Runaway Slave Names Recaptured: An Investigation of the Personal First Names of Fugitive Slaves Advertised in the *Virginia Gazette* Between 1736 and 1776

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This investigation presents the analysis of 251 personal names found in 960 fugitive slave advertisements placed in the *Virginia Gazette* between 1736 and 1776. This collection of names was compiled from a digital corpus of more than 2,000 personal newspaper advertisements placed in 18th century United States American newspapers assembled as a part of the Virginia Center for Digital History Project. This article begins with a brief introduction to some of the past research conducted on slave names and a discussion of some of the practices surrounding the naming of African-American slaves in 18th Century America. This is followed by a classification of the collection of fugitive slave names into eight descriptive categories and a description of the assortment of personal names listed for the runaway slaves. For each onomastic category, illustrative examples are provided. Finally, the significance of the findings for the investigation of African-American naming patterns is given.

Introduction

Over the past 100 years, the naming practices of African-Americans has continued to be of periodic interest. Some of the earliest work in this area is, however, significantly marred by a combination of severe methodologically flaws and shockingly offensive cultural intolerance (e.g. Chappell 1929; Holmes 1930). There are, of course, a few notable early exceptions which succeeded in providing many important insights into the selection and derivation of personal names among African-Americans (e.g. Cohen, 1952; Herskovits, 1941; Jeffreys 1948; Williams 1952). Building in part upon this early work, the study of African-American personal names eventually reached a pinnacle in the 1970s with the

publication of several outstanding diachronic investigations
(e.g. Dillard, 1976; Dundes 1973; Dunkling 1977; Paustian
1978; Puckett 1975). This work then became the foundation for
the publication of several seminal studies on the naming
patterns of African-American slaves (e.g. Aceto 2002; Black
1996; Dillard, 1986; Evans 1996; Kaplan et. al. 1999; Lorenz,
1989).

Despite this research, there are still many basic
questions surrounding the naming of African-American slaves
which remain unanswered. In a few cases, however, there is
some historical record attesting to the event. For example, in
1797, the county clerk's office of Lancaster, Pennsylvania
records that a Mr. John Whitehill reported the birth of "a
female child which seems to be called Susanna or Sooky by
her and by the family in general, the daughter of negro
Hannah, a female slave" (Nagle, 2004: 2). What makes this
record remarkable is not only the fact that the identity of the
name-givers is specified, but also because the name-givers
would seem to be the enslaved blood relatives of the person
named. This fact is striking for several historical reasons.

First and foremost, with the US system of slavery,
enslaved families were rarely allowed to remain intact. In fact,
it was not unusual for the children of enslaved parents to be
sold away from their original families at a fairly young age,
the bill of sale often having been finalized before their birth.
This means that many adults who had been born into bondage
had only vague memories of their parents, let alone what
name(s) they may have called them. Even in those rare
circumstances where enslaved parents were permitted to keep
their children, "slave children, in fact, were often, if not
usually, actually named by the master or mistress" (Puckett
1973, 171). Indeed, as Kolchin (1995) reports, it was not
unusual for slave owners to willfully violate this common rite
of parenthood, by purposefully selecting names "against the
wishes of (and sometimes competing with names awarded by)
their parents" (119, 141). For this reason alone, it can be safely

said that the naming of enslaved persons in colonial America was often a part of the general dehumanizing process by which self-appointed masters routinely stripped their newly acquired chattel of their original African names and re-assigned them new European names, thereby not only marking their constructed legal ownership, but also asserting their perceived racial dominance.

This onomastically encoded power differential is chillingly illustrated in the following newspaper advertisements in which the slave masters literally inscribed their omnipotence upon the bodies of the people they once held captive:

Virginia Gazette Williamsburg, June 7, 1770

> RUN away from the subscriber, living in Northhampton, county, North Carolina, on the 10th of April 1769, a woman slave named ANNIS, about 22 years of age, near 5 feet high, thick and well set, straight hair, scarred on the back part of her neck by cupping, has a scar on the elbow joint of her right arm, branded on the right cheek E, and on the left R, is very cunning, and will endeavor to make her escape. Whoever apprehends the said slave, and secures her so that I get her again, if taken in this province shall have 5 l. reward, if out thereof 7 l. 10 s. EDWARD RUTLAND.

Virginia Gazette. July 1, 1773

> Run away from the Subscriber, in Mecklenburgh, on the 24th of May last, a Negro Man named JAMES, about thirty four Years old, five feet ten or eleven Inches high, [...] He may be very easily known by having his right Ear cut off, and the Initials of my Name marked on

> one of his Cheek[...]. Whoever brings him
> to me alive shall have FIVE POUNDS
> Reward, or FIFTEEN POUNDS for his
> Head only. JOHN ARMISTEAD.

The two advertisements featured above not only betray the cruelty of the US system of slavery; they also clearly demonstrate how the study of slave names can reveal critical information about the historical relationship between the enslaver and the enslaved, the namer and named.

Despite this potential, in recent years comparatively little attention has been given to the investigation of slave names. Presumably, this drop in scholarly attention is at least in part due to the potentially inflammatory sensitivities surrounding the subject of US slavery. However, as Dillard (1986) explained, the investigation of slave names "should not be sacrificed to political considerations such as ignoring the prominence of slavery in black history simply because we wish it had never happened" (438). Without doubt, there is much linguistic information which can be gained by examining the names of African-American slaves. In addition, many socio-cultural insights can be won as well. As Burnard observes: "an analysis of naming patterns can help to determine the extent to which African cultural practices were retained or transformed [...]" (325).

With this goal in mind, this article presents the results from a selected examination of a digital corpus of 2,000 personal advertisements placed in 18th Century American newspapers and was generously made available for public use by Dr. Thomas Costa, US American historian at the Virginia Center for Digital History. From this e-corpus, a subcorpus, hereafter referred to as the Virginia Gazette Corpus of Slave Personal Names (VGCSPN), was compiled of 251 personal names collected from the 960 fugitive slave advertisements placed in the *Virginia Gazette* between 1736 and 1776.

