Running from Bondage: An Analysis of
the Newspaper Advertisements of Runaway Slaves
in Colonial Maryland and Georgia

Mitsuhiro WADA

In order to find the actual figures of runaway slaves in colonial Maryland and Georgia, advertisements written by their masters in the Annapolis *Maryland Gazette* from 1745 through 1769 and the Savannah *Georgia Gazette* from 1763 through 1769 are analyzed in this paper. Applying such statistical methods as regression, correlation, etc. to the data derived from the advertisements, we describe a typical or an average example of runaway slaves in both colonies, which also suggests cruelty of the "racial slavery."

1. Introduction

In the southern colonies of the 18th century, black slaves were forced to labor in plantations to produce southern staples such as tobacco, rice, indigo, etc. Even under this cruel system of the "racial slavery," however, some slaves rose to get freedom by their own hands. Large-scale violent rebellions were, nevertheless, rare in the southern colonies. Small non-violent rebellions, or runaways, were common instead. To run away was a typical expression by slaves who tried to be free there.

Looking back to the historiography on runaway slaves, we can see a lot of accumulation of research on runaways in the antebellum era,[1] but emergence of the comprehensive study for colonial runaways was somewhat new. Among them, the research by G. W. Mullin that analyzed many advertisements of escapers in the *Virginia Gazette* and revealed the figures of Virginian runaways in the 18th century for the first time, is striking.[2] Following his methods, studies on colonial runaways in South Carolina[3] and southern Maryland[4] were published, but an overall study on escapers in colonial Maryland including the northern counties is still missing.[5] As for runaway slaves in colonial Georgia, several studies mentioned the runaways

---

1   Stanley W. Campbell, "Runaway Slaves," in *Dictionary of Afro-American Slavery*, ed. Randall M. Miller & John D. Smith (New York, 1988), 649–652.

2   Gerald W. Mullin, *Flight and Rebellion: Slave Resistance in Eighteenth-Century Virginia* (New York, 1972).

3   Lathan A. Windley, "A Profile of Runaway Slaves in Virginia and South Carolina from 1730–1787" (Ph.D. diss., University of Iowa, 1974).

4   Allan L. Kulikoff, *Tobacco and Slaves: The Development of Southern Cultures in the Chesapeake, 1680–1800* (Chapel Hill, 1986), 328–329, 343–345, 374–380.

5   As for a case study on Baltimore city and Baltimore county only, see Robert L. Hall, "Slave Resistance in Baltimore City and County," *Maryland Historical Magazine* 84 (1989), which is restrictive in areas and not statistical.

and their ads, but comprehensive statistical research is yet to be published.[6] In colonial North Carolina, publication of newspapers was relatively late and the state of their remnants is poor, so it seems impossible to study runaways using ads in colonial newspapers.

Meanwhile steady work of compilation of historical records made a fruitful result: *Runaway Slave Advertisements: A Documentary History from 1730s to 1790*, 4 volumes, compiled by the late L. A. Windley.[7] The volumes extracted advertisements of runaways from several newspapers issued in the South of the 18th century. The study on runaways in southern Maryland mentioned above also used the volumes as main sources, but studies on Georgian escapers scarcely utilized them. Generally, statistical and comprehensive studies based on Windley's source books are still insufficient.[8] In this paper, we will exploit the valuable books, and try to make a comprehensive and manifold analysis on runaway slaves in colonial Maryland and Georgia, studies on which have yet to be explored fully. By discovering the actual figures of colonial runaway slaves, a cruel mechanism of the "racial slavery" will be uncovered at the same time.

2. Newspaper Advertisements of Runaway Slaves as a Historical Document

The principle sources to be used for the analysis of runaway slaves in this paper are advertisements in two colonial newspapers. They are the Annapolis *Maryland Gazette* published in colonial Maryland and the Savannah *Georgia Gazette* in colonial Georgia. The periods dealt here are the years 1745–1769 for Maryland and 1763–1769 for Georgia.[9] As the starting point of the period is adjusted to the source book, the first year for Georgia, where the *Georgia Gazette* began to be published in 1763, is later than that for Maryland. The last year to be analyzed for each newspaper is 1769 because the effects of the American Revolution should be eliminated as possible. Though the period for Georgia might appear to be too short as compared to that for Maryland, the actual number of advertisements of runaway slaves in the *Georgia Gazette* (265) is almost the same as that in the *Maryland Gazette* (276). So in comparison of runaways in two colonies, the credibility gap caused by the difference of sample size can be ignored.

