

UNIVERSITY OF LATVIA  
FACULTY OF HUMANITIES  
DEPARTMENT OF ENGLISH STUDIES

**THE REPRESENTATIONS OF PURITAN  
WOMANHOOD AND INDIAN 'WILDERNESS' AS  
PART OF EARLY AMERICAN CAPTIVITY  
NARRATIVES**

**PURITĀŅU SIEVIŠĶIBAS UN INDIĀŅU MEŽONĪBAS  
ATSPoguĻojums agrīnas ASV nebrīves  
stāstījumos**

MASTER THESIS

Author: **Diāna Zaķe**  
Matriculation Card No. **dz12025**  
Adviser: prof. Irina Novikova

RIGA 2018

## **ABSTRACT**

The Master Thesis investigates the representations of Puritan womanhood and Indian 'wilderness' in the captivity narratives of Mary Rowlandson, Hannah Duston and Mary Jemison. In the theoretical part of the research, sources concerning Puritanism, Puritan religious views, and the relationship between Puritan settlers and the Indians are explored. The overview of captivity narratives and women's roles in them are also included in the study. Research methods are informed by methodologies in discourse analysis, literary analysis, historical analysis, gender history, women's history and postcolonial theory. The captivity narrative of Mary Rowlandson tries to reproduce traditional Puritan views that women fulfil their assigned roles in the society and remain loyal to their husbands and God. Rowlandson's narrative represents Puritan society's views on the Indians. Hannah Duston's narrative and its readings testify how a single story can be interpreted by authors of different literary epochs in their approaches to Duston's identity and the 'wilderness' of the American Indians. Mary Jemison's narrative presents a different view on the Indians, and she managed to challenge a number of Indian stereotypes in the Puritan society.

Key words: Puritanism, Mary Rowlandson, captivity narrative, Native Americans, Hannah Duston, Mary Jemison.

## ANOTĀCIJA

Maģistra darbā tiek pētīts Puritāņu sievišķības un Indiāņu ‘mežonības’ atspoguļojums Mērijas Rovlandsones, Hannas Dustonas un Mērijas Džemisonas nebrīves stāstījumos. Pētījuma teorētiskajā daļā tiek pētīti avoti par puritānismu, puritāņu reliģiskajiem uzskatiem un attiecībām starp puritāņu kolonistiem un indiāņiem. Pētījumā iekļauta arī teorija par nebrīves stāstījumiem un sieviešu lomu tajos. Darbā tika pielietota diskursa analīze, literārā analīze, vēsturiskā analīze, dzimtes vēsture, sieviešu vēsture un postkoloniālā teorija. Mērijas Rovlandsones nebrīves stāstījums mēģina atveidot tradicionālos puritānisma uzskatus, ka sievietes pildīja tām sabiedrības uzticētās lomas, tas ir, viņas bija uzticīgas saviem vīriem un Dievam. Rowlandsones stāstījums atspoguļoja Puritāņu sabiedrības uzskatus saistībā ar Indiāņiem. Hannas Dustonas stāstījums un tā lasījumi liecina par to, kā dažādu literāro laikmetu autori var interpretēt vienu stāstu atbilstoši saviem uzskatiem par Dustonas identitāti un Amerikas Indiāņu ‘mežonību’. Mērijas Džemisonas stāstījums citādu skatījumu uz Indiāņiem, Džemisonse apstrīdēja vairākus Indiāņu stereotipus.

Atslēgas vārdi: Puritānisms, Mērija Rovalndsonē, nebrīves stāstījums, Amerikas Indiāņi, Hanna Dustona, Mērija Džemisonē.

## TABLE OF CONTENTS

Introduction .....	1
1. Puritanism.....	4
1.1. Religion.....	5
1.2. Puritan Women .....	7
1.3. Puritan Attitude Towards the Native Americans .....	8
1.4. Puritan Literature and its Genre System .....	10
2. Puritan Captivity Narratives .....	13
2.1. The Reason Behind the Captivity Narratives, its Statistics and Common Themes ...	15
2.2. Captivity Narrative as a ‘Myth’ .....	16
2.3. Woman’s Captivity Narratives in Colonial America.....	18
3. The ‘Savage’ Native American as the ‘Other’ .....	21
3.1. The ‘Other’ .....	21
3.2. Stereotyping.....	23
4. Puritan Womanhood and the ‘Wilderness’ of the Native Americans in the Captivity Narratives of Mary Rowlandson, Hannah Duston and Mary Jemison .....	26
4.1. The Captivity Narrative of Mary Rowlandson .....	27
4.2. The Many Variants of the Captivity Narrative of Hannah Duston .....	36
4.3. The Captivity Narrative of Mary Jemison and Her Choice to Remain With the Seneca Indians. ....	43
4.4. The Similarities and Differences Between Mary Rowlandson’s, Hannah Dustan’s and Mary Jemison’s Captivity Narratives. ....	48
Conclusions .....	52
Theses .....	56
References .....	57
Online sources: .....	60

## INTRODUCTION

American Indian captivity narratives are considered to be the start of American literature dating as far as the 17<sup>th</sup> century, and Puritans authors were the founders of this genre. (Salisbury, 1994:95) Puritans were one of the first settlers in America; they travelled to the New Land to bestow their form of religion – Puritanism. Puritans believed that everything in their lives is dictated by God and all answers could be found in the Bible. Just like men, women had their own specific role within the Puritan community.

When Puritans arrived in America, they were met by the Native Americans. Puritans saw them as wild savages in need to be converted to Puritanism. Puritan views towards the Indians could be related to the discourse of the ‘other’, in which one group of individuals can be marginalized and even expelled from the society, due to their ‘essential’ differences which they are not able to eliminate. The sanguinary experience to convert Indians into Christianity that resulted in numerous battles was often used as an evidence in this colonial constructing of Indians as ‘others’ in terms of race, civilization, progress, and culture.

Indians took English settler captives for either ransom or replacing their own people. Usually, the captives were women or children. When the women returned to the colonist communities, they often, either wrote down or dictated their stories, which were later published. Puritans used captivity narratives to promote the dogmas Puritan ideology and Puritan views upon ‘wilderness’ and tribes that inhabit it.

For the purpose of the present research, three captivity narratives were selected, narratives of Mary Rowlandson, Hannah Duston, and Mary Jemison. The first two narratives are rendered by Puritan women, however, the third captivity narrative was told by a frontierswoman. Her narrative was chosen, because it gives the reader a different image of the Indians, in contrast to what appears in the narratives of Rowlandson and Duston.

*A True History of the Captivity and Restoration of Mrs. Mary Rowlandson*, written by a Puritan woman is one of the earliest known captivity narratives is. It was published in the year 1682 and has been republished numerous times since then. Rowlandson, through her experiences, challenges her pious Puritan womanhood. Her narrative mirrors the attitude of Puritans towards the American Indians. After being ransomed and returning home, she re-enters the Puritan society with a changed identity. Her narrative is divided into 20 lengthy removes.

The narrative of Hannah Duston is another famous Puritan captivity narrative, where a woman decides to battle the savage Indians and returns home. A number of authors, each providing their own version and their own perspective of the events told her narrative. For the

present research, the most popular versions are analysed: Cotton Mather's (1697, 1699 and 1702), John Whittier (1831), Nathaniel Hawthorn's (1836), Henry Thoreau's (1849), Timothy Dwight (1821) and Charles Goodrich (1829).

There were cases when Native Americans decided to adopt their captives, to replace their killed brethren. The *captivity narrative of Ms. Mary Jemison*, which Jemison dictated when she was 80 years old, tells the story of the woman, who decided to live her life with the Seneca tribe, adopting their customs and way of life. Despitenumeros occasions, when she could leave the tribe, Jemison decided to stay with her new family.

Numerous scholars, such as Slotkin Richard (1988), Van Der Beets Richard (1984), Fitzpatrick Tara (1991), Alden T. Vaughan (1972), Gordon M. Sayre (2000), Gary L. Ebersole (1995), etc, have researched the genre of captivity narratives and its additional elements. Scholars like Alden T. Vaughan (1972), Francis J. Bremer (2000), Gary Nash (2014), etc. have researched Puritanism and Puritan religion, hierarchy and their attitude towards the Indians. Michel Foucault (1971), Frantz Fanon (1963), Pauline T. Strong (2000) has provided the theory on the 'other' and 'stereotyping'. Numerous scholars from American history studies, postcolonial studies, Native American studies, gender studies, etc. have contributed to the present research.

The present research deals with the representation of Puritan womanhood and Indian 'wilderness' in captivity narratives of Mary Rowlandson, Hannah Duston, and Mary Jemison.

The **goal** of the research is to analyse how the identity of the Puritan women and the 'otherness' of Native Americans are represented in Mary Rowlandson's, Hannah Duston's and Mary Jemison's captivity narratives.

**The research questions:**

1. How is womanhood represented in the captivity narratives of Mary Rowlandson, Hannah Duston, and Mary Jemison?
2. How is the 'wilderness' of American Indians represented in the three captivity narratives?
3. Can there be parallels drawn between Rowlandson's, Duston's and Jemison's captivity narratives?

The following **enabling objectives** have been formulated for the present research paper:

1. to study theoretical sources on Puritanism;
2. to study theoretical sources on captivity narratives;
3. to study theoretical sources on the 'other';
4. to explore the representation of Puritan womanhood and the wilderness of the Indians in the captivity narratives of Mary Rowlandson, Hannah Duston, and Mary Jemison;

5. to draw relevant conclusions.

**The research methods** for the present research are discourse analysis, literary analysis, historical analysis, gender history, women's history and postcolonial theory.

The present Thesis consists of four chapters and thirteen sub-chapters:

The **first** chapter deals with the concept of Puritanism, Puritan views on religion, women and Native Americans. The chapter gives brief background information on Puritan literature and its genre system.

The **second** chapter focuses on the genre of captivity narratives: its origins, themes, and types. In detail, the chapter also deals with women captivity narratives and discusses the captivity narrative as a 'myth'.

The **third** chapter is dedicated to the theory of the 'other', and how the concept is related to the relationship between the Puritan settlers and American Indians. This chapter also discusses the concept of 'stereotyping'.

The **fourth** chapter presents the analysis of the representations of Puritan womanhood and the wilderness of the Indians in the captivity narratives of Mary Rowlandson, Hannah Duston, and Mary Jemison. This chapter also discusses the similarities and differences between the three narratives.

## 1. PURITANISM

The chapter deals with the concept of Puritanism. The chapter explores the origins of puritanism, puritan views on religion, women and the Native Americans, as well as give an insight into Puritan literature and its genre system. It is of great importance to explore the cultural, ideological discourse of Puritanism, in order to see the impact and ways of thinking and lively hood of a Puritan settler.

According to Francis J. Bremer in his book *Puritanism: A Very Short Introduction* (2009), Puritans were Protestants within the Church of England, who wanted to eliminate everything related to Catholicism from the church. (Bremer, 2009:3) Because they did not succeed to reform the Church of England, it resulted in the civil war, so thousands of Puritans travelled to the New Land, to bestow their fundamentalist form of Christianity (Puritanism) on the natives of the land. Many travelled to America, to escape the rule of King Charles I. (ibid: 9) Puritans thought that they were chosen by God and that they were responsible not only for themselves but for the universe around them.

America was considered the land chosen by God and many people moved there from England, in order to reach salvation. According to Richard Vanderbeets, in his study of the Indian captivity narratives, the early settlers thought that they were 'living in the promised world where they had to establish the New Zion' (Vanderbeets, 1984: XXI).

As Geoffrey F. Nuttall stated it, for one to be a Puritan, one had to strive to become purer by means of worship and following the Puritan doctrine. For Puritans, the most important aspect of their ideology was to be pious, to live a modest life, to dress simply and to be morally and spiritually pure. (Nuttal, 1992:9) The main aspect of Puritanism was that each person should understand the Bible in their own way and to follow the teaching of the Bible to the smallest detail. The goal of Puritanism was to reach salvation. Puritans believed that people exist for the sole purpose of obeying God's will. Doing so would result in happiness for the coming days and earning a place in Heaven. (ibid: 15)

It should be noted, that for Puritans both politics and religion were connected and during town meetings, only male church members had rights to vote on the issues concerning the life of the community. In Puritan communities, going to Church was mandatory. (ibid: 32) Francis J Bremer summarizes that the Puritans who travelled to America made a strong presence in the New Land and established a number of communities that contributed to the American culture. (Bremer, 2009:152) Despite the fact that their communities were based on religious beliefs, Puritans had a good economy, school systems, and political character. Puritan morality played a central role in the society; it helped to shape the moral character of

America. It is worth mentioning that many American colonists from the 17th and 18th century had a Puritan background.

Activism and self-salience are some of the values that were rooted in the American history and culture by the Puritan settlers. Their aim was to build an ideal community that would serve as an example for others (Bremer, 2009:78). The Puritans wanted to shape New England as a 'City upon the Hill'. The phrase was shaped by the Puritan lawyer John Winthrop, who derived it from the New Testament: Gospel of Matthew.

[...]for we must Consider that we shall be as a City upon a Hill, the eyes of all people are upon us; so that if we shall deal falsely with our God in this work we have undertaken and so cause him to withdraw his present help from us, we shall be made a story and a byword through the world, we shall open the mouths of enemies to speak evil of the ways of God and all professors for Gods sake; we shall shame the faces of many of gods worthy servants, and cause their prayers to be turned into Curses upon us till we be consumed out of the good land whether we are going [...] (Online 1)

Religion was of great importance for the Puritan community, and their way of life was dependant on God, prayers and the sermons given by Puritan clergyman.

### **1.1.Religion**

Francis J. Bremer and Tom Webster in their book *Puritans and Puritanism in Europe and America: A Comprehensive Encyclopaedia* claim, that religion was the main principle of the Puritan society. They, as other religious communities had strong spiritual beliefs, which helped to hold the community together. (Bremer and Webster, 2006:15) Puritan laws and customs were shaped by their religious beliefs and God was behind the motivation of Puritans in every aspect of their life. Truthfully, this statement could be applied to number of religious groups, however, for Puritans; this way of living was to prove to God, that they are worthy to receive salvation of their souls. As it is stated by James I. Packer, "Puritanism was, at its heart, a movement of spiritual revival." (Packer, 2010:110)

Every church community, as well as each person, was personally accountable to God. Their entire society was dictated by the 'rules' stated within the Old and New Testament. Everyone was required to read the Bible if one did not; they automatically become worshippers of the Devil. The aim of Puritanism was to create a utopia for Christians, a society that was uncorrupted and was working according to the Bible. If there was anyone in their community who had different theological views or chose not to follow the Scripture, they were either expelled from it or converted. (Bremer and Webster, 2006: 21) Puritanism saw people born sinful and the only way to resolve it was by being salvaged by the divine

grace. Puritans were always aware of the fact that they were sinful and they were driven by the need not to commit any more sins. Puritan morality played a central role in the society.

As it is stated by John Adair, Puritans believed that, God had a limited number of people chosen for the life in Heaven, and that by following God's will stated in the Scripture and remaining pure, one could help to purify those who have stayed behind in England and those awaiting them in the New land (Adair, 1998:48). The Puritans believed that they have to live their lives in a way that would atone for their sins. Because everyone was a sinner, and those who were not able to do so, was punished by God. As it was claimed by the Puritan minister in one of his sermons:

There is a Court somewhere kept; a Court of Spirits, where the Diavel enters all sorts of Complaints against us all; he charges us with manifold sins against the Lord our God: There he loads us with heavy Imputations, of Hypocrisy, Iniquity, Disobedience; whereupon he urges, Lord, let 'em now have the Death, which is their Wages, paid unto 'em! If our Advocate in the Heavens do not now take off his Libels, the Devil then with a Concession of God, Comes down, as a Destroyer upon us. (Mather, 2010:11)

According to Puritan doctrine, God already had chosen the people who would go to Heaven and who would end up in hell, and there was no way of knowing who went where, the only thing to do was to say devoted to the Lord and be pure. Of course, for those who had money, they were obviously blessed and had God's favour. (Adair, 1998:50) As mentioned before, hard work would be rewarded, so prosperity could be seen as a result of great devotion to work in God's name.

Puritans did not tolerate disobedience if there was even a slight alteration of the norm; it was met with criticism and discipline. Keeping it in mind, that most church members were also seen as political leaders, any problem within the church became the problem of the town. For Puritans, there was no room for error. Those who disobeyed were treated harshly and disease, famine and Indian attacks were treated as the result of people disobedience. (Adair, 1998:54)

Upon arriving in the New World, the first Puritan settlers were welcomed by the Native Americans, who thought that Puritan weapons could protect them. However, Puritans saw the natives as wild pagans, who would be thankful to them if they 'freed' them from their pagan beliefs. John Adair states that Puritans saw the conversion of Native Americans as a mission to rid the Indians of their past Gods and turn them to the one true God (ibid, 55). Puritans saw Indians as savages inhabiting wilderness, in need to turn to the Christian God. They claimed that Indian religious beliefs were inferior to Christianity and in essence and that the Natives should be thankful for being saved (ibid, 58).

