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FORMALLY I WAS WELL KNOWN TO YOU: NATURE AND GROWTH IN INDIAN
CAPTIVITY NARRATIVE

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ABSTRACT

The American Indian captivity narrative genre went through three major phases of purpose during its nearly four hundred year life. At first captivity narratives served to contextualize suffering through God's punishment. Next the captivity narratives were employed as propaganda, rallying support for America's war with indigenous peoples. Lastly the captivity narrative was for amusement, with no ulterior motive than excitement. Collected from across genre phases, late 19th and early 20th century narrative collections acted independently of their original purpose. *Captive Among the Indians* may have been purposefully curated instructively, by paring hardship with nature to exemplify personal growth.

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Chapter 1 Introduction

Beginning with the first settlers in America, Indian relations with their white colonizers have been rocky and varying. At times, Indian swung between open hostility and genuine comradery. While more common during time of hostility, Indians would often capture white settlers—a practice that would continue until the end of the 19th century. The number of people captured in the first four hundred years of white inhabitation of America is difficult to determine at best. Not all those who were captured, returned, either dying during transit, during their stay, or remaining. Those who remained did so for many reasons, pride, and shame, acceptance into Indian culture, wanting to distance themselves from their previous cultures, and being unable to return from coercion or distance. Not all those who returned were literate, nor had the means to tell their story. Nor did a captive necessarily have access to their story being told. For many, their captivity became a family story, told to family and maybe friends, but never published. As Kathryn Zabelle Deronian-Stolda, an influential writer in *Indian Captivity Narratives*, reports in the introduction to *Women's Indian Captivity Narratives*, “conservative estimates ran into the tens of thousands and a more realistic figure may well be higher” (XV). No matter the number of captured persons in colonial America, nor the accuracy of reporting, there remains a great corpus of narratives created in response to Indian Captivity.

While not the first Captivity narrative written, Mary Rowlandson's captivity narrative, *Captivity of Mary Rowlandson Among the Indians of Massachusetts* is often cited as the narrative that began the first truly American genre (Deronian-Stolda). Her narrative is more studied than any other single narrative in the genre. Indeed it offers an interiority of King Philip's War that no other piece of literature can offer. While hers is by far not the first narrative written, nor is she the first person to be captured by Indians, her narrative, due to the power and influence

of the men surrounding her, became a colonial best seller. Its popularity and numerous reprints allowed for the Rowlandson narrative to be to center of focus for a very long time. Hers is arguably the single most studied narrative of the genre.

Some forty years prior to Mary Rowlandson's narrative, Father Giuseppe Bressani, an Italian priest on mission to the Huron of New York and Canada, met with Iroquois who captured him. During his captivity he wrote a series of letters, addressed to God, which later, published became his narrative of captivity: *Father Bressani's Captivity among the Iroquois, 1644*. His letters relate in terrible detail his captivity, torture and release in 1644. His narrative is marked by the terrible brutality he suffered at the hands of the Iroquois.

Nearly one hundred years later, Colonel James Smith experienced very different treatment during his captivity. While initially brutal, his narrative, *Colonel James Smiths' life Among the Delaware, 1755-1759*" uniquely shows the narrative of a man who becomes an accepted part of Delaware life—foregoing, for a time, the life of an army soldier in Pennsylvania.

Mercy Harbison, captured in 1792 has the most modern narrative. While shorter than the rest, *Capture and Escape of Mercy Harbison, 1792* shows the repercussions of military activity, not only for the Indians, but for the service members and their families.

The longest of the narratives listed above have lasted for longer than 350 years. Others have existed for far longer, pushing 400 years. During that time, as inevitably happens with books, the narratives were published, and republished; they were edited and those edits were edited. Authority and editorial interfering have long been a prime concern with captivity narratives. This is nowhere more prevalent than with the narrative of Mary Rowlandson. As possibly the longest running American story, her narrative, having existed for some 300 years,

has been printed and reprinted well over a dozen times. Though it's impossible to tell the exact number of printings and editorial changes as the earliest editions of the book are lost, it is not unreasonable to assume that the editorial influence for Rowlandson's narrative were great—both with and without her consent.

Editorial changes have been the focal point upon which scholars of the field have dedicated their research. Many have wondered at what point did the authority of the author end and the editor begin; additionally for many years, the authority of the editor was often greater than that of the author him or herself. Here I will simultaneously ignore and place at the center the issue of editorial alterations. While the editors of these narratives pose impossible questions of the truth value of the narratives, for my purposes, I assume truth. Of course I am concerned with the editorial changes to these narratives and in what climate they were written and published, but that is not the focus of this paper. I will, instead, attend to the editor of all four narratives.

These four narratives offer a wide range of what a captivity narrative can be. Published independently in their own time, these four are collected into a single volume *Captives Among the Indians, First Hand narratives of Indian Wars, Customs, Torture and Habits of Life in Colonial Times*. Collected and edited by Horace Kephart, a writer and woodsmen, *Captives Among the Indians* was published in 1915 for the Outing Adventure Library, a series of books on the adventures found in the natural world.

Each of the narratives offers a unique story. The character of each shines through despite, and indeed, because of their situation, making each narrative different from the rest. However, all four narratives do share some similarities—namely, setting and circumstance. Each captive is taken deep into the forests of what was once the western frontier. Each had a relation

with God and while their views on the subject differed widely, their captivity brought their held beliefs into new light. Finally, how each meets their captivity allows

This survey is composed from the writing of many excellent writers and scholars of Indian Captivity Narratives. Their writings offer an incredible breadth of knowledge and study on this topic. While their scholarship is impressive, and indeed, the foundation of this writing, there is an area that seems to have little scholarship around it: the captivity narrative as collection of narratives. This paper offers a brief view into this dimly lit corner.

Richard Van Der Beets, in the 1980s offered what would become the foundation of how scholars thought about captivity narratives in his book, *The Indian Captivity Narrative, An American Genre*. Though limited, his three phases of narrative: religious expression, propaganda, and penny dreadful, offers an applicable method of understanding this genre through the ages. Derounia-Stolda, however points out that while these classifications make for neat epochs of captivity narratives, they disallow more nuanced and universal themes to be explored. While helpful in the beginning, Van Der Beets' work ultimately lead to towards the classifications I set out below.

Philip Deloria enters the conversation on captivity narratives tangentially from the unique position of being both a historian, and not a scholar of captivity narratives specifically, and Indian. He motions towards the end of the nineteenth and the beginning of the twentieth centuries as a short era of fascination with captivity narratives, Indian narratives in general, and what he refers to in the title of his book, *Playing Indian*. According to Deloria, anthropologists, obsessed with the idea that the Indian was dead, sought to resurrect Indian through study of historical articles—pictures, music and story recordings, linguistics, and narratives, collected, in part through the captivity narrative. However the social sciences were not the only ones

interested in the now dead Indians. Public outcry over the vices and evils of the city, in part because of a powerful push in industrialism, sought to “return to their primitive roots.” What better way to return to ones’ primitive human roots than in the form of the Indian? After all, no longer existing meant they were undoubtedly historically past. Thus in the early decades of the twentieth century, scouting became a prominent part of the American experience. Lead by Ernest Thompson Seton, scouting focused on a return to the physical health that can only be afforded by a return to nature (Deloria, 185). This took the form of modeling many scouting troupes after Indian behaviors and utilizing Indigenous knowledge for their camp activities.

Homi Bhabha in his essay “On Mimicry and Man, the Ambivalence of Colonial Discourse,” and Philip Deloria in *Playing Indian*, explain Kepharts’ and many of his contemporaries interest in Indians, captivity narratives, and playing Indian. Bhabha, in his essay, speaks to the intense desire of the colonial power to see the colonial other pretend to be like himself. The other *must*, if it is to be accepted as anything other than other, mimic the colonial power:

...colonial mimicry is the desire for a reformed, recognizable Other, *as a subject of a difference that is almost the same, but not quite*. Which is to say that the discourse of mimicry is constructed around an *ambivalence*; in order to be effective, mimicry must continually produce its slippage, its excess, its difference—Bhabha, 86

But at the same time, the motion of mimicry must also recognize and display how it *isn't* the colonial power. Because a colonial other can only mimic, and cannot, by nature of colonial

power structures ever actually be a part of the colonial power, it shows its falseness, its failings. This is what separate mimicry from assimilation.

The act of mimicry is a menace to a colonial power, a haunting specter that follows a power through history. The act of mimicry, of attempting to assimilate into a colonial power as a colonial other, frightens the powerful—an attempt to assimilate is an attempt to blur the lines between the power and the other, but neither can exist without the other as Hegel states. Therefore any attempt for the other to mimic the power, a want to assimilate that is at the heart of the act is an attack upon not only the colonial structure, but colonial identity and authority. Mimicry in “being almost... , but not quite” contains within it its own failure. A mimic will never be a part of and it is exactly this lack of acceptance on the part of the colonial power that prevents the other from ever truly being a part of. It preserves the colonial power dynamic. While a menacing specter, mimicry does not ever genuinely threaten. It does, however, expose the deep ambivalence of the colonial power to all but that which reinforces their colonial state.

Bhabha describes how post-colonial structures exist in many places, specifically India. While helpful, I am concerned with the other Indian. Undoubtedly the processes of mimicry are alive and well in American/American Indian relations, as well, I’m sure, for our First Nation and Pacific Island brothers. “Of Mimicry and Man” describes a more typical colonial power dynamic, but, in all things, America must be unique. As explained by Deloria in *Playing Indian*, the inverse of Bhabhas’ mimicry came to great prominence after the Indian Wars ended in 1890, continuing for twenty-thirty years with great standing, and eventually falling. The remains of this can be seen in the scouting culture in America. Scout leaders, cultural anthropologists, and woodsmen alike inverted such mimicry; instead of the other attempting and failing to become like the colonial power, the colonial dominant attempted to mimic the ways of the colonial other.

