The Figure of Captivity: The Cultural Work of the Puritan Captivity Narrative
Author(s): Tara Fitzpatrick
Source: *American Literary History*, Vol. 3, No. 1, (Spring, 1991), pp. 1-26
Published by: Oxford University Press
Stable URL: http://www.jstor.org/stable/489730
Accessed: 20/08/2008 13:01

Your use of the JSTOR archive indicates your acceptance of JSTOR's Terms and Conditions of Use, available at http://www.jstor.org/page/info/about/policies/terms.jsp. JSTOR's Terms and Conditions of Use provides, in part, that unless you have obtained prior permission, you may not download an entire issue of a journal or multiple copies of articles, and you may use content in the JSTOR archive only for your personal, non-commercial use.

Please contact the publisher regarding any further use of this work. Publisher contact information may be obtained at http://www.jstor.org/action/showPublisher?publisherCode=oup.

Each copy of any part of a JSTOR transmission must contain the same copyright notice that appears on the screen or printed page of such transmission.

JSTOR is a not-for-profit organization founded in 1995 to build trusted digital archives for scholarship. We work with the scholarly community to preserve their work and the materials they rely upon, and to build a common research platform that promotes the discovery and use of these resources. For more information about JSTOR, please contact support@jstor.org.

http://www.jstor.org

The Figure of Captivity: The Cultural Work of the Puritan Captivity Narrative

Tara Fitzpatrick

1

On 20 June 1676, a council meeting at Charlestown ordered the people of Massachusetts Bay to observe a day of solemn thanksgiving, to praise God for protecting many New England towns from the desolation of Indian attacks during Metacomet's Rebellion, which the colonists called King Philip's War. By "a Long and Continued Series of his Afflictive dispensations," God had "brought to pass bitter things against his own Covenant people in this wilderness." Still, "in the midst of his judgments he hath remembered mercy" (Love 200).

When Mary Rowlandson attempted to make sense of her 11-week captivity among Wampanoag, Nipmuck, and Narragansett Indians during King Philip's War, she too discovered a dialectic between the Lord's afflictions and his mercies. Captivity among the Indians was the literal translation of the plight of all the "backslidden" people of New England: "God seemed to leave his people to themselves and order all things for his holy ends. *Shall there be evil in the city and the Lord hath not done it? They are not grieved for the affliction of Joseph, therefore shall they go captive, with the first that go captive.* It is the Lord's doing and should be marvelous in our eyes" (66–67).[1] By so afflicting her, the Lord had shown her the "extreme vanity of this world" (78) and persuaded her that she could do nothing to save herself; she could only surrender to the will of God.

For Rowlandson, this recognition proved her own election. God had tested her faith through suffering, delivered her from her captors, and led her to the final stage of a Puritan conversion, assurance.[2] She set forth the narrative of her ordeal and redemption as a cautionary example to New England, but the message was double-edged: all must repent and reform or risk hideous torments. At the same time, Rowlandson testified to the saving value of her affliction, the special providence that

allowed her to recognize the folly of earthly concerns and the necessity of depending wholly on God. Affliction did more than punish and instruct, it redeemed. The American wilderness, the agent of God's chastising will, was Janus-faced: it destroyed yet it saved. Illumination in the wilderness necessarily separated the individual from her congregation and community and yielded a stark understanding of humanity's plight not shared by ordinary people (cf. Fliegelman 144–48).

By turning to a rereading of several Puritan captivity narratives, particularly those involving female captives, and many of the sermons that relied on and promoted the figure of captivity, I wish to explore the theological and social transitions inscribed in and encouraged by the captivity narrative, to examine what Jane Tompkins has called the "cultural work" performed by these popular texts (*Sensational*; cf. her "Indians"). By explicating the relations between the dual, sometimes dueling textual voices of the captives and their ministerial sponsors, we find that Puritan women's captivity sagas generally relied on two narrators: the redeemed captives themselves and the ministers who propagated the captives' histories for didactic purposes of their own.[3] Despite the ministers' efforts to control the readings of the captivity metaphor, these returned captives' prophetic voices repeatedly undermined the clergy's attempts to impose a socially and doctrinally unified and orthodox interpretation of the captives' experiences. These narratives, then, may be read as palimpsests, engraved by authors whose exegeses are in dialogical relation to one another. However much the clergy and sometimes the captives themselves strained to derive a socially and theologically conservative lesson from these trials, the captives claimed radical knowledge of their own providential destiny and of the transience—even meaninglessness—of all earthly concerns. The things of this world, Rowlandson tells us, "are but a shadow, a blast, a bubble" (79; cf. Bercovitch, *Puritan* 116–17).

Reading the captivity narratives with attention to their several voices, we may recuperate a moment in the production and transmission of what have become central American archetypes—the imperiled but chosen pilgrim alone in the wilderness braving the savage "other." Exploring the plight of women carried away from their communities and into a wilderness both literal and spiritual, these narratives detail a spatially imagined and gendered site of the narrative formation of what we have come to recognize as that peculiar amalgam of contradictions: the self-conscious and self-described American

individual. For these images, however imaginary or aggrandized they may now seem, have a history; the vision of the new-world forest as the crucible for the forging of a new sort of individual was neither inevitably given nor rooted just in romantic national nostalgia. Rather, the captivity paradigm, as here articulated by a handful of survivors and their ministers, helped to shape and promote a particularly American discourse regarding our historical identity (see Bercovitch, *Puritan*; Jehlen). And, in a twist on the conventional image of an untethered man conquering a "virgin" wilderness, the American rhetoric of self-creation in these Puritan captivity narratives issued predominantly from women.

In captivity, these Puritan women found occasion to escape, however unwillingly, the demands of their own communities and to oppose their traditional ways to those of their captors, whether Indian or Catholic French-Canadian. The captives defined their identities in relation to the strictures of their own culture and in defiance of, but in conversation with, the "other."[4] Moreover, the narratives most often relied on two such "others": the Indian or French captors, against whose foreignness the captives projected a sharpened sense of cultural difference; and the established ministers, who vied with the returned captives for authorial control of their narratives. The women captives' ministerial sponsors sought, with decreasing success, to interpret the individual experiences of the captives as lessons directed at the entire community, regardless of the captives' own implicit resistance to such appropriation. Thus, these Puritan captivity narratives chart a double shift in colonial New England's conceptions of individual identity and national destiny, insofar as a rhetoric of the corporate covenant comes to be eclipsed by an emergent emphasis on personal agency in the workings of salvation. In the process, the logic of the captivity figure helped to transform the Puritan colonists' image of the American wilderness from a savage wasteland haunted by demonic adversaries to the "fresh, green breast" from which European settlers might draw their virtuous sustenance, a virtue so powerful as to restore the virginity of a continent now rid—figuratively and, increasingly, literally—of its native inhabitants.

Thus, these Puritan captivity narratives chart a double shift in colonial New England's conceptions of individual identity and national destiny, insofar as a rhetoric of the corporate covenant comes to be eclipsed by an emergent emphasis on personal agency in the workings of salvation.