The following is a sample of a runway slave advertisement. It appeared in the Annapolis *Maryland Gazette*, February 6, 1755.[10]

RAN away from the Subscriber, the 20th of November last, living on Patuxent River,

---

6   Harold E. Davis, *The Fledgling Province: Social and Cultural Life in Colonial Georgia, 1733–1776* (Chapel Hill, 1976), 136–139; Julia F. Smith, *Slavery and Rice Culture in Low Country Georgia, 1750–1860* (Knoxville, 1985), 186–192.

7   Lathan A. Windley, comp., *Runaway Slave Advertisements: A Documentary History from 1730s to 1790* (Westport, 1983), 4 vols.

8   Utilizing also advertisements in the newspapers issued in the southern colonies, John Komlos concentrates only on the height of runaway slaves. John Komlos, "The Height of Runaway Slaves in Colonial America, 1720–1770," in *Stature, Living Standards, and Economic Development: Essays in Anthropometric History*, ed. John Komlos (Chicago, 1994).

9   For Maryland, Windley, comp., *op. cit.*, vol. 2: 1–80; for Georgia, id., comp., *op. cit.*, vol. 4: 1–45. Even if it appears after the year of 1770, an advertisement which has the date of escape before 1769 is included for our analysis.

10 Id., comp., *op. cit.*, vol. 2: 22.

near Upper Marlborough, in Prince George's County, a dark Mulatto Man, named Sam, about 5 Feet 9 or 10 Inches high, about 30 Years of Age, a Carpenter by Trade, has a down Look, and low Voice. Had on when he went away, a new Cotton Jacket and Breeches, and Osnabrigs Shirt; he is supposed to have taken with him, one Cotton Coat lined with blue, one red Waistcoat and Breeches, one blue Silk Coat, one light Cloth Coat, some fine Shirts, and one or two good Hats. He is supposed to be lurking in Charles County, near Bryan Town, where a Mulatto Woman lives, whom he has for some Time called his wife; but as he is an artful Fellow, and can read and write, it is probable he may endeavour to make his Escape out of the Province.

Whoever takes up the said Runaway, and secures him so as his Master may get him again, shall have, if taken out of this Province, Three Pounds; and if within this Province, Forty Shillings, besides what the Law allows, paid by

William Digges, Junior.

The information included in the advertisement above is as follows: the date of issue (or the date of advertising), the date of escape, address, name(s) of runaway(s), race, height, age, occupation (or ability), countenance, appearance (or clothes), the cause (or the aim) of escape, ability of English, prize money, the name of master (advertiser), etc. Though the sample above includes plenty of information, many other samples of advertisements possess less information lacking some entries. In the *Georgia Gazette* especially, the content of a runaway advertisement is simpler than that in the *Maryland Gazette*. Moreover the sample above dealt with the case of escape without an accomplice though some other samples advertised escapes with accomplices. In any case, from the advertisements of runaway slaves in two papers, we can obtain a lot of information which is useful for a statistical analysis. The next section is devoted to a quantitative description of the characteristics of the runaways from the evidence available in the advertisements.

3. Characteristics of the Runaway Slaves

3.1. Trends of the Number of Runaway Slaves

At first, trends of the number of runaways should be surveyed. As has been mentioned, we deal with the advertisements appeared in the years 1745–1769 for Maryland and 1763–1769 for Georgia, from which two time series—Series A and Series B—are to be produced for each newspaper. Series A presents only samples which specify the year of escape. In addition to the samples used in Series A, Series B includes other samples without the year of escape for which the year of advertising substitutes.
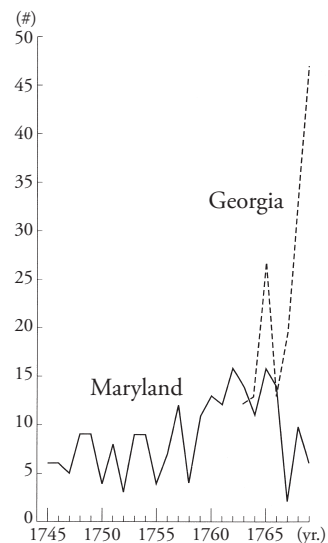
Series A is graphed by Figure 1 that shows a rising