As the Kephart papers will show, acting as a representative example of conceptions of woodcraft, and the thought surrounding spending one's leisure time in the woods, there is an intense glorification of the woods as nature, of the cities as vice, and the Indian as pure. Many, through research in captivity narratives, diaries, and research, sought to mimic the Indian. The colonial power came to mimic the other, in what would surely concern Bhabha.

The captivity narrative in that it allows an interiority that is unique to the genre, becomes the focus of the inverse of mimicry—an ambivalent mockery from the colonial dominant. In this instance, American scholars and scouts have used captivity narratives, among other media, to enact this mockery.

Kephart, it would seem, was a fairly benign editor when collecting these narratives. While they can and were used as artifacts of a historic Indian, I believe that their narratives can be tied together by more than the nature of the genre. Indeed, as each captive writes, the nature of a relationship with another, with the woods and with others, Indians in particular become clearer. Perhaps in tandem these narratives can offer more than the narratives of those who were captured, taken away from those who care about them and subjected to incredible hardship. Perhaps, through four unique ways of dealing with such hardship, *Captive Among the Indians* can offer a guide through which one, in similarly trying times, can come to survive such times, and grow stronger because of them.

Chapter 2 Religion and Spirituality

For everyone involved, belief in a higher power shaped the outcome of their experience, be it the captives who sought answers to the question of why was *I* captured, to the captors who believed without a book, to Kephart whose tenuous relation with something beyond himself haunted his life, to the readers. For all, answers and signs come from a power without the self; though the pages of the collected narratives, any reader, and Kephart, could find an example of divine inspiration, of strength and resilience explained most easily through the hand of God.

The Bible physically ties all four narratives together, and in three of them, specific verses are referenced: the captives, in their time of need sought guidance in the pages of the Bible, and, in their relation of their narrative, give that same guidance to the reader. God grants strength and resilience, lends signs for the captors' well-being and impetus for escape. Mary Rowlandson was the wife of a preacher, Joseph Rowlandson, and was just as active and learned as her husband. As we shall see, her devotion to the Book was just as strong as her husband's and the inclusion of verses from the Bible, though contested, reassure the reader of her authority as speaker of the Word of God. Father Bressani, the priest, undoubtedly had a strong relationship with the Bible, his mission in the West before being captured was to spread the word of God. James Smith, while young, finds strength in the familiarity of the Bible in a foreign land; from it he takes lessons and verses. Mercy Harbison takes her moment of escape as a sign from God.

Because of the intimate relationship religion and spirituality share, now seems an appropriate time to uncover the distinctions between the two. Both religion and spirituality are aimed at transcendence; the method by which an individual achieves such ends is the characteristic difference that separates religion from spirituality.

Within religious studies, three major schools of thought have emerged concerning the often tenuous and undoubtedly complex relation between spirituality and religion. Allow us to assume that both endeavor for the ultimate transcendence of the practitioner. For some, religion and spirituality are separate, discrete and without interaction, veritable strangers essentially unaware of the others' existence. For some religion and spirituality are enemies, discrete by vying for the superiority over the other as best for providing enlightenment for the people. Lastly, and for some, religion and spirituality are neither strangers nor enemies, but constituent parts of the process to finding enlightenment. Summed up fairly neatly, Schneiders states that: "religion which is uninformed by lived spirituality is dead and often deadly while spirituality which lacks the structural and functional resources of institutionalized religious tradition is rootless and often fruitless for both the individual and society" (Schneiders, 181). Schneiders and I share the opinion of religion and spirituality being intertwined, and as I'll argue, so too does Kephart. For the purpose of this essay we shall be assuming that religion and spirituality, though different, are not discrete, but related in form and intent. Though similar, their differences are important to note, as we shall see.

Let us begin with spirituality. The term is perhaps one of the most difficult to define words in common use: each person has a specific and personal definition that they use, and, because everyone else has an equally specific and personal definition, extremely difficult to communicate. Schneiders defines spirituality as "the experience of conscious involvement in the project of life-integration through self-transcendence towards the ultimate value one perceives." While wordy and vague, her definition does offer a good beginning. She continues that spirituality has three main components. Firstly that spirituality is an experience that is both lived and personal, which thusly implies that it is an active state unique to the experiencer. Secondly,

that spirituality is consciously enacted, and purposeful. Lastly, that ones' spiritual experience is "life integrat[ing];" spirituality becomes spiritual at the point that one's separate faculties, mind/body, reasoning/emotions, activity/passivity become synthesized. Lastly spirituality seeks transcendence, personally, towards a greater or ultimate good. Spirituality then becomes a lifestyle of sorts, a means by which, through the performance of activity and thought in perpetuity, one becomes good, or, better. While nebulous, spirituality does not presuppose a God, or several, but has instead a more abstract and less structured understanding of a 'being-greater-than-I. The seemingly formlessness of spirituality comes from its non-institutionalized, non-transferable nature and from the fact that everyone "develops her or his spirituality in a unique and personal way".

Religion on the other hand is far less nebulous, and in being so well defined, becomes easier to study and apply both in theory and writing and practice. Religion is denoted by its total devotion to the schema of belief. Strohl begins her short article by stating that religions are usually possess four traits: 1. Theological/Doctrinal statements, 2. Liturgy and Worship, 3. Polity (organization and authority), and 4. Ethos or credibility as a religion (Strohl, 274-76). Each part of the definition is intimately tied to the others: a theological statement would inform the ethos and polity, worship would inform theological statements and polity, polity would inform ethos and worship, and so on. Religion, though more rigidly implemented than spirituality, comes about equally organically, and could conceivably go through many iterations and (re)formations before settling on what it is, the many denominations of Christianity, Islam, and Judaism being evidence. Schneiders less succinctly supports Strohl. In her essay, she defines religion as being a culture system, societally concerned, and institutionalized. Religion is a culture system in that it internalized and institutionalizes patters of belief and behavior and shares those beliefs and

behaviors socially, wherever it may go. A religion, because it is a culture system is societally concerned; religious persons, priests, rabbi, Imam, as synecdoche of the religious institution itself, act as mediators between the heavens and the society around them, however their primary interest is in the service of their divine. Lastly, being institutionalized constitutes a creed, or belief in the form of their reality, whatever that may be—a code that holds its constituents to their agreed upon do's and don'ts, a cult of rituals for expressing their devotion, perhaps both. Strohl's definition folds within the characteristics laid out by Scheinders, but the later expands upon the enormity and depth of what constitutes a religion, and a religious experience. Both agree that spirituality, the lively, active, lived, spiritual experience, is not opposed to religion, but a true religious experience and faith relies upon spirituality to allow for transcendence. To become greater one must have a spiritual connection with the divine or the divine texts. Religion and spirituality, as mentioned above, are not enemies or strangers, but necessary parts striving towards the same goal of ultimate goodness.

It is with this definition of religion and spirituality that we will wander forth into the woods.

Religion, clearly, is imperative to these narratives. For Rowlandson and Bressani, religion was intimately linked to their formal identities—Rowlandson is the wife of a preacher and prominent in the church at the time, Bressani was a missionary expressly spreading the Religion of the Old World to the New. For Smith and Harbison, while religion played an important role in their lives, their experiences fall more towards a spiritual experience. Smith's experiences with the old men with the Delaware provide a brief aperture through which a reader could learn of different beliefs. *Captive Among the Indians*, it would seem, offers quite a bit of wisdom for a reader to gain a better understanding through the religious and spiritual tones of the

narratives, of God, their world, and themselves. Each narrative exemplifies religious or spiritual turmoil and resolution, and by being so exemplary allows those who read the narratives' models to find their own spiritual or religious way.

Schneiders, as mentioned above, argues that every religious experience is inherently also a spiritual one, whereas a spiritual experience may be, but not necessarily will be, religious. All of the narratives collected in *Captive Among the Indians* convey the captivity of person brought into Indian lands. Common as well throughout the narratives is the attempt to reconcile their situation. While primarily through the word of God, these narratives show not only the inactment of religious and spiritual habitudes, but their embodiment—for some, the moment in which their faith is something greater than themselves becomes real.

In the division of the narratives into strict binaries, I have to keep this in mind; while the religious experiences may be spiritual, because they are framed by explicitly religious language and ideology, some become religious. Others are very spiritual, and while having some language of God in the narrative, lack the explicit character of religious language that's found in the other narratives—these become the spiritual narratives. Religion and spirituality are useful themes that help to tie these narratives together. A comparison of these narratives shows the different ways in which the captives addressed their circumstances through faith.

Father Bressani is a model of steadfast faith in the Lord. During his months imprisoned with the Iroquois, he didn't lose faith and continued his efforts to provide missionary support to those around him. In fact, in a logic that might sicken readers today, Bressani was glad of his imprisonment—for his suffering was his just punishment. Bressani, during his four months of imprisonment and torture, suffered immensely—all at the hand of God. His imprisonment, he thought, was by God's divine will "I, for my part, seeing my companions taken, judged it better

to remain with them, accepting it as a sign of the will of God” (Kephart, 48). God’s will of torment was not, however, merely for the amusement of a humorless deity; the Christians of early American, Puritan and Jesuit alike believed that suffering was punishment for eternal sins—that by suffering in the physical world, they could avoid eternal damnation (Ebersole, Derounian-Stodola, Toulouse). “But I consoled myself, seeing that God granted me the favor of suffering in this world some pain in place of what I was under obligation, on account of my sins, to pay in the other with torments incomparably greater” (Kephart 49-50). Suffer he did, having been burned, beaten, tied, neglected, starved, dismembered, rotted, and abused, Bressani survived his ordeal by fortunate circumstances and his faith.