## 1.2.Puritan Women

According to the book *The Intellectual Culture of Puritan Women, 1558-1680*, edited by Johanna Harris and Elizabeth Scott-Baumann, women and children were treated harshly in the Puritan society. A Puritan woman was a subordinate to the men of her family. A married woman had no property, and everything belonged to the husband. The women had no legal rights, they could not vote and to their spouses, women served only as auxiliary subjects. Despite the fact that women were to be submissive, they were only called to submit to their husband. Women also needed to dress modestly. (Harris and Scott-Baumann, 2010:40)

However, despite the submission of women, they were seen as being more moral and disciplined than men were. Puritans also married for love, there were no arranged marriages, especially in-family marriages (ibid: 61). Despite there being no arranged marriages, the man remained the head of the household, and the woman had to retain their 'female role', meaning they should be submissive and were expected to be accepting, they should never show any temper or challenge their husband. If women were to disobey their husband, they could be severely punished, for example, if a woman was to have sexual relations outside of the marriage, she could be sentenced to death, and on the other hand, if a man did the same, he was only fined. (ibid: 98, 99)

According to Amanda Portefield, the role of a Puritan woman consisted of two aspects. Firstly, it was to be remembered that women were weaker, both physically and spiritually and that a woman's only duty was to take care of the household (Portefield, 1992:16). The second, how women were able to utilise their assigned roles to achieve their goals. (ibid.)As it was mentioned previously, the leaders of the community were all men; mostly they were the man of the church, who easily accepted the idea of women being inferior to them. The main duty of a Puritan woman was to bear children and to care for them. They also had to provide food and clothing, which production became one of the women duties for those who migrated to the New World. The women even created their own trading network for food and other needed supplies. (Portefield, 1992:33) Thus, it can be said, that although men were superior to women in terms of various aspects of life, women were better when it came to domestic duties and providing food on the table.

Despite the fact that everyone were considered sinful, women had to suffer more, due to the portrayal of Eve's actions in the Garden of Eden. If Eve was corrupted, then all future women were corrupted as well. Even though most women participated in sermons, they were not allowed to speak in Church. (Harris,Scott-Baumann, 2011:65) This could be due to Church doubling as the political force of the settlement.

Alden T. Vaughan states that the Puritans believed that women were more compelled to the devil because of their innate female weakness. It was due to the belief that essentially the body of a female, by nature, was more submissive and passive. In addition, it was believed that women's souls were weaker than a man's was, thus more subjective to the Satan. Because of the previously mentioned Eve's sin, women were always viewed with suspicion as possible servants of Satan or them being witches. (Vaughan, 1972:24) The previously mentioned Cotton Mather in a number of his sermons talks about how easily the Devil can take possession of a woman, adding to the above mentioned argument that Puritans saw women as more susceptible to evil.

It was a most awful Speech made by the Devil, Possessing a young Woman, at a Village in Germany, By the Command of God, I am come to Torment the Body of this young Woman, though I cannot hurt her Soul; and it is that I may warn men, to take heed of Sinning against God. (Mather, 2010:56)

Despite the many researches claiming that Puritan women were unhappy with their 'traditional women's roles', there are scholars, like Leora Hall, who claim, that Puritan women were happy to raise the children, and considered it a privilege. (Hall, 2014:3) This could be supported by the statements of Puritan ministers that stated despite the husband being the head of the wife, the wife became the head of the family and that Puritan model of family, was the closest to man and woman equality at that time (Morgan, 1966:139).

In summary, women were considered as secondary to the men, and actually needed a dominant male figure to lead their lives. Due to social and religious beliefs, the women who chose not to surrender to a man were deemed dangerous.

### **1.3.Puritan Attitude Towards the Native Americans**

Puritans believed that the Native Americans lacked any civilization or culture; they perceived the Indians as savages and devils or the spawn of the Devil, additionally, since Puritans saw sexuality as 'impure', they saw the Indians as sexually promiscuous creatures of unbridled libido. (Vaughan, 1972:47)

The first Puritan settlers based themselves in the Massachusetts Bay Colony; at first they contacted the Indians mostly for the purpose of trade. They believed that converting Native Americans to Christianity was their mission. Massachusetts Bay Colony Charter even states:

The settlers may win and incite the Natives of the Country to the Knowledge and Obedience of the only true God and Savior of Mankind, and in the Christian Faith, which is our Royal Intention and the Adventurers free Profession, is the principle End of the Plantation. (Cited in Vaughan, 1972:49)

The early conversion attempts resulted in a war, which actually inspired Puritans to carry on their conversion attempts. (ibid) Puritans saw Native Americans “as an inverted expression of their cultural ideal” (Simmons, 1981: 58). Similar to women, Indians were seen as a seed of all sin. Indian belief in direct communication with their deities, dream visions, chanting and various rituals were seen as witchcraft and blasphemy. (ibid: 17)

It was also believed, that Native Americans were a punishment of God, and that they had done something wrong, which was proven by the failure to convert them. Whereas, when Indians chose to be converted or decided to help the settlers, it meant that it was a favour from God. One of the Puritan settlers, Edward Winslow, later wrote down:

[...]whereas if God had let them loose, they might easily have swallowed us up, scarce being an handful in comparison of those forces they might have gathered together against us, which now by God’s blessing will be more hard and difficult[...] (cited in Salisbury, 1996:176)

For one to become a true Christian, one had to go through a complete cultural, social, and most importantly, religious transformation. A Native American had to completely change his/her lifestyle, habits, and had to strive to become ‘European’. For instance, in some areas powwowing was prohibited (Simmons, 1981:10). It was nearly impossible for an Indian to meet all the requirements to be converted to Puritanism.

For Puritans, everything that was plain and simple was valued, while wilderness was feared; they believed that forests were the home of the devil himself. The largest problem between Native Americans and the Puritans was their different religious beliefs, their viewpoint of the world and ethics. As mentioned previously, for Puritans, all possible solutions to any problem could be found in the pages of the Bible and that the Puritans were personally chosen by God. However, Indians saw everyone as being equals.

As stated by George E Tinker, in Indian religions they worshipped God, spirits, and ancestors of all once living and currently living beings equally. Native Americans had a diversity of religions, Tinker claims, that each tribe had their individual religious practices. Contrary to Puritans finding answers in the Bible, Native Americans relied on their oral history. (Tinker, 1993:34) Apart from the above mentioned religious aspects, Indian morality and ethical values varied from those, set by the Puritans. Puritans, in everything they did, were driven by their faith, however, Native Americans used dancing and various rituals as their point of action. (ibid: 35)

It is worth mentioning, that while Puritans believed in purchasing and selling of the land, Native Americans saw it as a cruel joke: they believed that they should not buy the land they walk on. (Tinker: 52; 53) This could stem from the fact, that Puritans saw this world only as temporary, since they all have an assigned place in heaven or Hell, for the Natives it was

just the opposite –Indians believed in the mortal life. In the on-going battle with Native Americans, for the Puritans “religion became much more than a set of doctrines and rituals; it was imminent in the total behaviour of its adherents. When a religion was bad, its people were necessarily also bad.” (Nash, 2014:43). In this case, it did not even matter that the Indians had not done anything wrong to the Christians, they were still seen as the enemy of God, and therefore, they were the enemy of God’s children. (ibid: 45) Thus, it can be said, that Indian and Puritan religious and cultural differences played a crucial role for the attitude towards each other: from everyday contacts to land ownership.

Overall, the image of the Indians was forever changing according to the state of relationship. This reflected the development of attitude towards Native Americans over time. Unfortunately, the conflicts taking place in the 17th century forever changed the image of the natives as negative and malicious. (Nash, 1974:39) The major conflict between the settlers and the Natives of the land is known as King Phillip’s war. According to Jill Lepore in *The Name of War: King Philip's War and the Origins of American Identity*, she states that it was series of battles between the natives of the New England region and the colonists residing there. The war was named after the Wampanoag chief, who was named Phillip by the settlers. The battles broke out after a converted Christian Native American was murdered and in turn, three Natives from the Wampanoag tribe were executed. (Lepore, 1999:87) At first, the Native Americans were able to ambush and attack the English forces, however gradually their situation got worse. The battles continued until the Treaty of Casco Bay in April 1678 was signed. (Lepore, 1999:93)

The Treaty of Casco Bay is often described as an “even-handed and fair” agreement between the colonists and the Native Americans. However, it is interesting to note that in numerous primary sources, the treaty has minor distinctions in the formulation of the text. (Lepore, 1999:110)

#### **1.4.Puritan Literature and its Genre System**

As it was stated by Jeffrey Hammond, in his study *The American Puritan Elogy: A Literary and Cultural Study*, according to the many surviving diaries, poems, letters, sermon notes, etc., Puritan settlers had a high literacy rate and a fair amount of devotion to life. (Hammond, 2000: 65) At large Puritan literature reflected their life, presented in a simple writing style.

The genre of captivity narratives was a major part of the Puritan literature. As it is defined by Kathryn Zabelle Derounian-Stodola, the captivity narrative “encompasses any story with a captor (usually from a minority group) and a captive (usually from a majority

group)” (Derounian-Stodola, 1998: xi). She later adds that many of the most well-known captivity narratives come from early American literature consisting of white Puritan women captured by the ‘wild’ natives of the land. The captivity narrative serves as a passageway into Puritan history and culture. As Richard Vanderbeets state it, the thrill of a captivity narrative sparks the human interest of the unknown and the dangerous. He also claims, that people generally ‘value of tempering their joys with a play or story chronicling the misfortunes and tragedies of others’ (Vanderbeets 1973: 548) Exactly Vanderbeets’ point, creates continuous interest in captivity narratives, thus making it engaging and always relevant.

Mainly, the settlers wrote about what they knew well and what they deemed was important. Most often Puritan writings served as an instruction and often reinforced the authority of the Bible and the Church. The produced texts were factual and all served a specific purpose (ibid: 67).The author claims, that this time period did not have any genre of fiction. (ibid: 73) According to Helen Jakoski, most of the Native American literature written in this time period fell into three categories: “1. Poetry, 2. Sermons, 3.Historical narratives” (Jakoski, 1996:78).

Puritan literary works were mostly based on the Bible and its teachings. Even though the writing itself was seen as plain, the texts still consisted of some literary devices, such as biblical allusions. Of course, compared to other literature, Puritans did not use many figurative devices or rhetorical elements, for instance, allusions, propaganda, inversion, etc. (Piper and Taylor, 2004: 27)Puritan literature had many central themes. These themes included writing about life as the ultimate test from God, how important was to be self-reflective and having self-control, and God’s anger and His holiness (ibid: 33).

As for Native Americans, their literature was oral, and it commonly consisted of important moral lessons. According to Kathryn O’Hara, Indian stories were mostly legends, divided into three categories: hero stories, which told about people becoming immortal, trickster stories, which taught a lesson through a person being tricked by a trickster and stories about figures of the tribes, who were helpful yet dangerous. (O’Hara: 10) Mostly, Native American stories talked about the equality of animals and humans, in these stories, animals were often given human characteristics. In contrast to Puritan literature, Native American literature was filled with figurative speech, including, metaphors, similes, symbolism, onomatopoeia, hyperbole, personification, etc. (ibid: 14).

In summary, the present chapter explores the concept of Puritanism, meaning, Puritans had to be devoted to God and follow the lessons they saw in the bible. The Puritan church was synonymous with the government of the community. Puritan women were seen as a lesser, or inferior, human being, yet were in charge of the household and all its aspects. There was a

series of disagreements and differences between the settlers and the Natives of the land, which resulted in numerous battles between the two. Puritan literature and writing reflected the pure and simple Puritan lifestyle.

The next chapter will be devoted to the discussion of the concept of captivity narratives, including its major themes, statistics, and reasons behind them. The chapter will also include an overview of female captivity narratives since most narratives are told from a woman's perspective.

## 2. PURITAN CAPTIVITY NARRATIVES

The present chapter explores the genre of captivity narrative: its background, its basic structure, and the reasons behind the genre, themes, types, and overall statistics. The chapter also deals with female captivity narratives, since it was usually women who were taken by the natives.

Captivity narratives are to be considered as an important part of the American literary culture, because, they serve as proof of intercultural contact during those times. As Gary L. Ebersole states it, the captivity narratives determine the foundation for American culture, in terms of the principles of equality and liberty, as well as the colonizing aspects regarding the minorities. (Ebersole, 1995:46).

According to the book *The Indians of New England: A Critical Bibliography*, captivity narratives are essentially people re-telling their experiences when captured by, usually uncivilised enemies, with contradicting customs and beliefs to the captured. The majority of captives were taken in war. In most cases, the captives were regarded as having died and was considered that they had wilfully forfeited their lives. (Salisbury, 1982:49) The basic concept of a captivity narrative consists of, usually a colonial woman, rarely a man, being captured by the 'savage' Indians, when attacking the pious frontier.

The women and men recount the burdens they went through in the course of the capture and their rescue or escape. However, there are cases when the 'victim' stays with the tribe and assimilates into their community. The theme of most narratives had, was redeeming oneself through faith when facing threat and temptation from the Indian lifestyle. It can be said, that dating from the 17th century, American captivity narratives can be considered as the very beginning of American literature. In addition, captivity narratives were the first literary form, which was dominated by the experience of women. Most popular captivity narrative is that of Mary White Rowlandson.

According to Tara Fitzpatrick, although, written by a woman, Rowlandson's narrative consisted of strong lessons of the importance of having faith in God. Considering the fact, that at the time many people had decided to leave the church, Puritans encouraged and published many writings of women. (Fitzpatrick, 1991:14) After Rowlandson, many other accounts of captivity were published. It is interesting to note, that by the 19<sup>th</sup> century, treatments of captivity were produced within paintings, popular folktales, sculptures, poems, etc. (ibid, 26).

Puritan ministers sought the church members see through the help of captivity narratives that Indian raids served as the punishment for the disobedience from God. Indian attacks were also seen as the punishment for sin and corruption within their communities.

(ibid, 19) The narratives were interpreted in different ways, similarly to the Bible. The role of religion within the governmental structure serves as one of the influences for the development of captivity narratives. Puritan captivity narratives revealed the conflict between the captured individual and Puritan ministers, where the one wanted to highlight their own individual experience, while the other tried to impose the religious message of the story. This often went against the Puritan doctrine. (Salisbury, 1982:67)

According to Richard Slotkin, in his study, *Regeneration Through Violence: The Mythology of the American Frontier, 1600-1860*, he presents the usual setting for a captivity narrative and what the captured individual had to go through:

A single individual, usually a woman, stands passively under the strokes of evil, awaiting rescue by the grace of God. The sufferer represents the whole, chastened body of Puritan society; and the temporary bondage of the captive to the Indian is [...] the temptations arising from original sin, and of the self-exile. In the Indian's devilish clutches, the captive had to meet and reject the temptation of Indian marriage. To partake of the Indian's love or of his equivalent of bread and wine was to debase, to un-English the very soul. The captive's ultimate redemption by the grace of Christ and the efforts of the Puritan magistrates is likened to the regeneration of the soul in conversion. (Slotkin, 2000:94)

Slotkin later states, that the captivity narrative served as a means to remind the readers of their possibly sinful and corrupted ways, and how such capture could lead them astray. (ibid, 96)

Slotkin, also describes how captivity narratives were published until the last quarter of the 19<sup>th</sup> century. The narratives were all quite simple in their structure of sudden attacks, scalping of people, killing of children and how tortured were the captives, which were carried away. The captives talked about constant moving from one settlement to another, occasionally beaten, often starving, and some narratives talked about alleged cannibalism (Slotkin, 2000:35). Additionally, Slotkin argues that in the 17<sup>th</sup> century American captivity narrative there was only one possible relationship between the white Americans and the Native Americans – the relationship between the captive and the captor, one being helpless and good and the other being wild and evil. Puritans saw that there were only two possible ways to battle captivity, one being total submission to the captor and the other was violent resistance (Slotkin, 1973:201).