Figure 1. The number of runaway slaves

Table 1. Trends of the number of runaway slaves

	Maryland		Georgia	
	Series A	Series B	Series A	Series B
T	.231* (2.201)	.376* (3.166)	4.893** (3.062)	6.250 (2.531)
Constant	5.800** (3.721)	5.710* (3.233)	3.857 (.540)	14.429 (1.306)
R^2	.174	.304	.652	.562

Note: Dependent variable: number of runaway slaves; Definition of the independent variable: T=number of years, 1–25 (1745–69) for Maryland sample, 1–7 (1763–69) for Georgia sample; ( ): t-values; *: 5% level of significance; **: 1% level of significance.

trend of the number of runaways in both colonies though the fluctuation of the figures is large. The rising trend is showed more clearly by a regression analysis including Series B (See Table 1). It is however difficult to verify whether the rising trends indicated in Table 1 and Figure 1 represent the actual increase of the number of runaways or just reflect the increase of the number of advertisements caused by the development of the "mass" media. Nevertheless we can affirm that both Series A and B have a rising trend for both Marylander samples and Georgian samples.[11]

3.2. Composition by Sex

The sex distribution of runaway slaves in Maryland and Georgia presented by Table 2 indicates that the majority of runaways were male. This reflects the fact that the sex ratio of slaves was biased toward men because imported slaves outnumbered native-born slaves then. There is also possibility that male slaves were more active in trying to escape than female

Table 2. Sex of runaway slaves (% of total)

Sex	Maryland	Georgia
Male	94.3	87.7
Female	5.7	12.3
Total	100.0	100.0
N	265	276

ones. Moreover, according to the data of runaway slaves of Virginia in the early nineteenth century, 84.1 percent were male.[12] These figures suggest the critical effect of demographic factors such as the improvement of the sex ratio of slaves, the increase of the number of native-born slave population, etc.

3.3. Age Distribution

Table 3 presents percentage distributions of the runaways' ages for each colony. The distributions of two colonies are quite similar though the samples of Georgia have a younger

---

11 For Maryland samples, we include the runaway slaves who escaped out of Maryland, whose number is 33. The number of their advertisements is 27 (one advertisement deals with a runaway to North Carolina, one to New Jersey, others to Virginia). For Georgia samples, we include the runaway slaves who escaped out of Georgia: 21 (#), 17 (# of their advertisements, one to Florida, others to South Carolina).

12 The data from the Richmond *Inquirer* (1804–1828), quoted in Campbell, *op. cit.*, 650.

group. In fact, the average age of runaways was 27.5 in Maryland and 26.5 in Georgia, which means both figures are almost the same statistically. Moreover, compared to the parallel data of the nineteenth century (c. 27),[13] we can not see any significant differences concerning the mean age of runaways. The connotation of the age of 26 or 27 can be inferred that the successful escapers must have been younger enough and older enough at the same time, which suggests the middle of 20s. The low life expectancy at that time should be counted as well.

Table 3. Ages of runaway slaves (% of total)

Age	Maryland	Georgia
10s	11.9	16.7
20s	49.0	51.2
30s	30.5	16.7
40s	6.6	15.4
50s	2.0	.0
Total	100.0	100.0
N	151	84*

Note: *: excluding a seven-year-old slave.

The number of samples, however, appears to be small because the data behind Table 3 exclude runaways whose age is not specified.[14] It is also possible that the ages referred here are biased as the masters (planters) of the runaways estimated them. From the fact that the descriptions of runaways' ages by their masters were rough—we can often find such entries as 20, 25, 30—, there seems to be a certain bias. For the entries of runaways whose ages are 10s or 20s, notwithstanding, their masters sometimes described their ages by the year such as 14, 18, 21, etc. The data behind Table 3, therefore, contain the fidelity that endures quantitative manipulation at least.