Bressani finds comfort in this religious superiority: he draws strength and comfort from the knowledge that he is a man of faith and religion and not a man of superstition, which, to this day is still associated with spirituality. During my research, while attempting to discern a definition of spirituality, an encyclopedia of social concepts redirected spirituality and superstition to mysticism. It becomes abundantly clear that for Bressani, there are clear ties between the beliefs of the Indians, Huron and Iroquois alike, and spirituality/superstition. He makes several references to the superstitions of the Huron from the outset. Near the end of his narrative, Bressani mentions attempting to convert an old man, which fails, and draws sharp contrast between his faith and the beliefs of the Indian man, “he began to relate their fables and delusions, which those wretched people, blinded by the Demon, esteem as the most solid truths” (Kephart, 56). Superstition or spirituality, for Bressani, was a directly oppositional force, and the work of the Devil. Therefore spirituality was negatively coded, and religion, it would follow, was coded very positively, in part, because of his ordeal at the hands of the Iroquois.

Of the four narratives collected in *Captive Among the Indians*, his stands out as the most overtly religious, and the least spiritual. Though religion and the Bible frame his suffering and processing of his capture, torment and eventual bartered release, spirituality still has a part to play in his narrative. While he draws distinct connections between the spirituality, which he refers to as superstition, of the Indians, Bressani is careful to distinguish his own faith, and spiritual strength found in the Bible from that of the Indians. As we have seen above, religion cannot exist without a spiritual base to stand upon; a position that Bressani echoes in his narrative. His reference to Ecclesiastes, is one obvious mention of spirituality, but his statement “I desired and was awaiting death, though not without some horror of the fire. Still I was preparing for it as best I could, and was commending myself to the Mother of Mercy, who was, after God, the sole refuge of a poor sinner forsaken by all creatures in a strange land, without a language to make himself understood” shows that he was employing spiritual practices and faith in the process of wanting death, and preparing for death (Kephart 53). Though overtly religious, and undeniably religion is brought to the forefront in the narrative, Bressani provides spiritual guidance as well. While primarily religious, religion cannot be without the strong standing of spirituality. Bressani’s narrative has it all.

Mary Rowlandson, though she too uses religion to frame her captivity, is much less religiously or spiritually conscious. And, what religious content is present in her narrative is contested at that. Like Bressani, Rowlandson’s narrative is both religious and spiritual, but her use of religion as a means to process of captivity makes her narrative more religious than spiritual. The spirituality of the narrative is, like in Bressani’s narrative, subordinated to the overt and overlying religious dogma. Rowlandson makes many more allusions and direct references to the Bible than Bressani, however, due to Cotton Mather being Rowlandson’s editor and impetus

for publication, Mary's references to the Bible are thrown into doubt. The weight of his editorial hand is difficult to three hundred years later, however, it is thought that the weight was great—that Rowlandson not only wrote her narrative at his impetus, but that it took the form that it did due his editing. Additionally, Mather could have used Rowlandson's narrative simultaneously as an artifact of the disparity of early America, and an argument for his strong religious leadership by association with, and mentorship of, a woman redeemed by God for exactly that disparity that affects the rest of the populace (Toulouse,48).

Putting all that aside for the moment, Rowlandson's narrative is still highly religious. She uses the frame of religion to make sense of her captivity. Through her allusions and references to the Bible, Rowlandson seeks order in her new life about which she knew nothing. The superiority of the English is thrown into question when she "cannot but take notice of the strange providence of God in preserving the heathen" (Kephart, 66), nor when the English failed to cross a river that she had just crossed, "God did not give them [the English] courage or activity to go over after us. We were not ready for so great a mercy as victory and deliverance; if we had been, God would have found a way for the English to have passed this river as well as for the Indians, with the squaws and children and all their luggage" (Kephart, 67). With the prowess of the English in question, Mary quickly comes to rationalize their inability and her captivity, "We were not ready for so great a mercy as victory and deliverance," she says. The mercies being God's, not only gives reason for her captivity, show the religious, Biblical lens through which Rowlandson sees her captivity.

Rowlandson's narrative is also highly spiritual, but, like Bressani before her, Rowlandson frames spirituality with religion—as Schneider argues, religion is dependent upon spirituality to give life to their rituals. In "A True Account," Rowlandson's spiritual writings are not present in

the forefront, but, because spirituality and religion are dependent upon each other, the more religious it is, the more spiritual it becomes. She begins fairly early in her narrative, soon after capture her child dies while in transit: “There I left that child in the wilderness, and must commit it and myself also in this wilderness condition to Him who is above all” (Kephart, 64). Here ‘commit’ becomes the operant word and that which works to align this statement with the spiritual side of writing—commitment is one of the foundations of spirituality, that the subject devote their life and ways of life to their belief. Religion shares this tenet, however it is spirituality that makes it personal, and this is an intensely personal moment for Rowlandson, and for the reader of her narrative. The internalization of faith continues, “I lifted my heart to God, hoping that redemption was not far off” (Kephart, 72). Again, though the spiritual language comes through a religious frame, the strength of the language is personal, devotional and faithful. In all of her writing, spirituality and religion are closely entwined.

It is difficult to put this narrative into only one category, religious *or* spiritual when the two are so closely aligned. Both seek a means to understand a world far greater than the self, and their methods of doing so are remarkably similar. This is one of the greatest strengths of this narrative—despite the religious frame, the narrative is intensely about the spiritual journey that accompanies captivity. Rowlandson’s narrative doesn’t split spirituality and religion, but points readers towards her own personal statements on the topic, and spirituality found in the Bible. In this capacity, Rowlandson’s narrative shows the importance of both, but what more, how to find it.

The religious narratives function well in their ability to blend both religion and spirituality, with the latter supporting the former—by looking towards God, the captives find the strength to continue. While a distinct spirituality and religion is difficult to parse out, these

narratives show the importance of being entwined: as Schneiders argues, religion and spirituality cannot be without the other. The trauma and foreignness of captivity allowed the opportunity to reinforce the strength of the Bible, and find spiritual life in new places. The verses and references that Bressani and Rowlandson make are verses and references with which both are already very familiar, both being related to the Church, but it was in the woods that these passages became personal. Though they came from the book of religion, the quotes brim with spiritual power once they become personal; personal because in their captivity, these quotes allowed for them to survive.

The narratives of Col. James Smith and Mercy Harbison can, perhaps, be seen as more spiritual than religious. While both have overt language of the Bible and God, both being religious in nature, their narratives showcase a less stringent and more loosely defined spiritual component found in captivity and captors. Where Rowlandson and Bressani found ill favor amongst their captors and sought the Bible for affirmations of their redemption from the Indians, Smith especially, and to a lesser extent Harbison find the Indians and the woods to be a place in which their growth is guided and unbound. It is infrequent that Smith makes reference to the Bible, but instead focuses on the lived component spirituality. Smith comes to embody an Indian spirituality. Harbison is perhaps the least religious of the four captives, and makes few allusions to either spirituality or religion. However, though religious and spiritual themes are difficult to find, Harbison still utilizes the Bible to make sense of her captivity.

Smith's narrative is unique among captivity narratives in that while Smith is a religious man, reveling at receiving a Bible, his narrative showcases not only Christianity, but the beliefs of the Delaware as well. Not only does Smith write in both, but he gives the spirituality of the Delaware nearly equal ink as that of Christianity, if not more. In the pages of his narrative,

spirituality and the personal, habitual nature of spirituality becomes abundantly clear to the readers. Reading just his narrative, I felt that I could connect with his Delaware captors more than I could Smith himself.

Smith, however does still feel primarily Christian, and never loses sight of his one Christian God. During particularly tumultuous moments, Smith seeks out the guidance of his God, such as the instance of being lost in a snow storm: “I went straightway to bed again, wrapped my blanket round me, and lay and mused awhile, and then prayed to Almighty God to direct and protect me as he had done theretofore” (Kephart, 26) and when he found his way out after said storm: “I then turned into my cell, and returned God thanks for having once more received the light of heaven” (Kephart, 27). He even goes so far as to attempt to convert an old man, his friend Tecaughretanego, upon being asked about his book. Smith was even more successful than the French priests who had tried to convert Tecaughtretanego earlier (Kephart, 41). Though personal his faith is mediated by the Bible that he carries with him nearly all the time; clearly his faith is strong, and highly religious. What is noticeably absent in Smiths’ narrative that is found in the narrative of both Bressani and Rowlandson is the use of biblical metaphors to come to an understanding of their captivity. For Smith, it would appear, he merely just accepts it as his present state, captive, and apparently adoptive man of standing. Smith relies upon the religious and to a lesser extent on the spirituality of the Bible in times of turmoil, not as a means to make sense of his captivity.

Along with his belief in God and reliance upon said figure, Smith additionally relies upon a peer of his. Mr. Campbell, a man Smith’s younger by several years, a fellow captive and English speaker, gave Smith some words that were poignant enough to make it into his narrative. “During his stay at Sunyendeand he borrowed my Bible, and made some pertinent remarks on

what he had read. One passage was where it said ‘It is good for a man that he bear the yoke in his youth.’ [Lam, 3:27] He said we ought to be resigned to the will of Providence, as we were now bearing the yoke in our youth” (Kephart, 21). Smith’s narrative lacks self-reflection, and because of this scholars use this narrative as an anthropological view of the Delaware. Smith describes his circumstances with fantastic detail, making this narrative of great importance. This short interaction with Mr. Campbell might just provide the necessary framework for Smith. Through this Bible quote and subsequent comment, Campbell effectively offers Smith a means to make sense of his captivity. While the rest of the narrative shows Smith attempting merely to survive and thrive with the Delaware, here he offers his thoughts as to *why* he was captured, which, invariably, a captive would consider. Smith lingers for only a moment on Biblical reasoning as to his state of captivity. While his experience is, as it would seem, religious, the spiritual nature of his experience shifts his narrative away from the overtly religious to the spiritual.

