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This work is made available under the terms of a Creative Commons Attribution-NonCommercial License, available at <u>https://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-nc/4.0/</u> had no respect for the traditions of his People and wanted them all made over in the White man's image. Perdue sees him as a utopian, hoping to raise his People to an idealized level of Christian civilization. He wanted the Cherokee Nation to be as a "city upon a hill" for the other Indian nations to imitate. She also notes that he was a theocratic Calvinist who ultimately argued that a minority of enlightened Cherokee like himself had the right to make a removal treaty binding the whole tribe when the majority of the "ignorant and deluded masses" could not see what was best for their own good.

This volume of Boudinot's writings does not by any means include all that he wrote. Nor does it spell out his guarrels with the Methodist missionaries who did not meet the standards of Christian refinement he found among the New England Congregationalists and Presbyterians. But it provides a good picture of his Christian zeal, of his political editorializing against removal and, finally, of his unconvincing effort to denounce John Ross in order to justify the Treaty of New Echota. Still, as Perdue says, Boudinot was motivated by sincere convictions and not by a desire for personal gain. He was not, like his cousin, John Ridge, eager to be chief and he never sought wealth. Like Evarts, he was essentially a conservative, Calvinistic moralist. Such persons are out of fashion today, but they are important to our history. The writings of Boudinot and Evarts demonstrate that what seems to have been "inevitable" was really the result of conscious choices made despite other alternatives. In this case the moralists were right about the crisis which faced White America in 1829, and it is important to have their arguments in their own words. Perdue and Prucha have performed an important task as scholars by bringing us the words of the past in a usable form. Scholars are not the only ones who should read them.

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Puritans Among the Indians: Accounts of Captivity and Redemption, 1676–1724. Edited by Alden T. Vaughan and Edward W. Clark. Cambridge, Ma.: Harvard University Press, 1981. 352 pp. \$20.00 Cloth.

Narratives of North American Indian Captivity: A Selective Bibliography. Compiled by Alden T. Vaughan. New York and London: Garland Publishing, Inc., 1983. 100 pp. \$18.00 Cloth.

Since the beginning of European colonization of the Americas, the experience of captivity among Indians has exercised a powerful and lurid appeal to White imaginations in both the Western Hemisphere and in Europe. At the heart of the theme's development were the captivity narratives-supposedly accurate accounts related by the captives either directly or via intermediaries—which flourished from the late seventeenth century to the dawn of the twentieth. Though scholars have long recognized the importance of the narratives in shaping the depiction of Indians in Euro-American literature, drama and film, it is only recently that they have attracted the scrutiny of more than a handful of specialists. This upsurge in interest is due above all to the recognition that, when critically viewed, the narratives often yield data on Native American ethnohistory, the history of Indian-White relations and on Euro-American values and culture beyond the realm of conventional literature. The volumes under review reflect this upsurge in interest. Both include introductory essays that touch on all these potential uses and both are designed to encourage readers to examine the texts themselves.

The volume edited by Alden Vaughan and Edward Clark consists of eight New England narratives depicting events within a fifty-year period. In each case the editors have chosen the most authentic edition and have retained the original text except for modernizing its spelling and punctuation. Taken as a whole, the collection is remarkably coherent, making quite clear that it was in New England in this period that the North American captivity narrative acquired definitive shape. But while the collection is most certainly worthwhile, the editors have not adequately justified it in their supporting commentary. One major problem is apparent in their very title, not all the captives or captors in these accounts fit the categories of "Puritan" and "Indian." The foundation of the narrative, the editors argue, lay in the distinctively Puritan spiritual autobiographies, sermons and jeremiads of the seventeenth century; they were, in short, products of "the Puritan mind" (p. 1). Aside from the fact that "the Puritan mind" has been discredited as a concept by most scholars of colonial New England for a generation now, the term's suggestion

of a religious or ideological consensus running through the narratives is highly misleading. Only the tracts by Mary Rowlandson, Cotton Mather and John William-a clergyman's wife and two clergymen-reflect the theological concerns discussed by the editors. Quentin Stockwell may have been a Puritan, as his narrative was included in a book by Increase Mather, but his own text is remarkable for being an absolutely straightforward account without a single reference to God, Divine Providence, Satan or even to the moral and spiritual character of his Indian captors. John Gyles makes scattered allusions to God and religion that the editors themselves acknowledge was the result of clerical editing but, with its lengthy ethnographic and faunal descriptions, this is hardly the account of a man anxious about the state of his soul. Elizabeth Hanson was a Quaker who, while noting the role of Divine Providence in her experience, hardly conceptualized that role in Puritan terms. Moreover, there is a highly ambiguous third party in many of these narratives-the French, particularly government officials and their families and Jesuit priests in New France. In some narratives the French are rescuers but in others they are captors like the Indians. Nearly three-fourths of John Williams' narrative is devoted to French rather than Indian captivity. In short, only a minority of pages in these texts actually treat "Puritans among the Indians."