3.4. Racial Composition

Next, the racial composition of the runaways is to be analyzed. Though most of them are blacks ("negro" in the samples), runaways of mixed race are also found in the advertisements. According to the expressions of the ads, those of mixed race are classified into mulattoes and "yellowish complexions." G. W. Mullin has adopted the same classification as well.[15] Strictly a mulatto is a person with one black parent and one white parent, but the usage of the term was ambiguous then.[16] So we here include "mustees" into "mulattoes." As for a "yellowish complexion," it is difficult to specify his/her racial origin. While few samples suggest they were mixed with native Americans,[17] "yellowish complexions" often mean those who were not so white as mulattoes but not so black as pure blacks vaguely.[18] According to a racial gauge, therefore, the term of "yellowish complexion" can stand for a person between a mulatto and a black.

Based on the classification above, Table 4 presents the racial distribution of the runaways. In colonial Maryland, the ratio of the mixed race is higher than the parallel ratio in colonial

---

13 *Ibid.* As for the average age of runaways in the South, local differences were relatively small.

14 The number of those who were mentioned as "young" or "boy/girl" without specific descriptions of their ages were 20 ("young") and 4 ("boy/girl") respectively in colonial Maryland. Judging by samples with age descriptions, "young" runaways appear to be at the age of 20s, and a "boy/girl" at the age of 10s in many cases. The mean age of runaways, therefore, might have become lower if the samples mentioned above had been added.

15 Mullin, *op. cit.*, 98, 108, etc.

16 Laurence Glasco, "Miscegenation," in Miller & Smith, eds., *op. cit.*, 479.

17 For example, the *Maryland Gazette*, February 23, 1758.

18 Consequently, it is possible for a "yellowish complexion" not to be a mixed race. In this paper, however, they are dealt as a mixed race in order to give priority to the consistency of our classification.

Table 4. Races of runaway slaves (% of total)

Race	Maryland	Georgia
Black	62.6	87.7
Mulatto	21.9	8.0
Yellowish-complexion	15.5	4.3
Total	100.0	100.0
N	265	276

Georgia. As a slave colony, Maryland was established earlier than Georgia, so colonial Maryland appeared to produce more slaves of mixed race than Georgia did. If this inference is right, the ratio of the imported slaves in Georgia, conversely, should have been higher than that in Maryland. The data tell it is right. Among the samples of blacks whose origins can be specified, the number of blacks born in America is 42 and imported from Africa is 30 in colonial Maryland on one hand, and the former number is just 17 and the latter is 77 in colonial Georgia on the other hand. For slaves of mixed race, moreover, an escape must have been easier, which may also explain the high percentage of runaways of mixed race in Maryland. Naturally, "new negroes" who were not accustomed to the environment of the New World often tried to escape. Consequently, it is difficult to rate the zest of slaves for escape in accordance with the level of their cultural transfiguration.

3.5. Annual Rhythm

Figure 2 presents the percentage of runaway slaves by month, which reveals the annual rhythm of their escapes. Both colonies show the very similar pattern from which three peaks—spring, summer, autumn—can be identified.[19] This cyclical pattern was strongly related to the rhythm of agriculture in both colonies. The busiest season for farming made the peaks directly.

First, the peak in spring concurred with the sowing period of tobacco in Maryland and rice in Georgia. Especially in Georgia, rice culture was very busy for such following processes as irrigation, weeding, etc. Next, the peak in summer coincided with the season of hard work such as weeding for tobacco in heat wave and the harvest of rice at the end of August and the beginning of September. Last, the peak in autumn—observable in Maryland in particular—
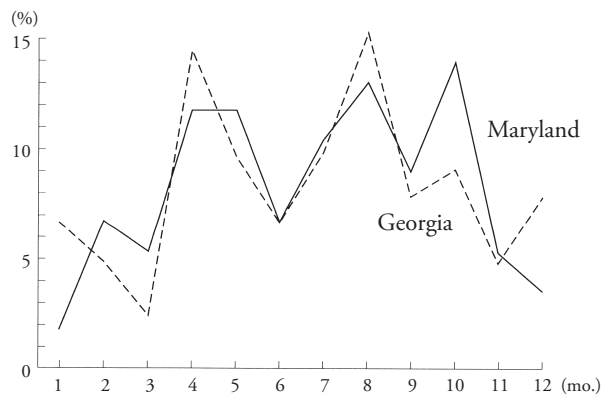

Figure 2. The percentage of runaway slaves by month

19 According to the data by Mullin, *op. cit.*, 192, two peaks—summer, autumn—can not be identified clearly.

was the period for harvest and drying of tobacco, and sowing of winter wheat in the area where it was cultivated. In winter, when escape itself was probably difficult and labor itself was not hard, no peaks can be identified. Thus, it is probable that hard work in tobacco/rice plantations would induce escapes in slaves. And after one peak induced by several factors mentioned above, there need to be some period of "charge," because the number of slaves with desire to escape will decrease by the former peak. This mechanism would produce a cyclical pattern or an annual rhythm of runaways.