One of the most important parts of a spirituality, distinct from a religion, is the lived, personal nature of that spirituality—that it isn’t dictated by a book or set of beliefs, and cannot be taught in the same way from teacher to student. A teacher can give wisdom and advice, but spirituality is different for each person. Smith experiences this from the mouth of his friend Tecaughtretanego, who delivers several impressive speeches (see appendix 1), one as a prayer of thanks and for safe travels, another for food and thanks. Tecaughtretanego “believed that Owaneeyo [The Great Spirit] would hear and help every one that sincerely waited upon him,” (Kephart, 40-41). The quotes here and in the appendix show that the method of practice isn’t methodical, but instead personal, swapping rigidity with sincerity.

Briefly, as I will continue this discussion later, spirituality is lived, and nearly the entirety of Smith’s narrative exemplifies how he lived the new found lifestyle and spirituality. That

learned behavior will return in the section on adaptation and adoption, but for the moment, Smith's living with the Delaware shows his adopting this new spiritual practice. As the quotes from the appendix show, that indigenous spirituality professes peace, love, goodness, and faith in God similarly to the Christian Bible. Despite the religious frame, Smith comments on his Indian peers and captors, "they appeared to be fulfilling the Scriptures beyond those who profess to believe in them, in that of taking no thought of to-morrow; and also in living in love, peace, and friendship together, without disputes. In this respect, they shame those who profess Christianity" (Kephart, 21). Smith, however, doesn't just witness this spiritual nature seemingly inherent in the Delaware, he comes to believe, at least in a small part, in the strength of The Great Spirit, and the workings of the natural world. Upon the rains coming after Tecaughtretanego's prayer, Smith comments, what I believe to be the most poignant utterance of the narrative, "Tecaughretanego appeared now fully persuaded that all this came in answer to his prayers, and who can say with any degree of certainty that it was not so?" (Kephart, 41). While it may not mark Smith's direct spiritual belief, it does, however, allow that Smith entertains the idea that Gods' hand is so readily seen. Smith witnesses a powerful alternative to Christianity in his Indian captors and brothers, so powerful, in fact, that he comes to embody such a spiritual outlook during his four years of captivity.

Smith's narrative shows a powerful, wonderful Indian spirituality. Focused primarily around the old man and leader Tecaughtreanego, this spirituality is essentially more Christian than Christian while still maintaining the specifically personal and non-communicable nature of spirituality. However, while his narrative goes into the depths of an Indian spirituality, the Bible and the religious teachings found therein remain with Smith; during his time there he becomes Indian, but he never forgets his white past, identity, and religion.

Mercy Harbison is additionally someone who doesn't forget her white past, identity and religion, though, as we shall see later, her identity fluxes while in captivity. Her narrative is, like Smith's, both highly religious and intimately spiritual, though the latter can be a little harder to tease out. Though short in length and duration of captivity, the religious and spiritual themes are readily available to any reader should they seek it.

While there is little explicitly religious speech in the narrative, the Bible is an integral part of her narrative. Like her peers, she uses the Bible to make sense of her captivity, but unlike the Puritans, she sees her capture not as punishment for sin, but merely because it was God's plan, "But Providence had designed that I should become a victim to their rage, and that mercy should be made manifest in my deliverance" (Kephart, 87). In a particularly dark way, her narrative bares some humor—when trying to save her encampment, and when seeking death, her attempts to not be captured and to die are thwarted by divine providence: she becomes a captive, and she is praised for her defiance (Kephart, 87, 90, 93). Harbison hangs onto her deliverance through the good providence of God; it was providence that she be captured, and so too would it be providence that delivers her. While God, she might say, was at the heart of her captivity the reason a divine being would ordain her captivity never becomes clear to Harbison, at least in her narrative. Though it was God's will that she be captured, it doesn't seem to be as a punishment as it is for the Puritans

Her narrative isn't explicitly spiritual like Smith's, but her escape hinges upon one vague and difficult to pin experience. On her third day of captivity, after being questioned the previous day, she planned her escape: "Early on the morning of the 24th a flock of mocking-birds and robins hovered over us as we lay in our uncomfortable bed; and sang and said, at least to my imagination, that I was to get up and go off" (Kephart, 95). Her interpretation of this event is

undoubtedly unique and personal, which allows it to easily be more spiritual than religious. That coupled with a noted lack of religious language in the statement—the birds are a sign from something other than herself, but not necessarily a sign from God. But, it could also be a sign from God, just without the explicit language that would denote a specifically God-sent message. Due to her other Biblical references, it is unlikely that in this moment that she has broken all ties to her previous religious beliefs; instead, the birds as an impetus for escape are an example of a spiritual experience supplementing a religious belief. There is nothing to suggest that Harbison, because of the traumatic event of capture, would suddenly withdraw her belief and reliance upon God.

These four narratives offer a fantastically wide variety of perspectives on religion and spirituality. Bressani uses his faith to draw the strength necessary to survive, and upon his return to Europe, to continue his missionary work (Kephart, 46). Mary Rowlandson used the Bible to help guide her through the woods. Both believed that captivity was a form of punishment, that suffering now was punishment for sinful behavior, and would be correctional. Smith, while showcasing and, to an extent, inhabiting an Indian spirituality, still uses the Bible to help guide him and make sense of his captivity, though for him, captivity served the purpose of shaping him into a stronger and more faithful person. Harbison does the same, relying on providence for not only an explanation for her capture but for her escape as well. Each, though religious utilizes the Bible to explain their captivity, each additionally showcases the spirituality that keeps that religious zeal alive, and, in the case of Smith, an alternative to Christianity.

Smith, Bressani, Rowlandson, and Harbison are all very different. Their faith in God is the only thing that unites them, yet that itself is tricky. Bressani is Catholic, and Rowlandson is Protestant, but Smith's and Harbison's religious affiliations are unknown. Nor too can they be

united in their spiritual beliefs, as spirituality is inherently a personal experience, marked by its incommunicability. The only unity is captivity, and while each has had a very different experience, under very different circumstances, captivity, the woods, and Indians are the only links. But this is enough—each, and through the hands of the editor, Kephart, argue that, because of their captivity, they were better able to experience their religious, and grow a stronger bond with the spiritual heart at the center of religion. That is, while each was faithful prior to their captivity, without captivity, they couldn't be the type of faithful they were once they put their pens down.

Chapter 3 Nature, The Woods, and Horace Kepharts' Papers

Captivity narratives, are, as the name suggests, about captivity. But their value, despite popular conventions in the nineteenth and twentieth century, is far greater than simple entertainment. Starting in the nineteen-teens, and continuing to varying degrees ever sense, any exposé into the lives of Indians became wildly popular. Anthropologists and outdoorsmen studied captivity narratives and transculturation narratives, combing through pages upon pages in search of the ideal Indian way. They sought the best way to make a fire, to hunt, track, fish, climb, carry, canoe, raft, swim, build shelter, and any other activity that, they believed, was better performed by the Indian. Captivity narratives grew in importance from the penny dreadful, a money making scheme carrying eerie similarities to today's thriller novels, to a respected school of study in anthropology. This study didn't focus on Indians, but used Indians as a tool, a

means to study nature and the wilderness. This would become the ultimate mission for Americans.

Each of the narratives collected in *Captive Among the Indians* is unique. Each shows a different group of Indian people, each with their own customs and ways of doing things. For each of the captives the circumstances of their captivity preclude, to a certain extent the degree to which the captive narrators are able to examine their surroundings and report that they have observed. Smith and Rowlandson, because of their relative freedom while captive and the duration of their captivity, were able to report a great deal of the going-ons of their respective captors. Bressani, through primarily tortured, still offers some insight into Iroquoian culture, despite his disgust in it. Harbison offers the least insight into another culture, but still, offers what little was available to her in her brief period in captivity. These narratives therefore have been, and continue to be sources of great interest to scholars, not only in captivity study, now having lost most of the steam that brought it to the forefront some twenty years ago, but to cultural anthropologists and, to some small extent, woodsmen.

This, however, is not that. I am not going to comb through the nearly one hundred pages of captivity narratives to try to piece together at the minimum of four different cultural identities from fragmentary, and arguably unreliable sources. Other people have done that. Their names are cited here and there wherever one might read about captivity narratives. Instead, I'm going to take a look at place, specifically the woods of the American North East, and how the captives and the editor viewed each. It is here that Kephart, the early twentieth century outdoorsman, and his fantastically small handwriting, detailed journal titles, and proclivity to organization and Indians comes to bare against the narratives that he collected.

The Eastern Woodlands were a terrifying place for early colonists. The natural predators that are now held captive by zoos and or extinction roamed the deep woods of the west. Until the rivers of the Midwest, the trees were unending. It is in this fantastic, woodland that out captives were held, and here that they formed and reformed their conceptualizations of the woodlands.

To break away from the theories that surround these narratives, allow, briefly a moment into the connotations of ‘nature’ and ‘wilderness’. Unrefined, nature is the uncultivated world, free from human hands. Natural was the Garden of Eden. Natural was how God created the world, how the Creator made the world. While not necessarily marked by pureness or goodness, or divine grace, ‘nature’ has the capability of holding such a connotation. Wilderness, however, is equally unrefined, holds no such connotations. Instead, wilderness connotes, obviously, wildness, an unrefined, unbridled bounty that is beyond control. Because of this connotation of the loss of control, so too does it lose the close connection ‘nature’ has with positively aligned connections. Personally speaking, nature conjures an image of a deep green forest, teeming with life, yet fairly, but not sinisterly quiet. Wilderness on the other hand conjures a similar setting, but with the edge of eeriness, the colors darker, everything still, the plants overgrown while the forest floor decays. Obviously two very different images.