In the 18<sup>th</sup> century, the captivity narrative went through a significant change. The earliest narratives were simple, direct, and religious; gradually the narratives became more 'literary'. Some of the early captivity narratives were interpreted as a test from God and choosing not to assimilate into the Indian community was seen as resisting the devil itself. However, as the years passed and the Puritan teachings were left behind and captivity narratives spread beyond the borders of New England, the captivity narratives became timelier and ultimately became a strong cultural myth. Richard Slotkin argues that the

captivity narratives of the 18<sup>th</sup> century were no longer seen as a test and/or punishment from God. (Slotkin, 2000: 184) The development of captivity narrative reached its peak in popularity during the Revolutionary era (1765 - 1783). In particular, two captivity narratives, which were reprinted up to nine times in the span of five years. Those being, the narratives of John Williams and the previously mentioned narrative of Mary Rowlandson. (Slotkin, 1973:270)

Roy Harvey Pearce presents a model of the development of captivity narratives, a sample, which later on, have been used by numerous scholars. He claims that the American captivity narratives, depending “on the main purpose or the cultural significance of the narrative” can be divided into three distinctive periods (Pearce, 1988:13). The first period is the time between the 17<sup>th</sup> and 18<sup>th</sup> century when captivity narratives functioned as religious confessionals, when a captive, most commonly a woman, was rescued because of his/her faith in God. The second period is starting from the 18<sup>th</sup> century up to the middle of the 19<sup>th</sup> century when captivity narratives served the purpose of political propaganda. This was due to the narratives being edited by Puritan clergyman, whose purpose was to represent the Native Americans and the French as violent creatures to be hated and discriminated. Pearce adds that in the second half of the 18<sup>th</sup> century leading up to the 19<sup>th</sup> century, the captivity narratives started to lose their political and religious colouring and were read more as factual, yet sentimental fiction. (ibid: 14) During those times, after the 18<sup>th</sup> century, the captivity narrative was treated as a dime novel, however, nowadays; they are seen as crucial historical and ethnological sources.

## **2.1.The Reason Behind the Captivity Narratives, its Statistics and Common Themes**

According to the book *Captive Selves, Captivating Others: The Politics and Poetics of Colonial American Captivity Narratives* by Pauline Turner Strong, there are three main reasons behind the capture of Puritans and other colonists. First, it was revenge, which was fuelled by the numerous battles and deaths that resulted from them. Another reason being the possibility of receiving a ransom for the captivated individual. The third reason was simply that the captured member of the settlers could become a replacement of tribal numbers decimated by the war and disease. (Strong, 2000:12)

One of the reasons for the popularity of captivity narratives was the captive sentiments, which were appealing to the reader. Regardless of the fact, that the captivity narratives were mostly used for propaganda, certain ideas and images attracted the readers’ attention: e.g. a

fragile, pious woman fighting for her life among wild and merciless Indians. The captivity narratives often played with the trope of a damsel in distress.

As for the statistics of the captives, according to Kathryn Derounian-Stodola's *Women's Indian Captivity Narratives*, during the time period from the 15th until the 19th century, the number of the over-all captives are imprecise and the given numbers are considered being unreliable, due to inconsistent records and an unknown number of missing or dead captives. However, it is speculated that the number of taken captives were over ten thousand. (Derounian-Stodola, 1998:15) As stated by Alden T. Vaughan and Daniel K. Richter, approximately 1641 settlers of New England were captured by the Native Americans between the events of King Philip's War in the year 1675 and French and Indian war in the year 1763. (Vaughan and Richter, 1980:53) During the following years hundreds of people, the Natives captured mostly women, and children.

Luther F. Addington claims that the themes that were always present in most captivity narratives were, previously mentioned redemption, fear of scalping, death and being eaten. Another theme that was present in number of narratives was the myth of hunter and predator, where the captive became the 'cultural mediator between savagery and civilization' (Addington, 1966:54) As it commonly is, with various types of literary works, there is a number of myths that come along with the captivity narratives. For example, the myth of forbidden love in the woods, as it is in case of the romanticised Walt Disney studio version of Pocahontas and John Smith.

In summary, a captivity narrative consisted of three stages provided by Donna M. Campbell, in her study on early American Captivity Narratives:

- 1) the separation from their community, meaning that they were captured during an attack, (Online 2)
- 2) there was some sort of torment from the captive's side, either physical or mental suffering, in some cases – both, (ibid.)
- 3) the last stage could be either termed 'transformation', when the captive grew accustomed to the Native life or 'return', when the captive escaped, was released or was redeemed. (ibid.)

As it was discussed previously, during the three stages of captivity, the captives were seen as slaves to the tribe, there only to either ransom, be sold or to replace the lost members of the tribe.

## **2.2.Captivity Narrative as a 'Myth'**

The legacy of women's captivity narrative since the time of its beginning has been a part of the American national popular culture. Throughout the history, captivity narratives have served as important moral, social and spiritual guides for the Puritans and overall all Americans. The stories of young women taken and confined somewhere for varying amount of time, in many cases far more gruesome and tragic than original captivity experiences, however, they tend to follow a certain pattern of a captivity narrative, it being an abduction, the prolonged captivity, and release. Captivity narratives have served as a major plot for numerous novels and movies. However, most of these works come with an intent ethnocentric neglect for the Natives of the land.

As mentioned previously, there were a number of myths prominent in captivity narratives, however, Richard Slotkin argues, that captivity narrative itself, can be viewed as a myth, due to the inadequate account of history. According to Roland Barthes cited in Slotkin's study *The Fatal Environment: The Myth of the Frontier in the Age of Industrialisation 1800-1890* quotes Roland Barthes by stating: "Myth is constituted by the loss of the historical quality of things" (Slotkin 1998:24). A.J. Prast defines captivity narratives as American settlers being taken by the 'uncivilized' natives. Prast later suggests that the Indians can be seen as a "synecdoche for all the 'others'" (Prast, 2002:23).

James E. Seaver claims that captivity narratives, at the time, had a power to greatly influence the readers, making them see only the negative aspects of the natives, he states:

The stories of Indian cruelties which were common in the new settlements, and were calamitous realities [...] slumbered in the minds that had been constantly agitated by them, and were only roused occasionally, to become the fearful topic of the fireside (Seaver, 2016:201)

From captivity narratives, people saw the battles between Indians and Settlers as well as the other events that led after that as natural and do not tend to question the horrors the settlers committed towards them. The ignorance of the people is due to the image of the 'savage' and 'evil' Indian figure presented in the narratives. According to previously mentioned Gary L. Ebersole in his book *Captured by Texts: Puritans to Post-Modern Images of Indian Captivity*:

the popularity of the captive story came from a fascination with both the other and the self, as it enabled readers to confront various aspects of cultural relativity in family and social relations, gender constructions, and ethnicity (Ebersole, 1995:268)

As it was mentioned before, the captivity narratives were used as a propaganda, distorting the image of the natives of the New land. Completely disregarding the fact that the settlers brought a number of diseases that killed many Indians. There are certain reoccurring themes throughout American texts that helped to shape American culture. The captivity narrative was criticised by its lack of methodological rigor, stating that not all of the 'myths'

found in early American texts can be proven. However, even today, most of them still maintain as being true.

### **2.3. Woman's Captivity Narratives in Colonial America**

During the colonial period, most experiences of being in captivity came from women; due to the Native Americans considering women being the ideal captives, and women's narratives later served as a useful tool for promoting Puritanism.

Woman's captivity narrative presents a part of colonial American history, through the eyes of women captives, who were taken from their colonial homes and were thrown into the wilderness, which as it was mentioned previously, Puritans were afraid of. In some way, captivity narratives draw parallels with classic gothic stories, where women were taken prisoners against their will and locked in castles with several symbols denoting their sexuality. In the case of early Indian captivity narratives, in place of luxurious yet dark and mysterious castles, women were taken to a place, which they most feared – the wilderness.

According to *Women's Indian Captivity Narratives*, rather than focussing on the helplessness and vulnerability of women, captivity narratives showed how a woman, despite being terrified, was able to survive using her wits, courage, strength, and resourcefulness. However, men edited most of the women's narratives; it could be someone from the family or town ministers. (Derounian-Stodola, 1998:67) In most cases, doing so, the women's voice was intertwined with the editor's and the readers had trouble separating it.

It should be noted, that several of the women, including Mary Rowlandson, wrote down their own experiences as captives, regardless of that, men editors partly or heavily edited their stories. Many other women, including Hannah Dustan and Mary Jemison, chose to retell their stories to a male editor and let him write it. It should be remembered that the experiences of captivity, for each captive were different.

The previously mentioned captivity narrative of Mary Rowlandson due to its popularity helped to issue the archetypal elements of the genre. According to Neal Salisbury, the main archetypal elements of the captivity narrative taken from Rowlandson's narrative are, that a woman should be violently captured, she should have seen her family (all or just some members of it) killed and her home being burned to the ground. It is followed by the captive becoming a slave to the tribe and after a time ransomed by either her husband or anyone else from her white community (Salisbury, 1985:26). During the time of her captivity, the woman has to remain pure and devoted to her beliefs, despite the struggles she may be facing within the savage community. Overall, the narrative must portray the contrast between the violent,

savage Native Americans and the pious Puritan woman. (ibid: 27) The reason behind the creation of archetypal elements was to visualise the need to protect the white community, and it was done by demonizing the Native Americans. The narrative not only helped to shape the archetypal elements of the genre but also the archetypal roles that appeared later on as the other narratives emerged.

Additionally, men editors of women's narratives tried to force white cultural values, despite the captive integration in the Indian community. (ibid, 70) Thus, creating contradictions within the narratives, while the editors wrote down the experience of the female captive, they often included their own religious, moral and cultural views in the narrative. Despite the work of editors, the perceptions of some aspects of Indian lifestyle changed. As it was in the case of wilderness, it, especially the forest was seen as a dwelling of Satan, however, woman's ability to survive in the wilderness, became a place for opportunity. In addition, wilderness was then seen as an opportunity for religious enlightenment. (Derounian-Stodola, 1998:91) It can be speculated, that the perception of various subjects changed, due to captivity narratives. According to Christopher Castiglia in his study on various women captivity narratives, the captivated women have always shown their ability to "transgress and transform the boundaries of the genre in order to accomplish their own ends" (Castiglia 1996: 4).

According to June Namias, the woman of captivity narratives falls into three archetypal roles – "the Survivor, the Amazon, and the Frail Flower" (Namias, 2005:24). Namias states, that the survivor is a captive who adapts easily and accepts her situation. The survivor often becomes the captive, who decided to be adopted and becomes a part of the Native American tribe that captured her, however, there are exceptions. The archetype of Amazon means that the captive resisted their captivity by violent means. These captives were often portrayed as being racist and even bloodthirsty, later on; this role was shifted to a fierce mother and a warrior figure (Namias, 2005:36). Last female role of the captive is the Frail Flower when a captive is mostly helpless and miserable during the time of her captivity and remains in this state even after being rescued. (ibid.) It is interesting to note, that the archetypal roles presented by June Namias are evident in most captivity narratives.

Before Namias characterization of the archetypal roles there were already two types of captives established one being the common captive and the second was the willing captive. This type followed the same journey as the common captive with the violent abduction and witnessing the murder of her family, but despite that, the captive decided to stay with her captors, usually later one fully assimilating within the tribe. (Namias, 2005:85)

The captivity narrative was an extremely popular genre, eagerly read by many Americans. However, some of the captives, when writing down their experiences had to find the balance between telling the truth and having their truth accepted by the readers.

The following chapter will give an insight into the theory of 'the other', and how it is connected with the Puritan and other settler views on Native Americans. The chapter will also give an overview of stereotyping. In addition, the chapter will discuss how the phenomenon is reflected in captivity narratives.

### 3. THE 'SAVAGE' NATIVE AMERICAN AS THE 'OTHER'

Chapter III is dedicated to the theory of the 'other', and how the concept is related to the relationship between the Puritan settlers and Native Americans. Moreover, the chapter discusses the concept of 'stereotyping', a term, which is closely related to 'othering'. Additionally, the chapter deals with how the above-mentioned concept is reflected in the captivity narratives.

When considering the analysis of captivity narratives, one must take into consideration the impact of culture, as well as how real events are portrayed through it. One of the points to consider, when it comes to American history and culture, is the diversity of people. Previously mentioned Gary L. Ebersole argues that, that America has no "ethnic national identity"; thus, captivity narratives serve as a means to shape the hegemonic ideas of early American identity (Ebersole, 1995:89). Of course, it can be said that the nation of America is aware of its errors; however, most are not ready to accept them because of the deep-rooted myths, which in a way stem from captivity narratives.

Gordon M. Sayre in his book *American Captivity Narratives* presents an idea that Indian captivity narratives reflect the Puritan society's imagination of non-Puritans and shapes certain 'facts' of wilderness in people's minds. The idea being a strong anti-Indian view, or rather strong anti-'other' view. It is done through the 'horrifying experiences' Puritans had to go through. (Sayre, 2000:124)

#### 3.1. The 'Other'

All human communities, throughout history, have been in contact with different groups they perceived as 'the Other'. Because of this perception, prejudices, stereotypes and ethnical portraits are constructed, which often is a distorted mirror image of the original. In case of Puritans, the 'Other' for them was the Natives of the land, meaning the Indians, as well as their different religious beliefs.

According to Michel Foucault, Graham Burchell and Arnold Davidson, the 'Other' is usually an individual or a group, who other people view as not belonging, because of some peculiarity said individual or a group possesses. Normally, a group of people set themselves as a norm, which others should follow, and if there is anyone who does not fall into the set norm, they automatically become the 'Other' (Foucault et al, 2011:41).

Foucault claims that 'othering' draws strong parallels with knowledge and power. When someone is perceived as the 'other', his/her weaknesses and what they generally lack are what

are pinpointed to single 'them' out. It implies a hierarchy, where one is ranked higher than the other due to their differences, and it serves to keep power where it already belongs to. The period of colonialism and post-colonialism serves as an example of the powers of othering (ibid: 48).

The people, who fall into the category of the norm and normalcy, perceive the 'Other' lacking some essential characteristics, that the norm requires, thus the 'Other' is seen as being inferior and thus is treated accordingly. Within the society who fall under the set norm, the 'Other' has no rights and is often characterised as being immoral, possessing low intellect and even be regarded as being sub-human. (ibid: 50) The author, Alison Mountz, in her study 'The Other'. Key Concepts in Political Geography, provides a list of the many forms of 'Otherness' which include different factors that can lead to one being labelled as the 'Other': "race (White vs. non-White), origin (native-born vs. immigrant), ethnicity (Anglo Saxon vs. Italian), religion (Protestant vs. Catholic or Christian vs. Jew), sexual orientation (heterosexual vs. homosexual), social class (aristocrat vs. serf)" (Mountz, 2016:13, 14).

Philosopher Frantz Fanon is the one, who develops the idea, that the 'Other' should be concerned as a key factor in postcolonial studies. By definition, the 'Other' does not possess any purity or their own identity. The 'Other' was often to be converted to Christianity, as it was in the case of Puritans, and their efforts to turn the natives away from their beliefs. It was also the case in later years when the Natives were to be converted into the English. According to Thomas Babington Macaulay's '*Minutes on Indian Education*' printed in 1835, it presented an agenda to train 'natives' who were "Indian in blood and colour" to become "English in taste, in opinions, in morals, in intellect". (Online 3)

If looking at the relationship between the Indians and Puritans, in their case, the 'Other', being an individual or a group, does not belong. In the sense that the natives do not speak the language of the Puritans, as well as each party, had their own customs and beliefs. Puritans wanted to exterminate all their culture and turn them into theirs.

According to previously mentioned Alden T. Vaughan and Daniel K. Ritcher, Puritans saw the Indians as the uncanny, unfamiliar, the improper and the unauthorised others. The Puritan the natives of the land possessed the binary dichotomy between the civilised, it being the Puritan settlers and the savage, which were the Native Americans. (Vaughan and Ritcher, 1980:118) It should be noted, that this dichotomy had a strong presence for a long time in the West, which of course was in favour of the 'civilised' white men.

An important element of the 'other' is that it singles out and only emphasizes the differences between the people, at the same time ignoring the similarities. Similarly, captivity

narratives only present the negative aspects of the Native American way of life, painting them as wild savages, completely disregarding their culture and beliefs.

### 3.2. Stereotyping

According to Henri Tajfel, ‘Othering’ is similar to the concept of stereotyping, which is a form of generalization, which is closely linked to biases and discrimination. Stereotyping usually leads to people being put in certain groups, disregarding their individual differences. (Tajfel, 1981:149) One of the reasons for stereotyping is to create a dividing line between two groups of individuals, one of which, just like in the case of the ‘other’, is superior to the other group. As an example, the representation of the Native Americans could be mentioned. Because of the ‘othering’ and stereotyping within the American literature and culture in general, Native Americans were seen as treacherous savage, which later was replaced by the filthy savage.

According to Alden T. Vaughan, the most often used traits in describing Native Americans were “nakedness, cannibalism, barbarism, idolatry, devil worship, brutality, lechery, indolence, jealousy, vindictiveness, slovenliness” (Vaughan, 1995:11). However, in some of the early writings, Native Americans were admired for their hospitality, physique and stoicism, such traits that were ignored later on. (ibid.)

