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A STUDY OF THE INDIAN CAPTIVITY NARRATIVE AS A POPULAR LITERARY GENRE, CA. 1675-1875

By

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ABSTRACT

A STUDY OF THE INDIAN CAPTIVITY NARRATIVE AS
A POPULAR LITERARY GENRE, CA. 1675-1875

By

Larry Lee Carey

Despite the recognition of the Indian captivity narrative as an abundant resource for the social historian and the cultural anthropologist, it remains a largely unexplored, popular literary genre paralleling crucial periods in America's growth. Like all popular arts, the captivity tale reflects and reaffirms social values, thus providing insights into the genre and the society that shaped and altered it for over 200 years.

Method is an obvious problem facing any investigator of the Indian captivity tale. One useful approach is the concept of formula as refined by John G. Cawelti. A formula might best be defined as a basis for organizing plots, settings, and characterizations according to conventions shared by the author and his culture. Moreover, these formulas contribute to what Cawelti calls collective (or cultural) ritual, dream, and game, ritual here signifying that formula stories express and reaffirm the dominant cultural values, thereby resolving tensions while contributing to group solidarity.

Although the game and dream dimensions largely apply to fiction per se, the crucial dimensions of collective ritual,

characterization, and setting are valuable for analyzing Indian captivities written between about 1675 and 1875. Because formula stories are excellent indicators of predominant social values, changing story dimensions (or their valuations) reflect changing social values. In terms of the Indian captivity tale, these predominant shifts may be categorized as religious didacticism, political propaganda, and literary sensationalism.

Puritan tales of captivity reveal a homogeneous society that regarded captivity as God's test of the elect and reaffirm the solidarity of a cultural belief in the Indian and Jesuit as Satanic agents threatening the Puritan's new Eden in the wilderness. Like later captivities, Puritan accounts reinforce the popular belief that Indians are too far removed from civilization and Christianity to be redeemed. This attitude further justified killing Indians and seizing their land, often with the same violent methods associated with "savagery."

In later, less homogeneous societies, political propaganda frequently takes precedence over religious didacticism as a vital part of collective ritual. Inciting colonists against French-Canadians and Indians, or later against Tories and Indians, was more important to captives than Puritan resignation to God's sovereignty or Special Providences.

Captives from the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries frequently display great interest in the natural setting, as well as new emphasis on science, technology, agriculture, and their import for white settlers. Although many captives also examine the

sociological and anthropological details of Indian life, they do not forget their own cultural heritage, nor do they reject the inexorable advance of a "superior" white race. In fact, captives invariably attack whites who refuse to be redeemed, or white renegades who voluntarily espouse the Indian life.

Finally, captives of the late eighteenth as well as the nineteenth century reflect America's growing literary nationalism by incorporating the melodramatic heroine or the Western hero into their narratives, with the latter often depicted as a questing hero who seeks to overcome the threats of villainous Indian and renegade alike to the hero's vision of establishing a civilization in the wilderness. Here, as in other historical periods, the narrators reveal their belief in a hierarchy wherein the established village or city is superior to the rural farm, the rural farm is superior to the frontier, and the frontier, with all its violence, is nevertheless superior to savagery.

To my parents, and to Andy and Bob

They never lost confidence in me

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INTRODUCTION

History

The literary significance of the Indian captivity narrative has long been recognized. George Parker Winship, writing in the Cambridge History of American Literature in 1917, for example, observes that

> There is nothing in English, or in any other language, that surpasses these narratives of Indian captivities in vividness or in the bare statement of physical suffering and of mental torment. They held the attention of readers who knew the writers, and the stream of successive reprintings is still going on, to supply an unabated demand.

Similarly, Richard VanDerBeets (1973) refers to the narratives as "our first literature of catharsis in an era when native American fiction scarcely existed." Like Winship and others, VanDerBeets observes that the great popularity of the narratives is reflected by their numerous reprintings; "first editions are rare today because they were quite literally read to pieces. . . ."[1]

These writers have also commented upon the similarities between the captivity narrative and the novel. For example, Derek G. Smith, writing in an introduction to the 1974 reprint of The Adventures and Sufferings of John R. Jewitt, Captive Among the Nootka, 1803-1805 (1824), says that both captivity narrative and novel are characterized by "adventure, suffering, privation, quest, initiation," with the resultant effect being "gripping immediacy, a fascination sometimes horrific, sometimes morbid, an atmosphere of utter

authenticity." Finally, Smith suggests the human experiences depicted in the captivity narrative overcome the literary excesses or deficiencies of these accounts.[2]

In addition to its literary value, the Indian captivity narrative is an abundant source of information for the social historian and the cultural anthropologist. For example, in a 1950 article published in the Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society entitled "Indian Captivities," Marius Barbeau lists over eighty examples of ethnological materials present in captivity narratives. A. Irving Hallowell, writing in Current Anthropology, December, 1963, presents a valuable discussion of Transculturalization and its effects upon white captives, while a book-length study by J. Norman Heard, entitled White Into Red: A Study of the Assimilation of White Persons Captured by Indians (1973), presents a detailed anthropological-sociological study of acculturation, using Indian captivity narratives as source material.[3]

Despite the recognition of the captivity narrative for its literary, social, and cultural values, it remains a largely unexplored, popular literary form. Thirty years ago, Roy Harvey Pearce called the captivity narrative a valuable tool for understanding popular American culture, issues, and tastes. Nevertheless, an in-depth study of the captivity narrative as a popular cultural form has yet to be published.[4]

The present study maintains that the Indian captivity narrative is a valuable, but neglected, body of popular literature paralleling crucial periods in America's growth from the seventeenth

through the nineteenth centuries.[5] Like all popular arts, the captivity narrative reflects and reaffirms the thoughts, feelings, and values of the society which produces it, from Puritan New Englanders to American Revolutionists, and from post-Revolutionary frontiersmen to late nineteenth-century Westerners. A study of the captivity narrative as a popular literary form can do what Russel B. Nye has said of popular culture in general, i.e., "provide an unusually sensitive and accurate image of the attitudes and concerns of the society for which it is created"--in this case, attitudes towards the Indian and his wilderness home, attitudes towards the ongoing conflict between white man and red man, or civilization and savagery, as most Indian captives came to depict this conflict. Professor Nye also observes that "the world of popular culture is our own, and if we do not study it, we can never understand it or control it; knowing it is a way of knowing ourselves."[6] Surely, the Indian captivity narrative provides insights into both the genre itself and the society that shaped and altered the narrative for over 200 years. To study the captivity narrative is, indeed, a way to study the Massachusetts Puritan, the Tidewater Anglican, the Revolutionary propagandist, and the advocate of Western expansion, for these and many other individuals were Indian captives, and what they reveal in their narratives of their captivity experiences provides valuable keys to understanding attitudes and practices of Americans today.

Scholarship

Little substantive work on the Indian captivity narrative has been published. Phillips D. Carleton's 1943 article in American Literature discusses the captivity narrative's form of attack, capture, escape or return. He refers to its sociological and historical value, as well as its great popularity. He also cites its honesty and simplicity in contrast to other genres and later "refined" narratives that emerged as editors and fiction writers exploited the narrative for potential profits. Carleton's article concludes with observations about the narrative's literary and historical values:

> Taken as a whole this body of literature tells a new story of the United States: how the Englishman became an American on the successive frontiers on which he faced the Indian; the captivity explains the manner in which the American learned from the Indian how to live in the new wilderness; it emphasizes the fact that it was the line of fluid frontiers receding into the West that changed the colonists into a new people; they conquered the Indian, but he was the hammer that beat out a new race on the anvil of the continent.

Carleton does not go beyond these observations, nor does he suggest a methodology to analyze the narratives. By and large, the purpose of Carleton's article is to call attention to the captivity narrative as a neglected literary genre.[7]

Roy Harvey Pearce is one of the first individuals to analyze the captivity narratives. In his 1947 article appearing in American Literature, entitled "the Significances of the Captivity Narrative," Pearce regards the narrative as a "sort of popular form which shapes and reshapes itself according to varying immediate cultural 'needs,'"

specifically, religious didacticism, political propaganda, and literary sensibility. Thus, Puritan captivity narratives are "simple, direct religious documents" paralleling the literary, religious, and social theories of the Puritans. During the French and Indian Wars, as well as the American Revolution, sensationalism and propaganda become more important than content and accuracy. "The writings of the hack and journalist, not the direct outpourings of the pious individual, became the standard of, and the means to, this new end." In short, marketability replaces religious didacticism. During its third period, the captivity tale is incorporated into the novel of sensibility, such as Bleecker's History of Maria Kittle (1793) and Brown's Edgar Huntly (1799), thus becoming "the eighteenth-century equivalent of the dime novel." Finally, Pearce notes, the captivity narrative continues in popularity during the nineteenth century as a restatement of themes popular in the late eighteenth-century captivity tales.

> Even when they appear to be genuine productions of the nominal narrator, they tend to be formed according to the pattern of the captivity narrative as pulp thriller.

Pearce's conclusion stresses the value of the captivity narrative as a cultural barometer, because

> it enables us to see more deeply and more clearly into popular American culture, popular American issues, and popular American tastes. As religious confessional, as propaganda, and as pulp thriller, the captivity narrative gives us sharp insight into various segments of popular American culture.

Pearce does not stress the sociological or anthropological significance of the captivity narrative, and while he recognizes its value

as an indicator of American culture, he does not offer a methodology for analyzing the various periods' captivity tales, or for accounting for changes in those tales. What led religious didacticism to give way to religious propaganda, and then to political propaganda? Why were the nineteenth-century narratives restatements of late-eighteenth-century captivities? Why is the setting more important in one period than another, and what do the changes reveal about the society producing the narratives? Questions such as these arise whenever one studies any popular cultural artifact. The application of a workable methodology, therefore, is essential if one is to find a unifying theme and supply the needed answers to one's questions.[8]

Pearce endeavors to supply the crucial methodology as he develops the concept of an ongoing struggle between "civilization" and "savagery" in his 1953 book entitled The Savages of America: A Study of the Indian and the Idea of Civlization. Herein Pearce incorporates several ideas from his 1947 article, as well as from a 1952 article in the Journal of the History of Ideas entitled "The 'Ruines of Mankind': The Indian and the Puritan Mind," tracing the evolution of the concepts of "civilization" and "savagery" in America from its colonization to the mid-nineteenth century, while examining many examples of the conflict engendered by these very concepts. He cites many documents to illustrate the inevitable conflict which arises when a highly-evolved culture encounters a primitive culture. Because this very encounter is vital to an understanding of the Indian captivity narrative, and because Pearce himself does include representative captivity narratives, his text proves a valuable

tool to investigate one important aspect of the captivity narrative.[9]

Less useful to this study, and far more limited in scope, is a 1972 article by Richard VanDerBeets published in American Literature entitled "The Indian Captivity Narrative as Ritual," which is largely a condensation of ideas appearing in his 1973 dissertation, "The Indian Captivity Narrative: an American Genre." VanDerBeets begins his article by observing that the narrative is still largely the province of "historians, anthropologists, and collectors of Americana," a point Carleton first raised in 1943. In most cases, scholars have pursued the historical or cultural aspects of the narratives, while ignoring their literary potential, or, like Pearce, have viewed them as "sub-literary genres." VanDerBeets also questions Pearce's suggestion that until the captivity narrative was incorporated into Brown's Edgar Huntly (1799), it had only "incidental literary value."[10]

VanDerBeets then presents his thesis: the captivity narrative is a complete, valuable genre unto itself as a ritual of initiation. VanDerBeets parallels the steps of "abduction, detention/adoption, and return" to "separation, transformation, and enlightened return" in the myth of initiation. He supports his theory by citing several narratives, and then concludes:

> This ritual passage, one of the most fundamental of all archetypal patterns, finds expression in the narratives of Indian captivity to an extent that renders this configuration an essential structuring device of the tales. This basic pattern, when viewed in the light of such

> ritual practices as cannibalism and scalping, demonstrates the degree to which elements of distinctly archetypal nature have pervaded and informed the captivity narratives throughout their development.

Thus, this author argues for the archetypal journey of initiation as the unifying pattern in captivity narratives. "These acts and patterns subordinate and synthesize the historical and superficial cultural significances of the captivity narratives and provide them their essential integrity."[11]

Admittedly, any approach which provides a sense of unity or integrity to the Indian captivity narratives is to be welcomed. But to subordinate certain elements of the narratives, such as historical and cultural values, or even to classify these elements as superficial, is to ignore the changing patterns of society, if not society itself. From the point of view of popular culture, one must look at the total product and its relationship to the society producing it, however varied or complex that product might be over an extended period of time, such as the 200 year history of Indian captivity narratives.

VanDerBeets has also (1973) edited and introduced a collection of captivity narratives entitled, Held Captive by Indians. Here he focuses upon the popularity of the narratives and their value to the historian, cultural historian, and ethnologist. He follows Pearce's three major divisions of narrative types--religious didacticism, political propaganda, and literary sensibility--when discussing how different generations modified or "improved" narratives to meet changing cultural demands, particularly religious or political

propaganda. Another valuable portion of VanDerBeets' introduction traces the publication history of several significant narratives, and the rise of captivity-narrative anthologies following successful publication of a collection of sensational, gory captivities from the last quarter of the eighteenth century under the title of the Manheim Anthology (1793). VanDerBeets' introduction concludes with his rationale for chosing those narratives he presents in "the first modern scholarly collection of uncut and unaltered narratives." This approach, plus VanDerBeets' informative introduction and useful textual notes, makes this anthology a valuable research source.[12]

More limited, but equally valuable, is David L. Mintner's "By Dens of Lions: Notes on Stylization in Early Puritan Captivity Narratives," which appeared in American Literature in 1973. Mintner provides first a brief history of the Indian captivity narrative, summarizes the limited scholarship on the captivity narrative, and argues briefly for Pearce's contention that the narratives are not part of a single genre, but are unique expressions by very different societies.[13] His detailed examination of Mary Rowlandson's narrative (1682) provides evidence for his thesis that Puritan captivity tales "clearly present a fundamental Puritan need and habit: the turning of private emotion and personal experience into emotion and experience approved by public code and ideology." In other words, Puritan narratives are stylized, in that the narrator's experiences are consciously or even sub-consciously attuned to Puritan belief "in the providental theory of history, in the doctrine of afflictions, in the literature of personal witness, in the conception of

life as a pilgrimage through prisons to freedom, and in the notion of salvation as continuous drama." In other words, then, Mintner argues that the Puritan narrative of Indian captivity conforms to a clearly-defined, socially-accepted formula.[14]

Later Puritan captivity tales (e.g., Stockwell, 1684; Duston and Swarton, 1702; Williams, 1707) increasingly reveal both secularization and literary stylization. For Mintner, secularization means propaganda and sensationalism, which, in turn, mean increased exploitation of the captivity narrative. In doing so, however, the narrator's "self" is ignored or subordinated. No longer is the narrator so completely socialized that he "feels a deep need to conform experience to socially sanctioned patterns."[15]

Although one might question Mintner's contention that the narrator's "self" is subordinated or absent in later captivity narratives, his thesis is particularly valuable in terms of popular culture and formula literature. Popular literature confirms and restates the beliefs, values, and ideals of an established society by presenting conventional expressions of those values. In other words, formula literature conforms to a clearly-defined, socially-accepted pattern readily recognized by readers of such literature as the Western, the detective story, the romance, or the adventure.

Mintner's article rounds out the limited, published scholarship on the captivity narrative, but even unpublished works, namely dissertations, fail to offer much additional information for the student of the captivity narrative. With the exception of VanDerBeets' 1973 dissertation, only two other dissertations focus

upon the Indian captivity narrative. "The 'Westerns' of the East: Narratives of Indian Captivity from Jeremiad to Gothic Novel," by James Gordon Meade (Northwestern University, 1971) does not approach the captivity tale as a true genre. Meade simply categorizes pre-Revolutionary narratives as "honest accounts of experiences charged with meaning to authors and readers alike," while he dismisses Puritan captivities as Jeremiads, the products of individuals "who saw captivity as a descent into hell," and thus ignores the Puritan belief in captivity as a salutory experience. He also glosses over the religious and political propaganda inherent in many eighteenth-century captivity tales. Although he discusses the infusion of sensibility into post-Revolutionary captivities, he does not explore their cultural value or their ethnological content. In fact, he claims "the narratives tell us little about the Indian himself." In reality, however, the narratives frequently tell the reader a great deal about the Indian as well as the society that shaped, altered, read, and reread captivity tales for over two centuries.

A 1975 dissertation by James Arthur Levernier, of the University of Pennsylvania, "Indian Captivity Narratives: Their Functions and Forms," supports Pearce's thesis that different literary forms of the narrative evolved to meet changing social needs. Although Levernier considers the relationship "between literary forms and cultural needs," he focuses upon the major authors of the nineteenth century in order to show "the effect of popular literature on the development of more sophisticated forms of American expression." Levernier does not examine the captivity

narrative solely as a valuable literary genre which reveals much about the popular attitudes of the society producing it. Rather, he stresses the literary form and function of the captivity narrative as these relate to elite, or "sophisticated," literature.

These few dissertations, along with the articles and books reviewed, encompass efforts to deal with the form, function, and value of the Indian captivity narrative. Yet, VanDerBeets asserts these neglected captivity tales "shape their materials from the very wellsprings of human experience." If so, they deserve to be examined with far greater attention to what they reveal of the captive's societal values, as well as the captive's view of the wilderness itself, including his prejudices about the Indian, or even the consequences of inter-racial contact between two very different cultures. The captivity narrative is also a valuable tool to explore the captive's innate fear of capture, and his equal repugnance towards inter-racial marriage. Moreover, the captivity tale reveals the captive's disdain for those captives who refuse redemption by white society, or worse, who voluntarily leave their own society to take up the Indian's "savage" ways. In short, these narratives tell one much about the American experience, even about one's own American heritage, and surely deserve far greater attention than they have yet been accorded.[16]

Methodology

Method is an obvious problem facing any investigator of the Indian captivity narrative. Yet, finding a means to analyze the

captivity narrative is not unlike a search for methodology per se in other areas of popular culture.[17] One particular approach lending itself to a study of the captivity narrative is the concept of formula as developed and refined by John G. Cawelti. In chronological order, Cawelti's major statements on literary formulas may be found in: "The Concept of Formula in the Study of Popular Culture," Journal of Popular Culture, 3 (Winter 1969), 381-390; The Six-Gun Mystique (Bowling Green, 1971); "Notes Toward a Typology of Literary Formulas," Indiana Social Studies Quarterly, 26 (Winter 1973-74), 21-34; "Myth, Symbol, and Formula," Journal of Popular Culture, 8 (Summer 1974), 1-9; Adventure, Mystery, and Romance: Formula Stories as Art and Popular Culture (Chicago, 1975).

Cawelti defines a formula as "a conventional system for structuring cultural products," and distinguishes a formula from form, which is "an invented system of organization." In Cawelti's terms, conventional refers to elements familiar to the artist and his audience, such as "favorite plots, stereotyped characters, accepted ideas, commonly known metaphors, and other linguistic devices." Unique or unfamiliar elements introduced by the artist, on the other hand, are called inventions. Inventions and conventions are, of course, simply the poles of a continuum, but they serve very different cultural functions:

> Conventions represent shared images and meanings and they assert an ongoing continuity of values; inventions confront us with a new perception or meaning which we have not realized before. Both these functions are important to culture. Conventions help maintain a culture's

> stability while inventions help it respond to changing circumstances and provide new information about the world.

As one might expect, all works of art contain convention and invention. A stable, homogeneous society's artistic productions tend to be far more conventional than inventional. Consequently, one might correctly assume that Puritan narratives of Indian captivity will contain a high degree of religious and social convention.[18]

Cawelti also suggests that though formula and form should be regarded as end points on a continuum, one must be careful in applying these concepts to popular artistic products. The student of popular culture must not judge a popular work solely on the basis of its literary inventiveness. Rather, he must also focus upon "the relationship between the work and its culture, not its artistic quality." This warning is quite relevant to the student of the Indian captivity narratives, since the narrators often had very different educational backgrounds. As Donald Dunlop, writing in the JPC for Fall, 1975, observes, "the popular artist will not have invented the artifact; he will have produced an artifact which has similarities to other artifacts of which he is more or less aware."[19]

Another important distinction Cawelti makes is that between formula and myth. A formula is more limited than a myth, since the former is a cultural expression, while the latter largely remains a universal expression. The cultural emphasis here is important, for it means that formula stories represent a synthesis of various cultural values and functions presented through a limited number of conventional settings, characters, and plots. Therefore, concludes

Cawelti, formulas might best be defined as "principles for the selection of certain plots, characters, and settings." But this is only part of the function of dimensions in a formula story.[20]

In addition to their part in narrative structure, the dimensions of plot, character, and setting also provide what Cawelti refers to as collective ritual, dream, and game. Ritual here means that formula stories express and reaffirm the major cultural values of the society producing those stories. Formula stories also "resolve tensions and ambiguities resulting from conflicting interests." Thus, a formula story's action moves from tension to resolution and harmony. In addition to dealing with frustration and fears, formula stories contribute to group solidarity as the reader identifies with the author, and both identify with their common society. Finally, formula stories serve the important cultural function of assisting in changes within the society. "By their capacity to assimilate new meanings, literary formulas ease the transition between old and new ways of expressing things and thus contribute to cultural continuity."[21]

Closely related to collective ritual is the collective dream function of formula stories. Such stories allow "the audience to explore in fantasy the boundary between the permitted and the forbidden and to experience in a carefully controlled way the possibility of stepping across this boundary." At another level, "collective dream" refers to the characteristic dreams of a particular society. In either case, Cawelti says, "collective dream" is one of the most complex and difficult dimensions to deal with because of

the danger of degenerating into pseudo-psychoanalysis. Nevertheless, collective dream is an important dimension of formula stories and one which certainly needs further analysis and exploration.[22]

Finally, Cawelti considers the game dimension of formula stories. One of Cawelti's most original and valuable contributions posits parallels between formulas and game structures. Games have "clearly opposing players, a set of rules indicating which actions are legitimate and which are not, and games take place on a certain kind of board or field whose shape and markings indicate the significance of particular actions." Cawelti illustrates these points with the Western. The opposing players are cowboys and Indians, ranchers and rustlers, sheriffs and outlaws, and the like. The rules are provided by conventions in the plot formula: the sheriff gets his man, the hero survives, the calvary arrives in time, etc. Moreover, the Western's action takes place on a clearly-defined board--the frontier, that area between civilization and wilderness. A similar game dimension exists for other formula stories, such as the romance, adventure, and detective story.[23]

Given these definitions of formula stories and their dimensions, Cawelti then offers several uses of formula stories in popular cultural studies. His most important hypotheses are that commonly-used formulas may be examined as indicators "of a group's imaginative concerns." "Significant changes in the valuations or relations ascribed to elements in a formula" should indicate alterations in attitudes and values among different cultures or different historical periods. Finally, if one explores the evolution of

formula literature over several years, even centuries, "shifts in emphasis, valuation of symbolic characters, plot types, and themes" will reveal "changes in attitude and motive on the part of the formula's public."[24]

These applications lend themselves well to Indian captivity narratives. For example, under the dimension of setting, one might investigate how the varying narratives deal with the environment, animals and plants, even cultivation of the soil. What of "set-characters" among Indians, French, British? What do the narrators say about these individuals; what changes are there from one historical period to another? In considering the dimension of characters, one can investigate the background of the narrators; does sex influence the narrator's outlook, i.e., what differences are there in accounts by male and female narrators? What central characters appear, and what individuals are singled out for greater development? How fairly and how completely are these characters developed? Does a passage of time between the events and the publication of the narrative influence how the characters are presented? Do certain groups play consistent roles; what about their values? What connections are made by the narrator to his own society or to that of his captors? Such questions as these may be asked about the various dimensions of formula stories.[25]

Procedure

This study applies Cawelti's concept of formula to representative Indian captivity narratives between about 1675 to 1875.

Because these narratives were frequently reprinted and widely distributed to an avid audience who actually "read them to pieces," their great popularity clearly suggests these narratives were meeting key cultural needs of the society producing and reading them. As America's cultural and literary needs shifted, so did the theme and style of the captivity narratives. But throughout their long history, one theme prevailed--the conflict between civilization and savagery.

All American Indian captivity narratives support the inherent superiority of the narrator's society over that of his captors, whether Indian, French, or British. That is, captivity narrators clearly affirm the societal values of their own society. Most frequently, these affirmations evolve from the continuing struggle between white and red men, or between civilization and savagery, as Pearce prefers to say in his Savages of America.

Although the body of captivity narratives changes dramatically over 200 years, one idea remains constant. Whether it is expressed in terms of character development, action, or collective ritual, the narrators reveal their belief in a hierarchy wherein the established village or city is superior to the rural farm, the rural farm is superior to the frontier, and the frontier, with all its violence, is nevertheless superior to savagery. And at the bottom of the hierarchy are the "squaw man" and the white renegade, individuals who voluntarily turn from a "higher" order of civilization to one invariably depicted as "lower" by the narrators.[26]

This ongoing conflict is dramatically revealed in different variations of the formula story, depending upon the values and interpretations held by the narrator's own society. Thus, while Puritan captivity narratives are largely works of religious didacticism, regarding the captivity itself as God's test of the narrator, these narratives tacitly imply the superiority of Calvinism over both paganism and Roman Catholicism. Similarly, narratives dealing with the French and Indian Wars exploit propaganda elements, while arguing for the superiority of the narrator's society over that of his captors, French or Indian. This is also the case for narratives of the American Revolution; here, however, sensationalism increases, focusing the patriot's hatred upon the British, the Tories, and their Indian allies. Although many later eighteenth-century narratives reveal great sociological and ethnological content, careful reading usually reveals the narrator's conviction that his civilized life is preferable to that of his Indian captors. Although many of these narratives reveal a positive interest in Indian values, particularly Indian eloquence, the inherent fear of potential barbarity produces an obvious ambivalence in many narrators. Finally, by the nineteenth century, narratives become little more than outright attacks upon Indians, stating simply the Indian must adopt civilized ways or perish in order that the "superior" society represented by the narrator might continue its destined expansion westward.

The study, then, examines the evolution of the Indian captivity narrative through several periods of American history, tracing the changes in key dimensions of the formula. The study also

examines the relationships between the formula, the society producing it, and the cultural values contained therein.

In order to map and discuss these complex values, the study will necessarily examine the dominant cultural climate for each period under investigation. Chapter I focuses upon narratives of religious didacticism, between about 1670-1725. Chapter II deals with narratives relative to the French and Indian Wars, 1740-1764. Chapter III focuses upon the American Revolution, 1775-1783. Chapter IV examines narratives of the "Western Wars," 1790-1794. Chapter V considers several nineteenth-century captivity accounts. The study then concludes with a compilation of the findings from each chapter, using Cawelti's hypotheses discussed on pages sixteen and seventeen of this Introduction. The intent, then, is to reveal, in the words of Pearce, "what the captivity narrative was and came to be."[27]

NOTES, INTRODUCTION

[1]George Parker Winship, Cambridge History of American Literature (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1917), I, p. 6; Richard VanDerBeets, Held Captive by Indians (Knoxville: Univ. of Tennessee Press, 1973), p. xi, hereafter referred to as Captive; for other recognition of the Indian captivity narrative, see: Phillips D. Carleton, "The Indian Captivity," American Literature, 15 (May 1943), 169-180; Richard M. Dorson, America Begins (New York: Pantheon Press, 1950), pp. 169-170; R. W. G. Vail, The Voice of the Old Frontier (Philadelphia, 1949), pp. 25-27.

[2]John R. Jewitt, The Adventures and Sufferings of John R. Jewitt, Captive Among the Nootka, 1803-1805, ed. Richard Alsop (Edinburgh, 1824), 1974 rpt. ed. and introduced by Derek G. Smith (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1974).

[3]Marius Barbeau, "Indian Captivities," Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society, 94 (December 1950), 522-548; A. Irving Hallowell, "American Indians, White and Black: The Phenomenon of Transculturalization," Current Anthropology, 4 (December 1963), 519-531; J. Norman Heard, White Into Red: A Study of the Assimilation of White Persons Captured by Indians (Metuchen, N.J.: Scarecrow Press, 1973).

[4]Roy Harvey Pearce, "The Significances of the Captivity Narrative," American Literature, 19 (March 1947), 1-20.

[5]As an introduction to this observation, see Russel B. Nye, The Unembarrassed Muse (New York: The Dial Press, 1970), pp. 14-16.

[6]Russel B. Nye, untitled essay in The American Examiner, I (Fall 1972), 5.

[7]Carleton, p. 180.

[8]Pearce, pp. 1-2, 6, 13, 16, 20; Pearce is generalizing somewhat, for one may point to captivity narratives in all historical periods that are both direct and truthful literary works.

[9]Roy Harvey Pearce, The Savages of America: A Study of the Indian and the Idea of Civilization (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1953), hereafter referred to as Savages; also, see: Roy Harvey Pearce, "The 'Ruines of Mankind': The Indian and the Puritan Mind," Journal of the History of Ideas, 13 (January 1952), 200-217.

[10]Richard VanDerBeets, "The Indian Captivity Narrative as Ritual," American Literature, 43 (January 1972), 548-562; Richard VanDerBeets, "The Indian Captivity Narrative: An American Genre," Diss. University of the Pacific, 1973.

[11]VanDerBeets, "The Indian Captivity Narrative as Ritual," pp. 553, 562.

[12]Captive, pp. xi-xxxi.

[13]David L. Mintner, "By Dens of Lions: Notes on Stylization in Early Puritan Captivity Narratives," American Literature, 45 (November 1973), 335-347; also, see: Sacvan Bercovitch, The Puritan Origins of the American Self (New Haven: Yale Univ. Press, 1975), pp. 116-117, for a similar discussion of the Puritans' view of Indian captivity narratives.

[14]Mintner, pp. 338-346, passim.

[15]p. 347.

[16]Captive, p. xxxi.

[17]For an excellent introduction to this problem, see: Russel B. Nye, "Notes for an Introduction to a Discussion of Popular Culture," Journal of Popular Culture, 4 (Spring 1971), 1031-1038; also, see the section entitled "Theories and Methodologies in Popular Culture," JPC, 9 (Fall 1975), 349-508.

[18]Cawelti, "Concept of Formula," pp. 385-386.

[19]P. 386; Donald Dunlop, "Popular Culture and Methodology," JPC 9 (Fall 1975), 376.

[20]Cawelti, "Concept of Formula," p. 388; Cawelti, Six-Gun Mystique, p. 33.

[21]Cawelti, Adventure, Mystery, and Romance, pp. 35-36.

[22]Pp. 35-36; Cawelti, "Concept of Formula," p. 390.

[23]Cawelti, Six-Gun Mystique, p. 71.

[24]Cawelti, "Myth, Symbol, and Formula," pp. 7-8.

[25]For an extensive illustration of this approach, see The Six-Gun Mystique.

[26]Hallowell, pp. 524-526; Pearce, Savages, passim.

[27]Pearce, "Significances of the Captivity Narrative," p. 20.

CHAPTER I

NARRATIVES OF RELIGIOUS DIDACTICISM

> In the providential theory of history, in the doctrine of afflications, in the literature of personal witness, in the concept of life as pilgrimage through prisons to freedom, and in the notion of salvation as continuous drama--in the presence of these, together with countless biblical allusions, we see the shaping influence of the Puritan code.
>
> --David L. Mintner

Mintner's observation captures much of the spirit of Puritanism. The literature of Puritan New England reflects and reaffirms the central precepts of a religious philosophy that permeated all aspects of Puritan life. This relationship did not come about suddenly, but evolved, just as Puritanism itself evolved from the Renaissance spirit, albeit an English Renaissance tempered by an English Reformation.[1]

Kenneth Murdock observes that for the Puritan writer in England or the colonies, the Protestant Reformation was still very active and incomplete in the seventeenth century. Although the Puritans were divided into several sects, they were united by a burning hatred of Rome and by their trust in the Bible's all-sufficiency in issues both civil and religious. Critical of Rome and Canterbury, animated by their role in religious reform, Puritans

came to regard themselves as participants in an epic struggle between good and evil, soul and body, even God and Satan. In its lower form, this epic struggle was expressed by vandalism of "papist" churches or by violent propaganda directed at the Jesuits and their Indian converts. In its higher form, this struggle was revealed through Puritan histories.[2]

To the Puritans, histories indicated how they were carrying the Protestant Reformation to its logical and glorious conclusion. In order to keep their fervor alive and to attract English Puritans to America, Massachusetts Bay Puritans stressed good histories "directed as much to scholars as to workmen or merchants."[3]

Equally important is their belief in God's direct intervention in men's lives, rewarding or punishing, saving or condemning. History, then, could reveal how God has favored individuals, groups, or even nations. If so, the Puritans would have strong proof of their righteousness. "Given the right facts, a history could be made in effect a polemic for a creed." And given this belief, the God-centered, God-directed life becomes an epic experience for every Puritan. In short, history for a Winthrop or a Bradford partakes of all the elements of high drama.[4]

As generations passed, some individuals thought the spiritual fervor that once animated pioneer generations was declining. Some ministers feared for their colonies' future, and so endeavored to reawaken their congregations. Funds from the public treasury were occasionally used to encourage historians to write suitably inspiring texts.[5]

With the onset of Indian hostilities, especially King Philip's War, 1675-1676, abundant materials to stimulate piety appeared. From the Puritan's viewpoint, the wars warned of Puritan sinfulness and backsliding. If mere recollections of previous generations' piety did not move a young Puritan's heart, surely the tragedies of the Indian Wars would. So historians proceeded to describe the Indian Wars as paralleling Old Testament accounts of how God "chastened his chosen people," the Israelites. An important part of Puritan dogma is their conviction that they inherited the blessings and the calling originally reserved for the Jews. Therefore, backsliding could lead only to far greater calamities than those of the Jews if Puritans failed to mend their sinful ways. The Puritans were being tested, chastened, and, like their Old Testament counterparts, were undergoing such experiences in a "howling desart," the American Wilderness.[6]

Although the ancient Hebrews first equated the wilderness with cursed land and then with demons' homes, the wilderness acquired a positive dimension following the Exodus. During their forty years of wandering in the wilderness, the Jews came to see it as both "a sanctuary from a sinful and persecuting society" and as an "environment in which to find and draw close to God." Thus, the wilderness became a "testing ground" wherein God's chosen could be "purged, humbled, and made ready for the land of promise" somewhere beyond their immediate vision.[7]

Bradford and Winthrop needed no prophetic vision to convince them the New World was hardly the promised land. Admittedly, earth

might become the paradise associated with the millennium, but not before the wilderness was altered. And here was the colonists' problem. Survival depended upon their ability to wrest food and shelter from a wilderness as potentially dangerous as any European forest of the Middle Ages. The wilderness was always present, immediate, threatening. If civilized man should fail to conquer the wilderness, he might revert to the savage state brought upon man by Adam's sin.[8]

Like their Old Testament counterparts, the colonists regarded the wilderness as "a moral vacuum, a cursed and chaotic wasteland." As soldiers of God, they were duty-bound to engage in an epic struggle to overcome and subdue this wasteland. They were all too aware of the consequences of failure. Success would be its own reward, for victory would bring order, light, and good to the vast North American forest. The wilderness would become civilized; God's plan would be vindicated.[9]

The Bible offered sufficient motivation for transforming the wilderness. To a people whose literature was rife with biblical citations and allusions, their cause was noble and glorious. Genesis gave mankind authority over the earth and its bounty. Man was to "subdue . . . and have dominion . . . over every living thing that moveth upon the Earth." (Genesis 1:28) Failure would justify divine punishment and the loss of such dominion. And therein lay the fate of the American Indian, for if the colonists were to turn the wilderness into a garden in the true pastoral sense, they would also have to overcome the Indian and all he came to represent.[10]

Colonial writers frequently commented upon the Indians' fallen state. Roger Williams called them "greedie and furious men." "Hellish fiends and brutish men / That Devils worshiped," said Michael Wigglesworth. Heathens and Satanic agents, said Cotton Mather of those who lived in the wilds of the Devil's stronghold, and added that the Indians' "chief Sagamores are well known unto some of our Captives to have been horrid Sorcerers, and hellish Conjurers and such as Conversed with Daemons." No European forest ever held more dangerous a troll, vampire, or Wild Man than did the New England wilderness. No wonder the Puritans envisioned an epic struggle between "the cleare sunshine of the Gospell" and "thick anti-christian darkness."[11]

The Puritans' encounters with the Indians reveal the cultural values so much a part of colonial histories, biographies, sermons, and even captivity narratives. The wilderness becomes a great battlefield for the agents of good and evil. Frequently, these opposing agents or forces are identified as Civilization and Savagery. At other times, Puritan and Indian, or, now and again, Puritan and Jesuit become the protagonist and antagonist in a divine drama. Equally significant is the concept of testing and purification which the Puritan must undergo in the wilderness. There, his convictions, strengths, and weaknesses are examined. Not only is he cleansed and prepared for greater glory, he also accepts anew God's sovereignty, and concedes once more the all-important function of "special (or divine) providences" in his daily life.