By the time Kephart started writing in the latter half of the 19th century and early 20th century, the narratives around the woods changed. By 1890 the West had been won, the Indian tamed, there was nothing left to explore. Everything was neatly parceled out. While much of America was still uncultivated, it was at least mapped. What natural places were left began to have an even greater importance to a greater public and the government.

For many people in the great cities of the United States, idolizing natural space was perfect. According to many of the notes, newspapers and articles in Kephart's numerous journals, many thought that the modern world of the decades surrounding the turn of the twentieth century was a great bane to the health, and vivacity of the people inhabiting it. Ironically, a century later, we're having the same conversations, but with new 'science' to back up our claims.

Kephart and his contemporaries drew dramatic lines between city life and the woods. It starts for him in the city. The city life, according to his journals, leads to a multitude of behavioral issues including: poor physique and body damage, impure air (which was and continues to be an issue in cities), laziness, unwholesomeness, mental stress, mental deterioration and breaks, one of which he suffered (Journals, 16, 21). The woods on the other hand, offered freedom, and health, mentally and physically, producing the type of personal fortitude that machismo demands that men idolize (Journals, 16, 21). The oppositional connotations are clear simply from the journal entry titles—the material held within each entry, usually quoted material gathered from various sources, merely supports the claim held by the title. In one of the few instances of Kephart writing, he writes poetically about the nature of the woods and civilization:

...to seek once more the pure breeze of the open field, the far outlook upon a calm world fresh with eternal youth; to bore deep into some primeval wood; to watch the brightening come in the east and the day break in splendor over an awakening world' to see the shadows fall in the valley and the last gleams of the afterglow glisten on the hilltops; to face a starlit sky at night, and, dreaming awake, to sink peacefully into dreamless sleep—that is Nature's healing for the city blight (Journal 16, 1G)

Here in a poem he reproduced from William Cowper's poem 'Task' he continues his descriptions:

God made the country, and man made the town:
 What wonder then that health and virtue, gifts
 that can alone make sweet the bitter draught
 that life holds out to all, should most abound
 And least be threatened in the fields and groves? (749-753)

For Kephart, goodness comes from the woods and nature. For Cowper, that goodness is from God, but for Kephart, while the same may be true, he emphasizes the separation from city life, and the purity that is found in said separation.

A caveat, however. It becomes clear through study of the papers that their premise and what they convey are deeply flawed. Throughout his writing, Kephart focused primarily on the art of woodcraft. He may have had an interest in Indian captivity narratives due in part because of the universal setting of nature, but that is merely speculation. However, he spent an incredible amount of time in the woods, and after his mental break down, largely attributed to the stress of modern life in bustling city, he retreated to the woods of North Carolina, where he healed his mind.

While the woods were for him were a highly restorative place, that does not mean that they are inherently so. The woods are just woods until perceived in one way or another. For Kephart, who grew up with woodsmen in the woods of Pennsylvania, his healing place was in

the forest. Others find such solace in cities, in books and literature and writing, in music, art, in religion, and in labor. Kephart just happened to have found his solace in the natural world.

The captives in these four narratives are taken deep into the woods. For many, the woods become wilderness, uncomfortable, harsh, and uncaring, but this is not always the case for everyone. The early Christians, Puritan and Catholic alike found the woods to be deeply unsympathetic places. For them, the only solace to be found was in God, the manifestation of God being in their holy cities, carved from the richness of the New World for their honorable plight. The woods and by extension, those who inhabited them, were the land of the devil. Mentioned only briefly above, for the Puritans their settlements were the lands of God, given in grace for their service of the Lord. It extends that early captivity narratives consider the woods and the Indians in a similar light as our definition of wilderness. Rowlandson's narrative, within the first pages, calls the Narraganset et al. party "ravenous bears" and "black creatures" which, we can extrapolate, didn't just refer to their dark skin color, but to their deplorable state as in the devil's hands. Her narrative tended not to focus on the place and description of it. After several 'removes' and being settled in a town, her tone changed to a degree. She describes her place as factual, here a river, here a thicket, but the place, while marked with the violence of the death and separation from her family, is heavily marked as negative. Justly so, we might say.

Harbison is much similar. Spending little time describing her surroundings aside from the factual descriptions that serve as her place settings, Harbison's characterization of the woods, like Rowlandson's, comes not so much from her descriptions of it, but the events that occur there. Initially, her pre-captivity place of being was in the woods, specifically in the untamed western frontier of western Pennsylvania and Ohio. She arrived with her husband, a soldier, and her life and his were centered and dictated by militaristic action. For her the woods

began as an inherently violent place, but a place that, with the hard work and determination that defines Americans, and the violence of the military she supported through her husband, the woods could be made to be promising—one clear of Indians, that is. The woods were wild to her, but with the helping hand of man, could have become as comforting as nature is conatively. Therefore, once she is captured, her conceptions of the woods don't change so much as become solidified in their certainty of the wildness of the frontier.

Bressani additionally had a similar conception of the woods, and like Harbison, his conception of the woods were not changed by his captivity, but reaffirmed the wildness of the wilderness, and for him reaffirmed his devotion to God. Bressani, in the same way the he segregated Huron from Missionary and Missionary from Indian, segregated the civilized lands from the woods—the lands of God and the lands of the heathens in desperate need of God. While missing the 'light on the hill' imagery that demarcates the Puritan separation of settlement from woods, Bressani's views of the woods were as wilderness. God being a Being of Order, graced cities; the Devil, being of disorder and chaos, held domain over the woods—making the woods wilderness. Upon being captured, the chaos, maltreatment, and suffering he experienced would not align itself with the nurturing of nature, but the malignance of wilderness. For four months his life was suffering and chaos, in part due to the physical hardships of being in the woods. For Bressani, the woods could never be nature, could never be nurturing. The woods of the New World were a chaotic land in desperate need of the Word of God, that was, after all, why he set off on his journey to begin with. His captivity merely confirmed his already conceived notion of the nature of the woods.

Finally, Colonel James Smith with what is undoubtedly the most complex and difficult to discover conception of woods. For Smith, at different times, the woods could be

many things—wilderness, nature, a medium to God, and a source of education. In the beginning the woods, for Smith, were wilderness. Though his narrative takes place nearly one hundred years after Bressani's captivity, the idea of the civilization and nature being of God's design shapes the way in which Smith in particular and colonists in general considered that which lay beyond the fence. Beyond the frontier lay lands to conquer, not woods to find comfort. In the beginning of his captivity he was taken deep within these woods and beaten severely enough to warrant travel to the medical doctor at Fort Duquesne—hardly a nurturing nature, indeed.

Through nature, the woods became a medium of God, and a source of education. Through the nurturing of Smith's adoptive family, he comes to see the woods as nature. Through their lessons he learns practical knowledge, such as that which will allow him to successfully hunt and forage for his survival, multiple Indian languages, and, importantly, access to God's gifts, through the woods. While the pragmatic lessons came from the community at large until he came to learn to see and teach himself, the theological lessons came from the elders around him, specifically Tecaughretanego. The appendix holds a record of the old man's speeches. Through these speeches, and the events that occurred directly afterwards, specifically, finding food after starving for nearly a week, and the waters rising as Tecaughretanego prayed, Smith realized the woods, nature, as a medium through which one may know God. Undoubtedly, Smith explores non-Christian methods of spirituality, as prompted by his peers, and as we'll see below, the degree of "Indian" Smith became is highly and easily contested. But as he explores and possibly adopts new methods of spirituality, while his religion might not change, the means through which he comes to know God are at best thrown into doubt, and at its most serious, fully replaced by an Indigenous means of understanding a Greater Being.

Smith is, therefore, the easiest link between the captivity narratives and how Kephart thinks about the woods. Smith's experience in captivity mirror Kephart's own journey through the Woods. Both initially were apprehensive about the woods, but through a nurturing touch, came to be very fond of the woods. Both thought the woods a wilderness to begin with, and then nature as their understanding of the potential of the woods grew. Both found God in the quiet valleys, hidden glens, and peaks of the woods. Both refused to relinquish the language of God, that is, their Christian roots, but instead adopted Indigenous practices to understand the language of God. Smith and Kephart shared a bond between them that was largely not found in the other three narratives. Their understanding came from the woods as nature, not the woods as wilderness as Bressani, Rowlandson, and Harbison believed. However, Kephart still shares a bond with these three as well.

Kephart was a writer and adventurer at the end of the nineteenth and the beginning of the twentieth centuries, at a time when all that could be discovered had been. But though the natural lands of America had been discovered and mapped, for many they were still wilderness. And as we must well know by now, wilderness must be tamed. It is, simply, the American way. Most of the literature that Kephart produced as a writer was either on Library studies or Nature. Both were concerned with taming a wild place—for the one it was the unmanageable cards and books, the other the woods.

Chapter 4 Adoption, Adaptation, Assimilation and Gender

The four narratives that Kephart collected contain a fascinating array of adoption, adaptation, and assimilation. However, while either gender can adapt, be adopted, and can

assimilate, in what ways and what that means, differs immensely for each gender. As briefly mentioned before, captives were taken for a variety of reasons, and what happened to a captive person, in part, depended upon the circumstance of their capture. For many, including Rowlandson, Smith, and Harbison, capture was a part of war. For Bressani, while no active war was on going, open hostilities, mimic the political agency of a war-like state. Upon capture what happened to a captive ranged widely. Some were outright killed and some were kept alive. Captivity could be for political leverage, for funding a war through ransom. Some were captured to replace lost members of the family and community. Occasionally, for one reason or another, a captive will decide to remain with the Indians who were their initial captors, coming to think of their captors as family and neighbors.