As it has been discussed previously, Puritans viewed the Native Americans as wild savages, who knew nothing else than screaming, killing and destroying. Thomas Wheeler, one of the first Puritan settlers, when describing the Indians who attacked them, included such words as “treacherous”, “blood-thirsty” and “perfidious”. He also used the phrase “they did roar against us like so many wild Bulls”. After their escape, Wheeler thanks God for sparing them from the “Teeth” of the Natives, alluding to the European settler misconception of believing that the ‘other’, including the Native Americans, were cannibals. Many Puritan priests incorporated descriptions of Indians as ‘wild’ savages in their sermons. For instance, the Puritan minister Increase Mather, often called the Natives by the name of barbarous creatures or barbarous heathen: “[...] necessity of the present War with these barbarous Creatures which have set upon us, [...]” (Mather, 2012: 10), “[...] especially if this present War, with the Barbarous Heathen, should continue.” (Mather, 2012: 29). In some sermons, he even described how Indians tortured their captives.

[...] but that night killed them in such a manner as none but *Savages* would have done. For they stripped them naked, and caused them to run the Gauntlet, whipping them after a cruel and bloody manner, and then threw hot ashes upon them ; cut out the flesh of

their legs, and put fire into their wounds, delighting to see the miserable torments of wretched creatures. Thus are they the perfect children of the Devill. (Mather, 2012:45)

In many cases, captivity narratives displayed the Natives as barbarous savages. According to Eric Foner, Puritans used the narratives as means to show the Native Americans and their lifestyle as horrible and unattractive to their readers. It was because the Puritans viewed the Natives as “an obstacle to be pushed aside” and “encouraged the publication of ‘captivity’ narratives by those captured by Indians” (Foner, 2014: 76).

Pauline T. Strong claims, that in mostly Puritan captivity narratives, quite often Native Americans were described as being: “carnivorous beasts and fearsome devils, destroyers of home and families and defilers and even devourers of the weak” (Strong, 2000: 132). It was due to Puritan clergymen wanting to warn their communities of the dangers of the wilderness (meaning Native Americans) could bring. Following this thought, the captive became the symbol of the ‘godly Puritan society’. These women were characterised as prey to the Native Americans. While at the same time, the Native Americans were seen as the predators, usually named as tigers, vultures, wolves, devils, etc. in the captivity narratives. (ibid, 145)

These descriptions had their own purpose, and one of them was making the Native Americans as the ‘other’ and alienating them from the Puritan society as well as making people see the Indians and the Puritans as binary opposites. (ibid.) The whites considered themselves being righteous, godly, civilized and most importantly human in terms of their race ‘belonging’ and ‘difference’, while the Native Americans were seen and treated as barbarous, uncivilised heathens and were not to be considered human.

It should be mentioned, that with the early 19<sup>th</sup> century, when the American Frontier started moving towards the West and the Native American attacks became less of a threat (online 4), and the previously mentioned stereotype of the barbarous savage became the stereotype of the filthy savage. No longer, were the Natives considered murderous beasts; however, they were still alienated from and marginalised in the mainstream society. Despite the somewhat redeeming quality of captivity narratives when frontiersman and frontwomen were adopted within the Native American tribes, the role of the dominant white man conquering the wilderness still prevailed. (Strong, 2000:210)

In summary, the ‘Other’ is an individual or a group of people who are avoided by the general society due to some aspect of their being, it often being the colour of one’s skin, ethnicity or religion. The concept of ‘othering’ also called ‘otherness’ is a principle when people are classified into two hierarchical groups. Similar concept to the ‘other’ is how people view captivity narratives, only looking at one side of the story, which often was the settler point of view.

The following chapter will discuss the representations of Puritan womanhood and the 'wilderness' of the Native Americans within the captivity narratives of Mary Rowlandson and Hannah Dustan. The chapter will also discuss the parallels and differences between the representation of womanhood and Native Americans within the narratives of two Puritan women and a captivity narrative of a frontierswoman Mary Jemison.

#### **4. PURITAN WOMANHOOD AND THE ‘WILDERNESS’ OF THE NATIVE AMERICANS IN THE CAPTIVITY NARRATIVES OF MARY ROWLANDSON, HANNAH DUSTON AND MARY JEMISON**

The practical part of the research consists of four subchapters; three sub-chapters focus on the analysis of each captivity narrative: the first subchapter deals with the analysis of the captivity narrative of Mary Rowlandson, the second subchapter discusses the captivity narrative of Hannah Duston and the third subchapter explores the captivity narrative of Mary Jemison. The fourth sub-chapter addresses the parallels and differences found between the captivity narratives of Rowlandson, Duston, and Jemison. The empirical part of the research deals with the representations of what it meant to be a Puritan woman and how the narratives reflected the ‘wilderness’ of these women’s captors.

As it was discussed in the theoretical part of the research (see Chapter 2), a captivity narrative is an account retold by the previously taken European settler, usually a female, who was taken captive by the Native Americans. During those times, the captivity narratives served as a means of spreading the ideology of Puritanism as well as a form of entertainment. The most commonly known captivity narrative is that by Mary White Rowlandson.

According to Rachel Bailey De Luise from East Tennessee State University in her research, *Creating a New Genre: Mary Rowlandson and Her Narrative of Indian Captivity*, claims, that Mary Rowlandson’s narrative, and all the following captivity narratives inspired by Rowlandson’s, were structured using three literary forms of writing that were popular among Puritans. Those being: the conversion method, the spiritual autobiography, and the jeremiad. (De Luise, 2002: 7) Because of this combination found in her narrative, Mary Rowlandson was used as an example for the divine providence.

According to Gordon M. Sayre, in his book *American Captivity Narratives*, the conversion narrative was a person’s own assurances of the grace of God made public. A spiritual autobiography was a method to record one’s daily activities and document the emotional and more importantly, spiritual growth one has achieved. The Jeremiad was a form of a sermon, structured to remind the Puritan community of their piety (Sayre, 2000, 128).

In many cases, Puritan captivity narratives possessed two textual voices – one being that of a captive, while the other belonged to the minister of the community. For example, in the captivity narrative of Mary Rowlandson, which will be discussed in the following sub-

chapter, Rowlandson is painted as a lost Christian woman, trapped in the wilderness unaware of her surroundings.

[...]when I was without, and saw nothing but Wilderness and Woods, and a company of barbarous Heathen; my mind quickly returned to me, which made me think of that spoken concerning Sampson, who said, I will go out and shake myself as at other times, but he wist not that the Lord was departed from him. (Rowlandson, 1994:21)

However, in some parts, Rowlandson knows exactly where she is and how far she has travelled. “This day in the afternoon, about an hour by the Sun, we came to the place where they intended, viz. an Indian town called Wenimesset, Northward of Quabaug.” (Rowlandson, 1994: 5), or “We were at this place and time about two miles from the Connecticut River” (Rowlandson, 1994: 19). This could be considered as an example of duality. As it was mentioned previously, the dual-voiced narrative served a purpose of the captive redeeming herself, while the ministers used their voice of the narrative as propaganda. As it is stated by Tara Fitzpatrick, such formulation of narrator duality is no accident, she claims that “captivity narratives, properly edited and prefaced, would instruct prospective settlers about the horrors they might encounter as punishment for their restlessness and inconstancy” (Fitzpatrick, 1991:18)

One of the reasons behind women captivity narratives was to show that the women could be strong and powerful, which was not a common conception for the Puritans. As it was discussed in the theoretical part, during the time of Puritanism, women were in charge of the domestic economy, meaning running the house, taking care of and educating the children, they even had their own market systems, unfortunately, that was the only power they held. The women were not allowed to speak in Church or town meetings and they were subordinates of any male in the family, her husband, brother or even son. Captivity narratives offered a space to prove the strength a colonial woman had.

The following sub-chapter will discuss the captivity narrative of Mary Rowlandson, a Puritan woman, who despite her sufferings stayed devoted to God and never lost her faith.

#### **4.1. The Captivity Narrative of Mary Rowlandson**

*A True History of the Captivity and Restoration of Mrs. Mary Rowlandson* is believed to be the earliest and most popular captivity narrative. It was published in the year 1682 and has been republished numerous times since then. The Indians abducted Mary Rowlandson and she was held captive for 11 weeks, in which she experienced 20 removes, which were Indians moving from one settlement to another.

Mary Rowlandson lived to tell her story, a story that became popular in America and England as a tale of submission to God and piety. The full title of the captivity narrative was: *The Sovereignty and Goodness of God, Together With the Faithfulness of His Promises Displayed; Being a Narrative of the Captivity and Restoration of Mrs. Mary Rowlandson, Commended by Her, to All That Desires to Know the Lord's Doings To, and Dealings With Her, Especially to Her Dear Children and Relations. The Second Addition Corrected and Amended. Written by Her Own Hand for Her Private Use, and Now Made Public at the Earnest Desire of Some Friends, and for the Benefit of the Afflicted.* The original title of the narrative could point to Rowlandson's actual intentions of publishing her experiences during her captivity. Rowlandson's goal for publishing her narrative was to show the goodness and sovereignty of God towards those suffering and waiting for a rescue. It is written in a way to help her fellow Puritans understand the ways of the Lord. It can be read as a guide for others to show how to act and behave during the time of hardships.

Her narrative has a preface written by Increase Mather, a theologian, and a famous Puritan clergyman, along with Rowlandson's husband. It is speculated, that Mather had a great influence on Rowlandson's narrative. One of the clues that could support the present claim is that the pronouns 'I' and 'we' are used interchangeably. As well as the usage of scripture, although the use of scripture is not uncommon in Puritan texts, David Downing notes that there is a heavy reliance on the usage of the Old Testament. He claims that from her numerous references to the Bible, there are "fewer than one-tenth are from the New Testament; in fact, the name of Jesus Christ is never directly mentioned in her account" (Dowsing, 1981:252) Puritans identified themselves with the Hebrews of the Old Testament, thus the New Testament was rarely mentioned.

Rowlandson did not consider herself American, not once does she mention America or American in her narrative, she always refers to herself and other settlers as English, this is illustrated in the following quotations: "[...]for we were near thirty miles from any English town [...]" (Rowlandson, 1994:8), "Oh, the hideous insulting and triumphing that there was over some Englishmen's scalps that they had taken [...]" (Rowlandson, 1994:28). This could stem from the fact, that despite her traveling to the New Land as a child and was raised there, she was born in England and was raised holding her (native) English values. The English were not ready to abandon their roots and assimilate into the Native American culture.

Throughout the twenty removes, is Rowlandson's repetitive search for salvation from God, as well as constant religious convictions. "Yet the Lord still shewed mercy to me, and helped me; and as he wounded me with one hand, so he healed me with the other." (Rowlandson, 1994: 6) From this, the readers are able to see the importance of God and

religion in Puritan life. Rowlandson's faith in God can be seen in numerous passages. Some of them are presented in the following examples: "I hope she is reaping the fruit of her good labours, being faithful to the service of God in her place." (Rowlandson, 1994: 2),

On that very day came the English army after them to this river, and saw the smoke of their wigwams, and yet this river put a stop to them. God did not give them courage or activity to go over after us. We were not ready for so great a mercy as victory and deliverance. If we had been God would have found out a way for the God to have passed this river, as well as for the Indians with their squaws and children, and all their luggage. (Rowlandson, 1994:11)

As it was mentioned previously, Puritan daily lives and activities were subdued to God. God was at the top of their authority pyramid. According to Margaret H. Davis, in her article *Mary White Rowlandson's Self-Fashioning as Puritan Goodwife*, the Puritan pyramid of power went as follows, at the very top was God, God was followed by clergy, the clergy was followed by the men and at the bottom were women, children, and servants. (Davis, 1992:52) Every person was to be submissive to the people higher in the pyramid and naturally, everyone was to be in total submission to God. This submission served as a proof for salvation, thus, if any were to lack the above-mentioned submission, their soul was surely doomed.

It is interesting to note, that in Rowlandson's narrative God is omnipresent. Everything that happens to Rowlandson and everyone around her is because of God's will and surely, the said event has a meaning behind it. Since for Puritans believed that God is the reason behind every occurrence and its outcome, Rowlandson applied this principle to every episode of the narrative. For instance, during the initial attack on Lancaster, she notes that her sister's husband is killed and upon hearing this, her sister asks God to let her die. Shortly after this plea, she is also killed. Rowlandson interprets her sister's death as God's answer to her sister's prayers.

My eldest sister being yet in the house, and seeing those woeful sights, the infidels hauling mothers one way, and children another, and some wallowing in their blood: and her elder son telling her that her son William was dead, and myself was wounded, she said, "And Lord, let me die with them," which was no sooner said, but she was struck with a bullet, and fell down dead over the threshold. (Rowlandson, 1996:2)

Rowlandson's passionate belief in God is also illustrated when conversing with other captives, which were mainly women and children, saying to be obedient and not stray away from God "I asked them whether they were earnest with God for deliverance. They told me they did as they were able, and it was some comfort to me, that the Lord stirred up children to look to Him" (Rowlandson, 1994:3). Being a Puritan meant not only being completely and utterly devoted to God but also not letting anyone stray away from the path of righteousness.

Unfortunately, Rowlandson's devotion does not allow her to see anything that happens to her as nothing else as God's work. She views her captivity and suffering as a test from God and sees the Natives playing the role of the Devil. She believes that with her faith, and God's blessings, she can overcome this struggle. At one point, she admires "the wonderful providence of God in preserving the heathen for further affliction to our poor country" (Rowlandson, 1994:35). Later she writes, "God strengthened them to be a scourge to His people." (ibid.)

Rowlandson's captivity narrative reflected her belief, that God was using the Native Americans as mere instruments to punish Puritans for their sins. She believed that the reason behind every Indian attack was the sins of the settlers and that eventually, God will act against anyone, who was deemed as the enemies of the Puritans. Towards the end of her narrative, there is the following passage:

Now I have seen that scripture also fulfilled [...] If any of thine be driven out to the outmost parts of heaven, from thence will the Lord thy God gather thee. [...] And thine God will put all these curses upon thine enemies, and on them that hate thee, which persecuted thee. [...] The Lord hath showed me the vanity of these outward things. That they are the vanity of vanities, and vexation of spirit, that they are but a shadow, [...] and things of no continuance. That we must rely on God Himself, and our whole dependance must be upon Him. (Rowlandson, 1994:39,40)

Despite Rowlandson's struggles, she is constantly amending them throughout her narrative. It is another feature, which was common for Puritans and their writing. She refers to a passage of a bible: "I went along that day mourning and lamenting, leaving farther my own country, and traveling into a vast and howling wilderness, and I understood something of Lot's wife's temptation when she looked back." (Rowlandson, 1994:34). This quotation could imply that the process of mourning and looking back at what was lost was wrong, despite it being tempting. Within the Puritan community, experiencing grief could serve as an evidence of one doubting one's faith in God.

As it was mentioned previously, Puritans believed that God has a number of people selected for entering Heaven. For them, suffering was considered as a sign for Providence, which could lead to conversion and eventually to forgiveness and salvation. Affliction was considered a blessing and was even welcomed by the Puritans. Puritans saw affliction that must be accepted and eventually overcome so that one could be chosen for salvation. Regarding affliction Rowlandson says:

Before I knew what affliction meant, I was ready sometimes to wish for it. When I lives in prosperity, having the comforts of the world about me, my relations by me, my heart cheerful, and taking little care for anything, and yet seeing many, whom I preferred before myself, under many trials and afflictions, in sickness, weakness, poverty, losses,

crosses, and cares of the world, I should be sometimes jealous, least I should have my portion in this life, [...]. (Rowlandson, 1994:40)

Rowlandson clearly distinguishes her attitude towards her captors. In many passages, the reader sees how Rowlandson clearly views her own identity as a pious English woman, while the Indians are the savage 'other'. In numerous passages, she ponders over the fact that the Indians are the punishment of God for their (Pilgrim, Puritan) sins. "Thus these murderous wretches went on, burning, and destroying before them. [...] the Lord hereby would make us the more acknowledge His hand, and to see that our help is always in Him" (Rowlandson, 1994:1).

At the beginning of her narrative, Rowlandson mostly describes her captors as horrible monsters, seeing the Natives as wild animals ready to murder and take everything in their path. The following passage describes how Rowlandson saw the Native Americans during the attack on Lancaster, when she was taken captive: "Little do many think what is the savageness and brutishness of this barbarous enemy, Ay, even those that seem to profess more than others among them, when the English have fallen into their hands." (Rowlandson, 1994:4)

It can be said, that in a way, Rowlandson's Puritan identity is generated, by means of reflecting the 'otherness' of the Indians. In her passages, Rowlandson talks about the differences between the settlers and the Natives of the land in terms of the colour of their skin, location and even the difference between eating for both parties.