2

According to the idea of God's special covenant with the Puritans, the Puritans' errand depended on the entire company's

adherence to the covenant's sacred tenets. If members of the community strayed, the entire colony would be punished: "[T]he Lorde will surely breake out in wrathe against us be revenged of such a perjured people and make us knowe the price of the breache of such a Covenant" (Winthrop 92). The meaning of the national covenant was charged and potentially ambiguous. On the one hand, it was in theory a doctrine of national election, defined by John Winthrop's suggestion that the elect nation and the true church must be bound together as one (see Bercovitch, *Puritan* 91). On the other hand, in practice, membership in and obedience to the social covenant did not guarantee *individual* election and was not synonymous with membership in a congregational church covenant.

Puritan theologians wrestled for decades with the tensions between their typological representation of all New England as the New Jerusalem and their more selective church doctrine according to which members were to demonstrate, by their relations of faith, that they were among God's elect, visibly saints. While there was far less doctrinal consensus among Puritans than historians once tried to suggest, most ministers agreed that although God in his omnipotence could select whomever he chose, not all members of the community, bound together though they were by a social covenant, would manifest God's saving grace.[5] Nevertheless, the earthly security of the whole community rested on the cooperation of each of its members.

Among many second- and third-generation Puritan ministers, the disasters and trials of the latter half of the seventeenth century were the predicted demonstrations of God's wrath. In the eyes of their ministers, the descendants had provoked the Lord by failing to emulate the piety of the first settlers. The Puritan ministry expressed its dismay in sermons historians have designated "jeremiads." Crucial to their task was the maintenance of the community idealized in Winthrop's "Modell," for the covenant entailed a bargain: if any in New England dealt falsely with God, God would turn his face away from all.[6]

The captivity narratives of the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries constituted a sort of jeremiad: Repent, the ministers pleaded, or you too may find your family seized and torn asunder by savages. Almost without exception, the surviving narratives of Puritan captivities were championed or transcribed by two of the period's most prominent divines, Increase and Cotton Mather. The Mathers explicitly intended to record God's affliction of New England and so to call their congregations and the entire community back to the founding covenant. In deploying the captivity model within their larger

catalogues of the providential history and destiny of New England, the Mathers detailed the physical trials, spiritual afflictions, and divine mercies bestowed upon those captives who were delivered and decried the miserable fates of those who perished. With the expansion of settlements onto the northern and western frontiers in the late seventeenth century, the Mathers' appeals to restore the covenant and maintain the protective "hedge" of the community acquired a literal as well as a figurative meaning. The tales of captivities should induce repentance, discourage dispersion, and inspire those who would venture forth to new settlements to establish churches in their midst, posthaste.[7]

But even with this ministerial gloss, the captivity narratives were susceptible to multiple and ambiguous readings, reflecting the dual purposes of returned captive and didactic Jeremiah. They told of individual ingenuity, most often of the ingenuity of individual women. Not only had their experiences challenged their own expectations of what they could endure, but as the primary tellers of their tales, the women captives became the active authors of their own histories, defying if never escaping the traditionally masculine authority and authorship central to the Puritan sexual order. While all the captivity narratives may be read as revealing tensions and instabilities within New England Puritanism at the end of the seventeenth century, those narratives in which the captive was a woman are especially charged. If women dominated the membership of many New England congregations by the latter half of the seventeenth century, as Cotton Mather claimed and some later historians have argued, the captivity drama of trial and redemption may have found an especially attentive audience among women.[8] Since the narratives tended to interpret the captives' afflictions as signs both of punishment and of election, they gave voices to exemplary women whose trials had assured them of their own salvation. Because women's devotions may more often have been private, circumscribed by personal rather than public or collective experience, we perhaps should not be surprised to discover in their narratives a quiet rebellion against the male ministry's efforts to appropriate their individual experiences for corporate purposes.[9]

The congregational order so crucial to New England Puritanism did not reject Reformed Protestantism's doctrine of the isolation of the individual soul before God, but it did emphasize the importance of preaching and collective worship in a congregation of visible saints as the best means of preparing for and certifying conversions. There is nothing heterodox about

the imagery of individual suffering and martyrdom in the rhetoric of redemption, and the suffering related in the captivity narratives was clearly meant to try the sufferer as well as to instruct the community. Still, the captives' accounts exhibited repeated claims of personal assurance but a diminishing sense that their trials effectively signified the condition of an elect but morally deteriorating nation. Because the narratives tended to interpret individual suffering, once endured, as a sign of God's grace as often as his displeasure, they countered covenant theology's teaching that such afflictions should be read as a warning to the whole community. Instead, the captivity tales increasingly emphasized the redemption of the captives themselves rather than the rescue of the covenanted nation—and one no longer represented the other. The trials and triumphs celebrated in the captivity stories subtly revealed one of the central tensions in the "New England way": a theology positing a radically unmediated relation between God and humanity strained against a social code stressing cohesion, community, hierarchy, and deference.

For all the Mathers' efforts to maintain communal piety by invoking a jeremiad form in which affliction signaled the failure of the *whole* people to keep God's covenant, the Mathers were repeatedly drawn to captivity as the symbol which best signified New England's plight: *Judea capta,* Israel in Babylon (see Kolodny 19–28). Although the captivity paradigm rested uneasily with the Mathers' ideal conception of church polity, it was versatile enough to comprehend both a warning and an affirmation. The metaphor addressed a central problem in covenant theology: the notion that the Puritans were God's chosen people was dialectically joined with the ministers' insistence that because of their election, the Puritans would be held to a higher standard of piety and virtue than other peoples. A favorite jeremiad text, Amos 3.2, enunciated this apparent paradox: "You only have I known of all the families of the earth, therefore will I punish you for all your iniquities."[10]

Indeed, in a period when the leading ministers were warning against the dispersion of settlers from their home congregations and communities and invoking the specter of Indian attacks to enforce their admonitions, the captivity narratives augured an increasingly evident ambiguity in the Puritan reading of the significance of the American wilderness. For if the wilderness revealed in the captivity paradigm could be understood to foster the anxiety, conviction, and persistent self-scrutiny on which Puritan conversion and assurance relied, then social cohesion could be subverted by the very instrument de-

signed to preserve it. Salvation was possible—even promised—outside the community of saints and, in many of the captivity narratives, that prophetic message of flight from the domestic hedge was proclaimed by a woman.