This section, 'Adoption, Adaptation, Assimilation, and Gender', has thus far, barely made mention of any of these terms.

Adaptation is the simple one, merely meaning the process of attempting to survive in a new situation. Adaptive captives worked to ensure their safety and then comfort. A good example of this is Mary Rowlandson in her bartering of her skill in sewing for food, goods and favor. Adaptive captives would have knowledge of the Indian systems in which they lived, using and manipulating presumptive roles, utilizing skills and cleverness to gain the most they were able to while maintaining their safety. This is a motion of resistance, of being neither victim nor vanquisher but, by refusing both, gained the benefits of both. Their agency was held, primarily, within their hands, and the expectation of them was of passivity and obedience, such as the victim. Accessing both was using their agency to the greatest efficacy.

Adoption is the foil, in a sense, for adaptation. Both are the acceptance of an individual into an otherwise unknown culture. But while adaptation is changing the self to gain a

degree of acceptance in a given society, adoption is the societal super-power accepting an individual without, necessarily the consent of the person. Being placed, forced, into a new culture is frightening and difficult, and for the captives, this is no easy task. Adoption begins with a ceremony of accepting the captive. The captives are henceforth considered part of the community once adopted, but this does not mean that the captive endeavors to become a part of that community. Instead and was sometimes the case that an adoptive member would seek to run away—the ultimate rejection of Indian culture. Rejection was common because of the basic nature of event: being accepted into a foreign culture without the willingness to be a part of the culture creates a disconnect that leads to captives attempting to return to their non-Indian cultures.

Assimilation is difficult to define within the context of Indian captivity, and indeed, in other contexts as. J. Norman Heard in his deeply flawed book *White into Red* offers little as to a workable definition of adoption. When considering assimilation, Heard writes, “factors considered in determining the degree of assimilation include knowledge of Indian languages, acquiring skill in Indian activities, attempts to escape, attachment to individual Indians, participation in warfare against other tribes, raids against whites, Indian marriages, and acceptance or rejection of opportunities to return to white families” (Heard, 131). Other than the surface definition within the quote, Heard goes into no more detail as to what, exactly this means. All of this, but especially his last point, wanting to remain, are deeply confounded by what Derounian-Stodola and Levernier make abundantly clear: assimilation is never simple and a multitude of factors are at play when considering why a captive may remain with their Indian captors. For one thing, assimilation practices varied dramatically, even within larger geographic regions. He also fails to mention the variables of gender or age, as women were more often

captured than men, especially women of younger age. Additionally, there was great societal pressure for women to adhere to their assigned gender roles—captivity and assimilation offer a chance to break from such pressures and gender roles. Assimilation is the process and long task of the captive *willingly* relinquishing their previous white culture and accepting the new Indian culture. Adoption is the instance of the dominant culture, for once, Indians, exerting their agency and power, assimilation is the captive's moment of agency and acceptance in choosing Indian culture over white culture. For Derounian-Stodola and Levernier and Heard, assimilation is the moment of transculturation, the moment in which if there was an opportunity to escape, to leave forever with safety, the former-captive would not.

While the primary research is on female captivity, we can, infer some things about the masculine captive. Captive males, depending on their experience, would feel a de-masculinization, or re-masculinization. For those whose primary experience was pain, torture, and suffering, the male body and male psyche, usually masculinized within their dominate societies, would experience a dramatic de-masculinization. At the hands of their captors, their bodies would no long be their own: instead of being strong and capable free agents, they suffered the loss of their selves at the hands of their Indian captors. For others, captivity offered a means to redefine and re-contextualize masculinity. While initially de-masculinized through captivity in itself, their eventual escape at their own hands led to their re-embodiment of their masculinity—by escaping, usually through murder and /or their wits, men were men.

On women, however, there is much more research, as their agency, and the narratives themselves, is often difficult to unpack. Teresa Toulouse in *The Captive's Position* spends a great deal of ink and effort speaking about how, exactly, the female narrative becomes not a narrative of or for the woman who was captured, but as a means of performing political

agency for men. “In times of political stress...male conflicts often are played out through attempts to stabilize the meanings of women’s position (Toulouse, 8). For the Puritans, family was of utmost importance. The family unit mirrored the community unit, which mirrored the state unit, which mirrored the relation between man and god. Man was at the head, the wife subservient to him, the children subservient to the women, and the servants subservient to them all” (Toulouse, 9). Just as God intended. Familial relations mirrored that of the family’s place in the community, the communities’ place in a larger society, and the role of officials, religious and secular in the community and the state. In this, each unit followed the pattern of subordination to its superior, and for the Puritans, the heads of the church should have the greatest power. The family unit and each mirror displayed the culture’s gendered characteristics—women were submissive, obedient and loyal (Toulouse, 9), men were the opposite. However some colonialists did not agree with the ‘traditional ways’, and disorder began to permeate the settlements—this is what led to religious figures such as Increase Mather, among others, to use captivity narratives such as Mary Rowlandson’s, among others, as political tools.

The captivity narrative for the Puritans, as we have seen, is a highly religious and spiritual experience. It wasn’t just a profound experience however. Through the act of writing, former captives made their experiences accessible to the public and this public image can be easily employed for political purposes. Therefore in a public setting “[Mary Rowlandson’s] forced crossing of boundaries is constructed not only as an affliction for her sins, but also as an opportunity to demonstrate her appropriate repentance and belief that God alone can physically and spiritually redeem her” (Toulouse, 9). If only God could redeem here, so too could only God redeem the settlements—Vote Mather, 1686, for the consolidation of the Church’s power. Like the women in the narratives, the settlement should submit, and allow providence to lead them in

the correct way. In this backwards sort of way, women narratives became political tools of agency for men.

Toulouse, however, focuses exclusively on the Puritans and their images of captivity and what that meant for women and the societies that situated those women. She doesn't speak about adoption, or adaptation, nor about captivity for males, or captives from times other than the Puritans, so while her insight is useful, so too is it limited. While she sheds little light about the adoption and adaptation of women captives, the surrounding context illuminated the exigence of their narratives, and helps to explain their editorial additions.

Katheryn Zabelle Derounian-Stodola and James Arthur Levernier in *The Indian Captivity Narrative, 155-1900* goes through even more ink and effort explaining how images of women played out in captivity narratives. According to Derounian-Stodola and Levernier, there are five major ways women appear in narratives: victims and virgins, victors and vanquishers, mothers, daughters, and sister, traumatized women, and transculturated women (Derounian-Stodola and Levernier, 115). Whereas Rowlandson remained passive in her captivity and sought not to escape, accepting her punishment at the hands of Indians (as God intended), Harbison did no such thing, instead seeking to escape at the very first opportunity that presented itself and continuing until successful. Both of these women, however, experience their captivity with a child in their arms, and for Harbison, through her escape. Motherhood and captivity are what link these two women together, but not much else.

It is in this way—victims/virgins, victors/vanquishers, mothers/daughters/sisters, traumatized women, and transculturated women—that Derounian-Stodola and Levernier see women characterized in captivity narratives. In short victim women and virgin women are linked in their position of vulnerability. Vulnerability comes from great potential physical, sexual, and

spiritual exploitation. Captives are left open to use and abuse, physically in the tortures inflicted by the instruments of their captors, sexually by the *instruments* of their captors, and spiritually as exposed to oppositional forms of spiritual belief, not only by the hands of Indians, but French Catholics in Canada as well. Captivity allowed for the vulnerability of the captive; the potential to be, as those in the settlements see, disgraced. Victims and virgins as images of women in captivity narratives supported the roles that early settlements had for women, especially the Puritans who relied upon the continuation of the patriarchal familial structure as the basis of their entire societal structure—women must, to be accepted in Puritan society, remain passive, for the good of the settlement, and in this, as Toulouse argues, Rowlandson's narrative is used as a model of women's behavior. Victims and virgins were passive, obedient, and loyal.

However, in some other captivity narratives, women fit into the exact opposite category: women as victors and vanquishers, as those who fought and won against their captivity. These are the women who escape captivity, and in some instances, rape, to journey back to freedom. "Unlike their passive sisters, who belied their lives were out of control during, and even after, captivity, the victors and vanquishers retaliated: they took matters into their own hands, made certain choices, and thus exerted some control over their fate" (Derounian-Stodola and Levernier, 133). Images of victors and vanquishers oppose the traditionally held roles for women, as passive and submissive, instead, during their captivity, some women came to occupy the same role that men traditionally occupied. This role transferal threatened to upset societal standards, especially amongst the Puritans. Mercy Harbison is one such victor—although she doesn't end up killing her captors, she does escape, but, as we shall see, though she occupies male space, however briefly, in her very escape, her femininity remains intact. Men love babies,

and while it is stereotypical and generally awful to expect women to always hold a child, Harbison, by retaining her child during her escape, occupies male space without threatening it.

Captivity narratives offered the opportunity to highlight the femininity of the captive, not only through their submissiveness and positivity, but through their roles as mothers, daughters, and sisters. In most instances, these roles were not mutually exclusive, but failing to be discrete, mothers were sisters, and daughters became mothers, and sisters were daughters. The women captives were mothers or daughters. Sisterhood, however, came not only through blood relations, but shared circumstances. Women were able to bond and help each other, being in the same situation, together. Narratives brought to the fore the status of the captive; be it mother, sister, or daughter, narratives, and even narrative titles, made certain that the reader was keenly aware of the femininity of the women captured. This helped sales, but more importantly, it helped to situate the reader as to the gravity of the narrative. Any violence suffered, trauma endured, tragedy witnessed, wasn't done to just anybody: it was done to a *mother of a child, the child of a mother, to the sisters together*, which made the act all the worse. Additionally, while the feminine roles were highlighted with sisters, daughters, and mothers, the role of sister wasn't merely confined to a shared captivity experience, but also to those women who helped, if help was what led to freedom. The Indian captivity narrative as a genre was fond of portraying women in the culturally standard ways: as having women that performed the roles that were expected of them.