Besides seeing the narratives as expressions of "the Puritan mind," the editors also want us to see them as historical evidence. In fact the texts are presented not in the order of their publication but in the order in which the events depicted took place. While generally undesirable as a method of presenting literary works, the editors' decision might have been justifiable had they framed the narratives with a discussion of those events and their larger historical context. But their introductory essay, while ostensibly concerned with the narratives "as literature and history," is largely confined to discussions of Puritanism, the captives and the narratives. The only mention of Indians comes in a brief, misguided effort to explain why there is so little ethnographic material in the accounts. Discussion of historical context is restricted to one inadequate paragraph in each of the brief notes preceding the narratives. Like the opening essay these notes are written exclusively from an English perspective. The editors neither explain why the French, English, Abenaki, Mohawk and other northeastern Indians were contesting so furiously in this period or explain the longer-range social and political significance of these struggles. Nor do they identify the specific protagonists and local issues surrounding the captures. Those wishing to use these narratives for historical purposes will have to read them in conjuction with such authoritative secondary accounts as Kenneth M. Morrison's *The Embattled Northeast: The Elusive Ideal of Alliance in Abenaki-Euroamerican Relations* (University of California Press 1984).

The editors' focus on "the Puritan mind" has likewise blinded them to the deeper meanings of these narratives for seventeenth and eighteeenth century readers. Taken together, the strongest impression the accounts make is in their depictions of Indians and English as distinct social, cultural and moral types. The former are presented as utterly devoid of reason, compassion and individuality and their actions and feelings—consisting largely of cruelty, violence and aggression-seem totally inexplicable and perverse. The captives, on the other hand, appear as innocent, passive victims whose ties to families, friends, homes and sources of moral and spiritual certainty have been sundered by the Indians' irrational, purposeless outbursts. Moreover the victims are ordinary English settlers with whom their readers could identify and empathize-even without the overt signals communicated by the clergyman. Thus the captor/captive dichotomy easily becomes an Indian/English one, contributing decisively to the development of colonial racism. Even more broadly, the narratives are stories of the survival of willful individuals in the face both of separation from families and communities and of extreme suffering and moral-psychological chaos. In this sense they join some of the more technically Puritan tracts which the editors cite, along with other early modern literature of Europe and its colonies, in juxtaposing a world of custom and community to one in which a few profoundly alienated individuals survive and even triumph over hostile environments and circumstances.

The second title under review constitutes a brief preface to Garland's massive (311 narratives in 111 volumes), admirable reprint series, *The Garland Library of Narratives of North American Indian Captivity*. The new volume consists of an introductory essay by Wilcomb Washburn plus three bibliographies compiled by Vaughan. The first is a listing of 281 captivity narratives. The second and third are shorter lists of "Modern Studies of Narratives and Captivities" and of "Guides to Indian Ethnohistory." Washburn's essay was originally to be joined to a more ambitious compilation by John Aubrey that would list and annotate every edition of every captivity narrative. With Aubrey's bibliography delayed, the publishers apparently decided to issue the essay with a briefer list for now. Washburn's essay is a useful introduction to the narratives and is less restricted than Vaughan and Clark's. Still it tends toward being a review of the ideas of Richard Slotkin and other literary scholars and comes to no very firm conclusions of its own. While Washburn does discuss the narratives' contributions to the development of racial stereotypes and ethnological knowledge, he explores neither of these topics very deeply or critically. Nor does he go very far toward relating the narratives to the history of Indian-White relations. Vaughan's bibliographies of captivity narratives and modern studies are useful, but the work on Indian history is extremely superficial and not related in any explicit way to Washburn's essay or the narratives.

In short, the appearance of these volumes is welcome in that they signal the increased interest in and availability of carefully edited and reprinted editions of the narratives. At the same time they remind us that these texts can bear far more careful and imaginative probing than they have yet received.

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Blood of the Land: The Government and Corporate War Against the American Indian Movment. By Rex Weyler. New York: Everest, 1982. 304 pp. \$16.95 Cloth. \$8.95 Paper.

With all the controversy and acclaim lately generated by the publication of Peter Matthiessen's epic *In the Spirit of Crazy Horse*, it seems a shame that a related book has been largely ignored. This is especially unfortunate because the "also ran" volume is in many ways the superior effort.

Rex Weyler, managing editor of New Age magazine, has produced a succinct and well-crafted package with his Blood of the Land: The Government and Corporate War Against the American Indian Movement. Although he covers most of the material ad-