Cotton Mather frequently cites instances of "special providences" in Magnalia Christi Americana (1702), including evidence of God's intervention on the Puritans' behalf during war time. In one example of many, Mather recalls that the once-powerful Narragansetts refused to accept Christianity, only to be warned by a Puritan divine that they faced certain disaster. Shortly thereafter, many braves supposedly ignored their chiefs, attacked the Puritans, and were all killed. Not only were the Puritans thus blessed, notes Mather, but the Indians were destroyed to show "thy speedy vengeance, O blessed JESUS, on the heathen that would not know thee, nor call upon thy name."[12]

As revealing of faith in the intervention of Providence as this account is, the great struggle between Civilization and Savagery often presents even more dramatic accounts of Puritan beliefs. The biblical admonition to "multiply, and replenish the earth, and subdue it" has already been established as a basis for Puritan action. It is no surprise then, that Winthrop clearly presents the Puritan position in 1629 by observing that

> the whole earth is the Lord's garden, and he hath given it to the sons of Adam to be tilled and improved by them. Why then should we stand starving here for the places of habitation, . . . and in the meantime suffer whole countries, as profitable for the use of man, to lie waste without any improvement.

Several important directives are present here. The earth is described as a garden, not a wilderness. Adam's descendents are to till and improve the earth; hence, cultivation of a cleared woodland by civilized man, not preservation of a woodland for savage hunters,

is the proper order of the day for Christians. Moreover, since Winthrop speaks of "whole countries . . . profitable for the use of man," he apparently assumes that the entire continent is available for cultivation, but more important, he suggests the land is not being used in accordance with God's directive if it is not being improved, i.e., cultivated. In short, Winthrop is convinced that God wills New England to be civilized and improved by His chosen people. This concept moves a Puritan writer to say of the 1638 massacre of the Pequot Indians, "the Lord was pleased to smite our Enemies in the hinder Parts, and to give us their land for an Inheritance." But "inheriting" and preserving that "inheritance" often prove challenging.[13]

Although Puritans regarded themselves as God's instruments to conquer and civilize the wilderness, the Indians quickly saw the Puritans as thieves who violated both their human rights and their property rights. Hunting and fishing grounds were seized or despoiled by the colonists; other settlers ventured beyond established borders, ignoring Indian land claims. Frequently, Indians were sold into slavery, a treacherous act that earned the British "the eternal hatred of the Abenakis." Although some tribes (notably the Mohawks) had a predilection for warfare, most Indians did not become hostile except when seeking redress for blatant injustices, increasingly those committed by the British. Indian retribution fills many pages of Puritan captivities as terrified narrators recall systematically-performed atrocities, but the causes of such Indian actions are apparently ignored or forgotten.[14]

It is not surprising, then, that negative views of the Indian become a vital part of Puritan literature, reflecting and reaffirming vital religious ritual which permeate racial, social, and cultural values within their theocracy. Whether one considers a personal diary containing signs of salvation or damnation, a Jeremiad such as Wigglesworth's Day of Doom, or an essay by a non-cleric, such as Winthrop's "Modell of Christian Charity," theocracy with all its connotations was the collective (or cultural) ritual for the seventeenth-century American Puritan. And as one might expect, Indian captivity narratives from this period are heavily weighted with collective (or cultural) ritual.

Although collective ritual influences the way a narrator views setting, characters, and actions, these dimensions are a poor second to the main function of collective ritual in the narrator's depiction of the struggle between civilization and savagery, Puritan and Jesuit, or Puritan and Indian. Collective ritual also determines the way in which the narrator views the wilderness as a testing and purifying experience as he relearns the importance of God's sovereignty and "special providences." Investigation of representative captivity narratives provides abundant evidence for the paramount significance of collective ritual in the life of the American Puritan.

The conflict between civilization and savagery, which grows in captivity narratives of later periods, is already prominent in Puritan captivity tales. Pearce suggests that Puritans believe the Indian authorized his own destruction by breaking Nature's Laws in attacking the colonists "without justification." As this idea

gained popularity among the colonists, the Indian simply became a stumbling block in the white man's path, the path of civilization. A. Irving Hallowell, an anthropologist, states that the Puritan logically concluded "that the Indian should become civilized and Christianized or perish." "The savage," says Cawelti, "symbolizes the violence, brutality, and ignorance which civilized society seeks to control and eliminate." Captivity narratives of this period graphically portray all these ideas.[15]

Mary Rowlandson (The Sovereignty and Goodness of God, . . . 1682), reveals typical Puritan aversion to everything the Indians represent in her references to "wilderness" or "woods" with connotations of disgust and disdain. Furthermore, her many negative epithets for the Indians, such as "wild beasts of the forrest," "hell-hounds," and "barbarous heathens," all indicate her belief that the Indians lack both civilization and Christianity, cultural values vital to any Puritan.[16]

Like many Puritan skeptics, Rowlandson challenges the value of converting Indians as she recites various attacks by "Christianized" Indians. Rowlandson's daughter was initially seized by an Indian convert, and she also knows of a man who was slain and mutilated by "Praying" Indians. One such Indian tells the narrator about his converted brother "whose conscience was so tender and scrupulous [he] would not eat Horse." Rowlandson retorts that his conscience was "as large as Hell, for the destruction of poor Christians." Still another Indian convert is denounced for wearing a necklace of British fingers.[17]

Rowlandson also describes a powwow and suggests that Satanic elements are involved. John Gyles (Memoirs . . . 1736) gives similar encounters of conjuring which indicate to him "how much [Indians are] deluded, or under the influence of Satan." Elizabeth Hanson (An Account of the Captivity, . . . 1728) recalls how her Indian master threatens to roast her child when it becomes fat enough. Mather provides several examples of Indian atrocities, including those inflicted upon one James Key, a young boy who is tortured, blinded, and finally killed. Other examples of savagery are present in Mather's account of cruelties to Mehitabel Goodwin, Mary Plaisted, and a friend of one Mary Ferguson. Such accounts no doubt influenced the editor of the 1908 reprint of the Williams narrative to state that "No thinking person can read this book without a feeling of thankfulness that he is living in an age when the barbarian no longer terrorizes the land." Old beliefs die slowly; even in the twentieth century, the Indian is often depicted as a savage who must yet be civilized to secure his place in the white man's society.[18]

The struggle between civilization and savagery is, of course, based upon the whites' belief in a hierarchy of societal values. Hallowell remarks that:

> The values inherent in 'white' culture were necessarily 'higher' than those which prevailed in any aboriginal culture because they embodied the consequences of a progressive improvement in the life of mankind which 'led up to' the contemporary 'civilization' of the European peoples.

Given this crucial assumption, one can understand why a Puritan would prefer the "order and security" of his community to the

"chaos and danger" associated with Indian society. For example, by departing from an established community, complete with church and civil authority, Hannah Swarton (Narrative, 1702) removes her children from a civilized environment and places them in a wilderness "to be bred ignorantly like Indians, and ourselves to forget what we had been formerly instructed in." In similar fashion, Hanson reveals her awareness of civilization's "superiority" to savagery when she observes that Indians are poor managers of food, in contrast to the prudent Puritans. In short, these examples reveal a marked contrast between white and red society, distinguished by higher and lower social orders, spirituality versus paganism, or racial superiority versus racial inferiority.[19]

Such ideas encouraged the popular belief in the justification of seizing Indian land. If Indians cannot "improve" their land, they have no right to it. As early as 1633, The Great and General Court of Massachusetts decreed that "what lands any of the Indians have possessed and improved, by subduing the same they have a just right unto according to that in Genesis." If, however, the Indians have not "improved" or cultivated their land, then they have no legal claim to it. A corollary to this belief is the idea that the Indian must be a farmer, not a hunter, if he is to avoid being obliterated by spreading white civilization.[20]

A final facet of this hierarchical theory appears in Daniel Belding's Narrative (1696), in which he observes Indians often show no more mercy to another tribe than they do to the British. A race without honor in dealing with its own kind is obviously uncivilized

and hence deserving of whatever contempt a "superior" society might bestow. Similarly, Belding's contemptuous remarks about "pretended, Friendly Indians" recall Rowlandson's statement that Eliot's Praying Indians "were the worst of the lot." Both narrators are suggesting that Indians are immune to civilization or Christianization.[21]

As Indian Wars continued, the captivity narratives began to reveal increasing justification for using Indian tactics against the Indians themselves. By the time of the Pequot War in 1637, John Mason's raid on a Pequot village was widely accepted as divine retribution upon all Indians, women and children included. The prevailing attitude so favored the massacre that John Underhill, another Puritan officer, could write

> When a people is grown to such a height of blood, and sin against God and man . . . sometimes the scriptures declareth Women and Children must perish with their parents . . . we had sufficient light from the word of God for our proceedings.

The greatest conflict, King Philip's War in 1675-1676, intensified Puritan hatred of Indians, manifested frequently by increased attacks upon Christianized Indians. All these wars contributed to the Puritan beliefs that Indians are beyond the reach of Christianity and that anyone fighting an Indian was justified in using the Indian's fighting techniques for his own protection.[22]

The captivity narratives of King William's War, 1689-1697, reveal the open hostility against the Indian. For example, in Hannah Dustan's Narrative (1697), the captives seek revenge as they hatchet ten sleeping Indians to death and then take their scalps in victory. Mather recalls the joyous congratulations by the captives' friends,

and lists the generous rewards bestowed on the heroic women by the provincial assembly and by others from as far away as Maryland. Mather's observations, like the narrative itself, approve using bloody methods against Indians, thereby supporting Cawelti's contention that violence is an accepted part of frontier life.[23]

In the formula Western, the hero uses violence against whatever threatens the community's harmony. In other words, the hero accepts the necessity for temporary violence to provide greater tranquility in the future. Hallowell reflects this thinking when he recalls Frederick Jackson Turner's view of the frontier as a "meeting point between savagery and civilization." The frontier "strips off the garments of civilization and arrays [the frontiersman] in the hunting shirt and the moccasin." But, continues Hallowell, the symbolic change of clothing must not become permanent. Rather, it is an intermediate step so all benefits of civilization may someday come to fruition on former Indian land. Understandably, a Puritan would react with horror when a captive cannot be ransomed. More shocking, however, is an incident in which an Indian captive actually refuses to be ransomed or commits the penultimate sin of voluntarily leaving white society to become a renegade--a friend to the Indian, an enemy to the white society he rejects.[24]

The presence of these concepts in Puritan captivity narratives supports Cawelti's position and reaffirms the Puritan's position in the conflict between civilization and savagery. Furthermore, these formula narratives contribute to group solidarity; surely, any Puritan reader could identify with the narrator's

plight. Mather shows that many colonists eagerly praise a narrator's spirit of revenge upon his captors. Perhaps Dustan shows how future captives should retaliate if they can possibly do so.

Narratives depicting revenge upon the Indians fulfill an additional cultural function by assisting in changes within the society. In this case, the captives suggest that since the Indian will not accept civilization, he must die. Thus, the Puritans become God's agents for retribution. In similar fashion, captivity narratives dealing with the Jesuits alert the Puritan reader to yet another threat to his values, the presence of the French and their Jesuit priests in the New World. King William's War, 1689-1697, and Queen Anne's War, 1702-1713, augmented this threat, the French and their Indian allies now becoming a significant part of many Puritan captivity narratives in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries.[25]

The Puritans' near-pathological hatred of Roman Catholicism was, of course, part of their inheritance from the Protestant Reformation. Frequently, Puritan fear and hatred would confuse prejudice with patriotism. As a result, European countries with Roman Catholic allegiance were suspect in the Puritan view and in the New World as Puritans faced French-Canadians, Jesuits, and their Indian converts. The captivity narratives were a suitable vehicle to convey all the fears, superstitions, and hatred of the "Papist Menace" threatening the Puritans in the wilderness.[26]

Rowlandson recalls how her son's captors were surprised by Mohawks and thus prevented from seeking French gunpowder. Rowlandson

is happy at this change of fate, for she fears her son would have been sold to the French and thus subjected to Jesuit conversion. Similarly Gyles' mother tells him she would rather see him dead than under Jesuit influence. When a Jesuit later offers the young Gyles a biscuit, he buries it, "fearing he had put something into it to make me love him." Even when Gyles is released from six years of Indian bondage by the de Chauffours' purchase, he reacts with horror to the change.

> 'Sold!' -- to a Frenchman!' I could say no more, went into the woods alone, and wept till I could scarce see or stand! The word sold, and that to a people of that persuasion which my dear mother so much detested, and in her last words manifested so great fears of my falling into! These thoughts almost broke my heart.

Despite the trying encounters Gyles has known during his six years among the Indians, he shows a greater fear of being sold to French-Canadian Roman Catholics. Here, the Puritan conditioning has obviously persisted despite his years of captivity away from his native religion.[27]

Hannah Swarton acknowledges French succor to her physical welfare, but, like Gyles, believes their religious values are a direct threat to her spiritual welfare. Mehuman Hinsdale (Narrative, 1712) plans to escape Canada with several other English captives, but fails when a sick Indian ally, fearing death, disburdens his conscience by confessing the escape plan to the local Jesuit. Here, Hinsdale reinforces Puritan beliefs that the Jesuits hold magical control over their Indian converts. When a converted English captive tells Joseph Bartlett (Narrative, 1712) he'll not be killed,

he ignores her statement, "she being a papist." Here, Bartlett expresses a basic Puritan belief that any Catholic will lie to a Protestant. A later conversation between Bartlett and the Jesuit, Fr. Meriel, examines such controversial topics as purgatory, intermediaries, and the all-sufficiency of the Bible. Although each cites numerous biblical passages to convert his adversary to his own view, neither is swayed. Bartlett flatly rejects Meriel's claim that "we hold to nothing but what we can prove by your own bible."[28]

The Williams narrative (1707) provides the most detailed view of the conflict between Puritanism and Catholicism. When Williams objects to forced attendance at mass, the priest says the Indians and the French would willingly attend church in New England. Williams' retort clearly reveals his Puritan bias.

> I answered, the case was far different, for there was nothing (themselves being judges) as to matter or manner of worship, but what was according to the word of God, in our churches; and therefore it could not be an offence to any man's conscience. But among them, there were idolatrous superstitions in worship.

In Williams' view, the mass is both disorderly and unholy.[29]

On various occasions, Williams encounters the Jesuits' Indian converts. When Williams refuses to make the sign of the cross or kiss a crucifix, his Indian master threatens to tomahawk him, but Williams is adamant. The Indian then says he'll tear out his fingernails. Again, Williams is unmoved and calmly presents his hand to the Indian, who only feigns biting Williams' nails and then says, "No good minister, no love God, as bad as the devil." Nevertheless,

Williams recalls that he is never again confronted by that Indian, and so sees his victory as a triumph for Puritan religious truths.[30]

Williams' abhorrance of Catholicism colors his entire narrative. At one point, he writes a poem attacking Catholicism and then recalls several incidents which "prove" Satan's hold on Indian and Jesuit alike. In another incident, a large grey cat interrupts the mass, puts out several candles on the altar, and disappears suddenly. This is seen as hard evidence for Satan's presence. Williams also recalls that two reliable English captives tell of an Indian they have known for some time, who, after his demise, sits up at his own burial service, and says he's been to hell, and that all Indians who've accepted Catholicism are there. Further, he warns this will be the fate of any English captive who converts. Williams also recalls the fate of Rachel Storer of Wells, who is violated, converted, and married within a day and adds that such incidents are common among young English women held by Jesuits and French-Canadians. Such accounts are all part of an extensive attack upon all the evil that Roman Catholicism signifies to Williams and all Puritans alike.[31]

In many ways, however, these confrontations are seen as part of the testing experience which any one of God's elect may be called upon to face. Hence, an important duty of the narrative as collective ritual is to show how the captivity experience increases the narrator's awareness of his sins, of God's sovereignty, and of His special providences, and is, in short, a salutory experience. Through the Indians or the Jesuits, God is able to chastize the narrator, reminding him a devoted Christian willingly accepts all challenges. The captivity

narrative becomes an excellent framework to reveal those tests and the narrator's responses, but also to allow the Puritan reader to decide vicariously how he, himself, might fare under similar conditions.

Almost immediately after her capture, Rowlandson recalls squandered sabbaths and misspent days, which seem to increase in rememberance as her fatigue mounts during the various "removes" (or travels) with her captors. Repeatedly, Rowlandson thinks of suitable biblical passages to apply to her sad situation; during her seventeenth remove, she laments with David (Psalm 119:22-24), "I am poor and needy, and my heart is wounded within me. I am gone like the shadow when it declineth: I am tossed up and down like the locust; my knees are weak through fasting, and my flesh faileth of fatness." Eventually, she realizes that most problems arise from human sins.[32]

Even after returning safely to her family, she is prone to night-musings on God's protection, human vanity, and the tests all true Christians must endure. Despite many adversities, she believes she has always enjoyed God's protection, and is so strengthened that daily problems simply become petty trifles. Like David, she concludes, "It is good for me that I have been afflicted."[33]

Swarton faces different afflictions, including a challenge by Catholicism. Even when the French cease their efforts at conversion, she still doubts her worthiness and so recalls her sinful acts. Here, she includes her move from a Puritan community into the Maine wilderness. By taking her children from a civilized, religious setting, she confesses she has failed one of her duties as a Puritan

parent; she then adds that even the adults have forgotten much of their religious upbringing. It is little wonder to Swarton that her Indian captor should tell her, "God delivered us into their hands to punish us for our sins." Swarton also finds herself caught in the dilemma of neither believing a "false" religion nor having sufficient strength to live up to her own faith. Fortunately, Swarton, like Rowlandson, has access to a Bible. She cites applicable passages justifying her present trials and assuring herself she will be strengthened in consequence. She finds comfort in Jonah's words, "I am cast out of thy sight, yet will I look again towards thy holy temple."[34]

Swarton, like Dustan, does not stop with her own sins, but hints at common failings of many Englishmen. A Catholic Indian tells Swarton "that had the English been as careful to instruct her in our religion as the French were in theirs, she might have been of our religion." Similarly, Dustan tells the English they should be ashamed of their backsliding; Catholic Indians pray three times daily and make their children do the same.[35]

Williams' narrative follows a similar pattern. He warns that fasting and prayer alone will not forestall God's wrath unless the Christian reforms his life. Moreover, the elect should rejoice at the prospect of facing God's testing, however challenging it may be. Williams welcomes all opportunities to help others commit themselves completely to God's will and notes how God directs the captives' prayers, strengthening the poor unfortunates for what is to come.[36]

Williams, like Hanson and many other Puritan captives, obviously sees captivity as a testing experience, a way of becoming more obedient to God's will by learning He, alone, is sovereign, the ultimate preserver of all mankind. Until a Puritan fully grasps this idea, he must face the disappointments and sorrows frequently described by Puritan captives.[37]

Rowlandson recalls their dogs' silence as the Indians first approached, even though the dogs normally barked at strangers. Their treacherous silence instructs the villagers henceforth to trust only in God. Similarly, when English forces find Rowlandson and her captors, the army does not cross over the river to them because "we were not ready for so great a mercy as victory and deliverance." God's chosen time was yet to come. Later, she realizes God allows the Indians only temporary victories until the captives realize fully that God alone is their ultimate deliverance. Then, and only then, does God's favor return to the British, as His wrath turns on the Indians.[38]

Other captives follow Rowlandson's pattern. Gyles believes that despite the sufferings and hardships of nine years' captivity, he sees sufficient evidence of God's goodness to encourage others to trust completely in Him. An Indian once asks Dustan why she is concerned about her fate, telling her if it is God's will she be saved, she will be, despite any Indian threats. Likewise, Williams recalls that when the Indians plan to burn several captives, he tells them they'll do only what God permits; he is convinced God will not allow the burnings, and they do not take place. Thus, one

sees the testing experience renewing the narrators' trust in God's sovereignty, a trust best stated by Rowlandson's reference to Moses (Exod. 14:13): "Stand still and see the salvation of the Lord." The Puritan who achieves this total acceptance of God's sovereignty might well expect to witness examples of God's "special providences" in his daily life. Such witnesses became another facet of collective ritual in the captivities.[39]

To the devout Puritan, the Bible provides reassuring strength and divine protection for captives, their children, and their friends. The captivities reveal "special providences" as an important part of Puritanism, for such acts of God reveal His concern for the Elect. Just as Puritan historians catalogue many examples of God's intervention, so do captives. Both exhibit the significant aspects of collective ritual for the edification of their Puritan readers. Rowlandson, Williams, Stockwell (1683), Hanson, and Swarton tell how the Scriptures reassure and refresh them at critical moments. Many narrators also recall how providential assistance encourages and protects them. Stockwell specifically states that God removes his pain, thus strengthening him. Conversely, Gyles recalls that God punishes several Indians for torturing and killing Englishmen, while Hanson credits her Indian master's sickness to God's wrath, an attitude shared by the Indian and his squaw, for the Indian master becomes kinder after his illness. Williams detects God's influence on his captors as their hearts soften, permitting Williams to bury his wife properly. Subsequently, God's providence also refreshes his body and spirit, permitting him to travel great distances at a

rapid pace. Sarah Gerish (1689) believes God provides a strategically-situated bush for her to seize to save herself from otherwise certain destruction when a young Indian pushes her over a cliff. Later, God sends fresh snow so she can track the Indians who attempt to abandon her in the wilderness by breaking camp early one morning while she is sleeping. Bartlett recalls being tied to a tree while his captors debate killing him, but they change their minds after God softens their hearts. Earlier, God's mercy moves an unknown French-Canadian to ward off an Indian who tries to kill Bartlett. It is little wonder that Bartlett tells a younger English captive that God can be trusted for their ultimate deliverance. In all these narratives, as well as in many others from this period, God's assistance is joyfully acknowledged--a duty of all good Christians, especially those who have been rescued from the wilderness.[40]

Perhaps no captive fulfills his obligation more quickly than Williams. In a Boston sermon (December 5, 1706) just a few days after his return, Williams uses Luke 8:39 for his text: "Return to thine own house, and shew how great things God hath done unto thee." God may permit dreadful perils in order to reveal His power to rescue man in His own time, and man is therefore duty-bound to praise God for His beneficence. Sometimes, God moves even the Indian, "whose tender mercies are cruelties," to compassion. Hence, Williams fervently praises God and urges others to do the same, lest God find them ungrateful--a common belief expressed in Puritan sermons and literature, as these representative narratives reveal. Thus, the

concept of grateful praise was also very much a part of collective, or cultural, ritual.[41]

Although Cawelti describes several dimensions in formula literature, collective ritual has been shown to be most significant in Puritan captivity accounts. The narrative dimension of characterization is, at best, a poor second. By and large, characters in Puritan narratives are one-dimensional stereotypes. Cawelti classifies these types as "set-characters" and places them under the formulaic heading of setting. Since captivity narratives are nonfictional, all characters may be examined under the one heading of characterization, including the narrator, his children or other relatives, the kindly individual (here French or Indian), the villain (here Jesuit or Indian,), plus historical personalities. Puritan narratives simply do not reveal much character development. Even the most villainous Indian is simply stereotyped along preconceived lines derived from the narrator's social views and thus represents but another manifestation of collective ritual.

In addition to meager autobiographical information occasionally volunteered by the narrator, parent-child scenes provide some information about the characters. Even there, however, the scenes rarely reveal more than normal parental concern for a dying child or for a child left behind in captivity, or fears for a child's well-being, whether physical or spiritual. Even when one examines a well-written captivity narrative such as the Rowlandson account, the characters' personalities are very conventional, and what the narrator reveals lends credence to Mintner's hypothesis that private

emotion and personal experience are attuned to public values and ideology--that is, to collective ritual. Consider, for example, Rowlandson's account of her sister's reaction upon learning of the death of a son during the raid.

> My eldest sister being yet in the House, and seeing those wofull sights, the Infidels haling 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 my self was wounded, she said, Lord, let me dy with them; which was no sooner said, but she was struck with a Bullet, and fell down dead over the threshold. I hope she is reaping the fruit of her good labours, being faithful to the service of God in her place.

This may be the stuff from which great Puritan captivity narratives are made, but it is too controlled, too emotionally balanced, to provide much information about the narrator's sister or the narrator herself beyond the fact that deeply-rooted beliefs prevail even in the extremity of death.[42]

When the narrator receives a kindness, the deed itself is frequently magnified more than is the benevolence of the individual responsible. Hannah Swarton, for example, recalls how Chief-Judge le Tonant arranged for her to be hospitalized and then adopted by a French-Canadian couple who ransom her from the Indians. Although she tries to praise their kindness, she does so solely in terms of their physical assistance, for she is fearful they will assault her religious convictions. Although Elizabeth Hanson's narrative is later altered to criticize the French for their assistance to the Indians, she rejoices when she and her baby are ransomed by a French family. In the process, however, she reveals traces of Puritan doubts and prejudices about the French. She recalls "we exchanged

our lodging and diet much for the better, the French being kind and civil to me beyond what I could expect or desire." Hanson recognizes better conditions easily enough, but something tells her she should not expect or desire acts of compassion from the "enemy."[43]

Kindly deeds by Indians are rare in the captivities, but narrators do occasionally recognize assistance, although here, as in the case of the French, the benefactor is second in significance to the act itself. Rowlandson recalls her Indian master brings her water to wash with and orders his squaw to feed Rowlandson following her return from Philip's camp. More often, however, Rowlandson regards any gift of food as a great kindness, and mentions several examples. Gerish recalls a kindly Indian, Sebundowit, but forgets the name of a cruel Indian who takes her to Canada in the dead of winter. Hanson remembers an Indian leader who carries her baby, along with a great pack, and she praises her master's mother-in-law, an old squaw, for comforting her and for appeasing her master's outbursts of anger. In all these situations, however, the characters do not emerge with anything like a three-dimensional personality. Only in later narratives, usually involving accounts by individuals already at home in the wilderness, such as trappers, traders, or scouts, do Indians--and narrators--acquire anything akin to identifiable personalities.[44]

When one examines the historical personalities of the captivity narratives, little actual character development is to be found in them either. Rowlandson does meet King Philip, but their conversation isn't reported. Instead, she comments upon her reactions to being offered tobacco, "a Bait, the Devil layes to make men loose

their precious time." Gyles recalls Indian vengeance against Major Waldron for his role in King Philip's War many years previous. Williams, Bartlett, and Hinsdale all meet with Governor de Vaudreuil, but their accounts provide little insight into the personality of this historical figure. Even though Williams and Bartlett engage the famous Jesuit, Fr. Meriel, in long conversations, their accounts are so colored by their own religious prejudice, the reader gains little in the way of historical insight.[45]

The action dimension of the Indian captivity narrative has even less value than the characterizations, largely because the action is controlled by the actual pattern of Indian attack, capture, journey, sojourn, and resolution by escape, rescue, or ransom. The only difference in action among the captivities is in their emphasis. Most male narrators stress their reaction to initial capture, especially if they are familiar with Indian torture, as well as their interrogation by the French, and their plans for escape. Female narrators tend to stress concern for their family, their terror and fatigue, and their hopes for release. With the exception of the Rowlandson account, which relates even the journey and sojourn to biblical antecedents, the action dimension of Puritan captivities provides little information for the popular culture researcher.

The least significant dimension of these accounts, however, is setting. Although the setting is a significant dimension of the formula Western, it is inconsequential in Puritan captivities. Obviously, in the immediate days following capture, the narrator is often too bewildered and exhausted to pay attention to his route,

the terrain, or the environment. At best, the narrators refer to known cities or forts, and may even mention something of the general route they travel. More commonly, narrators simply mention prolonged marching over rough terrain and lack of food or rest, and, for the remainder supply only generalized comments about life in an Indian village. Anthropological and sociological detail does not become important in captivity narratives until later, eighteenth-century accounts. Gyles' narrative hints at this development, and he later enlarges a chapter on native animals to meet the growing interest in such topics by the year 1736.[46]

But for most Americans living in the eighteenth century, the wilderness remained a "howling desart" in need of cultivation. Travelers in the eighteenth century frequently commented upon the potential greatness yet unrevealed in land belonging to Indians. Christopher Gist, a traveler in the Ohio country in mid-century, thought the wilderness "wants Nothing but Cultivation to make it a most delightful Country." Thomas Pownall, another traveler during the 1750s, wrote:

> with what an overflowing Joy does the Heart melt, while one views the Banks where rising farms, new Fields, or flowering Orchards began to illuminate this Face of Nature; nothing can be more delightful to the Eye, nothing go with more penetrating Sensation to the Heart.

Pownall did not react joyously to the wilderness <u>per se</u>, but, like the Puritans, anticipated what that wilderness would become under the guiding hand of civilized man, who would bring order and harmony, and thereby make a new garden in a new Eden. Later, Tocqueville

would observe that life in the wilderness must lead to a bias against it, for one must fight for survival and for success.[47]

It was this bias that kept the wilderness and its native Indian inhabitants from earning any significant, positive place in Indian captivity tales by Puritans. Moreover, most individuals clung tenaciously to their belief in the essential savagery of and, therefore, the evil inherent in the Indian that must be resolved by an advancing white society. The Indian would be "improved," or he would be destroyed. Yet, at the same time, other observers, especially non-Puritans, frequently questioned the benefits of interracial contact, particularly for the Indian. As early as 1705, Robert Beverley, writing in The History and Present State of Virginia, warned whites that they had contributed only alcoholism, increased greed, and petty materialism to the Indian's lot, with the resultant loss of "felicity as well as . . . Innocence." John Lawson's History of North Carolina (1708) was even more forceful in condemning his fellow whites' treatment of the Indian:

> They met with Enemies when we came amongst them; for they are no nearer Christianity now, than they were at the first Discovery, to all Appearance. They have learned several vices of the Europeans, but not one Vertue, as I know of.

Lawson's 1708 observation captured the essence of the Indian's condition, a condition destined to deteriorate as the century continued.[48]

For the Puritan, however, the Indian captivity narrative was a clear indictment of the Indian for his savagery, and an equally clear authorization for further violence and hostile behavior against all Indians. Thus, one soon comes to realize that the

Indian captivity narrative of this period reflects and reaffirms the central precepts of a religious philosophy that permeates every aspect of Puritan life. It is a genre thoroughly infused with all the beliefs and values of the society which both produced the captivity tale and provided the audience for that narrative. The representative works examined in this chapter confirm many of Cawelti's hypotheses about the role of formula literature. The Indian captivity narrative is, indeed, a vital part of the Puritan's New World experience, retelling the dreams, the fears, and the beliefs of the settler in a hostile environment. Success over this environment did not come easily, and victory over hostile forces was reserved for those Puritans with the faith and fortitude to establish their New Jerusalem in the presence of their foes, namely Satan himself and his many allies, both Indian and Jesuit.

All our way to Heaven
lies by the Dens of
Lions and the Mounts
of Leopards.
--Cotton Mather

NOTES, CHAPTER I

[1]Mintner, "By Dens of Lions," p. 346.

[2]Kenneth B. Murdock, Literature and Theology in Colonial New England (Cambridge: Harvard Univ. Press, 1949), pp. 3-5, 6-7, 18-19. My introduction attempts merely to sketch the main tenets of Puritan literary and social theory in order to provide the framework for an examination of the formula of the Indian captivity narrative. For full exploration of Puritanism, see, for example, Murdock, Bercovitch, or Perry Miller, The New England Mind: The Seventeenth Century (Cambridge: Harvard Univ. Press, 1967).

[3]Murdock, pp. 72-74.

[4]Pp. 74-77.

[5]Pp. 91-92, 95.

[6]Pp. 95-97.

[7]Roderick Nash, Wilderness and the American Mind (New Haven: Yale Univ. Press, 1967), pp. 14-17.

[8]P. 24.

[9]Pp. 24-25.

[10]Pp. 31, 33-35; for a dissenting view, see Alan Heimert, "Puritanism, The Wilderness, and the Frontier," New England Quarterly, 26 (September 1953), 361-382. Heimert argues that the Puritans' attitude towards the wilderness grew out of their American experience and was not part of their European heritage.

