137 and 146.

<sup>71</sup> *Leeds Intelligencer* - Tuesday 25 March 1766.

<sup>72</sup> *Ibid.* and Hill, *Women Work and Sexual Politics in Eighteenth-century England*. 7.

<sup>73</sup> *Daily Journal* (London, England), Thursday, February 24, 1732; Issue 3476. 17th-18th Century Burney Collection Newspapers.

advertisements for black indentured servants suggested a transmission of societal perceptions across the Atlantic. With the exchange of people, places, and ideas, concepts of colonial American plantation slavery potentially transformed English perceptions of black indentured servants during the eighteenth-century. A characteristic of colonial American slave societies, the loss and replacement of African names remained the first of hundreds of indignities they suffered.<sup>74</sup> The contempt for slaves reflected in a single forename assigned by their masters, names of classical figures such as Caesar, English diminutives such as Jack, or naming them after livestock, emphasized the slave's inferiority.<sup>75</sup> Through the exchanges of the Atlantic World, the tradition of dehumanizing slaves through their names may have transferred to other societies and perceptions of individuals and expanded to include black individuals in a variety of labor forms. For example, London's *Daily Post* contained an advertisement for runaway indentured servant Robin "a Negro Man about 21 years old" while thirty years later, the *Public Advertiser* contained an advertisement for runaway Negro servant boy Thomas Scipio.<sup>76</sup> Out of thirty-nine surveyed advertisements, four of the advertisements described black indentured servants and three of the four reflected the naming characteristics associated with the plantation generations of colonial America. Nevertheless, the information contained in three advertisements does not present enough data to correctly identify and examine whether the naming associated with plantation generations traversed the ocean, effecting the Atlantic World, but it does evoke consideration.

The perception of a British community in opposition to the establishment of a colony

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<sup>74</sup> Ira Berlin, *Many Thousands Gone: The First Two Centuries of Slavery in North America*. (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1998). 112.

<sup>75</sup> *Ibid.* 95-96.

<sup>76</sup> *Daily Post* (London, England), Thursday, July 7, 1726; Issue 2117. 17th-18th Century Burney Collection Newspapers. and, *Public Advertiser* (London, England), Thursday, March 3, 1757; Issue 6974. 17th-18th Century Burney Collection Newspapers.

consisting of individuals no longer perceived as English ultimately influenced England's perception of an "other."<sup>77</sup> Instead of a language of disgust or the use of negative connotations associated with groups such as the Irish, masters applied a more allusive approach, using polite language and proclamations of forgiveness to manipulate perceptions of indentured servants. However, the language of runaway advertisements demonstrated a duality in English perceptions and the paradox of servitude. Masters relegated servants to the status of "other" through the simultaneous inclusive and isolating nature of servitude.<sup>78</sup> Furthermore, the advertisements not only manipulated perceptions of the servants, but also attempted to contest any rumors or negative perceptions of the master that may be circulating throughout society. Through the changing Atlantic World, middle class consumers had better access to luxury commodities such as servants and the influence of the changing Atlantic World on English consumerism ultimately created a different relationship with labor, servitude, and commodities than its colonies. Whereas colonial Americans associated indentured servants as commodities producing more commodities through their labor, the English association of indentured servitude reflected the increasing wealth of the middle class and as luxury commodities, servants represented social status. Although a product of English civilization, the diversity of individuals and circumstances in colonial America reflected in the more direct and defining language used in colonial American advertisements for runaway indentured servants.

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<sup>77</sup> Colley, *Briton's*. 6.

<sup>78</sup> Coser, "Servants: The Obsolescence of an Occupational Role." 32.

## Conclusion

Although indentured servitude remained a viable source of labor in colonial America and eighteenth-century England, the changing Atlantic World transformed the perceptions associated with indentured servants. The title for this thesis “Products of Circumstance” is a play on words. Not only were indentured servants perceived as a type of commodity in the rising consumerist culture of the eighteenth century; but, the perceptions of these individuals changed depending upon the political, social, and economic circumstances in which they existed. In colonial America indentured servitude began to decline in the eighteenth century as the rising institution of slavery met the demand for cheap labor. The volatile nature of colonial life combined with the social, economic, and political implications of the changing Atlantic World, complicated the traditional English perception of an “other” and colonial America’s relationship with labor, indentured servants, and poor whites. Maintaining degrees of separation between English and non-English within the increasingly diverse colonies. In England, however, servitude in its various forms steadily increased as the changing Atlantic world created economic opportunities and cheaper access to luxury commodities such as servants for the middle class. With the establishment of the Kingdom of Great Britain in 1707, the perception of an “other” shifted to exclude their colonial counterparts while maintaining social control through the paradoxical nature of servitude and the intimate “othering” exemplified within the master-servant relationship.<sup>1</sup> Although the layout of newspapers and the information included, at times, looked remarkably similar, the perceptions associated with indentured servitude vastly differed when placed in the context of the changing Atlantic World.