Beginning its circulation on August 6, 1736, *The Virginia Gazette* (*VG*) was one of the first newspapers produced in colonial America. Within a few years of this maiden publication, the *VG* rose to become one of the leading newspapers in the colonies, with readers all along the Eastern seaboard. This popularity, in turn, made the paper a favorite among advertisers hoping to recover runaway slaves. As a group, the advertisements placed for fugitive slaves were remarkably uniform in both form and content. A prototypical example of a fugitive slave advertisement placed in the *VG* is displayed below:

Virginia Gazette Williamsburg, October 21, 1773
> RUN away from the Subscriber, in Elizabeth City, some Time in June last, a likely Virginia born Negro Wench named RACHEL, near thirty years old, about five Feet one or two Inches high, has large Eyes, and the End of one of her fore Fingers broke; she had on a blue Jacket, and an old Cotton Petticoat. I expect she is about Norfolk, or got on Board some Vessel, and gone up James River. Whoever takes her again, shall have THIRTY SHILLINGS Reward. LOCKEY COLLIER.

Like the example above, the typical *Gazette* fugitive slave advertisement routinely contained information on the following fugitive characteristics: age, clothing, place of birth, skills, previous owner(s), physical attributes, personality, details of purchase, physical injuries, scars, and/or diseases, likely hiding places, suspected accomplices. In addition to this information, it was also extremely common for advertisers to provide information about the fugitive's name(s) (e.g. nicknames, baptismal or "Christian names", pseudonyms, and aliases). In many cases, this list of names also included those secondary names which a slave might have been called by

previous owners. It was not uncommon to find that slaves who had been bought and sold by a series of different owners also had a commensurate string of different personal names. Puckett (1978), for example, makes note of one former slave, a "Corinthia Marigold Wilkinson Ball Wemyss Alexander Jones Mitchell [who] owed her collection of names to the fact that she had been owned successively by half a dozen families and after Emancipation took the names of them all" (174). As this example vividly illustrates, personal slave names are not only instrumental in chronicling events important in collective social history, but may also oftentimes be a private catalogue of momentous events in an individual's personal history.

The Personal First Names of Fugitive Slaves

The following table provides an alphabetical listing of the entire inventory of slave first names culled from the Costa newspaper corpus. Beside each name listed is a frequency count indicating the number of runaways who were listed as having this name.

Table 1: Personal Names of 18th Fugitives Listed in the VGCSPN

Annas, 1	Aaron, 8	Abner, 2	Abraham, 5
Absalom, 1	Adam, 11	Aeneas, 2	Agnes, 2
Alice, 3	America,2	Aminta, 1	Amos, 2
Amy, 2	Annis,1	Anthony, 7	Appleby, 1
Archer, 1	Argyle, 1	Arthur, 1	Bacchus, 3
Bagley, 1	Barnaby, 4	Basil, 1	Bella, 1
Ben, 15	Berwick, 2	Bess, 3	Betty, 6
Billie, Billy10	Boatswain, 1	Bob, 13	Bonna, 1
Boomy, 1	Boson, 1	Boston, 1	Bowzar, 1
Brazil,1	Bristal, 1	Bristol, 2	Brumall, 1
Burton, 2	Caesar,1	Cain, 1	Cajah, 1
Cambridge, 1	Candace, 1	Candlemas, 1	Cato, 4
Charles, 30	Chester, 1	Cheshire,1	Christmas, 1
Claiborne, 1	Cooper, 2	Cornelius, 2	Cudgoe, 2
Cuff(ee,) Cuff(e)y, 10	Curry,1	Cyrus, 2	Damon, 1
Daniel, 16	David, Dav(ie)(y), 21	Derby,1	Dick, 2

Dinah, 1	Dolly, 2	Dolphin, 1	Dover, 1
Dublin, 3	Easter,1	Edith, 2	Edom, 3
Elias, 1	Elijah, 1	Elizabeth, 1	Emanuel, Emmanuel, 7
Essex, 2	Esther, 1	Fanny, 4	Felix, 1
Fiddler Billy, 1	Fooser, 1	Fortune, 1	Franceway, 1
Frank, 13	Frederick, 1	Gabriel, 4	Gaby, 2
George, 32	Gilbert, 2	Glasgow, 1	Glocester, 1
Grace, 2	Griffin, 1	Grooves, 1	Gruff, 1
Guy, 11	Guinea, 1	Hankey, 1	Hannah, 5
Harry, 29	Hector, 1	Henry, 1	Hercules, 1
Humphrey, 1	Isaac, Issac, 2	Isham, 1	Jack, 37
Jacob, 5	James, 17	Jamie, 3	Janny, 1
Jasper, 1	Jean, 1	Jeff(rey), 2	Jem, 2
Jemboy, 1	Jemima, 1	Jemmy, 1	Jenny,2
Jeremiah, 1	Jesse, 4	Jim, 3	Joan, 1
Job, 1	Joe, 22	John, 13	Johnn(e)y, 5
Jonathan, 3	Josee, 1	Joshua, 1	Juba, 3
Judith, 1	Julius, 1	Jumper, 2	Jupiter, 1
Kate, 2	Kingsale, 1	Kit, Kitt, 2	Kitty, 2
Ladus, 1	Lay, 1	Leamon, 1	Lemon, 1
Len, 2	Lewie, 1	Lewis, 1	Lively,1
Lizzy, 1	London, 3	Lucy, 4	Luke, 1
Lydia, 1	Mann, 1	Manuel, 1	March, 1
Margaret, 1	Matt, 1	Matthew, 1	Michael, 4
Mike, 1	Milford, 2	Milla, 2	Mily, 1
Minas, 1	Mingo, 5	Moll, 3	Molly, 1
Moody, 2	Moses, 9	Nanny, 3	Nat, Natt, 3
Nathan, 1	Ned, 21	Newport, 1	Nick, 5
Nicken, 1	Octer, 1	Otho, 1	Patience, 1
Paul, 1	Peach, 1	Peg, 2	Peter, 29
Phebe, 4	Phil, Phill, 6	Phillis, 1	Planter, 1
Polly, 1	Pompey, 5	Pope,2	Poplar, 1
Porringer, 1	Primus, 1	Prince, 2	Pysant, 1
Quamony, Quomony, 3	Quash, 4	Rachel, 4	Ralph, 3
Randolph, 1	Richard, 1	Road, 1	Robert, 1
Robin, 11	Roger, 3	Sabrie, 1	Sall, 4
Sam, 30	Sambo, 5	Sampson, 6	Samuel, 1
Sancho, 1	Sandy, 1	Sarah, 4	Saundy, 1
Sawney, 2	Scipio, 2	Sello, 1	Senewer, 1
Shadrach, 1	Sharper, 2	Shrewsbury, 1	Simon, 4
Sip, 1	Solomon, 5	Spark, 1	Step, 1

Stephen, 5	Stepney, 4	Sterling, 2	Stobo, 1
Sue, 2	Sukey, 1	Sunday, 1	Sylvia, 1
Tabb, 1	Thomas, 1	Toby, 1	Tom, 38
Tomboy, 1	Toney, Tony, 6	Toom, 1	Valentine, 1
Vallen, 1	Venus, 3	Walton, 1	Warrah, 1
Warwick, 1	Wharton, 1	Will, 43	William, 3
Windsor, 2	Winney, Winny, 3	York, 1	Zophir, 1

Based on the frequency counts given above, the following chart presents some of the most common male and female slave names featured in the VGCSPN newspaper corpus.