[11]Roger Williams, A Key into the Language of America (1643), ed. J. Hammond Trumbull, Publications of the Narragansett Club, I (Providence, 1866), p. 130; Michael Wigglesworth, God's Controversy with New England (1662), in Proceedings of the Massachusetts Historical Society, 12 (1871), pp. 83-84; Cotton Mather, Magnalia Christi Americana (1702), 2 vols. (Hartford, 1853), I, p. 42; Mather, Decennium Luctuosum: An History of Remarkable Occurrences in the Long War which New-England hath had with the Indian Salvages (1699), in C. H. Lincoln, ed., Narratives of the Indian Wars, 1675-1699, in Original Narratives of Early American History, 19 (New York, 1913),

p. 242; Thomas Shepard, The Clear Sunshine of the Gospel Breaking Forth upon the Indians in New England (1648), in Joseph Sabin, Sabin's Reprints, 10 volumes (New York, 1865), X, 1; all cited in Nash, pp. 34, 36-37.

[12]Cotton Mather, Magnalia Christi Americana (1702), 2 volumes (New York: Russell & Russell, 1967), II, p. 390.

[13]John Winthrop, "General Considerations," in Young, Chronicles of the First Planters of the Colony of Mass. Bay (Boston, 1846), p. 272, in Savages, p. 21; Captive, p. xiv. For further discussion of Puritan land claims, see G. E. Thomas, "Puritans, Indians, and the Concept of Race," New England Quarterly, 48 (March 1975), 10-11.

[14]Barbeau, "Indian Captivities," pp. 523, 530.

[15]Savages, pp. 10-11, 25-26. Pearce cites Daniel Gookin, director of settlements of converted Indians in the colonies, and known to be lenient in his views, as sadly admitting that with few exceptions, Indians remain far from Puritan precepts, particularly because of their continuing interest in paganism and conjuring. Hallowell, p. 525; Cawelti, Six-Gun Mystique, p. 52.

[16]Mary Rowlandson, The Soveraignty and Goodness of God, Together with the Faithfulness of His Promises Displayed; Being a Narrative of the Captivity and Restauration of Mrs. Mary Rowlandson (1682), in Captive, pp. 42-45, 47, 53, 57, 64, 69, passim.

[17]Pp. 46-47, 49, 63, 75-76, passim. Cotton Mather's biography of John Eliot includes a statement attributed to Eliot who said the Indians remain "doleful creatures, . . . the veriest ruines of mankind," Magnalia, I, p. 504, in Savages, p. 29.

[18]Rowlandson, in Captive, pp. 76-77; John Gyles, Memoirs of Odd Adventures, Strange Deliverances, Etc., in the Captivity of John Gyles, Esq., Commander of the Garrison on St. George River, in the District of Maine (1736), in Captive, pp. 112-114; Elizabeth Hanson, An Account of the Captivity of Elizabeth Hanson, Now Late of Kachecky, in New England: Who, with Four of her Children and Servant Maid, was taken captive by the Indians, and carried into Canada. Setting forth the various remarkable Occurrences, sore Trials, and wonderful Deliverances which befel them after their Departure, to the Time of their Redemption. Taken in Substance from her own Mouth, by Samuel Bownas (1728), in Captive, p. 143; Cotton Mather, Decennium Luctuosum (1699), in Lincoln, pp. 208-213; similar accounts may be found throughout Mather's work. Rev. John Williams, The Redeemed Captive Returning to Zion, or The Captivity and Deliverance of Rev. John Williams of Deerfield (1707) (Springfield, Mass.: H. R. Hunting Co., 1908 rpt. of 6th edn. of 1795), p. xii. For a lighter view of conjuring as seen by Indian versus Puritan, see

Wm. Hubbard, A Narrative of the Troubles with the Indians, in Geo. F. Horner and Robt. A. Bain, eds., Colonial and Federalist American Writing (New York: Odyssey Press, 1966), pp. 61-62. Hubbard contrasts the position of Mohegin Sachem, Uncas, to that of Rev. Fitch of Norwich.

[19]Hallowell, p. 525. This idea becomes increasingly commonplace in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, finding supporters among Paine, Jefferson, Jackson, and others. See also the singular narrative by Capt. John Smith, detailing his three-weeks' captivity among Pamunkey Indians in 1607-1608. Smith reveals his belief in the innate superiority of white culture by citing examples of how he fools the Indians, whom he depicts as ignorant, superstitious, and gullible. John Smith, The General Historie of Virginia, New England, and the Summer Isles (1624), in Dorson, America Begins, pp. 172-176, passim. For a dissenting view on the Pocohontas incident, see Henry Adams' essay on John Smith in Historical Essays (New York: Scribner's, 1891), pp. 42-79. Hannah Swarton, Narrative (1702), in Magnalia, II, pp. 357-361; Hanson, in Captive, p. 141.

[20]Savages, pp. 53-75, passim; Earl Edward Muntz, Race Contact (New York, 1927), p. 46, in G. E. Thomas, p. 11.

[21]Daniel Belding, Narrative (ca. 1698), in George Sheldon, ed., A History of Deerfield Massachusetts (1895-1896), 2 vols. (Somersworth, New Hampshire: New Hampshire Publishing Co., 1972), I, p. 255.

[22]Thomas, p. 11; John Underhill, "News from New England" (1638), in Charles Orr, History of the Pequot War (Cleveland, 1897), p. 81, in Thomas, p. 15.

[23]Hannah Dustan, Narrative (1697), in Magnalia, II, pp. 634-635.

[24]Cawelti, Adventure, Mystery, and Romance, Ch. 8, passim. See also The Six-Gun Mystique for an extensive discussion of this topic. Frederick Jackson Turner, The Frontier in American History (New York: Holt, 1920), pp. 2-3, in Hallowell, p. 526. Two narratives dealing with captives who refuse redemption are Williams' account of his daughter, Eunice, and Hanson's recollection of her eldest daughter who, fortunately, is ransomed by a young French-Canadian in order that they may be married. Perhaps the most infamous renegades of all are the Girty brothers who will be discussed in later chapters.

[25]Thomas notes that after 1694, the Massachusetts General Court offered bounties on Indian scalps, a practice continuing well into the eighteenth century. Rates were based on a sliding scale,

ranging from 10 pounds for women and small boys up to 100 pounds for adult males and youths. Thomas also notes that scalping--even skinning--was reserved for Indians and animals, since the British did not scalp the French during any of their wars (Thomas, pp. 21-22). For a recent, popular study of Indian Wars, particularly King Philip's, see: Henry LaChance, "The Most Dangerous War in New England's History," Yankee, 40 (September 1976), 84-91.

[26]Murdock cites an amusing example of Puritan patriotism mixed with prejudice in Crashaw's apology for St. Theresa's Spanish Origins:

> What soule soever in any Language can
> Speak heaven like hers, is my soules country-man.
> O 'tis not Spanish, but 'tis heaven she speakes.

Murdock, p. 18.

[27]Rowlandson, in Captive, p. 66; Gyles, in Captive, pp. 98, 123.

[28]Swarton, in Magnalia, II, p. 359; Mehuman Hinsdale, Narrative (1712), in Sheldon, I, p. 368. Sheldon notes that in addition to being the first white man born in Deerfield, Hinsdale was twice captured, and was also sent to France during his second captivity where he was kindly received. Joseph Bartlett, Narrative (1712), in Joshua Coffin, A Sketch of the History of Newbury, Newburyport, and West Newbury, from 1635-1845 (Boston: Samuel G. Drake, 1845), pp. 331-334. Bartlett, a soldier, was held captive from 1707-1711. Taken with several others at Haverhill, he was forced to travel at a fast pace to Chamblee. Eventually, he was taken to Montreal to be adopted by an Indian squaw as a replacement for her son whom the British had killed. Later, Bartlett was adopted by a French family where he remained for the duration of his captivity.

[29]Williams, pp. 38-43. Rarely does a narrator touch upon the causes of the war, even when he is part of the military. Barbeau discusses Indian Wars and suggests the Deerfield Raid (in which Williams was captured) was to recover a bell cast in France for the Catholic Mohawk mission near Montreal. The bell had been seized by the British on the high seas and was eventually sold to the Deerfield church. The raid was ordered by De Vaudreuil himself (Barbeau, p. 523).

[30]Williams, pp. 44-45.

[31]Pp. 72-74, 80-81, 88-89.

[32]Rowlandson, in Captive, pp. 47-48, 58, 70-72.

[33]Pp. 89-90.

[34]Swarton, in Magnalia, II, pp. 356-358, 360.

[35]P. 357; Dustan, in Magnalia, II, p. 635.

[36]Williams, pp. 7-8, 17.

[37]Pp. 48, 88-89; Hanson, in Captive, p. 148.

[38]Rowlandson, in Captive, pp. 43-44, 83-84.

[39]Gyles, in Captive, p. 129; Dustan, in Magnalia, II, p. 636; Williams, pp. 22, 26; Rowlandson, in Captive, p. 90.

[40]Quentin Stockwell, Narrative (1683), in Increase Mather, Remarkable Providences (London: Reeves & Turner, 1890 rpt. of 1683 edn.), p. 30; Gyles, in Captive, pp. 111-112; Hanson, in Captive, p. 144; Williams, pp. 19-20, 32-34, 47-48; Sarah Gerish, Narrative (1688), in Magnalia, II, pp. 592-593; Bartlett, in Coffin, pp. 331-333. Rowlandson also raises the idea of reverse providences, i.e., God's assistance to the Indians to show Puritans how angry He is at their sins. Among these reverse providences, Rowlandson includes various Indian victories, preservation of the Indians so they might continue to harrass the English, and allowing the Indians to tolerate terrible food after the English had destroyed the Indians' crops (pp. 81-82).

[41]Williams, pp. 145-162, passim.

[42]Mintner, p. 346; Rowlandson, in Captive, pp. 44, 46-47, 49-50, 57, passim.

[43]Swarton, in Magnalia, II, pp. 358-359; Hanson, in Captive, p. 146. For a discussion of narratives altered for propaganda purposes, see VanDerBeets' notes, Captive, pp. 133-134.

[44]Rowlandson, in Captive, pp. 58, 60-61, 73-74; Gerish, in Magnalia, II, p. 593; Hanson, in Captive, pp. 134, 141.

[45]Rowlandson, in Captive, p. 58; Gyles, in Captive, pp. 99-100; Williams, pp. 48-76, passim; Bartlett, in Coffin, pp. 333-334; Hinsdale, in Sheldon, I, pp. 367-368. Hinsdale hints at promises of good treatment for information on British plans for the French, plus threats of ill-treatment if Hinsdale doesn't comply. Williams, pp. 89ff; Bartlett, in Coffin, pp. 333-334. In all fairness to Bartlett, however, Fr. Meriel comes off as more humane than Williams depicts him, but considering Williams' role as a Puritan minister, one is not surprised by his view of the Jesuit.

[46]Gyles, in Captive, p. 93.

[47]Wm. M. Darlington, ed., Christopher Gist's Journals (Pittsburgh, 1893), p. 47; Thomas Pownall, A Topographical Description of . . . Parts of North America (1776), rpt. as A Topographical Description of the Dominions of the United States of America, ed. Lois Mulkearn (Pittsburgh, 1949), p. 31, in Nash, pp. 32-33, 43.

[48]Robert Beverley, The History and Present State of Virginia (1705), p. 189; John Lawson, The History of North Carolina (1708), pp. 251-252, in Savages, pp. 43-45.

CHAPTER II

NARRATIVES OF THE FRENCH AND INDIAN WARS

By 1750, changes in cultural values that marked the European Enlightenment were also being experienced in the American colonies. New attitudes and interests co-existed with the traditional. Social, political, scientific, and economic issues vied with religion for the attention of the American reader in the 1750s. Meanwhile, American society became increasingly mobile. New highways were constructed, while guide books, travel narratives, and "natural histories" reflected the growing secularization of the eighteenth-century mind.[1]

One of the great new interests of the eighteenth-century colonists was the American interior. At the start of the century, few British colonists had any ideas about the nature of America's interior; fewer still had even seen it. Furthermore, British authorities saw little reason for settling the interior. Parliament thought about settlement only in terms of protecting the seaboard or safeguarding the fur trade. Even when the French were defeated in 1763, many British officials wanted the interior to remain off-limits to all would-be settlers.[2]

For Franklin and other visionaries, however, the West was invaluable. As early as 1751, Franklin pointed out that colonial

population would double every twenty years. The west would become a great safety-valve to vent such a rapidly-growing population. More importantly, however, Franklin saw the promise of "agricultural expansion . . . without breaking the economic and political integration centered in London."[3]

Franklin also contributed much to the myth of Western greatness. This motif was repeated in Freneau and Brackenridge's "The Rising Glory of America" (1771), in Thomas Hutchins' Historical Narrative and Topographical Description of Louisiana, and West Florida (1784), in Dwight's Greenfield Hill (1794), and eventually in Whitman's Passage to India (1871). But as early as 1720, Bishop Berkeley had written "Westward the course of empire takes its way." Travel was natural to the colonists whose ancestors had made the hazardous journey to America some years earlier. As the spirit of adventure again caught Americans' attention, they began to wonder about America's wilderness interior.[4]

Both the Enlightenment and Romanticism challenged traditional beliefs about the evil lurking in the wilderness by insisting instead on God's presence in His creation. If people came to associate God with the wilderness, then it could not be as cursed or godless as the Puritans believed. Thomas Burnet's The Sacred Theory of the Earth (1684) and John Ray's The Wisdom of God Manifested in the Works of the Creation (1691) argued that mountainous, natural settings were all part of God's handiwork and perhaps might even be His ideal creations. "From the feeling that uncivilized regions bespoke God's

influence rather than Satan's, it was just a step to perceiving a beauty and grandeur in wild scenery comparable to that of God."[5]

One of the first Americans to develop this changing attitude about nature was William Byrd, whose History of the Dividing Line (1728) is "the first extensive American commentary on wilderness that reveals a feeling other than hostility." Byrd generally depicts nature in a positive way. For example, at one stop, Byrd's surveying party declines beds in a planter's house and sleeps outdoors, because "mankind are the great Losers by the Luxury of Feather-Beds and warm apartments." When the survey party reaches the Appalachian Mountains, Byrd's Romantic awareness becomes obvious as he speaks of a "Charming Situation" and its spectacular view. Leaving the area later, he repeatedly glances back for one more look, "as if unwilling to part with a Prospect, which at the same time, like some Rake's, was very wild and very Agreeable."[6]

After Byrd's wilderness adventure, colonial scientists exploring nature began to express similar views. By the 1750s, such individuals as John Bartram, Mark Catesby, John Clayton, Peter Kalm, and Andrew Michoux were writing "natural histories" gleaned from the vast laboratory of the American wilderness, revealing favorable opinions of the "Glorious Works of the Creator."[7]

While some individuals wrote of nature, others wrote accounts which simultaneously enjoyed a widespread popularity, namely, the genre of the exaggerated, even fictional histories of colonies or regions. Two popular works are Robert Beverley's History and Present State of Virginia (1705), and John Lawson's History of North Carolina

(1708). Although Lawson is prone to exaggeration, his history, like Beverley's, reveals a growing interest in the eighteenth-century equivalents of botany, biology, and zoology. Many other writers espoused these new interests, and many popularized accounts aroused their readers' avid interest in the wilderness and its inhabitants, both animal and human.[8]

By the 1750s, interest in sources of human behavior had become popular, as writers examined the sociological and ethnological customs of whites and Indians alike. As early as 1704, Sarah Kemble Knight commented upon the pecularities of people she saw during a journey from Boston to New York. Alexander Hamilton's Itinerarium (1744) examines the fashions and customs of several cities he visits in the colonies. Accounts such as these reflect the growing interest in a variety of cities, regions, even cultures.[9]

As the century continued, many writers directed their interest to the Indian himself, interest rekindled by the Enlightenment despite the preponderance of anti-Indian sentiment. Investigators frequently discovered a complex culture worthy of their attention, even when many did not necessarily believe it equal to civilization. The writer, as much as the reader, finds it difficult to accept an alien culture whose members "achieve their ends in ways which seem to deny the fundamental moral, social, and political hypotheses of [one's own] society." Yet, despite their cultural prejudices, many eighteenth-century writers examined Indian culture to the delight of interested readers.[10]

In addition to chapters in histories devoted to the Indians, as well as journals by individuals who had first-hand knowledge of the Indians, some works were devoted entirely to a study of the Indian. For example, Cadwallader Colden's History of the Five Nations (1727), provides a wealth of detail concerning the Mohawk, Oneida, Onondaga, Cayuga, and Seneca Indian cultures. Colden examines each nation's government and describes wars and alliances between the French and Indians. In addition to the many details popular in such histories, Colden attempts also to define the Indian character, as in the two extensive accounts of the unusual bravery and cunning of one Piskaret.[11]

Some writers, Colden among them, even stress the literary eloquence of Indian speakers. Both Colden and Conrad Weiser (Journal, 1748) cite examples of the Indian's picturesque language, filled with metaphor and symbolism. Such speeches became increasingly popular during the last quarter of the eighteenth century, when Indians frequently appear in literature as the critics of white civilization. For example, during the French and Indian Wars, the Gentleman's Magazine published various Indian speeches, including those attributed to representatives of the Five Nations who met with colonists at Albany in 1754.[12]

Thus, the Indian was on his way to a position of importance in Colonial American literature. Romanticism, Primitivism, and the Enlightenment, combined with the rise of a secular audience having access to increased publications, encouraged new attitudes towards the Indian--even if only in literature. Such individuals as Colden,

Beverley, Lawson, and Byrd, among others, talked of inter-racial problems and urged better treatment for the Indian. Nevertheless, the conflict between civilization and savagery intensified as popular views polarized. Even those who supported the concept of the Noble Savage foresaw his inevitable demise. The Indian's speeches might be eloquent, but that eloquence also conveyed increasing awareness of his fate as vanishing American.[13]

Meanwhile, the variety of attitudes and the complex interests present in the eighteenth century are reflected in the Indian captivity narratives from the French and Indian Wars. By 1750, society was far less homogeneous than it had been in 1650, so cultural ritual was less clearly defined. The struggle between civilization and savagery becomes complex. Although many captivities reveal the dominant theme of the struggle between White and Indian, few accounts depict that captivity as a salutory, testing experience. Instead, the captivity is often developed for its sensational value, revealing terrors in great detail to shock the reader and to encourage sales of the narrative as an early pulp-thriller. In some accounts, sensational elements were heightened for propaganda value to incite the public against Indian and French-Canadian alike.

At the same time, the struggle between civilization and savagery is compounded as some narrators discuss acculturation, while others find positive values and admirable individuals in Indian society. Several accounts reveal a growing concern for the Indian's future. Narrator and Indian often realize a way of life is passing with the advance of civilization. In such narratives, genuine

friendship between captive and Indian is frequently described by the narrator or depicted in eloquent statements by the friendly Indian, thereby contributing to his image as the Noble Savage.

As cultural ritual becomes more complex, so do the dimensions of the narrative formula. No longer is characterization minimal, particularly in those narratives which challenge the traditional view of the Indian. Many narrators and Indians alike are developed beyond the one-dimensional stereotypes of Puritan narratives. The action likewise receives more attention, if only for sensational effect. Setting also reveals increased development. In addition to examining life in an Indian village, many narrators describe geography, climate, vegetation, and animals in the locale, thereby contributing to the reader's awareness of, and curiosity about, his environment in the eighteenth century.

In all these areas, the captivity narrative reveals that a formerly homogeneous, predictable, even rigid society was changing, accommodating new views. The captivity tales no longer lend themselves to specific cataloguing because the narrators no longer fit predetermined molds. Perusal of representative narratives from the French and Indian Wars (about 1744-1764) documents these observations.

Few captivity narratives characteristically explore the conflict between Protestant and Catholic. Jemima Howe (Captivity and Sufferings, . . . 1755) simply regrets her daughter is to be educated in a convent school "of superstition and bigotry." Robert Eastburn (Faithful Narrative . . . 1758), a Presbyterian deacon, actually warns his English peers of their own weaknesses by contrasting their

backsliding to the religious fervor of French and Indians. He also credits the French for showing better care in dealing with the Indians than the British have, particularly in banning liquor and in encouraging trust between the races. Eastburn's Jeremiad concludes with the warning that his captivity was meant as a punishment for ignoring God and one's fellow man. The colonists must repent, reform, and unite for the preservation of their religion and community alike.[14]

Just as attacks on Catholics decline in many eighteenth-century captivities, so do instances of "special providences." When this motif is present, it is little more than a literary convention, lacking the conviction and importance formerly present in Puritan captivity tales. Howe simply credits "divine assistance" with preserving her during a long march to Canada. Later, "ever-present and all-powerful Providence" comforts her during a bad storm and guides her to St. Johns. Finally, "Providence" reveals her young children are alive. Col. James Smith (Remarkable Occurrences . . . 1755-1759 [1799]) approaches his captivity "resigned to the will of Providence," and later credits "Providence" with his preservation during a blizzard. Thomas Brown (Narrative, 1760), near starvation, shoots a partridge and two pigeons sent him "by Providence," and John M'Cullough (Narrative, 1764) recalls various rescues, Indian kindnesses, and general preservation of his life throughout his captivity, and sees in them "the hand of Providence, remarkably conspicuous, throughout the whole." In these and other accounts, "special providences" are minimized or simply reduced to a literary device by

narrators who do not belong to a homogeneous society, as do early Puritans.[15]

Although certain elements common to Puritan captivity narratives diminish in the eighteenth century, dominant fear and hatred of the Indian do not. Torture, atrocities, and all the horrors commonly believed to be part of Indian captivity are paraded before the reader to remind him of the dangers of frontier life, and to arouse his antipathy to the Indian, to his French ally, or even to foot-dragging British officials who fail to launch all-out attacks upon the enemy after more than fifty years of continuing conflicts. Sensationalism for propagandistic purposes fills many narratives, among them accounts by Peter Williamson (1757), Captain John Carver (1757), and Robert Eastburn.

At age seventeen, Peter Williamson married a wealthy woman, whose relatives gave the couple land in Eastern Pennsylvania. Williamson's wife is away visiting relatives when he is captured. As the Indians move on, they continue to plunder, kill, and take captives to torture. Williamson endures excruciating torture, but lives to record the fate of several others, including a family that is burned, but not before their entrails are slowly removed while they are yet alive. After recalling many such events in gory detail, Williamson then adds a moral coda, so that the reader caught up in the sensationalism will not forget the propaganda.

> From these few instances of savage cruelty, the deplorable situation of the defenceless inhabitants, and what they hourly suffered in that part of the globe, must strike the utmost horror, and cause in every breast the utmost

> detestation, not only against the authors, but against those who, through inattention, or pusillanimous or erroneous principles, suffered these savages at first, unrepelled, or even unmolested, to commit such outrages, depredation, and murders.

Williamson's indictment of Indian savagery, lax officials, and even Quaker pacifism is an archetype for later narratives directed at Indians and their allies, including the British in the American Revolution, while his rhetoric is but a mild forerunner of the overblown invective so common in later narratives, Gothic tales, and pulp thrillers. In many ways, Williamson's narrative is a microcosm of the literary productions then finding audiences in America.[16]

The Carver narrative provides fuel for anti-French, anti-Indian sentiments during the peak of hostilities between the British and the French with their Indian allies. Carver, a British captain, describes the massacre of numerous British soldiers and civilians following the surrender of Fort William Henry in 1757. Although General Montcalm promises honorable terms and full protection, the French troops stand by idly while Indians take everyone's clothes and weapons, kill the sick and wounded, and then begin to kill all British troops and civilians. To further damn the French, Carver adds that many troops heap verbal abuse upon British citizens seeking French protection. Although Carver is seized by the Indians and expects to die shortly, he escapes to the safety of a nearby woods, and, on a hill overlooking the area, observes a massacre that continues for hours until 1,500 individuals are killed or captured.[17]

Despite Carver's restraint, he clearly condemns the French leadership for tacitly allowing the Indian attack and for ignoring

the articles of capitulation. At the same time, by citing examples of Indian atrocities to British civilians, including a twelve-year-old boy, Carver subtly evokes the reader's disdain for the enemy. Finally, by recalling the horrified reaction of French-Canadian civilians, Carver implies the massacre is yet more blatantly dastardly, not having the backing of even enemy civilians.[18]

Although Carver largely uses innuendo for his propaganda, Eastburn's attack on Governor de Vaudreuil is far more blatantly vicious. One of the few British captives to show outright hostility to the French governor, Eastburn says he actually bestows gifts on the Indians to encourage them to kill and capture colonists even during peacetime. The writer depicts the governor as an inhuman monster, who criticizes the Indians for capturing a lame old man who eats their food but does nothing in return. "You should, said he, have brought his Scalp!" Finally, Eastburn claims that many English captives have been forced to become the governor's personal slaves.[19]

Actually, the practice of adopting captives existed among the Indians long before the advent of French or English influence. Captives were taken to replace members of the tribe who had been killed in battle or died by other means. As for Eastburn's claim that the French-Canadian authorities encouraged the Indians to take captives, several anthropologists, among them Barbeau, reply that the French "always found the captivities repugnant, and they were kindly to the captives." Perhaps Eastburn's assertion that the governor keeps captives for his slaves is merely propagandistic, or perhaps even an example of projection, for the English frequently

sold Indians into slavery, a practice that garnered "the eternal hatred of the Abenakis." Thus, many of Eastburn's assertions are as specious as the fictional narratives that began to appear during the French and Indian Wars.[20]

To meet a growing public interest in the Indian captivity narrative, would-be writers and some editors began to contribute fictionalized narratives to their eager audiences. Such narratives became increasingly sensational in the final quarter of the eighteenth century, and often included a dashing hero, a beauteous Noble Savage maiden responsible for the hero's rescue from certain death, and sufficient adventures to satisfy any enthusiast.

The Narrative of the Adventures of Captain Isaac Stewart (1782) professes to give an account of Stewart's captivity during Pontiac's Conspiracy (1763-64). The meager details of the captivity, the great distances purportedly covered, and the bizarre accounts of Stewart's adventures generally discredit the validity of this narrative. Stewart's exaggerated claims, plus the fact that the account was published many years after the supposed events, throw suspicion on Stewart's account. Nevertheless, the kind of material that Stewart introduces says something of the captivity narrative's popularity, as well as of the popularity of details about the country and its inhabitants. Thus, the narrative formula was changing, reflecting the growing interests of eighteenth-century colonists. At the same time, it was also alerting the readers to new interests and attitudes, thereby supporting Cawelti's hypothesis that formula

stories assist in society's adjustment to changing attitudes and values.[21]

Much interest centers upon those captives who found Indian life "better" than the civilization they had previously known. And so acculturation becomes another significant theme in many captivity tales. Hallowell favors the term transculturalization, since Indian captives are part of a "process whereby individuals under a variety of circumstances are temporarily or permanently detached from one group, enter the web of social relations that constitute another society, and come under the influence of its customs, ideas, and values to a greater or lesser degree." The degree of influence varies, the determining factor seeming to be the captive's age at the onset of captivity. Heard has shown that transculturalization is nearly total for captured children under twelve.[22]

Many examples support the findings of Hallowell and Heard. For example, Frances Noble's Narrative (1768) presents the interesting case of two children taken at infancy. Joseph remains with the St. Francis Indians, becoming totally acculturated in appearance and actions. When he again meets his young sister, Frances, who is being raised by a French family, his appearance terrifies the girl. When Fanny's real parents ransom her thirteen years after her captivity, she cries desperately for her French parents and must be forced to return to the colonies. This situation occurs many times in similar captivities. John M'Cullough, age eight, and his brother, age five, captured in Pennsylvania, remain with Indians for over eight years, becoming totally acculturated. John's Narrative (1765)

frequently describes raids upon the whites from an Indian's perspective. Like Frances Noble, John must be bound when he is returned to his own family, but he escapes back to the Indians, where he remains for more than a year before again being ransomed. By then, he has completely forgotten both family and native language--a common factor in many captivity accounts of children.[23]

Perhaps the most well-known child captive of the French and Indian Wars is Mary Jemison, captured in 1755 at age twelve. She remained with the Indians all her life, quickly adopting their language and ways; she married twice, and had several children. Before 1763, she fought the British, yet assisted them during the Revolution. Her friends included Colonel Butler and the famous half-breed, Joseph Brandt. Throughout her life, she resisted all efforts to force her return to white society.[24]

The refusal to return to civilization bothered Puritan and Enlightenment thinker alike. The Puritan had a calling from God to "improve" the Indian's lot by bringing him to civilization and Christianity. Therefore, any Puritan who voluntarily stayed with the Indians, freely adopting an "inferior" culture, was either guilty of a heinous crime or had been mesmerized by Satan and his Jesuit agents. The Enlightenment thinker, meanwhile, saw voluntary adoption of Indian society as both contrary to reason and to the normal order of progress from chaos to order, from savagery to civilization. Even captives who found genuine friendship among their Indian captors and who were at home in the wilderness as

traders, surveyors, or trappers, could not forget their origins or their duties to civilization.[25]

Although Smith admires the Indians' mutual trust, general harmony, and reliance upon the deity as their provider, he stresses "the absolute necessity of the civil law in order to govern mankind." Smith forms a deep friendship with an old Indian chief, a younger chief, and the latter's youthful son, but does not forget who he is nor where his loyalties lie. After he's freed, Smith leads a band of disguised "warriors" against traders supplying war goods to hostile Indians. In 1778, he leads his fellow whites against Indians attacking Patriot settlers. Both times, Smith uses knowledge gained from his captivity to benefit his own race.[26]

Alexander Henry, trader and traveler in the Northwest territory, describes his adventures and captivity (Travels and Adventures, . . . 1760-1766 [1809]) with Wawatam, his Indian captor, who saves his life more than once. Henry's recollection of his experience and the sad farewells on both sides lend credence to his claim that "I did not quit the lodge without the most grateful sense of the many acts of goodness which I had experienced in it, nor without the sincerest respect for the virtues which I had witnessed among its members." But Henry never forgets his identity as a civilized white man, nor does he abandon his cultural prejudices. He admires a natural nobility in the Indian, but realizes it is a nobility based on emotion and instinct. The Indian lacks the rational and intellectual elements of civilization: "the records of history, the pursuits of science, the disquisitions of philosophy, the

system of politics, the business and the amusements of the day." All these are absent in the Indian's world, and for that, says Henry, the Indian is so much the poorer. Even the most objective and gentle of narrators show their civilization to be inherently superior to savagery, and so the majority welcome the opportunity to return to their own society.[27]

Rarely does a captivity narrative present the opposite view, the attitude of one who refuses to return to his own society, largely because the transculturite has no motivation to write or speak of a captivity no longer regarded as such. Two exceptions are Eunice Williams and Mary Jemison.

The Williams account is available only through the record of another captive, Nehemiah How (Narrative, 1748), who frequently encountered Eunice Williams, daughter of Puritan divine, John Williams, during How's captivity in Quebec. Eunice's Indian husband, Amrusus, is very hospitable to How, who admits the two seem quite happy and contented in Canada, but he is saddened to learn of repeated failures by Eunice's family to reclaim her.[28]

The Jemison narrative challenges whites' notions about Indian life as well as about the values of white civilization itself. Jemison remembers the happiness Indians shared during peacetime, especially before the introduction of alcohol by whites. Jemison warns that all attempts to civilize or Christianize Indians are futile, for Indians have little reason to adopt these trappings. Moreover, argues Jemison, inter-racial contact has only brought the Indian white vices, particularly abuse of alcohol and all its related

evils, while the Indian's natural virtues are eroded by contact with the whites. Native children taken to white schools quickly become Indian again when they return home. Although the Indian society provides full status as functioning members to adopted white captives, white society does not reciprocate. Throughout colonial history, negative racial characteristics are regarded as being too much a part of the Indian's nature to permit him to cross over. Hence, Jemison firmly believes "Indians must and will be Indians, in spite of all the means . . . used for their cultivation in the sciences and arts."[29]

Most Englishmen failed to grasp this fact in the eighteenth century, and most Americans would do likewise in the nineteenth. Occasionally, an Indian captive saw hopes for a balanced relationship between the races. Eastburn admits that the French are prudent in banning sale of alcohol to Indians. French-Canadians caught ignoring the ban lost their religious privileges of confession and absolution. Another English captive, Thomas Morris (Journal, 1791), repeats Eastburn's observation, and then offers additional recommendations which a Calvinist like Eastburn would find untenable. Morris praises the French for encouraging inter-racial marriages. The advantages are numerous; the French spouse becomes privy to Indian councils, marriage implying full trust and acceptance among Indians. Through such marriage, Morris points out, the French also acquire a powerful ally against their enemies, and gain access to Indian trade, fisheries, and fur trapping. Morris also condemns the folly of English traders and their many deceitful dealings with the

Indians, which often arouse them to violent revenge against innocent settlers.[30]

Many narrators obviously reveal increasing awareness of the complexities of Indian culture, pointing to both positive values and to admirable individuals. Other narrators suggest ways to improve relations between the two races by following the example of the French. Unfortunately, a vital difference between the French and the English doomed these suggestions to failure.

By and large, the French were traders, trappers, or fisherman, but they were not primarily settlers as were the British. The French did not seek to cultivate the soil nor to domesticate the wilderness extensively; consequently, they did not disturb the hunting territory of the Indian. Equally important, the Jesuits came to America to convert the Indians to Christianity, whereas the Puritans were not a proselytizing sect of the Church of England, itself quite lax in its missionary outreach until well into the eighteenth century. When the French are finally defeated and a vast American interior looms as potential homeland for seaboard colonists, the Indian's fate is all but sealed. His lands will be seized and his forests destroyed for farms. Agriculture is the American hope of the future, not trapping or even trading. The Indian who once shared the land with the French would learn that the demands of British civilization were far greater than those of the French or the Jesuits. Like his seaboard counterpart, the Indian of America's interior reaches would be given the choice of adopting civilization and the agrarian life or dying. This dilemma becomes increasingly

evident in later narratives, as narrator and Indian alike ponder the future of America.[31]

In the narratives under study, one can see that important changes appear in many dimensions of the formula captivity tale. No longer does cultural or collective ritual hold the central position it held in Puritan captivities. The eventual decline of Puritanism and Puritan typology, coupled with the increased production of diverse literary genres by a growing, secular press, combined to offer the public an abundance of popular literature. The interesting human beings encountered by colonial travelers soon found their Indian counterparts in the longer captivity tales. As writers and readers become more sophisticated, characterization reveals a growing literary awareness through the development of more life-like personalities. As narrators begin to grasp the complexities of Indian culture, they can also see the Indian as more than a one-dimensional stereotype. Increased skill with dialogue and description help captor and captive alike to emerge as believable human beings. No longer is the Indian simply God's tool created to test the narrator; no longer is the narrator an unwilling pawn in the divine struggle between good and evil. Fallible human beings of both races emerge in some narratives; they share human relationships of mutual trust and friendship. When the narrator returns to his civilized world, he parts from Indian friends with sadness.