Every narrative, regardless of gender, is a narrative of trauma. However, very few women or men write about the specific trauma that they experienced, physically, sexually, spiritually and especially, mentally. Those narratives that mention the trauma experienced do so in vague terms, and without specific or specialized vocabulary about their experience. Most

former captives don't make mention of their trauma at all, especially the writers of early narratives, Rowlandson among them. When women did write, they wrote about the trauma experienced not only at the hands of their captors but upon their return as well: many women felt displaced upon return, and for good reason—many of the settlements, especially the early settlements, looked poorly upon former captives. The disruption of the familial unit, especially for the Puritans, was just about unforgivable. This led some societies to refuse a woman who had been captured, and women's own feelings of being tainted led to additional trauma upon their return. Whereas some women developed bonds with their fellows upon return, others merely felt ostracized.

Finally Derounian-Stodola and Levernier talk about images of women who have been transculturated, that is, women who have adopted fully or partially the traditions of their captors' society. They make a point to mention and make clear that transculturation was not always a willing or purposeful act—for some women, the disgrace suffered from their white peers would have been too great. This is especially true if the woman was raped, had a new Indian husband, or a mix-blood child, for some women, an opportunity to return to their homes never presented itself, neither escape nor rescue. While the traditional image of transculturation is of a white person becoming acquainted with Indian culture, the opposite is additionally true—Indian men usually taken at such a young age as to forget their Indian parents—being introduced to white culture, to which they had to adapt. The authors are quick to qualify, however, “we cannot underestimate the extent to which transculturation originated in habitation or coercion rather than in conscious choice, that is, in the replacement of old authority figured by new ones, especially for young girls” (Derounian-Stodola and Levernier, 159). Transculturation, while seemingly benign on the surface, wrought with malice.

Neither of the two women narratives in *Captive Among the Indians*, were adopted.

Of this, we can be fairly certain. In the case of Mercy Harbison, it is abundantly clear that she wasn't adopted: having spent about two-three days in Indian captivity, she escaped and walked back to white society without so much as concerned look back. She, without a doubt, exhibits none of the characteristics that for Heard, constitute adoption/assimilation. While her journey through the woods is harrowing, barefoot and sucking babe in her arms, her resilience and fortitude, instead of being threatening to patriarchal structures, becomes perfectly acceptable. Hers is the story of a mother, traumatized by the death of her other children doing everything within her power to ensure the survival of her one remaining child and herself. She becomes the ultimate mother. Harbison was a fantastically stubborn woman: upon her capture, she throws down her bag in defiance, for which she is rewarded, and mediates revenge upon her captors—had it been a viable option, her escape would have begun with killing her captors, not merely escape (Kephart, 93, 94). Her defiance garnered her captor's interest, and he had decided that she would become his wife (Kephart, 93). In this instance, it is motherhood, in a literal sense, that, because to kill the Indian captors would be to set down her child who would cry and wake the rest, prevents her from truly becoming a vanquisher. While she escapes, and definitely escapes adoption, which from the same instance of the defiant bag throwing, seems to have been not far off, her femininity and baby were made safe again.

For Mary Rowlandson, the issue of adoption and adaptation is muddled as well. While adoption practices varied wildly from tribe to tribe, Rowlandson's captivity was during a time of war, however that doesn't preclude the option of her potential adoption ceremony. Regardless, there is no such ceremony for Rowlandson, instead she becomes a servant or slave to Quannopin, a relation to King Philip. Mary is the perfect victim: her passivity, reinforced by her

religious circumstances, ensures that she remains in captivity for as long as God, or her Indian captors, so desired. Being passive in one's captivity runs the risk of abandonment of one's culture—potentially, the longer that Rowlandson stayed there, the more assimilated her could become. However, it also allows a captive a particular mode of resistance. Rowlandson accepts her captivity in positivity, but never grows beyond that. In fact, while passive to the state of her captivity, her narrative is marked with her resistance to captivity in the form of her skillful adaptations. She doesn't come to love Indian food, or riding horses without furniture, but instead finds resilience within the pages of her Bible. Rowlandson, throughout her captivity, continues the role of mother/sister/wife, pining after her husband and awaiting his heroics, developing relations with the other captives, and when permitted and when possible, mothering her son and daughter, separated from her in their captivity. By resisting her Indian assimilation, she becomes a still passive victor of a moral/spiritual variety. Unlike Harbison, Rowlandson was held in captivity for more than a week, in fact, eleven weeks. During that time, a captive would, potentially, have the time to begin adoption and assimilation. It'd be reasonable to assume that at least some sort of assimilation would occur, at least, in part, and if not assimilation, then adoption with her status and worth being more recognized. Rowlandson worked tirelessly to ensure that her worth was recognized; in her narrative, she sews and knits for various Indians, including for King Philip, in exchange for goods and food. While this shows, as Heard mentions, Rowlandson's understanding of the Indian culture, knowing it well enough not to be seriously hurt or tortured as well as gain favors on occasion, it doesn't mark her willing acceptance of it. Instead, her narrative is marked by her very clear and clever manipulation of the system in which she had been placed to ensure the maximum safety and comfort.

Simply to say, that during the eleven weeks that Rowlandson was with the Narraganset et al. party, she, dutifully remained, demonstrating her devotion to God and ensuring her status as a woman in Puritan society, while resisting her assimilation and adoption into Narraganset et al. society, thereby signifying her solidarity with the settlements, and her alignment with God.

When considering gender, rape must always be considered. In short, the writers of narratives were always aware of rape and its implications for readers and sales. While editors and writers had this in mind while they were writing, the issue of rape was usually handled delicately. In early narratives, rape is not a common occurrence, but once the western frontier moved out of the Eastern Woodlands, rape became more common (Derounian-Stodola and Levernier, 125). In Rowlandson's time, rape was not common; for Harbison, it was becoming more commonplace for captives to be raped. However, the worry over rape wasn't the physical, sexual, or psychological health of the victim, instead, societies, populated by people were worried about the future and family life. Because of the rape of white women by Indian men in the eighteenth-nineteenth centuries some then contemporaries thought that: "family life was disrupted, perhaps destroyed, over the very generation that was supposed to be peopling the West" (Derounian-Stodola and Levernier, 129). While this is a very real concern for Harbison, she makes no references to either physical torture beyond the initial physical and psychological distress of captivity and force marching, nor rape. Rowlandson on the other hand, seemingly goes out of her way to mention that no abuse was taken against her: "And I cannot but admire at the wonderful power and goodness of God to me, in that though I was gone from home and met with all sorts of Indians, and those I had no knowledge of, and there being no Christian soul near me, yet not one of them offered the least imaginable miscarriage to me" (Kephart, 71), and again,

“yet the Lord suffered not this wretch to do me any hurt” (Kephart, 80). Rowlandson is clear that she suffered no torture or rape, but, as we know, Increase Mather influenced her narrative to an unknown, but presumed great, degree. Even if he didn’t directly write it, he did edit, and it was by his hand that the narrative moved to publishing houses in the Colonies and England. His influence is present without question, but the degree and in which parts is debated. I would offer that such overt mentions of her lack of physical torture and rape were indeed by his direction. This could have been done for many reasons, but at the foremost are to allow the narrative to be ‘civil’ enough to become widely read in the settlements, and for political power (Toulouse). Both entries break the flow on the narrative, seemingly poor editorial additions. While the narratives are inherently about trauma, by nature of being captured, it is at least comforting to know that neither woman was raped.

I would be remiss to not mention rape again. While male on male rape is much less prevalent, we cannot exclude the possibility that such rape occurred. Data on this would be very difficult to collect as most captivity narratives are written by women, with few by men. Just like with women’s captivity narratives, the location and culture into which a captive was captured played a hugely important role in how, typically, narratives played out. Rape was much less prevalent in the North East/New England whereas it was more common west of the woodlands. Bressani and Smith were both captured by peoples who tended not to rape. Neither mention of either male on male rape or witnessing male on female rape. All the narratives collected in *Captive Among the Indians* were free of rape.

Colonel James Smith, not yet a colonel at the time, is another instance where adoptions is complicated. Perhaps the most interesting part of his narrative, which has warranted further study, especially from anthropologists, is the long and detailed description of adoption.

After being captured, Smith runs a gantlet, which eventually knocks him unconscious. Upon waking up and recovering, he is ceremonially stripped of his clothes and possessions and washed of his whiteness. Thereafter he is 'Indian.'

Due partly to the four years of his captivity, there being just more for him to share, partly he was far more descriptive than his peers in *Captive Among the Indians*, and partly he was at a far more developmental stage in his life, being the youngest of the captives captured, his narrative offers a character study as Smith learns to live with his captors. He was adopted, surely; the ceremony shows this to be true. The question becomes then, did he assimilate and adapt?