Table 2: Personal Names of 18th Century Female Fugitives Identified in the VGCSPN

FEMALE PERSONAL SLAVE NAMES		
	NAME	f
1.	*Betty*	6
2.	*Hannah*	5
3.	*Fanny, Lucy*	4
4.	*Alice, Bess, Juba*	3
5.	*Agnes, Amy, Gaby, Grace, Edith, Jenny, Kate, Kitty, Lizzy*	2
6.	*Annas, Aminta, Bella, Candace, Esther, Easter, Jean, Jemima, Judith*	1

As shown in the table above, the amount of variety among the female names was rather high with comparatively few female fugitives sharing the same or similar personal names. By comparison, a relatively high number of the male runaways advertised in the *VG* had similar or identical personal names. Evidence of this assertion is clearly displayed in the following table.

Table 3: Personal Names of 18th Century Male Fugitives Identified in the VGCSPN

MALE PERSONAL SLAVE NAMES							
	NAME	f		NAME	f		NAME	f
1.	*Will*	43	6.	*Harry, Peter*	29	11.	*Ben*	15

2.	*Tom*	38	7.	*Joe*	22	12.	*David*	14
3.	*Jack*	37	8.	*Dick, Ned*	21	13.	*Bob*	13
4.	*George*	32	9.	*James*	17	14.	*Adam, Robin*	11
5.	*Charles, Sam*	30	10.	*Daniel*	16	15.	*Caesar, Cuf(f)(e)(y); Bill(y)(ie)*	10

Taken together, approximately 38.9% of the fugitives named in the VGCSPN had one of the above names. This high percentage demonstrates the commonality of these personal names.

Further evidence of this commonality is evidenced by the fact that a goodly number of the male personal names contained in the VGCSPN fell rather neatly into eight different name clusters: 1) *Tom, Tomboy, Thomas*; 2) *Jonathan, John, Johnny, Johney*; 3) *Sampson, Sam, Samuel, Sambo*; 4) *David, Dave, Davie*; 5) *Cuffy, Cuffey, Cuff*; 6) *James, Jem, Jamie, Jemboy*; 7) *Joe, Cudgoe*; and 8) *William, Will, Billie; Billy*.

Of course, as Lorenz (1989) warns, it is speculative at best to group names into clusters, "if they are similar in spelling or pronunciation or if they appear to share a common ancestor" (201). This is especially the case when dealing with onomastic data before the institution of standardized spelling. The existence of alternative spellings which are no longer readily recognizable to the modern reader can pose a considerable challenge. With reference to English, for example, Smith-Bannister (1997) notes that aside from the addition of an 'e' at the end of a name and the substitution of the letter 'i' with 'y', pre-modern permutations in spelling were extremely common. This being the case, the female name *Edith* may be found with the alternative spellings *Yede* and *Edeyth*, while the male name *William* may sometimes appear as *Willm*, *Wyllm*, or *Wilyam* (202). These difficulties notwithstanding, it was fairly easy to divide the names of the VGCSPN into one of the above mentioned name clusters.

However, as will be discussed in the following section, it was far more of a challenge to place the names into separate descriptive categories.

Descriptive Categories Identified in the VGCSPN

An examination of the total set of personal slave names contained in the VGCSPN revealed a marked regularity in the types of names featured. Overall, eight different conceptual areas were identified as sources for the personal names: 1) Plants and Animals; 2) Locations; 3) the Bible; 4) Classical Greco-Roman Mythology and/or Antiquity; 5) British Aristocracy; 6) Traditional African Society; 7) Occupations; and 8) Surnames.

The creation of these eight descriptive typological categories should not be taken as an evidence that it is always easy or even possible to classify the slave names identified. One obstacle to classification was the use of a clipped variants such as *Sam*. This extremely common personal name could have been a shortening for the full name *Sampson*, *Samuel*, or *Sambo*; all three of which were also attested in the VGCSPN. In the absence of additional explanatory records, in most cases, it was impossible to determine whether or not the inspiration for the popular truncation *Sam* was indeed Biblical.

Even in those cases when a full name was used, however, it was not always easy to determine which descriptive category would have been the most appropriate. Consider, for example, the fugitive female slave name *Easter*. It is a well-established fact that in many African-based communities, children are routinely named after the time of year in which they were born. This being the case, it is quite possible that the female fugitive known as *Easter* was thusly named, having been born on or around this Christian holiday. In which case, it would be reasonable to place this name into the category traditional African names. Alternatively, if this name were chosen by a European (-American) African slave-owner as an expression of his/her personal piety, the

classification Biblical Names would have been the obvious choice. Without knowing the exact birth date of the runaway or the circumstances surrounding her birth, it is simply not impossible to determine if one, both, or neither of these classifications applies

In other cases, the difficulty in classifying a slave personal name came as result of the natural overlap between the categories. Take, for example, the name *Elizabeth*. This name belongs not only to personages described in the Bible, but also to members of the British aristocracy. Consequently, without a good deal of extralinguistic information, it would not be possible to decisively determine whether the fugitive's namesake was the religious or the historical personality. Given these challenges, the following analysis is of a qualitative rather than a quantitative nature.

Plant and Animal Names

One of the most inflammatory practices in slave naming involved the assignment of a name otherwise reserved for plants, animals, and foods. The blatant disregard for the humanity of person so named is the reason why object names such as *Ink, Tar, Shine*; animal names like *Monkey, Jungle Bunny, Seal*; and food names including *Molasses, Buckwheat* and *Bounty Bar* remain among the most reviled racial epithets for persons of African-American heritage. For many scholars of African-American studies, solid empirical evidence for this onomastically encoded bigotry came in 1973 with Puckett's finding that over 70% of the names most commonly used for the US American slaves featured in his study were identical to those routinely chosen for mules, donkeys, and other beasts of burden.