3

The New England Puritans did not invent the captivity narrative, nor did they monopolize the market in the seventeenth century. But while Puritan, Catholic, and Quaker alike read in their captivities the design of Providence, only the Puritans interpreted their trials as at once chastisements for insufficient faith *and* as God's extraordinary means of converting the "lukewarm" and confirming those he would elect (see C. Mather, *Terror* 34). The Puritans explained affliction as inextricably bound up with the doctrine of election. Salvation and damnation were predestined; redemption was unmerited and unaffected by human efforts. For Puritans, conversion occurred when one of God's elect felt convicted of sinfulness and committed his or her life to faith and an unremitting struggle to avoid temptation and live in God's grace, without which all the individual's efforts were futile. While sanctification—or outward reformation—usually followed justification—or inner conversion—reformed behavior neither unmistakably proved nor was capable of inducing election.[11] Assurance, the final stage of conversion, perversely, could never be sure but instead was constantly examined. Trials of faith were consequently feared but also welcomed as opportunities for the devout to test the conviction of their surrender to the will of God.[12]

The doctrine of assurance became particularly charged as hostilities escalated between New England Puritans and French Catholics in Canada in the last quarter of the seventeenth century. If the Puritan ministers feared that settlers in the wilderness might become "Indianized," they were equally horrified at the successful efforts of the French to "Romanize" the Indians and the occasional English captive. That apprehension became acute in the years after 1675, when Indians began capturing New Englanders and marching them to Canada, where they were traded to the French who, in turn, ransomed them back to the English colonists, though not before attempting to convince the captives that Roman Catholicism was the true faith. While the Mathers and their fellow Puritan ministers used tales of Indian captivity to terrorize potential emigrants to the frontier and to implore repentance within the entire community, many of the

narratives also served to fuel hostilities toward the French and to add an explicit theological dimension to the ongoing international rivalry (see Axtell, esp. 271–301). It was not simply that the French in Canada gave allegiance to the Pope and to the rituals of the Catholic church. Roman Catholicism defied the Puritan conception of God's absolute sovereignty by offering what Puritans argued was a covenant of works, by which each soul could gain salvation by true contrition, a desire for sanctifying grace, the mediation of the sacraments, and the persistent practice of Christian virtues. Because redemption was possible for all of its followers and membership was more often hereditary than elective, the Catholic church provided no explicit doctrine of assurance by which an exclusive elect could know themselves.[13]

Cotton Mather found this denial of assurance an "Unscriptural and an Uncomfortable Doctrine!" and implored his fellow ministers to instruct their congregations to resist papist "Delusions and Idolatries" (*Fall* 14). Extraordinary circumstances demanded that the "*Errors of Popery*" be explored and exploded: "There is a Danger lest your Neighbours be made *Captives.* If they become Captives, they fall into the hands of the *Papists.* The Papists will use more than ordinary Pains to debauch them" (*Essay to Direct* 50). Indeed, anti-Catholicism led Mather to reformulate Puritan assurance in a manner that de-emphasized its precariousness and strengthened its power to reassure the elect. Attacking a doctrine of works for its reliance on human effort, Mather came near to attributing to human affections the ability to know the will of God with certainty (cf. Middlekauff 239–53). As it was in captivity that the Puritans' confidence in their salvation would be most sorely tested, so it was in the captivity narratives that many of the atomizing tendencies of overassurance appeared. The result of this process, according to Perry Miller's aphorism, was that "the greatness of man's dependency had unaccountably become a euphemism for the greatness of man" (*NEM: CP* 485), or for the imaginative independence of a woman.

This is not to argue that the breakdown of the Puritan communal ideal should be ascribed to the impact, however unwilling or unwitting, of Cotton Mather's teachings or even to his promotion of the captivity model. I mean instead that, as elite representatives of the Puritan ministry, both Increase and Cotton Mather presided over a transformation in New England religion in which the Puritan notion of God's covenant with all New England was eclipsed by a more individualistic and pietistic conception of the relationship of corporate com-

munity to the workings of grace (see Middlekauff 179–87, 247–61, 305–19). Instead of the traditional interpretation's concomitant rise of secularism and individualism, or the more recently emphasized continuity of communal ideals, what we see emerging in the captivity narratives is an increasingly atomistic understanding of the process of salvation developing within the narrative structures of orthodox Puritanism, particularly in instances where the experience of exclusion and transcendence was told by a woman (Luhmann 315; Hall, "On Common Ground" 196–200, 210–13, 221–29). As a consequence, it seems, the Puritan understanding of affliction underwent a similar permutation: by the last years of the seventeenth century the sufferings of the separate saints no longer persuasively signified the condition of the whole community before God.

The captivity narratives reflected and advanced the ambivalence of that liminal moment. They vacillated, at once decrying the sinfulness of the generation that had tempted God's fury by straying from the "hedge" of the covenanted community and then extolling the enlightenment accessible only to those whom God had chosen to try by fire in the wilderness. They juxtaposed condemnations of the smug lukewarm—who wrongly assumed that they were saved—against instructions to the faithful that they alone, unlike both Catholic and heathen, could experience the assurance of God's mercy. By mirroring the tensions in church and society, the narratives afforded a new emphasis on the individual subject that at once censured and sanctioned the process of change.

4

> This good man, like David at Ziklag, yet *believed,* for the recovery of his relations out of those horrible hands, which about four or five months after was accomplished with wonderful dispensations of divine Providence, whereof the gentlewoman herself has given us a *printed narrative.*
>
> Cotton Mather, *Magnalia Christi Americana* (569)

The Mathers themselves read the captives' afflictions and deliverances as part of God's design to strengthen the faith of the saints and warn backsliders of the torments awaiting them. In "The Preface to the Reader" in Rowlandson's *The Soveraignty and Goodness of God*, an interested "Friend" suggested the importance of the ensuing narrative. Persuasive evidence

points to Increase Mather as the "Ter Amicam" of the preface (see Minter 336–37; Hambrick-Stone 259). Rowlandson's story deserved special notice, the preface instructed, because she was so evidently one of God's "dear ones, that are as the Apple of his Eye." While it was "no new thing for Gods precious ones to drink as deep as others, of the Cup of common Calamity," Rowlandson's saintliness gave her travail exemplary significance: "No serious spirit then (especially knowing any thing of the Gentlewomans piety) can imagine but that the vows of God are upon her" (114–15). The community could benefit by reading the history of this saint's trials, and by pondering Rowlandson's narrative, could witness "the worst evils working together for the best good. . . . [T]he Lord hath made this Gentlewoman a gainer by all this affliction" (117).

If readers were bothered by God's choice of one so faithful for such terrible affliction, the preface assured them that punishment was not God's sole intention. Rowlandson's outward saintliness had been fulfilled, the preface insisted, by her surrender in the wilderness to God's omnipotence. Her narrative detailed this process; like subsequent Puritan captivity narratives, Rowlandson's relation of her experience mirrored the stages of a Puritan conversion.[14] There were times during her captivity when she doubted that the Lord was with her, when she feared herself cast from grace forever: "Then also I took my Bible to read, but I found no comfort here neither. . . . Yet, I can say in all my sorrows and afflictions, God did not leave me to have my impatience work towards himself, as if his ways were unrighteous. But I knew that he laid upon me less than I deserved" (40). Soon afterward, however, she opened her Bible to the "comfortable scripture" of Isaiah, "For a small moment have I forsaken thee, but with great mercies will I gather thee" (44), examined and repented her past carelessness toward God, and resigned herself into the hands of the Lord.

Rowlandson's narration of her 11-week captivity is structured throughout by meditations upon the spiritual lessons of her journey's "removes." Her invocations demonstrate an orthodox conception of her captivity's providential significance. Like any good Puritan she examined her faith, found it wanting, and understood her affliction as deserved punishment and instruction (45–46). But the effect of the narrative taken as a whole is not that of Rowlandson's meek recognition of her sisterhood with sinful humanity and submission to the will of God, for the bulk of the saga describes in painful detail her enterprising fight for survival and her necessary accommodation to many of the Indians' ways. On the face of it, hers is a narrative con-

sumed by the imminent prospect of starvation and her search for both literal and spiritual sustenance. If she claimed to have surrendered her spirit to God's exaction, she was not nearly so compliant about her corporeal fate.