Smith's narrative does much to delineate both the Indian's character and that of the narrator. Himself a remarkable individual--soldier, Patriot, Indian fighter, Kentucky legislator, author of an

important text on Indian warfare, and eventually, Indian missionary--Smith's narrative reveals a courageous, devout young man, who came to understand much about the Indian character during his five-year captivity among the Caughnawagas in Ohio. With first-hand knowledge of the Braddock debacle, he bases much of his initial hostility towards Indians on what he witnesses during his first days as prisoner at Fort Duquesne. Yet, his level-headed action and integrity are evident from the start of his capture when he cleverly lies about the arms of 300 nearby men, hoping to save their lives.[32]

Smith's conversations with the Indians are the source of many valuable insights into the Indian character and also serve as the focal point for his narrative. Since the account was not published until 1799, Smith's greater maturity and retrospective viewpoint contribute to his control of tone. Whether Smith is describing an adoption ceremony, discussing animal behavior with an Indian, or recalling Chief Tecaughretanego's joy over Smith's safe return from a blizzard, the narrative reveals a wide range of human emotion and intellect in captive and captor alike. The chief's sensitive concern for the fate of the Indian appears in the chief's comments upon the negative aspects of civilization, particularly those of alcohol and the wars among whites. However, he frequently shows his patience and good nature, despite old-age and arthritis, when he comments upon whites' fashions and fads. His long speech on trusting providence encourages Smith to find food for the old chief, an Indian boy, and himself, despite biting cold weather and their near-starvation.[33]

Mutual instruction and friendship between members of two different races and cultures are apparent also in Henry's narrative. Henry's captivity reveals an intelligent, observant individual at home in the wilderness as a competent Indian trader. Henry's perceptive reactions mirror his increasing stature throughout the narrative, particularly in the account of his friendship with Wawatam, whose adoption of Henry saves the latter's life after the massacre at Fort Michilimackinac in 1763. Wawatam's speech to Henry's captors on the fate of his adopted brother shows the Indian's genuine concern, and Henry's gratitude is equally heartfelt. Wawatam's whole family cordially accepts Henry and fully adopts him into their midst. When Henry prepares to lead a delegation of Indians to Sir William Johnson (British Superintendent of Indian Affairs in the Northern Department), Wawatam's family congratulates Henry on this opportunity. Their conservation, as well as Henry's grateful responses to his adopted family, reveal genuine affection and kinship. Thus, the Indian's culture is shown in the Henry account to be more admirable, and the Indian character to be more worthy than depicted in Puritan captivity accounts.[34]

Jemison's account also develops its characters by means of dialogue descriptions of activities. She recalls first her capture, along with members of her family. Her narrative gives a convincing account of her anxiety as she recalls her emotions years after the events. Yet, she also recalls with pleasure her adoption and joyful welcome into the tribe, and thus presents a wide-range of emotional responses often absent in earlier narratives. Mary is aware of how

whites reading her narrative may react to her full acculturation, for in describing her first husband, Shehinjee, she says "strange as it may seem, I loved him, . . . he was an agreeable husband, and a comfortable companion." Likewise, she attempts to show that Indians are also capable of genuine affection. Jemison's adoptive Indian mother's humane personality emerges clearly as she counsels Mary not to think of war or of torture, despite other Indians' interest in these activities. Like Smith and Henry, Jemison reveals a wider range of human emotions and interests, both in the Indians and in herself, than did Puritan captives. Thus, these representative narrators all portray substantially more realistic and believable participants in their captivities than did previous narrators.[35]

Other changes in characterization are evident in accounts of the historical personalities, which now frequently appear as biographical sketches. Even stereotypes of the kindly individual and the villain show more depth and development than previously revealed in Puritan accounts, although one must not forget that the more traditional narratives follow earlier patterns of limited characterization.

The Morris narrative allows the reader some insight into the natures of leading historical personalities. In addition to detailing the views of a young British officer just arrived in America, the well-educated narrator gives first-hand accounts of Shawnee and Delaware treachery, showing the continuing influence of Pontiac himself. Morris also develops the character of Godefroi (Godfry), a French spy sentenced to death for treason, but pardoned to Morris

as his translator. St. Vincent, a key figure in French and Indian relations, is also under Morris' protection, with the promise of a pardon if he accompanies Morris to Detroit, thereby contributing to their mutual well-being. Pontiac also appears, depicted as a smug, arrogant, and powerful leader of eighteen nations, who has more power than any other Indian ever held. Pontiac is a complex personality, and Morris captures some of this Indian's complexity, along with revealing glimpses into his own personality. Morris is quite convinced of the utter futility of his mission as Bradstreet's liaison to secure the Indian's surrender, for many Indians hope to lull the British forces into a sense of security, in order to ambush those forces near Sandusky. Fortunately, Morris escapes death to apprise his superiors of the extent and nature of Indian cunning and hostilities.[36]

Many other captivity narratives reveal historical personalities among French, British, and Indian figures. Antoine Bonnefoy's Journal (1742) presents his encounter with Christian Priber, or "Pierre Albert," a German Jesuit hired by the French in 1736 to sway the Cherokees from the British to the French. Priber, however, is caught up in a wild scheme to turn the area into a perfect communistic society, and Bonnefoy's Journal recalls several peculiar encounters with the Jesuit whose scheme has already led to his ouster from Germany, England, and the Carolinas. Nehemiah How describes Eunice Williams and her Indian husband, Amruses, and relates meeting two other authors of captivities, Rev. John Norton and Captain William Pote, Jr. How also accounts for several British captives

held in Canada and frequently mentions their fate. The Stark Narrative (1749) is famous for its young narrator, who became General John Stark, hero of Bennington. Howe and Eastburn both discuss Governor de Vaudreuil, and Howe mentions in addition the negotiations by Col. Peter Schuyler for redeeming captives. Smith comments on General Braddock's fate and describes the Indian chiefs, Tecaughretanego and Tontileaugo, his adopted brothers. Carver, in his account, attacks General Montcalm for his part in the massacre at the surrender of Fort William Henry.[37]

Author Henry includes a variety of historical figures, French, Indian, and British. Among the Indians is Minavavana, Chippewa Grand Sauteur, "six feet in height [who] had in his countenance an indescribable mixture of good and evil," and Wawatam, another prominent Chippewa, who attempts to warn Henry of the impending massacre and who later ransoms him from the raiding party. The British commandant, Major Etherington, is shown to be naive about Indian hostilities, and so ignores warnings of impending doom. An important French figure included is Farley, a translator and close colleague of the French commandant at Fort Michilimackinac prior to British takeover. Henry questions Farley's loyalty to the British in light of his former associates and his close ties to the Indians through his Chippewa wife. Henry also praises the control exerted by Fr. du Jaunay, key Jesuit missionary, and by M. Cadotte of Sault Ste Marie, who convinces Lake Superior Chippewas not to support Pontiac.[38]

Many narratives of this period, however, continue to follow the limited characterization of the Puritan narratives, such as the

accounts by Fowler (1749), M'Coy (1747), Stark, Brown (1759), Stewart, and Marrant (1785). Occasionally, narrators call attention to the benevolence of individuals who play an incidental role in the captivities, as in the case of Fowler, who presents the unusual story of the kind French physician who slips her medicine to induce illness in order to persuade the Indians to ransom her while she's still alive. The Indians do so, accepting far less ransom than originally demanded, thereby expediting her return to her family. For the most part, however, benevolent characters do not receive more attention than in earlier captivities, in which the dominant attitude is hatred of the Indian and disdain for his French comrades.[39]

Thus, characterization in these narratives reflects the co-existence of both traditional and more enlightened attitudes in the 1750s. While narratives are still quite limited in characterization, so that both narrator and Indian remain one-dimensional, longer captivity tales by mature narrators show greater development of characters, including themselves. In such accounts, usually published years subsequent to the events of the captivity, captors are treated rather fairly. The narrator usually establishes a deep friendship with one or more captors, and they learn something of each other's cultural values and prejudices. Often, the narrator returns to civilization better equipped to understand the Indian and to survive in the wilderness. The narrator is generally saddened to depart from his Indian friend, but he does not forget his place in civilization. In captivities of this type, narrators

frequently reflect the interest in Indian culture of their popular audience and, in consequence, provide far more detailed information than earlier accounts of Indian life they observe during prolonged contact with the Indian in his home village. Such details might readily be labeled as sociological and anthropological factors--factors which examine the setting dimension and thus become significant additions to the captivity narrative formula.

Many captives encounter Indian culture before close contact with civilization contaminates it. The detailed observations by Smith and Henry are particularly informative, as these narrators are already at home in the wilderness at the time of their capture, Smith as an experienced road-cutter, Henry as a trader and traveler. Both men publish their accounts some years after their captivities and reflect upon events with dispassionate minds, rather than with the religious didacticism of the Puritan or the political propaganda of the earlier French and Indian War accounts.

Smith appends detailed sections to his narrative which explore a wide range of topics, such as "Manners and Customs of the Indians," "Police or Civil Government," and "Discipline and Method of War." These observations are in addition to the main narrative, which deals with Smith's captivity and adoption ceremony, along with various details of camplife. Hunting and war-preparations are cited as the eminent domain of the braves, with the women responsible for sugar-making and food preparation. Smith quickly discovers these role distinctions, and uses them to his advantage.[40]

Although Henry's narrative does not include detailed appendices, his narrative contains similar sociological and anthropological details. Besides being an experienced trader and frontiersman, Henry is the adopted son of a prominent chief, Wawatam, and so is accorded the traditional respect and freedom of a Chippewa. During his stay with the Indians and in his travels throughout northern Michigan and Canada, Henry is privy to the daily lives of his Indian family and comes to learn the importance of the wilderness to the Indian's philosophy and his way of life, a wilderness in which the Indian neither kills nor destroys wantonly. Henry also learns something about the spiritual views of the Indian, including his belief in premonitions and dreams. Equally important, as Henry compares White and Indian affections and emotions, he discovers similarities between the two cultures, especially with respect to intuitive behavior. Although the Indian lacks such benefits of civilization as a written language, he is at one with the universe and can, in turn, teach Henry valuable lessons.[41]

Morris also learns about Indian behavior during his captivity, such as the extent of Indian devotion and loyalty to Pontiac. Later, he has opportunities to observe the daily lives of several Indian tribes, before being forced to admit he cannot fulfill his assignment and must return to Detroit. Morris is one of the few narrators who has an opportunity to comment upon tribal differences. He contrasts the stern Mohawk to the happy Chippewa and Ottawa, observing

> As all men love those who resemble themselves, the sprightly manners of the French cannot fail to recommend them to the Chippewas and Ottawas, among our Indian neighbours; for it is certain that a reserved Englishman differs not more from a lively Frenchman than does a stern Mohawk from a laughing Chippewa.

Although Morris does not offer many details about various tribes, he includes generalized observations on camp life, comments upon the variety and amount of food Indians consume at a feast, and shows his awareness of the long-established ties between French and Indian. In addition, Morris examines the Miami Indians, whose language, like their behavior and beliefs, is "singular."[42]

Observations of this kind reveal the Indian nature and help alert the reader to an understanding of the hazards of wilderness life. At the same time, however, these comments demonstrate the narrators' powers of observation. Individuals familiar with the wilderness and interested in other cultures might be expected to record such details in their captivities and to pass them along to an audience whose interests had already been aroused by accounts of the wilderness and its inhabitants in literature other than that of the captivity narratives.

Similar parallels may be drawn between the "natural histories" and comments upon geography, climatology, and natural science by those captivity narrators whose accounts are labeled as less-traditional than the dominant captivity tales. Even Gyles' narrative, published in 1736, endeavors to meet changing public attitudes on the wilderness. Gyles himself reports expanding a chapter on native animals at the request of others, since this topic would

originally hold less significance to a Puritan than such important issues as Calvinism versus Catholicism, and civilization versus savagery. Eastburn's narrative likewise comments upon the climate, animals, and fish, but Eastburn is too involved with the propaganda value of his captivity to divert attention unduly to the setting. On the other hand, Smith's narrative includes details of the geography of Ohio, including the rivers and waterfalls he encounters during his captivity experiences. In his elaboration upon the great varieties of timber, wildfowl, and game animals, Smith obviously reveals his storehouse of knowledge of the area's "natural history," but more important, he delineates topics of possible interest to settlers in the area. Smith's descriptions of vegetation, particularly edible fruits and berries, are potentially valuable to frontiersman and trader alike, while his details of northern Michigan waterways, particularly of portages, falls, and channels, provide important information for anyone involved with navigation in the vicinity. His comments on local crops, the fishing industries, the weather, and even problem insects suggest a parallel to Puritan and Pilgrim histories that frequently served to entice Englishmen to America by touting the positive elements of the colony. Factors in the narratives that detail aspects of the setting dimension, then, are basic, practical information that could satisfy the cursory reader's curiosity, yet could also communicate important information to would-be settlers. Only in the Morris narrative does one encounter anything akin to speculative science for its own sake. Morris contemplates the strange swells that frequently destroy boats

on the Great Lakes, and then considers the hypothesis that those lakes rise and fall every seven years. He even wonders how the Caspian Sea might behave during changes in the Great Lakes, since that body of water is on the opposite side of the earth. Here, Morris' scientific observations are in keeping with the scientific awareness of the European and American members of the Enlightenment.[43]

Such speculation, of course, is uncommon in most captivity accounts, for the majority of eighteenth-century captives did not examine the setting with the curiosity of Smith, Henry, or Morris. But even the most conventional of captivities reveals an important factor in the setting. One has but to peruse the areas associated with the narrator's capture to detect vast colonial incursions into the Indian's homeland. Bonnefoy's mission takes him deep into Cherokee territory in the south. Nehemiah How describes the fortified settlements in the Connecticut River valley, near present-day Putney, Vermont, and Westmoreland, New Hampshire. Other accounts are set in the surrounding areas of Hopkington, New Hampshire (Mary Fowler), Epsom, New Hampshire (Isabella M'Coy), and Vernon, Vermont (Jemima Howe). Settlements in Pennsylvania are part of the narratives by Peter Williamson, James Smith, John M'Cullough, and Mary Jemison. Recently-settled areas of New York are represented in narratives by Robert Eastburn, Thomas Brown, and Captain Jonathan Carver, while the Great Lakes and Old Northwest Territory figure in accounts by Alexander Henry and Captain Thomas Morris. Whereas the setting, quite obviously, receives additional attention and

development in some eighteenth-century captivities, in others it at least serves the function of indicating the extent of new colonization, trade, or military commitment to defend newly-acquired, remote areas of the American wilderness.

The action dimension of the captivity narrative, however, remains secondary to both setting and characterization, since action is always controlled by the actual events of captivity. With the exception of sensational accounts of Indian cruelty or horror, such as those appearing in Williamson's narrative, male and female narrators continue to emphasize the same elements of action found in earlier captivities.

Finally, a newly-emerging dimension of the formula captivity tale provides further evidence of its importance to understanding the society producing it. Cawelti says that formula stories may be compared to game structures because of the opposing players, the board or area where action occurs, and the rules which players follow. Although the first two criteria are naturally present in all captivities, the concept of rules may be examined in light of captivities from the French and Indian Wars, which begin to affix affidavits, character references, or even affirmations by the narrator, to the introduction or the conclusion of the text. These statements "authenticate" the substance of the narrative and "assure" the reader that the narrator is a responsible member of his community, neither given to exaggeration nor to questionable behavior. These supporting documents strongly suggest many narratives were subject to public disbelief. With the advent of fictionalized

captivities, supporting documents become more commonplace to legitimize the narrator's claim of his account's authenticity. Ironically, two narrators who affix such affidavits are Eastburn and Marrant, individuals directly connected with the clergy. Affirmations are also attached to narratives by How, M'Cullough, and Morris. Well aware that his report will be suspected, M'Cullough states he deliberately omits many dangerous adventures. According to M'Cullough, those who have never been captives will call him a liar if he includes all that happened to him. Morris does not overlook an opportunity to interject wit into his own affirmation, for he says:

> This is a plain and simple tale, accounting for my presumption in offering to the public an old story relating to one whose wish used to be, to lie concealed in domestic life; a wish, in which he has been amply gratified by the very obliging silence of some of his nearest connexions.

Morris might have desired anonymity, but many other writers did not. If one had not experienced captivity, one could nevertheless write a narrative, add some "official" affidavits, and play the game with the best of captives. Eventually, the captivity experience would simply be incorporated into novels of sensibility, such as Bleecker's History of Maria Kittle (1793) and Brown's Edgar Huntly (1799).[44]

Meanwhile, plenty of genuine captivities provided sufficient material for legitimate narratives. As the eighteenth century continued, the narrators focused increasingly on the Indian's fate. Even as early as 1742, Bonnefoy reveals the struggle between Indians and French traders hoping to win Indian allegiance and secure vast profits before civilization intrudes, destroying the Indian or pushing him Westward before an ever-expanding white population.

No wonder Bonnefoy fears "Pierre Albert's" collectivism, for the French traders wish to encourage Indian greed for the white man's trappings.[45]

As capitalist virtues associated with "rugged individualism," "the pioneer spirit," and "manifest destiny" grew, a frightening paradox became more evident. If the Indian remained a hunter who lived off the wilderness rather than cultivating it, he was on a collision course with colonists in search of new land for farms, homes, and settlements. But if he tried to renounce his "savagism," he would exchange his virtues for greater vices. White society could never accept or integrate the Indian into its world the way white captives were integrated into the Indian's world. By the final quarter of the eighteenth century, the red man's future was painfully clear to white and Indian alike.[46]

The resolution of the conflict would be based on the conventional idea of a hierarchy of human progress. Man's destiny can be fulfilled only by progressive growth. Savagery represents a lower degree of growth, civilization a higher one. The wilderness is good; cultivated, domesticated land is better. The frontier is preferable to the wilderness; the established, urban area is preferable to the frontier. The implications are all too clear. The Indian belongs to a past life, to a lower level of the hierarchy. Unfortunately, the Indian could not make the transition from past to future, from lower to higher order. He would, regretfully, become expendable. Thus, "Americans after 1775, trying to know

their unique destiny, would come to know it in terms of savages who could have no share in it."[47]

> No matter how completely . . . the Indian conformed, the cause was ultimately hopeless because the Indian could never become white.
>
> --G. E. Thomas

NOTES, CHAPTER II

[1]Horner and Bain, pp. 253-257; Nash, p. 55.

[2]Thomas P. Abernethy, Western Lands and the American Revolution (New York, 1937), pp. 20-21, in Henry Nash Smith, Virgin Land (New York: Vintage Books, 1949), pp. 5-6.

[3]Benjamin Franklin, "Observations Concerning the Increase of Mankind, Peopling of Countries, etc.," The Writings of Benjamin Franklin, ed. Albert H. Smyth, 10 vols, (New York, 1905-1907), III, pp. 63, 71, in H. N. Smith, pp. 7-8.

[4]H. N. Smith, pp. 8-11. "Verses on the Prospect of Planting Arts and Learning in America," The Works of George Berkeley, D. D., ed. Alexander C. Fraser, 4 vols. (Oxford, 1901), IV, p. 364, in H. N. Smith, p. 9.

[5]Nash, pp. 44-45.

[6]The Writings of 'Colonel William Byrd of Westover in Virginia Esqr.,' ed. John Spencer Bassett (New York, 1901), pp. 48-49, 135, 146, 163, 172, 186, 192, in Nash, pp. 51-52.

[7]Nash, pp. 53-54; John Josselyn, New England's Rarities (1672), ed., Edward Tuckerman (Boston, 1865), in Nash, p. 53; Mark Catesby, The Natural History of Carolina, Florida, and the Bahama Islands, 2 vols. (London, 1754), I, p. iii, in Nash, p. 54.

[8]Horner & Bain, pp. 253-255; Robert Beverley, from The History of Present State of Virginia (1705), in Horner & Bain, pp. 258, 265-266; John Lawson, from The History of North Carolina (1708), in Horner & Bain, pp. 268, 270, 272-274. See also Savages, p. 42; Pearce affirms Beverley's validity and veracity.

[9]Sarah Kemble Knight, from Her Private Journal of a Journey from Boston to New York (1704), in Horner & Bain, pp. 361-362; Alexander Hamilton, from The Itinerarium (1744), in Horner & Bain, pp. 363-367.

[10]Benjamin Bissell, The American Indian in English Literature of the Eighteenth Century (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1925), p. 16; Hallowell, p. 526. Hallowell notes, "Like other non-literate peoples of the world, the aborigines of America lived in societies

which were as regularly patterned in terms of their own value systems as the culture of the European intruders" (p. 526); Savages, p. 105 (quoted).

[11]Cadwallader Colden, from The History of the Five Indian Nations (1727), in Horner & Bain, pp. 276-283.

[12]Conrad Weiser, from The Journal (1748), in Larzer Ziff, ed., The Literature of America: Colonial Period (New York: McGraw Hill, 1970), pp. 345-346; Bissell, p. 24.

[13]Bissell, pp. 23-25, 31-35, passim.

[14]The Captivity and Sufferings of Mrs. Jemima Howe, taken prisoner by the Indians at Bridgman's Fort, in the present town of Vernon, Vermont (Communicated to Dr. Belknap by the Rev. Bunker Gay, 1755), in Francis Chase, ed., Gathered Sketches from the Early History of New Hampshire and Vermont (Claremont, New Hampshire: Tracy, Kenney & Co., 1856), p. 87; Robert Eastburn, A Faithful Narrative, of the many Dangers and Sufferings, as well as wonderful Deliverances of Robert Eastburn, during his late Captivity among the Indians: Together with some Remarks upon the Country of Canada, and the Religion, and Policy of its Inhabitants: the whole intermixed with devout Reflections (1758), in Captive, pp. 156, 158, 167-168, 176.

[15]Howe, in Chase, pp. 77, 79, 82; Col. James Smith, An Account of the Remarkable Occurrences in the Life and Travels of Col. James Smith during his Captivity with the Indians, in the Years 1755-1759 (1799) (Cincinnati: Robert A. Clarke Company, 1907), pp. 50-51, 64-65; Thomas Brown, A Plain Narrative of the Uncommon Sufferings of Thomas Brown (1760), in Frederick Drimmer, ed., Scalps and Tomahawks (New York: Coward-McCann, 1961), p. 72; John M'Cullough, Narrative of the Captivity of John M'Cullough, Esq. (1764), in Archibald Loudon, ed., A Selection, of Some of the Most Interesting Narratives, of Outrages Committed by the Indians, in their Wars, with the White People, 2 vols. (Carlisle, Pennsylvania: By the Editor, 1808-11), pp. 311, 336-337.

[16]Peter Williamson, Sufferings of Peter Williamson, One of the Settlers in the back parts of Pennsylvania. Writen by Himself (1757), in Captive, pp. 217-223, passim.

[17]Captain Jonathan Carver, Narrative of his Capture, and subsequent escape from the Indians, at the bloody massacre committed by them, when Fort William Henry fell into the hands of the French under Gen. Montcalm, in the Year 1757. Written by Himself (1757), in Samuel G. Drake, ed., Tragedies of the Wilderness (Boston, 1841), pp. 172-178, passim.

[18]Pp. 177-178.

[19]Eastburn, in Captive, p. 173.

[20]VanDerBeets, Captive, p. xi; Barbeau, pp. 523, 530.

[21]Capt. Isaac Stewart, Narrative of the Adventures of Captain Isaac Stewart, Taken from his own Mouth, in March, 1782, in Captive, pp. 210-212.

[22]Hallowell, p. 523; Heard, p. 131.

[23]Frances Noble, Narrative of the Captivity of Frances Noble, Compiled by John Kelly from the Minutes and Memoranda of Phinehas Merrill (1768), in Drake, pp. 168-171; M'Cullough, in Loudon, pp. 298, 326-327, 331-333, passim.

[24]Jemison, Ch. II-VI, passim.

[25]Hallowell, p. 525.

[26]Col. James Smith, pp. 107-112, passim.

[27]Alexander Henry, Travels and Adventures in Canada and the Indian Territories Between the Years 1760 and 1776 (1809) (Mackinac Island, Michigan: Mackinac Island State Park Comm., 1966), pp. 81, 92-93, 96.

[28]Nehemiah How, A Narrative of the Captivity of Nehemiah How in 1747-1748 (1748), noted and introduced by Victor Paltsits (Cleveland: Burrows Bros., 1904), pp. 28-29.

[29]Jemison, p. 48; Hallowell, p. 527.

[30]Eastburn, in Captive, pp. 165-166. John R. Spears, writing in the introduction to the 1904 reprinting of the 1758 edition of Eastburn's Narrative, states that with the exception of Quakers and Moravians, most individuals who traded with the Indians regarded fairness as a sign of weakness, and so were known to boast of their unfair deailings with Indians (pp. 8-9). Capt. Thomas Morris, Journal of Capt. Thomas Morris, in his Miscellanies in Prose and Verse (1791) (Ann Arbor, Michigan: University Microfilms, 1966), pp. 26-27.

[31]I am largely indebted to the works of Nash, Pearce, Hallowell, Barbeau, and Thomas for the basis of arguments in this paragraph.

[32]Col. James Smith, pp. vi, 5-13, 40, passim.

[33]Pp. 16, 58-59, 65-67, 74-75, 77-78, 81, 89-90, 92-93, 94-95, 98-99, passim.

[34]Henry, pp. 45, 65-66, 67, 71, 100, passim.

[35]Jemison, pp. 25-29, 36-37, 44, 56-67.

[36]Morris, pp. i, 2, 6-7, 9-10, 18-19, passim.

[37]Antoine Bonnefoy, Journal of Antoine Bonnefoy, Containing the Circumstances of his Captivity Among the Cherokee Indians (1742), in Newton D. Mereness, ed., Travels in the American Colonies (New York: Antiquarian Press, 1961), pp. 239-240, 248; How, pp. 28-29, 39-40; Stark, Narrative (1749), in Chase, p. 158; Howe, in Chase, pp. 86-89, passim; Col. James Smith, pp. 11, 24, 52; Carver, in Drake, pp. 172-178, passim.

[38]Henry, pp. 22-23, 45, 49, 58-60, 65-66, 100-101, 111, passim.

[39]Mary Fowler, Narrative (1749), in Drake, p. 147; Isabella M'Coy, Narrative (1747), in Chase, pp. 140-147; Stark, in Chase, pp. 158-164; Brown, in Drimmer, pp. 61-73; Stewart, in Captive, pp. 210-212; John Marrant, A Narrative of the Lord's wonderful Dealings with John Narrant, A Black (Now Gone to Preach the Gospel in Nova-Scotia) Born in New York, in North-America, Taken down from his own Relation, arranged, corrected, and published by the Rev. Mr. Aldridge (1785), in Captive, pp. 178-201. This singular tale recalls the adventures of a Black religious fanatic, converted by visiting Methodist evangelist, George Whitefield. From 1770-1772, Marrant wandered in the southern wilderness, living among the Cherokees, many of whom he converted. The Marrant narrative is unique unto itself, fitting into no division of captivity narratives from this period.

[40]Col. James Smith, pp. 20-67, 140-142, 146-148, 149-151, 152-153, passim. The controversy surrounding Indian fighting methods which Smith deals with in his appendix was discussed by many individuals in the eighteenth century. See, for example, Benjamin Franklin's critique of Braddock's smugness and underestimation of Indian ability in The Autobiography, ed. Nathan G. Goodman (New York: Crowell, 1971), pp. 173-177. George Washington also discusses this topic in a letter originally written to Col. David Humphreys of his staff; see: "The Braddock Campaign," American History Illustrated, V (November 1970), 14-21.

[41]Henry, pp. 23-25, 37-38, 41, 47, 67, 74-77, 79-88, 91-93, 95, 101-102, 107, 109, passim. The views of the afterlife discussed by Henry and Smith parallel those offered by Wm. Byrd's guide in Virginia.

[42]Morris, pp. 5, 8-9, 13.

[43]Gyles, in Captive, p. 93; Eastburn, in Captive, pp. 159-160, passim; Col. James Smith, pp. 20-65, passim; Henry, pp. 7-36, passim; Morris, pp. 37-38.

[44]Cawelti, Six-Gun Mystique, p. 71; VanDerBeets' comments in Captive, pp. 152-153, 178-180, 201; M'Cullough, in Loudon, p. 338; Morris, p. vi.

[45]Bonnefoy, in Mereness, pp. 248-254, passim.

[46]Horner & Bain, p. 254; Savages, p. 43.

[47]Savages, pp. 48-49.

CHAPTER III

NARRATIVES OF THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION

> Men who would scorn to tell a lie in everyday life will become unscrupulous cheats and liars when they have given themselves up to propagandist work.
>
> --Wells

With the conclusion of the French and Indian Wars in 1763, Britain emerged as the leading power of the Western world. The unabashed joy of many Englishmen was evident throughout the empire, including the American colonies. Benjamin Franklin proudly wrote, "No one can more sincerely rejoice than I do, on the reduction of Canada, and this is not merely as I am a colonist, but as I am a Briton." Yet in the twenty years which followed, Franklin and many other colonists would denounce both their King and Parliament, declare themselves in open rebellion, and successfully win a revolution whose outcome was anything but certain during its seven-year duration.[1]

The American Revolution was not only waged on the battlefields, but in the hearts and minds of Americans and British alike. To the rebel propagandist, denunciation of Tory and Indian perfidy was occasionally paramount to military attacks upon the enemy per se. As James Pickering observes in his introduction to The World Turned Upside Down (1975):

> Before there could be independence, basic attitudes had to be changed, long-standing opinions altered, and a whole traditional way of thinking discredited and destroyed. In the final analysis, it was the writer's ability to accomplish precisely these ends that made American independence possible.

Facing grave uncertainties on the battlefield, and initially unsure of French assistance, the patriots exploited any avenue to aide them. With perhaps one-third of the colonists uncommitted to either side, rebel propagandists sought to convince potential supporters that their cause was just and that victory was indeed possible if the uncommitted colonists joined the rebellion. And so the writer's task

> became one of buoying up morale, of winning new converts by holding forth the advantages and glorious prospect of final victory, of neutralizing the counterarguments of enemy writers, and of attempting to sow seeds of dissension and despair among the ranks of the British army and their supporters and sympathizers.

Thus, emotional accounts, including captivity narratives, depicted the Tories as monsters engaged in genocide directed at helpless patriot civilians and their families. At the same time, the Tories' Indian allies were portrayed at their savage worse, a condition more disgusting to patriots because the Tories had provoked the Indians against those patriots.[2]

With force and violence a very real part of frontier life, with women required to put their own lives in peril to protect their children, themselves, and sometimes even their husbands from savage attacks, the American frontier before, during, and after the Revolution was no place to discover evidence to support the myth of the Noble Savage. The fanciful, even picturesque Indians who appear in eighteenth-century English literature did not conform to what

frontier settlers knew first hand. The Indian behavior depicted semi-humorously in Humphrey Clinker (1771) was closer to what most Indian captives experienced. John P. Pritchard (Criticism in America, 1956) notes that prior to 1820, most Americans were simply too conscious of Indian raids, wars, and the Revolution itself to view the Indian with anything approaching Romantic ideals. Rather than glorifying the Indian, some intellectuals were casting about for a means to explain the Indian's "inferiority" and to justify the encroachment of civilization upon Indian land.[3]

A possible solution was the concept of social hierarchy developed by the Scottish common-sense philosophers, who argued that man, along with his customs and institutions, became increasingly "social" as he became increasingly "civilized." Inevitably, these philosophers came to argue that man is social by nature, even in the most primitive of tribes. Man, they noted, is always concerned with the welfare of his group; therefore, limitations upon human progress stem from the society in which man lives, and not from man himself.[4]

On the basis of this premise, Americans could be assured that civilization would give the Indian far more than it took away. Primitive virtues would be replaced with "higher" virtues. Thus, civilization's advocates saw their destiny as agents of progress to conquer the stagnating effects of isolation and uncultivated environment upon the Indian. The Indian remained static because his inferior lifestyle required both time and energy for mere survival, whereas the adoption of white civilization, particularly the

agrarian way of life, would greatly enhance the Indian's chances for survival. The idea initially appealed to many thinkers, for it provided additional incentive for making the "agrarian myth" a reality.[5]

Thus, the eighteenth-century American came to think of the Indian as a kind of living artifact, a reminder of what the white man had once been, and without deliberate caution, might again become on the frontier. Moreover, the hierarchical concept of human progress did not merely go from lower to higher order, but from past to present, as the living examples of hunting Indian, agrarian Indian, frontier settler, and urbane city dweller revealed. Finally, progress went from east to west; man's historical movement had always been in that direction and would continue in the nineteenth century, as the Indian painfully discovered.[6]

As part of his westward movement, man faced many dangers, among them the possibility of Indian captivity, torture, adoption, and, perhaps most frightening of all, a fall from a higher order of civilization to a lower one. The hierarchical theory reinforced the belief that negative movement must be avoided at all costs; therefore, any civilized white man who adopted an Indian way of life fell from a superior to an inferior position on the social and evolutionary scales.[7]

From this brief overview of attitudes engendered by the Revolution, several key ideas emerge. First, the Tories, or Loyalists, were a powerful minority not to be ignored, especially in light of the rebels' many problems, not least of which was conducting a revolution against the world's mightiest empire. In

consequence, rebel propagandists launched attacks upon the Tories to depict them as hideous monsters and to stress the noble causes for which the rebels fought, with both motives designed to sway the uncommitted colonists to the rebels' cause. Furthermore, many rebel attacks on the Tories stressed their ties to hostile Indians. Thus, neutral settlers in recently-opened regions, familiar with the constant threat of Indian attacks, might be persuaded to support the Revolution if convinced that the British and Tories were inciting the Indians against them and their struggling settlements.

Given the importance of political propaganda to the Revolutionary writer, one could expect the Indian captivity narrative to be pressed into service by the patriots, as indeed, it was. The formula narrative was altered dramatically, greatly shortened to emphasize the horror of the captivity or of the initial attack upon the settlers. Often, just one illustrative incident is presented of Indian atrocities, British treachery, or Tory perfidy. Since many narratives were published less than a year after the events described, they are filled with the sensationalism and vivid descriptions associated with such forms of propaganda. As one might expect, characterization is minimal, in contrast to that in the longer narratives from the French and Indian Wars. Here, too, the one-dimensional characters are often exploited for their sensational effects or for their value as propaganda, in revealing the Indians as sub-human beasts who torture patriot men, women, and children. Generally, little effort is made to balance or develop characters in these narratives. By and large, these captivity tales are

published only for their propaganda value, thereby reinforcing all the beliefs and values of the embattled rebels, and so serving the function of collective, or cultural ritual in the words of Cawelti.