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<sup>1</sup> Colley, *Briton's*. xi.

Regardless of the contrasting ends of their stories – William Moraley, the bankrupt and hopeless Londoner bound for Pennsylvania as an indentured servant, and Tommy Williams, the impoverished child taken up by Mr. Stock in Hannah More’s *The Two Shoemakers* – both individuals represented the typical characteristics of servants entering indentured contracts in eighteenth-century England and colonial America. Both impoverished young white males without friends or family, Moraley’s age and education ultimately allowed him the freedom of movement to traverse to colonial America under contract; while a child, Tommy relied on his local parish and eventually, the charitable nature of Mister Stock to enter an indentured apprenticeship.<sup>2</sup> Regardless, poverty and the loss of the family patriarch limited the prospects of both individuals making indentured servitude the most viable option in hopes of bettering their position.<sup>3</sup> Although Moraley never ran away and there is no evidence whether William’s breached his contract, the prospect of seven years in an indentured contract overwhelmed some individuals as they faced the realities of servitude in eighteenth-century England and colonial America. Whereas the volatile climate and emphasis of individuality within colonial America fostered a competitive atmosphere and opportunities for indentured servants to run away, the simultaneously inclusive and isolating nature of servitude in England combined with the draw of metropolitan cities may have proved too much for young servants.<sup>4</sup>

Although the overall demographics of indentured servants consisted of young men such as Moraley and Williams, the language of runaway advertisements reflected society’s gender constructs when indentured female servants absented their contracts, alluding to the negative perceptions associated with women in the public eye during the eighteenth-century. The

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<sup>2</sup> More. *The Two Shoemakers*. 11-14.

<sup>3</sup> Grubb, “Friendless and Fatherless.” 85-86.

<sup>4</sup> Dawson, “First Impressions.” 285.

descriptions of women present within the colonial American advertisements contained more genteel language than the descriptions associated with men. Even as the advertisements in the sample reflected a negative perception of Irish men, the advertisement for Irish servant girl Elinor Caughland on page eighteen, contained no connotative language implying Caughland's morality nor did it describe any criminal activities associated with her running away, such as thefts.<sup>5</sup> Although the sample of English newspapers contained only one advertisement for runaway female servant Hannah Radcliffe presented on page thirty-nine, when combined with the more numerous advertisements of eloped wives such as Edward Quay's advertisement for his wife Sarah presented on the same page, the language of the advertisements reflected society's mistrust of disobedient women. Whether it be runaway wives in England or runaway female indentured servants in colonial America, both societies used printed as a way to publicly identify women who failed to adhere to society's gender norms. While masters or mistresses may complain in private of the perceived immorality and unreliability of servants, runaway indentured servant advertisements made those perceptions public.<sup>6</sup> Furthermore, although the newspapers in colonial America contained a few more advertisements for runaway female indentured servants, the lack of women within the newspapers reflects the absence of female mobility within both English and colonial American society.<sup>7</sup>

The language of the runaway indentured servant advertisements reflected the fluctuating perceptions of "others" throughout the eighteenth-century Atlantic World. While English advertisements reflected a more intimate "othering," the language of colonial American advertisements reflected the more volatile nature of colonial life. As discussed in chapter two,

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<sup>5</sup> *American Weekly Mercury*, published as *THE AMERICAN Weekly Mercury*, (Philadelphia, Pennsylvania). From Thursday, March 20, to Thursday March 27, 1740. Page 4.

<sup>6</sup> Hill, *Women, Work, and Sexual Politics in Eighteenth-century England*. 131.