It was thought, if their corn were cut down, they would starve and die with hunger, [...]; and yet how to admiration did the Lord preserve them for His holy ends, and the destruction of many still amongst the English! strangely did the Lord provide for them; that I did not see (all the time I was among them) one man, woman, or child, die with hunger. Though many times they would eat that, that a hog or a dog would hardly touch. (Rowlandson, 1994:22)

Another feature, which could point to the 'othering' of the Native Americans, is how describes the Indians killing people. "Those seven that were killed at Lancaster the summer before upon a Sabbath day, and the one that was afterward killed upon a weekday, were slain and mangled in a barbarous manner" (Rowlandson, 1994:4). That could mean that there are two ways of killing a human, the civil way, meaning a way that was acceptable, and the savage way, which meant the unacceptable, the American Indian way.

One more difference, Rowlandson states between the settlers and the natives are culture. She, as well as other Puritans, believed that Native American beliefs were wrong and would lead them back to hell. "[...] gathered a great company together about her and stripped her

naked, and set her in the midst of them, and when they had sung and danced about her (in their hellish manner) as long as they pleased [...]" (Rowlandson, 1994:9).

As it was mentioned before, in the theoretical part of the study, Puritans feared the wilderness, because they believed that that was where the Devil resided. As Rowlandson was coming from a 'normal' and 'safe' town, wilderness, for her, served as another test to her. "[...] the Lord, and His wonderful power in carrying us along, preserving us in the wilderness, while under the enemy's hand, and returning of us in safety again." (Rowlandson, 1994:14) Wilderness, in a sense, could serve as another factor for the 'otherness' of the Native Americans, her being safe at home versus being in the wilderness with her captors. Throughout her narrative, whenever Rowlandson was stressed or scared, she would imagine herself being back in the safety of her home. "I was without, and saw nothing but wilderness, and woods, and a company of barbarous heathens, my mind quickly returned to me" (Rowlandson, 1994:20).

A description Rowlandson provides at the beginning of the third remove can be seen as an example of duality in Rowlandson's narrative voices. She describes the Indians just returning from an assault, where they had burned down fifty houses and killed at least twenty settlers. Rowlandson is disgusted by their joy and celebration, however, her feelings swiftly change, when one of the captors offer her a Bible. Rowlandson happily calls it a gift from the God and accepts it, despite it coming from the same attack she condemned only moments ago. It should be noted, that according to Boston Council decision from August 30, 1675, it was forbidden to accept any object that might have been taken/stolen from the English settlers. (Online 5) This decision was issued prior to Rowlandson's capture.

Oh, the hideous insulting and triumphing that there was over some Englishmens scalps that they had taken (as their manner is) and brought with them. I cannot but take notice of the wonderful mercy of God to me in those afflictions, in sending me a Bible. One of the Indians that came from Medfield fight, had brought some plunder, came to me, and asked me, if I would have a Bible, he had got one in his Basket. I asked him, whether he thought the Indians would let me read? he answered, yes: So I took the Bible. (Rowlandson, 1994:8)

Thus, it can be speculated, whether this aspect of accepting the Bible as a gift, was added later on, as the text was edited. The reader can theorize, whether the book Rowlandson got from the Native Americans was even a Bible.

It is interesting to note, that throughout her initial capture, Rowlandson never loses hope in her husband, always staying loyal to him, knowing that he will save her. Despite the Native Americans taunts and questions, Rowlandson does not lose her faith in her husband. "What, will you love English men still?" (Rowlandson, 1994:16) Her loyalty and submission are deeply intertwined, because of Rowlandson's Puritan upbringing, thus it can be speculated,

that she had no other choice, but to wait for her being rescued. However, what should be mentioned is that unlike her fellow captives, Rowlandson is treated with more dignity than her fellow prisoners are -, she is not tortured or beaten. Even though her Indian mistress mistreats her, Rowlandson receives kindness from her master. Which raises a question, would the 'murderous savages' as Rowlandson called them, treat her in such way?

Rowlandson's journey separates her from English culture and the Puritan community, as well as her domestic duties. In fact, her skill in sewing and knitting allows Rowlandson to assume a certain role in the Indian community. "I was somewhat favored in my load; I carried only my knitting work and two quarts of parched meal" (Rowlandson, 1994:10). Rowlandson learned, that her craft could allow her to get something in return for it.

Philip spake to me to make a shirt for his boy, which I did, for which he gave me a shilling. I offered the money to my master, but he bade me keep it; and with it I bought a piece of horse flesh.[...] here was a squaw who spake to me to make a shirt for her sannup, for which she gave me a piece of bear. Another asked me to knit a pair of stockings, for which she gave me a quart of peas. (Rowlandson, 1994:14)

Rowlandson's narrative ends with a sense of calmness and a noticeable absence of description of her captors, contrasting the opening of the narrative and the representation of the violent attack on Lancaster. Rowlandson refers to the Indians in the first few pages of her narrative as "murderous wretches," "bloody Heathen," "Barbarous Creatures", "merciless Heathen," "Infidels," "ravenous Beasts," and "a company of hell-hounds", while at the end of the narration, she is mainly silent in referring to her captors.

Additionally, Rowlandson fondly remembers her master, and in the end, considers him, and other Native Americans, being her friend. "I had to go through, my master being gone, who seemed to me the best friend that I had of an Indian, both in cold and hunger, and quickly so it proved." (Rowlandson, 1994:56) It should be remembered, that since her narrative was heavily edited and republished numerous times, a number of facts and events were changed and/or omitted. Regardless of this, there are passages in the narrative that present the relationship between Rowlandson and her Indian master. For example, in the quotation provided below, Rowlandson uses the plural pronoun 'us', which could mean, that during that moment, she was a part of the Indian tribe. When Rowlandson finally reunites with him, she is happy to see him. Her master asks her when was the last time Rowlandson had washed herself and upon hearing Rowlandson's answer, he himself brings her the water, gives her a mirror and orders his squaw to feed her. This reunion could be seen almost as being ceremonial – Rowlandson, becoming one of the tribe.

[...]who had been gone from us three weeks." After many weary steps we came to Wachusett, where he was: and glad I was to see him. He asked me, when I washed me?

I told him not this month. Then he fetched me some water himself, and bid me wash, and gave me the glass to see how I looked; and bid his squaw give me something to eat. (Rowlandson, 1994:29)

It can be speculated that Rowlandson had more than a friendly relationship with her Master, but as it was already said, those are only speculations.

Indian captivity could be seen as an occasion for the simultaneous development and destruction of the cultural self, both for the Indians and for the captured settlers. It is unfortunate, that Rowlandson's narration did not include direct speech from the American Indians. All her narrative is structured as an indirect speech, and thus the reader cannot see the language the Indians used. The readers are able to see some of the American Indian vocabulary she integrates in her narrative. Words such as *papoos*, *squaw* or *wigwam* are still commonly used today.

Most of the Indian vocabulary used by Rowlandson comes from the Narragansett dialect spoken by the Indians who captured her. It should be noted, that most likely, some vocabulary of the tribe holding her in captivity was deleted from the narrative as the text was edited before its publication Rowlandson's narrative being edited before publication. It could be speculated that only those words, which had already been borrowed from Indian vocabulary, were retained. For example, the word *samp* which is a coarse meal of Indian corn: "he took a dish, and gave me one spoonful of Samp, and bid me take as much of the Broth as I would. Then I put some of the hot water to the Samp, and drank it up" (Rowlandson, 1994:27).

Also, the mention of the Indian ceremonial celebration *powaw*: "[...] and the Powaw that kneeled upon the Deer-skin came home (I may say, without abuse) as black as the Devil" (Rowlandson, 1994:31). Additionally, it could be taken into account that with each remove (out of 20); within Rowlandson's narrative more Indian loan words can be found. For example, *wigwam* being an Indian tent-like house and *squaw* being an Indian wife:

If I went to their wigwam at any time, they would always give me something, and yet they were strangers that I never saw before. Another squaw gave me a piece of fresh pork, and a little salt with it, and lent me her pan to fry it in; and I cannot but remember what a sweet, pleasant and delightful relish that bit had to me, to this day. (Rowlandson, 1994:31)

It could be said that the reader is able to see the cultural shifting Rowlandson's behaviour and self-identification, yet cannot perceive if the cultural impact changed her communication, both in the course of her capture and after it, since her narrative was heavily edited with each publication. The language of the narrative and the linguistic exchanges that take place in it reveal that Rowlandson's integration in the culture of the Indian community

places her in a subject position of the culture that is no longer familiar and similar to the Puritan/English subjectivity that she possessed when she was captured.

Despite the role Rowlandson performs for her Indian master, Rowlandson does not completely assimilate into the Indian society and does not find a replacement for her Puritan domestic life among the Indians. Unlike many other Puritan captives who were adopted and underwent a process of cultural integration by joining the tribes that took them captive, Rowlandson remains in a resistant state and returns home. Rowlandson's narrative ends with a sense of calmness, while her narrative began with the descriptive and chaotic attack on her home in Lancaster.

[...] came the Indians with great numbers upon Lancaster: their first coming was about sunrising; hearing the noise of some guns, we looked out; several houses were burning, [...] There were five persons taken in one house; [...] they knocked on the head; the other two they took and carried away alive. [...] another there was who running along was shot and wounded, and fell down; he begged of them his life, promising them money (as they told me) but they would not hearken to him [...] stripped him naked, and split open his bowels. [...] the Indians getting up upon the roof of the barn, had advantage to shoot down upon them over their fortification. Thus these murderous wretches went on, burning, and destroying before them. (Rowlandson, 1994:1)

Rowlandson's narrative ends with a list of passages from the Bible, that display God's plan to only let certain people into Heaven. While at first she panicky describes the violent Natives attacking her settlement, towards the end Rowlandson describes herself calmly discussing her ransom with the Natives. Additionally, Rowlandson states that some of them she could even consider a friend.

At first they were all against it, except my husband would come for me, but afterwards they assented to it, and seemed much to rejoice in it; some asked me to send them some bread, others some tobacco, others shaking me by the hand, offering me a hood and scarfe to ride in; not one moving hand or tongue against it. (Rowlandson, 2004:37)

Rowlandson seemed eager to return home, yet she does not give much description to her returning to the Puritan community and actually does not even mention her reunion with her husband or even her children. This part of her narrative can be put on for speculation. However, if Rowlandson did not show eagerness to return to her community, she would not be allowed to return.

According to Alden T. Vaughan and Edward Clark's book *Puritans among the Indians: Accounts of Captivity and Redemption, 1676-1724*, three issues appeared within the first year, and others followed periodically throughout the Puritan era (Vaughan and Clark, 1981:118). Because of Rowlandson's narrative, a huge number of Indian captivity narratives appeared and her influence is perceptible even nowadays. Vaughan and Clark also note that captivity

narratives like Rowlandson's provide “the most insightful clues to the tensions and expectations of Puritan society” (ibid: 221).

Despite the fact, that Rowlandson’s narrative possibly edited and re-edited, the narrative still presents an insight into the Puritan way of thinking, their way of life and their resentment towards the Native Americans. It should be noted, that some of the resentment Rowlandson feels towards the Native Americans is due to the fact that her daughter, her sister and her nephews died because of the attack in Lancaster. However, most of the dissatisfaction with the Indians stems from her ideological way of thinking. Describing them as a roaring, singing, ranting and insulting company of hellhounds (Rowlandson, 2009:1).

Because of her Puritan way of thinking, Rowlandson marks her captors as inhuman, savage and incapable of any moral, in other words, the ‘other’. Overall, Rowlandson’s narrative paints Native Americans as threatening monsters and at the same time implies that the Puritans are the exact opposite. Although their description of the Native Americans is biased, it still provides information crucial for American culture.

The following sub-chapter will deal with the numerous variants of the captivity narrative of Hannah Duston, who was captured by the Native Americans. She later escaped by killing ten of her captors while they were sleeping and scalped them. The subchapter will discuss the possible reasons behind D massacre of the Natives and whether Duston’s behaviour was justifiable.

#### **4.2. The Many Variants of the Captivity Narrative of Hannah Duston**

The captivity narrative, which was republished under numerous titles, for instance, *Heroism of Hannah Duston: Together with The Indian Wars of New England, The Duston Family* or *The Mother’s Revenge* tells about American Indians who took Hannah Duston in the year 1697. The Native Americans burned her house and killed her infant. Duston escaped her captivity with the help of her nurse and a boy who was held captive prior to them for a year. They managed to escape by killing the family she was living with. Duston scalped ten Indians and later received a bounty for them. The tale of Hannah Duston can be considered, as one of the shortest American Indian captivity narratives, however, that is most likely the reason, why there exist numerous versions of her narrative.

The narrative of Hanna Duston (Dustin, Dustan, Durstan) was first written down; by a Puritan clergyman Cotton Mather, who incorporated her narrative into his sermons *Humiliations Follow’d With Deliverances*, published in 1697, another mention in *Decennium Luctuosum* published of 1699, and in his *Magnalia Christi Americana* published in the year

1702. He incorporated Duston's narrative in his sermons, to show God's vengeance towards the enemies of the Puritans, in this case, Native Americans. He claimed that God was working through Duston, to exact punishment on behalf of Puritan community.

While Duston's narrative was popular in the 17<sup>th</sup> century, there was little to no publishing or even mentioning of her narrative in the 18<sup>th</sup> century. However, during the 19<sup>th</sup> century, her narrative once again resurfaced due to Nathaniel Hawthorne, John Greenleaf Whittier, Henry David Thoreau, and other writers, who retold her story. During the conflict between the settlers and the Native Americans due to the Westward expansion, Duston's narrative was published everywhere and gained a lot of popularity among the white Americans. Her narrative has become a popular controversy, while some Americans celebrate her as a hero; the others view her narrative as being racist and glorifying violence and murder.

The first re-telling of Duston's narrative differs from the others later re-published in the 19<sup>th</sup> century. For instance, according to Barbara Cutler, the 19<sup>th</sup> century republishing omitted some of the more gruesome parts of Duston's story, meaning, this version did not include the six children Duston killed. In addition, later on, three monuments were built in her honour (Cutler, 2018).

As mentioned previously, the first version of Duston's narrative was written down and edited by Cotton Mather, a Puritan priest, who also pre-faced Rowlandson's narrative. Cotton Mather added many religious themes, many of which tried to justify Duston killing and scalping her captors. He, as a Puritan minister, was apprehensive of the topic of American Indian captivity and the impact of these narratives on the society. In addition, he was concerned with how the captivity narratives contributed to the expansion of Puritan ideology. There are numerous accounts of captivity, including Rowlandson and Duston, which were recorded, interpreted and commented on in great detail in numerous of his sermons and writings. It should be noted, that unlike the narrative of Mary Rowlandson, Hannah Duston's narrative is told from the third person narrative.

Duston's narrative is completely different from the narrative of Mary Rowlandson. Unlike Rowlandson who learned to survive and live in harmony with the Native Americans, Hannah Duston as a member of the Puritan community and a mother of eight children took a violent approach when being captured. It can be said that Duston acted upon the 'law' stated in the Old Testament – "Eye for eye, and tooth for tooth." She escapes her captivity by killing a Native American family and scalping them. Thus, Duston becomes an American hero and the first woman in whose honour a monument is built.

Presented below is a quotation from Cotton Mather's perspective published in *Humiliations Follow'd With Deliverances*, it should be taken into an account, that Mather had

a strong hatred towards the Native Americans, and that his viewpoint is heavily reflected in many of his edited or retold narratives, including Hannah Duston's. In the case of this narrative, Mather not only tried to impose Puritan ideology but also supported anti-Indian movement:

[..]Hannah Dustan, of Haverhill, having Lain in about a Week, attended with her Nurse, Mary Neff, a Widow, a Body of Terrible Indians, drew near unto the House where she lay, with Designs to carry on the bloody Devastations, which they had begun upon the Neighbourhood. Her Husband, hastened from his Employments abroad, unto the Relief of his Distressed Family; [...] he went in, to inform his Wife, of the horribleness now come upon them. [...] he ran out [...] which he should in this Extremity find his Affections to pitch most upon, and have the Rest, unto the care of the Divine Providence. (Mather, 2011:42)

The excerpt above presents the Indian attack on Duston's settlement. Duston is lying in bed due to giving birth just a week before. What is interesting about this passage is her husband's reaction to the attack, rather than going inside and helping his wife to escape, he takes the children and runs off, leaving it up to God to save his wife. If looking at it from the Puritan perspective, Duston's husband left her, because he believed that the attack served as a test from God. Meaning, that Duston had to overcome the attack, in order to prove to God, that she was worthy to gain her place in Heaven.