At the same time, many emotional, sensational accounts of captivity examine the continuing struggle between civilization and savagery from two perspectives. First, is a growing tendency to justify counter-violence by settlers in order to protect civilization from its Indian opponents. Second, is a growing belief that the Indian will perish as civilization advances, despite the efforts by those who supported agrarianism in the hope that the Indian might adapt to white society if he learned to domesticate both himself and the wilderness. Many captivities suggest the contrary, that civilization is advancing too rapidly to permit the Indian to undergo such drastic changes. Furthermore, the gulf between the two cultures is too great to be bridged. In short, the Indian belonged to a "lower," inferior society and could never adapt to the "higher," superior society of post-Revolutionary America. In varying combinations and in varying degrees, these concepts so much a part of the eighteenth century are present in the Indian captivity tales.

When one considers the extent of verbal attacks upon the British in many captivities, it is not surprising to find that the narrator's animosities persist long after his captivity experience has ended. For example, John Leeth (Narrative, 1831), a hunter and trader in the Pennsylvania and Ohio territories, was captured and adopted by Delaware Indians when he was eighteen. Although he remains with the Indians the greater part of the time between 1773

and 1790, he does not accept British ties to the Indians. Although Leeth's narrative was not published until 1831, when he was in his seventies, it is a damning attack on the British for mistreating American prisoners, an attack preceded by an emotional recollection of the condition of American prisoners at Fort Detroit.

> The Indians brought forward a parcel of American prisoners, as a trophy of their victories; among whom, were eighteen women and children, poor creatures, dreadfully manacled and emaciated; in such a manner as not to hide their nakedness; their legs bare and streaming with blood; the effects of being torn with thorns, briars, and brush.

The writer intentionally singles out the condition of captive women and children to arouse the reader's sense of outrage. Leeth then recalls his own deepening anger over the callous behavior of the commandant, Lt. Governor Henry Hamilton, whom the narrator accuses of arousing the Indians against the patriots. His verbal attack on Hamilton concludes with his recollection that

> if ever I committed murder in my heart, it was then, for if I had had an opportunity, and been supported with strength, I should certainly have killed the Governor, who seemed to take great delight in the exhibition.

If these emotions persist years after the captivity, one can readily imagine how much more intense were feelings among individuals whose accounts were quickly rushed into print during the Revolution, often embellished to heighten their propaganda value.[8]

The archetype of the Revolutionary propaganda captivity, the Wyoming Valley Massacre (July 1778), depicts a raid on settlements in Pennsylvania by 1,600 British, Tories, and Iroquois Indians. This embellished narrative portrays British Colonel John Butler as

a monster who refuses to accept surrender. When asked, "What terms?" Butler purportedly replies, "the hatchet!" In fact, notes VanDerBeets, specific terms for surrender were agreed upon, and the Indians generally were restrained during the surrender, as noted by patriot commander, Colonel Nathan Dennison.[9]

At this point, the narrator's invective falls upon the enemy forces; British regulars and Tories are depicted as less than human. One former Tory resident of the valley is denounced for killing his own mother, sisters, and their children. Women and children fortunate to escape the first attack purportedly wander in a nearby forest, where they perish. In short, the narrator spares no effort to depict an unholy alliance among British, Tory, and Indian in order to perpetrate inhuman atrocities upon the patriot residents and defenders of the settlements. Thus, a battle and surrender became powerful vehicles to convey enemy perfidy. VanDerBeets notes that

> It was never referred to as the Wyoming campaign, or battle, or attack, but always as the Wyoming massacre. Instead of gaining credit for a significant military victory, John Butler became the object of abuse even in his own country, from which personal aspersions his reputation never recovered.

Here, VanDerBeets hints at the power of propagandistic literature during the Revolution, a power that transcended an ocean to tarnish a British officer's reputation in his homeland.[10]

The Narratives of Dr. John Knight and John Slover (1782) exploit the captivity tale's full potential to arouse patriot hatred against the British, the Indians, and the renegade Girty brothers,

who first served the Continental forces but who then sided with the British. Both Knight and Slover were attached to Colonel William Crawford's regiment sent against the Ohio Indians by Virginia and Pennsylvania after repeated Indian attacks upon frontier settlements. Although Slover merely touched upon the fate of Colonel Crawford, Crawford's son, and son-in-law, he reports that the Indians remove the victims' charred bodies to the outskirts of the village, where their heads and limbs are placed on poles and their bodies thrown to the dogs. Slover's intent is clear; he wishes the reader to see that the Indians' inhuman treatment of captives extends even to mutilation and desecration of their bodies. Knight, however, reports all the gruesome details surrounding Crawford's fate, and the reader is further titillated by the reminder that Knight had already been promised a similar fate on the day after Crawford's death, thereby making Knight's escape more miraculous to narrator and reader alike.[11]

As shocking as these accounts are, they are intensified by Slover's claim that he heard a message to his Indian captors from the British Commandant of Fort Detroit, advising against taking additional prisoners.

> Provisions are scarce; when prisoners are brought in we are obliged to maintain them, and still some of them are running away and carrying tidings of our affairs. . . . Take no more prisoners, my children, of any sort; man, woman, or child.

Shortly thereafter, notes Slover, several captives from Kentucky are distributed among various Indian villages to be burned,

in compliance with the British command. Here, the narrator suggests that the British encourage the Indians even further in savage acts against the patriots. Obviously, the narrator hopes to arouse the reader's contempt for the British. Yet, the reader might reserve greater disdain for the Girty brothers, for both Knight and Slover depict these individuals in the poorest possible light.[12]

During the Revolution, whites' inherent fear of "going native" was often intensified to hatred for the renegade who accepted an Indian lifestyle, while using his knowledge and understanding of both cultures against his former comrades. As one might expect, patriot attacks upon the Girtys were filled with scorn and invective. If Benedict Arnold's name was associated with Satan, then the Girtys were thought of as preeminent demons in their own right. When Knight attempts to talk to Simon Girty, the renegade calls the narrator a "damned rascal." Later, as the Indians torture Crawford, he begs Girty mercifully to kill him. Girty pretends not to hear; when Crawford cries out in greater anguish, Girty laughs and says he has no gun. Throughout Knight's narrative, Girty is cited for his lies, his contempt for the captives, and his treason to his own people. Knight's presentation of Simon Girty may not be overly embellished, for an acculturated captive like Mary Jemison stated that Girty could readily have saved Crawford, but instead told him "that he had no pity for his sufferings; but that he was then satisfying that spirit of revenge, which for a long time he had hoped to have an opportunity to wreak upon him." Moreover, Slover accuses James Girty of spreading lies and of sending spies to Slover to trap him into an

escape attempt. Later, when Slover has been stripped and painted black, the traditional sign of death by burning, George Girty ridicules him, observing he "now should get what [he] had deserved many years." Obviously, the narrators wish the reader to see how low a human being can sink when he betrays his political affiliations as well as his own people. The narrators thus attempt to convince their readers how dangerous and utterly depraved such enemies are--a rather common propaganda tool to discredit an opponent by depicting him as less than human. In the case of Indian captivities, the effect is more pronounced, for readers were painfully aware of the scope of Indian treachery. If a narrator could show that renegade influence made the Indian still more savage, then the propaganda value of the narrative would be increased proportionally.[13]

Other narrators during the Revolution examine the behavior of Tory and Indian alike. Frontiersman and officer, Major Moses Van Campen, twice an Indian captive and later adopted by Colonel Butler (to replace his son, Walter), recalls the Tories tell the Indians of his great reputation as an Indian killer to incite them to take Van Campen from his English captors. Even more grisly evidence of Indian behavior is provided in the Manheim Narrative (1779), by a lurid account of the torture-killing of Frederick Manheim's twin daughters, aged sixteen. The Indians place several hundred pitch-pine splinters in the girls' bodies and then ignite those splinters.

> It was not until near three hours had elapsed from the commencement of their torments, and that they had lost almost every resemblance of the human form, that these helpless virgins sunk down in the arms of their deliverer, Death.

Such frightening encounters are repeated in Rev. Corbly's Narrative (1782), as the minister and his family are attacked one morning while walking to church. Although Corbly's wife and five children are scalped, two girls survive, but they must undergo painful and expensive operations. Even Corbly's account has propaganda value, for the Rev. William Rogers was moved to write in his 1782 preface to the Corbly account that Britain is

> so lost to every human affection that rather than not subdue and make us slaves, they basely choose to encourage, patronize, and reward, as their most faithful and beloved allies, the savages. . . .

As accounts like this increased during the Revolution, the propaganda value of Jefferson's catalogue of George III's failings in the Declaration of Independence acquired even greater value than it had in 1776 when Jefferson wrote:

> He has endeavored to bring on the inhabitants of the frontiers, the merciless Indian savages, whose known rule of warfare is an undistinguished destruction of all ages, sexes, and conditions.

Thus, the horror of colonial warfare was compounded by Indian attacks and battles throughout much of the Revolution.[14]

While some narrators recall Indian atrocities in detail or call the reader's attention to British and Tory manipulation of the Indian against the patriots, still others reveal a growing conviction that violence must be directed against the savages in order to assure the frontiersman's survival. Nowhere is the need for

retaliatory violence more clearly indicated than in the Bozarth Narrative (1779). With only two men present to protect several whites from attacking Indians, Experience Bozarth immediately enters into the fray, killing or injuring several Indians with an axe. Another captive who turns upon his Indian captors is David Morgan (Narrative, 1779), age sixty, who kills one attacking Indian and then wins a prolonged hand-to-hand struggle with a knife-wielding brave. When help arrives, Morgan and his allies tomahawk, scalp, and skin both Indians to make drum heads. Here is Indian violence repaid several times over. The message is clear. Even women settlers and elderly men must be prepared to exert whatever violence is needed to lead the way for civilization's triumph over the wilderness and its aboriginal inhabitants.[15]

Such accounts as these represent the mainstream of Indian captivity narratives during the Revolution. Owing to their abbreviated length and their emphasis upon sensational accounts of enemy action, all details not directly useful for either their shock value or as political propaganda are simply not developed. This situation is true with respect to other dimensions of these formula captivities as well, including characterization. Only the longer Jemison narrative approaches realistic character development. As Jemison recalls the tragic deaths of several sons, her humanity begins to emerge in her profound grief, common to people in any time or place under such tragic circumstances. Yet, most narratives merely hint at the narrator's character, as in the case of Bozarth, Morgan, and Scott (1785). In each of these accounts, merely the narrator's

courage and strength in trying times are revealed. For Frances Scott, a married woman with children, courage is important as she escapes from the Indians in unknown territory, many miles from her home, and successfully negotiates her way back to civilization, surviving on her wits alone. Other accounts simply show the deep sorrows of the narrator and hint at the narrator's inner strength in overcoming them, as in the Manheim, Corbly, and Heckewelder (ca. 1781) narratives. The latter account, by the daughter of Moravian Missionary, John Heckewelder, describes the great sorrows shared by her family and their Indian converts whom the British remove from the Moravian Indian town of Salem, Ohio. Here, again, the narrative does not develop characters, but only hints at one or two of their traits. Thus, one can conclude that unless the nature of particular individuals is useful for propaganda purposes, as in the case of the abominable Girtys or various Tories and British officers, characterization receives little attention in these brief captivity accounts.[16]

One of the few narrators who attempts to develop characters is Van Campen, but he reduces key personalities to types: the bold Indian, the compassionate chief, the cowardly civilian, the treacherous Tory, the devoted British officer, the sympathetic guard, and the dependable, patriotic narrator. Even here, however, Van Campen's characterizations reveal ulterior motives. For example, the writer contrasts his bravery and that of another captive, with the sniveling cowardice of a captive named Pike. Whenever a crisis arises, Pike's cowardly nature surfaces and, more than once, nearly costs the others their freedom and their lives. Although Pike may appear

merely for comic relief, he is more likely developed as a coward to show the reader that the frontier cannot lend itself to such behavior. Conversely, the narrator's sense of honor appears to be exalted. Several times Van Campen recalls his refusals to turn traitor. When some Tories try to turn him over to the Indians so they may vent their wrath upon this noted frontier scout and Indian killer, Van Campen flatly refuses a British commission as a requisite for saving his life, saying, "Give me the stake, the tomahawk, or the knife before a British commission." Later, while imprisoned in Montreal with several other American officers, he again reaffirms his deep loyalty to the patriot cause, and with the help of a sympathetic British guard, joins the other prisoners in celebrating the Fourth of July.[17]

Even in the rare accounts in which benevolent individuals appear among the British, these characters are as one-dimensional as their evil counterparts. In the Gilbert Family Narrative (ca. 1782), several British officers are cited for their assistance to the captives, but there is no development of Colonel Guy Johnson or the others. Even the Indian leader, Joseph Brandt, is credited with assisting several younger captives. Interestingly enough, the only real "villains" in this account are four escaped black slaves who have been accepted by the Indians as "Tories." These individuals are frequently condemned for their excessive cruelties to the captives. Nevertheless, throughout the entire narrative, all characters are little more than set-pieces, and the reader is left with very little information about them.[18]

Information about the setting is equally scarce. Any interests about the geography and natural resources of an area are displaced in order to develop the narrative's emotional appeal. Many narratives were published immediately after the events described, while memories of recent raids were still fresh in patriots' minds, thereby enhancing their propaganda value. Consequently, the anthropological, sociological, and ethnological details present in earlier French and Indian War captivity accounts simply do not appear. Even longer accounts, such as those by Leeth or Gilbert, do not contain the detail found in earlier narratives of James Smith, Alexander Henry, or even Robert Eastburn. Many Revolutionary narratives are so stripped of non-essentials that only the date or location of events appear, as in accounts by Bozarth, Manheim, Morgan, and Corbly; even then, this information is often provided by editors of the accounts, rather than the narrators themselves.

As one might also expect, the action dimension of the formula captivity tale is minimal, being controlled by the events themselves. As previously noted, however, the increase in shocking details served a purpose other than producing an adventure story per se. Both literary sensationalism and psychological warfare received an impetus from such details. One's enemy was dehumanized, and the readers' wrath was directed to both Indian and Tory alike. Furthermore, the significance of violence as a necessary adjunct to frontier survival has likewise been examined. Yet, one additional theme does need to be considered.

A theme which first appears in these narratives, and which becomes increasingly common in narratives from the Western Wars (1790-1794), and which continues well into the nineteenth century grows out of the violence directed at the Indian and out of a reexamination of the hierarchical concept of human progress. With the end of the Revolution, the dream of new settlements in America's interior was becoming a reality. Conquered land was American land, and the Indian soon learned that British colonial views became American colonial views. Although British agents often encouraged the Indians to demand outright American purchases of Indian lands during the 1780s, little came of those demands. Admittedly, treaties were made and boundaries established, but treaties and boundaries were quickly ignored or disregarded when conditions required, and conditions increasingly "required."[19]

The major contributor to the change in attitudes about Indians of America's interior was the growth of population, the eagerness for westward migration, combined with the popularity of agrarianism and physiocracy, which produced a vision of America as a fertile, exquisite panorama of cultivated land, domesticated animals, and cleared forests. The migration quickened--far more rapidly than most individuals could envision. Americans could not afford to civilize the Indian, so they arbitrarily decided that the Indian could never become part of the white man's future vision. Americans rationalized that the Indian belonged to another time, another place, and these were so remote in human antiquity that the Indian could not bridge the chasm between the two cultures. Leeth's

narrative hints at this gulf between civilization and savagery when he ponders his future as an Indian captive,

> destined to remain in an uncultivated wilderness, where no voice was heard but the yells of savages, the howling of wolves, and the dread screams of the panther, no cultivated fields or lowing herds, nor any prospect for the support of life, but what the dreary regions of a wide and boundless wilderness presented, was appalling and discouraging.

Although one might wonder if those who were traders and wilderness residents by choice would really miss civilization, Leeth's observation was widely accepted. Captivity narrators and other writers began to stress the gulf between white and red men, but it took an editor like Hugh Henry Brackenridge to clarify those sentiments in 1782.[20]

Commenting upon the publication of the Knight and Slover narratives, Brackenridge hopes such accounts will encourage the government to take measures against the Indians, "as from hence they will see that the nature of an Indian is fierce and cruel, and that an extirpation of them would be useful to the world, and honorable to those who can effect it." Since white and red men cannot coexist, argues Brackenridge, exterminating all Indians becomes a logical expedient to the advancement of civilization.[21]

Brackenridge then propounds his thesis that "the animals vulgarly called Indians" have no claim upon their land. He challenges the theory of prior occupancy, the belief that "the whole of this earth was given to man, and all descendents of Adam have a right to share it equally." Recalling the Biblical admonition that

"thou shalt till the ground," he says the Indian does not till, i.e., improve the land; therefore, the Indian has no claim to it.

> I am so far from thinking the Indians have a right to the soil, that not having made a better use of it for many hundred years, I conceive they have forfeited all pretence to claim, and ought to be driven from it.

In the event that anyone remains unconvinced of this argument, Brackenridge cites Warburton's thesis that one cannot Christianize an Indian until one first civilizes that Indian. But this is impossible, argues Brackenridge; otherwise, the Indians would have become farmers. Therefore, he concludes, the Indian is impervious to the "benefits" of civilization or Christianity. In fact, says the writer, an Indian is closer to a devil than a man. As a consequence, one cannot have faith in an Indian's word or in his acknowledgement of a treaty. Ironically, this is the very argument Indians would use in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries when they saw repeated white violations of treaties. Finally, Brackenridge concludes that given an opportunity, an Indian always seeks captives to torture and kill, but torture alone justifies exterminating the Indian to permit a higher order of humanity to progress in America as God intended.[22]

Even a poet with primitivist leanings could not overlook the growing conflict between white and red cultures as Americans entered into westward expansion in force following the end of the Revolution. Freneau's 1784 poem, "On the Emigration to America and Peopling the Western Country," catalogues the duties of advancing civilization--"to tame the soil and plant the arts," and to enjoy the fruits of nature which previously wasted as "ages past have rolled away,/ And

forests bloomed but to decay." Even the Mississippi River will no longer flow idly.

> No longer shall your princely flood
> From distant lakes be swelled in vain,
> No longer through a darksome wood
> Advance, unnoticed, to the main,
> Far other ends, the heavens decree--
> And commerce plans new freights for thee.

And while civilization is making these changes, "the unsocial Indian" will move to distant, "less pleasing" lands. Unsocial implies Freneau's acceptance of the social hierarchy, including the belief that the Indian will be pushed westward by an advancing white civilization. Although Freneau suggests that "Reason and Virtue" will one day lead to slavery's demise, he fails to indicate whether the Indian will ever be free from oppression.[23]

As the eighteenth century drew to a close, many Indians bade farewell to their homeland, even to life itself, to journey like Freneau's "King Tammany," to "where all our far-famed sachems rest." Frontiersmen and many other Americans had already decided the Indians' fate. Civilization appeared destined to overcome all obstacles to its forward movement. That was part of the white American's Manifest Destiny, but it could never be part of the First American's destiny.

> It turned out, as it had to, that what Indians signified was not what they were, but what Americans should not be. Americans were only talking to themselves about themselves. But they had succeeded in convincing themselves that they were right, divinely right. Only with such conviction--cruel, illogical, and self-indulgent as it was--could they move on.

Most whites had rationalized that Indians were never meant to partake of a higher order of civilization, just as they had decided that whites were never meant to be "squaw men" or renegades and still

remain human, let alone white. Not surprisingly, Freneau's "Indian Student" finds nothing among the white man's trappings to replace his own lifestyle and so departs sadly "to die among my native shades." Whites had clearly defined the Indian's future by the start of the nineteenth century; all that remained was for the Indian to fulfill that prophecy. On July 4, 1779, soldiers in Sullivan's regiment drank a toast expressing a profound and universal truth about the meeting of two cultures, a truth that "superior" cultures reaffirm whenever "inferior" cultures impede the advance of "civilization." That toast, that reaffirmation, promised "Civilization or Death to all American Savages."[24]

NOTES, CHAPTER III

[1]R. B. Nye and N. S. Grabo, eds., American Thought and Writing, Vol. II, The Revolution and Early Republic (New York: Houghton, 1965), p. xv.

[2]James H. Pickering, ed., The World Turned Upside Down (Port Washington, New York: Kennikat Press, 1975), pp. 7, 9. As is the case in all other chapters, my introduction attempts merely to sketch the framework of each period in order to focus upon the formula captivity tale itself. For a fuller treatment of the Revolution, and particularly the role of Revolutionary literature, see in addition to Pickering: Philip Davidson, Propaganda and the American Revolution, 1763-1783 (Chapel Hill, North Carolina: The Univ. of North Carolina Press, 1941); Bruce Granger, Political Satire in the American Revolution, 1763-1783 (Ithaca, New York: Cornell Univ. Press, 1960); Moses Coit Tyler, The Literature of the American Revolution, 1763-1783, 2 volumes (New York: Putnam, 1897).

[3]John P. Pritchard, Criticism in America (Norman, Oklahoma: Univ. of Oklahoma Press, 1956), cited in Ruth Rushton Stokes, "The Study of Literature in American Academies and High Schools, 1820-1880," diss. Michigan State University, 1975, pp. 156-157; Bissell, pp. 98-106. Nash observes that many fur traders not only understood the concept of the noble savage but even stressed Indian virtues over the white man's failings. Nash adds, however, "they did not accept the idea as literal truth" (p. 65).

[4]Savages, pp. 82-84, and 92, passim.

[5]Pp. 85-86.

[6]P. 49. Jefferson supported the doctrine of social hierarchy throughout his life, and one of his most significant statements appears in a letter from his later years.

> Let a philosophic observer commence a journey from the savages of the Rocky Mountains, eastwardly towards our sea-coast. These he would observe in the earliest stage of association living under no law but that of nature, subsisting and covering themselves with the flesh and skin of wild beasts. He would next find those on our frontiers in the pastoral state, raising domestic animals to supply the defects of hunting. Then succeed our own semi-barbarous

> citizens, the pioneers of the advance of civilization, and so in his progress he would meet the gradual shades of improving man until he would reach his, as yet, most improved state in our seacoast towns. This, in fact, is equivalent to a survey, in time, of the progress of man from the infancy of creation to the present day.

Thomas Jefferson, Notes on the State of Virginia, in Horner & Bain, pp. 341-345, passim; Hallowell, p. 525 (quote).

[7]Hallowell, p. 525.

[8]Ewel Jeffries, ed., A Short Biography of John Leeth, With An Account of his Life Among the Indians (1831), with an introduction by Reuben Gold Thwaites (Cleveland, Ohio: Burrows Bros., 1904), pp. 9, 12, 33-34, hereafter referred to as Leeth.

[9][Anonymous], The Wyoming Valley Massacre (July 1778), in Captive, pp. 239-240.

[10]Pp. 241-242.

[11]Hugh Henry Brackenridge, ed., Narratives of the Perils and Sufferings of Dr. Knight and John Slover . . . (1783) (Cincinnati, Ohio: U. P. James, 1967 rpt. of 1843 edn.), hereafter referred to as Knight or Slover; Slover, pp. 44-46; Knight, pp. 22-26, passim; Drimmer, pp. 119, 374.

[12]Slover, pp. 49-51.

[13]Tyler, II, p. 165; Knight, pp. 22-24; Slover, pp. 47-51, 53; Jemison, pp. 112-113.

[14]Drimmer, p. 374; Major Moses Van Campen, The Memoirs of Major Moses Van Campen (1778), in Drimmer, p. 117; Matthew Carey, ed., The Affecting History of the Dreadful Distresses of Frederic Manheim's Family (1779), in Captive, p. 205; Carey, ed., Sufferings of the Rev. John Corbly and Family from the Indians, . . . (1782), in Captive, pp. 205-206; Thos. Jefferson, The Declaration of Independence, in Nye and Grabo, II, p. 56. Granger states that the British and the Americans regularly employed Indians in the Revolution; Granger also cites Andrew M. Davis, English Hist. Rev., II (1887), p. 728, who observes that the British particularly tried to use their Indian allies in those battles "where the opportunity was afforded them of displaying in full force the most revolting features of their barbarous methods of warfare" (Granger, p. 195). For examples of attacks on the British by propagandists responding to the use of Indians, see Davidson, pp. 371-372.

[15]Carey, ed., Signal Prowess of a Woman, in a Combat with Some Indians, . . . (1779), in Captive, pp. 209-210; Carey, ed., The Remarkable Encounter of a White Man with Two Indians . . . (ca. 1779), in Captive, pp. 207-209. Van Campen also recalls that several Indians were scalped as retribution for white deaths (Van Campen, in Drimmer, p. 112).

[16]Frances Scott, Narrative (1785), in Loudon, pp. 43-48; Miss Heckewelder, Narrative (ca. 1781), in John Frost, ed., Pioneer Mothers of the West (Boston: Lee and Shepard, 1869), pp. 68-72.

[17]Van Campen, in Drimmer, pp. 110-113, 117-118.

[18]William Walton, ed., A Narrative of the Captivity and Sufferings of Benjamin Gilbert and his Family (ca. 1782) (Lancaster, Pennsylvania: n. p., 1890), pp. 3, 11, 13-15, passim; VanDerBeets, in Captive, n. 31, p. 237, offers comments on Brandt's lineage.

[19]Savages, p. 54.

[20]Smith, p. 12; Leeth, p. 28.

[21]Brackenridge, pp. 5-6.

[22]Pp. 65-71, passim. Brackenridge's reference to exterminating the Indians is reminiscent of Franklin's remark in his Autobiography (pp. 155-156):

> And, indeed, if it be the design of Providence to extirpate these savages in order to make room for the cultivators of the earth, it seems not improbable that rum may be the appointed means. It has already annihilated all the tribes who formerly inhabited the seacoast.

[23]Freneau, in Nye & Grabo, II, pp. 397-398. Contrast Freneau's optimistic vision to Goldsmith's description in The Deserted Village, where those journeying to America face "torrid tracts," "blazing suns," "matted woods where birds forget to sing, / But silent bats in drowsy clusters cling." Goldsmith also warns would-be travelers of scorpions, tigers, snakes, "And savage men, more mud'rous still than they; / While oft in whirls the mad tornado flies, / Mingling the ravaged landscape with the skies" (Bissell, pp. 203-204).

[24]Freneau's poems, p. 327; Freneau, in Bissell, pp. 206-207; Savages, pp. 55, 178, 232, 244.

CHAPTER IV

NARRATIVES OF THE "WESTERN WARS"

> There is nothing more common than to confound the terms of the American Revolution with those of the late American war. The American war is over; but this is far from being the case with the American Revolution. On the contrary, nothing but the first act of the great drama is closed.
>
> --Benjamin Rush

Benjamin Rush's observation shortly after the Revolution reflects the changes occurring in American manufacturing, commerce, and even the social structure itself. Yet nowhere is the Philadelphia physician's observation more fully substantiated than in the growth of agrarian interests combined with westward expansion after 1783.[1]

In 1784, Jefferson wrote in Query XIX of his Notes on the State of Virginia that "those who labor in the earth are the chosen people of God, if ever He had a chosen people. Whose breasts He has made His peculiar deposit for substantial and genuine virtue." Here, observes Pearce, is agrarianism at its penultimate, revealing the Lockean concept that "man achieve[s] his highest humanity by taking something out of nature and converting it with his labor into part of himself." Although Jefferson recognized the Federalist challenge of mercantilism, agricultural interests remained foremost in his mind

and in the minds of those Americans who looked westward across the Appalachians to the fertile lands available to them. Moved by the conviction that those who successfully cultivate the land acquire the dignity and status of freeholding farmers, many Americans saw agriculture as the only true indicator of human civilization. Thus, ownership of farm property contributed the security, stability, and self-respect so important to civilized beings. So certain was Jefferson of the benefits derived from cultivating one's own land that he continued in his 1784 Query, "Corruption of morals in the mass of cultivators is a phenomenon of which no age nor nation has furnished an example." If Jefferson's belief was based on the narrowly circumscribed European examples, then how much greater might the glory of American farmers be?[2]

Jefferson, like Crevecoeur, Franklin, and Freneau, was simply restating popular beliefs common to many late eighteenth-century individuals. Equally familiar and popular was the belief that the American West would provide ample room for America's expanding agricultural society for many years to come, thereby assuring the continuation of republican institutions. Jefferson, however, did not rely upon myth alone to assure Americans' felicity. He took definite steps both to secure the needed land and to provide the necessary safeguards for those who would domesticate that land. Jefferson was responsible for framing the Northwest Ordinance of 1787, thereby opening the Trans-Allegheny region while establishing territorial government, and providing the necessary framework for admitting new states from this area, as well as forever banning

slavery in those states. Equally important, Jefferson devised a system to convey public land to private ownership, and later, secured more than double the land previously available to western settlers through the Louisiana Purchase. Thus, the Revolution had given substance to the dream of a new nation, but settlement of land west of the Alleghenies took agrarian ideals far beyond anything previously considered, and, in so doing, inspired still greater hopes for the glorious transformation of man and his society.[3]

Both Britain and Spain, however, presented serious challenges to the agrarian dream, for representatives of these nations, and even France, sought to woo frontier leaders and their valuable lands away from the Union. So precarious was the situation by 1786 that George Washington observed, "The western states . . . stand as it were upon a pivot. A touch of a feather would turn them either way." Relations between America and Britain were especially strained due to post-war emotionalism and Britain's refusal to surrender forts and valuable trading posts they held on American soil under the pretense that Americans had not repaid debts owed at the start of the Revolution, nor had Americans settled the issue of restoring Tory property. Jay's treaty with Great Britain eventually secured the posts, but British civilians were permitted to conduct their important fur trade with the same Indians whose lands American settlers were rapidly domesticating with no concern for the Indians' fate.[4]

Both the Northwest Ordinance and the Constitution stipulated that Indian land, whether purchased or conquered, was "to be

extinguished formally before Americans might move onto it. . . ." Moreover, the Indians were to be civilized, instructed in farming, and relocated on farms. But like so many other American treaties with the Indians, these formal agreements were ignored--in this instance by frontiersmen eager to acquire new lands. Simply stated, America's westward expansion did not permit the "luxury" of civilizing Indians.[5]

Angered by American lies and encouraged by British agents, the Indians rose up against the settlers. VanDerBeets estimates that 1,500 settlers along the Ohio River alone were injured, killed, or captured between 1782 and 1790. These Indians successfully defeated punitive expeditions led by Harmar (1790) and St. Clair (1791) before falling to Wayne (1794). Utterly routed by the Americans and deserted by the British, the Indians signed the Treaty of Greenville (1795) at a cost to themselves of 50,000,000 acres--nearly the entire Ohio territory.[6]

The Indians' fate was nearly sealed. In 1789, Secretary of War Henry Knox wrote that

> all the Indian tribes, once existing in those States now the best cultivated and most populous, have become extinct. If the same causes continue, the same effects will happen; and in a short period, the idea of an Indian on this side of the Mississippi will only be found in the pages of the historian.

Ironically, he who was once <u>the</u> American was being destroyed by another American. Moreover, Knox's reference to studies by historians is also ironic, for few were as revealing or as objective as Jedidiah Morse's 1790 text, <u>The History of America</u>. Morse

argues that the Indian's character is determined by his environment and his needs as a member of a hunting society. Responding to charges by Buffon and others of the Indians' innate inferiority, Morse contends that Indians are "not cowardly, perfidious, stupid, vain, effeminate, or in any way degenerate." According to Morse, both good and bad qualities of the Indians, how they live, and what they believe in, "ought to be considered in connection, and in regard to their mutual influences." This attitude, however, was largely limited to a few scholars, just as the concept of the noble savage was limited to literary circles.[7]

Most historians were willing to accept the popular view of the Indian's inadequacy for survival in civilized life. Historians like Jeremy Belknap (History of New Hampshire, 1784-1792 [1813]), Samuel Williams (Natural and Civil History of Vermont, 1794), and Robert Proud (History of Pennsylvania, 1797-1798), insisted that the inferiority and undesirability of the savage life to which Indians appeared "inseparably connected [threatened] the improvement, progress, or increase of society." Convinced that the disadvantages of Indian life always outweighed its advantages, historians such as Williams concluded that

> the independence of which the savage was so fond, was never designed for man: And it is only in the improvement of civil society, that the human race can find the greatest increase of their numbers, knowledge, safety, and happiness.

If the Indian's life had any glorious moments, they were lost in antiquity. If the Indian himself had any innate nobility, it remained for the budding American poet, dramatist, or novelist to

discover and relate, but not for the historian, the frontier settler, or the average American in the final years of the eighteenth century to extol.[8]

Not by accident did the Indian become part of American literature, for post-Revolutionary writers were deliberately searching for native topics. At the same time, many writers and editors were engaged in lively debates on why the arts had yet to come of age in America. Significant to this study is the growing realization that American literature should focus upon America's future greatness, rejecting also the rigid conventions of form and subject matter imposed by outside influences. Equally important is the argument that America's recent past provides suitable material for a truly American form of writing.[9]

An ardent supporter of the last argument is Charles Brockden Brown. Citing native contributions by naturalist and politician alike, Brown regrets that "moral painter[s] have failed to follow suit." America offers adequate subject matter and inspiration quite different from European counterparts, as Brown demonstrates in his 1799 novel, Edgar Huntly, or Memoirs of a Sleep Walker. Brown says that "puerile superstition and exploded manners, Gothic castles and chimeras are the materials usually employed [to arouse the reader's passions and sympathy]." But in America, "the incidents of Indian hostility, and the perils of the western wilderness, are far more suitable; and for a native of America to overlook these would admit of no apology." Brown, indeed, does not overlook these

materials, for he combines the violence and uncertainty of a captivity narrative with the Gothic horror tale.[10]

His hero, Huntly, is the son of parents murdered by Indians, so his encounter with them has special meaning. Despite the sensational adventures and sentimental dialogue, Huntly manages to provide terrifying accounts of Indian cruelty. His frequent struggles with his conscience over his violent, but necessary acts of self-preservation recall the psychological despair of many captives, while Huntly's return to civilization reveals the confusion and uncertainty produced by the encounter of alien cultures frequently recorded in many of the longer captivity narratives. Yet Brown was not the only American to incorporate the traditional captivity narrative into the format of a novel.