3.6. Number in Running Away

Did a runaway slave make his/her escape alone, or with someone? Table 5 presents the percentage distributions of runaways' number per case—how many people escaped together—for each colony. Actually some slaves escaped with white indentured servants.[20] Some made an escape with his/her own "family," which was exceptional because of the difficulty of forming a family.[21] As for counting the number of runaways a case, there are several theoretical problems such as the possibility of advertising only one runaway in spite of plural escapers, or advertising different cases in a lump

Table 5. Number in running away (% of total)

Number	Maryland	Georgia
1	78.9	65.7
2	13.2	20.7
3	4.4	6.5
4	1.3	3.0
5 and over	.9	4.1
2 and over*	1.3	.0
Total	100.0	100.0
N	228	169

Note: *: exact number unknown.

without mentioning the days of their respective escapes. It is, however, easy to find out the differences while dealing with actual documents, so they will not affect the result of summation here.

Table 5 designates that the case of single escape was dominant though there were some distinctions between two colonies. Even the case of plural escapers, the number was two or three at most. A large number of runaways might have been detected easier. Anyway these data tell us the actual circumstances of lonely escapes despite runaways could expect some cooperation of their friends.[22]

3.7. Ability to Speak English/Skills

Did slaves of higher abilities incline to make an escape? As an index of their abilities, Table 6 picks up the capability of speaking English. There were, however, a lot of advertisements that did not mention the capability, so these ads are classified as "Unknown" in the table. The ads classified as "Sufficient" actually mentioned the runaways' ability to speak English only as "good" in many cases. What are classified as "Insufficient/Incapable" are the ads that specified

---

20 This kind of escape sometimes happened especially in Maryland. For example, the *Maryland Gazette*, June 9, 1747; April 17, 1751; June 10, 1752; March 19, 1755; September 6, 1759; August 2, 1762; June 25, 1765; January 23, 1767; August 15, 1768.

21 For example, *ibid.*, October 23, 1751, etc. There were also such cases as a mother with her children (*ibid.*, April 6, 1758; January 29, 1767), or a husband with his wife (the *Georgia Gazette*, July 13, 1768; October 25, 1769).

22 In Georgia at the end of the 18th century, however, a group escape became frequent. See Smith, *op. cit.*, 190.

Table 6. Ability to speak English (% of total)

Ability	Maryland	Georgia
Sufficient	17.4	23.2
Insufficient/ Incapable	14.7	21.0
Unknown	67.9	55.8
Total	100.0	100.0
N	265	276

negative evaluations concerning language ability. "Insufficient" and "Incapable" are categorized as the same one here because it is difficult to distribute the "insufficient" type ads and the "incapable" type ads into the respective categories.[23] Moreover we have to be careful about the quality of "ability" because the runaways' ability was evaluated by their masters, who did not guarantee the objectivity of their evaluations. Anyway in the table, we can not find any large differences between two figures of the "Sufficient" group and the "Insufficient/Incapable" group in both colonies though the figures of the former group are slightly larger. This fact suggests that the incentive to escape is not necessarily measured by the degree of cultural adaptation of slaves.

As another index of their abilities, their skills also should be pointed out. Though the definition of "skills" is ambiguous, we can designate at least "carpenters, shipwrights, coopers, wood cutters and blacksmiths" referring to Mullin's research.[24] After applying the same operations as Table 6, the number of the runaways with skills proved to be somewhat small (31 in Maryland and 18 in Georgia). One reason of which is that many advertisements did not have any descriptions about skills of escapers, which does not necessarily mean the escapers actually had no skills at all. Moreover there are several examples of runaways who had plural skills. Despite these saving clauses above, the number of skilled runaways seemed still small probably because their average age was relatively small. In general they were still too young to acquire sufficient skills. In fact the age distribution of the 31 runaways in Maryland mentioned above suggests that they were somewhat older—the number of the age of 10s was 0, 20s: 8, 30s: 11, 40s: 2—though the small number of samples is the bottleneck of our inference.