Rowlandson's experience in the wilderness, which she first understood as part of a communal scourging for "our perverse and evil carriages" (69), eventually taught her that the Lord had selected her for a special trial, to bear witness to the "vanity of these outward things; that they are the Vanity of vanities . . . and things of no continuance" (79). Though her neighbors slept "whole nights together," as she had herself in earlier days, the ransomed captive knew no rest, but wept in contemplation of "the awful dispensation of the Lord toward us, upon his wonderful power and might" (77–78). While once she had wished for affliction, as fulfillment of the prophecy in Hebrews 12.6, "For whom the Lord loveth he chasteneth, and scourgeth every son whom he receiveth" (78–79), now she had survived to embody the very image of Puritan salvation: the deliverance of a soul imprisoned, freed from its captivity to sin and captivation by flesh. She returned to her community to reveal what she might never have known had she stayed safely within the bounds of the hedge; indeed, her captivity had begun when the hedge failed to hold—when the "merciless heathens" invaded the family garrison, striking down Rowlandson's family as they stood "amazed" (6). So isolated did she find herself in captivity that in her narrative she appealed to the experience of Job, "And I only am escaped to tell the news" (8). In a curious way, captivity allowed the faithful to depart from the lot of ordinary people, all the while interpreting their trials as symbolic of the collective plight of humanity.

Isolation from her community had forced Rowlandson to achieve a self-sufficiency answerable only to God. At its center, her pious narrative demonstrated the deliverance of an individual who, through no choice of her own, had transcended the bounds of Puritan society and found transcendence redeeming. Although we cannot know how autonomously she wrote, the narrative suggests that she feared her readers would find her claims to special providences and insights dangerously smug. Wondering at the Indians' lack of interest in abusing her chastity, she cautions her readers, "[S]ome are ready to say, I speak of it for my own credit; but I speak it in the presence of God, and to his glory" (71). Yet for all her humility before God, she is not reluctant to judge her fellow colonists from the vantage of her superior experience or to speak, on earthly matters, for her own credit.

Rowlandson's narrative combines her prophetic message of special enlightenment and her frank appraisal of the moral and military failings of her countrymen (66–70) with a chillingly blunt description of the physical miseries she shared with her fleeing Indian captors (27, 48, 52, 68). The portions of the narrative that relate the alternately daring and degrading concessions she made to survive—including snatching a boiled horse's foot from a captive English child too young to chew it—speak unapologetically about the necessity of overcoming pride and the amazing power of the Lord to make "pleasant and refreshing which at another time would have been an abomination" (52). Neither submissive nor despondent in dealings with her captors, she presents herself as defiant and calculating, resilient and self-reliant. Though her contempt for the Indians fuels the narrative—they had, after all, killed members of her family before her eyes—in the later "removes" there is increasing attention to their random kindnesses toward her and a grudging but undeniable recognition of the suffering she shares with her captors (53). Even while she attributes the Indians' mercies to God's intercession, and while the Indians never cease to symbolize the savage "other" and to act as agents of supernatural powers, whether demonic or divine, her narrative represents an intersection in the contest of cultures.[15]

Rowlandson's experience of survival, accommodation, and enlightenment in the forest resists ready translation into the Puritan spiritual rhetoric of submission and self-abasement within a congregational community. Her narrative's implicit challenge to the communal order may explain some of its enormous popularity among contemporary readers, who could find in it sanction for their own desires. Venturing into the wilderness might offer spiritual as well as material rewards (cf. Slotkin 98–111; Hall, *Worlds* 30–31, 56).

5

In the final decades of the seventeenth century, the Mathers struggled to contain the promise of the wilderness, arguing against dispersion of settlements and against personal searches for salvation without normal congregational means. They inveighed against the shifting emphasis that threatened to undermine the national covenant and, with it, the collective meaning of affliction, though the ministers increasingly distinguished between individual tribulations and public calamities. In 1680 Increase Mather warned that "Personal Afflictions are not always Evi-

dences of God's Anger, as we see in Job: but Publick Judgements are ever wont to be so. . . . I am not without fear, that this will at last be the Judgement of God upon New England and upon these Churches" (*Heaven's Alarm* 14, 35; also see Middlekauff 96–138, 179–87, 212–13). Even though interpreting personal affliction as God's wrathful judgment of the whole nation became less common after the 1690s, in 1714 Increase's son Cotton still employed similar rhetoric to bemoan the insensibility of New England to the significance of the latest Indian attacks: "BUT, O NEW-ENGLAND, Wilt thou hear the *Voice* of thy Glorious GOD unto thee, in this dismal Tragedy? His *Voice,* even His *Mighty Voice* unto thee, is; *Thou hast Sinned against my Covenant. A Sword is thus brought upon thee, to avenge the Quarrel of my Covenant*" (*History* 10).

Concerned as Cotton Mather was by the afflictions besetting *all* New England during the French and Indian wars, his sermons until the first decade of the eighteenth century warned against expanding settlements onto the frontier and chastised those who ventured into the forest. Not until 1707 did Mather publicly accept the irrevocable dispersion of settlers and shift his attention to providing sound churches and ministers to the wilderness settlements (*Essay to Direct* 10 and *History* 8). More typical of the earlier decades when the captivity model first seemed so compelling is Mather's lament about the effects of migration on the communal covenant, published in his *Short History of New-England*:

> Observe *Goings Out* as well as *Breakings in,* if you would see where the Hedge is deficient. . . . Ah! Lord! Is there no way for us to hinder our sons from *Going Out* at our *Wall,* that they may among, I know not what Cursed *Crues, Offer* themselves a *Burnt Offering* unto the *Devil*? . . . Do our *Old* People, any of them, Go out from the Institutions of God, Swarming into New Settlements, where they and their Untaught Families are like to Perish for Lack of Vision?" (42–43)

Captivity narratives, properly edited and prefaced, would instruct prospective settlers about the horrors they might encounter as punishment for their restlessness and inconstancy. But the narratives the Mathers promoted and published were resonant with the kinds of ambiguities that Rowlandson's tale anticipated. Vivid descriptions of survival demonstrated that New Englanders could endure in the wilderness as well as either the Indians or the French. Sermons employing captivity nar-

ratives were at once terrifying and fascinating, irresistibly drawing listeners to venture from the hedge while warning them, in the same breath, of the dangers to which they would be exposed outside it.[16]

Soon enough, however, the Mathers became wary of the impact of unimproved tales of frontier ingenuity and made certain that the spiritual message of captivity was made explicit, even when the captives themselves resisted the ministers' representations. In a fast-day sermon in 1697, Cotton Mather portrayed Indian captivity as an unambiguous figure of New England's chastisement. Charting recent *Humiliations follow'd with Deliverances,* Mather introduced the narratives of Hannah Dustan and Hannah Swarton; he would later incorporate these lessons in his chronicle of the 1690s, *Decennium Luctuosum,* and in his epic history, *Magnalia Christi Americana.* His stated intention in this sermon and in his subsequent retellings of the tales was to induce New England to repent. The sufferings of some, Mather insisted, signified the sinfulness of all: "Have Bloody, popish, and Pagan Enemies, made multitudes of our Beloved Neighbours? Let us Humbly Confess, our Sins have *Deserved* that we should be all of us, altogether given up" (*Humiliations* 12). Once again, the pious message of the narratives seems obscured by the relation of the captives' lurid adventures or solitary and remarkable conversions. For disparate reasons, the Dustan and Swarton sagas exemplify the unstable tendencies of the captivity narrative: they celebrate individual accomplishment and sometimes defiant spiritual illumination, while condemning the fragmenting implications of these histories.