In 1793, Ann Eliza Bleecker effectively combined the experience of Indian captivity with the emotionalism of a novel of sensibility to produce The History of Maria Kittle. Horrid scenes permeate every page as atrocities are piled high in this fictional account set in the time of the French and Indian Wars. A lurid account of the initial raid focuses upon the ghastly murder of Maria's pregnant sister, followed by mutilation of her body and removal of her unborn infant, itself then "dashed to pieces against the stone wall. . . ." Sentimental pathos prevails throughout; even nature is depicted as depraved:

> The horrid gloom of the place, the scowling looks of her murderous companions, the shrill shrieks of owls, the loud cries of the wolf, and mournful screams of panthers, which

> were redoubled by distant echoes as the terrible sounds seemed dying away, shook her frame with cold tremors.

Maria is eventually reunited with her husband after a stay in Montreal, but not before the author has opened "the sluice gates of her reader's eyes" and allowed herself "the luxury of horror"--a common practice among novelists from the sentimental school in the late eighteenth century.[11]

Admittedly, not all writers used the sentimental or the Gothic to depict Indian actions, but many writers did, however, consider Indian customs, wilderness dangers, and frontier hardships. Still others discussed mistreatment of the Indian or documented his passing, as evidenced by Dwight's Greenfield Hill (1794) and Freneau's Prophecy of King Tammany (1782). Some writers even sought to idealize the Indian, perhaps none more ambitiously than Mrs. Morton in Ouabi (1790). According to Bissell, such efforts merely represent "the transformation of the sinister and forbidding savage into the idealized embodiment of picturesqueness, pathos, fortitude, and heroic statement." But the true condition of the Indian was closer to that shown in the captivity narrative. Visitors to the frontier who saw "drunken, diseased, and degraded" Indians were also "told that Indians beyond the frontier would sooner or later be in no better condition." Getting Indians drunk, then encouraging them to fight among themselves, became a popular frontier pastime, as more than one traveler learned.[12]

Given the acceptability of such treatment of the Indian, it is not surprising that the captivity narrative formula should reflect

such contemporary societal interests and values extant in the late eighteenth century. With the end of the Revolution, political propaganda directed at the British no longer dominates these accounts, although some captives do criticize the government for allowing the continued presence of British agents on American soil, since many captives had first-hand evidence of British influence over the Indians. Stronger attacks, however, are usually reserved for the renegades who also inflame the Indians.

Since many accounts were published several years after events described, the ameliorative effects of time are evident as a dispassionate narrator recalls his captivity. In such instances, the sociological and anthropological details found in longer narratives from the French and Indian Wars are again present. Closely allied to these details, however, is increasing stress on the cultural advantages of white society. Both technological progress and agricultural improvements--so important also in the next century--are mentioned frequently in longer narratives as the narrators comment upon the steady, inevitable advance of civilization. Some narrators even reveal concern for the future of the Indians resultant from these rapid changes in society.

Far more significant, however, than any of these aspects of the Indian captivity narrative are the addition of sensibility, melodrama, and stylistic embellishment. Such literary alterations by the narrator, or more frequently, by an editor or publisher, become the key to marketing the "latest" type of captivity narrative. These alterations are really not surprising considering the growing

popularity following the Revolution of the Gothic tale and the novel of sensibility. Furthermore, the change from propaganda to thriller is neither drastic nor difficult. VanDerBeets notes "It was but a short and almost inevitable step from narrative excesses for the purpose of propaganda to excesses in the interest of sensation and titillation, from promoting hatred to eliciting horror, from chauvinism to commercialism." Melodrama and stylistic embellishment were specifically designed to arouse the reader's sensibilities, i.e., "keen sensitiveness to moral and aesthetic beauty," while lurid descriptive details were calculated to arouse the reader's sense of horror.[13]

These literary devices are thoroughly developed in such representative accounts as the Narratives of Mary Kinnan (1795) and Rev. Oliver Spencer (first published in book form in 1835), and to some extent in the Narratives of Jackson Johonnot (1791) and Thomas Barry (1802), the veracity of which is highly suspect. All four captivities occur during the 1780s, and except for Barry's captivity, are all set near the Ohio River. Although Spencer relies upon his clerical title to lend credence to his captivity narrative, the other accounts are prefaced by disclaimers stressing the accounts' accuracy despite the bizarre, unlikely incidents presented. Barry tells the reader that unless he has experienced similar misfortunes, "a few of the incidents may appear improbable. . . ." Johonnat ponders the difficulty of writing an autobiography whose content "borders on the marvelous," while "the veracity of the relater . . . is still less frequently vouched for." Kinnan hopes to elicit "the tear of

sensibility" for "the unaffected and unvarnished tale of a female, who has surmounted difficulties and dangers, which on a review appear romantic, even to herself." Although captivity narrators have never been known to regard their captivity as "romantic," Kinnan's claim lends credence to VanDerBeets' observation that the motivations behind her true account are "the development of melodramatic possibilities of the narrative, the workings of sensibility, and the opportunities for rhetorical refinement. . . ."[14]

One melodramatic device common to these narratives (and later ones) is the juxtaposition of peaceful scenes depicting the comfort and security of civilized life and the sudden upheaval of the narrator's world by an Indian raid resulting in terrifying capture. The youthful Spencer, for example, is seized after enjoying a Fourth of July celebration, complete with "a brilliant exhibition of fireworks." Barry is contemplating with joyous rapture the natural beauty of rural Carolina when Indians spring from out the flower-laden bushes. "Alas! how fluctuating are the scenes of life! how singularly precarious the fortune of a soldier," bewails Johonnot, as Indians seize him without warning. Kinnan, likewise, is taken on a spring evening that found her caught up in reverie over the change of seasons, which she compares to "the buds of virtue and of genius, sprouting in the bosoms of my children."[15]

All four narrators record the gruesome details of the deaths and mutilations of friends or relatives in the attacks that led to their captivity, and provide ample accounts of subsequent suffering and uncertainty. Barry, about to be burned at the stake, is

rescued by the lovely Oneida in a manner all too reminiscent of the archetypal Pocohontas incident. Spencer envisions his bereaved mother filled with "distressing apprehensions" and held in a "painful state of suspense" over his well-being. Johonnot records a forced march of eight days, so painful an experience that "no pen can describe our sufferings from hunger, thirst, and toil." Kinnan, distraught by the death and destruction around her, pleads "Spare me the pain of describing my feelings at this scene, which racked my agonizing heart, and precipitated me to the verge of madness." Nevertheless, Kinnan and the others persist in describing even greater horrors throughout their narratives in hope, as Johonnot suggests, "the tender hearted will drop the tear of sympathy, when they realize the sufferings of . . . our unfortunate country folks as fall into the hands of the western Indians, whose tender mercies are cruelties."[16]

Johonnot's final phrase belongs to a stock repertoire that continues well into the nineteenth century, along with a growing fondness for literary allusions. Kinnan, for example, draws upon King Lear, Hamlet, and Macbeth. This practice becomes increasingly commonplace among later narratives by female captives, as evidenced by the Oatman and Kelly captivities (Chapter V). But even a restrained male narrator occasionally adds some literary allusions. Attorney Charles Johnston, whose captivity experiences of 1790 were not published until 1827, adds a long citation from Irish romantic poet Thomas Moore, plus a shorter quotation from Goldsmith. These and other literary devices were, as Pearce notes, part of an attempt

to rejuvenate a popular genre that "was quite old and quite tired" after more than 125 years of service in American annals alone. As a consequence, many published narratives increasingly became little more than "an exercise in blood and thunder and sensibility."[17]

Unfortunately, literary affectation increased the reader's skepticism rather than assuaged it. With one tear-provoking page following on the heels of another and yet another, the intended effect of the moral coda is frequently diminished or at least severely curtailed by the authors' overzealousness. The critical reader will notice an obvious parallel between Kinnan's closing paragraphs and Rowlandson's, but Kinnan's overblown rhetoric fails to hit its mark.

> If my history has been marked with woe-worn incidents--if I have been in a peculiar manner the child of misfortune; --if my cup of life has been deeply mixed with gall;--if despair has brooded over my soul, with all its horrors;-- and finally, if I have been obliged to dismiss even dear delusive hope, having so often felt 'what kind of sickness of the heart that was, which proceeds from hope deferred;' --yet, by these very woes, I have been led to place my dependence on the beneficient dispenser of good and evil, . . . [and] recline on the bosom of [my] father and [my] God.

It would appear to the critical reader that Kinnan reclined less on God's bosom than upon the bosom of the muse who inspired Maria Kittle's creator to seek "the luxury of sorrow."[18]

Since these narrators readily converted excesses of propaganda into excesses of literary affectation, it is not surprising that some narrators detail British intrigue with the Indians in the same heavy-handed manner. Kinnan herself alters lines from Macbeth

(Act I, Sc. 7, ll. 19-25) to inveigh against the British presence in America in an overwrought appeal to heaven.

> O Britain! how heavy will be the weight of thy crimes at the last great day! Instigated by thee, the Indian murderer plunges his knife into the bosom of innocence, of piety, and of virtue; and drags thousands into a captivity, worse than death. The cries of widows, and the groans of orphans daily ascend, like a thick cloud, before the judgment-seat of heaven. . . .

To grasp the extent of Kinnan's stylistic embellishment, one has but to contrast her denunciation with Johnston's firm, but restrained, observation.

> Many of the Indian tribes had continued hostilities with the United States through the revolutionary war, and for a long period after its conclusion. The retention of the posts, by the British troops, gave them an extensive influence in the surrounding territory. . . .

Massy Herbeson's Narrative (1792) also includes criticism of British assistance to the Indians, but again without Kinnan's emotionalism, such invective usually being reserved for white renegades.[19]

The Girty brothers remain the arch-villains they were during the Revolution, and so receive the brunt of hostile comments by Herbeson, Matthew Bunn (Narrative, 1796), and Spencer, with the latter depicting the malicious Simon Girty, with

> his shaggy hair; his low forehead; his brows contracted, and meeting above his short flat nose; his grey sunken eyes, averting the ingenuous gaze; his lips thin and compressed, and the dark and sinister expression of his countenance, to me, seemed the very picture of a villain.

Such a description, replete with elements of phrenology and physiognomy, must make Girty appear villainous to any reader. Thus, contempt for renegades and disdain for their British cohorts continue beyond the Revolution because of unresolved British-American

differences, and are so represented in the captivity narratives. Because these views parallel Americans' societal values and beliefs, they belong to that part of the formula story dimension that Cawelti refers to as collective, or cultural, ritual. So, too, do the laudatory statements commenting on the growth of technology and agriculture--civilization's twin prodigies--in America's recently-acquired territories following the Revolution.[20]

The advance of civilization is featured in several representative captivity tales, albeit in varying degrees. The aging Thomas Baldwin, fellow Indian fighter with Daniel Boone, comments in his 1836 Narrative upon the hardships of frontier life after the Revolution. The Indians have taken the lives of his two sons, wife, and brother, and have even destroyed many farm animals. Once isolated on the outposts of civilization and subject to the associated dangers and uncertainties, Baldwin calls himself "an instrument ordained to settle the wilderness." The singular Narrative of William Smalley (first published publicly in 1966) reveals the acute awareness of a captive equally at home among white and red cultures. A friend of Presidents Washington and Jefferson, this adopted son and heir-apparent of an Iroquois chief, is all too aware of the advance of civilization and subjugation of Indian territory after the Revolution. Despite the great gulf between the two cultures, Smalley (or Grey Eagle) endeavors to negotiate a peace between Indian and white, leading a delegation from President Washington to the Iroquois. More important, he strives to convince his Indian family of the advantages

of a farming society over a hunting society, for he is all too well aware of the implications of "civilization" for the Indian.[21]

Both Spencer and Johnston, however, reveal great awareness of the progress of civilization in savage lands. Spencer cites improvements in roads and public accommodations and praises the invention of the steamboat for its contributions to transportation of people and of commerce alike. Far more significant to a former Indian captive is the domestication of savage territory, now converted into peaceful farms throughout the Mississippi valley.

> Our rivers teem with commerce; their banks are covered with farms, with houses, villages, towns, and cities; the wilderness has been converted into fruitful fields; temples to God are erected, where once stood the Indian wigwam, and the praises of the Most High resound, where formerly the screams of the panther, or the yell of the savage only were heard.

Likewise, Johnston comments upon the growth of population in Ohio, which, by the time he published his captivity narrative, had become a state. He also comments upon the appearance of farms and towns where "savages and wild beasts" once lived. Reflecting upon the advent of the steamboat and the growth of commerce, he predicts a glowing future for the region; canals are under construction, which when connected with others, will permit navigation "from the northern to the southern extreme of the United States." Johnston's pride in progress is obvious as he concludes,

> What a subject of reflection to the statesman and political economist! What a source of triumph, on the part of the free and thrifty institutions of the western hemisphere, over the strong systems of the eastern!

Johnston might have added "What a triumph over the Indian," for that was what civilization's inroads really meant to the native inhabitants, who depended upon the wilderness for their food as members of a hunting society. But some narrators were aware of the Indian's fate.[22]

Throughout much of his narrative, Smalley recalls his efforts to bridge the gulf between red and white cultures, believing the Indian can survive only by adopting agrarian ways. But despite years of efforts to help his red brothers achieve this goal, his limited success and repeated frustration eventually led him to conclude, "There could be no common ground for the fusion of thought and action; they were to each other like people from different planets." Spencer, too, is aware of the Indian's dark future, and recalls his Indian mother's comments on the sad history of relations between red and white. After reflecting upon the rapid spread of civilization, accompanied by the continual deception of French, British, and eventually Americans, the Indian knowingly predicts that Americans will "never be satisfied until they have crowded the Indians to the extreme north, to perish on the great Ice Lake, or to the far west, until pushing those who should escape from their rifles, into the great waters, all would at length be exterminated." This prediction became reality all too often, since the concern shown for the Indian's welfare by some captives remains the exception. The common opinion would prevail--the Indian was too savage, too stubborn, and too much the child of another age to adapt to civilization's demands. Furthermore, whites doubted that time would

permit the success of any real attempts to civilize the Indian. Thus, most Indian captives, like their peers in American society, were primarily concerned with protecting their countrymen on the frontier "from the depredations of savages, whose horrid mode of war is a scene to be deprecated by civilized nature. . . ." Johonnot's closing lines were all too frequently believed, as was his admonition against trusting any Indian treaty. Still other captives re-echoed Brackenridge's earlier call for the government to exterminate Indians. For example, Jane Brown's Narrative (ca. 1795) laments the lack of governmental assistance against the Creeks and Cherokees, who were aided and encouraged in their opposition to the settlers by the Spanish. Brown's experiences were far from unique; as settlers poured into the American interior in increasing numbers, white and Indian hostilities were destined to result in one critical encounter after another. Nevertheless, the popular interest in Indian behavior did not diminish. As the reader sought further information about the Indian, more than one narrator of Indian captivity endeavored to provide details about the Indian's lifestyle, as well as about the Indian himself.[23]

Four representative narrators offering a wealth of details are Johnston, Smalley, Spencer, and John Tanner (whose 1830 Narrative covers his captivity from 1789-1817). These accounts provide detailed insights into the daily life of the American Indian. Johnston describes the Indian town of Upper Sandusky, Ohio, and, like Smalley, details the annual negotiations between Indians and fur traders for their respective goods. Spencer also offers

detailed observations on the structure of Indian homes, and lists the utensils popular in the Indian household. Like Johnston, Spencer also recalls the array of costumes popular among various age groups of either sex. Tanner frequently mentions the necessary migrations of a hunting society in search of game. Himself an accomplished marksman, Tanner recalls frequent moves by his Indian family from Indian villages at Saginaw to Cheboygan, St. Ignace, and Mackinac. Smalley also comments on the importance of game and hunting skills to the Indian, but warns against disturbing nature's balance by concentrating hunting in one area, or by bringing hunting lands under cultivation. Agriculture is not alien to the Indians, however; corn planting receives the attention of Tanner and Smalley, while Spencer describes both Indian fisheries and maple-sugar preparation. Several narrators comment upon the inordinate amount of labor Indian women expend in food gathering, in addition to their many other daily chores. Smalley adds that although the braves kill game, the squaws must bring in the meat, prepare or preserve it, and dress the hides useful to their own needs or to those of the fur traders. Thus, "the real labor . . . was left to the squaw, who was the pack horse, the beast of burden. . . ." Tanner concurs, but also examines the important role of the Ottawas' female chief, Netnokwa, who is accorded full acceptance by her male peers. Despite her marriage to a younger, powerful man, she holds all family property and goods. Loyal to the British, Netnokwa always carries a British flag when traveling; "whenever she came to Mackinac, she was saluted by a gun from the fort." In addition to discussing male and female roles,

these narrators comment on Indian nature lore, games, and tribal ritual. Singling out ritual cannibalism and the war-dance for special observation, Johnston says that a fellow captive, William Flinn, is sent as a gift to a nearby village to be killed and eaten. Witnessing the terrifying ceremony of a war-dance, Johnston sees the Indians work themselves into further frenzy by recalling white abuses. Aroused by the fury of the war-dance, one violent Indian attempts to kill Johnston and two younger captives. Equally frightening is the Indians' drunken revelry, frequently recalled by both Johnston and Tanner. Other customs often mentioned include the gauntlet ceremony, and a penchant for pipe-smoking, ritualistic or otherwise. Tanner adds a touch of the Gothic as he recites the legend of two Indian brothers who kill each other, and whose ghosts visit him as he camps near the site of their fratricide. Later, he describes the supernatural hold over many Indians by the prophet, Aiskawbawis. Tanner, however, has no faith in this prophet and, in fact, flatly states that Aiskawbawis is a fraud. Tanner adds a bit of the bizarre in his description of the Indian transvestite who is enamored of him, but who finally marries an Indian chief with two other wives. Tanner recalls the acquisition of this latest "wife" undoubtedly "caused some laughter and some ludicrous incidents--but it was attended with less uneasiness and quarreling than the bringing in of a new wife of the female sex."[24]

Many narrators do not limit their discussions exclusively to details of Indian life <u>per se</u>. Like some of their longer counterparts from the French and Indian Wars, many captivities from the

late eighteenth century also include details of weather, geography, and available food supplies, both plant and animal, for the information of would-be settlers and travelers. Furthermore, many captivity narratives published in the late eighteenth and the nineteenth centuries reveal a growing predilection among narrators to contrast the areas they knew as captives with what these locales have become by the time their accounts are published several years later. Obviously, a motivation for this practice is to show the "improvements" upon nature made possible by the twin handmaidens of civilization, technology and agriculture. In addition to Johnston's comments which have already been examined, Spencer describes changes in the Ohio River valley, with particular attention to Cincinnati, Columbus, and Fort Washington. In a similar vein, life at Detroit figures in accounts by Spencer, Smalley, and Tanner.[25]

Both Spencer and Johnston, however, reveal a growing awareness of the innate beauty of wilderness settings so popular with nineteenth-century Romantics. Initially, only unique wilderness objects or settings are singled out to be praised for their beauty and for their value as national assets. Freneau, for example, calls the Mississippi "this prince of rivers," while Jefferson praises Virginia's Natural Bridge. For captives Johnston and Spencer, the Niagara Falls is the subject of their adulation. In fact, writes Johnston, if Jefferson had viewed "the celebrated cataract of Niagara," he would never have labeled Virginia's Natural Bridge "the most sublime of nature's works." The usually reserved, almost stoic,

narrator is so moved by the sight of the majestic waterfall that he is literally at a loss for words to describe it adequately.

> The tremendous roar of waters producing such a sound as had never before fallen on my ear, the spray formed into white clouds and rising up to heaven, the rainbow with its beautiful tints, all form an assemblage of objects so sublime, as at once to defy and mock description.

Johnston's description is certainly modest and controlled in contrast to Spencer's rapture at the sight of Niagara. The latter's account covers over two pages in his narrative. Even the distant roar of the mighty falls is indelibly recorded in Spencer's memory, as is his mounting apprehension as his boat nears the falls. Like Johnston, Spencer laments the inadequacy of language to convey "the feelings of the beholder when standing just in front of the awful precipice. . . ." Nevertheless, well nigh overwhelmed by emotion, Spencer relates how he contemplates the

> vast volume of water, rushing over, far beyond the angular summit rock, (its upper bed,) extending from its western bank to Goat Island, and plunging down, down into the deep abyss; then measures with his eye the giddy height of the foot of that Island, rising perpendicular from the depths below, and presenting a face of solid rock; then views the beautiful unbroken sheet of water, that falls between it and the eastern bank, facing the west, and in front of which, in clear, warm sunshine, may be always seen a brilliant rainbow, with its ample arch spanning its width; then the troubled plunge, back to the foot of the tremendous cataract, there forced again into the dread abyss, again emerging, rolls tumultously down, a mighty torrent.

His fulsome style is not limited to his description of the falls alone, for Spencer frequently adopts the popular fashion for highly embellished style in his descriptions. His account of an Ohio springtime is characterized by inflated sentimentality, as, for

example, when he concludes by noting that such a spring is reminiscent of "the confines of Eden or the borders of Elysium." He also recalls a tornado, replete with thunder and lightning, sending "vivid bolts athwart and onward, passing the storm with the rapidity of thought."[26]

Spencer's melodramatic descriptions, however, pale when compared with Kinnan's or Barry's accounts of natural phenomena. Immediately after her capture, Kinnan has to march over terrain that would have been challenging in the best of times. Needless to say, being forced along such a route inspires Kinnan to magnify her sorry plight--"how much more so was it now, when the arrow of calamity was rankling in my bosom; when I was faint through loss of blood, and without refreshment, without rest." As one might anticipate under these dire circumstances, the climate is also hostile to Kinnan, who, like Barry, does not let a classic example of the pathetic fallacy go unserved. "Nature too seemed to conspire against me: the rain descended in torrents; the lightning flashed dreadfully, and almost without intermission; whilst the thunder rolled awfully on high." In such accounts as these, nature is never neutral, but always sublime or terrifying, depending upon the narrator's plight. When even a cruel nature conspires against the pitiful captive, it comes as no surprise that the narrators occasionally contemplate suicide, as does Kinnan, but she is stayed by her Christianity. Nevertheless, she does not fail to stress her utter isolation and dejection.

> I appeared, as it were, insulated to the civilized world--nay, worse than insulated, for the poor lonely mariner, who is shipwrecked on some desart coast, has far greater cause to rejoice than I then had.

Kinnan's account of her journey and life among her captors continues in this gloomy vein as she observes sadly that all the while, "sorrow and fatigue still [made] increased ravages on my constitution. . . ." Other narrators might comment positively on the abundance of game in the areas through which they were compelled to pass, but Kinnan is too saddened to think even of eating; yet, she does so in fear of the Indians' threats. So dejected is this narrator that she observes in bathetic tones, "The picture of my life was deeply, too deeply dashed with shade, and but a few faint strokes of light were intermingled with the numerous touches of the sombre pencil." Clearly, Kinnan sees herself as an artist with words, and throughout her narrative deliberately clothes her descriptions in the most sentimental, somber tones anyone could ever wish to see.[27]

Of course, not all captivity narrators are as maudlin as Kinnan, nor do many narrators from this period exploit the setting as extensively as she for its emotional possibilities. Shorter accounts, such as those by Bunn, Herbeson, and Baldwin, frequently provide little or no details of the setting. Even longer narratives, such as Brown's, do not necessarily develop setting details if the narrator is not especially interested in sensibility and melodrama, or in sociology and anthropology. But as these representative narratives indicate, some writers were well aware of the public interest in details of Indian life and of the wilderness areas in which the

narrator found himself. Other narrators show their awareness of the value of literary embellishment to attract readers and to increase the sale of their tales.

These alterations in the captivity narrative formula are not necessarily limited to what Cawelti calls the setting dimension, for they frequently appear in characterization as well. Anyone investigating captivity narratives from the late eighteenth century immediately detects the expanded characterization as narrator and companions, Indians and renegades, rescuers and benevolent individuals all receive more attention. All too frequently, however, the characters who evolve are melodramatic figures or mere stereotypes. This is certainly the case with those representative narratives that border on the melodramatic or parallel the novel of sensibility, among them the accounts by Brown, Kinnan, Barry, and Johonnot.

Brown's editor suggests that because James Brown was a guide for Lee and Washington, he naturally selects a challenging route to the Cumberlands to fulfill "a sort of manly desire to meet and overcome [dangers]." In a similar tone, the editor recites several misfortunes befalling Jane Brown, adding that "amidst all her troubles, Mrs. Brown bore herself as an humble Christian, devoutely grateful to the Giver of all Good, that he had guided her footsteps aright, in the midst of so many sorrows." Repetition of sorrows and uncertainties, coupled to unswerving religious convictions, are a benchmark of the melodramatic female narrator as heroine found in many captivity narratives, especially Mary Kinnan's. Kinnan herself is the archetypal heroine "who has surmounted difficulties and dangers,

which on a review appear romantic, even to herself." Kinnan should have substituted melodramatic for romantic, since literary affectation so distorts her personality that her admirable role as a wife and mother are lost. Rather than stating simply that her life had been routine and pleasant, she gushes, "my days passed sweetly on, and I had scarcely one single wish ungratified. Happiness smiled on our cottage;--content spread her influence around. . . ." Subsequently, instead of stating merely that time has not dimmed her remembrance of captivity, she proclaims in orotund tones, "four years have almost rolled their ample round, still at the recollection, my bosom heaves impetuous; the cold sweat of fear stands on my brow; and the burning tear of anguish glistens in my eye." Having established herself as a more melodramatic, albeit far less believable, narrator than Johnston or Bunn, Kinnan proceeds to denounce the role of women in the savage Indian culture in contrast to that of the gentler sex in civilized society.

> Here the female sex, instead of polishing and improving the rough manners of the men, are equally ferocious, cruel, and obdurate. Instead of that benevolent disposition and warm sensibility to the sufferings of others, which marks their characters in more civilized climes, they quaff with extatic pleasure the blood of the innocent prisoner, writhing with agony under the inhuman torments inflicted upon him--whilst his convulsive groans speak music to their souls.

Surely, the "sluices of sorrow" in a fair reader's heart would be opened by this and similar scenes throughout Kinnan's overwrought account.[28]

Such deliberate sensationalism applied to genuine captivities frequently produces characterizations which, at best, are

lugubrious, but when applied to suspect captivities, the resultant characterization is both banal and ludicrous. Witness Barry's epitome of the Noble Savage, Oneida, who supposedly rescues Barry from death at the stake and later marries him. Barry tells his female readers to emulate this model of womanhood from "the wildest state of nature, [who is] not only graceful in her person, but [is] actuated by the benign passions." Surely, Barry continues, such a compassionate figure who leaves her homeland, risking life and security, presents "a portrait of the superior sensibility of the female mind. . . ." Having established Oneida's ideal characterization, Barry paints a self-portrait of the all-sufficient hero who gains the trust of his Indian village by teaching the warriors how to fight with spears--after first teaching them to build a forge and work with iron. Successfully leading the young warriors against a hostile tribe, Barry shows his diplomatic skills as he counsels the chief to adopt the captive tribe, thereby enlarging their own tribe, while at the same time eliminating future hostilities. For his wisdom and his strength, Barry is soon crowned "chief warrior" of the tribe. All of Barry's characters, it appears, are larger than life, and the reader has no more insight into their personalities than he does of the characters in Johonnot's captivity account.[29]

Johonnot's efforts at characterization focus upon the narrator himself, "an illiterate soldier" of humble but honest, agrarian stock. Admittedly a bit naive, he succumbs to a recruiter's pitch, enlisting to find "easy conquest, rich plunder, and fine arms. . . ." But when captured, he suddenly and miraculously becomes as resourceful

and vengeful as the most accomplished backwoodsman. Taking the initiative, he executes an escape for himself and another captive. Glossing over the details of the flight, Johonnot simply repeats the stock phrase, "hunger, thirst, and fatigue were our constant companions." Personalities of fellow captives are not developed, while the Indians are reduced to stock villains given over to "rage and hellish barbarity." In his closing appeal to "the heroism in the breasts of many an American youth . . . to defend the worthy inhabitants on the frontiers, . . ." the narrator envisions future dramatic encounters similar to his own as other simple countrymen rise to civilization's call in the conflict against savage, inhuman creatures deserving only of contempt and death. Thus, Johonnot, Barry, and many other captivity narrators of this period consciously employ the well-used, popular literary techniques of their time to embellish their own accounts.[30]

Other captivity narrators endeavor to develop their characters by different means. Both Johnston and Spencer apply specific details of physiognomy to their characterizations. Besides his derogatory description of the despicable Simon Girty, Spencer paints a positive picture of the stalwart Shawnee Chief, Blue Jacket,

> the most noble in appearance of any Indian I ever saw. His person, about six feet high, was finely proportioned, stout and muscular; his eyes large, bright and piercing; his forehead high and broad; his nose aquiline; his mouth rather wide, and his countenance open and intelligent, expressive of firmness and decision. . . .

In correlating the chief's physical appearance with his personality, Spencer demonstrates the very theory of physiognomy. Johnston does

the same, contrasting Messhawa, his benevolent master, to a fellow captive's harsh master.

> The personalities of these two Indians were as different as the qualities of their hearts. Messhawa was tall, straight, muscular, and remarkably well formed, of a very dark complexion, with a countenance free from the harshness and ferocity usually exhibited by the savage face, and expressive of mildness and humanity. He was distinguished as a swift runner. The other, whose name I have forgotten, was old, below the middle stature, lame, with a countenance on which the temper he continually displayed was very strongly marked.

Johnston adds that Messhawa would have been an honorable figure even in white civilization, while the cruel Indian "disgraced even the savage." Here, Johnston follows a device common throughout his narrative--matching benevolent with cruel characters, and good with bad experiences, to create a harmonious, balanced account.[31]

Despite Johnston's efforts to balance the various dimensions of his captivity narrative, his unquestionable allegiance to civilization is nevertheless obvious. Despite the noble Messhawa's kindness, Johnston stresses the uncertainty of life among Indians "to show the character of the singular and savage people who had me in their possession." He fears for his life after learning efforts to ransom him have apparently failed, and records that "all the terrors of a cruel death, inflicted by merciless savages, ingenious in the invention and practice of torture, recurred to my imagination and filled me with despair." When he later meets Peggy Fleming a second time, his somber sketch of this captive's despair is reminiscent of one of Kinnan's passages.

> Gloom and despondency had taken entire possession of her breast; and nothing could be more touching than her appearance. Her emaciated frame, and dejected countenance, presented a picture of sorrow and of sadness, which would have melted the stoutest heart; and such as its effect upon me, that I could not abstain from mingling my tears with hers.

Unlike Kinnan, however, Johnston's emotional appeals are generally so restrained and rare that when they do occur, they seem more convincing as they reveal the extent of both the captives' sorrows and the observer's consequent distress.[32]

In Johnston's narrative, the emotions of the actors appear genuine, and the personalities of both the narrator and his fellow captives believable, in contrast to the melodramatic caricatures which become commonplace in many accounts by the nineteenth century. Johnston successfully takes characterization beyond the limited, one-dimensional figures of shorter narratives by Bunn, Herbeson, and Baldwin, or even the longer accounts by Brown and Tanner. This change in characterization in the formula captivity tale reflects the alterations in other period literature. Yet, many traditional captivity accounts were still published, with little departure from stock formula dimensions, particularly in the narratives' plot.

The plot, or action, as Cawelti calls this dimension of formula literature, is controlled by the basic parameters of raid, capture, trek, sojourn, and return to society. Among "traditional" captivity narratives, action simply advances without additional embellishment. On the other hand, narratives with stylistic embellishment frequently reveal greater attention to action itself. Barry's and Johonnot's accounts depend upon fast-moving action for

their existence. Johonnot moves rapidly from his introductory disclaimer to a thumbnail autobiography, then to his enlistment and captivity, all in one page. The scene immediately shifts then to the torture of a fellow captive, followed by a gauntlet ceremony and several more instances of torture. These, in turn, give way to Johonnot's escape and rapid flight to civilization, with brief intervals to interject additional sensationalized accounts of Indian atrocities. All too quickly, Johonnot returns to civilization and rejoins his military unit, only to experience a frightening battle between his regiment and attacking Indians, again recounted with dispatch. In essence, Johonnot relies on fast-paced and terrifying action to titillate and engage the reader. Barry employs a similar technique, although he provides more background and creates stock, sentimental women, along with savage Indian males. The events of his captivity, however, follow in close order; action is valued for its own sake, as one dynamic adventure follows another. In Kinnan's narrative, the action is as melodramatic as the characterizations. Unlike Barry or Johonnot, Kinnan pauses occasionally to build suspense or to interject emotional observations. By first presenting tranquil scenes, she heightens the terrors which follow. Similarly, her use of foreshadowing hints at greater sorrows to follow, thereby indicating her terrifying experience is far from finished. Thus, while some narrators depend upon heightened action alone to hold the reader's attention and to tell a story, sentimental captivity stories utilize various dramatic devices to enhance the action dimension of the formula story. Although these alterations do not

mark all captivity narratives of the late eighteenth century, they do appear in many cases, indicating a change in the formula that, in fact, would continue throughout many of the nineteenth-century narratives.[33]

"By 1800," observes Pearce, "the narrative of Indian captivity had become a staple source for thrilling and shocking details of frontier hardships." And it would remain so throughout the nineteenth century. The Noble Savage might flourish in Cooper's novels, but for frontier Americans and most of their Eastern relatives, the Indian was truly "the consummate villain, the beast who hatcheted fathers, smashed the skulls of infants, and carried off mothers to make them squaws." Nineteenth-century captivity narratives simply depend upon established devices to reiterate all the cultural values and prejudices already explored. Sensationalism, sensibility, Gothic elements, sheer melodrama, and romantic views of nature appear in various combinations and degrees in captivity tales from the midwest, west, southwest, even Florida and the Canadian-Pacific coast. American expansionists shun completely the concept of the noble savage; even accounts replete with sociological and anthropological observations nevertheless argue for the superiority of civilization over the savage life, thereby reinforcing the hierarchical concept of human progress.[34]

In the end, the Indian himself would realize his greatest fears. Benjamin Lincoln predicted that eventually, the hunting Indian must either "dwindle and moulder away," or be driven into desolate areas, "where, from the rocks and the mountainous state,

the footsteps of the husbandman will not be seen." For Indians forced onto desolate Western reservations in the nineteenth century, Lincoln's words were all too painfully true.[35]

Whether actually living on a reservation or being observed by captives and travelers, the Indian increasingly was regarded as a crude artifact as the nineteenth century unfolded. As early as 1810, a visitor to Ohio was told that Indians never really bothered many whites: "if any of them displease us, we take them out of doors and kick them a little, for they are like dogs, and so will love you the better for it." By 1874, the date of the final captivity narrative to be considered, Indians were commonly treated little better than dogs. Yet, even the most ardent of their white champions in the nineteenth century would never think of restoring all Indian lands and returning to the wilderness. In 1800, Jefferson captured the spirit of the nineteenth century in a letter to Joseph Priestley when he noted that

> The Gothic idea that we are to look backwards instead of forwards for the improvement of the human mind, and to recur to the annals of our ancestors for what is most perfect in government, in religion, and in learning, is worthy of those bigots in religion and government by whom it has been recommended, and whose purpose it would answer.