<sup>7</sup> Brown, *Good Wives, Nasty Wenches, and Anxious Patriarchs*. 276-277.

early English interactions with the “wild Irish” continued to influence colonial perceptions of Irish individuals during the eighteenth-century and reflected the underlying theme of disgust present within the language of runaway advertisements.<sup>8</sup> Masters utilized direct phrases such as “conceited comical fellow, talks much on the Brogue, and is a great swearer and drunkard,” or more commonly, fashioned advertisements with descriptive language alluding to the negative perception of an indentured servant such as “down look” or “He is a Roman Catholick.”<sup>9</sup> The language of the advertisements for indentured servants William Ossier, Anthony Kentey, Thomas Mc’Keely, or the numerous others described in colonial America’s newspapers reflected the transformation of poor white immigrants as perceived “others,” relegated to the fringes of civil society. While populations continued to grow more diverse in areas such as Boston and Pennsylvania, the English perception of “others” ultimately transformed to maintain degrees of separation between English and non-English individuals, such as the Irish.

While the political, social, and economic climate of colonial America continued to witness fluctuations in the perceptions of “others” during the country’s infancy, eighteenth-century England developed a national sense of Britishness leading to more intimate forms of “othering.”<sup>10</sup> Unlike the advertisements in Boston or Pennsylvania, the English advertisements represented within the sample omitted definitions of an individual as Irish or Irishman. According to Linda Colley in her work *Briton’s, Forging the Nation, 1707-1837*, the cosmopolitan society of eighteenth-century England developed a national rhetoric as a response to the colonial “others” living across the Atlantic.<sup>11</sup> Very rarely did mainland English citizens

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<sup>8</sup> Jacobson, *Whiteness of a Different Color*. 38.

<sup>9</sup> *Pennsylvania Gazette*, published as *The Pennsylvania Gazette* (Philadelphia, Pennsylvania). 06-09-1768. Page Supplement 1. and *Pennsylvania Gazette*, published as *The Pennsylvania Gazette* (Philadelphia, Pennsylvania). 07-01-1742. Page 3.

<sup>10</sup> Colley, *Briton’s*. xi; 6.

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.* xv.

directly interact with the colonial “others” unlike the affront of diverse individuals colonial Americans faced every day. Although Irish, Scottish, or Welsh individuals living in eighteenth-century England claimed their own forms of nationalism, a unified British national identity emerged in opposition to the perception of the “others” in colonial America.<sup>12</sup>

As such, the methods of defining an “other” in English society fluctuated and transformed to reflect “others” within a social hierarchy, such as indentured servants. The simultaneous inclusive and isolating nature of servitude created a paradox within the master-servant relationship and the nuanced language of runaway advertisements in eighteenth-century England reflected the more intimate dynamic of “othering” found in servitude. As opposed to the descriptive language found in colonial advertisements, English advertisements contained phrases such as “if he voluntarily returns he will be forgiven” and used politeness to convey a masters perception of indentured servants.<sup>13</sup> Printed pamphlets for educating indentured servants and apprentices on proper behavior during their contracts further alluded to the paradoxical nature of servitude, claiming the surrogate position of the master as father and reminding the reader of the biblical commandment to honor thy father and thy mother. While servitude in England reflected elements of traditional feudal society, servitude in colonial America demonstrated an almost purely contractual relationship.<sup>14</sup> was shocked Nevertheless, the asymmetric dynamic of servitude regardless if in England or colonial America, established the servant as an “other” both within the household and in society at large.<sup>15</sup>

The perceptions of an “other” fluctuated throughout the eighteenth-century as conflict,

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<sup>12</sup> *Ibid.* 14 and 18.

<sup>13</sup> *Daily Post* (London, England), Thursday, July 7, 1726; Issue 2117. 17th-18th Century Burney Collection Newspapers.

<sup>14</sup> Coser, "Servants: The Obsolescence of an Occupational Role." 37.

<sup>15</sup> *Ibid.* 36.



commerce, and the changing Atlantic World transformed the relationships, trade, and labor in both England and colonial America. In colonial America, individuals exercised consumer choice through the purchase or boycott of specific goods.<sup>16</sup> The individual engagement with consumerism transformed the colonist's relationship with labor.<sup>17</sup> All facets of industry – labor, the individuals who produced the labor, and the finished products resulting from labor – became defined through the language of products and consumerism. Colonial advertisements for runaway indentured servants reflected the perception of individuals as a product as well as the colony's relationship with manufactured goods. While warnings against harboring servant or slaves were generally placed as addendums towards the end of the advertisement, the focus of the text looked more like a clothing registry than an advertisement for an absconded servant.