The more grisly and notorious of the two accounts depicts the "Notable Deliverance" of Dustan, which was devoid of religious interpretation except that provided by Mather. On 15 March 1697, Dustan was marched off by Indians who attacked Haverhill, Massachusetts, killing her five-day-old infant and burning her home. Her Indian captors had converted to Roman Catholicism and dared their prisoners to prove that the English God would deliver them. Taking up the challenge and seeking to escape the gauntlet, Dustan, her nurse, and an English youth arose one night and murdered ten Indians (including six children) with their own hatchets. Not content to escape without proof of their feat, the captives scalped the Indians, collected the scalps, and redeemed them for a £50 bounty offered by the Massachusetts General Court for such plunder.[17] Cotton Mather justified Dustan's actions by invoking the lawless condition of the wilderness: "Being where she had not her *own life* secured by any *Law* unto her, she thought she was not forbidden by

any *Law,* to take away the *Life* of the *Murderers,* by whom her *Child* had been butchered" (46–47). Like Rowlandson, Dustan survived the physical dangers of captivity by her own dauntless efforts. Unlike Rowlandson, Dustan displayed no surrender to the will of God and no sense that her deliverance had been accomplished through any intervention but her own. It took Cotton Mather's "Improvement" of her narrative to make its religious significance evident.

Mather concluded that the lesson of Dustan's trial was meant for all New England: we must "*Humble* ourselves throughout the Land" (48). Though he purveyed this tale of colonial ingenuity, Mather apprehended the likely effect of Dustan's exploit and cautioned the returned captives to abase themselves—to resist the conclusion that their deliverance had exempted them from the communal need for repentance or, perhaps, from the particularly feminine duty of submission. Still, it is apparent that Mather understood the peculiar stigma of captivity: Christ had "Highly favoured" the rescued, but that favor should help them to be humble, not make them imagine themselves elevated above the sinful condition of all:

> When you were Carried into *Captivity,* We did not say, *That you were greater Sinners, than the rest that yet Escape it.* You are now Rescued from *Captivity,* and must not think, *That they are the greater Sinners, who are Left behind in the most barbarous Hands imaginable.* No you, that have been under the *Mighty Hand of God,* are to Humble yourselves, under that *Hand.* . . . You are not now the Slaves of *Indians,* as you were a few dayes ago; but if you continue Unhumbled, in your Sins, you will be the Slaves of *Devils.* (47–49)

Special providences such as Dustan's, then, were meant to tutor the whole people, not elevate the tried and tested as subjects of God's particular dispensations. The lesson Mather suspected the captives and his congregation might derive from Dustan's experience would subvert his stated intention in telling the tale. Describing Dustan's narrative as "a turning point in American intellectual history," Jay Fliegelman has found in it one source for the image of an antipatriarchal "fortunate fall" that would play so important a role in the familial and political imagery of the American revolutionary generation:

> As Indian captivity and other wilderness afflictions became harder to rationalize as providential expressions of a divine

> concern for human salvation—seeming, rather, to express if anything God's abandonment of his pilgrims or indifference to them—the captivity narrative secretly taught a still pious public how to live self-sufficiently alone, how to make a virtue out of the theological vice of self-dependence. (145–46)

Once again, the self-saving oracle of defiant self-assertion was a woman, whose testimony so challenged the community's conventional representations of authority and rank that it had at once to be championed and contained.

The other woman of Mather's *Humiliations* provided a far more ideal object lesson for his crusade to keep the faithful within the hedge of the convenanted community. Relating her "Wonderful Passages," Swarton ascribed her affliction to a particularly prosaic sin: "I had left the public worship and ordinances of God, where I formerly lived . . . to remove to the North part of Casco bay, where there was no church or minister of the gospel; and this we did for large accommodations in the world, thereby exposing our children to be bred ignorantly like Indians . . . and so we turned our backs upon God's ordinances to get this world's goods" (C. Mather, *Magnalia* 357–58; see Ulrich 180–83, 206; cf. Kolodny 24–27). To Swarton, the greatest threat during her captivity was posed not by Indians but by the Catholics in Canada who received her from her Indian captors and held her for three years. The heathen Indians could destroy her body, she acknowledged—describing in gruesome detail the physical suffering she endured with them—but the French could capture her soul for eternity. Swarton's testimony performed its didactic role by stressing that her professed ignorance of Puritan teachings might have allowed the Canadian Catholics to "overcome" her. The French, she warned, were kind to her "outward man . . . but here began a greater snare and trouble to my soul, and danger to my *inward man*" (358–59).

More plainly than either Dustan's profane self-assessment or the self-affirming reconversion Rowlandson described, Swarton's captivity narrative also recounts a conversion experience. Though the Mathers had worried that the ranks of the unregenerate would swell as settlers moved to the frontier without proper ministers attending them, Swarton made it pointedly evident that neither the Puritan ministry nor her trial among the Indians brought her to Christ. Rather, it was the insistent

prodding of "nuns, priests, and friars" that converted her—to Puritanism. In the critical moment of her conversion she found herself unable to take expedient measures and accept what she believed to be a false creed simply to please her captors. At the same time, she realized herself unfit to suffer for "the true religion" because she had "no saving interest in Christ." In despair she turned to an English Bible and there discovered the prayer of Jonah: "I said I am cast out of thy sight, yet will I look again toward thy holy temple." Her prayers were answered; she was filled with "ravishing comfort" and then delivered from her captors (360–61).