The four variants of the captivity narrative, which are considered as the most important ones, all present different perspectives towards Duston's behaviour against the Native Americans. Cotton Mather admired Duston's drive for survival and even praised her for killing the Natives. "[...] cutting off the Scalps of the Ten Wretches, who had Enslav'd 'em, they are come off; and I perceive, that newly arriving among us, they are in the Assembly at this Time, to give Thanks unto, God their Saviour" (Mather, 1679:47). Mather's version, in a way, justifies Duston's scalping of the Indians, because Dustan killed and scalped the Native Americans, she and her party were able to escape, and in a way, they were successful, because of God's benevolence for them. Mather ends this part claiming, that God will see that the evil deeds one has done, was done in order to arrive at His deliverance.

In a different sermon, Mather gives yet another justification for Duston's crime – he, and later on, other authors as well, claims that she had a right to do it, because the 'wretches' had murdered her child: "being where she had not her own Life secured by any Law unto her, she thought she was not Forbidden by any Law to take away the Life of the Murderers, by whom her Child had been Butchered" (Mather, 1702:266). In his accounts of the narrative, Mather insisted that everyone else in Duston's place would have acted the same, naming Duston the 'innocent' Puritan woman taken captive by the 'savages'.

These Two poor Women, were now in the Hands of those, *Whose Tender Mercies are Cruelty*: but the Good God, who hath all *Hearts in His own Hands*, heard the Sighs

*of these Prisoners unto Him, and gave them to find unexpected Favour, from the Master, who Laid claim unto them.'*(Mather, 1679:44)

As it was mentioned in the previous subchapter, Puritans had their own pyramid of power, where God was at the very top and the rest like women, children, and servants at the bottom. There was no tier for the Indians, due to Puritans viewing the Native Americans as non-humans. Therefore, Puritans viewed submission to the Indians as a defeat and they would not accept it. This allowed the Puritans and other colonists from the 17<sup>th</sup> century to view Duston's narrative as a refusal of a pure and innocent captive to submit to the evil and savage Natives.

Overall, when describing Dustan and her escape, he writes: "the good God, who hath all 'hearts in his own hands,' heard the sighs of these prisoners, and gave them to find unexpected favour from the master who hath laid claim unto them" (Mather, 1852:354). Despite Mather introducing the influence of God in Dustan's situation, it is highly unlikely that Dustan herself believed in God's deliverance. Mather describes Dustan as the ideal female captive, due to her intellect and her physical and spiritual superiority; she was able to escape her captivity. Cotton Mather viewed Duston's escape as one of the wonders of the Christian religion. Robert Arner states that Mather's view transformed her into a Puritan saint, a frontier woman who could only rely upon herself and a grieved Christian woman who was saved by the God's grace in one person (Arner: 1973:20). Nonetheless, later variants of the narrative depicted Hannah Duston in a different light.

John G. Whittier presented the account in a form of a short story. He had mixed feelings about Duston's treatment against the natives, he was both in awe and horrified of her. Similarly, to Cotton Mather, he justified Duston's actions due to the fact, that the Native Americans killed her new-born child, crushing its head against the tree. In addition, the only reason, why she scalped the murdered Native Americans, was that she had to have proof.

[...]smote its ragged edge deeply into the skull of the nearest sleeper. A slight shudder and a feeble groan followed. The savage was dead. She passed on to the next. Blow followed blow, until ten out of twelve, the whole number of the savages, were stiffening in blood.[...] suddenly reflecting that the people of her settlement would not credit her story, unsupported by any proof save her own assertion, she returned and deliberately scalped her ten victims. (Whittier, 1831:129,130)

Whittier's interpretation of Dustan's narrative focuses on the role of the maternal instinct. His version of Dustan's narrative is called 'The Mother Revenge'. Whittier describes that overall, "WOMAN'S attributes are generally considered of a milder and purer character than those of man." (Whittier, 1831:125) and that the danger brought by the settlements allowed women to discover newfound strength and courage.

Before the attack on Dustan's settlement, Whitter describes her as having strong maternal instinct. After the Native Americans kill Duston's newborn, Whitter marks it as the starting point of Duston's need to avenge her child's death. He describes Duston experiencing: "an insatiate longing for blood." (Whitter, 1831:127) In addition, he claims, that due to the murder of Duston's child, her nature changes spontaneously. Whitter adds that her heart hardened and 'the angel had become a demon' (ibid). He described Duston as a "heroic woman," who had been taken captive by raging savages only thirsting for blood. Whitter described motherhood as a woman's natural state, and thus if it is disturbed, instincts take over. It is interesting to note, that in Whittier's version, Duston's nurse and the captive boy, do not play an important role in killing the sleeping Indians, as they do in other versions of the narrative.

Henry D. Thoreau's version of the event presents a neutral attitude. Thoreau's account states, that Dustan chose not to kill one of the seven Native American children, while other accounts claim that he managed to escape. Just like in Whittier's account, Dustan scalped the natives, not because of the reward, but because she was afraid, people will not believe her. Thoreau's account remains neutral when it comes to Native Americans, unlike Mather and Whittier, who call them by names such as savages or wretches.

[...] and taking the Indians' tomahawks, they killed them all in their sleep, excepting one favorite boy, and one squaw who fled wounded with him to the woods. [...] But after having proceeded a short distance, fearing that her story would not be believed if she should escape to tell it, they returned to the silent wigwam, and taking off the scalps of the dead, put them into a bag as proofs of what they had done [...]. (Thoreau, 2004:176)

Additionally, Thoreau's variant does not present the entire story. His neutral attitude does not raise the question of Dustan's morality. Thoreau does not pick sides and does not justify any of the parties involved. His version reflects the information as if it was a product of the oral tradition.

Nathaniel Hawthorne completely condemned Duston's actions. He calls Duston an awful woman, a bloody old had who should have drowned when leaving the dead Indians or starved when lost in the forest. In contrast to the other authors mentioned above, Hawthorne does not call the Native Americans by insulting names, but rather pities them. He does not see Duston as a hero or a proud survivor, but a murderer who received a hero's money and pension, because of the blood she spilled. Hawthorne also does not omit the part when Duston killed six of the seven children, like some of the other 19<sup>th</sup> century variants of Duston's narrative.

The next instant, each of the three captives held a tomahawk. Hark! That low moan, as of one in a troubled dream -- it told a warrior's death pang! Another! -- Another! -- and the third half-uttered groan was from a woman's lips. But, Oh the children! Their skins are red; yet spare them, Hannah Duston, spare those seven little ones. The work being finished, Mrs. Duston laid hold of the long black hair of the warriors, and the women, and the children, and took all their ten scalps, and left the island, which bears her name to this very day. (Hawthorne, 1836: 397)

Despite Hawthorne criticising Duston, he referred to the Native Americans as 'raging savages', due to the part of the narrative, when the Indians kill Duston's child: "swung it in the air, dashed its brains out against the trunk of the nearest tree, and threw the little corpse at the mother's feet." (Hawthorne, 1836:392). From this, one could speculate why he did not condemn her when she killed the adults. However, for him, Duston's killing of the children not only stripped her of her humanity but also her womanly virtue.

Hawthorne called Duston by many names, including a 'raging tigress', which could draw parallels between him calling the Native Americans 'raging savages'. Thus, it could be speculated, that both parties killing children brought them to the same level. Additionally, he heavily criticised Mather for being "an old hard hearted, pedantic bigot" (Hawthorne, 1986: 395) due to his joy about the dead Indians. The Indians Duston killed were Catholics, Mather's account claims, that Duston saw them praying before each meal and before going to sleep. Therefore, it is interesting that Mather praised Duston for killing a Christian family.

In addition to the previous statement, according to Thatcher Laurel Ulrich, before the above mentioned celebration of Duston murdering ten Catholicized Indians, Mather publicly condemned Duston's unmarried sister Elizabeth Emerson for supposedly killing her new-born children. (Ulrich, 1982:76) While Mather showered Duston with praise, received awards and became a folk hero, her sister was convicted and hanged. Looking at it, one must admit, that Hawthorne's claims on Mather, might have been correct.

However, there is no personal account of Duston's story, only what was written down by Cotton Mather when she told him her story 27 years after her initial capture. Since the original narrative was re-told and most likely heavily edited by Mather, who in turn published it in three variants, it can be said, that Mather was the one who played a central role for the variations of the narrative that followed in the 19<sup>th</sup> century. Therefore, the reader cannot speculate which of the existing accounts can be considered true.

The accounts by Mather, Whittier, and Hawthorne all depict the Native Americans as "raging dragons", "formidable salvages" (Mather 1702:551), "fierce savages in their hunt for

blood” (Whittier 1831:126), “the bloodthirsty foe” (Hawthorne 1836:396), clearly illustrating their ‘otherness’ and stereotyping them as sub-human. Despite the fact that Whittier, and more generally Hawthorne, criticized Duston’s actions, by depicting Native Americans in such way and by painting them as the ‘other’, they justify her actions. Of course, it should be remembered, that the reason behind the resurfacing of Duston’s narrative was that white Americans needed a reason to condone their own violence against the Native Americans.

In terms of depicting Natives as the ‘other’, two more accounts of the 19th century should be looked at. Timothy Dwight and Charles A. Goodrich both included their variations of Duston’s narrative in their books. Both versions are similar in a way how they characterise the Indians as well as question Duston’s morality.

Timothy Dwight tried to highlight the importance of the role of a woman as the national virtue as well as the matters of how the Native Americans were treated. Dwight concentrated on the depiction of Duston’s suffering and Native brutality.

Her conductors were unfeeling, insolent, and revengeful. Murder was their glory, and torture their sport. Her infant was in her nurse's arms, and infants were the customary victims of savage barbarity. [...] an Indian, thinking it encumbrance, took the child out of the nurse's arms and dashed its head against a tree. What were then the feelings of the mother? (Dwight, 1821:395)

Dwight emphasized on the violence of the Native Americans so that people would see that the white people were not guilty of mistreating the Native Americans, it was due to their ‘savage’ nature. Despite Dwight viewing the Native Americans as mere ‘savages’, he was not sure whether Duston’s behaviour was reasonable in this situation. Dwight states that even though Duston’s house was burned, her child and fellow settlers murdered, her being threatened with torture, any other woman in a similar situation, and if faced with the possibility of revenge would not feel any necessity to do it. (Dwight, 1821, 401) Therefore, one can speculate whether Duston’s choice was correct.

Charles A. Goodrich in his book *History of the United States* incorporated his version of Duston’s narrative. This author portrayed the American Indians as unimaginable savages. Before the actual narrative, he gives background information about the King Philip’s war, which was happening at the time of the narrative. He writes about the horrible treatment the Native Americans imposed on the white settlers. “Women, soon expecting to become mothers, were generally ripped up, and [. . .] Some of the captives were roasted alive” (Goodrich, 2011:89). If one is to believe what Goodrich has written, about the Natives being the source of evil, one could start to believe that Duston was lucky to escape and that she actually did a good job disposing of some of these evil creatures. Additionally, Goodrich does not mention that among the ten Native Americans Duston killed were six children.

It can be said, that Goodrich presents the Puritan way of telling this story, starting from the description of the Native Americans - them being the embodiment of the Devil. As well as the following quotation about the dangers of the wilderness and safety of home, which as mentioned previously was typical for Puritans “The women then pursued their difficult and toilsome journey through the wilderness, and at length arrived in safety at Haverhill” (Goodrich, 2011:93). However, he adds that even though Dustan herself, all the magistrates and divines of that day all applaud her for the deeds she has done, he doubts that anyone else in her situation would do the same.

Looking at the wide variety of the Hannah Duston’s captivity narrative, there are certain elements that are present in all of them. Overall, the narratives follow the same events – Duston’s settlement being attacked by the Native Americans, her husband fleeing with the other children, leaving Duston behind. Duston being captured with her nurse, her baby being killed against a tree, Duston later on killing ten Natives while they were asleep, two Indians managing to escape – a child and a wounded woman. Dustan scalping the dead Indians and returning home, she receives bounty about the scalps. However, some elements differ from one version to another. For example, some of the versions leave out the fact that the Indian family, Duston killed were Christians. Alternatively, that Dustan scalped the Indians with the help of her nurse and the boy. The differences and omissions that are scattered across the numerous narratives are either to justify Duston’s actions or to condemn her.

The question that arises when analysing Duston’s narrative is what led her to do it? A variety of suggestions that are offered by the previously mentioned authors: revenge, financial reward, God’s plan, possible insanity or a possible combination of all. It is possible, that each reader is responsible for one’s own interpretation of Dustan’s narrative, whether to judge her or to praise her.

The following sub-chapter will deal with the captivity narrative of Mary Jemison, who was one of the cases, where the settlers were adopted by the Native Americans and chose to live within their community. Her captivity narrative is important because it displays the contact between the two cultures and the cultural rather than religious conflict between the Natives and the settlers. Additionally, her narrative portrays the good and the bad side of both – white Americans and Native Americans.

### **4.3. The Captivity Narrative of Mary Jemison and Her Choice to Remain With the Seneca Indians.**

Mary Jemison was only a teenager, when during the French-Indian war in 1755; the Shawnee Indians along with some Frenchman took her and her family captive. Jemison's family is killed along the way while Jemison herself is spared. She is later given to the Seneca women who decided to adopt her. Jemison is one of the captives who assimilated within her captors' culture and chose to stay with the Seneca tribe. After adoption, Jemison was given a different name - Dehgewanus (Degiwanus or Dickewamis) - there are several versions of her 'new' name, just like in the case of Hannah Duston, who had a number of versions how to spell her last name. Deh-he-wä-nis meant "a pretty girl" or a "good thing". (Online 6)

Although Jemison's story had been written in the first person, it should be remembered that she was 80 years old and illiterate when she told her story. Reverend James Seaver wrote down her experiences and named it *A Narrative of the Life of Mrs. Mary Jemison*. Despite the narrative being written by another person, who most likely added his own touch to the story, it gives the reader a sense on how an English woman chose to stay and lead her life with the Native Americans. However, the narrative depicts the ever-lasting conflict between the white Americans and the Native Americans, despite there being no influence from the Puritan ideology.

Furthermore, Jemison's narrative was amongst the best-selling books in the 19<sup>th</sup> century, similarly to Rowlandson's narrative, popular in the 17<sup>th</sup> century. The difference between the two is that Jemison tried to show the possible contact between two cultures, while Rowlandson's narrative focused on imposing the Puritan ideology on her readers. However, Edward W. Griffin argues, that although a captive is adopted within the Native American tribe, it still can be considered captivity. He adds that despite it being a milder form of captivity, it possesses the basic elements of captivity (Griffin, 1986:41).

The Romanticism of the 19<sup>th</sup> century was one of the reasons why Jemison's narrative gained such popularity. According to Frankin Hilson, Jemison's choice to assimilate herself within the Native American culture, allowed her readers to escape their life as 'whites' and imagine themselves living with the romanticised and re-exoticised Natives and experiencing all kinds of love stories. The Romantics saw this as a way for the whites to live 'purer' life, closer to 'noble Indians' (Hilson, 2013:58).

It should be remembered that Jemison had shared her story orally before it was dictated to Seaver; she herself has probably changed or omitted some elements of her narrative depending on how people had reacted to them previously. As mentioned before in the cases of other narratives, the people responsible for the writing or editing of the narrative often added their own views and attitudes to that of the female narrator. In the introduction of the narrative, Seaver states that he had simply recorded her words and not changed anything.

However, Seaver clearly displays his disdain towards the Native Americans and it can be seen in the same introductions when describing Jemison. He cannot believe how good her manners are and doubt that the Indians could ever possess them. Thus, claiming, Jemison has manners because of the white heritage.

[...]although her bosom companion was an Indian warrior, and notwithstanding her children and associates were all Indians, yet it was found that she possessed an uncommon share of hospitality, and that her friendship was well worth courting and preserving. (Seaver, 2016:5)

He further on notes that Jemison's use of language made her seem intelligent as if her choice to live with the Native Americans would automatically lower her IQ. Additionally, due to Jemison living most of her life in the Seneca tribe, he describes her having a habit of "of peeping from under eyebrows as they do with the head inclined downwards" (Seaver, 2016:6). From these remarks, one can speculate that most of the 'othering' and stereotyping aspects found in the narrative could come not from Jemison, but from the second voice of Reverend Seaver.

Before she was adopted, Jemison had been taken to a village called Fort Pitt, where she notes that the "white people were surprised" to see her traveling with the Native Americans at such a young age, she adds that they have seemed to pity her. (Seaver, 2016:45) What should be noted, that Jemison calls the people seeing her 'white', which point to her assimilation within a different culture, despite herself being from an English background, Jemison has left it behind.

In the village, Jemison's captors give her to two sisters of the Seneca tribe who decide to adopt her, so as they reach the village, Jemison was discarded of her English clothes and given a ritual dress. From that day, Jemison began to integrate into the Seneca tribe, beginning with learning their language and cooking for them. Jemison describes her captors as being friendly and very accepting. She claims that: "Their fidelity was perfect, and became proverbial; they were strictly honest; they despised deception and falsehood; and chastity was held in high veneration, and a violation of it was considered sacrilege." (Seaver, 2016:45). Jemison presents a completely different description of the Native Americans, unlike the representations of 'wild savages' that are given in other narratives.