In the minds of most members of the dominant society, the Indian was clearly a relic of a bygone era, and that past must now be the focus of his life, if, indeed, he was to be allowed to have a life at all.[36]

NOTES, CHAPTER IV

[1]Harold U. Faulkner, American Political and Social History, 5th edn. (New York: Appleton, 1948), pp. 116-118.

[2]Thomas Jefferson, Notes on the State of Virginia (1784), Works, Memorial Edition, II, p. 229, in Savages, p. 67; Savages, p. 68; Rod Horton and Herbert Edwards, eds., Backgrounds of American Literary Thought, 3rd edn. (New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, 1974), p. 104. See, also: Chester Eisinger, "The Freehold Concept in Eighteenth Century American Letters," William and Mary Quarterly, Ser. 2, 28 (1947), 42-59.

[3]Smith, pp. 138-145, passim; Horton & Edwards, p. 133; Faulkner, pp. 159-162.

[4]Faulkner, pp. 146-148.

[5]Savages, p. 54.

[6]P. 54; Captive, p. 244; Faulkner, pp. 174-175.

[7]Henry Knox, American State Papers, Indian Affairs, I, no. 4, p. 53, in Savages, p. 56; Jedidiah Morse, The History of America (Philadelphia, 1790), in Savages, pp. 96-97.

[8]Jeremy Belknap, The History of New Hampshire, 1784-1792 (Boston, [1813]), I, pp. 100-103; Samuel Williams, Natural and Civil History of Vermont [1793] (Burlington, 1809), I, pp. 160-250, 493-503; Robert Proud, History of Pennsylvania (Philadelphia, 1797-1798), I, pp. 292-326; all in Savages, p. 161.

[9]Robert E. Spiller, ed., The American Literary Revolution, 1783-1837 (New York: Doubleday, Anchor Books, 1967). On the question of America's absence of literary success, see Spiller's detailed observations, as well as: Philip Freneau's Advice to Authors (1788); Fishes Ames' Essay on American Literature (1809); or George Tucker's Essay on American Literature (1822). For a discussion of America's future greatness, or the use of America's recent past as a source of literature, see, for example: Joel Barlow's introduction to The Vision of Columbus (1788); Timothy Dwight's introduction to Greenfield Hill (1794); Royall Tyler, prologue to The Contrast (1787), preface to The Algerine Captive (1797); all in Spiller, passim.

[10]Charles Brockden Brown, Edgar Huntly, or Memoirs of a Sleep Walker (1799) (Port Washington, New York: Kennikat Press, 1963 rpt. of 1887 edn.), pp. 3-4, 166-196, passim.

[11]Ann Eliza Bleecker, The History of Maria Kittle, in The Posthumous Works of Ann Eliza Bleecker (New York, 1793), pp. 35-36, 54; Savages, p. 198.

[12]Bissell, pp. 117, 214; Savages, pp. 58-59.

[13]Captive, pp. xx-xxi; Eugene L. Huddleston, "Indians and the Literature of the Federalist Era: The Case of James Elliott," The New England Quarterly, 44 (June 1971), 227.

[14]Thomas Barry, The Singular Adventures and Captivity of Thomas Barry among the Monsipi Indians, in the Unexplored Regions of North America (London: Sommers-Town Printing Office, 1802), p. v. Barry was supposedly a captive from 4/4/1797 to 8/1799; Jackson Johonnot, Remarkable Adventures of Jackson Johonnot, a Soldier under General Harmar and General St. Clair, Containing an Account of his Captivity, Sufferings, and Escape from the Kickappoo Indians (Providence, 1793), in Captive, p. 227; Mary Kinnan, A True Narrative of the Sufferings of Mary Kinnan, who was Taken Prisoner by the Shawnee Nation of Indians on the Thirteenth Day of May, 1791, and Remained with them till the Sixteenth of August, 1794 (Elizabethtown, New Jersey, 1795), in Captive, pp. 319-320; Oliver M. Spencer, Indian Captivity: A True Narrative of the Capture of the Rev. O. M. Spencer (1835) (New York: Waugh & Mason, 1966), p. 3.

[15]Barry, pp. 18-19; Johonnot, in Captive, pp. 228-229; Kinnan, in Captive, pp. 321-322; Spencer, pp. 36-37.

[16]Barry, pp. 20-21; Johonnot, in Captive, p. 229; Kinnan, in Captive, p. 322; Spencer, p. 47.

[17]Charles Johnston, A Narrative of the Incidents Attending the Capture, Detention, and Ransom of Charles Johnston, of Botetourt County, Virginia, Who Was Made Prisoner by the Indians, on the River Ohio, in the Year 1790; Together with an Interesting Account of the Fate of his Companions, Five in Number, One of Whom Suffered at the Stake (New York, 1827), in Captive, pp. 277, 311-312; Kinnan, in Captive, pp. 323, 324, 328; Pearce, "The Significances of the Captivity Narrative," p. 12.

[18]Kinnan, in Captive, pp. 331-332.

[19]Kinnan, in Captive, p. 328; Johnston, in Captive, p. 306; Massy Herbeson, Account of the Sufferings of Massy Herbeson, and her Family, Who were Taken Prisoners by a Party of Indians. Given on Oath before John Wilkins, Esq. One of the Justices of the Peace for the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania (1792), in Captive, p. 216.

[20]Herbeson, in Captive, p. 216; Matthew Bunn, A Journal of the Adventures of Matthew Bunn (Providence, 1962 rpt. of 1796 edn.), p. 17 (Bunn, a young soldier, was held captive from 1791-1793); Spencer, p. 87.

[21]Thomas Baldwin, Narrative of the Massacre, by the Savages, of the Wife and Children of Thomas Baldwin (New York: Martin & Perry, 1836), p. 21; Marie St. John Sullivan and Rex Shanks, eds., Truthful Hatchet (San Antonio, Texas: Naylor Co., 1966), pp. 23-25, 108, 113-114, hereafter referred to as Smalley. William Smalley was kidnapped by the Indians in 1772; he became thoroughly acculturated, but was chosen by his adoptive father and tribal chief, Tamina, to serve as a liaison to the whites. Later, Smalley was selected by Washington, and then Jefferson, as an agent to the Indians. The narrative was preserved among Smalley's descendents for years and was first published publicly in 1966.

[22]Spencer, pp. 8-11, passim, p. 154; Johnston, in Captive, pp. 248-249.

[23]Smalley, pp. 39, 108-109, 113-115, 124, 144; Spencer, p. 117; Johonnot, in Captive, p. 236; Jane Brown, A Narrative of the Captivity of Jane Brown and her Family (ca. 1795), in Frost's Pioneer Mothers, pp. 152, 155.

[24]Johnston, in Captive, pp. 275, 278-280, 284, 290-292; Smalley, pp. 9, 18-19, 21-22, 44-45; Spencer, pp. 77-78, 81-84, 115-116; Edwin James, M.D., A Narrative of the Captivity and Adventures of John Tanner (n.p., 1830), in Drimmer, pp. 149-151, 152-155, 157-160, 165-170, passim, hereafter referred to as Tanner.

[25]Johnston, in Captive, pp. 263-276, 304-305; Smalley, p. 1; Spencer, pp. 12-14, 27, 35-36, 130-132; Tanner, in Drimmer, p. 149.

[26]Nash, pp. 67-69; Johnston, in Captive, pp. 307-308; Spencer, pp. 32-33, 50-51, 144-145.

[27]Barry, p. 47; Kinnan, in Captive, pp. 323-324, 326.

[28]Brown, pp. 124, 128, 150; Kinnan, in Captive, pp. 320-321, 326.

[29]Barry, pp. vi, 37-39, 53-58, passim.

[30]Johonnot, in Captive, pp. 227-236, passim.

[31]Johnston, in Captive, pp. 273-274; Spencer, p. 86.

[32]Johnston, in Captive, pp. 275, 285, 291.

[33]Johonnot, in Captive, pp. 227-236, passim; Barry, pp. 13-20, 36-41, 53-58, passim; Kinnan, in Captive, pp. 321-322, 324.

[34]Savages, p. 58.

[35]Lincoln, op. cit., Ser 3, 5 (1836), pp. 138-139, in Savages, p. 69.

[36]Fortescue Cuming, Sketches of a Tour to the Western Country [1810], in R. G. Thwaites, ed., Early Western Travels (Cleveland, 1904), IV, p. 263, in Savages, p. 59; Faulkner, p. 155.

CHAPTER V

NARRATIVES OF THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

> The friendly and flowing savage, who is he?
> Is he waiting for civilization, or past it
> and mastering it?
>
> Whitman, Song of Myself

> Humanity has often wept over the fate of the aborigines of this country, and Philanthropy has been long busily employed in devising means to avert it, but its progress has never for a moment been arrested, and one by one have many powerful tribes disappeared from the earth. To follow to the tomb the last of his race and to tread on the graves of extinct nations excite melancholy reflections. But true philanthropy reconciles the mind to these vicissitudes as it does to the extinction of one generation to make room for another. . . .
>
> Andrew Jackson, Second Annual Message

This statement by President Jackson in 1830 not only anticipated figuratively Whitman's question, but also epitomized the sentiments of most Americans concerning the Indian's fate in the nineteenth century. Even the most concerned of humanitarians would have rejected any suggestion to return America to the primitive condition the Pilgrims and Puritans first encountered. Jackson himself raised that point and then asked,

> What good man would prefer a country covered with forests and ranged by a few thousand savages to our extensive Republic, studded with cities, towns, and prosperous farms, embellished with all the improvements which art can devise or industry execute, occupied by more than 12,000,000 happy people, and filled with all the blessings of liberty, civilization, and religion?

But all of these benefits were obviously reserved for the white man, and obtained at the cost of the red man's way of life, even of life itself.[1]

The "blessings" that Jackson referred to included the myriad technological advances in transportation, agriculture, and industry, as well as the rapid growth of population, native born or immigrant. All these factors contributed to westward migration throughout the nineteenth century. Such migration, further encouraged by the Homestead Act, land speculation, and gold fever, contributed to many Americans' sense of Manifest Destiny and racial superiority.[2]

Squeezed by agricultural society from the East and miners from the West, the Indian was increasingly subject to frustration, despair, and desperate encounters with a white civilization bent upon his "conversion" or destruction. Advocates of agrarianism like John Dunn Hunter, himself a former Indian captive, believed the Indian would become a "red yeoman," turning "Western America into a blooming garden." Likewise, Colonel Benjamin Hawkins, former Revolutionary warrior and later senator from North Carolina, made a heroic effort as head agent of the Southern Indians to prepare the Creek nation to enter an expanding American society.[3]

But these advocates of "civilizing" the Indians were to become an ever-diminishing minority as more numerous and vocal

speakers argued for confining Indians on distant reservations or for exterminating them outright. Although the forced march of the Creek and Cherokee nations in 1838 is perhaps the most infamous of relocation efforts, it was hardly the last. Indians who later refused to "come in" to reserves were hunted down like mad dogs, as was the case for the Cheyenne at Sand Creek, 1864, and also for some of the remaining survivors of the once proud Northern Cheyenne nation at Warbonnet Creek, 1879. Even peaceful Indians were not free from harrassment and attacks. Yet, rarely was resistance successful, although the Seminoles in Florida fought a guerilla war that eventually cost the government fifty-million dollars and the lives of some fifteen-hundred soldiers.[4]

Problems were not over for Indian or white once a tribe had been relocated, for continuing white encroachment required further negotiations for additional land. For example, the Sioux were involved in fifty years of negotiations with the United States. At the end, their original thirty-million acres, sold at a nickle per acre, had been reduced to a reservation ten by fifty miles.[5]

Oklahoma, formerly known as the Indian Territory, supposedly had been reserved for relocated tribes.

> Eventually approximately 80 tribes were forced to resettle in Oklahoma territory. Boundaries established for one tribe were moved to squeeze in additional tribes. 'Civilization' caught up to the removal lands almost before the tribes were resettled, but not before they had lost 300 million acres of land to the speculators of the new 'democracy.'

On 22 April 1889, the Indian territory was itself opened to white settlers, and over 60,000 individuals invaded Oklahoma. In

preparation for eventual statehood, all tribal governments in Oklahoma were banned, thereby intensifying the Indians' plight.[6]

Reservation Indians, notes Pearce, "could be considered only as charity cases, victims inevitably of the law of civilized progress." But white charity was, at best, niggardly. The Indians were granted annuities to pay for goods and food to be purchased from rapacious traders. Without their annuities, Indians were forced to depend upon their hunting skills for survival. But there was a dilemma. The Indians could not buy food without their annuities, nor could they hunt until they had paid their annuities to the traders. Moreover, encroaching civilization greatly curtailed available game, particularly in areas in which whites encouraged bounty-hunting.[7]

Yet the "vanishing American Indian" did not disappear without one last struggle. Reservation uprisings became as commonplace as Indian attacks outside the reservations. For example, in 1862, the Minnesota Sioux, again late in receiving their annuities, were facing starvation when a few braves became involved with a squatter over a chicken. The resultant shoot-out left five settlers dead and the nearby settlers calling for vengeance. Knowing their entire tribe would be blamed for the incident, Sioux leaders launched an all-out attack on the Agency office before the army was mobilized. Their raid was successful, and so were several others; yet, the Sioux knew they would eventually be defeated by Colonel Sibley's Minnesota Regulars.[8]

Many Indians who fled the reservation were rounded up and tried, including those not directly involved in the incidents. Eventually, 306 out of 400 Indians tried were sentenced to death, while another 1,700 Indian women and children were marched to Fort Snelling for detention, where they were verbally and physically abused by soldiers and civilians alike.[9]

Following this uprising, the Plains Indian Wars began in earnest and continued from 1862 to 1891, involving nearly all Indian tribes west of the Mississippi River. Throughout these bitter years of warfare and captivity, racist propaganda stressed Indian ignorance and savagery, contrasting these traits to white intelligence and "civilization." In reality, the Indians were "fighting to protect their lives, lands, and food supplies (buffalo) from willful destruction by . . ." advancing white civilization. Like so many aspects of Indian life and culture, this detail was either ignored by nineteenth-century settlers and advocates of Manifest Destiny, or relegated to a lower rung of the human hierarchy in the name of the great good, "progress."[10]

Not surprisingly, nineteenth-century literature depicted the Indian at his savage worst. Even the writers who idealized the Indian as "nature's nobleman" often held traditional views about the inevitability of "progress." Nash argues that Cooper recognized that civilization's claims must eventually prevail. "The elimination of wilderness was tragic, but it was a necessary tragedy; civilization was the greater good." Civilized men were those

> elite whose sense of law and beauty lifted man above the beast. Even Natty Bumppo, for all his virtues, lacked the social status to fraternize on such levels. To have them . . . was worth the price of losing wilderness.

Unlike the Puritans, Cooper was not arguing in terms of good and evil, but rather in terms "of two kinds of good with the greater prevailing."[11]

For many individuals, however, Cooper's position was much more alien than that of the Puritans. This was certainly true for frontiersmen directly involved with Indian warfare, as in the case of Davy Crockett. His 1834 autobiography recalls various Indian battles, including one skirmish in which "We now shot them like dogs; and then set the house on fire, and burned it up with the forty-six warriors in it." A cache of potatoes in the house is not only baked by the fire, but also greased by "the oil of the Indians we had burned. . . ."[12]

Even among scholars, the Indian did not always receive more humane treatment than he was accorded by Crockett. During the nineteenth century, many editors collected and anthologized captivity narratives, ostensibly for scholarly purposes, although sensationalism and propaganda frequently shared the spotlight with academic interests. Archibald Loudon, in his 1808-11 collection of captivity tales, proudly states that "the historian will here find materials to assist him in conveying to after ages, an idea of the savages who were the primitive inhabitants of this country. . . ." Loudon then notes that his collected narratives clearly reveal the problems America's forefathers faced in establishing early settlements in the

presence of hostile Indians. He also criticizes promoters of the "noble savage" concept, saying such advocates of the "primitive innocence of mankind, may here learn, that man, uncivilized and barbarous, is even worse than the most ferocious wolf or panther in the forest."[13]

Although later editors of captivity anthologies, like Samuel Gardner Drake (1839) and Joseph Pritts (1839), reveal scholarly objectivity, many of their contemporaries do not. John Frost (1856) touts the heathen and savage nature of western tribes, adding a plea for Christianizing and civilizing such Indians. Frost notes that all men possess "the qualities which we abhor in a hostile Indian," but which civilized men have learned to control. Moreover, Frost cites Indian atrocities and unpredictable behavior to demonstrate to America's youth the benefits of civilization, as opposed to wilderness barbarism. In an 1869 collection of captivity tales entitled Pioneer Mothers of the West, Frost deals exclusively with female captivity narratives and battle accounts to show women's heroism, "noble generosity, and self-devotion in their true light." As late as 1895, historian George Sheldon's conclusion to his History of Deerfield Massachusetts reinforces Frost's view of the Indians as Sheldon launches an attack upon humanitarian concern over "the Indian Question." He suggests that those who attack their white ancestors for abusing Indians have overlooked "the enthusiastic and persistent efforts of our fathers to civilize and Christianize the race" at a time when public opinion supposedly favored such "beneficial" acts. Moreover, notes the self-righteous Sheldon,

those who now complain about the white man's lack of concern for the Indian also fail "to chronicle the almost utter failure [of our fathers] to make upon their subjects any permanent impression for good."[14]

Given this attitude by many nineteenth-century historians and editors, it is not surprising that the captivity narratives of this period are, themselves, little more than "stylized, semi-fictional pastiches of gore and sentimentality confected by hack writers more concerned with reproducing the popular image of the Indian than with authenticity," as Jules Zanger notes in his introduction to the 1972 reprint of Fanny Kelly's 1872 Narrative. Indeed, restrained captivity tales are the exception in the nineteeth century, as sensationalism, sensibility, and melodrama remain the benchmarks of most captivity narratives.[15]

At the same time, the praise for technology, agrarianism, and advancing white civilization that appeared in late eighteenth-century captivity accounts remains popular among many nineteenth-century narrators. As one might also expect, the noble-savage concept is rejected by these narrators in favor of their belief that changing an Indian's cultural values or lifestyle is virtually impossible.

Not surprisingly, one finds increasing evidence of overt racism in representative captivity narratives. Several narrators recall their revulsion to the idea of inter-racial marriage. Others focus upon the difference in skin colors among the Indians themselves, always doing so with the implication that white skin denotes

racial superiority. In a similar fashion, the careful reader notices subtle changes in the presentation of anthropological and sociological details of Indian life. Many narrators reveal a growing tendency to stress the inferiority or "ludicrous" aspect of these details in contrast to their superior counterparts in white civilization.

Given this tendency of discrediting the Indian while elevating the white man, it is not surprising that characterization should also depict the Indian as inherently depraved beyond redemption in contrast to the white narrator. About this time, however, alterations appear in the character of the narrators themselves. Because many nineteenth-century captivity accounts involve women, Jules Zanger suggests that the female narrator easily reveals "a greater potential for pathetic effects because of the excitement she creates as an object of sexual interest." In light of the period's interest in melodrama, sensibility, and the romantic views on the female as keeper of the home and hearth, Zanger's observation appears valid. Additional evidence, however, indicates that both female and male narrators increasingly are depicted as heroic individuals, not unlike their fictional counterparts in the nineteenth-century Western. In fact, some captivity narrators go so far as to apply Cooperesque terms to the Indians and to nature itself, although they reject the noble-savage concept.[16]

These variations, as well as the continuing emphasis on traditional cultural values dear to white society, lend further credence to Cawelti's hypothesis regarding formula literature. That is, the cultural heroes of formula tales, like the dimensions of the tales

themselves, provide valuable information about the beliefs and prejudices of the society producing both the heroes and the formula stories in which they appear. An examination of representative nineteenth-century captivity tales provides support for Cawelti's position.

During the nineteenth century, the most common trait of the Indian captivity narrative is imitation of those exaggerated characteristics associated with late eighteenth-century accounts. Only the locations change; "patterns and themes," notes Pearce, "simply define and redefine the captivity as we have seen it produced in the 1780's and 1790's." After examining authentic narratives published between 1813 and 1873, Pearce concludes that while the events themselves are genuine, the narratives "have been worked up into something terrible and strange. Their language is most often that of the hack writer gone wild." Furthermore, such narratives "tend to be formed according to the pattern of the captivity narrative as pulp thriller."[17]

Whether one assesses Elias Darnell's military braggadocio (Narrative, 1813), the explicit atrocities detailed by the Hall Sisters and Philip Brigdon (1832), or even the Gothic elements in Rachel Plummer's Narrative (1839), along with the calamitous premonitions in Sarah Ann Horn's Narrative (1839), one is well aware of the overblown rhetoric which permeates these and other nineteenth-century captivity tales. Equally at home among these examples is Nelson Lee's 1859 Narrative. His recollection of three years' captivity among the Comanches is replete with histrionics, including the

theatrically dramatic use of a pocket alarm watch, which both mystifies Lee's captors and ingratiates Lee to them. Nor would the list of melodramatic captivity narratives be complete without the stylized tales by adolescent female captives. Included here are the captivities of: the Oatman girls, seized by Apaches in 1851 (first published in 1909); Abigail Gardiner, whose capture during the Spirit Lake Massacre of 1857 led to her bathetic tale that same year; and four sisters named German, whose overworked account of Cheyenne capture in 1874 first appeared in 1927.[18]

While Rachel Plummer and other captivity writers were "bleeding and weltering in [their] blood," recalling terrors that "can scarcely be comprehended in the wide field of imagination," others such as Fanny Kelly (1872) and Frank Buckelew (whose captivity from 1866 to 1867 was not published until 1932), along with Nelson Lee, the Oatman girls, and the German sisters, were using their captivity tales as a format to praise technological advances and the benefits of agrarianism made possible by advancing white civilization. To cite but one example, the Oatman account not only stresses the importance of agriculture to civilized people, but Olive Oatman frequently endeavors to convince her captors of the many advantages of a farming society over a hunting society. Despite frequent rebukes by Indian adults, the younger Indians seem to comprehend the import of Olive's arguments for their survival.[19]

Efforts like Olive's became increasingly rare as the nineteenth century unfolds. Far more typical is Fanny Kelly's assertion that missionaries and the government alike have failed utterly to

redirect the Indian's energies from hunting to agriculture, in part because "the results bear no comparison to their cost." Kelly, like Lee, Darnell, Brigdon, and other narrators, concludes that Indians are too fond of war, too fond of cruelty, and too fond of old men's stories of former tribal glory to set aside their hallowed traditions for a lifestyle they regard as inferior and which they associate with an alien race whom they believe has brought them nothing but sorrow for centuries.[20]

Along with rejecting plans to civilize Indians, Kelly also rejects the fictional depiction of Indians as "noble savages." Recalling the literary images of Logan, Philip, and Pocahontas she had once read about, Kelly contrasts these with "the greedy, cunning, and cruel savages who had so ruthlessly torn me from my friends!" She continues:

> Truly, those pictures of the children of the forest that adorn the pages of the novelists are delightful concepts of the airy fancy, fitted to charm the mind. They amuse and beguile the hours they invest with their interest; but the true red man, as I saw him, does not exist between the pages of many volumes. He roams his native wastes, and to once encounter and study him there, so much must be sacrificed that I could scarcely appreciate that knowledge I was gaining at such a price.

Kelly obviously aims to correct her readers' view of Indians, a stereotype acquired from contemporary writers of fiction--most of whom, it is implied, have not made the sacrifices she has made and, therefore, are not speaking with authority.[21]

Other captivity narrators in accord with Kelly include Lee, who believes no Indian is too dignified to stay sober whenever he can be drunk. Buckelew also catalogues Indian weaknesses, along

with their cruelties and "uncivilized" behavior. Horn sadly laments that even Indian children delight in inhumane behavior. Another captive, a Mrs. Harris, suffers even more than Horn, having been claimed by a family in which "not a single ray appeared to shine upon the dark mass of depravity of which it was composed." Not surprisingly, narrators or editors often call for federal assistance to rescue Indian captives.[22]

At the same time, racism becomes increasingly commonplace in nineteenth-century captivity tales. Male narrators frequently reveal outright contempt for inter-racial marriage, or they stress the light complexion and "civilized" virtues of the maidens they do select when pressured into marriage by their captors. Buckelew shows little interest in the prospect of eventual marriage to any "dusky maidens"; Darnell is even more adamant when confronted by his captors' demands that he marry "one of these swarthy animals." Lee eventually does marry during his captivity, but he rationalizes that inter-racial marriage enhances his tribal position and reduces his captors' vigilance over him, since Indians believe a married man has less inclination to escape. Lee selects the youngest, most attractive and agile maiden available. At first he says, half-humorously, "she was not quite so filthy as her companions," but he notes with obvious approval his future wife was "much fairer than the great majority of her race." Even though Lee plans to escape when an opportunity arises, he feels compelled to assure his reader that his Indian bride was nearer to his own skin color than to that of her peers.[23]

Color consciousness is equally evident among female narrators, whether adult or adolescent. Olive Oatman recalls a beautiful, light-skinned Indian maiden captured from another tribe and suggests this fair-skinned captive is more intelligent, humane, and civilized than her dark-skinned counterparts. Similarly, Catherine German contrasts the kindness which she and her sister receive from the white teachers at the mission school to the cruelties she and her sister experience among their dark-skinned, ill-tempered captors. Like her male counterparts, Catherine refuses even to entertain the idea of inter-racial marriage. The captives' rejection of inter-racial marriage, plus their deliberate association of white skin with human intelligence and virtue, is too commonplace in nineteenth-century captivity tales to be coincidental. Obviously, captivity narrators, male and female alike, reveal their own racial prejudices by rejecting an Indian spouse, just as they do by their frequent assertions that Indian cruelty and perfidy are so ingrained that they cannot be nullified by the ameliorative influence of civilization.[24]

Racial and cultural prejudices become increasingly evident in other dimensions of the formula captivity tale during the second half of the nineteenth century. Even earlier, however, one could point to the narrator's own sense of superiority, as in the details of tribal life grudgingly appendixed to the Hall and Brigdon narrative, itself replete with invective and intolerance directed against the Indian. Olive Oatman's details of Indian camp life include her observation that "They lived in filth, degradation, and utter

abandonment." And after a detailed, objective description of the Indians' huts, she then concludes they are totally "dismal and uninviting." Nor does Olive miss a chance to tout the advantages of her own society, as she observes, "It is not easy to picture or even imagine the extreme foulness to which unrestrained, uneducated passions can sink the human heart and life." Nelson Lee's descriptions of Indian customs similarly reveal a hatred for a race that is "filthy and foul," "inconceivably irksome," or simply "disgusting." But of the narrators who view the Indian disdainfully from the heights of white superiority, none exceeds Rachel Plummer in blatant bigotry. Expounding on Indian customs, she promises "to be brief--as their habits are so ridiculous that this would be of little interest to any." Devoting only two short pages to this topic, she abruptly concludes, "having said as much on this subject as is necessary, I shall now return to my narrative." Apparently, her inadequate discourse on Indian customs was a concession to literary convention or to her readers' curiosity. Even in offering these few details, her manner is supercilious as, for example, when she states "Their manner of doctoring by faith is amusing."[25]

Just as Plummer assumes that Indian customs are but a literary adjunct to her captivity narrative, she also reveals that parts of the setting itself may be reduced to mere literary convention. Her visit to a vast cave becomes a Gothic nightmare, replete with fresh recollections of personal sorrow and pain. Even her pleasant but unexplainable encounter with a comforting "angel" borders on the maudlin and lends further credence to Pearce's assertion that

experiences described in nineteenth-century captivity tales "have been worked up into something terrible and strange."[26]

Romanticism and melodrama dominate the setting details of many other captivities, too. For example, Kelly claims the Indians select their campsite on the basis of a location's ability "to suggest refreshment and repose." German illustrates the pathetic fallacy by saying of an exquisite sunset, "I imagined that God had painted the heavens purposely to cheer my depressed spirit." On the other hand, Mary Oatman tells her sister, "these awful savages are enough to make any place look ugly, however beautiful [it might have been]." The genuine beauty of the setting for the Gardiner narrative at Spirit Lake, Iowa, is lost in an outpouring of stylized rhetoric bordering on the ludicrous. In these and other captivity narratives, the setting is presented in such grandiose, melodramatic terms that it no longer seems an integral part of the captivity tale, but merely an addendum for literary effect.[27]

The narrators' flair for the melodramatic frequently carries over to their characterization of the Indians as degenerate subhumans whose only function in life is to torment white captives, particularly helpless women and adolescent girls. For example, a Mrs. Jordan (1807) dwells upon the barbarity of "inhuman wretches" who inflict repeated torments upon her husband and five children before ending their brutal display of savage vengeance by burying the captives up to their necks, then building fires nearby, thus roasting Jordan's family alive. To reinforce further her argument that all Indians are utterly depraved, she notes that "the

callous-hearted wretches" give themselves over to drunken reverie to end a day of atrocities.[28]

Jordan's 1807 depiction of the Indian's cruel personality sets the pattern for the stereotyped views which flourish throughout nineteenth-century captivity narratives. Some narrators even apply their racial stereotypes to other nationalities, as shown by Horn's negative comments about the Spanish and Mexicans, along with her consistent characterization of all Indians as merciless and untrustworthy. Gardiner, like many narrators before her, reveals contempt for "half-civilized and degraded" half-breeds and frontiersmen. Nevertheless, she sees these individuals as a necessary prelude to establishment of white civilization upon savage land. "The horrid mission they perform, is to fire every beastly passion to which the Indians are prone, so that they may consume themselves as quickly as possible by their own vices." Furthermore, she reveals a bit of concern for the future of half-civilized frontiersmen. "Well would it be for this low race of whites, could they thus subdue the savage by vice, without being themselves its most luckless victims."[29]

Nor are male captives prone to depict the Indian in a more favorable light than do their female counterparts. Lee's consistent anti-Indian bias apparently affects even his exuberant horse, who reveals its hatred for Indian and Mexican alike by kicking and biting them in battle. Buckelew, one of the last nineteenth-century Indian captives to record his experiences, frequently depicts the Indian as both depraved and cunning. For example, he recalls the Indians fatally shooting his uncle, then "crush[ing] his head with stones."

Although Buckelew himself is captured from a heavily-populated white settlement, the Indians reveal little surprise over their success. As they make good their escape with the narrator, they risk discovery by boldly killing cattle simply for vengeance's sake. In these and similar incidents throughout his narrative, Buckelew follows the pattern of fellow captives by depicting the Indian as brutal beyond belief, depraved beyond redemption. In short, these narrators argue that the Indian is beyond the pale of humanity.[30]

Even when an act of Indian kindness is noted, the captive reports it grudgingly. For example, Oatman is shown some consideration by the Chief's daughter, Topeka. Nevertheless, Oatman can only say that Topeka was kind, "if kindness could be shown by the barbarous habits that the Indians practice." And while the Kelly captivity is more restrained and objective than those by her contemporaries, she nevertheless stresses the unpredictable and treacherous nature of the Indian. Although Kelly occasionally depicts the Indian as the "hapless victim" of advancing white civilization, she balances that concession by stating the Indian is likewise a "savage aggressor," thereby paralleling the assessment in John Jewitt's 1824 Narrative. Whereas Kelly totally rejects the "noble-savage" concept, she does use such Cooperesque terms as "hostile sons of the forest," "dusky maiden/warriors," "artless females of the forest," and "forest belles" for literary effect.[31]

Although the literary device of the noble savage fails to find a place in the nineteenth-century captivity tale, another literary convention becomes evident. Captivity narrators increasingly

emerge either as helpless and melodramatic, or as resourceful, daring figures. Although the melodramatic heroine first appears in late eighteenth-century captivity accounts and novels of sensibility, she becomes dominant in nineteenth-century captivities. Plummer, along with Horn, Gardiner, Oatman, and most female captives, present one shocking incident after another, each contributing to "the scorching anguish of [their] soul[s]," and leaving their hearts "swollen to an unnatural size." The melodramatic narrator consistently attempts to wring tears of compassion from her readers' eyes, presenting nearly every event befalling her as if it were the penultimate tragedy. By appealing to the readers' passions, the female captivity narrator intensifies her story's pathos, but not its credibility. Even when faced "with a living death, whose horrors are far beyond the powers of this feeble pen fitly to describe," the melodramatic female captive extends these "powers" in order to dramatize her plight and further condemn the Indian. For example, Oatman elaborates, "the returning Apaches were now great men at home. They had wantonly attacked a poor, defenseless family, cruelly murdered six of them, and carried two innocent and helpless girls into a barbarous captivity."[32]

Rarely do female captives vary this format. Even when a female narrator is more restrained, as is Lavinia Eastlick in her 1862 Narrative, the melodramatic image of the helpless female still emerges. Thus, it is no wonder that Fanny Kelly is a welcome change from the stereotype. In the words of Jules Zanger, editor of the 1962 reprint of Kelly's 1872 Narrative, her character

emerges as a courageous, "extra-ordinarily level-headed [woman and] an observant and sensitive recorder [of events and personalities]." Despite capture from a wagon train by the Sioux and uncertainty over the fate of her husband and child, Kelly remains a controlled, self-sufficient woman whose intellectual and emotional maturity are astonishing in one of only nineteen years. She provides objective insights into the daily lives of her captors, singling out prominent Indians for descriptive comment. Moreover, despite her own unhappy fate, she condemns the white man's injustices and his failure to civilize the Indian. Throughout her narrative, Kelly remains a dispassionate, objective commentator. Her reasonableness and beauty are obvious even to the Indians, for Jumping Bear, a Blackfoot brave, risks his own life to deliver her warning letter to Fort Sully, thereby saving the fort and its occupants. Kelly's bravery and ingenuity are reflected in her skill in the cryptic wording of that letter, a tactic common to both the Jewitt and Oatman narratives. Even when Kelly recalls her joyful sense of deliverance or mourns her daughter's bloody death and scalping, her report of these events is straightforward and simple, reinforcing the reader's conviction of the unadorned heroism and courage of the narrator.[33]

Although Kelly's self-characterization as a resourceful and courageous young adult is unique among captivity heroines, the bold, sometimes brazen, male captivity narrator as hero becomes increasingly common during the nineteenth century. Ramson Clark's skill in eluding pursuing Seminoles (1835), along with John W. B. Thompson's daring destruction of the Key Biscayne light-house

(1836) and resultant trapping of attacking Indians, reveal the bravery of male narrators and also provide fast-paced adventures. But it remains for Buckelew and Lee to exploit fully the Indian captivity narrative's potential as a stage for the resourceful, fearless male narrator. Although Buckelew details his adventures, he glosses his capabilities while attributing equal devotion and daring to all Texas pioneers whenever their homes and families are threatened. His modesty moves him to comment, "Like all early settlers of Texas, I have shared the hardships, trials, and dangers common to frontier life." Nevertheless, when describing his own encounters, he invariably projects the image of the strong, silent Western figure, who stoically takes life as it comes. "Nothing of importance occurred during the remainder of our journey, nothing more than would be expected of such a journey in the early days of Texas." Lee, however, is less restrained; he combines his great store of Indian lore with the deadly effectiveness of the recently-developed Colt revolver when he and his fellow Texas Rangers attack the Comanches. His successful manipulation of his Indian captors with his mysterious and impressive pocket alarm watch reveals his faith in technology, plus his conviction that white ingenuity and intelligence far exceed those of the Indian.[34]

Regardless of the narrators' characterizations of themselves, most male and female captives reveal an awareness of writing for posterity, stressing the distinguished and danger-filled lives of American pioneers while alerting their readers to the plight of other Indian captives, in hope younger Americans will respond to

civilization's challenge. While Lee and others call attention to the fate of female captives, Gardiner, Oatman, Buckelew, and others insist that readers remember the frontiersmen's brave efforts "to clear the path for the car of civilization." In many prefatory or concluding remarks, various narrators or their editors stress the unique experience that was the American frontier. Buckelew speaks for many nineteenth-century individuals when he states:

> I have watched with unabated interest the mighty changes wrought by industry upon our great state. I have seen the fertile forests, once teeming with wild game, give way to farms, and the crude log cabin with its puncheon floors become modern homes of ease and luxury. I have watched the savage redman of the plain give his place to the cowboy, whose life was scarcely less wild and free than that of the Indians. He, in turn, became absorbed by the gigantic waves of civilization that have covered every nook and corner of Texas. The clumsy, old, ox wagon gave place to the mighty 'iron horse,' which rushes to and from all parts of the state. All these changes form one great achievement from the time this story took place to today, and there shall never be another period like it.