Without wanting to diminish in any way the import of this finding, it is important to point out that the selection of a plant or animal name should not only and always be interpreted as an expression of derision or hostility; at times it may also be an expression of affection. One need only think of

the ever popular Southern "pet names" *Lamb, Kitten, Magnolia, Lilly, Honey,* and *Sugar.* For this reason, it can not be automatically assumed that the slave names *Peach, Poplar, Lemon , Spark,* and *Sterling* which were found in the VGCSPN were necessarily intended to be derogatory or injurious. That having been said, the unquestioned right to impose this level of generally uninvited familiarity or intimacy upon another human being would seem to be unambiguously indicative of the pernicious paternalism which most slave owners used to simultaneously infantalize and disenfranchise their fellow humans.

An interesting case in this category is found in the name *Dolphin.* Unfortunately, there were no direct comments made in the fugitive advertisement which would reveal the inspiration for this name. Nor was the fugitive in question described by the advertiser as being particularly fond of water or accomplished in some skill associated with the sea. Despite this absence of direct cues, there were some indirect indication of the name's possible origin. For example, the advertiser did describe himself as coming from Annapolis, Maryland, one of the oldest seaports along the Eastern seabord. This observation in combination with the fact that slaves who lived in and around ports were often named after the ships which docked there (Puckett 1973) could mean that the runaway named *Dolphin* may have been after a ship that bore the name of the mammalian harbinger of fair seas.

There is some additional corroboration for this possible derivation. Duckling (1977) makes note of several 19th Century persons called *Dolphin* who were known to have been named after a like named ship. As one of Duckling's informants reports:

> My mother was born at sea in the year 1860, on board a ship named the *Dolphin.* [...] It was a stormy rough trip out from England, and so the baby [the informant's mother] at sea was named Dolpin Mercy. (249).

In addition to *Dolphin*, Duckling also lists *Oceanus, Neptune,* and *Atlantic* as further examples of nautical personal names. Although many of these names have become relatively rare among modern English-speakers, the name *Marina*, remains relatively popular even today. Despite its tenacity, neither *Marina* nor other nautical names Duckling mentions were attested in the VGCSPN. Had a greater number of fugitives listed in the *VG* advertisements worked on the sea, this finding might have been quite different.

Placenames

Placenames are routinely given as personal names in honor of a particular locality to which the name-giver feels a strong, close personal tie. In the case of the VGCSPN, it can be safely presumed that many of these honorary placenames which served as a onomastic source were given to commemorate the area from whence the slave owner came. Not surprisingly then the vast majority of placenames identified in the VGCSPN were also the names of localities situated throughout in the British Isles (e.g. *Berwick, Bristol, Cambridge, Cheshire, Derby, Dover, Dublin, Essex, Glocester* (sic), *London, Newport, Shrewsbury, Warrick, Windsor, Wharton,* and *York.* Thus, it seems that upon their arrival in the New World, many of British colonists named not only the lands, but also the people they owned after the homes they had left behind.

In other cases, the topographic personal names in the VGCSPN may have been chosen to mark the probable homeland of the slaves and not the owners. On August 24, 1769, for example, the *Virginia Gazette* carried an advertisement for a 32 year old runaway named *Brazil* who was described by the advertiser as being "a Spaniard." On February 25, 1775, another *VG* advertisement was placed for a newly arrived enslaved man named *Guinea.* Two years later, one of the most fascinating examples of this category was featured on December 24, 1772. In this edition, a runaway

slave advertisement was run by a Mr. Richard Booker in which he described the missing slave in the following manner: "[the fugitive] calls himself BONNA, and says he came from a Place of that Name in the Ibo Country, in Africa, where he served in the Capacity of a Canoe Man." In this case, the name *Bonna* could be reasonably categorized as either a placename or an African name. The international variety of these examples reflects the global scale of the colonial slave trade.

It is interesting to note that placenames continue to be a popular source of names among Americans today, with one pertinent difference. "[...] White parents in the early 1990s seem more likely to give their children American placenames like Savannah, Dakota, Montana, Brooklyn, and Boston, while Black parents are more likely to use overseas ones like Asia, Kenya, London, Nigeria, and Italy." (Evans 1996: 121). To a certain extent, this ethnic difference in naming patterns may then reflect historical patterns established hundreds of years ago. It may well be that African-Americans have continued the tradition of naming themselves after far away places, and indirect assertion of their ancestral homeland being far away from US shores.

Biblical Names

Given the fact that one of the largest groups of immigrants to come to colonial North America were religious exiles from Europe, it may come as no surprise that many of the fugitive slave names featured in the VGCSPN were inspired by the Bible, from both the Old Testament (e.g. *Adam, Abraham, Esther, Rachel*) and the New (e.g. *Matthew, Luke,* and *John*). An examination of these Biblically-inspired names reveals a strong preference for the names of persons associated with the story of the Israelites' enslavement. The best example here is the name *Moses*.

Like Moses, the Biblical figures whose names appeared in the VGCSPN were noted for their uncommon suffering, sacrifice, or sin (e.g. *Cain, Isaac, Job, Jeremiah,* and *Judith*). There

also seems to have been a marked preference for the names of Biblical figures who were known for their inconstancy or dishonesty. Jacob, for example, was on the one hand the revered ancestor of the people of Israel and on the other, the trickster who deceived his brother into parting with his birthright. Similarly, Jannes was one of the Pharaoh's wisemen who duplicated the miracles performed by Moses and Aaron and is therefore commonly considered a symbol of falsehood and trickery.

In other instances, it seems to have been less the personality and more the physiognomy which served as the source of inspiration. From June 3 to June 10, 1737, for example, the *Gazette* carried an advertisement for the fugitive named *Sampson*, who was described as being a "large black Fellow." On March 12, 1772, the *Gazette* carried a nearly identical advertisement for another fugitive named *Sampson* whom was likewise described as a "tall black Fellow, with a down look."

In not every case could a correspondence be found between the Biblical figure and the runaway described. Consider the August 22, 1766 advertisement placed for yet another runaway called *Sampson*, who, despite being 6 feet high, was said to have "small legs, two of his for fingers were burned when he was small, and are now much crooked." In this case, the choice of name may have been chosen before the slave was struck down with obvious physical misfortune.

Importantly, the names in this category were not only taken from people featured in the Bible. There were also names for places (*Absalom, Edom*), angels (*Gabriel, Michael*), and prophets (*Elijah, Haggai, Jeremiah, Michael, Nathan*) located in the VGCSPN. Tangentially related here are those typically Puritan personal names which were related to one of the Anglo-Saxon/Christian values (*Grace, Fortune, Patience*). Although relatively rare among English-speaking Americans now, such names were once routinely given either in expectation or appreciation for one of these virtues.