English advertisements, on the other hand, focused on brief descriptions of the servant sandwiched between addendums of forgiveness and warnings against harboring or employing the servant. The advertisements for runaway indentured servants John Hoggion and James Liang presented on page thirty-thirty and thirty-four demonstrated the emphasis of forgiveness and warnings within the advertisements. While the claims of forgiveness may only consist of a line or two, the placement at the end of the advertisement emphasized England's preoccupation with politeness as forgiveness as it was the thing an individual read. With exceptions being those individuals suspected of committing more illicit crimes or individuals subjected to the outskirts of civil society such as seamen, English advertisements contained simple descriptions of physical characteristics or clothing such as the advertisement for George Ganges described as wearing "a blue Waistcoat, with a brown one under it, Leather Breeches, and Worsted Stockings."<sup>18</sup> The

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<sup>16</sup> T.H. Breen, *The Marketplace of Revolution*. 59.

<sup>17</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>18</sup> *Daily Advertiser* (London, England), Monday, September 5, 1774; Issue 13637. 17th-18th Century Burney Collection Newspapers.

difference in the detail and the focus of the advertisements reflected the different engagements with indentured servitude as a type of consumer product in both colonial America and England. Although indentured servants remained a type of product themselves in colonial America, the labor servants produced remained arguably more valuable than the servant themselves. In contrast, servants in England represented a type of necessary luxury commodity.<sup>19</sup> As the middle class engaged with the changes in English commerce correlating with the changing Atlantic world, luxury commodities such as servants became more easily accessible to the middle class.<sup>20</sup> As such, the language of advertisements in England reflected the consumerist rhetoric of servitude as a luxury commodity and when tied to the perceptions of the master, the individual servant remained more valuable than the services or labor they provided.

While the perception of servants as a type of consumer good differed between eighteenth-century England and colonial America, the impetus for publicizing runaway indentured servants remained the same. The realm of print media extended the reach of authority, making specific individuals such as runaways more noticeable to everyday citizens.<sup>21</sup> The dissemination of newspapers in growing consumer cultures extended the reach of authority and enlisted everyday citizens as an arm of the police. The publicity of newspapers allowed masters to extend their reach throughout England or colonial America and increased the chances of getting their runaway servants back by means of average citizens, headhunters, or other local law enforcement. Furthermore, advertisements established a two way form of communication. While masters advertised for runaway indentured servants or slaves, local authorities who detained suspicious individuals sent out advertisements seeking potential ownership of the criminals. For

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<sup>19</sup> Weatherill, *Consumer Behavior and Material Culture in Britain, 1660-1760*. 15.

<sup>20</sup> Leonard. "English Servants and Their Employers during the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries." 249.

<sup>21</sup> Morgan and Rushton, "Visible Bodies." 39.

example, in 1742 the Pennsylvania Gazette contained an advertisement of William Carter who “was committed to the County Goal in New-Castle...upon suspicion of being a Runaway Servant.”<sup>22</sup> Regardless, advertisements represented the opposing sides of authority in the eighteenth-century Atlantic World, those who subverted authority by running away and those who attempted to reestablish their authority and thus, the status quo.

When combined with the rising historiography on the connections, exchanges, micro and macro changes associated with the changing Atlantic World, the information found within the hundreds of runaway indentured servant and/or slave advertisements take on new meaning. Clothing styles a servant stole during boycotts of British goods demonstrates an awareness of political changes, while pamphlets designed to educate servants on proper behavior emphasize the subservience of a servant in an isolating and inclusive relationship. Furthermore, the language of the advertisements suggest masters maintained a separation from their servant by degrees in colonial America whereas servants in England experienced a more intimate “othering.” Nevertheless, when contextualized within the changing Atlantic World, these advertisements provide a new perspective on the relationships between labor, consumerism, perceptions, and those ultimately defined as an “other” in eighteenth-century colonial America and England.

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<sup>22</sup> *Pennsylvania Gazette*, published as *The Pennsylvania Gazette*, (Philadelphia, Pennsylvania). 08-05-1742. Page 3.

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