Of all the Puritan captivities, Swarton's narrative conveyed the most absolute submission to the will of God. Her message, however, again conflicted with Mather's interest in transcribing her story. He had predicted peril for all who strayed from the community; indeed, Swarton's removal to Casco Bay, one of the frontier settlements along the Maine coast, was avowedly the offense which had tempted God's wrath in the first place. But, like Rowlandson, this captive found illumination in the wilderness. She was converted at the hands of apostates, whose challenges to the "true religion" prompted Swarton's profession of Puritan faith. Like Rowlandson's account, Swarton's narrative concluded with her return to New England, but only after she had struck a very individual bargain with God for her survival. It was only natural that redeemed captives would read their deliverance as assurance of God's eternal mercy: they had fulfilled the covenant of grace by admitting their helpless unworthiness, repenting their sins, and devoutly placing their faith in God. The communal covenant, however, had required Puritans to rely on a strict social order and congregational means to reinforce their "moral interdependence" (Donahue 118) and to express their utter and collective dependence on God.[18] Again, the wilderness played a paradoxical role: it forced the captives to abandon English ways and adapt to a hostile environment or face starvation and death at the hands of their captors. But separated from their communities and normal existences, those captives who attributed religious significance to their travails saw in captivity an unprecedented opportunity for an unmediated confrontation with God. The repentant found affirmation in affliction. Captivity in essence played the role that persecution and migration had for the first generation: it provided an opportunity for the saints to prove the ardor of their faith while geographically "relocating" the central experience of trial and redemption.[19]

6

The captivity narratives' tendency to sanction religious experience without congregational means put the Mathers in a potentially difficult position. How could the transforming effects of affliction be domesticated so that New Englanders could demonstrate their fidelity in adversity while remaining within a stable society? In the final years of the seventeenth century, Cotton Mather addressed this problem by reminding his congregation that *all* suffering in the community was a sign of God's displeasure with the whole society and so a summons for corporate reform. As he had long argued, Mather warned that complacency threatened the safety and prosperity of all New England. But there was a shift in Mather's thinking about the wilderness, and by the beginning of the new century, Mather had himself tired of walking the tightrope between affirming and condemning those who ventured beyond the hedge of the community. Like the captives themselves, he tended by 1700 to revise the national covenant so as to de-emphasize the collective meaning of personal affliction and to stress instead its importance in the individual drama of redemption or in the national drama of self-preservation.

It was in this new spirit that, in 1706, Cotton Mather encouraged the recently ransomed John Williams to set down an account of his captivity among the Indians and the French so that "the Lord might have Revenues of Glory from his Experiences" (*Diary* 575). In the years following the publication of Williams's narrative, *The Redeemed Captive* (1707), the captivity genre came to reflect less on the state of the individual or collective soul and instead increasingly was promoted as a political instrument documenting the threats posed to New England by its enemies to the North. After 1700, the danger that the Indians and their French allies represented was turned outward, externalized, so that Indian or Canadian foes no longer served as emblems of God's anger at the Puritan community's own sinfulness. Rather, these enemies now functioned simply as concrete military and political opponents in the British settlers' efforts to occupy the continent, permitting the Puritans to assert a newly confident version of a confrontation that now represented not the failure of their community but its embattled promise (see Sieminski). In these circumstances, Williams took on the now univocal task of narrating and interpreting his own experience of captivity and redemption. The atomizing tendencies of the women's narratives had challenged the theological unity of the community; now a man's narrative would

recreate that unity on political and increasingly nationalistic grounds—and the promise of personal salvation in the wilderness, outside the hedge, would be no longer subversive but instead triumphal.

As the Williams narrative underscored, by 1706 the frontier seemed less a token of New England's spiritual pilgrimage than the locus for political strife and international conflict, a new battlefield for the European wars of empire, religion, and succession. The New England colonists expected the British to help protect their frontiers; at the same time, the wilderness settlements shielded the eastern towns from the worst onslaughts of the French and their Indian allies. It would hardly do for eastern ministers like the Mathers to continue chastising the godlessness of the frontier. Instead, the Williams narrative indicated a new use for the captivity motif: it served as explicit testimony of the imperial government's scandalous neglect of the western settlements' defenses while continuing to inflame hostilities toward the Indians and the French. Once again, Cotton Mather pointed the way.

In a sermon published in 1707, Mather sought to "Direct the Frontiers of a Country Exposed unto the Incursions of a Barbarous Enemy." There he repeated his usual warnings to "unchurched villages," but now his stated intention was to support and encourage the wilderness settlers during their distress. It was no longer evident that the frontier's afflictions were either merited or corrective, or even that they indicated God's just punishment of a backsliding nation. Instead, Mather stressed the innocence and vulnerability of the beleaguered colonists: "An Adversary, *Sitting in the lurking places of the Villages; in the secret places murdering the Innocent, lying in wait to catch the Poor; Catching the Poor, when he draws them into his Net.* Oh! Deplorable Condition! Oh! Pittyable Condition! *Arise, O Lord, lift up thine Hand, Forget not the Humble*" (*Essay to Direct* 4–7).

The wilderness, Mather argued by 1707, seemed to be engendering an enviable virtue in the frontier settlers. Instead of "censuring the *Greatest Sufferers* as if they were the *Greatest Sinners,*" Mather celebrated "a people of such a *Temper,* of such a *Carriage,* and making such Good Use of their *Trouble,* that in this *Valley,* they may have a *Door of Hope* opened for them" (25, 10). After decades of excoriating wilderness settlers for endangering their own souls and the security of the whole covenanted nation, the political and military exigencies of the first years of the eighteenth century seem to have led Mather to formulate and encourage a revision of the frontier. The hellish

wilderness of the seventeenth century was transfigured into the new century's crucible of virtuous, even innocent, character. But this metamorphosis had its genesis in the captivity metaphor, which the Mathers had so assiduously promoted for thirty years.

The captivity narratives I have considered here subtly illustrated and reframed the major contradictions facing the third generation in New England. The first of these posed a hierarchical and communally centered social structure against an increasingly pietistic and individualistic religion, a tension that would climax in the enthusiastic revivalism and sectarian divisions of the Great Awakening in the 1730s and 1740s.

Second, while the virtue of women became a more positively esteemed and socially valued quality even as women's influence was substantially consigned to an increasingly private domestic sphere, it is worth recalling that in many of the captivity narratives, women authors acquired a prophetic moral voice (see Lang, esp. 1–51). If part of the "cultural work" of these captivity narratives was to accommodate a changing relation between the New England colonists and the wilderness—between the community's demands and the individual's desires—it is striking that women were among the leading creators of a mythology that has since had so resonantly masculine a voice. Ironic, too, is the fact that for a time, the voices calling for community and order within a domestic and pious "hedge" were those of the male ministers who sought to constrain the subversive lessons of these female isolates.

Finally, the Puritan captivity narratives mark a passage in the development and deployment of a theology shaped by the need to construct a coherent sense of transcendent national destiny in a new land, in new circumstances. The millennial significance Winthrop charted in the Puritan errand did not vanish with the demise of federal theology and the "New England way." Instead, as commentators from Cotton Mather to Sacvan Bercovitch have seen, transcendent destiny has been readily conflated with national history, and this began well before there was an official American nation in which a civil religion could be made manifest.[20] As created and employed by their dual authors, these captivity narratives and the imagery they promoted served in different measures to lament, construct, defuse, incorporate, promote, or implore resistance or accommodation to the demands of the new land. But in each instance, the narrators reveal the fragility of the hedge, the ambiguous boundaries separating settlement and forest, orthodoxy and antinomian ecstasy, assurance and damnation, do-

mestic order and subversive prophecy, community and individual, history and eschatology. In the end, a narrative figure designed to maintain and enforce boundaries came instead to explode them, to sanction the venture of the individual into the wilderness, there to be destroyed or saved.