The practice of assigning a name in the hope that this appellative would somehow affect the future development of the name-bearer is of course not limited to Christians or Europeans. It is also one which has a long tradition in Africa. As Paustian (1978) asserts: "The African praise or attributive name expressing hopes for the child's future, so common among the Yoruba, was also popular in the New World. Some examples are Fortune, Redemption, Refuge, Resolution and Self-Rising [...]" (186). Given the fact that both African and Europeans, Christians and Non-Christians have historically used such attributive names, it is impossible to determine without further information which tradition may have been followed in the case of the fugitive slaves. Indeed, in some cases, both traditions may have been followed.

Classical Names from Roman or Greek Mythology and Antiquity

Fugitive slave names in the VGCSPN were frequently taken from famous historical leaders of antiquity (e.g. *Caesar, Cato, Julius, Pompey*) as well as the fictional heroes of Greek and Roman mythology (e.g. *Aeneas , Hector, Jupiter*). In some cases, there was a strong correspondence between the newspaper descriptions given for the fugitives and the traits most commonly identified with the ancient figures who may have served as their namesakes. Thus, advertiser Robert Ruffin described the forty year old runaway named *Caesar* as being "of middle Stature, well made, strong and active [...] smooth tongued, and very sensible." Similarly, for his *Gazette* advertisement displayed on August16, 1770, Neil Buchanan described another runaway named *Caesar* as "a very likely Negroe fellow [...] near 5 feet high, straight and well made[...] a cunning smooth tongued sensible fellow, [who] has a remarkable good countenance, and talks much, especially when in liquor."

Similar correspondences were found between many of the runaways whose namesakes came from Greco-Roman

myth. One excellent example appeared in the June 18, 1774 issue of the *Gazette*. In this edition, an advertisement was run for a "Negro Man named BACCHUS about 30 Years of Age, five Feet six or seven Inches high" who was a "cunning, artful, sensible Fellow [...] very capable of forging a Tale to impose on the Unwary." The newspaper advertiser, Gabriel Jones also went on to publicly vent his bitter disappointment in Bacchus, "having trusted him much after what [he] thought had proved his Fidelity." This description is very reminiscent of the mythological God of Wine whose charms could also be misleading. As Milton described in "Comus":

> Bacchus that first from out the purple grape
> Crushed the sweet poison of misused wine,
> [...]whose charmed cup
> Whoever tasted lost his upright shape,
> And downward fell into a grovelling swine
>   (Bulfinch 1981,198).

This level of symmetry was not always found however. Sometimes, exactly opposite was the case. On February 5, 1767, an advertisement appeared for the "Mulatto wench named VENUS, about 17 years of age." Unlike the famed Goddess of Love "who used to recline in the shade, with no care but to cultivate her charms" (Bulfinch 1981, 90), the young fugitive *Venus* carried the disfiguring scars of labor and abuse. According to the advertiser William Carter, the African-American Venus had "a scar on the elbow of one of her arms, by a burn, and another on the upper part of her forehead, occasioned by a blow from the handles of a the windlass of a well, and is remarkably strong and well made for labour."

Interestingly, Kaplan, et. al. (1999) estimate that "[b]efore 1800 only about 6.5 percent of male slaves and about 1.5 percent of the females were given classical, chiefly Roman, names: Caesar, Cato, Pompey, and Jupiter; Diana, Dido,

Phoebe, and Venus. Nevertheless, this tiny percentage swelled in the popular imagination and became a stereotype in historical novels and movies" (1999: 77). One possible explanation for the enduring popularity of this naming stereotype might be the continuing popularity of Greco-Roman names among Southerners. Another possible explanation could also be the salient irony of naming the denigrated and oppressed after the revered and omnipotent.

Names from British Aristocracy

Throughout colonies, numerous examples can be found of localities which English-speaking colonists named after aristocratic British benefactors (e.g. *Prince Edward County, King William County, Williamsburg, Elizabeth City, Charles City County*). An examination of the VGCSPN revealed that the British aristocracy was also a popular source of personal names for the colonists' slaves. Having said this, it is oftentimes impossible of course to determine with any certainty whether these names are merely a by-product of the general popularity these names enjoyed among the free colonists. However, given the obvious popularity of naming slaves after leaders in the Greco-Roman history and mythology, it would not be far-fetched to assume that at least of some of the fugitives named *Elizabeth, Charles, Henry, James, Richard,* and *William* were named in honor of a British rulers. Precisely which one is naturally difficult to say, however, given the propensity of the aristocracy to name themselves after one another.

The difficulty in determining the true identity of the name-sake is exemplified by the name *George*. Particularly during the years immediately before and after the American Declaration of Independence, it can be reasonably assumed that at least a fraction of the 32 fugitives named *George* were not named after the then reviled English despot, King George III but after the celebrated American upstart, General George Washington. The relatively high incidence of this name among

the fugitive slaves was no doubt a function of the enormous popularity of both these leaders during this period. Moreover, naming a slave *George* had the additional advantage of political ambiguity; depending on the fickle tides of war, it could be interpreted an act of public respect or open derision for one or the other men.

Traditional African Names

As explained earlier, as a general rule slaves were not allowed to keep or adopt African names. However, in some cases, exceptions were obviously made. Many of the African names identified in the VGCSPN were also attested in other, earlier onomastic studies of slave names: (e.g. *Boomy, Bonna, Bonnaud, Bowsar, Fooser, Mingo, Sambo, Sawney, Scipio, Sharper, Stepney, Sukey , Warrah*). Aside from these names, a review of the VGCSPN also revealed several other traditional African names.

In addition to these previously attested names, several others were also found which have been described as belonging to the West African system of gendered day-names. According to Aceto, this system of nomenclature operated thusly: "[t]he day-name assigned to a child reflects its sex and the day of the week on which it was born. These distinctions are indicated by a specific name for each day of the week and by a male/female suffix (e.g., *Juba* for a female born on Monday; the *-a* suffix indicates 'female'; *Cudjoe* is the male counterpart)" (2002, 592). The following chart features 14 traditional West African day names for men and women, with various attested orthophonological variants; these variants reflect not only historical differences in transcription, but also documented differences in ethnic origin.