Heard would argue, that yes, he assimilated, but just a bit. In fact, on an apparently entirely arbitrary scale, about 20% assimilated (Heard, 117). Heard's scale of assimilation is not something I understand in the least. Smith, throughout his narrative shows just about all the signs of assimilation that Heard notes. During his time he learns several native languages, he learned Indian skills, resisted opportunities for escape, grew attached to his adoptive family and community. However, he doesn't marry, doesn't raid against other peoples as he is tasked with defense of the women, children and elders, and he doesn't reject the opportunity to return to white society once he does get rescued. Additionally, his age, at 19, and the four years he was in captivity go towards his degree of assimilation. But, as stated in the section on spirituality and religion, Smith, while learning about indigenous spirituality, still holds tight to his religion and Bible. He goes as far as attempting to instruct an old man and friend about Christian spiritual practices and methods of praying, however is denied. That, coupled with his eventual escape to America, via a four month imprisonment in Montreal, gives the greatest credence to his adaptation, and not assimilation, though, as we saw, adaptation can lead to assimilation. Unfortunately we cannot know if he had stayed longer, if he would have shifted

from adaptation to assimilation. Smith shows that while adoption was a ceremonial practice, it was done to an individual, but it was up to the captive themselves as to whether they assimilated. Acceptance is the product of agency. The narratives of Harbison and Rowlandson and harrowing narratives of difficulty and captivity, but offer little of the interiority of the narrators. Bressani offers greater interiority, but offers little in the way of character growth or change. All three offer little insight into their character development whereas Smith offers greater development and growth.

This is nowhere shown more accessibly than Bressani, the Italian missionary. Captive for four months, the first three are marked by Iroquois torture and his desperate attempts to survive such incredible pain. Assimilation is straight out of the question. The majority of his narrative relates how he merely survived his ordeal, marked by the separating language of colonialist literature. Even once he is adopted “given, with all the usual ceremonies, to an old woman, to replace her grandfather” Bressani makes no attempt to assimilate into Iroquoian culture (Kephart, 54). His focus is remaining alive, reveling in his suffering and being delivered from his suffering, and maintaining the distinct separation between himself and his superstitious captors. While adoption occurs, albeit three months after his captive begins, his faith and determination to survive prevent his adapting to Iroquoian society. Here agency continues to be important. The old Iroquoian woman wanted him to become a part of her family and so adopted him, but Bressani had no such inclination.

Truly these four narratives collected in *Captive Among the Indians*, offer incredible stories. These are stories of strength, of how persons captured found a way to maintain their life, their body, their agency, and their faith, and in some instances even strengthen or grow. It would be easy to say that the degree of agency that each captive held was determined by the

degree of adaptation or assimilation, but these captives, and I'm sure, many others, with and without written narratives, have shown that agency is not dependent upon assimilation. For Rowlandson who was not adopted, an important part of assimilation, her degree of agency was extraordinary. Her agency was great enough that she would travel between camps to check on the well-being of her children—something none of the other captives were allowed. Indeed Harbison, still in an active state of captivity, with her hands bound, escaped and would have killed two Indians if her child would not have alerted the others. Bressani, in the midst of his suffering and captivity found solace and strength in his religion. Smith came to embrace his captivity, and while initially watched closely, came to be trusted and respected. This allowed him to travel and hunt with better weapons, activities that were previously withheld from him. Agency, it would seem is not necessarily dependent upon the degree of freedom imposed by a superior power, but by an individuals' ability to utilize their own strength and that which is still available to them in their station as a captive.

Chapter 5 Conclusion

Obviously there is quite a bit happening in each of the narratives collected in *Captive Among the Indians*. What I've mapped out here is, at best, cursory, but hopefully provides an adequate understanding of the basics of Indian captivity narratives as a genre in American literature.

When looking at the narratives separately, there is little order. Each exists as a unique narrative, though they may all follow the most basic of narrative structures, that of

capture and redemption. Each presents its captive and its captors uniquely, and the narratives follow very different struggles and internal and external quandaries. Age cannot link the narratives as Smith is a mere 19 years old when captured, and Bressani, presumably the eldest. The narratives are balanced by gender, being two men and two women captured. While limited to the American North East, geography separates the captives and Indians as well. Though Iroquois and Narragansett peoples lived in fairly close proximity, they were very different peoples; so too the Iroquois and the Delaware. Indeed, not even time can connect the narratives: less than one hundred fifty years separate these narratives. With the exception of their capture, nothing ties these narratives together.

Yet they are collected together, and in being so collected, I believe these narratives offer a greater view of struggles and maturation than having read these narratives separately on separate occasions. Each of the narratives offers similar, but by definition, not the same, necessarily dissimilar accounts of religious experience, of adaptation, assimilation and adoption, of an understanding of the woods through religious, spiritual and secular lenses, of travel and identity. Part of the poignancy of Bressani's narrative and so too of Smith is simply that they are not each other. The one suffered so greatly while the other suffered far less, physically. Both were captives and learned to survive, both came to know God in new ways, but *how* they did so differed greatly between them. The same goes for motherhood for Rowlandson and Harbison. While both mothers, separated by over one hundred years, what constituted valorized motherhood changes dramatically in that time.

Perhaps Kephart collected and arranged these narratives with the specific intent of creating a survey of spirituality, of hardship, of the woods. Due to the great diversity, religious, temporal, geographic, gender, present in the narratives, it is difficult to deny that their

dissimilarity allows for a greater understanding of the woods. The woods act as a medium through which one could come to understand hardship, God and the self. After all, for men like Kephart the woods were inherently space in which one went to learn and understand the self. That is what he did when he traveled to Carolina, where he spend most of his remaining days. While clearly a survey of the woods, *Captive Among the Indians* could also be a handbook to understanding the self. Kepharts' religious and spiritual experience in the aftermath of his mental break and his deep love of the woods would lead he reader of this collection to suspect that Kephart very purposefully arranged these narratives in this way. However, any archival papers, if at all, that would point to this are buried deeply under the locking ink of the acceptance contract at the Western Carolina University special collections library; kept away from the world until the agreed time has passed. There they shall remain for some time to come, but any prospective student could, when the time is right, make an effort to discover what I could not.

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Appendix

“Brother—As you have lived with the white people, you have not had the same advantage of knowing that the great Being above feeds his people, and gives them their meat in due season, as we Indians have, who are frequently out of provisions, and yet are wonderfully supplied, and that so frequently, that is evidently the hand of the great Owaneyyo [The Great Spirit, or God] that doth this. Whereas the white people have commonly large stocks of tame cattle, that they can kill when they please, and also their barns and cribs filled with grain, and therefore have not the same opportunity of seeing and knowing that they are supported by the Ruler of heaven and earth.

Brother—I know that you are now afraid that we will all perish with hunger, but you have no just reason to fear this.

Brother—I have been young, but now am old; I have been frequently under the like circumstances that we are now, and that some time or another in almost every year of my life’ yet I have hitherto been supported, and my wants supplied in time of need.

Brother—Owaneyyo [the Great Spirit or God] sometimes suffers us to be in want, in order to teach us our dependence upon him, and to let us know that we are to love and serve him; and likewise to know the worth of the favors that we receive, and to make us more thankful.

Brother—be assured that you will be supplied with food, and that just in the right time, but you must continue diligent in the use of means. Go to sleep, and rise early in the morning and go a-hunting; be strong, and exert yourself like a man, and the Great Spirit will direct your way” (Kephart, 36-7).

“I scarcely thought on the old man’s speech while I was almost distracted with hunger, but on my return was much affected with it, reflected on myself for my heard-heartedness and ingratitude, in attempting to run off and leave the venerable old man and little boy to perish with hunger. I also considered how remarkably the old man’s speech had been verified in our providentially obtaining a supply. I thought also of that part of his speech which treated of the fractious dispositions of hungry people, which was the only excuse I had for my base inhumanity, in attempting to leave them in the most deplorable situation” (Kephart, 37)

“Oh great Being! I thank thee that I have obtained the use of my legs again; that I am now able to walk about and ill turkeys, ect., without feeling exquisite pain and misery. I know that thou art a hearer and helper, and therefore I will call upon thee.

Oh, ho, ho, ho,

Grant that my knees and ankles may be right well and that I may be able, not only to walk, but to run and jump longs, as I did last fall.

Oh, ho, ho, ho,

Grant that on this voyage we may frequently kill beats as they may be crossing the Scioto and Sandusky.

Oh, ho, ho, ho,

Grant that we may kill plenty of turkeys along the banks, to stew with our fat bear meat.

Oh, ho, ho, ho,

Grant that rain may come to raise the Ollentangy about two for three feet, that we may cross in safety down to Scioto, without danger of our canoe being wrecked on the rocks. and now, O Great Being, thou knowest [sic] how matters stand; thou knowest [sic] that I am a greater

lover of tobacco, and though I know now when I may get any more, I now make a present of the last I have unto thee, as a free burnt offering' therefore I expect thou wilt hear and grant these requests, and I, thy servant, will return thee thanks and love thee for thy gifts'" (Kephart, 40)

"Brother,--I have somewhat to say to you, and I hope you will not be offended when I tell you of your faults. You know that when you were reading your books in town I would not let the boys or any one disturb you; but now, when I was praying, I saw you laughing. I do not think that you looking upon praying as a foolish thing; I believe you pray yourself. But perhaps you may think my mode or manner of praying is foolish; if so, you out in a friendly manner instruct me, and not make sport of sacred things.

I acknowledged my error, and on this he handed me his pipe to smoke, in token of friendship and reconciliation, though at this time he had nothing to smoke but red-willow bark. I told him something of the method of reconciliation with an offended God, as revealed in my Bible, which I had then in possession. He said that he liked my story better than that of the French priests, but he thought that he was now too old to begin to learn a new religion, therefore he should continue to worship God in the way that he had been taught, and that if salvation or future happiness was to be had in his way of worship, he expected he would obtain it, and if it was inconsistent with the honor of the Great Spirit to accept of him in his own way of worship, he hoped that Owaneeyo would accept of him in the way I had mentioned, or in some other way, though he might now be ignorant of the channel through which favor or mercy might be conveyed. He said that he believed that Owaneeyo would hear and help every one that sincerely waited upon him" (Kephart, 40-41)

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