Notes

1. Unless otherwise indicated, all references to Rowlandson's narrative are to *The Soveraignty and Goodness of God,* reprinted from the Cambridge (probably the second) edition of 1682. For discussion of the historical details of Rowlandson's life and her captivity, see Ulrich 173–77, 226–33; Kolodny 17–34; and Greene 24–38.

2. See Caldwell, particularly 26–35, 156–59, 163–86; also Slotkin 101; Derounian 85; Ulrich 202, 226–32. Slotkin's reading of the archetypal significance of the captivity narratives (94–128) is a powerful and provocative interpretation, to which I am indebted throughout.

3. For an analysis of the Mathers' and other ministers' promotion of an analogous genre of conversion narrative, the confessions and conversion accounts of condemned criminals—often upon the scaffold—see Daniel Williams.

4. For important theoretical discussions of the European projection of "savagism" onto Native Americans as a central effort in the definition of Euro-American "civilization," see Pearce, *Savagism*; and Krupat, esp. 1–27.

5. For a discussion of the inherent tensions between the Puritan ideal of an elect *nation* and a church polity resting on exclusive membership, particularly as they were revealed in the controversy over adoption of the halfway covenant, see Scobey 3–31, esp. 16–18. See also Morgan 68–71; Bercovitch, *Puritan Origins* 90–108. Delbanco, among recent historians of New England Puritanism, has perhaps done the most to undermine the image of seventeenth-century Puritanism and its ministers as doctrinally uniform.

6. In Miller's account of American Puritanism, "declension" and the jeremiad are central. See esp. *NEM: SC* 365–431, 463–91; "Declension" and "Covenant to the Revival" in *Nature's Nation.* More recently, these arguments have been the source of much scholarly debate and refinement, both from intellectual and church historians who have questioned Miller's analysis of Puritan doctrine and piety and from social historians who have discovered increases rather than decreases in some congregations' memberships after 1675. See Pope; and Hall, "On Common Ground."

7. I. Mather, *Essay for the Recording*; C. Mather, *Decennium Luctuosum* and *Humiliations*; also *Diary of Cotton Mather* 567, entry for 11 August 1706. Despite their occasional differences, for their roles in promoting the captivity narrative I will frequently refer to the Mathers collectively.

8. Mather's comment is in *Ornaments*: "[T]here are far more *godly Women* in the world than *godly Men*; and our *Church Communions* give us a little demonstration of it" (48), qtd. in Malmsheimer 487. On the role of women in New England congregations, see Ulrich 215–26; Dunn; Masson.

9. On Puritan women's devotions and private meetings, see Hambrick-Stowe 140–41, 155. On women's occasional defiance of Puritan ministerial authority, see Karlsen 191–94.

10. See Middlekauff 98–112, 210–13, 323–39. Caldwell has examined this tension in her study of the rhetoric of conversion narratives, tracing the crisis in expression experienced by Puritans whose migration to New England had fractured the "communal assurance and verbal solidarity" they had known in England. See 135–62, esp. 136–40; also Hambrick-Stowe ch. 8.

11. Hall has noted that recent studies of Puritan conversion argue that conversion was less a climactic "moment" than an ongoing process or cycle—the dialectical relation of anxiety and assurance constantly "renewing" the saint's conversion ("On Common Ground" 218–21). The narratives of Rowlandson and Williams, in particular, fit this pattern of "re-conversion."

12. On the morphology of conversion, see I. Mather, *A Plain Discourse* and *A Sermon wherein is Declared*; and C. Mather, *The Greatest Concern*. Also Morgan 68–71; Miller, *NEM: SC* 280–99; and Caldwell 45–162, who argues that the precarious nature of assurance was stressed more by New England Puritans than by those who remained in England (see 138–62).

13. See C. Mather, *Things for a Distress'd People* and *Magnalia* 2: 663.

14. See Hambrick-Stowe 256–65; Slotkin 98–115; Bercovitch, *Puritan Origins* ch. 3 and *American Jeremiad* ch. 2; Minter 337–44; Pearce, "Significances."

15. The descriptive language that Rowlandson applies to the Indians changes over the course of the narrative, effectively echoing what appears to have been her evolving conception of their identities, of their "otherness." At the outset, she describes her captors as demonic ("heathens," "infidels," "hellhounds," "black creatures in the night" whose "roaring and singing" "made the place a lively resemblance of hell") and as devouring beasts ("wolves," "ravenous bears," "inhuman") (4–13). By the end of her narrative, Rowlandson has begun to identify the Indians as individuals with names, temperaments, and attributes. She marvels at their abilities (for whomever's ends) to survive: "I can but stand in admiration to see the wonderful power of God in providing for such a vast number of enemies in the wilderness" (68).

16. For an example of an early, "unimproved" captivity narrative related by the Mathers, see the tale of Quentin Stockwell in I. Mather, *Essay for the Recording*.

17. Dustan's (also spelled Dustin, Duston) story has been retold for centuries, most notably by Henry David Thoreau in *A Week on the Concord*

and Merrimack Rivers (1849). For biographical detail, including Dustan's intriguing family history of female aggression, see Ulrich 167–72, 184–85, 195–207, 234–35. On Dustan's narrative, see Slotkin 112–15, 522–24; Kolodny 21–24; and Fliegelman 144–47, all of which recognize the tension between Dustan's saga and Mather's deployment of it. Ulrich notes that Mather must have known, even as he celebrated Dustan's efforts, that she was not a full church member and was the sister of a condemned murderer, Elizabeth Emerson, who had been convicted in 1693 of killing her newborn twins. See 234, 184–85.

18. On the development of and challenges to covenant theology in the work of Increase and Cotton Mather, especially with regard to their evolving understanding of the relationship between the national covenant and the covenant of grace, see Middlekauff 113–20, 136, 163–75, 248–61; also Hambrick-Stowe 93–135, 246–56.

19. See Caldwell 119–86; on the "relocation of the pilgrimage" and for analysis of the second generation's use of captivity and wilderness imagery, see Hambrick-Stowe 256–65.

20. On this theme, see Mather's *Magnalia*; Bercovitch, *Puritan Origins* and *American Jeremiad*; Bloch.

Works Cited

Axtell, James. *The Invasion Within: The Contest of Cultures in Colonial North America.* New York: Oxford UP, 1985.

Bercovitch, Sacvan. *The American Jeremiad.* Madison: U of Wisconsin P, 1978.

———. *The Puritan Origins of the American Self.* New Haven: Yale UP, 1975.

Bloch, Ruth H. *Visionary Republic: Millennial Themes in American Thought, 1756–1800.* Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1985.

Caldwell, Patricia. *The Puritan Conversion Narrative: The Beginnings of American Expression.* Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1983.

Delbanco, Andrew. *The Puritan Ordeal.* Cambridge: Harvard UP, 1989.

Derounian, Kathryn Zabelle. "Puritan Orthodoxy and 'The Survivor Syndrome' in Mary Rowlandson's Captivity Narrative." *Early American Literature* 22 (1987): 82–93.

Donahue, Jane. "Colonial Shipwreck Narratives: A Theological Study." *Books at Brown* 23 (1969): 101–34.