3.8. Characters of Prize Money

The most noticeable entry in the advertisements of runaway slaves is the prize money. In the ads, there were two kinds of prize money: the statutory or fixed prize and the additional or premium prize (or price). The latter one is the subject here. It was set gradually—two or three levels—according to the distance between the place of escape and that of capture. It was also different in accordance with whether the place of capture was inside a colony or outside.[25] The far the distance, the larger the amount of the price, naturally. As the amount seemed fixed customarily, the maximum premium, which meant the price when a runaway was captured the most remotely, was generally 20 shillings or 40 shillings, whose amount still differed with samples. So the agenda here is to find out the factors which determined the amount of the

---

23 In the advertisements, we can find such expressions as "some word," "little," "very little," "few," "no," etc.

24 Actually Mullin includes runaways with other occupations as "technicians" such as sailors, domestic slaves, etc., which are not counted here in order to avoid theoretical ambiguity of the "skills."

25 Though many ads in the *Georgia Gazette* announced to present a premium prize for those who just informed a master of the lurking place of a runaway, these samples will be excluded here in order to make consistency with Maryland samples.

maximum prize.

We can guess two possibilities. One is the difficulty to find a runaway, which stands for the days between his/her escape and advertising by his/her master.[26] That is to say the longer the days, the more difficult to search a runaway, then, the more amount of money his/her master had to present in order to give more incentives to search the escaper. Another possibility is the importance of a runaway for a master. The more competent and "useful" a runaway, the more important for a master, then, the more amount of prize would be presented by the master. Attributes of a runaway could, namely, determine the amount of the maximum prize.

In order to decide which factor was more effective, the correlation between the maximum prize for those who captured a runaway and a period until advertising by a master should be calculated. If the former factor was more effective, we will get a positive correlation coefficient, and if the latter one was more effective, a negative coefficient we will get. Our hypothesis concerning the latter one should be explained more. According to the hypothesis, if the "value" of a runaway was high for his/her master, he would advertise earlier and propose higher prize money, which produces the negative coefficient. On calculating these coefficients, the samples that specified a period until advertising as over 40 days should be excluded in order not to favorable for the former hypothesis. And as a denomination of money, "pound" is to be used for our calculation, but three kinds of "pound" are found in the ads of the *Maryland Gazette*: Maryland currency, pound sterling and pistole (a Spanish gold coin). Then, if ads did not specify the kind of prize money, we will consider it Maryland currency. If ads specified other two types of money, we will exchange them into Maryland currency utilizing tables of an exchange rate.[27] As for the advertisements in the *Georgia Gazette*, most of them used pound sterling as a denomination, so only the samples that specified the denomination are to be used for our calculation. Table 7 shows the result of our operation. Though both correlation coefficients are positive, their values are small and the Georgia's figure is not significant. This implies that the result seems to justify the former hypothesis, but does not completely deny the latter one.

Table 7. Correlation coefficient between maximum prize and a period until advertising

Maryland	Georgia
.234*	.270
(2.574)	(1.899)

Note: ( ): t-values; *: 5 % level of significance.

For a fuller and more synthetic investigation that deals with the former hypothesis and the latter one at the same time, we need to try a multiple regression analysis whose dependent variable (or regressand) is maximum prize money, and independent (explanatory) variables (or

---

26 The average days were about a month (32.1 days in Maryland based on the data of 188 runaways and 28.7 in Georgia based on the data of 122). According to Campbell, *op. cit.*, 651, the days were a month and a half in Virginia.

27 In the 1760s, we can find some ads that indicated "dollars (Spanish piece of eight)," which are to be exchanged into the currency as well. As for the exchange rate between pistole and pound sterling, we use 1:0.83 as of 1766 (John J. McCusker, *Money and Exchange in Europe and America, 1600–1775: A Handbook*, Chapel Hill, 1978, 11). As for the rate between Spanish piece of eight and pound sterling, 1:0.23 as of 1766 (*ibid.*, 10). As for the exchange rate between pound sterling and Maryland currency, we use the table in Carville V. Earle, *The Evolution of a Tidewater Settlement System: All Hallow's Parish, Maryland, 1650–1783*, Chicago, 1975, 227–229. At that time, foreign coins and tobacco notes were often used as a means for actual payment, so the three types of denomination above were applied for calculation in a tally.