Table 4: Gendered Sets of Traditional West African Day-Names

DAY OF THE WEEK	MALE NAME	FEMALE NAME
Monday	*Quashee, Kwashie*	*Quasheba, Awashie*

Tuesday	*Cudjo, Kedjo*	*Juba, Adojoa*
Wednesday	*Cubbenah, Kobla*	*Beneba, Abla,*
Thursday	*Quaco,Kwaku, Kwaco*	*Cuba, Aku*
Friday	*Quao, Kwao*	*Abba, Awo*
Saturday	*Cuffee, Cuffy, Kofi*	*Pheba,Phibbi, Afua*
Sunday	*Quame, Kwame*	*Mimba, Ama*

Of the day-names listed above, several were spotted in the VGCSPN. In alphabetical order, these included *Cudgoe, Cuffee, Cuffey, Cuffy, Juba, Quash, Quamony, Quomony*..

   An interesting deviation from the traditional naming system displayed above involved the name *Juba*. According to most scholars, the name *Juba* is customarily given to female children born on Tuesday. However, in the compilation, the name *Juba* was not only attested for several women on the run, but also for a male fugitive as well. On March 18, 1773, the *Virginia Gazette* ran an advertisement by John Bolling for the return of a "likely Negro Man named JUBA, about five Feet nine or ten Inches high, between twenty five Years of Age, squints much, is an African by Birth, and speaks bad English." The fact that this name was given to a man (who may or may not have been born on Tuesday) could be taken as evidence for the natural erosion or gradual perversion of the transplanted African naming system. According to Burnard, "[b]y the eighteenth century, whites no longer seemed to think of day names as African but as generic slave names.[...] Slaves, too may have come to see names of African original as signs of slave status than sources of pride." (338)

   This observation is particularly interesting, given the fact that many of the runaways in the VGCSPN who were identified as having a traditional African name were also described as being "new negroes"; that is African-Americans who had been relatively recently arrivals to the North American continent. In addition, many of these new arrivals were also described as having conspicuous body markings.

For example, on September 24th, 1772, a Mr. Paul Heeritterfrom offered a reward for the capture and return of "a new Negro [...] named QUASH" who had been "much cut on the Backside, by whipping, or the Marks of his Country." A similar description was given by Mr. Archibald Woods who called for the return of *Sawney*, another "new Negro Man" who had "the Scars of many Cuts in his Face." In all likelihood, these mysterious cuts refer to the traditional decorative scarification traditionally given in African ceremonial rites. The fact that so many of the fugitive new Negroes in the VGCSPN were described not only as having such ritualistic scars, but also traditional African names may be tangible evidence for the early transplantation of West African culture to North American soil.

Such corroborative extra-linguistic information can be extremely useful in establishing whether or not a slave's personal name had African roots. Nevertheless, great caution should be exercised when gathering such evidence to rule out simple coincidence. The wisdom of this advice is illustrated by the questionable claim that all of the following slave names are African in origin: *Aminta, Annika, Asa, Becca, Bela, Conney, Erika, Phyllis, Gabi, Jemmy, Kitt, Kora, Malachi, Mina, Monah, Nena, Nanny, Renee, Sabina, Wanda, Willa, Zara, and Zoe* (Cohen, 1952; Dillard, 1976; Herskovits, 1941; Kulikoff, 1988; Puckett, 1978). To support these assertions, the lexicons of various African languages were culled for possible correspondences. Consequently, Dillard (1976) postulated that the name *Anika* and its many variants (e.g. *Anaca, Aneky, Aneca, Annaka, Annica*) is said to come from the Hausa word *annakiya* meaning 'sweetness of face'. Similarly, Puckett (1975) asserts that the name *Malachi* comes the Hausa word for 'angel'. Aside from these two rather pleasant examples, the name *Nena* is reported to be the Congolese word for 'easing the bowels', *As(s)a* is said to be Ngombe for 'restlessness or grief', and *Min(n)a* is the Bobangi word for 'urine'. However, the point to be made here is that all of the names listed above also

happen to be extremely common names among European languages. Despite these correspondences, it cannot escape notice that all of the above mentioned names are also common personal in many European languages.

Take the relatively uncommon name *Aminta*. Although this name has been listed as an African name, Withycombe (1977) indicates that *Aminta* is "one of a number of literary coinages of the Restoration period (related to Araminta)." According to this source, the name was made particularly popular during the 18th century due to Araminta Lundy, the granddaughter of Rowland Davies, the Dean of Cork. Similarly, the name *Sawney*, another name which has been repeatedly cited as African, is also listed in Withycombe as being a nickname for a 'simpleton'. These examples are not meant to imply that previous claims of African derivation are necessarily incorrect. Rather, this counter-evidence is given to state that more research is needed before such claims can be accepted. The fact that a slave's name happens to coincide with a word which exists in an African language would also seem to be insufficient evidence. After all, the fact that *Wanda* means 'who', 'which' or 'whence' in Hausa would not seem to be enough evidence to buttress Puckett's claim that enslaved African-American women bearing this name were continuing an African naming tradition (1975); especially when one considers how infrequently African(-American) slaves were allowed to either retain or bestow original African names.

This does not mean to imply, however, that it is complete folly to search for possible African roots among the names of African(-American) slaves. It is logical to assume that African names which were phonologically similar to familiar European names had a greater chance of being accepted than names which sounded foreign or odd to a European's ear. Over time, such European-sounding African names may simply then have been passed down, their original roots eventually being forgotten. In this way, *Pheba*, *Abba*, *Cudjoe*, and *Quacco* may have eventually become *Phebe*, *Abbey*,

Joe and *Jack* in much the same way that *Marſa* and *Jorge* are so often transformed into *Mary* and *George* today. In this way, "[...] a number of the African day-names, probably because of their homonymity with American names, continued to be employed rather frequently." (Paustian, 1978).

Occupational Names

By the 17th century, many so-called occupational names had ceased to be motivated by an individual's profession and had become hereditary monikers of a former familial occupation or guild association. Accordingly, it would not have been unusual for the local baker to have been named *Henry Taylor* while the town tailor was called *Tom Sawyer*. Within the enslaved population of colonial America, a similar naming pattern has been observed. Puckett, for instance, has observed that "[o]ccupation and working ability served as a basis for many secondary distinctions among slaves" (1973, 173).

Within the VGCSPN, this exact pattern was not, however, confirmed. Although several fugitives were identified as having occupational first names, in most cases there was no correspondence found between these names and slaves' advertised skills. The runaways named *Cooper, Planter,* and a *Boatswain* were in no way described as being associated either directly or indirectly involved with basket-making, field-tiling, or water-working. As a general rule, the fugitives whose names fell into this category were men; with one possible exception: *Nanny*, a 28 year old "likely Mulatto" woman who was reportedly an uncommonly good domestic-worker.