Dunn, Mary Maples. "Saints and Sisters: Congregational and Quaker Women in the Early Colonial Period." *Women in American Religion.* Ed. Janet Wilson James. Philadelphia: U of Pennsylvania P, 1980. 27–46.

Fliegelman, Jay. *Prodigals and Pilgrims: The American Revolution against Patriarchal Authority, 1750–1800.* Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1982.

Greene, David L. "New Light on Mary Rowlandson." *Early American Literature* 20 (1985): 24–38.

Hall, David D. "On Common Ground: The Coherence of American Puritan Studies." *William and Mary Quarterly* 3rd ser. 44 (1987): 193–229.

———. *Worlds of Wonder, Days of Judgment: Popular Religious Belief in Early New England.* New York: Knopf, 1989.

Hambrick-Stowe, Charles E. *The Practice of Piety: Puritan Devotional Disciplines in Seventeenth-Century New England.* Chapel Hill: U of North Carolina P, 1982.

Jehlen, Myra. *American Incarnation: The Individual, the Nation, and the Continent.* Cambridge: Harvard UP, 1986.

Karlsen, Carol. *The Devil in the Shape of a Woman.* New York: Norton, 1987.

Kolodny, Annette. *The Land Before Her: Fantasy and Experience of the American Frontiers, 1630–1860.* Chapel Hill: U of North Carolina P, 1984.

Krupat, Arnold. *For Those Who Come After: A Study of Native American Autobiography.* Berkeley: U of California P, 1985.

Lang, Amy Schrager. *Prophetic Woman: Anne Hutchinson and the Problem of Dissent in the Literature of New England.* Berkeley: U of California P, 1987.

Lincoln, Charles H., ed. *Narratives of the Indian Wars, 1675–1699.* New York: Scribner's, 1913.

Love, W. DeLoss. *The Fast and Thanksgiving Days of New England.* Boston, 1895.

Luhmann, Niklas. "The Individuality of the Individual." *Reconstructing Individualism: Autonomy, Individuality, and the Self in Western Thought.* Ed. Thomas Heller, et al. Stanford: Stanford UP, 1986. 313–25.

Malmsheimer, Lonna M. "Daughters of Zion: New England Roots of American Feminism." *New England Quarterly* 50 (1977): 484–504.

Masson, Margaret W. "The Typology of the Female as a Model for the Regenerate: Puritan Preaching, 1690–1730." *Signs* 2 (1976): 304–15.

Mather, Cotton. *Decennium Luctuosum: An History of Remarkable Occurances in the Long War, which New England hath had with the Indian Salvages, from the Year 1688, to the Year 1698.* Boston, 1699.

———. *The Diary of Cotton Mather, 1681–1708.* Publications of the Massachusetts Historical Society, 7th ser., Vol. 7. Boston, 1911.

———. *An Essay, to Direct the Frontiers of a Country Exposed unto the Incursions of a Barbarous Enemy.* Boston, 1707.

———. *The Fall of Babylon.* Boston, 1707.

———. *The Greatest Concern in the World. A Short and Plain ESSAY to Answer that Most Concerning and All Concerning INQUIRY, What must I do to be saved?. . . .* 4th ed. New Haven, 1765.

———. *The History of a Long War with Indian Salvages.* Boston, 1714.

———. *Humiliations follow'd with Deliverances.* Boston, 1697.

———. *Magnalia Christi Americana; or, The Ecclesiastical History of New-England.* Vol. 2. 1702. Hartford: Silus Andrus & Son, 1858. 2 vols.

———. *Ornaments for the Daughters of Zion, or the Character and Happiness of a Virtuous Woman.* 1692. Boston, 1741.

———. *The Short History of New-England.* Boston, 1694.

———. *The Terror of the Lord. Some Account of the Earthquake that Shook New-England. . . .* Boston, 1727.

———. *Things for a Distress'd People to Think Upon.* Boston, 1696.

Mather, Increase. *An Essay for the Recording of Remarkable Providences.* Boston, 1684.

———. *Heaven's Alarm to the World.* Boston, 1682.

———. *A Plain Discourse Shewing Who Shall & Who Shall Not Enter into the Kingdom of Heaven. . . .* Boston, 1713.

[———]. The Preface to the Reader. Rowlandson, *Soveraignty.* 1682. Rpt. in Lincoln 112–17.

———. *A Sermon wherein is Declared That the Blessed God is Willing to be RECONCILED To the SINFUL Children of Men.* Boston, 1713.

Middlekauff, Robert. *The Mathers: Three Generations of Puritan Intellectuals, 1596–1728.* New York: Oxford UP, 1971.

Miller, Perry. *Nature's Nation.* Cambridge: Harvard UP, 1967.

———. *The New England Mind: From Colony to Province.* 1953. Boston: Beacon, 1961.

———. *The New England Mind: The Seventeenth Century.* 1939. Boston: Beacon, 1961.

Minter, David. "By Dens of Lions: Notes on Stylization in Early Puritan Captivity Narratives." *American Literature* 45 (1973): 335–47.

Morgan, Edmund S. *Visible Saints: The History of a Puritan Idea.* Ithaca: Cornell UP, 1975.

Pearce, Roy Harvey. *Savagism and Civilization.* Baltimore: Johns Hopkins UP, 1967.

———. "The Significances of the Captivity Narrative." *American Literature* 19 (1947): 1–20.

Pope, Robert G. "New England versus the New England Mind: The Myth of Declension." *Journal of Social History* 3 (1969–70): 95–108.

Rowlandson, Mary. *The Soveraignty and Goodness of God.* Rpt. from the Cambridge edition of 1682 (2nd ed.?) as *The Narrative of the Captivity and Restoration of Mrs. Mary Rowlandson.* Lancaster, MA: The Lancaster Tercentary Edition, 1953.

Scobey, David. "Revising the Errand: New England's Ways and the Puritan Sense of the Past." *William and Mary Quarterly* 3rd ser. 41 (1984): 3–31.

Sieminski, Capt. Greg. "The Puritan Captivity Narrative and the Politics of the American Revolution." *American Quarterly* 42 (1990): 35–56.

Slotkin, Richard. *Regeneration through Violence: The Mythology of*

the American Frontier, 1600–1860. Middletown: Wesleyan UP, 1973.

Tompkins, Jane. "'Indians': Textualism, Morality, and the Problem of History." *Critical Inquiry* 13 (1986): 101–19.

———. *Sensational Designs: The Cultural Work of American Fiction, 1790–1860.* New York: Oxford UP, 1985.

Ulrich, Laurel Thatcher. *Good Wives: Image and Reality in the Lives of Women in Northern New England, 1650–1750.* New York: Oxford UP, 1982.

Williams, Daniel E. "'Behold a Tragic Scene Strangely Changed into a Theater of Mercy': The Structure and Significance of Criminal Conversion Narratives in Early New England." *American Quarterly* 38 (1986): 827–47.

Williams, John. *The Redeemed Captive.* 1707. Ed. Edward A. Clark. Amherst: U of Massachusetts P, 1976.

Winthrop, John. "A Modell of Christian Charity." 1630. *Puritan Political Ideas, 1558–1794.* Ed. Edmund S. Morgan. Indianapolis: Bobbs, 1965.