Thus, the hierarchical view of human progress is again cited to justify the conquest of the Indian by the white man, a conquest which began with the arrival of the white man at Jamestown, as recorded in Captain John Smith's archetypal captivity narrative in 1608.[35]

Buckelew's observation recalls Andrew Jackson's statement used to introduce this chapter, both of which found support throughout the nineteenth century. By the 1890s, civilization, aided by the industrial revolution and a growing population, had domesticated the natural wilderness, if not all of its native inhabitants. By 1900, observes Nash, "cities were regarded with a hostility once reserved for wild forests." Ironically, America's problems seemed

to stem from excesses of civilization, rather than excesses of wilderness. As problems in urban areas increased, the wilderness increasingly held a new attraction as a vacation site wherein one might restore the human soul.[36]

At the same time, some individuals began to reconsider the Indian himself. Helen Hunt Jackson's 1881 work, A Century of Dishonor, indicted "the disease, whiskey, and deception of civilization, not [the Indian's] savageness, as the crux of his problem." Even the government began slowly to alter its policies toward the Indian.[37]

Yet this concern was too little and too late. Americans had already placed the Indian on a lower, and therefore "inferior," rung of the social and racial hierarchy. In so doing, they had determined his fate for all times. The living Indian was not destroyed, although he was subdued and relegated to the desolate wastes of the reservation. But the Indian as an historical symbol was destroyed. The reservation Indian is neither Cooper's "noble savage," nor Rowlandson's "hellish fiend." As the finale to this ironic drama, the first Americans were "legally" made American citizens in 1924, becoming second-class citizens as permanent wards of the government.[38]

All too often, someone must play the role of the "savage" to be subdued by "civilization." After "settling" the Indian, Americans turned their attention to the Cubans and Filipinos, and, later in the twentieth century, to the Vietnamese. Pearce warns that those who figuratively play at "Indians and Cowboys" frequently

forget "that there is a difference between raising men and exploiting them and that civilization should always mean life, not death." Perhaps Melville stated it best in his 1849 review of Francis Parkman's The California and Oregon Trail:

> We are all of us--Anglo-Saxon, Dyaks, and Indians--sprung from one head, and made in one image. And if we regret this brotherhood now, we shall be forced to join hands hereafter. A misfortune is not a fault; and good luck is not meritorious. The savage is born a savage; and the civilized being but inherits his civilization, nothing more.

As Queequeg once observed wryly, "It's a mutual, joint-stock world, in all meridians. We cannibals must help these Christians."[39]

NOTES, CHAPTER V

[1]Andrew Jackson, "Second Annual Message," December 6, 1830, in J. D. Richardson, ed., A Compilation of the Messages and Papers of the Presidents, 1789-1897, II, pp. 520-521, in Savages, p. 57.

[2]Horton and Edwards, pp. 134-141, passim.

[3]Still, pp. 189-215, passim; Richard Drinnon, White Savage: The Case of John Dunn Hunter (New York: Shocken Books, 1972), p. 42; Maurice Melton, "War Trail of the Red Sticks," American History Illustrated, 10 (February 1976), p. 35.

[4]Melton, p. 34; William Meyer, Native Americans: The New Indian Resistance (New York: International Publishers, 1971), pp. 24, 30, 31; Michael Starr, "The Battle of Warbonnet Creek," American History Illustrated, 12 (February 1978), 4-11, 48-49, passim.

[5]Meyer, p. 27.

[6]Meyer, p. 24; Still, p. 238-239.

[7]Savages, p. 57; Meyer, p. 27.

[8]Meyer, pp. 27-28.

[9]Meyer, p. 28.

[10]Meyer, pp. 28-30.

[11]Nash, p. 77; for a recent discussion of varying views on the Indian in German Romantic Literature, see D. L. Ashliman, "The American Indian in German Travel Narratives and Literature," Journal of Popular Culture, 10 (Spring 1977), 833-840.

[12]David Crockett, Narrative of the Life of David Crockett of West Tennessee (1834), in Irving Howe, ed., The Literature of America: Nineteenth Century (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1970), pp. 813-814.

[13]Archibald Loudon, A Selection, of Some of the Most Interesting Narratives, of Outrages Committed by the Indians, in their Wars, with the White People (Carlisle, Pennsylvania: By the Editor, 1808-1811), I, p. iv.

[14]Samuel Gardner Drake, Indian Captivities (Boston, 1839), Tragedies of the Wilderness (Boston, 1841); Joseph Pritts, Incidents of Border Life, Illustrative of the Times and Conditions of the First Settlements in Parts of the Middle and Western States (Chambersburg, Pennsylvania, 1839), all cited in Pearce's "The Significances of the Captivity Narrative," pp. 17-19; John Frost, Thrilling Adventures Among the Indians (Boston: L. P. Crown & Co., 1856), pp. 3, 4, 10; John Frost, Pioneer Mothers of the West (Boston: Lee and Shepard, 1869), p. iii; Sheldon, II, p. 672.

[15]Fanny Kelly, My Captivity Among the Sioux Indians (1872), intro. by Jules Zanger (New York: Corinth Books, 1962), p. iii.

[16]Kelly, p. vi.

[17]Pearce, "The Significances of the Captivity Narrative," p. 16.

[18]Elias Darnell, Narrative (1813), in Drimmer, p. 258; Narrative of the Hall Sisters and Philip Brigdon (n.p., 1832); Rachel Plummer, Narrative of the Capture and Subsequent Sufferings of Mrs. Rachel Plummer (n.p., 1839), in Captive, p. 351; E. House, ed., Sarah Ann Horn's Narrative of her Captivity Among the Comanches (St. Louis, 1839), in Carl Coke Rister, Comanche Bondage and Sarah Ann Horn's Narrative (Glendale, California: The Arthur H. Clark Co., 1955), pp. 108-111, passim, hereafter referred to as Horn; Nelson Lee, Three Years Among the Comanches (1859), introduced by Walter Prescott Webb (Norman, Oklahoma: Univ. of Oklahoma Press, 1957); R. B. Stratton, ed., The Captivity of the Oatman Girls, A True Story of Early Emigration to the West (Salem, Oregon: Oregon Teachers Monthly, 1909), hereafter referred to as Oatman; Lorenzo Porter Lee, History of the Spirit Lake Massacre! 8th March, 1857, and of Miss Abigail Gardiner's Three Months Captivity Among the Indians, According to Her Own Account (1857) (Iowa City, Iowa: State Historical Society, 1971), hereafter referred to as Gardiner; Grace E. Meredith, ed., Girl Captives of the Cheyennes: A True Story of the Capture and Rescue of Four Pioneer Girls (1874) (California: Gem Publishing Co., 1927), hereafter referred to as German.

[19]Plummer, pp. 336, 338; Fanny Kelly, My Captivity . . . (Connecticut: Mutual Publishing Co., 1872); Lillie M. Ross, ed., Life of An Indian Captive [Frank Buckelew] (Philadelphia: Dorrance & Co., 1965 rpt. of 1932 edn.), hereafter referred to as Buckelew; Oatman, pp. 46-49.

[20]Kelly, pp. 188-190. See Lee, 73-74, who asserts that areas occupied by Indians or Mexicans could be made into "the paradise and garden of the world" if the savages could either change their indolent ways or be replaced by whites more adept at domesticating the wilderness.

[21]Kelly, pp. 77-78.

[22]Lee, p. 159; Buckelew, passim; Horn, pp. 151, 153, 158.

[23]Buckelew, p. 23; Darnell, in Drimmer, p. 265; Lee, p. 150.

[24]Oatman, pp. 92-93; German, pp. 51, 89.

[25]Oatman, pp. 46-65, passim; Lee, p. 109; Plummer, in Captive, pp. 355, 357.

[26]Plummer, in Captive, pp. 349-351; Pearce, "The Significances of the Captivity Narrative," p. 16.

[27]Kelly, p. 32; German, p. 66; Oatman, p. 64; Gardiner, pp. 9-10.

[28][Mrs. Jordan], Mrs. Jordan's Captivity, Narrated by Herself (1807), in Frost's Pioneer Mothers, pp. 296-297.

[29]Horn, passim; Gardiner, p. 13.

[30]Lee, p. 22; Buckelew, pp. 7, 17, 24.

[31]Oatman, p. 65; Kelly, pp. 42, 72, 84, 177, 184; Alsop, ed., The Adventures and Sufferings of John Jewitt (1824), p. 73. Since this captivity tale occurs outside the continental limits of the United States (in the Canandian Northwest), it is outside the area of captivities considered in this study. However, the narrative is cited as a valuable study of the Nootka Indians prior to extensive contact with whites, and for revealing conflicting contemporary attitudes towards the Indian as both noble savage and hostile agent.

[32]Horn, pp. 130-131, 145; Gardiner, p. 19; Oatman, p. 46.

[33]Lavinia Eastlick, Narrative, in Drimmer, pp. 314-329, passim; Kelly, pp. 18-35, 110-119, 175-190, 192-217, passim.

[34]Ransom Clark, Narrative, in Drimmer, pp. 268-271, passim; John W. B. Thompson, Narrative, in Drimmer, pp. 272-276, passim; Lee, pp. 24-25, 51-52, 89, 98-99, passim; Buckelew, pp. 1-2, 73, 86.

[35]Buckelew, pp. 93-94.

[36]Nash, p. 143.

[37]P. 144.

[38]Savages, pp. 76, 241-242.

[39]Herman Melville, Review of Francis Parkman's The California and Oregon Trail, in The Literary World, IV (1849), p. 291; Melville, Moby-Dick (New York, 1947), p. 59, both in Savages, p. 244.

CONCLUSION

> Never until time shall wear out the history of their sorrows and their sufferings, will the Indian be brought to love the white man, and to imitate his manners.
> --William Wirt, The Letters of The British Spy (1803)

The formula captivity narrative reveals a genre as significant and as varied during its long history as the American experience itself. Relying upon conventional settings, characterizations, and plots, the formula narrative's clearly-defined, socially-accepted patterns reflect the changing cultural values and functions of Americans from about 1675 to 1875. These patterns were readily recognized by those who both produced and consumed the formula tale of Indian captivity.

To the society producing it, as well as to the researcher studying it, the formula captivity functions most significantly as collective (or cultural) ritual, reaffirming and restating the dominant cultural values of a society. In addition, formula stories function as cultural ritual by resolving conflicting interests as the action moves from tension to resolution. Thus, the reader is better able to identify with the author, and both identify with their common society, thereby contributing to group solidarity. Formula stories also contribute to group solidarity by revealing new values

or meanings important to a society, thereby assisting in orderly change within that society.

Equally significant are the formulas a society commonly uses; that is, the most popular formulas are the best indicators of societal values. Likewise, changes in the dimensions or the valuation of formulas indicate corresponding changes within a society, as well as between cultures, or even between historical periods. These changes may include thematic development, focus, or alterations of formula dimensions: setting, characterization, action, collective ritual, game, or collective dream. Commencing with Puritan accounts of Indian captivity and continuing with those from the French and Indian Wars, the American Revolution, the late eighteenth-century battles (commonly known as the Western Wars), and concluding with those from the nineteenth century, abundant information reveals how the captive viewed himself, his captors, their respective cultures, and even the environment itself.

Puritan tales of Indian captivity clearly reveal a homogeneous society that regarded captivity itself as God's test of the elect. The captive was expected to welcome the opportunity to be tested, purified, and to learn anew God's sovereignty, His all-sufficient protection, and His Special Providences for His chosen people. Strengthened and refreshed, the captive returns to his society, better prepared to cope with the demands of daily life, and more willing to acknowledge God's assistance in that daily life. Thus, the captivity narrative as a formula story here reiterates societal beliefs, thereby contributing to group solidarity as the narrator

clearly affirms dominant Puritan attitudes. Furthermore, these very values and the way they are conveyed, reflect and reinforce the "imaginative concerns" of Puritan society.

At the same time, the captivity tale reaffirms the solidarity of cultural belief in the Indian as a Satanic agent. Occasionally, the Indian is also used by God to test the Puritan, or by the Jesuits to chasten God's elect. Here, the formula captivity helps Puritan society adjust to change at a time when the French-Canadians, their Jesuit priests, and their Indian allies become a great threat to the Puritans during the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries. Thus, the captivity tale as formula literature alerts readers to new dangers in a wilderness already beset with hostile forces.

Despite these dangers, however, the wilderness remained vital to the Puritan's vision of establishing a New Eden. He, as God's elect, was to conquer the wilderness, domesticating it by establishing communities, planting crops, and raising farm animals. In short, the Puritan was to assert his authority over the land and its inhabitants according to biblical admonitions. Not surprisingly, the Puritan saw the Indian as a vital part of the wilderness experience. If he could civilize and Christianize the Indian, the former savage would become a living testament to the righteousness of Puritanism. But if he refused to give up his pagan ways, then the Puritan could justify destroying the Indian to preserve white society and all that it represented. In either case, the Puritan saw himself actively involved in a struggle between the forces of Good and Evil.

Here the Puritan account of Indian captivity contributes to cultural continuity by dramatizing the great conflict between Puritan and Pagan, Puritan and Jesuit, or even between Civilization and Savagery. For individual Puritans, the outcome of the struggle was uncertain. Captivity was a genuine threat to one's psychological well-being as well as to one's physical safety, despite the supposed benefits of being tested and purified. The fear of reverting to savagery was shared by many Puritans as a consequence of Adam's sinful behavior in the first Eden. Captives who refused redemption, who chose instead to adopt Indian ways, were invariably depicted as deluded by Satan and as fallen from a higher social order to a lower and, therefore, inferior social order.

So fearful were the Puritans of a fall from civilization, and so uncertain were many who questioned whether civilization and Christianity could ever improve the Indian, that formula captivities frequently reinforce the popular belief that Indians are too far removed from salvation to be redeemed. This attitude further justified the killing of Indians and even countenanced doing so with the violent methods associated with savagery. In fact, captives who follow this line of thought frequently are praised by their clergy and rewarded by their community. Here again, the captivity formula attempts to subdue possible qualms about killing one's enemy by reducing the enemy to sub-human status and by assuring the reader that both clerical and civil authorities approve of violence directed at the Indians.

Not surprisingly then, collective ritual occupies a central position in Puritan captivities, while all other dimensions of the formula tale remain nominal. Characterization, for example, rarely extends beyond stereotypes of saint and sinner. If Puritan prejudices could not be reiterated through the characterization, little else would be considered. This is also the case for the natural setting, or for the sociological details of the Indian's camplife. In short, the formula for Puritan captivity tales lends credence to Mintner's assertion that all private feelings and beliefs are adjusted to suit a public code or ideology. That is, all Puritan narratives of Indian captivity are consciously attuned to the values of collective ritual known intimately and shared by all Puritans.[1]

By the 1740s and the advent of the prolonged French and Indian Wars, colonial society was not as homogeneous as it had been in seventeenth-century Puritan New England. The formula captivity tale reflects these changing societal values through altered formulaic dimensions as well as through the valuations depicted therein. Yet, the persistence of traditional attitudes in formula captivities, like the groups producing them, reveals the many changes colonial society experiences during the middle decades of the eighteenth century. No longer are all captivity experiences salutory or welcomed; many are depicted as gruesome and shocking beyond belief. Political propaganda often takes precedence over religious didacticism as a vital part of collective ritual. Inciting the colonists against the French-Canadians was more important to British military captives than recourse to Special Providences or God's sovereignty.

Similarly, the formula captivity narrative no longer reveals clear distinctions between all captives and their captors. Longer, more detailed captivity narratives by individuals at home in the wilderness (scouts, traders, trappers) often reveal concern for the Indian's future. Here the formula captivity, reflecting the growing complexity of society, is helping the reader adjust to the changing conditions. The eighteenth-century American, like his European counterpart, reveals new interests in science, technology, agriculture, religion, and even the wilderness itself. As these interests, along with the forerunners of anthropology and sociology, began to attract colonial attention, some captivity narrators incorporate these topics into their accounts. By greatly expanding the setting dimension of the formula to accommodate observations on geography, the climate, native animals and plants, as well as the many details of Indian camplife, politics, religion, family roles, and the like, captivity narrators again adjust the formula to meet the changing interests of their readers.

Similarly, many narrators reveal changing values in characterization. Increasingly complex characters emerge among Indian and narrator alike. Just as the narrator examines life in an Indian village, so he attempts to understand and to depict the Indian as a human being. More than one captive departs sadly from his Indian family, who have adopted him as their own--an act whites could never reciprocate for Indians. The narrator better understands another culture and even has a basis to comprehend why a captive might refuse redemption by his own race.

Thus, the dimensions of the formula captivity tale and the values they convey during the French and Indian Wars clearly reveal vast changes from Puritan captivity tales. Here, as in other periods to follow, homogeneous societies no longer exist. With the passing of time, complex changes in society continue to produce varied captivity narratives, whose formulas in turn reflect these very complexities. Expanded dimensions of the narrative formula convey many new interests, whether didacticism, propaganda, anthropology, sociology, geography, natural science, characterization, or even a concern for the Indian's future as a race.

All historical periods which produce Indian captivity tales reveal the formula narrative's ability to convey the values of a particular group, to resolve tensions which might arise from conflicting attitudes or changing beliefs, to contribute to group solidarity, and to provide the researcher with valuable information about the group or society producing these formula captivity tales. Thus, during the American Revolution, when the outcome was uncertain, when patriots and loyalists alike sought to arouse emotions and to attract supporters, literature became a valuable weapon for either side. Whether seeking support for the rebels or demoralizing the enemy, the Indian captivity narrative again demonstrates its ability to adjust to the immediate demands of those who were using it as propaganda.

Increased propaganda means increased sensationalism, which flourished as narratives were greatly shortened to focus upon atrocities committed by Indians, British, and Tories alike. Such

narratives frequently reveal an "adjustment" of truth and individual thought to match rebel opinions. The heightened action, the blatant misrepresentation of the enemy as inhuman and repulsive, particularly renegades, combine with sensationalism and shocking devices to produce a captivity narrative formula attuned to rebel needs.

Violence begets violence, however; counter-violence becomes an accepted, even an advocated, mode of retaliation in many shorter captivity tales. This is particularly true for those rushed into print shortly after the events described in order to refresh the reader's memory of these events and to intensify his hatred for their perpetrators. Emphasis on violence becomes common to male and female narrators alike. No longer does the female captive regard her experience as a religious test; rather she sees it as a struggle to the death. In more than one account, the female captive avenges the deaths of her husband and children swiftly, unmercifully, and with even greater brutality than the Indians themselves were prone to display.

When captivity formulas are used in this manner, all "extraneous" material is eliminated. Anthropological or sociological interests do not concern the majority of Revolutionary captives, while the action is emphasized for its sensational or propaganda values, but not as adventure <u>per se</u>. War, particularly a revolution, strips the veneer of civilization, reducing all events to an immediacy which no person or formula story can ignore. And until the war ends, captives are not about to direct much attention to other topics.

The war also served to widen the gulf between captive and captor, between civilization and savagery, and, consequently, between those who stressed civilizing the Indian and those who favored exterminating him. Despite the pleas of agrarians, and despite the fictional characterizations of Noble Savages, concern for the Indian's welfare remained proportional to the distance between the commentator and the Indian. Those on the frontier who experienced Indian attacks firsthand were convinced that the racial gap was too great to bridge, and that time was too short to bring the Indian head-long into the Age of Enlightenment and all that age promised a New Nation.

Cut off from his past, unable to enter his future, the Indian became little more than a drunken, disease-ridden cultural artifact whenever and wherever he encountered civilization. True, he remained a potent warrior on the frontier, but that frontier was rapidly disappearing as post-Revolutionary Americans began their westward trek. Once again, the formula captivity tale continued to reflect the changes in American culture, reaffirming the views of those who called for far harsher treatment of the Indian than Eastern literati could accept--or, at least, could accept publicly, although privately they admitted the Indian was nothing like the Noble Savage of their imaginings.

The Revolution indeed increased awareness of agriculture, the freeholding concept, and even industry; it also meant an unprecedented expansion during the last decade of the eighteenth century into America's interior and, hence, into the homeland of many Indians. Conflicts were as inevitable as the resultant captivities. Propaganda

declined, however, for the Revolution had ended. Once again, anthropology and sociology held the attention of many readers. The formula captivities changed to meet those interests, but with a different view from that of captivities of the French and Indian Wars. This time, the Indians' lifestyle seemed to confirm their remoteness from civilization, a remoteness that sealed their doom. Similarly, the geography of an area is no longer described for its own sake, but to extol what agriculture and technology can do to bring the land to fruition, thus establishing a new Eden in the wilderness. Again, the formula captivity reflects these changes, with emphasis upon the setting, to paint an idyllic vision of the Garden or to show that commerce is to be the password to America's future greatness. In consequence of this altered philosophy, the formula tale of Indian captivity often reiterates the popular belief that taming the wilderness meant removing the Indian. By the final decade of the eighteenth century and throughout the nineteenth, the Indian was seen as little more than a stumbling block in the path of white society.

Yet the Indian was a useful figure to another important interest in America at this time. Growing literary nationalism demanded more truly American materials, and both the wilderness and the Indian were suitable topics for writers. Equally important is the rise of the melodramatic heroine and the novel of sensibility. Although all these elements might be combined into a Gothic novel like Maria Kittle, more often these elements were incorporated into the Indian captivity narrative itself. No longer was this formula genre simply useful for religious didacticism or even for political

propaganda. It had become American literature in its own right, and the narrator frequently became a melodramatic heroine. Truthful representation of events quickly gave way to stylistic devices. Foreshadowing, literary allusions, stock phrases, overblown rhetoric, and excessive sentimentality all too frequently replaced whatever truth there might have been in the actual details of the captivity. Fictional narratives, increasingly commonplace, did nothing to assure the readers that the captivity tale was genuine. Even affidavits, author character references, and the like appended to captivity tales failed to make the narrative or its creator appear genuine. Actually, these addenda frequently had the reverse effect, increasing suspicion of the formula captivities by virtue of their insistence on their validity.

But the formula narrative as fiction was as important to the nineteenth-century writer as the formula narrative as propaganda was to the eighteenth-century captive. Literary interests dominated nineteenth-century America, and literary interests dominated many captivity tales. Women narrators are frequently depicted as helpless, pathetic heroines, paralleling their counterparts in sentimental novels. This heart-rending image is enhanced by woeful tales of adolescent captives--sickly and orphaned as a result of the Indian raid which led to their capture.

At other times, however, some female and many male narrators are depicted as sturdy, level-headed individuals whose composure and superior intelligence permit them to outwit their captors. Such narrators often comment upon the struggle between civilization and

savagery; in so doing, they reveal a vision of America's future that approaches the ideal. Thus, one can compare this type of narrator to the Western hero, who confronts and overcomes many obstacles in his quest "to reorder reality in terms of his personal vision of an ideal world."[2]

If the narrator of the formula captivity may be compared to a sentimental heroine or to a questing Western hero, then the Indian is truly comparable to the Western villain. In both nineteenth-century Westerns and captivity tales, the Indian, commenting upon the white man's destructive ways, envisions his own ideal world without whites where the wilderness again prevails. Although formula captivities do not include Cooperesque Noble Savages, many Indians do reveal genuine concern for their future and for that of the wilderness. Thus, the Indian becomes a threat to the captive as questing hero and to the civilization the latter is establishing in the wilderness. Consequently, the Indian frequently is depicted as brutal and cunning, a characterization compounded by the demeaning application of aspects of his physiognomy and phrenology. Here the formula captivity adjusts to both the literary and the utopian visions of nineteenth-century Americans.[3]

Perhaps the greatest threat to the realization of that utopian dream is the white renegade. In Western or captivity narrative, this "exact moral opposite of the hero" reveals none of the virtues of either race, only their vices. Unlike the Indian, the renegade has neither the ideal vision of the wilderness, nor the desire to restore it to its pristine state. Rather, he is concerned

with self-gratification of his lust for revenge, or, more likely, wealth and power.[4]

Thus, in these characterizations of captive, Indian, and renegade, as well as in the frequent praise for American technology, agriculture, and commerce, the formula captivity, like all popular literature, reflects the dominant beliefs and values of the society producing it, in this case, nineteenth-century Americans. At the same time, the formula captivity reinforces and reiterates those elements of collective ritual contributing to societal and even racial solidarity. By rationalizing the Indian's savagery and remoteness from white society, the formula captivity tacitly recognizes racial prejudices and, in some instances, contributes to further violence against Indians. By stressing the horrors of captivity, and by reminding the readers that many others remain in captivity, some narrators seek to arouse their contemporaries or even future generations to take up weapons against the Indians.

And what of the Indians themselves? With the exception of a few captivities during the French and Indian Wars, formula narratives consistently depict the Indians as savage, pagan, and unsuited to the white man's "superior" society. Even when the Indians endeavor to learn the white man's ways, they are never accorded the trust or justice which purportedly distinguishes civilized societies.

As early as 1622, valid complaints by Weymouth Indians against white depredations of the tribe's winter food stores

brought only colonial contempt upon the Indians. The whites' position was already established.

> No Indian dared raise his hand or even his voice against a white, even in defense of his life, family, or property. No matter if his opponent were an exile or outcast from white society, even the suspicion of opposition called for violent . . . retribution.

By the time of the Pequot War in 1637, one Puritan describing the conflagration which killed over 500 Indians epitomized white attitudes when he remarked, "if God had not fitten the heart of men for the service, it would have bred in us a commiseration towards [the Indians]."[5]

Throughout the history of white and red contact, the story remains the same. Lord Jeffrey Amherst, writing to Colonel Henry Bouquet (1763), noted, "I need only Add, that I wish to Hear of no Prisoners, should any of the Villains be met with in Arms. . . ." Nowhere was there an advocate of civilizing the Indians and allowing them to retain their property rights. And where might one find a supporter for preserving the Indians' human rights as well? Surely not among those who purportedly skinned Tecumseh to make "souvenir razor straps [for use] by the representatives of the higher way of life." Surely not in Senator Thomas Hart Benton, who justified white expansion and land seizure as "the intentions of the CREATOR." Surely not in the company of those who instigated the removal of Creek, Cherokee, Seminole, Winnebago, Sioux, and countless other Indian tribes. Surely not among those profiteers who sold contaminated food and shoddy goods to reservation Indians. Surely not in

the editor of a Topeka newspaper who reflected popular sentiments in 1867 when he described Indians as

> a set of miserable, dirty, lousy, blanketed, thieving, lying, sneaking, murdering, graceless, faithless, gut-eating skunks . . . whose immediate and final extermination all men, except Indian agents and traders, should pray for.

Surely not in the Iowan who said of nearby reservation Indians in the 1890s, "They are as worthless as so many tamed wolves." So Indians continued to be abused, driven from their lands, isolated on reservations, or killed, and to lose vast tracts of land. One estimate suggests that Indians lost 86,000,000 of their 138,000,000 acres of land between 1887 and 1934.[6]

How ironic from a historical perspective that these Indians' ancestors first welcomed white explorers with wonder, awe, and trust. In a remarkably acute and atypical observation, William Wirt, author of The Letters of the British Spy (1803), wryly remarks that

> the personal descent of an army of Milton's celestial angels . . . would excite not more astonishment in Great Britain than did the debarkation of the English among the aborigines of Virginia.

Wirt criticizes whites for violating this trust and seizing the Indians' property, depriving Indians of life, freedom, dignity, and even of their sacred ancestral burial grounds. Furthermore, notes Wirt, whites have reduced Indians to wandering vagabounds or have made them dependents on the government dole--and this in the Indians' own country.[7]

And yet, continues Wirt, whites guilty of these heinous crimes complain that Indians reject civilization and Christianity.

Nor can whites comprehend why Indians persist in torturing white captives. Recalling many wrongs from past generations, the Indians work themselves into a frenzy of singing and dancing

> as the victim shrieks and faints amid the flames, when they imagine all the crimes of their oppressors collected on his head, and fancy the spirits of their injured forefathers hovering over the scene, smiling with ferocious delight at the grateful spectacle, and feasting on the precious odour as it arises from the burning blood of the white man.

Little wonder indeed that Indians should so respond in their rejection of white society. Perhaps Theodore Roosevelt was displaying pangs of collective white conscience when he said of those who butchered 96 peaceable, Moravian Indians,

> It is impossible not to regret that fate failed to send some strong war party of savages across the path of these inhuman cowards to inflict on them the punishment they so richly deserved.

Roosevelt's sentiments are as rare as Wirt's, for the former also said that "the only good Indian is a dead Indian." At the dawn of the twentieth century, white Americans were already turning from conquering American Indians to conquering the natives of other lands, particularly Cuba and the Phillipine Islands. Still later, Americans would direct their attention to the Vietnamese, but not before they had interned thousands of Japanese-Americans during World War II in order to "preserve" American democracy.[8]

Americans, of course, were not alone in their encounters with aborigines; consider, for example, the consequences of contact between whites and natives in South America, Australia, or New Zealand. In Waiting for the Morning Train (1972), Bruce Catton observes that whenever and wherever an advanced, technological culture confronts

a primitive, hunting culture, the latter is doomed to destruction or condemned to purgatory somewhere in the transition between the two cultures. Catton suggests that Americans today are also caught between cultures, "compelled to readjust ourselves to forces that will not wait for us"; between the nineteenth and twenty-first centuries looms a "gulf as vast as the one the stone-age Indians had to cross."[9]

The question, then, is will we be able to adapt to these violent and rapid changes any better than did the Indian. Perhaps not, for we have ignored a fact vital to the Indian's cosmology. Throughout any study of white and red contact, one detects the innate, instinctual harmony between the Indian and his environment. Unfortunately, captives and their culture did not grasp this symbiotic relationship. Now mankind's very survival depends upon restoring that symbiosis. John Collier, Commissioner of Indian Affairs, was acutely aware of this fact more than thirty years ago when he wrote that

> the deep cause of our world agony is that we have lost that passion for human personality and for the web of life and the earth which the American Indians have tended as a central, sacred fire since before the Stone Age. Our long hope is to renew that sacred fire in us all. It is our only . . . hope.

Admittedly, Americans are becoming more conscious of the delicacy of our environment, but one wonders whether those in authority comprehend the seriousness of environmental abuse better than they understood the Indian.[10]

Catton likes to recall the story of a politician who was about to deliver a campaign speech when a local party official asked the speaker to stress the party's awareness of the Indians' problems. Noticing several Indians in attendance at the political gathering, the puzzled speaker asked his host, "By the way, what is their problem?" The host replied in shocked disbelief, "God damn it, they're Indians." In this transitory century, that is also our problem. We are Indians, all of us. But unlike Melville's fortunate Ishmael, we may not find any Queequegs to assist us. We buried them at the Pequot Village, along the Ohio River, at Wounded Knee, and in countless other battlefields that--more than anything else--epitomize the consequences of contact between white and red men in America.[11]

> A careful review of the historical literature reveals that the dominant policy of the Federal government toward the American Indian has been one of forced assimilation which has vacillated between the two extremes of coercion and persuasion. At the root of the assimilation policy has been a desire to divest the Indian of his land and resources.
>
> --Senate Report No. 91-501, 91st Congress, 1st Session (1972)

> Why does not the Great Father put his red children on wheels, so he can move them as he will?
>
> --Spotted Tail, a Sioux Chief (ca. 1870)

NOTES, CONCLUSION

[1]Mintner, "By Dens of Lions," pp. 338-346, passim.

[2]Daryl Emrys Jones, "The Dime Novel Western: The Evolution of a Popular Formula," diss. Michigan State University, 1974, p. 290.

[3]P. 293.

[4]P. 294.

[5]Thomas, "Puritans, Indians, and the Concept of Race," p. 11; William T. Hagan, American Indians (Chicago: Univ. of Chicago, 1961), p. 13.

[6]Hagan, pp. 25, 40, 63, 69, 75-82, 104, 123, 127.

[7]William Wirt, The Letters of the British Spy (1803), with an introduction by Richard Beale Davis (Chapel Hill: Univ. of North Carolina Press, 1970 rpt. of 1832 edn.), pp. 162-165.

[8]Pp. 163-164.

[9]Bruce Catton, Waiting for the Morning Train (Garden City: Doubleday, 1972), pp. 18-19.

[10]John Collier, The Indian of the Americas (ca. 1948), pp. 15-17, in Heard, White Into Red, pp. 157-158.

[11]Catton, pp. 18-19.

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