Surnames

Generally speaking the distinction between a first name and a last name has everything to do with the linguistic function and custom and next to nothing to do with any intrinsic quality of the name itself. For this reason, it is not

unusual to find the same name serving as both a first name and a last name (e.g. *Curtis, Dean, Howard, Kelly, Lee, Madison, Nelson, Sherman, Taylor*). There are, however, certain names like *Jones* and *Smith* which are almost exclusively used as surnames. In his study of pre 19th Century slaves and indentured African-Americans in Pennsylvania, Johnson (1971, 9) observed many examples of surnames used as personal names. In the VGCSPN, there were comparatively few instances of fugitives whose only given names were traditionally Anglo-Saxon surnames. However, those which were identified were striking.

A particularly interesting example from this category involves the case of the female runaway who had the rather unusual personal name, *Tabb*. On November 17, 1768, a Mr. Thomas Everitt placed an advertisement in the *Gazette* for the return of Tabb, a "well made Mulatto woman." No other information was contained in the advertisement which could explain the possible source of this name. However, a careful search of the entire e-corpus of fugitive slave advertisements yielded an advertisement placed by James Johnson about a slave named *Grace* who reportedly disappeared in Amelia, near Colonel THOMAS TABB's store.

Then, in another advertisement dated 4th of July, 1771, the death of prominent slave-owner Colonel John Tabb of Elizabeth County is mentioned. Based on these and other advertisements contained in the corpus, it is surmised that the Tabbs were a prominent slave-owning family in the British colonies. This being the case, it was further assumed that the fugitive "Mulattress" named *Tabb* may have been related to the Tabb family business. Interestingly, according to Smith-Bannister (1997), the use of a surname as a forename seems to have been a post-Reformation phenomenon which was quite common until the eighteenth century and was "often used a means of denoting the paternity of an illegitimate child" (7). Were this to be the case, the name *Tabb* would have served the

double function of marking the young fugitive's history of ownership and possible paternity.

Discussion and Conclusions

Although this descriptive study has focussed on the general characteristics of personal first names, similar, more empirically-driven investigations can be conducted in the future which might be expanded to include other types of personal names (e.g. pseudonyms, aliases, and surnames). Further, comparative studies of slave names over different time periods, geographical regions, or text types would also be fruitful. Given the recent technological innovations made in the electronic compilation and analysis of historical texts, the ease with which these and other studies can be conducted on the naming patterns of African(-American) slaves should serve as a tremendous encouragement to future researchers. Taken together, this body of research may then make a valuable contribution to the generation of a general descriptive typology which can later be applied to other areas of onomastic investigation.

This having·been said, it is recognized of course that many of the truths which such investigations may help bring to light may be injurious reminders of the inequality which marks our collective national past. However, rather than allowing this potential to discourage us, we can choose instead to let it inform and inspire us, embolden and encourage us to ask more not less.

As has been demonstrated here, there is much to be gained from the systematic study of slave names. At the same time, what this investigation has also demonstrated are the many difficulties involved in classifying names into a set of mutually exclusive typological categories. In part, this challenge comes from a lack of information surrounding the names, the name-givers, and the name-bearers. However, a good deal of this ambiguity is unavoidable and comes from the many natural historical and cultural links which exist in

the selection and derivation of personal names. For this reason, heightened caution is called for when attempting to place slave names into any set of descriptive categories. In this respect, then, US slave names are no different than any other set of American names: they too reflect the dynamic mixture of cultures, traditions, and personalities which forms the basis of American society.

Notes

1. With respect to the fact that masters took the liberty of naming the majority of slaves, Burnard (2001) offers the following cogent inference: "[...] slave names are more a guide to what whites thought of blacks than an entree into slave consciousness." (326).

2. Nagle (2004) provides the following excerpt from a 1763 fugitive slave announcement from a Philadelphia newspaper: "'[the fugitive is called] Jupiter, though it is likely he may call himself by his Negroe Name, which is Moeyen, or Oantee' Despite the slaveholder's awareness of his slave's original African name, he refers to him by the salve name "Jupiter" and no doubt uses that name inofficial papers concerning this slave" (4) Nevertheless, Cohen (1952) rightly points out that at least some early slave owners seemed to have been aware of their slaves' original names. This awareness is indicated by the fact that on official documents owners frequently made note of their slaves' so-called "Country Names" which were separate and distinct from their so-called "proper" given names.

3. Against this historical background, the freedom which African-Americans have historically demonstrated in the selection of personal names takes on a different dimension. As Dunkling (1977) sensitivity observes "[t]here are, after all, sound historical reasons for the pride in individually which black American names reveal.[...]. It was not so very long ago that an alien naming system was imposed upon them forcefully" (159). Thus, the African-American propensity for onomastic neologisms which was frequently commented upon and derided by early researchers may be seen as a socio-political expression of collective emancipation. Thus, among many African-Americans, "personal naming practices are a cultural statement, an affirmation [...]" (Kerrigan, 1996: 115).

4. http://etext.lib.virginia.edu/subjects/runaways/

5. Although the focus of this investigation is personal first names, these other pieces of information were also routinely examined to gain additional insight into, for example, the possible origins of the names listed.

6. Approximately 75 of the fugitives advertised in the VG were listed without a personal name. In some cases, the lack of name seemed to be related to the relatively short period of time in which the slave had been in the possession of the owner. In other cases, the advertiser may have either forgotten to include the personal name or, alternatively, have decided that such information was ultimately useless as the fugitive was expected to change his/her name to an unknown alias.

7. The relatively low number of female slaves advertised may have at least in part influenced this number. Had a higher number of female fugitive names been included, the number of repetitions may have been much higher than shown above.

8. Dunkling (1978) also makes the following note about *Easter*: "[i]n early British registers this is sometimes the written form of Esther" (150). An analogously ambiguous case was recorded in a similar study of slave names recorded in colonial church records. According to Williams, "[t]he name [March] was given to three slaves; the only one whose birth date is known was born in December "(1952: 294). Another interesting case comes from December 24, 1772, when an advertisement by Richard Booker was placed for a new Negro.

9. The natural degree of overlap between the descriptive categories combined with the uncertainty surrounding the exact derivation of the personal names identified in the corpus would have made it impossible to treat each name as if it could be neatly placed into one solitary category. As mutual exclusivity is one of basic requirements of most descriptive statistical analyses, it was decided that a strictly empirical approach would have been entirely inappropriate and potentially misleading.

10. Puckett identified some thirteen cases of the name *Lemon* in his investigation, including amusing first and last name combinations such two Alabamans with the names *Lemon Freeze* and *Lemon Custer* (1973: 161).

11. Tentatively included in this category is the name *Zophir* which may well be the advertiser's attempt at phonetically spelling the word "saphire."

12. Importantly, in several cases, these placenames also happen to be the names of well-known ports. This being the case, it may well be that the fugitive named *Dover*, for instance, may not have been named after the place but a ship which carried the moniker this popular port.

13. In another advertisement placed by Booker, this same fugitive is described as having the name *Bonnaund*. For this reason, it may well have been that the name *Bonna* was a shortening or clipped form for the full name, *Bonnaud*.

14. In II Timothy 3:8, the following is said of the Pharaoh's magicians, Jannes and Jambres: " [...] Now as Jannes and Jambres withstood Moses, so do these also resist the truth: men of corrupt minds, reprobate, concerning the truth."

15. Dunkling (1977) asserts that the name *Pompey* was also "[...]the slang name amongst British sailors for Portsmouth" (150). In which case, this name may in some instances be more accurately classified as a placename.

16. Withycombe (1977) notes that the *Aeneas* was chiefly used "in Ireland and Scotland to translate the Gaelic Aonghus (Old Irish Oeng(h)us or Angus" (5) Accordingly, this name may not fit within this category.

17. One such example comes from April 25, 1751 when an advertisement was placed for the errant Hercules, a muscular young man who was described as being "very black well set Fellow."

18. In several earlier investigations into slave names, the personal names *Stepney* and *Sharper* are described as African names. However, *Stepney* happens to be the name of a locality in the British Isles and the name *Sharper* would seem at best to be an Anglicized form, but in all probability is a English appellative used to describe the some unique characteristic of the fugitive in question.

19. According to Dunkling (1978), the name *Sukey* may, at least in some instances, not have been African at all an English diminutive for *Susan* or *Susanna*. Supporting this assertion is the fact that slaves were commonly given English diminutive names, and were rarely allowed to keep their African names. Additional evidence for this supposition is the fact that *Sukey* also happen to be the name of several slave ships which sailed during the 18th century and "[s]ome slaves may have been given the names of the ships on which they travelled to America." (1978, 147). The relative popularity of this name among enslaved women in the British colonies is no doubt due to these multiple motivations.

20. It is important to note that this pattern of day-naming is by no means exclusively African. As Withycombe (1977) reports, in Britain "children were often christened with names referring to the day of their birth" (xxxvi).

21. The West African system of naming children according to the day of their birth has been identified among several different communities, each with their own gendered set of names. Among the Twi, for example, a female child born on Monday would be called *Juba*. Among the Ndjuka, the equivalent name for a girl born on the same day is *Adjoba* (Aceto 2002, 605). These ethno-regional differences may help to explain the variation which is sometimes found in the particular set of names assigned to each day. Cohen

(1952), for example, maintains that *Cudjoe* and *Juba* were the day names for Monday not Tuesday (104). Dunkling (1977) also reports that an alternative series of day names is traditionally used in Ghana. In this series, *Kedjo* and *Adojoa* are the names traditionally assigned to male and female babies born in Ghana on a Monday.

22. Considerable variation was noted in the spelling of these names. No doubt, this variation was due in part to the difficulty non-African ears would have had in deciphering the unfamiliar sounds of one of African languages. This variation would also have been multiplied by the absence of a standardized writing system.

23. After the abolition of slavery, many of these traditional African names slipped into onomastic obscurity. Even after what could be called a "Pan-African Renaissance" swept the United States and it suddenly became fashionable to give African-American children authentic African names, many of these traditional day names like *Cudjoe*, *Quash*, *Juba* and were summarily rejected as shameful relics of slavery and oppression.

24. Although the use of such distasteful words as personal names may seem odd, it has been stated that among African-based societies, it is not uncommon for children to be given unpleasant names for protection against marauding malevolent spirits. "[o]ccasionally this type of appelation is retained for a considerable length of time if the health of the child is in question. Sometimes the temporary name is deliberately bizarre, e.g. 'I Am Ugly' [...]to avoid losing the child to dead ancestors, who naturally would not want a baby so named." (Paustian 1978, 179). According to Dillard (1986) , even the traditional day-names carried with them several negative associations among some speakers. "[...]such names as Cuffee, Quaco, and Quasheba frequently proved, in the West Indies, to have attributive functions (Cuffee as 'stupid') rather than the strict day-name function" (438).

25. The popularity of this name may also have been related to the Italian pastoral play, "Aminta" written by the Renaissance dramatist, Torquato Tasso.

26. One could easily imagine a scenario in which an 18th Century slave owner gladly accepted the name *Renee* for a newborn slave, thinking that the parents had wisely chosen a proper European name; when in fact, unbeknownst to him, the name is Hausa for 'contempt'.

27. According to Paustian (1978, 181), the early (intentional or unintentional) European(-American) misunderstanding of the African names *Cudjoe* and *Cuffey* may have led to the once popular misconception that these names were bastardized forms of the forms 'Cousin Joe' and 'coffee'. As Paustian, goes on to explain, this misconception is most probably a result of the thankfully largely

outdated prejudice that African-Americans have slurred speech. The same theory has been the basis for the once popular assumption that African-Americans failed attempts to pronounce either the Dutch word koffie or the English word coffee had given rise to the name *Cuffy* which they then used as a personal name for their children, owing to the popularity of this plantation product. Another theory which also enjoyed a certain popularity was that the name *Cuff* was actually derived from the shackles which slaves were often forced to wear.

28. One notable exception was the phrase name *Fiddler Billy* who was reportedly well-known for being an accomplished violinist.

29. Of course, this lack of correspondence may have come from the fact that that the advertisers were unaware of these skills or for some reason felt no need to list them.

30. It is of course recognized that the name Nanny may simply have been a nickname for the name Ann, in which case, it would not have been an occupational name.

31. An example of a fugitive slave name from the VGCSPN which is still routinely used by native English-speakers as either a first or a last name , albeit much less popular now, is *Appleby*.

32. The only information contained in the advertisement was her height (5 ft, 3 in), approximate age (26 years), and the fact that she is believed to be with child.

33. A similar case could be made for the fugitive named *Moody*. This runaway's name could either have been motivated by his personality or by his association with a member of the Moody family, another prominent family of slave-holders who advertised in the Virginia Gazette regularly.

34. This possibility finds additional support in the early research conducted by Puckett, 1973. Based on interviews with former slaves, Puckett reports that "[e]ven during slave days the surnames of the master were used for identification purposes among servants" (173). Thus, in much the same way that surnames were used to mark familial bonds within the free community, surnames were sometimes used within the enslaved community to designate legal bonds.

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