Table 8. Estimated regression coefficients

Independent variable	Maryland	Georgia
Days[a]	.0119 (1.388)	.0164 (1.242)
Sex[b]	—	−1.218 (−.754)
Age	.0531 (.836)	−.0850 (−1.107)
Mulatto[c]	1.724 (1.716)	6.657** (4.737)
Y-C[d]	.376 (.416)	1.406 (.963)
English[e]	−.0578 (−.0788)	.293 (.277)
Constant	.399 (.221)	3.070 (1.439)
$\overline{R}^2$	.0193	.553
D.W.	2.203	2.237
F	1.142	5.120**

Note: Dependent variable: maximum prize; ( ): t-values; **: 1% level of significance.
[a]For days variable, indicated a period between running away and advertising (including the sample of 40 days and over). [b]Male=0, female=1 (All Maryland data is male). [c]Mulatto=1, black=0, yellowish-complexion=0. [d]Yellowish-complexion=1, mulatto=0, black=0. [e]For ability to speak English, indicated "sufficient"=0, "insufficient/ incapable"=1

regressors) are days (a period between a runaway's escape and advertising by his/her master) and runaway's attributes including sex, age, race and ability of English. Among the attributes, we can use dummy variables for sex, race, and ability of English. The result of our estimation is Table. 8. As for the Maryland model, the total performance of the estimated equation is rather bad, but the t-value of the coefficient of the "Days" variable—and that of the "Mulatto" variable as well—is relatively large, and its coefficients is positive as expected. As an experiment, we estimated exactly the same multiple regression model excluding the "Days" variable from the independents variables, then, the total performance became worse.[28] The experiment also testified the importance of the variable. When it comes to Georgia of Table 8, the total performance of the model is rather good and the t-value of each coefficient is relatively large. Especially the coefficient of the "Mulatto" variable clears one percent level of statistical significance. So it is affirmed that to be a mulatto as an attribute of a runaway contributed to raise maximum prize money.

Judging synthetically from the multiple regression analysis above, our question on two hypotheses presented earlier has not yet been solved completely. Supposed only the "Days" variable were significant, the former hypothesis would be supported. Even from the result of the Maryland model, however, it is impossible to affirm that the variable is significant statistically. On the other hand, when we focus on the attributes of runaways according to the latter hypothesis, the standard errors of the variables are too large excluding the "Mulatto" variable of Georgia. In brief, it is able to be concluded that the determinant of the maximum prize money was not just one factor among the variables analyzed above but the summation of them as a whole.

4. Conclusion

From our analysis above, we can now describe a typical or an average example of runaway slaves in colonial Maryland and Georgia. A runaway was a male whose age was 26 or 27. He

28 $\overline{R}^2$=−.0419, F=.537.

was a native black (in both colonies) or a mulatto (especially in Maryland) or a non-native black (especially in Georgia), who was trying to escape alone or with one or two friends in the busiest season for farming in spring, summer, or autumn. Some runaways were able to speak English fluently, but those who had a skill were not numerous. To deal with their escape, their masters advertised about a month later, and presented a prize whose amount was customarily fixed in part according to the attributes of runaways and the days of their escape. The number of escapers, however, increased gradually….[29] In this analysis, the finding that the results of both colonies are very similar besides the race factor is especially impressive. As for the sex and age factors, moreover, we can not see any great differences from the data of the 19th century. This fact seems to indicate the universality and persistence of the "racial slavery" beyond time and space. In this paper, we depicted the actual figures of those who had been ruled through historical documents made by those who had ruled them. The fact itself that we can find statistically who the runaways were on the whole from that kind of documents only, also suggests the cruelty of colonial societies founded upon the "racial slavery."

---

29   In this paper, we did not treat runaways' "reason of escape." Though Mullin and Kulikoff already tried to deal with that, it is still difficult to analyze the mentality of runaways from the advertisements written by their masters (Mullin, *op. cit.*, 105–116; Kulikoff, *op. cit.*, 343–345). This fact suggests one of several limitations of newspaper ads as a historical document.