During Jemison's assimilation period, there were instances where people from the white community wanted to rescue Jemison by offering a ransom. "I was informed by one of my Indian brothers, the white people came over to take me back; but after considerable inquiry, and having made diligent search to find where I was hid, they returned with heavy hearts." (Seaver, 2016:42) During her first year of captivity, there was a part of her that longed to

return to the “blessings of civilisation”, but as the time went on, she no longer wished to escape.

As the time passed, Jemison married an American Indian who she loved. Later on, she gave birth to a son who she named Thomas. At first, just like in the case of her captivity, she was not confident about marrying a Native American and was anxious about the idea.

Nevertheless, as she got to know him, she fell in love.

Yet, Sheninjee was an Indian. The idea of spending my days with him, at first seemed perfectly irreconcilable to my feelings: but his good nature, generosity, tenderness, and friendship towards me, soon gained my affection; and, strange as it may seem, I loved him! (Seaver, 2016: 46)

Jemison tends to draw parallels between the life of a Native American and a White person. One of the instances is when she describes the daily work of the woman. She notes that the Indian women provide their own materials and are able to use it, which was harder compared to the White woman for whom the materials are already provided for. Jemison adds that the work done by the White women are not half as great as the one done by a native woman.

Later on in her life, Jemison finds out that her husband has died while hunting. After the French-Indian war, despite her protest, a Dutchman who wanted to receive a bounty for returning Jemison home kidnapped her. Yet, Jemison managed to escape. The chiefs of her tribe told her that if Jemison chooses she may stay, however, the old king of the tribe decided that Jemison is to be freed. Jemison was devastated by such an offer. She no longer wanted to return to the white civilisation, and she was happy living with the Seneca people. What is interesting that not only the chiefs wanted Jemison to stay, but also her new family was fighting for her. Her Indian brother even exclaimed that he would rather kill Jemison than let her return to the white Americans.

During Jemison’s life with the Seneca tribe she married twice, she had six children with him. What is interesting that Jemison named all of her children by English names. Jemison already had a son Thomas and the other children she named accordingly Jane, Nancy, Betsey, Polly, John, and Jesse. Her second husband was older, but Jemison described him as:

Hiokatoo was an old man when I first saw him; but he was by no means enervated. During the term of nearly fifty years that I lived with him, I received, according to Indian customs, all the kindness and attention that was my due as his wife [...] he uniformly treated me with tenderness, and never offered an insult (Seaver, 2016:104).

Jemison’s lifespan parallels the rich history of the Seneca tribe, their involvement in the American Revolution, etc. Sometime after the Revolution, Jemison is again offered her freedom, which she again refuses. It is interesting to see that regardless of the many

opportunities to return back to her old community, Jemison denies it every time, claiming to be content with staying where she is.

My Indian brother Kau-jises-tau-ge-au [...] offered me my liberty, and told me that if it was my choice I might go to my friends [...] My son, Thomas, was anxious that I should go....after I had duly considered the matter, I told my brother that it was my choice to stay and spend the remainder of my days with my Indian friends, and live with my family [...] (Seaver, 2016:93)

During the later years of her life, Jemison acquires a piece of land and starts to be called the 'White Woman' by her neighbours. She experiences many grievous moments in this period of her life: the death of her second husband and the deaths of some of her children. At the end of her life, she finds James Seaver and tells him her story. He publishes Jemison's narrative and prefaces it with a text "The following is a piece of biography, that shows what changes may be affected in the animal and mental constitution of man; what trials may be surmounted; what cruelties perpetrated, and what pain endured [...]" (Seaver, 2016:2).

It seems that Jemison's identity is a cultural hybrid between belonging to the Seneca tribe and an identity of an English frontierswoman. From one side she is a Seneca woman, following their ways of culture when it comes to customs, clothing, religion and everyday life, while on the other side Jemison retains her very good English language and gives her children English names. Although being a part of the Native American culture, Jemison does not omit the cruel acts her people had done, for instance, the killing and scalping of her family, and the ritual torture they had executed on other English settlers. Yet, again, Jemison explains the reasons behind these acts, claiming, that her parents would not have had suffered such fate if the Natives had not been chased by the whites. Jemison adds that it is one of the Native American customs to replace their slaughtered brethren by either adopting a captive or killing the enemy out of revenge. "It is family, and not national, sacrifices amongst the Indians that has given them an indelible stamp as barbarians, and identified their character with the idea which is generally formed of unfeeling ferocity, and the most abandoned cruelty." (Seaver, 2016:35) Since Jemison provides an explanation for the deeds of the Indians, the readers can view them in a different way, rather than the accepted image of a 'savage' and other stereotypes.

Indians, in consequence of their cruelties to their enemies—cruelties that I have witnessed, and had abundant proof of—it is a fact that they are naturally kind, tender and peaceable towards their friends, and strictly honest; and that those cruelties have been practised, only upon their enemies, according to their idea of justice. (Seaver, 2016:33)

One of the stereotypes Jemison challenged was the stereotype of the relationship between the Native American marital lives. Supposedly, the Native American men were cruel and lazy, while the wives were nothing more than slaves were. Jemison disregarded these

stereotypes, by describing both of her husbands as loving and caring. Despite the fact, that Jemison's narrative offers a more positive viewpoint of the Indians, it still implies that it is nearly impossible for the Native Americans to be incorporated into the American mainstream society. Susan Scheckel states that Jemison's narrative presents the reader with this conclusion, "Indians must and will be Indians, In spite of all the means that can be used for their cultivation in the sciences and arts" (Scheckel, 1999:25). Scheckel adds that although the Seneca tribe adopts her and gives her an Indian name and her children as recognized Indians, she is still referred to as the 'White Woman' (ibid, 85). Regardless of Jemison's own account, Seaver structures her experiences as a typical captivity narrative. Still, Jemison's narrative presents a sort of doubleness of culture, where she judged and celebrated the good and the bad in both the white Americans and Native Americans.

The following chapter will discuss the similarities and differences between the above discussed captivity narratives of Mary Rowlandson, Hannah Dustan, and Mary Jemison. Although their narratives were different in terms of experience, describing different versions on how they dealt with their captivity, yet there are similar patterns in all of them.

#### **4.4. The Similarities and Differences Between Mary Rowlandson's, Hannah Dustan's and Mary Jemison's Captivity Narratives.**

As it has been argued in the theoretical part of the study, most captivity narratives share structural similarities. However, depending on the captive, there are elements that may vary across the narratives. For instance, in the case of the captivity narratives mentioned in the previous sub-chapters of the present chapter, all of the captives were abducted using violent methods, but each woman had their own ideas how to survive their captivity.

Mary Rowlandson, Hannah Dustan, and Mary Jemison each fall under their own archetypal role as a captive. As mentioned before in the theoretical part (see Chapter 2.3), June Namias offers her own typology of archetypal roles. Those being: the Survivor, the Amazon, and the Frail Flower. In the case of present captives, Mary Rowlandson and Mary Jamison, both fall under the category of the Survivor, because both women easily adapted to the lifestyle and accepted their situation. The Native Americans also adopted Jemison later on; however, Rowlandson is one of the exceptions of the Survival archetype, who in the end returns to the white community. In the case of Rowlandson and Jemison, they each can be grouped also under the positions of common captive and the willing captive, for the same reasons that were mentioned previously.

As for Hannah Duston, her archetypal role is that of the Amazon. Duston earns her role due to her actions while being in captivity. Duston strongly resists the capture and escapes it by killing and scalping ten Natives, six of whom were children.

The first major difference between the narrative of Rowlandson, Duston and Jemison narratives was how they were written down. Rowlandson herself wrote her story; however before it was published, it was edited and prefaced by her husband and Cotton Mather. In the case of Hannah Duston, she told her story to Cotton Mather and he published it using his own words. Later on, in the 19th century, Duston's narrative resurfaced and was written by numerous authors. Since Jemison was captured as a teenager, she was illiterate and shortly before her death, Jemison relayed her experiences to Reverend James Seaver. Another difference between the narratives is that while Rowlandson and Duston were Puritans, Jemison was a frontierswoman, no longer believing in Puritan ideology. Rowlandson's and Jemison's narratives were rather long and both had a first-person narrator, while Duston's narrative was short and told by a third-person narrator. Although Duston's narrative was short it had numerous versions of it.

Puritan ideology was present in all of the narratives, only Rowlandson eulogized the importance of God and his grace. Of course, Mather's version of Duston's narrative incorporated Puritan ideology, the later versions only focused on the violence. Jemison's narrative, in terms of religion, she gives an insight into both Christianity and the religion of Seneca tribe.

The most important element of all three narratives is how each of them dealt with their captivity. Rowlandson relied on her faith and hope of her husband saving her, yet, despite some initial struggles, she learned to live with the Native Americans and found ways that could benefit her, for instance, Rowlandson's skill of sewing and knitting. Like all captives, Duston experienced murder beforehand her capture. Many claims that Duston's violent escape was due to her experiencing her week-old infant's murder by the Natives. Duston, with the help of her nurse and another captive, decides to escape their captivity by killing their captors, rather than trying to adapt to the life of the Native Americans. She kills her captors and later scalps them, to receive a bounty about the scalps. Mary Jemison presents a completely different viewpoint about her captives. Rather than waiting for her being ransomed or escaping, she decided to spend her life with them, by being adopted by the Native American tribe.

While Rowlandson and Duston saw the Native Americans as barbarous savages, who could only howl, murder and rampage and almost sub-human, Jemison saw them as being equal to her, kind and merciful. Jemison's narrative challenged many of the existing Native

American stereotypes. Her narrative presented a direct opposite of how other people saw them from other narratives.

There is a statue erected in honour of Hannah Dustan because of her narrative. There is also a monument built for Mary Jemison. Both, the statue and the monument, along with their stories helped to heroicize both women. Unfortunately, despite her popularity in the 17th century, there is no monument built for Rowlandson. It could be speculated, that although Rowlandson's narrative is what started the genre, her story was too dependent on God and Puritan ideology, while Dustan's violence and Jemison's choice to be adopted seemed more interesting and heroic for the readers.

Another difference between the narratives is how long each captive spent with the Native Americans, for instance, Rowlandson spent 11 weeks traveling with the Narragansett Indians, Jemison spent the rest of her life with the Seneca Indians and Duston spent at most 2-3 days before she killed the Natives to escape. Cotton Mather used the captivity narratives of Rowlandson and Duston to strengthen people belief in Puritan ideology. Since Duston was captured 10 years after Rowlandson, people drew parallels between the two accounts. Mather used it to generate the idea of God's 'elect' people. As well as the wrath of God, which came in the form of Native American attacks.

Another aspect that could be contrasted between the narratives of Rowlandson, Duston and Jemison, is that both Duston, and Rowlandson were grown-up, married women, when they were captured, as well as that they witnessed the Native Americans killing their children, which automatically marked the Natives as barbarous savages. At the same time, Jemison was taken as a teenager and was slowly integrated within the Seneca society, thus being accustomed with their culture.

As mentioned before, both Rowlandson's and Dustan's narratives depicted the death of their children. What is interesting is that in both cases, the deaths were described rather graphically. Both of their houses and settlements were burned to the ground. As it was mentioned before, Puritans felt the safest when they were at home, and absolutely feared wilderness. The head of the household for the Puritans was the wife. Therefore, the readers can empathise with both women, knowing that they have lost, their children, their house and their role as a housewife at once. Both Rowlandson and Duston were eager to return home; of course, each had their own methods to achieve it. There were times when Jemison wanted to return to the white society as well, but as it can be seen – for Rowlandson and Duston it was returning home, while for Jemison, it was returning to 'civilized community'. According to Karen Halttunen, the events and symbols for domestic lifestyle, sacrifice, and sentimentality, always can be found together in American popular culture. (Halttunen, 2008:112)

In summary, Mary Rowlandson's narrative portrays the influence of the Puritan ideology and how through it a person could withstand her captivity. Her narrative also shows how Rowlandson clearly saw herself as a superior person to the 'savage' Indians, due to her inbound ideological upbringing. The numerous narratives of Hannah Duston highlighted how many variations one short story can be turned into. Her narrative also revealed how far people would go with justifying someone's wrongs; just to prove his/her reader that the somewhat innocent side are the monsters, not the other way around. The narrative of Mary Jemison allowed her readers to see another side of Native Americans, who were always portrayed as 'barbarous savages'. Her narrative helped to re-shape some stereotypes about the Native Americans. There are a number of similarities and differences between said narratives, but one should remember, that despite that, they all fall under the genre of captivity narratives.

## CONCLUSIONS

Captivity narratives are deeply rooted in the American culture. They are considered as the first literary works in America. Captivity narratives emerged with one of the first settlers – the Puritans. Puritans had their own form of religion, which they wanted to bestow on everyone, including the Natives of the New Land - the Indians. The conversion attempts resulted in numerous battles, most known of which was King Philip's war when the Native Americans took English settlers captive. From the captivity, the experiences and events, captivity narratives emerged.

The goal of the present Master Thesis was to analyse the how the identity of Puritan woman and the 'otherness' of Native Americans were represented in Mary Rowlandson's, Hannah Duston's and Mary Jemison's captivity narratives. The research questions were as follows, whether there were any change how Puritan womanhood was represented in the selected captivity narratives, whether wilderness of the Indians was presented differently in the above-mentioned narratives and whether there are some similarities and differences found in the selected narratives.

The discussion of Puritanism revealed that Puritans valued their form of religion and followed it closely. God dictated their everyday lives and their laws came from the Bible. Their politics and religion were synonymous. Puritans lived by the belief that God had already chosen a certain amount of people that would ascend to Heaven and in order to be one of those people, one had to be pure, both morally and spiritually and most importantly be pious. One of the aims of Puritanism was to promote their doctrine and convert those, who were not Puritan. Puritans had their own hierarchy, God being at the top and women and children - at the bottom. Puritan women were to be pious and submissive; however, they were in charge of the household. Puritans believed that women were naturally sinful and more easily compelled by the Devil. Which was probably the reason, why most captivity narratives starred women as the captives.

Native Americans were considered as the spawn of the Devil and that the wilderness were they resided was dangerous. It was also believed, that they served as a punishment of God. By sending Indians to attack certain English settlements, meant that God was giving them a test. Indian and Puritan religious and cultural differences played a crucial role for the attitude towards each other. Since both parties could not get along, they were constantly fighting each other. In many cases, the Native Americans took captives, usually women, either for later ransoming them or for adopting them in their tribe. Most of these women wrote down or retold their experiences, and thus the captivity narratives emerged.

Mainly, the captives wrote about what they experienced after they were captured by ‘savages’ and thrown into the wilderness. However, Puritan writings often served as an instruction and often reinforced the authority of the Bible and the Church. Puritan ministers, who often were in charge of editing and publishing the narratives, stressed that captivity narrative served as a means to remind the readers of their possibly sinful and corrupted ways, and how such capture could lead them astray.

The captivity narratives usually featured captives of Native Americans. These women were portrayed as being able to survive using her wits, courage, and strength, despite being afraid of her faith. These narratives were often edited prior to publication and often had two narrative voices, one of the captive telling her experiences and the second of the editor, who through the narrative, tried to impose the Puritan ideology and a strong anti-Indian view.

The analysis of Mary Rowlandson’s captivity narrative revealed that her narrative could serve as a guide for other Puritans. From her narrative, the readers are able to see the importance of God and religion in Puritan life. Rowlandson interprets most of her experiences as a test, sign, gift from God and never loses her faith. Her narrative is filled with psalms from the Bible. She views her captivity and suffering as a test from God and sees the Natives playing the role of the Devil. She believes that her faith and God’s blessings will help her survive. Her loyalty and submission as a Puritan wife is deeply intertwined, because of her Puritan upbringing, she never doubts that her husband will ransom her.

The analysis also revealed Rowlandson’s view towards the Native Americans. While she sees herself as a poor, pious English woman, her captives are barbarous savages, sent to her as a punishment from God. She distinguishes differences between herself and the other English settlers and the Native Americans in terms of the colour of their skin, location and even the difference of eating. Because of her Puritan way of thinking, Rowlandson sees the Indians as inhuman, savage and incapable of any moral, in other words, the ‘other’. However, despite their differences, Rowlandson learns to live among them, by adopting their language, and bits of their lifestyle. Her narrative is revealing to her readers that she has a special bond with her Indian master. However, Rowlandson is ransomed and returns to her Puritan society.

The narrative of Hannah Duston selects a completely different perspective in contrast to the other two texts. For example, while Duston was captured in a similar way to Rowlandson, her escape from the captivity was different – she killed and scalped a Christian Indian family she stayed with. Since Hannah Duston retold her story, several version of her narrative has been published. Although all the versions tell more or less the same story, each author has their own perspective about the events. Duston’s narrative first appeared in the sermons of Cotton Mather, a Puritan minister. He told Duston’s story in a true Puritan fashion,

disregarding her murdering an Indian family (including six children) - he made her a hero. Some of the other versions, painted Duston in a similar way, justifying her actions, claiming that it was mother's instinct, or that she did not have any proof. Other authors like Henry Thoreau and Nathaniel Hawthorne saw Duston's killing of the family as wrong; however, most of the authors depicted the Indians as wild savages and treated their deaths as normal. Since there is no personal account of Duston's story, the reader cannot speculate which of the existing accounts can be considered most accurate.

Mary Jemison's narrative presents a different viewpoint towards the Native Americans. As an adolescent, the Indians took her captive, and as the time went by, she decided to stay with them. Reverend James Seaver, who also gives Jemison's narrative a dual voice, wrote down her narrative. Jemison can be seen as a mix between two cultures, while she adopts their customs, religion and the general way of life, she retains her English language and gives her children English names. Jemison challenged a number of Native Americans stereotypes, for instance, although she describes the savage acts of the Indians, she also provides an explanation for the deeds of Native Americans, the readers can view them in a different way, rather than the accepted image of a 'savage' and other stereotypes. Even though Jemison had numerous opportunities to escape her captivity, she chose to stay with her new family and to integrate into their society.

Mary Rowlandson, Hannah Dustan, and Mary Jemison each fall under their own archetypal role as a captive. Rowlandson and Jemison can be considered as survivors, while Duston falls under the category of the Amazon. All of the narrative incorporated Puritan ideology in them. Rowlandson's narrative displayed the importance of God and faith to survive. Cotton Mather's version of Dustan's narrative also displayed the importance of God, additionally; Mather's version of Dustan portrayed her as an instrument of God, with whom He could seek vengeance on Puritan enemies, meaning Native Americans. Jemison's narrative provides an insight of the importance of Puritan religion and Native Americans religion.

Rowlandson saw her captors as barbarous monsters, however, at the end of her narrative, she considered her Indian master being a real friend to her. Most versions of Duston's narrative portrayed Native Americans as barbarians and wild animals, while Jemison's narrative allowed her readers to see another side of Native Americans.

The selected captivity narratives portrayed the three women as powerful agents of their destiny, and even though they had their own roles assigned to them, they knew how to overcome them. For instance, even though Rowlandson was a pious and submissive Puritan housewife, she learned to live with the Indians and utilise her skills for her own good. Dustan's role as a Puritan woman was to raise and take care of the children. However, she

displayed her bravery by not waiting to be rescued, but rather taking matters into her own hands. Mary Jemison chose to stay with the Indians despite the stereotypes she grew up with, and with the help of her story, she helped to change them.

It can be said that the captivity narrative allows the women to show their own voice with their stories. The genre has and will continue to allow women to tell the story they want to share in writing. Despite, the above mentioned fact, that women voices were heavily edited, women could still rely on the genre to give them a place in literature, thus making sure, they were heard. The captivity narrative sets a story of transformation in writing, and therefore in history. During the course of their captivity, the women were able to experience to them foreign lifestyle and culture, radically different experiences, filled with cultural crossings, and changes, divisions and differences that they were later able to share in their captivity narratives.

A further investigation of this topic would be advisable, in terms of other captivity narratives after the time of Puritanism. It could be interesting to analyse the change of the portrayal of Native Americans throughout the period from the 17<sup>th</sup> to 19<sup>th</sup> century.

## THESES

1. The Puritans were a religious group that came to North America in search of religious freedom, and, in the process, greatly affected the North American church, government, education, social structures, and economy.
2. The Puritan ideology stated that there was a limited number of places in Heaven and that everyone should be loyal to God and follow His bidding through the Bible.
3. The Puritans believed that Native Americans were wild savages who were sent to them as a punishment from God.
4. Captivity narratives were account written or dictated by a captive, usually a woman, who was taken from her home by Native Americans. The captives focused on details of the attack, witness of death, life among the Native Americans, and eventual return to Puritan society.
5. Puritan captivity narratives were used as a propaganda to show how God was punishing some members of their society, yet offering salvation through the person's return to society.
6. Women's captivity narratives often possess dual narrative voice – their own and the voice of either Puritan minister or an editor, who offered their own opinions about the captive's experiences, thus reducing the accuracy of the account.
7. Most captivity narratives presented a strong 'anti-Indian' stance. Puritans believed that they were an obstacle in their way to spread the Puritan ideology. The marginalization of the Native Americans thus can be considered as the 'othering'.
8. The most known Puritan captivity narrative is the narrative of Mary Rowlandson. Her narrative was structured to serve as a Puritan manual of what to do when one is captured by the Native Americans. Rowlandson offers a 'Puritan worldview' through her narrative.
9. Hannah Duston gives a different perspective, how one should deal with the Native Americans. Her narrative has numerous versions, each either justifying or condemning her actions.
10. Mary Jemison was one of the captives, who chose to be adopted by the Native Americans. Her narrative gave a different viewpoint towards the Indians, helping to reshape some of the stereotypes, which can be found in other captivity narratives.

## REFERENCES

1. Adair John. *Puritans: Religion and Politics in Seventeenth-Century England and America*. Stroud: Sutton Publishing, 1998.
2. Addington Luther F. *The Story of Wise County*. Overmountain Press, 1966.
3. Arner Robert D. "The Story Of Hannah Duston: Cotton Mather To Thoreau" *American Transcendental Quarterly: A Journal of New England Writers*: Vol. 18, 1973: 19-23. Available from: <http://www.hawthorneinsalem.org/ScholarsForum/MMD2128.html#f1> [Accessed April 18, 2018]
4. Axtell James. "The White Indians of Colonial America" *The William and Mary Quarterly* 32.1, 1975: 55-88. Available from: [www.jstor.org/stable/1922594](http://www.jstor.org/stable/1922594) [Accessed April 18, 2018]
5. Bremer Francis J. *Puritanism: A Very Short Introduction*. Oxford University Press, 2009.
6. Bremer Francis J. and Tom Webster (ed.) *Puritans and Puritanism in Europe and America*. ABC-CLIO, 2006
7. Castiglia Christopher. *Bound and Determined: Captivity, Culture-crossing, and White Womanhood from Mary Rowlandson to Patty Hearst*. University of Chicago Press, 1996.
8. Cutler Barbara. "The Female Indian Killer Memorialized: Hannah Duston and the Nineteenth-Century Feminization of American Violence" *Journal of Women's History* 20.2, 2010: 10-33. Available from: <http://muse.jhu.edu/article/239422> [Accessed April 19, 2018]
9. Davis Margaret H. "Mary White Rowlandson's Self-Fashioning as Puritan Goodwife." *Early American Literature* 27.1, 1992: 49-60. Available from: [www.jstor.org/stable/25056881](http://www.jstor.org/stable/25056881) [Accessed April 17, 2018]
10. De Luise Rachel. "Creating a New Genre: Mary Rowlandson and Her Narrative of Indian Captivity." (2002). *Electronic Theses and Dissertations*. Available from: <https://dc.etsu.edu/etd/699/> [Accessed April 10, 2018].
11. Derounian-Stodol Kathryn Zabelle. *Women's Indian Captivity Narratives*. Penguin Classics, 1998.
12. Downing David. "Streams of Scripture Comfort": Mary Rowlandson's Typological Use of the Bible." *Early American Literature* 15.3, 1981: 252-259. Available from: [www.jstor.org/stable/25056383](http://www.jstor.org/stable/25056383). [Accessed April 17, 2018]
13. Dwight Timothy. *Travels in New England and New York*. S. Converse, Printer, 1821.

14. Ebersole Gary L. *Captured By Texts: Puritan to Postmodern Images of Indian Captivity*. University Press of Virginia, 1995.
15. Fitzpatrick Tara. "The Figure of Captivity: The Cultural Work of the Puritan Captivity Narrative." *American Literary History* 3.1, 1991: 1-26. Available from: [www.jstor.org/stable/489730](http://www.jstor.org/stable/489730). [Accessed February 27, 2018]
16. Foner Eric. *Give Me Liberty! An American History, Vol. 1*. W. W. Norton & Company, 2014.
17. Foucault Michel, Graham Burchell and Arnold Davidson. *The Government of Self and Others: Lectures at the Collège de France*. Picador, 2011.
18. Griffin Edward W. "Patricia Hearst and Her Foremothers: The Captivity Fable in America." *The Centennial Review* 36.2, 1992: 311-326. Available from: [www.jstor.org/stable/23739034](http://www.jstor.org/stable/23739034) [Accessed April 18, 2018]
19. Goodrich Charles A. *History of the United States*. Nabu press, 2011.
20. Greenleaf Whittier John. *Legends of New England (1831): a facsimile reproduction /with an introduction by John B. Pickard*. University of Michigan press, 1831.
21. Hall Leora. *Understanding Puritan Womanhood in Feminist America*. Kenyatta University, 2014.
22. Halttunen Karen (ed.). *A Companion to American Cultural History*. Wiley-Blackwell, 2008.
23. Hammond Jeffrey. *The American Puritan Elegy: A Literary and Cultural Study*. Cambridge University Press, 2000.
24. Harris Johanna and Elizabeth Scott-Baumann (ed.). *The Intellectual Culture of Puritan Women, 1558-1680*. Palgrave Macmillan, 2010
25. Hawthorne Nathaniel. *The Duston Family*. Arion Pr; Ltd.,1836.
26. Jakosli Helen. *Early Native American Writing: New Critical Essays (Cambridge Studies in American Literature and Culture)*. Cambridge University Press, 1996.
27. Lepore Jill. *The Name of War: King Philip's War and the Origins of American Identity*. Vintage, 1999.
28. Mather Cotton. *Humiliations follow'd with deliverances. A brief discourse on the matter and method, of that humiliation which would be an hopeful symptom of our deliverance from calamity. : Accompanied and accomodated with a narrative, of a notable deliverance lately received by some English captives, from the hands of cruel Indians. And some improvement of that narrative. : Whereto is added a narrative of Hannah Swarton, containing a great many wonderful passages, relating to her captivity and deliverance*. EEBO Editions, ProQuest, 2011.

29. Mather Cotton. *Magnalia Christi Americana*. Russell & Russell, 1852.
30. Mather Cotton. *The Wonders of the Invisible World. Observations as Well Historical as Theological, upon the Nature, the Number, and the Operations of the Devils*. EEBO Editions, ProQuest, 2011.
31. Mather Increase. *A brief history of the war with the Indians in New-England : from June 24, 1675 (when the first Englishman was murdered by the Indians) to August 12, 1676, when Philip, alias Metacomet, the principal author and beginner of the war, was slain : wherein the grounds, beginning, and progress of the war is summarily expressed : together with a serious exhortation to the inhabitants of that land*. Gale, Sabin Americana, 2012.
32. Morgan Edmund S. *The Puritan Family: Religion and Domestic Relations in Seventeenth-Century New England*. Harper & Row Publishers, 1966.
33. Mountz Alison. *The 'Other'. Key Concepts in Political Geography (Key Concepts in Human Geography)*. SAGE Publications Ltd, 2016.
34. Namias June. *White Captives: Gender and Ethnicity on the American Frontier*. The University of North Carolina Press, 2005.
35. Nash Gary. *Red, White, and Black: The Peoples of Early America (7th edition)*. Pearson, 2014.
36. Nuttall Geoffrey F. *The Holy Spirit in Puritan Faith and Experience*. University of Chicago Press, 1992.
37. O'Hara Kathryn. "Female Captivity Narratives in Colonial America." *The Gettysburg Historical Journal* 8.4, 2013: 35-52. Available from: <http://cupola.gettysburg.edu/ghj/vol8/iss1/4/> [Accessed February 24, 2018]
38. Packer James I. *A Quest for Godliness (The Puritan Vision of the Christian Life)*. Crossway, 2010.
39. Pearce. Roy Harvey *Savagism and Civilization: A Study of the Indian and the American Mind*. University of California Press, 1988.
40. Piper John and Justin Taylor. *A God Entranced Vision of All Things: The Legacy of Jonathan Edwards*. Crossway, 2004.
41. Portfield Amanda. *Female Piety in Puritan New England: The Emergence of Religious Humanism*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1992.
42. Prast A.J. *Invisible natives: Myth and Identity in the American Western*. London: Cornell University Press, 2002.
43. Rowlandson Mary. *A True History of the Captivity and Restoration of Mrs. Mary Rowlandson*. New York: Penguin Books, 1994.

44. Salisbury Neal. *The Indians' Old World: Native Americans and the Coming of Europeans*. Omohundro Institute of Early American History and Culture, 1996.
45. Salisbury Neal. *The Indians of New England: A Critical Bibliography*. Omohundro Institute of Early American History and Culture, 1982.
46. Sayre Gordon M. *American Captivity Narratives*. Boston: New Riverside Editions, 2000.
47. Seaver James E. *A Narrative of the Life of Mrs. Mary Jemison*. Wilder Publications, 2016.
48. Simmons William S. *Cultural Bias in the New England Puritans' Perception of Indians*. Omohundro Institute of Early American History and Culture, 1981.
49. Slotkin Richard. *Regeneration Through Violence: The Mythology of the American Frontier, 1600-1860*. University of Oklahoma Press, 2000.
50. Slotkin. Richard *The Fatal Environment: The Myth of the Frontier in the Age of Industrialisation 1800-1890*. University of Oklahoma Press, 1988.
51. Tajfel Henri. *Human Groups and Social Categories*. Cambridge University Press, 1981.
52. Thatcher Ulrich Laurel. "Vertuous Women Found: New England Ministerial Literature, 1668-1735." *American Quarterly* 28. 1, 1976: 20-40. Available from: [www.jstor.org/stable/2712475](http://www.jstor.org/stable/2712475) [Accessed April 18, 2018]
53. Thoreau Henry D. *Week on the Concord and Merrimack Rivers*. Princeton University Press, 2004.
54. Tinker George E. *Missionary Conquest: the Gospel and Native American cultural genocide*. Fortress Press, 1993.
55. Turner Strong Pauline. *Captive Selves, Captivating Others: The Politics and Poetics of Colonial American Captivity Narratives*. Westview Press, 2000.
56. Van Der Beets Richard. *Held Captive by Indians: Selected Narratives, 1642-1836*. Univ Tennessee Press, 1984.
57. Vaughan Alden T. *New England Frontier, 3rd edition: Puritans and Indians 1620-1675*. University of Oklahoma Press, 1995.
58. Vaughan Alden T. *The Puritan Tradition in America, 1620 - 1730*. Hanover: University Press of New England, 1972.
59. Vaughan Alden T. and Daniel K. Ritcher. *Crossing the cultural divide: Indians and New Englanders, 1605-1763*. Worcester, Mass.: American Antiquarian Society, 1980.

**Online sources:**

1. Available from: <https://www.gilderlehrman.org/sites/default/files/inline-pdfs/Winthrop%27s%20City%20upon%20a%20Hill.pdf> [Accessed April 6, 2018]
2. Available from: <https://public.wsu.edu/~campbelld/amlit/captive.htm> [Accessed March 3, 2018]
3. Available from:  
<https://uknowledge.uky.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1253&context=disclosure>  
[Accessed March 14, 2018]
4. Available from: <https://www.britannica.com/event/westward-movement> [Accessed May 10, 2018]
5. Available from: <https://www.colonialsociety.org/node/1864> [Accessed May 4, 2018]
6. Available from: [http://web.newworldencyclopedia.org/entry/Mary\\_Jemison](http://web.newworldencyclopedia.org/entry/Mary_Jemison) [Accessed April 19, 2018]

## Dokumentārā lapa

Maģistra darbs „The Representation of Puritan Womanhood and Indian Wilderness as Part of Early American Captivity Narratives” (Puritāņu sievišķības un Indiāņu mežonības atspoguļojums agrīnās ASV nebrīves stāstījumos) izstrādāts LU Humanitāro zinātņu fakultātē.

Ar savu parakstu apliecinu, ka pētījums veikts patstāvīgi, izmantoti tikai tajā norādītie informācijas avoti un iesniegtā darba elektroniskā kopija atbilst izdrukai.

Autors: Diāna Zaķe

24.05.2018.

Rekomendēju/ nerekomendēju darbu aizstāvēšanai

Vadītāja: profesore Irina Novikova

23.05.2018.

Recenzents: docente Antra Leine

Studiju metodiķe: Samanta Matecka

24.05.2018.

Darbs iesniegts Anglistikas nodaļā 24.05.2018.

Darbu pieņēma:

Darbs aizstāvēts maģistra gala pārbaudījuma komisijas sēdē

2018. gada..... jūnijā, prot. Nr. ...., vērtējums .....

Komisijas sekretārs: