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"Monsters More than Men": Interrogating the Captivity Narrative in a Transatlantic Context

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COLLEGE OF ARTS AND SCIENCES

“MONSTERS MORE THAN MEN”: INTERROGATING THE CAPTIVITY NARRATIVE IN A TRANSATLANTIC CONTEXT

By

Jennifer Taylor

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Department of English
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I wish to dedicate this thesis to my wonderful friend, Keri Sanburn, who saw that my "Spirit did not utterly sink under my affliction" and who "upheld me with [her] gracious and merciful Spirit." I thank her for watching over me in the wilderness.

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ABSTRACT

> The third quiet revolution to which my title refers is occurring now. In both literature and history, important changes are taking place, with more and more scholars seriously questioning the methods of each discipline, the validity of the disciplinary boundaries institutionalized by our universities, the texts (in a broad as well as narrow sense) typically studied, and the ideologies embedded within our various scholarly enterprises.
>
> Cathy Davidson,
> *Revolution and the Word*

The quotation from Cathy Davidson's *Revolution and the Word* still rings true after 17 years, as the revolution in academia she describes continues to take place. Scholars are redrawing or simply omitting boundaries, including those of nations and cultures, as well as of forms of literature. For this reason, it is time to consider how, for too long, scholars have remained quarantined within the era in which they have developed their expertise, and that narrowness has hurt literary studies. The following thesis includes a discussion of this very topic, and then sets out to demonstrate by discussing the difficult topic of origins. Where does a literary form or genre 'originate?' Is it an author, a place, an era? I contend that it is all three and neither, and no era may lay claim to any distinct form. Since this is true, compartmentalizing English departments into specialties of eras and forms with such little communication does not allow for the more complex readings necessary for understanding.

This complexity of origins is demonstrated thereafter with a discussion of captivity narratives, as they have lately been theorized to be the origins of the English novel. By complicating the history of the captivity narratives as a form, and by tracking some of the influences on the form as a whole, this thesis shows that the captivity narrative as a form also lacks a true origin. Why do we begin to separate history into eras, literature into forms, and therefore, compartmentalize ourselves into titles such as

"Early Americanist?" Why do so few Early Americanists attend Renaissance conferences, for example?

Reaching as far out and beyond as an MA thesis will allow, my project interrogates the captivity narrative in a transatlantic context by mapping out influences and political agendas, and by breaking the divide between Early America and the Renaissance. An example of surprising information I have found by do so is that the narratives written in the English language have been influenced by Arabic culture as early as Medieval times.

INTRODUCTION

> The third quiet revolution to which my title refers is occurring now. In both literature and history, important changes are taking place, with more and more scholars seriously questioning the methods of each discipline, the validity of the disciplinary boundaries institutionalized by our universities, the texts (in a broad as well as narrow sense) typically studied, and the ideologies embedded within our various scholarly enterprises.
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we ordinarily associate with the expression "early American literature." Armstrong and Tennenhouse further their argument by stating that they "would like to think of England as part of a larger nation whose boundaries extended overseas to North America" (196).

And North Africa. And into the Caribbean. While one cannot say that the boundaries of the actual nation literally stretched into these areas, its influence (and, of course, people) certainly did, and as we know from Mary Rowlandson, one never returns unaffected. The beauty of studying the eighteenth century is that one also need not return at all in body, but only in word, and due to the mass-production of printed texts in that century we often have several copies that have survived. However, even for the eighteenth century, the effect of capitalism on print was not a new concept. Our knowledge does not even stop at the fact of transatlantic dialogue, for instance, in the case of Rowlandson's narrative. Not only do we have Mary Rowlandson's text, but as Teresa Toulouse has pointed out, we also know that the titles were differed in emphasis when it appeared in print on either side of the Atlantic. As the eighteenth century's print culture demonstrates, dialogue need not be across the table[1], especially when one had the means to extend it across the ocean.

Already at issue in this thesis is the subject of the history of the British Empire and its two parts. The earlier, maritime enterprises are considered by many to not be the history of what was to be the Empire in the eighteenth-century. In *The Ideological Origins of the British Empire*, David Armitage writes that historians of the 'second part' of the Empire, the one often supposed to have its origins in the eighteenth-century,

> have protested against any easy separation between the 'First' and the 'Second' British Empires on the grounds that the two overlapped in time, that they shared common purposes and personnel, and that the differences between the maritime, commercial colonies of settlement in North America and the military, territorial colonies of conquest in India have been overdrawn. (2)

[1] Sociability, or that dialogue which did take place across the table has been discussed by Jurgan Habermas, David Shields, and Carla Mulford. Shields points out in his article "Rehistoricizing Early America" that Habermas has also pointed out another place for the spread of common knowledge. It's important not to forget "the coffeehouses, clubs, taverns, tea tables, conventicles, voluntary associations, and …. readerships" (548).

The debate over where to begin the drawing of the origins of the 'British Empire' and the concepts of it is ongoing and complex. Armitage, however, begins with the quote above to map out recent historians' points of view. He pushes this point of contention further by stating that the British Empire's origins are both elusive and, perhaps, lacking in real meaning. The "basic conceptual ambiguity" (Armitage 5) of origins to begin with is at issue, and further, to "discuss the etymology of a word," for example, "does nothing to explain its current usage" (5).

Armitage does, however, use this discussion of origins to patch up the formerly dismembered history of the Empire into a vision more closely related to mine. While it is true that origins do not explain the future empire, the pursuit of intellectual history has been wrongly ignored by some historians. This mistake "is symptomatic of a more lasting unwillingness to consider ideologies of empire as part of political theory or the history of political thought" (Armitage 4). The history of the British Empire can be tied together through a study of the moments when (and places where) one finds evidence of imperial thought; for instance texts where similarities in ideology that are linked to the British Empire are found. The captivity narrative, as I will continue to point out, is a place (or many places) where this evidence is found. Further, the influences upon this history of intellect stretch beyond the boundaries of the actual empire.

Yet, there is yet another discussion concerning a break in history with concerns to the West and its self-awareness. While I will mention several times that the search for origins is elusive and possibly less meaningful than it seems, my beginning point (the English renaissance) can be argued as a starting point to discuss Imperialism and the West. As Samir Amin demonstrates in *Eurocentrism*, a new concept during the Renaissance was one of capitalism, which was necessarily tied to the aforementioned maritime enterprises of England. Amin writes that the "tributary system that included Europeans and Arabs….whose center was situated around the eastern end of the Mediterranean basin" (10) shifted during the Renaissance.

> From the Renaissance on, the capitalist world system shifts its center toward the shores of the Atlantic, while the Mediterranean region becomes, in turn, the periphery. The new European culture constructs itself around a myth that creates an opposition between an alleged Europ-

ean geographical continuity and the world to the south of the Mediterranean, " (11)

from whence the tales told in Barbary narratives originate. Captivity narratives situated within the drama of imperialism are products of this shift, which Amin describes as capitalist. "With the Renaissance," writes Amin, "begins the two-fold radical transformation that shapes the modern world: the crystallization of capitalist society in Europe and the European conquest of the world" (71). Further, the transformation is, to use Armitage's word, ideological as well as economical, albeit slow, as Jeffrey Knapp has described in *An Empire Nowhere.* "This revolution," of ideology and social structure, "imposes itself in every domain of thought and social life, including the area of religion, whose mission is reinterpreted in conformity with the demands of a new society" (72). The change is capitalism, and it permeates all areas of European thought. According to Amin, all aspects of life, including religion, are made to conform to capitalist (and imperial) designs. The British Empire, whether one discusses it in terms of ideology, economy, reality, or all three, is subject to this capitalist revolution. Woven into the intricate changes that Amin relates, is the discovery of the 'new world,' as Jeffrey Knapp has pointed out. The captivity narrative is only one aspect or piece of evidence concerning the interconnectedness of the ideological origins (though I hesitate to refer to them as origins) of the Empire, historical continuity concerning its two parts, and any and all imperial pursuits during the period of which I write.

The captivity narrative as a form expands from the Mediterranean to the Atlantic as well, though one cannot say that it shifts its focus wholly, as does the novel in a much later context. Arsmtrong and Tennenhouse also have mentioned and further qualified their work by stating that the novel was not "first and foremost a European genre, but rather one that simultaneously recorded and recoded the colonial experience" (197). Their mentioning the colonial experience is central to their project and mine, as I intend to deal specifically with the issue of captivity and its use textually and politically as an example of the need for the meshing of disciplines. The fact that the English traveled great distances in almost all directions is integral to understanding the history of the captivity narrative, as it shows us that the captivity narratives people wrote in North America are a part of the body of captivity texts as a whole. Many scholars have noted

Rowlandson's text as the first narrative to establish the form, or at least have begun studying the form with her text, thereby treating it as the first. My contention is that we should be looking further into and around in history to discover the tradition and the ways that each captive used it to his or her advantage. What did these writers gain by using this long tradition, and how did the common knowledge of the captivity narrative's structure aid the politics of each captive?

The political aim for each captive is, certainly, different, but there is an interesting similarity to the structure of each tale. Most captivity narratives deal with religious matters. For the Barbary captives, it is the Muslims who are the "bloody tyrants," wishing upon the Christians such curses as the one Thomas Phelps mentions in his narrative: "God roast your father" (Vitkus 205). These stories of the horrors of foreign captors served a purpose as long as one hundred years before Mary Rowlandson's narrative to "ostensibly prove the savagery" (Sayre 50) of the unfamiliar. Richard Hakluyt had compiled many stories of captivity in foreign lands in the late sixteenth century, and John Fox's narrative is one of them. Daniel Vitkus has placed this particular narrative among other, later, narratives due to its lack of anti-Catholic attitudes. Instead, the narrative "celebrates the common cause of Christians who were victimized by their Islamic masters" (57). Teresa Toulouse points out that Mathers of the Massachussetts Bay colony shared the sentiment of bringing Christian factions together through a common cause a hundred years later. As Gordon Sayre has pointed out, the brutality of such instances of captivity ostensibly illustrated the savagery of the foe and "proved" the moral superiority of the Christian cause. Uniting the disparate factions of Christianity against a common foe was therefore not new to the Puritans in 1682, the year Rowlandson's text was published.

Like Mary Rowlandson's later narrative, John Fox's narrative "functions as an inspirational parable promoting the idea of divine favor for the 'Elect Nation' and its maritime enterprises" (57). Williem Okeley's narrative, which has more similarities to Rowlandson's narrative than even Fox's, claims that a more specific group enjoys divine favor: the Protestants. The similarities in focus demonstrate that Rowlandson's narrative was not the defining narrative, but an example of the continuity of form from one side of the Atlantic to the other. That Increase and Cotton Mather tweaked an established genre

for the uses of the particular position of Puritans in the Americas seems a more likely possibility than the idea that they began a new genre born from the settlement of the New World. In the introduction to *Caught Between Worlds: British Captivity Narratives in Fact and Fiction*, Joe Snader writes that today scholars generally

> do not think of the captivity narrative as an early modern genre, but rather as an American one, largely because literary scholars have defined the captivity genre in terms of Anglo-American captives and native American captors. But the captivity narrative, like the novel or the encyclopedia, is a genre whose roots stretch back to the European Middle Ages, and whose initial flowering belongs to the early modern vernacular press. (*Caught* 1)

Snader mentions an important point: the existence of the captivity narrative as far back as the Middle Ages. While the length of this project will not allow me to reach as far back as the Middle Ages in any depth, I do recognize the futility of any search for ex nihilo matrices of any kind. The captivity narrative is a literary form that is often born out of one of the oldest practices of the human race: war. Attempting to define the roots of the captivity narrative in any culture leads scholars on a bit of a wild goose chase through the past. Defining an absolute point of origin for any text or form is a practice I feel is unnecessary to understand its importance in any context.

American exceptionalism may lead us still, without our being aware, to believe that the genre as we know it was born here in the Americas and that the particular clash of cultures that occurred here created this kind of literary form. Without discounting the obvious differences, one being geographic setting and another the somewhat newer concept of women and children in captivity, the genre remains somewhat intact. I would also like to point out that this continuity does not discount most of the findings of Nancy Armstrong and Leonard Tennenhouse and the influences of captivity narratives on the English novel, as the captivity of women has certainly affected literary history.

You will not find a lengthy and detailed discussion of the term "American Exceptionalism" within this text; instead I will quickly address it here and then allow this project to stand on its own. As David Noble has mentioned in his recent *Death of a Nation*, national boundaries are disintegrating and the porosity of culture I describe is becoming more apparent. In the study following, I demonstrate that American culture

remained closely tied to England due to the publishing and reading of texts from and in both sides of the Atlantic. I do not find setting to be enough to discuss the New World as wholly distinct, especially as New England in this time was but an extension of England. The influences on the texts written in the New World were from across the Atlantic. We may not necessarily discover, in larger, more inclusive studies, that the influence on captivity narratives in the Americas was even ultimately English.

This study will examine other possible sources for the literary tradition of the captivity narrative than Colonial America and will also question the often-assigned matrix[2] of the novel to Samuel Richardson's *Pamela*, without questioning other changes in the novel for which I feel that work is responsible. Chapter 1 will begin with a short discussion of captivity in Medieval Europe and the Romance, then will continue a study of captivity narratives both in England and in the Americas up to the time and the publication of Mary Rowlandson's text in 1682. That chapter will also contain a discussion of the captivity narrative as a genre and as a part of a larger occurrence—imperialism. The narratives prior to those written in the New World that I am most interested in, the ones I will discuss, are concerned with the Near East or, as Joe Snader has referred to them, are "Oriental" narratives. Throughout this project, I will continue to refer to such narratives as "Oriental," as they are Orientalist in nature. As Said has said of "Orientalism," any person "who teaches, writes about, or researches the Orient…. either in its specific or its general aspects, is an Orientalist, and what he or she does is Orientalist" (Said 2). It is true that the texts I will be examining "taught" the English the culture of the Orient, as biased or as purposefully misleading as they might have been. The authors of the "Oriental" captivity narratives I will be examining wrote from an Orientalist perspective in all definitions of the word; they, like the narratives the Puritans wrote in the new world, ostensibly taught the barbarity of the inhabitants of the Near East, or the Orient as Said and subsequent scholars have defined it. Tara Fitzpatrick

[2] I use the term "matrix" with the same meaning as Judith Butler has in discussing the matrix of gender and/or heterosexuality. For Butler, an origin of gender is the root, or beginning, and the matrix is that which creates the root, or the place wherein it was created. Of the search of origins, she says that a "genealogical critique refuses to search for the origins of gender….rather, genealogy investigates the political stakes in designating as an *origin* or *cause* those identity categories that are in fact *effects* of institutions, practices, discourses with multiple and diffuse points of origin" (ix). Therefore, an origin can never be nailed down as there are many matrices (institutions, discourses, practices) for any notion of gender. Butler's notions of origins concerning gender inspire mine concerning form and history.

states that Rowlandson's recognition that "she could do nothing to save herself; she could only surrender to the will of God….proved her own election" (1). This submission to God's will, and the trials as proof of God's favor, are only a fraction of the evidence of this continuity from Barbary to Puritan narratives. Chapter 2 will rewind to the Elizabethan context once again, to discuss the connectedness of those texts explorers such as Sir Walter Raleigh and the later Captain John Smith wrote and published about lands and experiences they reported. Sir Walter Raleigh and Captain John Smith are connected through their experiences in the new world, and Smith is connected to those other writers I discuss in chapter one who wrote Oriental narratives, as Smith's previous experiences in the Near East among the Turks greatly affected his adventures in the new world. I will demonstrate that captivity narratives were a much more integral part of Early Modern English culture than Americanists have allowed them to be, for, as Said asks of scholars, we must "take seriously Vico's great observation that men make their own history: that what they know is what they have made" (1994). I contend that, like the exclusion of possible overseas influences on English culture that have caused scholars to believe that there must be an English root for the English novel, Americanists have constructed the history of the captivity narrative as they know it; they have assumed that there must be an American origin.

Chapter 3 will discuss the apparent similarities between Williem Okeley's Oriental account and Mary Rowlandson's account of her captivity in the new world. That chapter will also be interested in looking into the gaps in our knowledge of moments in history, moments that we cannot reconstruct but from which we can still learn from by re-engaging ourselves with those moments. We cannot reconstruct, for example, Pocahontas' captivity, but acknowledging it can educate us as to the differences in representation or lack of representation. From a newer angle, one Rebecca Blevins Faery also adopts in *Cartographies of Desire*, I will examine the similarities between Pocahontas and Mary Rowlandson. Finally, Chapter 3 will discuss a subject that Americanists seldom touch upon: Increase and Cotton Mather's knowledge and interest in the Near East.

The final chapter will discuss the continuing culture of imperialism in England and its troubles in the New World. The Mathers' use of the captivity narrative was a part

of this imperialist discourse and, like the Oriental narratives I discuss in chapters one and two, those narratives for which either Mather furnished a preface or reported to England the culture and savagery of the Native Americans. I contend that Aphra Behn's *Oroonoko* was an interruption of that imperialist narrative of the new world, as her book tells the tragic story of colonization. Also, my discussion of Behn's book offers another inquiry into the nature of origins when I question the positioning of Samuel Richardson's *Pamela* as point of origin for the novel. While my intention is not to reposition Behn's novel as the first, I simply mean to question why studies that concern origins do not often consider it so. It is as easy to think of Behn's novel the first as it is to think of Richardson's or Defoe's, and despite Spengemann's provocative attempts in the late 1980's, this debate continues to result in the "discovery" of the "father" of the novel.

I mention the eighteenth century several times in this introduction, but there is relatively little discussion of the eighteenth century in this thesis. The reason for this is my attempt to reach back into history to discuss the influences and possible models for a form that greatly affected, and continued to be published along with, the novel of the eighteenth century. Ultimately, my project seeks to do what I have said so few studies do: to travel outside the continental borders of my own discipline, to reach out as much and as far back in history, to more fully understand the context which is my focus. Like John Donne's compass, such "movement brings harmes and feares," but this seeming breach is "but an expansion."[3] This text is a result of my practice of putting texts together to recreate moments in history, and the moments I have chosen are essential to understanding the eighteenth century, as a 100-year span or as long or as wide as one may interpret that "century" to stretch. Also, I would like to mention that a study that wishes to reach out and back may find itself continuing to do so, unable to stop for the myriad of influences and possible origins for any given moment. My starting point may seem, then, as arbitrary as any if not for the necessity to avoid beginning with a big bang, to begin somewhere that is not necessarily at the beginning.

[3] See John Donne's poem "Valediction: Forbidding Mourning."

CHAPTER 1

A PLACE TO BEGIN: THE MEDIEVAL ROMANCE AND BARBARY CAPTIVITY NARRATIVES

> At the heart of romance there is a man's tragic yearning for an ideal state of peace and stability in which reality and dream become one. The perilous journey of life, the crucial combat against nature and enemies, is transcended in an exaltation of individual man, the knightly hero, who through love and adventure pursues a pure ideal of personal, inner worth, thus enobling his native ground, the society that contains and sustains him.
>
> Dorothee Metlitzki,
> *The Matter of Araby*

There is no real place or moment in history to pin down the beginnings of the captivity narrative, and I do not wish to at any point in this study. I do, however, feel that a brief discussion concerning the Medieval romance is in order. Dorothee Metlitzi has shed a great deal of light upon the nature of Medieval romance and the Arabic influences upon that genre. "The serious interest," writes Metlizki, "in Islamic civilization began in the *West* and was due to the penetration of Latin clerics into the cultural realms of the Saracens" (5).[4] This observation is important to this thesis in two ways. One way is that it demonstrates the fact that the period of time we refer to as the Medieval era was not at all "the dark ages," in that there was much communication happening between the powers of the east and the west. Secondly, it illustrates the importance of looking at literature, at least those I will be looking at if not all, as lacking cultural purity. The term "romance" itself did not have the same meaning we give it today, instead it meant, in

[4] Metlitzki describes the Saracen cultures as the "the most varied ethnic origins. They were Greeks, Persians, Indians, Copts, Nestorians, Zoroastrians and Jews….These indigenous peoples were the heirs of old and brilliant civilizations which had been consolidated in the Byzantine and Persian empires. Yet under the influence of their Arab conquerors they were molded into a new cultural unity that expressed itself in a new *Arabian* way of life" (3).

England, that the work was not written in English, but was an Anglo-Norman or French work.[5]

Referring to the romances mentioned here as Medieval is much more accurate than referring to them as English, or Middle English. "That the seven principal texts are *English*, in the sense of having an exclusive origin in England," the preface of the Norton critical series' *Middle English Romances* states, "is certainly a lie…all in one way or another have continental, Anglo-Norman, or Celtic antecedents" (xi). As a brief example of this conclusion, the first text included in this anthology was the poem *Havelok*. The original sources of this text are still somewhat unclear, the "best evidence of the background of *Havelok* [is said to be] available in two French texts, both written in octosyllabic verse (so too is *Havelok*) and both of which predate *Havelok*" (316). It is these kinds of complications that demonstrate that, like most cultures' literature, England's literature is not purely English in origin. English culture is, almost by definition, not pure.

Like *Havelok*, many Medieval romances are found to have foreign "origins," and more often than not they are French, at least for the Middle English texts. "The whole phenomenon of oriental settings, images, themes, and motifs," writes Metlitzki, "is a distinctive feature of romanticism as a literary trend and movement" (242). Though she does not state outright that the romance is an import from the Saracen cultures, which the English and French were in contact with, she does suggest that the influence was more than the appearance of Arabic characters in war. She goes on further to state that what she thinks is true "is that a considerable portion of the subject matter and some structural elements of romantic medieval literature passed through Muslim hands before reaching the West" (243). The medieval romance, then, was not a pure form and, like the captivity narrative, a form with no solid origins. What we do know, however, is that the East's influence was present in this form as it was in the captivity narrative.

And captivity is apparent in the literature of Medieval Europe. For English romances, it was something out of which the hero would fight. In *Havelok*, the protagonist is taken into captivity as a young boy, to be put to death by Godard, a traitor

[5] A more in-depth discussion is included in Stephen H. A. Shepherd's discussion of the definitions of the middle English romance, in his Norton critical edition of *Middle English Romances*.

that wishes to rule Denmark instead of Havelok. Havelok is soon to be of age when his father dies, but Godard has other plans.

> Hwan Birkabeyn was leyd in grave,
> The Erl dede sone take the knave,
> Havelok, that was the eir,
> Swanborow, his sister, Helfled, the tother,
> And in the castel dede he hem do;
> There non ne micte hem comen to
> of heren kyn; ther thei sperd were (ll. 408-414)

When Birkabeyn (Havelok's father) was laid in the grave, the earl (Godard) takes the children, including Havelok, and locks them up in the castle. When Godard binds him and gives him to another to be drowned at sea, the new captor removes the gag, revealing the light that shines from his mouth. Madame Leve sees this light and begins to wonder what it means. Upon seeing his birthmark, she sees that he is to rule two nations, England and Denmark, in the future. The story finishes with this being his destiny. Like later captives, Havelok is freed due to his being elected into a position of future greatness and authority at birth; while this 'election' has a vastly different context, the theme of divine election remains.

But the core of what the romantic hero is has best been described by Metlitzki, as quote above. When she states that the "perilous journey of life, the crucial combat against nature and enemies, is transcended in an exaltation of individual manx, the knightly hero, who through love and adventure….ennobl[es] his native ground" (240), one cannot help but think of the captivity narratives I will be discussing. As I mentioned, this is often described with a background of misfortune and, in many romances, war with an enemy. As Jean Dunbabin has pointed out, "authors of the late twelfth- and thirteenth-century *romans* sometimes included imprisonment as one of the many trials faced by their heroes" (16). Further, she states that by

> the later twelfth and thirteenth centuries, the authors of non-legal sources of information about captivity might still be monks, but were more often were clerics or even laymen. These men wrote for more varied audiences, including the frequenters or royal courts and also rich townsmen.

> Chroniclers were joined by large numbers of writers who limited their efforts to the description of one historical theme or one great event, again for wide audiences. Their handling of the theme captivity was less implicated in Scriptual exegesis than that of their predominantly monastic predecessors. (15)

By the late twelfth- and thirteenth-centuries, the stories involving captivity had become more popular. These stories were often written for an audience wider than just royalty. Further, the fact that these stories were not performed only for their religious content, as they were "less implicated in Scriptural exegesis" (15), then entertainment must have been the ends. Later, Barbary narratives would also chronicle events concerning war. Also called "oriental" captivity narratives, they "record[ed] the experiences of Europeans captured and enslaved in various Islamic states, especially the corsair enclaves of the Barbary coast" (Snader, "The Oriental," 268).

In Barbary narratives, and those of the Americas, one finds both the element of entertainment and Scriptural exegesis. There were many reasons for relating the captivity experiences of those taken in Barbary, and they were personal and political. "Sometimes," Linda Colley points out in *Captives*, "they themselves chose to go public about what had happened to them by means of pen and print. Or others did this for them, using their experiences as the stuff of sermons, political speeches, novels, ballads, drawings, travel accounts and other books" (75). These texts, then, were quite an industry, and they were culturally influential. Also, captives "might be ordered to tell something of their story more widely by authority figures of some kind" (Colley 75). They were also, then, important stories politically. The function of Barbary captivity narratives in England had many layers. "The matter of Barbary," Colley comments further,

> in other words, was never something just external to Britain, or the business only of politicians, diplomats, the Royal Navy….Like other captives in other parts of the world, like empire itself, Barbary corsairing and its victims impacted richly and diversely on British culture at home…. (75)

The ‘matter of Barbary,’ as Colley refers to it, was very pervasive in British culture. It was not an affair of only the royal family, nor was it something which the public was not properly informed. It is apparent that many were involved, whether directly as they were taken, or indirectly as they attended a play, or read a narrative, about captivity. Joe Snader has pointed out that, politically, “the debased Oriental setting and plot of subjugation and escape enforce[d] an expansionist ideology by suggesting that autonomous and self-reliant Western captives possess a natural right and ability to resist and control the alien cultures that have enslaved them” (Snader 268).

The Captivity Narrative as Part and Product of English Imperialism

> The date at the top of the newspaper, the single most important emblem on it, provides the essential connection--the steady onward clocking of homogenous, empty time. Within that time, ‘the world’ ambles sturdily ahead. The sign for this: if Mali disappears from the pages of *The New York Times* after two days of famine reportage, for months on end, readers do not for a moment imagine that Mali has disappeared or that famine has wiped out all of its citizens. The novelistic format of the newspaper assures them that somewhere out there the “character” Mali moves along quietly, awaiting its next reappearance in the plot.
>
> Benedict Anderson,
> *Imagined Communities*

> But howsoever their god behaved himself, our God showed himself a God indeed and that He was the only living God: for the seas were swift under His faithful, which made the enemies aghast to behold them. A skillfuller pilot leads them, and their mariners bestir themselves lustily; but the Turks had neither mariners, pilot, nor any skillful master that was at a readiness in this pinch….When the Christians were safe out of the enemy’s coast, John Fox called to them all, willing them to be thankful unto Almighty God for their delivery….
>
> John Fox in Richard Hakluyt,
> *Principal Navigations*

In *Captive Selves, Captivating Others* (1999), Pauline Turner Strong begins by stating that the captivity narrative is a "selective tradition that dates to the seventeenth century" where "Anglo-American identity is represented as the product of struggles in and against the wild" (1). By dating the origins of the captivity narrative in the seventeenth century and the subject as "Anglo-American," Strong makes two mistakes that scholars commonly make in discussing the genre. In order to rethink and reconsider the construction of history that literary scholars use, it is important to point out that there were captivity narratives as early as John Fox's, which Richard Hakluyt included in *Principal Navigations* in 1589. The place of this captivity is not the Americas (the "New World") and the context is just short of one-hundred years prior to the text that Americanists often assume to be the first captivity narrative, Mary Rowlandson's *A True History*. While it is still quite safe to say that Rowlandson's narrative was an important text for women's narratives, it was neither the first nor the one to set the captivity narrative as a genre. My contention is that scholars should begin to internationalize history and recognize Rowlandson's narrative as a variation on a theme already well established, both historically and literarily, by 1682.

John Fox "delivered" 266 Christians out of captivity amongst the Turks in Alexandria in 1577, according to Richard Hakluyt's record.[6] The narrative begins much the same way that Rowlandson's text begins later, with an attack mounted by "others." Hakluyt described the Turks as "a heap of enemies ready to devour them," a somewhat monstrous description, and tells the reader that the men had God's will in their minds when they surrendered. The projection of thoughts onto individuals with whom the narrator is unfamiliar is a kind of construction most common in later narratives that take place in the "New World." In addition, included are documents written by men of stature and power: the Pope and the King of Spain. Further, there is a poem by an eyewitness and a letter from the prior and fathers of a convent, all very godly and powerful men.

[6] There are two versions of John Fox's narrative, including the one used in my thesis which appeared in Hakluyt's *Principal Navigations* in 1589. A later version was published in 1608, entitled *The Admirable Deliverance of 266 Christians by John Reynard Englishman from the Captivitie of the Turkes*, and was purportedly written by a prolific writer of plays and other forms. The differences are, as Daniel Vitkus points out, that "the Hakluyt version stresses the providentialist framework and draws repeated analogies between the events of the narrative and the Bible, [but] the Munday version mentions God only once and does not include any references to Scripture" (57).

The convent of the Americates in Gallipoli verify the number of men as well as the slaying of the prison guard as they still have the sword, the Bishop of Rome recommends him to the King of Spain, and the King recommends that he join their regiments as a gunner. Like the narratives of the Puritans of Massachusetts, a captive must be prefaced or supplemented in some fashion by an individual with the power to do so. The dialogue between the men is extended across their respective cultures, demonstrating further what the fact of the original journey of John Fox's itself demonstrates: the international dialogue itself had catapulted. As Dena Goldberg mentions in a subsection entitled "My God Can Beat Your God" of an article entitled "Whose God's On First?: Special Providence in the Plays of Christopher Marlowe," the ship was a merchant ship bound for Seville. Goldberg further discussing Fox's narrative by stating that

> [a]lthough almost all of the original Englishmen have all died, this does not prevent the unidentified narrator from telling the story as an exemplum of the power of faith and of God's concern for the faithful….The account is typical of its genre in its selective invocation of providence, although…. [s]ome texts offer explanations of suffering. The narrative is also typical in the way it deals with other religions….The victory [of John Fox's] is attributable to the correct choice of deity…. (571)

The "correct choice of deity" is certainly the Christian God from the perspective of the unnamed individual, most likely a Christian Englishman. It is the Christian God that overpowers the god[7] of the Turks; the Christian God "beats" their god. The narrator mentions the "behavior" of the Turk's god, but then states that God proved "he is the only living God," making the interaction between people and gods problematic, considering the behavior of a supposedly dead god.

There is no mention of "papists" or "protestants" directly in this text whatsoever. Instead, Christianity seems a singular religion, devoid of the sections of Protestants or Catholics, fitting of a time experiencing serious conflicts with regard to religion within England as well as with other nations. Choosing to represent either faction would have

[7] I capitalize or do not according to the ways the text appears in Hakluyt's book and not according to any preference of my own.

perhaps divided the reader's idea of unity, disrupting the notion that England was an "Elect Nation." Daniel Vitkus, who prefaces this narrative in his collection of Barbary captivity narratives entitled *Piracy, Slavery, and Redemption*, states that the

> narrative of Fox's captivity and escape is nearly free of anti-Catholic attitudes and celebrates the common cause of Christians who were victimized by their Islamic masters. The documents appended to the narrative were produced by Roman catholic friars and by officials at the Vatican and at the court of Philip of Spain….This alliance between Protestants and Catholics stands in striking contrast to the [later] case of Hasleton, who had the misfortune of falling into Spanish Catholic hands.. .. [The text] functions as an inspirational parable promoting the idea of a divine favor for the "Elect Nation" and its maritime enterprises. (57)

Mentioning both an "Elect Nation" and enterprises that involve the spread of the nation's influences evokes a feeling with which all Early Americanists should be familiar. Further, the bringing together of different sections of a religion, or rather, not mentioning their differences in order to draw them together against a common foe, should also sound familiar. As Teresa Toulouse has argued, Mary Rowlandson's text had the same purpose. I will further discuss the political aspects of that text in chapter 3. The assumption that documents written by "papists" would be sufficient proof is also surprising considering the ascension of Queen Elizabeth I, a Protestant, to the throne in 1558.

England's "Maritime Enterprises" and the "Oriental" Captivity Narrative

> Literary scholarship has often investigated the captivity genre, but it has done so through an exclusive focus on American material. Centered especially on printings from the New England colonies and the fledgling united states, this scholarship has nearly always defined the captivity narrative as a genre whose unique origins were coeval with the supposedly unique origins of Anglo-American culture... Long before Rowlandson, the British press produced extensive, factual, separately published narratives that were unified by the theme of captivity under a foreign people.
>
> Joe Snader,
> *Caught Between Worlds*

> The interchange between the academic and the more or less imaginative meanings of Orientalism is a constant one, and since the late eighteenth century there has been a considerable, quite disciplined—perhaps even regulated—traffic between the two. Here I come to the thrid meaning of Orientalism, which is something more historically and materially defined than either of the other two. Taking the eighteenth century as a very roughly defined starting point Orientalism can be discussed and analyzed as a corporate institution for dealing with the Orient—dealing with it by making statements about it, authorizing views of it, describing it, by teaching it, settling it, ruling over it: in short, Orientalism as a Western style for dominating, restructuring, and having authority over the Orient.
>
> Edward W. Said,
> *Orientalism*

Edward Said sets his "roughly defined starting point" in the eighteenth century, but I wonder if that timing would change with an in-depth reading of English captivity narratives in the sixteenth and seventeeth centuries. For example, by the year 1589, when Hakluyt published his first collection of travel narratives entitled *Principal Navigations*, the English had already both acted upon and discussed trade and imperialistic desires. As I will demonstrate, the captivity narrative as a genre was a product of the culture of imperialism, and the English Renaissance is deeply marked with such desire.[8] Less obviously imperialistic were the excursions of merchants like John Fox, who had been setting out to trade in distant lands for quite some time, mostly for self-interest. Like Fox's narrative, however, there were more narratives to come that would bespeak the horrors and travails of Englishmen who fell into the hands of foreign peoples in foreign lands. In turn, there was much visitation and threat involving the very powerful Ottoman Empire, whose very subjects had intercepted Fox's trip to Seville. As Said has said of the

[8] For American studies on this topic involving the captivity narrative, see Michelle Burnham's *Captivity and Sentiment*, June Namias' *White Captives*, and Rebecca Blevins Faery's *Cartographies of Desire*, which are only a few examples. For studies involving the topic of imperialism and the early modern era in England see Emily Carroll Bartels *Spectacles of Strangeness*, David Armitage's *The Ideological Origins of the British Empire,* Samir Amin's *Eurocentrism,* and Linda Colley's *Captives, to name only a few of the many*.

West in general, it was in the English crown's interest to create this east/west dichotomy of difference. This dichotomy would make it possible for the English to create superior selves by depicting the savagery of their captors. Many English traders wrote captivity narratives recounting their experiences in foreign lands, most often those under Turkish rule, and whether it was with this purpose in mind or that it was a side effect can only be theorized.

England in the late sixteenth century was living an era of reaching into both the east and the west, into Persia and the New World, as well as Africa. Henry VII and Elizabeth I sent letters patent to sea-faring men to discover and conquer new lands. By 1587, Spain had already conquered the New World. In England, in order to establish an Empire, there was another landscape to conquer, an ideological one. It is obvious that imperial pursuits were on the rise, as was England,

> [y]et it was precisely because there was no established empire that the promotion of the imperialist cause was so crucial. For how was the state to impose its dominance across the globe until the ideological backing was vitally and visibly in place at home? (Bartels xiv, in *Spectacles of Strangeness*)

It was England's self-consciousness about their *lack* of an empire, about their *lack* of conquered lands and colonies that put into motion the "promotion of the imperialist cause." Without the "ideological backing" of the people of England, it would be difficult to launch a successful campaign of "dominance across the globe." With campaigns in motion, and travels to the new world, by 1587 it was time to address the public and that is precisely the political niche that Barbary narratives filled.

It is important to mention that the captivity narratives I will be discussing in this section were not alone in containing imperialistic rhetoric. There were threats to England's power in 1587, one being Spain and the other being the Ottoman Empire. When England "defeated" the Spanish Armada in 1588, there was really only one larger power with which to contend. Another place for this discussion of imperial power was the playhouse, and Marlowe's *Tamburlaine* appeared conveniently on stage in 1587, before the defeat of the Armada and before Hakluyt's anthology of travel narratives was printed. Marlowe's play depicted a monstrous Timur Khan, or Tamburlaine, defeating

the Turks only to die a fateful death. A year after the first staging of Marlowe's play, the defeat of the Spanish Armada inspired more imperial discourse,[9] and the play that began as a part of the discourse continued to sustain it. *Tamburlaine* worked upon the public's fears and put forth a "paranoid vision of the Turkish menace and the looming Spanish invasion" (Gillies 205). Tamburlaine defeats the "Turkish menace" on stage for his English audience; the experience must have been a vicarious one of conquering an established, formidable empire.

Tamburlaine is not only an imperial force favored by gods, he is a barbaric and often a merciless conqueror. His barbarism, far from being simply extraneously violent, is also proof of England's civility. The barbaric aspect of his character is a necessary component of his powerful and frightening image as the scourge of God; it is crucial to his effectiveness as a conqueror. While barbarism (and becoming the "scourge of God") was problematic to his audience, his behavior would only serve the Elizabethans' imperial fantasy, "shaming or schooling the English into supremacy, or providing an excuse for defeat" (Bartels, Double Vision, 5). The power and actions of Tamburlaine allowed the audience to experience both his imperialist acts and triumphs and an "oriental" barbarity that confirmed English superiority, raising them even higher.

Tamburlaine is akin to captivity narratives in providing a fantasy of defeat. In John Fox's narrative, the reportedly horrible (indeed "barbaric") actions of the captors of 266 Christians are reason enough to fight. John Fox rises against his captors under almost ridiculous odds and not without triumphant dialogue, as the narrative states that

> John Fox took him to an old rusty sword blade without either hilt or pommel, which he made to serve his turn in bending the hand end of the sword, instead of a pommel, and the [7] others had got such spits and glaives as they found in the house…. John Fox standing behind the corner of the house, stepped forth unto [the keeper], who perceived it to be John Fox, said "O Fox, what have I deserved of thee, that thou shouldest seek my death?" "Thou villain," quoth Fox, "hast been a bloodsucker of many a Christian's blood, and now thou shalt know what thou hast deserved at my

[9] See "The Armada Portrait" 1588 of Queen Elizabeth.

> hands." Wherewith he lift up his bright, shining sword of ten years' rust and struck him so main a blow as therewithal his head cave asunder…. (62-63)

Fox takes up a fight that will eventually lead him to confront a well-equipped army with only an ironically "bright, shining sword of ten years' rust" in the name of all Christians in captivity. Fox, a weak and starved man under captivity for 14 years, also strikes "so main a blow" as to cave in the keeper's head. God certainly was on the side of Fox in this instance, but even more so in a triumphant moment when he "opened the gates and doors [of the prison] and called forth all the prisoners" whom he then begins to organize into a revolt and escape.

The revolt and escape, as brave as John Fox was in his revolution, could not have taken place without God's providence, much like details in the later narratives like Mary Rowlandson's. Paralleling the events of John Fox's escape and rescue of the 266 Christians with other seemingly impossible events in the Bible, the narrator achieves a similar effect to those of the Puritan narratives: God will provide for his people and will defeat the "savages" or other non-christians. The narrator of Fox's story then sets to chronicling the histories of God's deliverance of his people, reminding the reader that the

> Red Sea [was] impossible for the Isrealites to pass through…. So was it impossible that the walls of Jericho should fall down…. Such impossibilities can our God make possible. He that held the lion's jaws from rending Daniel asunder, yea, or yet from once touching him to his hurt, cannot He hold the roaring cannons of this hellish force?… [C]annot He keep the fire's flaming blasts from among His elect? (Vitkus 65)

Much like Tamburlaine, John Fox and his crew move stealthily across an impossible landscape and defeat or escape the hands of the "bloodsucking" Turks. To further the comparison, the English public knew both Timur Khan and John Fox's story as true stories involving the escape or defeat of the Turks. Timur Khan demonstrates the possibility of defeating the Empire while John Fox's story is one proving that God will "keep the fire's flaming blasts from His elect" (Vitkus 65) and deliver them. Both of these texts operate in such a way as to add to the message that England will be

triumphant in its conquests across the globe. The play is not the only rationalization of imperial desires, as

> Elizabeth rationalized trade with the Turks in terms of a similar universalization of her god…. [Her] emphasis on idolatry [in insulting the Turk's god] expresses [her] acknowledgement of a similarity between Protestant and Moslem worship (as opposed to the practices of her Catholic Spanish enemies). And her affirmation of the unitary, universal nature of God as against the "false gods of the nations" provides a framework for international relations. Marlowe's work in the theater was supportive of this aspect of the queen's policy. (Goldberg 586)

The Queen was not only establishing an empire through the ideology of imperialism through the "universalization of her god" at home, but also was careful to identify those enemies. One was she did this was through a hierarchy of bad and worse nations that she included in a letter that appeared only pages after John Fox's narrative in Hakluyt's 1589 printing of *Principal Navigations.*

There was an avid readership for tales such as John Fox's for reasons which may also explain the popularity of plays, like *Tamburlaine*, about Eastern power. Captives who returned, according to Nabil Matar,

> told and retold their stories in villages and marketplaces, discovering in the process that there would be a readership for their tales about the Islamic world. Until the publication of Richard Knolles' *History of the Turkes* in 1603, there was not a single original account written about Islam by an English writer; everything had either been translated or adapted from continental sources…. From 1577 until 1704, twenty-three captivity accounts were written by British captives (some with the help of editors or ghostwriters…. Many of the captivity accounts became popular and were reprinted…. ("Barbary," 3)

The popularity of such narratives was due to the *lack* of knowledge that was available to the common English people, and so the narrative, like the later novel, reveals itself to be a democratizing text dispersing information about a subject that held much anxiety for the English public. "There was so much social anxiety," writes Matar, "about the

captivity of large groups of men, especially seamen, that from the 1620s on thousands of destitute wives and dependents repeatedly took to the streets with petitions on behalf of their captured kinsmen" (5). Captivity, by the 1620's, had become a larger social issue than reading exotic stories that take place in unknown lands. England's women even took to the streets to take action and to redeem their men from captivity, proving the issue of captivity to be more and more a central issue both at the sites of impact in the spread of the English empire and to the English at home.

While John Fox's narrative is a strong example of the product of the imperialist indoctrination of English subjects, there was more than his one story. "Oriental" captivity narratives, as Joe Snader refers to them, were continually shaping and re-shaping the English view of the East. Richard Hasleton published his account, entitled *Strange and Wonderful Things Happened to Richard Hasleton, Born at Braintree in Essex, in his Ten Years' Travails in Many Foreign Countries*, in 1595, including two accounts of attempts upon his faith, once in the Spanish Inquisition and another by the Moors. The Turkish king delivered him into the hands of the Turks, where he

> was no sooner brought before [a] nobleman, but he demanded whether I would turn Moor. I answered that I would not. Wherefore immediately he commanded a pair of shackles to be put on my heels and a clasp of iron about my neck, with a chain thereat…. Now he [the king], seeing he could win me by no gentle means, commanded me to prison, saying that he would either make me yield and turn Moor or else I should die in captivity. (89-90)

Hasleton's constant captivity regardless of context demonstrates his refusal to bend to the religions of his captors. In the end, he is freed through "the help of an honest merchant of this city of London" (95) delivered him. Hastleton still credits "Almighty God" who was pleased to "bring [him] to the port which he longed greatly to see, beseeching God of his mercy to prolong the days of our most gracious and renowned queen" (95).

The religious content and discourse of both of these narratives is indicative of what David Zaret has referred to as "a, if not the, predominant means by which individuals defined and debated issues in [the public sphere]" (213). While Zaret faults Habermas for his "errors of omission" in neglecting the seventeenth century, I would like

to further contend that interpreters of Habermas left out a discussion of a public sphere in the late sixteenth century as well. The playhouses, as I have mentioned before, had begun to explode with political and social content, and further, were a meeting place for people of different classes, and print culture had begun to disseminate the religious discourse in which the captivity narratives participate. The English were very much in the act of forming public opinion, and the writings of that time reflect this trend. On both sides of the Atlantic at the beginning of the seventeenth century, captivity was taking place and from the East and the West the religious discourse of the captivity narrative began to feed into public opinion. With the travel narratives and captivity story of Captain John Smith telling of England's interests in the New World and with additional narratives continually telling of more encounters with the Eastern "other," England had its fill of captivity narratives.[10] This religious discourse was a great part of the captivity narrative genre, and this religious discourse certainly appears later in the novel, which I will discuss in more detail in chapter 2.

Many of the captivity narratives in the early to mid seventeenth century couple the religious theme with imperialistic efforts. The "oriental" narratives that appeared during this time continue to paint a "negative portrait of Oriental culture [and] imply a positive characterization of the British, transforming [the captive's] characteristics into normal ones, so that he seem to embody the inborn freedom and individualism of his people" (Snader, "Oriental" 278). In the case of Richard Hasleton, resistance to conversion would be that signifier of seeming individualism, as Snader describes. Hasleton refused conversion first from the Spanish Inquisition and then from the Turks. The response to the attempts of the Spanish to convert him was that his identity as a protestant Englishman took precedence. When his captors put pressure upon him to convert, he responded by saying that

> neither had I been brought up in the Roman law, neither would I submit myself to it. He asked me why I would not. I answered that whereas in England, where I was born and brought up, the Gospel was truly preached and maintained by a most gracious princess…. Then he inquired whether I

[10] As I noted in my introduction, Benedict Anderson's ideas of a macrohistory mean that one does not assume that a nation or a people (i.e. Mali) disappears from the earth when the serial narrative is interrupted.

> had ever been confessed. I said "Yes." He demanded, "To whom?" I said, "To God." He asked if I had ever confessed to any friar. I said, "No, for I do utterly defy them." (77-79)

Similarly, for John Rawlins in his captivity narrative, *The Famous and Wonderful Recovery of a Ship of Bristol* (1622), the "opening and closing sections of the text stress the truth value of the text and assert the didactic importance of this 'relation' as proof of the 'power and providence' of the Christian deity" (Vitkus 97). Also, in the anonymous narrative *News from Sally of a Strange Delivery of Four English Captives from the Slavery of the Turks* (1642), four Englishmen, including a man named James Cadman, escape quite easily from a Turkish man-of-war. The narrator reports that "God which deleiverd them from the hands of [the Turks] saved them also from the jaws of [wild beasts], for they met but with one wild boar, who so soon as he had set eye on them, fled from them" (123), demonstrating that God puts feat even in the beast to protect his people. These stories of captivity and redemption due to God's providence were examples of the notion that God would protect his people in foreign lands because they are his chosen, his "Elect."

Even while England was spreading its trade routes and it empire to the west it continued to do so in the East. Further and more frequent trips necessarily cause more narratives, and by 1675 "William Okeley had framed his experiences as a slave in Algiers into an account that stylistically and cosmologically parallels what Mary Rowlandson would write seven years later" (Strong 6).

CHAPTER 2

CAPTAIN JOHN SMITH, THE "ENGLISH DIASPORA," AND THE CAPTIVITY NARRATIVE'S ROLE IN EMPIRE ENVY

> Both for health, good air, pleasure, and riches I am resolved it cannot be equaled by any region either in the east or the west…. Guiana is a country that hath yet her maidenhead, never sacked, turned, nor wrought, the face of the earth hath not been torn, nor the virtue and salt of the soil spent by manurance, the graves have not been opened for gold, the mines not broken with sledges, nor their images pulled down out of their temples.
>
> Sir Walter Raleigh,
> *Discovery of Guiana*

> The bodies and sexuality of both were appropriated to serve the project of English colonialism: the body of the white woman captive was insistently "closed" controlled by patriarchal discourses of "protection" that served not her interests of desires, but those of white hegemony; the body of the Native woman was made to symbolize the continent itself and so rendered insistently "open" to union, willing or not, with England.
>
> Rebecca Blevins Faery,
> *Cartographies of Desire*

Connected Publishings: Richard Hakluyt, Sir Walter Raleigh, and Captain John Smith

There were many "discoveries" made for the sake of the capitalistic venture in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, including a few I have already discussed. A few examples include Hakluyt's 1589 publication chronicling discoveries in foreign lands and captivity as a result, Sir Walter Raleigh's text regarding Guyana and Captain John Smith's texts chronicling his many travels. Most interesting is the fact that all of these

sources are interconnected and take part in the same culture of empire-building that affected earlier captivity narratives and continued to do so. As Karen Kupperman has pointed out in her article, "International At The Creation: Early Modern American History," we need "to catch up with the early modern understandings" (105). She goes on to point out that people in that time understood the Americas to be international already, even before John Smith came to popularize notions of it. As an example, Kupperman states that Smith "had been amazed to find European trade goods….in the hands of Indians he knew as Tickwoghs" (107). John Smith was not the first to consider settlement in the "New World," as people from many countries had already begun. When Jacques Cartier's "ships moving along the coast of the Gaspe Peninsula in 1534 were approached by Indians….[f]or Cartier, this was a first encounter, but not for his Micmac hosts" (Kupperman 107).

John Smith's enterprises were a part of a larger context involving the spread of England to other parts of the globe, as well as the building of that ideology. The narrative that has been considered the first captivity narrative involving Native Americans is a result of this larger context, and scholars should examine Smith's narrative within it. Pocahontas' story was certainly never published, as she never wrote one, and the narrative that materialized a quarter of a century later appeared in England for an English audience. As Rebecca Blevins Faery has pointed out regarding Mary Rowlandson's and Pocahontas's stories, "[d]espite the significant difference in self respresentation, [their] functions in cultural history have been more similar than not, especially in the ways both women and their stories have been repeatedly conscripted into the drama of colonialism and, later, of creating and defining a racialized nation and national identity" (87). White, English or colonial males narrated each story, and both are part of the drama of the colonization of the "New World". I will not, throughout this chapter, lose sight of the fact that captivity narratives, even within this context, are not only happening in the "New World," and will continue to resist defining captivity narratives according to the West. Captain John Smith claimed to have traveled east before he traveled to the new world, and to have experienced captivity there before the Pocahontas incident.

To establish Smith's influences in context, I will begin by discussing earlier travel in captivity narratives. Sir Walter Raleigh's *Discovery of the Large, Rich, and Bewtifvl Empire of Guiana*, published in 1596, will talk of the precious gold mines and stones. Raleigh writes: "Both for health, good air, pleasure, and riches, I am resolved it cannot be equaled by any region either in the east or west" (1028). This is certainly a land, as Raleigh describes it, of more wealth than "Asia and the world beside." The "inestimable drugs" or "health" are here as well. But, even more appealing to imperial minds is the notion that "Guiana that hath yet her maidenhead" (1029). The conquering of Zenocrate in Damascus, the "fondling of the globe" by Elizabeth, and Tamburlaine's hand over the map, all point to the land that "hath yet its maidenhead," the new world. Raleigh and other writers of discovery texts, as well as plays like *Tamburlaine* on the stage, inspired the English to continue imperial campaigns, and they certainly reached the imagination of Captain John Smith.

The crown chartered the East India Company in 1600, only 12 years after the staging of *Tamburlaine the Great*; in 1606 King James chartered the Virginia Company. Smith used much of the older discovery texts, appearing in previous publications, in *Generall Historie*. Also, "Smith's chapter on Guiana in *True Travels* uses verbatim a source which refers to Raleigh as "that most industrious and honorable knight Sir Walter Raleigh" (Fuller 192 n.82). Smith is best known for traveling to the New World and becoming the first English captive, but he traveled all over the world. In his *The True Travels* (1630), a map outlines his travels all over the globe. It demonstrates that Smith traveled a great deal in the territory in which Tamburlaine had also operated. Smith did precisely what the earlier accounts of New World discoveries set in motion and into the English imagination. Smith traveled to the east, among the Tartars and north into Muscovy, and through Spain, France, and the German states. He went where Tamburlaine conquered, planting the seeds of empire, but he also conquered what Tamburlaine could not. Through propaganda Smith and others like him wrote about Jamestown,[11] and through the publication of his adventures in the new world of 1608, England would launch a more overt and powerful campaign. John Smith fittingly named

[11] Mary Fuller maps out the types of propaganda that writers used to lure English people to settle in the new world in *Voyages in Print*.

his late publication on New England in 1631 *Advertisements for the Unexperienced Planters of New England, or Anywhere*.[12] His advertisements begin: "The warres in Europe, Asia, and Affrica, taught me how to subdue the wilde Salvages in Virginia and New England, in America" (269). Penetrating the East, physically for Smith and imaginatively for the English public, made settling the West an easier prospect.

However, there was not an end to travels to the east. In order to fully contextualize captivity narratives and their development, scholars must look at a wider illustration of a sort of "English Diaspora" in terms of discovery and conquest, and I do mean to include both understandings of the word "conquest." As a quotation from Sir Walter Raleigh's *Discovery of Guaina* illustrates, the penetration of a culture paralleled penetration of a virgin: the land that "hath yet her maidenhead" is pure and untouched by anyone, including the Spanish, though Raleigh's narrative suggests that they occupy the lands. The narrative also tells the story of Raleigh's conflicts with the Spanish in Guiana, and tells Elizabeth of the opportunities there for outshining them: "the shining glory of the conquest of Guiana will eclipse all those so far extended beams of the Spanish nation" (408). He also includes a description of Guiana as a defensible area as it

> hath never been entered by any army of strength, and never conquered by any Christian prince. It is besides so defensible, that if two forts be built in one of the provinces I have seen, the flood setteth in so near the bank, where the channel also lieth, that no ship can pass up but within a pike's length of the artillery, first of the one, and afterwards of the other. Guiana hath but one entrance by the sea (if it hath that) for any vessels of burden: so as whosoever shall first possess it, he shall be found unaccessible for the enemy…. (409)

Once the English have taken Guiana's "maidenhead," she will protect all others from entering her lands with minimal effort. Her location is ideal, and her riches will allow any conqueror to surpass his enemies. The competition for Guiana's maidenhead sounds very much like the sexual assault of a woman, and the building of an empire would include many like acts of aggression. The sexual description of the New World is what sets it apart from the conquest of lands to the east; the Turks had conquered those lands

[12] Barbour includes this work in *The Complete Works of Captain John Smith, Vol. III*

which therefore had no maidenhead. It is the sexual representation of the New World that will come into play in the narratives of captives in the new world, including Captain John Smith. The loyal maidens there would protect and harbor the Englishmen who came to build an empire.

As Raymond Dolle has pointed out, Raleigh's "imagination merged with his rapaciousness to produce a nightmarish image of the violent rape of the virgin new world" (74). Raleigh equates conquering a land and raping it in his text, and rightly so, as Raleigh's language reveals the intention of the Englishman. By describing a land so fresh and untouched that it would be so easy to defend and occupy sounds like an enticement to virgin land[13] that, once conquered, will always be England's. This merging of ideas of raping and conquering were not, of course, new, nor did they end with this text. This discourse of land, nation, and sexuality continues throughout travel and captivity narratives, including John Smith's.

While Smith's ideas of the new world did not involve the immediate gratification expressed by Raleigh, Smith's approach was configured in terms of prolonged exploitation. Smith writes that he doubts "not by God's gracious assistance" that the English will enjoy "continual peace with Indians" and with the

> adventurous willing minds and speedie furtherance to so honorable an action in after times, to see our Nation, to enjoy a country, not only exceeding pleasant for habitation, but also very profitable for commerce in general. (97)

If adventurous minds would speedily investigate possibilities, the land would be habitable. Unlike Raleigh, the land is not useful for the gold that the English could take, but for settlement and for creating commerce. In his *A Map of Virginia* (1612), Smith continues his description under the subtitle "The commodities in Virginia or that may be had by Industrie," and does so by appealing to the King's sense of competition. Smith mentions the available commodities by describing a land that, like

> Muscovia and Plonia doe yearly receave many thousands for pitch, tar, soap ashes, Rosen, Flax, Cordage, Sturgeon, masts, yards, wainscot, Firres, glass, and such like, also Swethland for iron and copper. France in

[13] See Henry Nash Smith's *Virgin Land* for a more elaborate definition of this term.

> like manner for wine, canvas, and salt, Spain as much together for Iron, steele, figs, reasons, and Sackes. Holland maintains itself by fishing and trading at our own doores…. Then how much hath Virginia, the prerog-ative of all those flourishing kingdoms for the benefit of our land, whenas within one hundred miles are to be had…. (159)

The route toward exploitation that Smith aimed for was a longer lasting and more competitive one. By mentioning Moscovy, Plonia, Sweden, France, Spain, and Holland, Smith lists the main threats to England's empire.

Smith mocked Raleigh's way of dealing with the New World and mentioned his follies in the conclusion of his text *New England's Trials* (1620,1622), as Dolle points out. Smith also compares himself to the like of Colombus when he writes that his countrymen should

> examine if worthy Collumbus could give the Spaniards any such certainties for his dessignes…. and though I can promise no mines of golde, yet the warrelike Hollanders let us immitate, but not hate, whose wealth and strength are good testimonies of their treasure gotten by fishing. Therefore (honourable and worthy countrymen) let not that meanesse of the word Fish distaste you, and it will afford as good golde of the mines of Guiana or Tumbatu, with lesse hazard and charge, and more certaintie and facilitie. (406)

In this passage, Smith "allude[s] to Raleigh's suicidal new world expectation" (Dolle 73) and "emphatically stresses the potential value of the new world resources, while in both [the 1620 and 1622] versions Raleigh remains a warning to hopeful treasure hunters" (74). Also, "[f]or Smith, Raleigh's fiasco in Guiana was synonymous with the foolishness of such dreams in light of the actual riches awaiting those who worked wisely" (74). England should not commodify the new world, according to Smith, in the same manner as Spain and attempts of English explorers like Raleigh, but soundly, like Holland. Smith's exploitation would be more long-lasting and increase possibilities for an empire with staying power. By comparing his country, as well as himself, to other countries and to past attempts to commodify the New World, Smith appeals to both his own sense of accomplishment and to his country's empire envy. This approach began the

colonization of the New World, and Smith's later discussion of his captivity, which he stealthily left out of his earlier accounts or more stealthily added to his later accounts, was a product of that moving into the new world with a sense of permanence. Captain John Smith's captivity narrative was one of the earliest English written accounts and shows the affects of both his imperial pursuit and his own former experiences in Turkish territory.

English Diaspora: Captain John Smith's Travels and Narratives and the Continuation of Oriental Narratives

> If the development of print-as-commodity is the key to the generation of wholly new ideas of simultaneity.... Why, within that type, did the nation become so popular?.... [A] strong case can be made for capitalism.... It is true that in the seventeenth century London resumed an acquisition of overseas arrested since the disastrous ending to the Hundred Years War. But the 'spirit' of these conquests was still that of a fundamentally prenational age.
>
> Benedict Anderson,
> *Imagined Communities*

While I understand Anderson's use of the term "prenational age," I find the term misleading. "Pre-national age" would seem to mean a time before a place, such as England, were a nation, or that those "conquests" were prior to the recognition of their national impact. Both Sir Walter Raleigh and Captain John Smith expressed this awareness in their narratives. Sir Walter Raleigh's narrative of the grateful and helpful indigenous peoples is very similar to the later stories of Captain John Smith's travels, regardless of the difference in method of commodification. To demonstrate the transatlantic nature of discovery and conquering, of which ideas of nationality are necessarily a part, I will discuss briefly here a general overview of his travel experiences. An understudied portion of Smith's life involves his trips into Turkey and Russia and his captivity in the former, a stretch of his life and adventures preceding that of his residence in Virginia (1602-1603). Toward the end of his life, Smith wrote about his captivity with the Turks. During his captivity, much like that of John Fox, he writes that he witnessed the atrocities the Turks enacted upon the Christian captives. As with his experiences in

the new world, it is the men who enact these atrocities and the women that bring comfort and protection. He writes that a woman he calls "Charatza Tragabigzanda"

> writ so much for his good usage, that hee halfe suspected, as much as she intended; for shee told him, he should there but sojourne to learne the language, and what it was to be a Turke, till time made her Master of her selfe. But the *Tymor* her brother, diverted all this to the worst of crueltie, for within an houre after his arivall, he caused his *Drub-man* to strip him naked, and shave his head and beard so bare as his hand, a great ring of iron, with a long stalke bowed like a sickle, riveted about his necke…. There were many more Christian slaves, and neere an hundred *Forsades* of Turkes and Moores, and he being last, was slave of slaves to them all. (54)

Smith writes about his experiences in the third person, so the "he" of his story is himself. While the woman, "Charatza," is kind and looks after his best interest, her brother misuses him and many other Christians. Also like the John Fox narrative, Smith's is an intervention of God in the redemption of the Christians "that had beene ther a long time slaves, [but] they could not finde how to make an escape, by any reason or possibility; but God beyond mans expectation or imagination helpeth his servants, when they leaste think of help, as is hapend to him" (55). Providence, as in the case of John Fox and most Christian captives, is what saves Smith.

While Smith had not published this aspect of his life, he recognized the impact this time in his life on his pursuits in America, as have scholars. A.G. Bradley writes that when Captain Smith

> Went to Virginia, the most adventurous part of his life had passed away. He was often, while there, in most imminent danger; but nothing that he faced or endured in America, came up in peril and dread, to that which he had already undergone in Eastern Europe and Tartary. By [the time he came to Virginia], he was a hardened soldier; a wary, foreseeing, and energetic Officer…. Indeed, in his exceeding wariness, he seems to have over-estimated the military skill of the Virginian Indians, by making…. forts. (xxxx)

These "forts" would later sit in ruination. While Bradley seems to overestimate Smiths' military prowess and leaves no room for the possibilities of a different kind of warfare, he states an important fact: that, due to his prior experiences in the east, Smith had preconceived notions of the indigenous people he came up against. The lands that he confronts have curious names such as the "faire headland *Tragabigzanda*, now called Cape *An*, fronted with the lies wee called the three Turkes heads" (718). Smith came to the New World and expected to experience a similar confrontation as he had in the east, and in some ways he did.

The similarities between the "beauteous Lady Tragabigzanda" and Pocahontas are many, and Smith even mentions them together in his preface latter to Lady Francis. In the second paragraph of this prefatory letter to *A Generall Historie*, Smith mentions a short list of women who have aided him in need, a list which includes Charatza Tragabigzanda and Pocahontas along with the Princess herself and a Lady Callamata (no doubt a Russian woman). Along with this letter is another preface of great interest to the King; Smith qualifies his work as a "plaine history which sheweth the truth; that our most royall King James hath place and opportunitie to inlarge his ancient Dominions without wronging any" (Smith *Complete* 43). Further, like the later narratives prefaced by those seeking to reveal these stories as truth, Smith has ten prefatory works that others have written, including a poem by the reverend Samuel Purchas. It is plain that Smith was aware of the use his text carried for England, and his text reflects the rhetoric of imperialism both straightforwardly in the preface and inherently in the story of Pocahontas and Virginia.

According to Rebecca Belvins Faery, Smith depicts Virginia (as Faery describes Pocahontas) as a woman who will "symbolize the continent in itself and so rendered insistently 'open' to union, willing or not, with England," (88). An imperial conquest is so matched with a sexual conquest, as Pocahontas united with John Rolfe later in life. Before relating the story of Pocahontas, however, Smith tells the story of his meeting with

> Openchankanough, King of Pamaunkee, to whom he gave a round Ivory double compass Dyall. Much they marvailed at the playing of the Fly and the Needle, which they could see so plainly, and yet not touch it, because

> of the glass that covered them. But when [Smith] demonstrated by that Globe-like Jewell, the roundnesse of the earth, and skies, the spheare of the Sunne, Moone, and Starres…. they all stood as amazed with admiration. (Smith 147)

The admiration Smith receives due to the greater knowledge the English had concerning the earth and other heavenly bodies; this lack of knowledge "proves" the superiority of the English. Further, it is this knowledge that will protect the English, as Smith demonstrates in the narrative by escaping death as

> within an hour [of the demonstration] after they tyed [Smith] to a tree, and as many as could stand about him prepared to shoot him, but the King holding up the compass in his hand, they all laid down their Bowes and Arrowes, and in a triumphant manner led him to Orapaks, where he was after their manner kindly feasted, and well used. (147)

But the "triumphant manner" with which the natives treat Smith is not the only signal of supposed English superiority. Like later narratives that describe Indian ceremonies, Smith describes their "hellish notes and screeches" and fears that the natives will "fat him to eat him" (148). The "woman" of the land is open because the English are superior and the natives are chaotic and cannibalistic.

Pocahontas herself certainly also signifies the woman of the new world, both literally and metaphorically, as I have mentioned before. While there are many similarities between Smith's decriptions of Charatza Tragabigzanda and Pocahontas, our context gives the latter's story more historical importance or emphasis. It is important to mention that the debate regarding whether or not Pocahontas actually saved Smith is still ongoing. While some scholars, such as Leo Lemay in his book *Did Pocahontas Really Save Captain John Smith?* (1992), believe that she did, others are more skeptical. However, the similarities between the depictions of these two women are undeniable as they share a general concern for Smith and are more nurturing than the men, and each helps Smith to understand at least in part her culture. Most similar is their desire to watch over Smith and deliver him from the hands of their own people. Pocahontas does so in Smith's version of the story and begins the union that existed at least textually, between peoples of the new world and the English. Smith says of his near-death experience that

> two great stones were brought before Powhatan: Then as many as could layd hands on him, dragged him to them, and thereon laid his head, and being ready with their clubs, to beate out his braines, Pocahontas the Kings dearest daughter, when no intreaty would prevaile, got his heade in her armes, and laide her own upon his to save him from death. (151)

Like Smith describes Charatza, Pocahontas' looked to save Smith even when the men of her community sought to be rid of him, and did so in a personal way by laying her own head upon his. Here, Pocahontas is described as a nurturer; her life is as important as Smith's and therefore the culture and individuals are not as threatening as Smith perceived through their "hellish" rituals. Also similar to Charatza is Smith's misunderstanding Pocahontas' actions as intervention in practices involving her own people's violence toward the white captive.

The comparison of Charatza Tragabigzanda with Pocahontas raises an important point involving history and influence. Both captivities happened before his earliest recording of either experience; Smith wrote about the later experience before he told the full story of the earlier one, out of order. Evidence of Charatza's existence shows up as early as *A Description of New England* (1616) with his mentioning of Cape Trabigzanda [sic], which the King later renamed Cape Anne. The next mentioning of Charatza is a prefatory letter "To the Illustrious and Most Noble Princesse, the Lady Francis, Duchess of Richmond and Lenox," where he writes that women have "offred me rescue and protection in my greatest dangers: even in foraine parts I have felt relief from that sex. The beauteous Lady Tragabigzanda, when I was a slave to the Turkes, did all she could to secure me" (II, 41). He did not write a full account of his experiences with Charatza until *True Travels* (1630), 6 years after he wrote about Pocahontas in *A Generall Historie* (1624). It is unclear how much influence either story had on the other, due to the lack of knowledge concerning Charatza, but the two stories are quite similar. In both, foreigners take Smith captive and hold him, in both there are language barriers that the women attempt to cross, both women negotiate in their own terms with their people for the fair treatment of Smith, and both women supposedly in turn exacted Smith's loyalty by saving him in some way.

To our contemporary minds, Smith's stories of captivity certainly culminate in his experience in Virginia, as Smith did not record his Turkish experience until later in life. At the time Smith published accounts of his experiences in Virginia, however, there was not much of a hiatus in "Oriental" captivity narratives, as they continued to be printed and even reprinted for an English readership. One of Smith's accounts includes the "oriental" captivity narrative I mentioned before entitled *The True Travels, Adventures, and Observations of Captaine John Smith, in Europe, Asia, Affrica, and America from Anno Domini 1593 to 1629*, as chapter five of his narrative includes an account of his captivity among the Turks. Several narratives appeared between Hasleton's 1595 narrative, which I discussed in chapter 1, and 1630, including: Anthony Nixon's *The Three English Brothers. Sir Thomas Sherley his Travels, with his three yeares imprisonment in Turkie* (1607), *A Relation Strange and True, of a Ship of Bristol named the Jacob* (1622), Henrey Middleton's account in Samuel Purchas' *Purchas His Pilgrimes* (1625), and James Wadworth's *The English Spanish Pilgrim; or, A new Discoverie of Spanish popery and Jesuitical stratagems* (1629,1630), which recounts a captivity in Morocco.

As an example of the continuing tropes of these narratives, I will briefly discuss Francis Knight's and William Okeley's narratives. In a prefatory letter to Sir Paul Pinder, Knight mentions the "multitude of [his] poore Country-men, groaning under the mercilesse yoake of Turkish thraldome" and describes what "their sufferings are, as scoffes, threats, blowes, chaines, hunger" and the threat of "their danger of falling from the Christian and most holy faith." Like John Fox, Knight tells the story of a merciless people and of horrible threats to Christians, and this setting makes his captors "*monsters* more than *men*." As in Smith's account, the temptation to assimilate or convert was high, and Knight describes this potential for conversion as the most threatening aspect of captivity. Smith tells his reader that the Turks and Powhatan both asked him to assimilate into their respective societies, but he resisted. Like many other narratives, those of a later date included, Knight's narrative also ostensibly proved the savagery of the "infidels." He tells the story of the taking of the city, and says the Turks have "bit[ten] of [the captives'] flesh alive, so dyed, and four of them being walled in were

starved to death." That these kinds of descriptions of violence are typical of captivity narratives involving the English, both in the east and the west, is undeniable.

Yet another example, one much closer to the publication date of Mary Rowlandson's *A True Relation*, is William Okeley's account *Eben-ezer; or a Small Monument of Great Mercy* (1675,1676). Okeley prefaces his narrative to his reader and begins cementing his story as truth by stating that "there is no sort of writings more liable to abuse than this of the narrative" and spends several pages quoting scripture and appealing to the reader. This narrative includes a description of the habits of the Algerians, much like the ethnographic or geographic descriptions that Joe Snader has pointed out captives often included to prove that the writer or captive had actually been in their company. Further, "[t]he most common nationalist argument developed within Islamic captivity narratives draws a lesson of appreciation for the benefits of life in the British state" (Snader, *Caught* 67). Like Smith and Knight, Okeley was also subject to the temptation of conversion. Okeley writes, "[w]e were under a perpetual temptation to deny the Lord that bought us, to make our souls slaves so that our bodies might recover liberty" (157). Then, like Rowlandson, he uses the Bible to compare his experience to that of Job, as "Satan once tempted Job to curse God and die" (157-158). Okeley has turned his captivity here from the depths of degradation to a test by God. As in Fox's narrative, however, God's providence aids them, and Okeley writes that "the Great God interposed: He rebuked His wind, it was not against us. Nay, He reconciled His wind, and it became our friend. He that can turn the rivers in the south could turn the wind out of the north.... He determined the quarter of the wind, the quantity of the wind. And the continuance of the wind" (182). These aspects of Okeley's narrative--concerns with truth, the violence and savagery of the infidel, thankfulness at being a part of the British state, and, most importantly God's providence and willingness to protect his people-- would play out continually in captivity narratives that followed, as they had before. They would only prove more useful to captives in the Americas, where Mary Rowlandson would become a captive and write a narrative of her captivity and redemption.

CHAPTER 3

Looking Into the Gaps: Pocahontas, Mary Rowlandson, William Okeley And How the Mathers Read the New East

> He determined the quarter of the wind, the quantity of the wind, and the continuance of the wind: the quarter, whence it would blow; the quantity, how much it should blow; and the continuance, how long it should blow. The quarter was our enemy, the continuance had quite brought us to despair; but had He opened His hand and let out one blast more, the proud waters had gone over our souls; we had perished in the deep. But we see that our times are in God's hands, the ocean in the hollow of the same hand, and the wind in the same hand….
>
> William Okeley,
> *Eben-ezer*

> I having nothing to eat by the way this day, but a few crumbs of cake, that an Indian gave my girl the same day we were taken. She gave it me, and I put it in my pocket; there it lay, till it was so moldy (for want of good baking) that one could not tell what it was made of; it fell all to crumbs, and grew so dry and hard, that it was like little flints; and this refreshed me many times, when I was ready to faint. It was in my thoughts when I put it into my mouth, that if ever I returned, I would tell the world what a blessing the Lord gave to such mean food….Thus the Lord dealt mercifully with me many times, and I fared better than many of them.
>
> Mary Rowlandson,
> *A True History*

The two quotations above are examples from two captivity narratives that use God's providence to explain captives' redemptions, their moments of relief. For William Okeley, his redemption was from the Turks and a death upon the water. For Mary Rowlandson, redemption was from Native Americans "removing" her further and further

from her home in the Massachusetts Bay Colony. The desire to return to everything that is familiar is powerful in these narratives, and in those moments when a higher power seems the only hope for a captive far from home, both of these captives turn to God. And those moments are many. The similarities between "oriental" captivity narratives and those of the New World are several, the providence of God being one of them. Drawing the similarities between different kinds of narratives both before and after Mary Rowlandson will be the aim of this chapter. Discussing these similarities is important to fully understanding both the captivity narrative as a form or phenomenon, and Rowlandson's text. Americanists should be looking into these similarities and questioning conventional matrices of the novel as well as to aim to internationalize history. It is important to do this reframing, especially now, in order to avoid over-emphasizing the supposedly exceptional nature of the captivity narrative. Mapping out a newer history challenges notions of American exceptionalism, and gives a much larger picture of the context from whence these narratives came. Further, I would like to challenge the idea that discovering a "true" matrix is possible; history and culture are porous; influences flow in and out of any culture and mapping them becomes complicated in the face of our desire to reconstruct a moment as close to the truth as possible. As the captivity narratives I will be discussing demonstrate, and as we all know, "truth" is debatable and I simply contend that we should consider the fallibility of our claims for finding that matrix. I further contend that scholars should view Rowlandson's narrative not only as an important text through which to understand the political structure for future women's narratives, but as a part of a much larger Puritan agenda beginning before and continuing after her text. After discussing Smith and Rowlandson, we will rewind again to something else going on just before Rowlandson's narrative.

About Face: John Smith, Pocahontas, and "Reverse" Captivities

> Of course I'd known her story: saving John Smith, bringing corn, welcoming the strangers, even marrying one of them. Virginia's equivalent to Squanto, only better, because of the romance. It's a story familiar to every school-child in America. But now I read another story: Pocahontas was a captive too, held hostage in Jamestown for three years to protect the settlement from attack by the warriors who

> served her father…. A small rift opens within me when I read of her capture, of her pleas to be released, of Powhatan's refusal to ransom her by returning the English men and guns he is holding—it's like what I felt when I read, months ago, about how Squanto had learned English….He too had been a captive, taken by force to England in 1614 by an English adventurer and very likely put on exhibit as a curiosity, as other Indian captives before him had been.
>
> Rebecca Blevins Faery,
> *Cartographies of Desire*

Reading Rebecca Belvins Faery's *Cartographies of Desire* some time ago opened my mind to consider possibilities regarding perspectives and histories, including the events whe describes above. In an empathetic way, I attempted to do the same as Faery and imagine the "pleas to be released" and ransoms that meant the lives and deaths of captives. Something of particular interest to me in this project are those gaps, especially those that no one either ever told or kept. While filling those gaps is impossible, staring into them often sheds light on those borders surrounding them, much like staring into Mary Rowlandson's text and becoming puzzled at what she has left out or stealthily put in. It's true: Pocahontas was a captive for three years. Essentially, she paid a very high price for her own empathy following Smith's release, if her act of selflessness truly even was what Smith described. Clara Sue Kidwell has pointed out that a more likely explanation, "considering the status and power of women among coastal Algonquian tribes, was that she was exercising a prerogative of women to choose captives for adoption into the tribe" (151). Further, the act may have even been more for Pocahontas' benefit than Smith's, as she "probably used the occasion to demonstrate for the first time her power as a woman by "adopting" John Smith" (Kidwell 151). It is not, however, Pocahontas' story or version that we, as Americans, know, but John Smith's. As Faery points out, however, there are similarities between what we do know about Pocahontas and what we know about Mary Rowlandson. In this section, my aim is to pull on those threads that become the history to any one text: I will discuss Smith's story and then turn the lens for another look into the earliest English captivity story on an American stage.

Mentioning the first captivity narrative to take place in America is a tricky thing in and of itself. Some scholars will cite Smith's narrative and some will cite Rowlandson's. Interestingly enough, neither Smith nor Rowlandson was born in America; they were both born in England, and both stories take place in the new world. Both stories had a great influence on captivity narratives and, later, novels. Both narratives involve captivity amongst the natives and both captivity narratives involve acts of violence acted out upon whites. The gap to speak of here is the violence acted out upon the Native Americans. Smith wrote and published his narrative in an earlier context, however, so I will revisit his narrative and then Rowlandson's.

John Smith's narrative of the new world involved Indian captivity and the myth of saving of his life by a young native, Pocahontas. June Namias has pointed out that men's "experiences, perceptions, and story telling-style[s]" (50) were different than women's. More specifically, it is to Smith's narrative "that the heroic tradition of gunslinger, Indian fighter, and twentieth century hero hark[s] back" (58). Smith's narrative was definitely influential to white male captive stories. As Namias points out, Smith was "hit in the right thigh with an arrow, but was not hurt. So began a tradition in American literature, later picked up in film: a white man is in the wild with his men and an untrustworthy Indian, and he gets hurt. Some other men may die, but the Hero is fine" (59-60).[14] Smith's depiction of his redemption is due both to his own ingenuity and strength and to the Indian Princess. His fellow explorers die, but it is Smith who dazzles the natives.

Namias continues to draw a history of captivity parallel to that of women's captivity, and rightly so. However, in doing so, one might miss the similarities between the "matrices" of their respective types of captivity. Mary Rowlandson has some of those same characteristics, but due to her context her sex is of issue. Rowlandson begins her story with an attack during which, "[t]he Bullets flying thick, one went thorow [her] side" (32). So begins her captivity, with an injury and with the deaths of others both in and around the house in which she was garrisoned. "No sooner," she wrote,

> were we out of the House but my Brother-in-Law (being before wounded, in defending the house, in or near the Throat) fell down dead.... One of

[14] Namias states that this is the beginning of a certain type of story, but I have not yet researched other possible places for origin to argue for or against this idea.

> my elder Sister's Children (named William) had then his leg broken, which the *Indians* perceiving, they knock'd him on the head…. My elder sister, being yet in the House, and seeing those woful Sights … said *And, Lord, let me die with them!* which was no sooner said but she was struck with a Bullet, and fell down dead over the Threshold. (32-33)

Included in the wounded was Rowlandson's own child, which later died during her captivity. Like Smith, Rowlandson finds herself surrounded and one of the only ones left alive. After her child dies, it is quite a while yet before she sees a familiar face.

Also like Smith, it is Rowlandson's strength is her industriousness. Unlike Smith, however, Rowlandson's added strength is her sense of submission to God's will as she endures in a Job-like manner, whereas Smith's strength is presented as physical. Smith does, however, show the natives his compass and in doing so secures himself a place briefly amongst the natives. Rowlandson does the same, but being a woman her industry defines itself in terms of domesticity. In need of food, Rowlandson trades her needlework first when

> Philip spake to me to make a shirt for his boy, which I did; for which he gave me a shilling; I offered the money to my master, but he bade me keep it; and with it I bought a piece of Horse flesh. Afterwards I made a Cap for his Boy, for which he invited me to Dinner….There was a Squaw who spake to me to make a shirt for her Sannup; for which she gave me a piece of Bear. Another asked me to knit a pair of Stockings, for which she gave me a quart of Pease. (43)

Rowlandson's cottage industry is an act of survival; she brings what she has available to her experience, in order to survive. Smith, being an explorer and traveler, had a compass; Rowlandson could knit. Smith, however, does not have one worry that Rowlandson has-her sexuality. Her sexuality does set her narrative apart from Smith's story, but what of that other captive?

The three years of Pocahontas' captivity that one does not usually confront in American text-book versions of history are important, and should be considered a story of captivity. Admittedly, there are differences in Rowlandson's and Pocahontas' stories. Unlike Rowlandson's story of redemption, Pocahontas' story works much like the white

captive stories involving unredeemed captives. For the unredeemed captive, even when contacted the white culture has been lost on them, or the safety of love ones requires the captive to remain in Indian society for there may be children. Perhaps there is also a lack of acceptance of the captive in white society. Blevins describes a woman renamed "Rebecca" and dressed in the clothing of white, English society, her child half-Indian, half-English. We have Rowlandson's account of her captivity, and have nothing like that in Pocahontas' case. "Despite the significant difference in self-representation", writes Faery,

> Rowlandson's and Pocahontas's functions in cultural history have been more similar than not, especially in the ways both women and their stories have been repeatedly conscripted into the evolving dramas of colonialism and, later, of creating and defining a racialized nation and national identity. Both women were caught in the webs of violence resulting from the territorial and cultural contests of the early English colonial era, and both experienced cross-cultural captivity….The bodies and sexuality of both were appropriated to serve the project of English colonialism…. Both were positioned at the boundaries of evolving racial categories. (88)

The similarities that Pocahontas and Rowlandson share emerge from the cultural divide between white and Native, but go in opposite directions. Pocahontas' captivity does not seem so distant and different when we also recognize that the same white culture appropriated and told both women's narratives. Faery pushes this notion toward the idea that, like Rowlandson, Pocahontas' body and sexuality was appropriated to serve England imperial desires, and Faery continues to point out that the

> positions [of both their sexualities] depended upon the purposes of particular renderings of her legend, but they were consistently used toward the ends of articulating "race" and addressing the racial dominance of the "dark other" by whites. Likewise, the meanings given to the two figures' stories have functioned symbolically in divergent but also profoundly interconnected ways as a Euro-American nation evolved in North America. (88)

Faery's point in both the former quotations mirrors my own "looking into the gap." In both cases the reader is left with only the knowledge of the ways their stories operated, even when a narrative exists. Such is the case of all texts written about or by captives as the issues of truth and bias remain.

Yet another gap to consider in this case, one that Faery has not discussed, is whether or not we truly have Mary Rowlandson's story. As with Pocahontas' life, white men also appropriated and prefaced Rowlandson's story for the benefit of white society as a whole. While Teresa Toulouse, June Namias, and Lisa Logan, to name only a few, have made the case that Rowlandson fulfilled a political agenda of her own, one that involved the re-working of her place in Puritan society, they recognize there are gaps that readers can never fill due to societal constraints for both women. Some examples of those gaps include whether or not Rowlandson truly was raped or had sex willingly while in captivity, what really happened when Pocahontas laid her head upon John Smith's, and why Pocahontas would leave her culture for white society. The impossibility of rescuing such personal information from the past is the primary limiting factor of any scholar engaged in a contextualization of either narrative. Captain John Smith's narrative must have influenced Rowlandson's narrative just as it had been influenced by and in turn influenced 'oriental' captivity narratives. Those who appropriated Rowlandson's narrative for a white audience read both; Smith's and other oriental narratives were circulating in print in the new world prior to and following the publication of Rowlandson's narrative.

The Mathers, the Near East, and William Okeley's Narrative

Before I discuss Okeley's and Rowlandson's texts themselves as evidence of a connection in form, it is important to establish that the former text is not the end of the proof to be had of the New England, and more specifically the Mathers's, connection to the Near East. Establishing the connection between the Mathers and the Orient is necessary. Many scholars have claimed that Increase Mather was the writer of the preface to Mary Rowlandson's work, and there is significant evidence that both these

Mathers had an interest in the Near East. In Cotton Mather's later text, *Magnalia Christi Americana*,

> he recalls Oriental history, including the writing of the Egyptian historian Manetho, and mentions customs in Persia, Phrygia, and Ancient Egypt. He presents anecdotes about Amurath, Cyrus, and an unnamed "great king of Persia," and refers to Scanderbeg, Xerxes, and Tamerlane, the latter 'the greatest conqueror that ever the world saw." Suspecting that Asia and America were contiguous in the North, he views the Scythians as ancestors of the American Indians. The diversity of the Oriental references in the works of Mather is an indication of the breadth of his reading. (Isani 49)

And that reading began with the like interests found in his father, Increase Mather. Both these Mathers were acquainted with the Near East. The Mathers were "acquainted with the family of Reverend John Higginson of Salem, whose own interest in the Orient is reflected in the careers of his two sons: One became governor of Madras, and the other died a pirate in the Arabian region" (Isani 47).

Increase Mather was interested in travel narratives and, of course, those narratives that dealt with captivity. As Mukhtar Ali Isani has noted, "Mather's reading included works which were entirely or partly concerned with the Orient. His father's library, half of which was willed to Cotton, included *Purchas His Pilgrimes*, George Sandy's *Travels*, Peter Heylyn's *Cosmography…*" (47). Increase Mather had a copy of the posthumous publication of Hakluyt's voyages and *Purchas His Pilgrimes*, both of which contained several narratives involving captivity amongst the Turks. Two narratives Samuel Purchas included in *Pilgrimes* was a telling of John Smith's captivity amongst the Turks, for which, as I mentioned before, Purchas wrote a preface, and Henry Middleton's *The Sixth Voyage, set forth by the East-Indian Company in three shippes*, for example.

Cotton Mather's knowledge of the Near East that was likely begun by his father, and it must have increased as he read avidly about the Orient. He was interested in the Ottoman Empire because of prophecies he felt it might be fulfilling. To explain the somewhat complicated view of Mather's, Robert Middlekauff has noted that

> Cotton Mather was encouraged in this view by other eschatologists who held that the Antichrist had entered the last half-time of his 1260 years at the beginning of the Protestant Reformation in 1517. A half-time, of course, equaled a period of 180 years; according to simple addition, the end of the Antichrist might well commence in 1697, with Christ, who would destroy the Beast, appearing simultaneously. (339)

The end of the time of the Antichrist would certainly turn the head of any individual individual, much less a leader. The year, 1697, was coming soon enough to pique Mather's interests, to direct him to a source for the Antichrist. Middlekauf suggests that Mather, with other scholars, felt that one

> might test these calculations a few years hence by studying Turkish affairs. One of the commonplaces among the followers of Mede was that the second woe trumpet had signalled the beginning of the irruptions of the Turks upon the Empire, which began around the year 1300 with the Ottoman forces. Most commentators agreed that the Turkish woe would continue for almost four hundred years. Like many others, Mather believed that the time of the woe could be determined with precision to be 397 years. If the elaborate mathematics of the eschatologists were true, Turkish power would collapse around 1697. (339-40)

Mather's complicated belief in the coming end of the era of the Anti-christ is very telling of his views toward the Ottoman Empire. He viewed the empire to be a precursor of the Anti-christ, and felt he was "test[ing] these calculations a few years hence by studying Turkish affairs." Mather was not alone; other eschatologists joined him in calculating the possibilities of this end mathematically. Considering the possibility of the end of the Anti-christ, it is understandable that a believer of Mather's caliber would study Turkish affairs, and would do so avidly. The deliverance of Puritan captives from that empire through God's providence would reassure Puritans like Mather that God was on their side; it only seems natural that "oriental" narratives would be of interest.

For these reasons Mather continued to read of the Orient throughout his life, but it is important to note that the Puritans were not as intellectually isolated as the ocean

between New and Old England would make it appear; they were very aware of the world and were scholars. As Isani has pointed out,

> Mather kept abreast of the news of the Orient filtering through to the colonists. The Near East and Islam attracted particular attention in America. He noted with interest the disturbed state of the Turkish Empire, viewed the Turkish difficulties as signs of "The *Second Wo passing away,*" and heralds of the approaching fall of the antichrist. (49-50)

Mather saw the position of the New Englanders theretofore as being a time of woe and suffering. King Phillip's War had almost destroyed some of the colonies, and colonists remembered the British plot of "popery" as a threat, as England still controlled the colonies. To further the point of the breadth and depth of the Puritans in general, Isani states that while Mather's extensive interest and knowledge was unusual, it "reflects the global awareness of Puritan awareness" (50). To imagine, then, that the Puritans were aware of accounts such as Okeley's is hardly far-fetched.

Also, Okeley had more in common with Mary Rowlandson than it appears at first glance. Okeley was "a crew member on a ship sailing to help found a new colony in the West Indies," and was a part of a group of "elements among the "godly people' who saw the New World as an alternative space for worship free from Laudian practices and restraints" (Vitkus 124). Early in his text Okeley identifies himself as a militant Protestant, and the 'godly people' he mentions here are the Puritans. Interestingly enough, Okeley was on his way to start a colony in the New World but never made it there as pirates took him captive; in search for a place of religious freedom, he found himself amongst those unsympathetic to his cause. *Eben-ezer* begins with a quotation from the Bible, and then two long prefaces, one a poem and one in prose. Like Increase Mather's preface to Rowlandson's narrative, Okeley (or his ghost writer) lays out what the reader is to learn from his narrative, much as a Puritan minister would do in the exordium of a sermon.[15] He sections his preface into each point, those points being to

[15] Emory Elliot's "New England Puritan Literature," in volume I of the *Cambridge History*, includes detailed discussions of Puritan sermons and their structure, including the opening or exordium.

> [l]earn from this narrative to trust and in all thy ways to acknowledge God, …. Let the reader improve this relation to fortify his faith against the little cavils of atheistical spririts who lay out their ill-placed wit in forging objections against Him that gave it…. Let all that would not abuse this narrative beware, lest whilst they are admiring providence in this instance of our preservation, they do not overlook those eminent appearances of God toward themselves in every moment….Let the reader learn from our slavery to prize and improve his own liberty…. Let all learn from hence, in what state soever the providence of God shall place them, therewith to be content. Perhaps thou art a servant to a Christian: dost thou murmur?… Let all learn to walk worthy of the Gospel… (131-42)

And this list is not complete, although it is sufficient enough for the reader to see the outline of the preface and understand Okeley's agenda. The agenda in place here is one very similar to that of Increase Mather's, as I will demonstrate later in this chapter. Further, the title of Okeley's narrative, a slightly longer version being *Eben-ezer: or, A Small Monument of Great Mercy, Appearing in the Miraculous Deliverance of William Okeley*, demonstrates that this text is itself an "Ebenezer." As Philip Gould has explained, the allusion to the Ebenezer, or "the 'stone of help' (1 Samuel 7:12), which Samuel erected between Mizpeh and Shen to remind the Isrealites of God's role in their victory over the Philistines" (57), works to suggest that the work at hand is to be a "stone of help," or a guide for Puritans. The preface to this narrative works this way, and is but an introduction to the main text, which continues to lay out the reasons Okeley's work is a monument, like the one Samuel erected. Okeley's text, however, operated as a monument between the new world and the old, reminding those in England of the role that God plays in their lives, reminding them of the "right" path.

Under that sort of definition, it is safe to say that most if not all of the captivity narratives the Mathers prefaced in America are a part of this agenda, a larger agenda involving the Puritan community on both sides of the Atlantic. This agenda is one of which Rowlandson's text was a part. While Okeley's captivity occurred between the years of 1639 and 1644, it was oddly enough printed in 1675, putting its printing much closer to the time of Rowlandson's narrative, which was first published in 1682. The

printing of Rowlandson's captivity narrative had happened, however, in 1676 during King Philip's War, a year or less after Okeley's narrative. Teresa Toulouse has published her work regarding this agenda and Rowlandson's part in perpetuating its message. She writes that, "interested in broader cultural issues of captivities, Armstrong and Tennenhouse have turned attention to the possible effects of these narratives outside the colonies" (925-26).

The transatlantic dialogue in place in the seventeenth century needs more attention because what happened in England necessarily affected the colonies and vice versa. Furthermore, Puritans were present not only in the New World, there were many still in England, as Okeley's narrative of his interception demonstrates. Joe Snader points out that there were slight differences in the narratives of England and America,

> but one exception, William Okeley's 1675 narrative, may have provided a model for the production of the Rowlandson account, published in 1681 [sic]. Okeley's title is unique in British captivity literature in carrying the initial generic imprint of spiritual autobiography….The main title's invocation of a biblical identity marks the work as a spiritual autobiography. As does also the subsequent move to interpret the captive's release as a providential blessing. (34-35)

Retrospectively, Okeley's narrative works like a hybrid of "Oriental" narratives and those captivity narratives in the new world in that it depicts the events of a captivity in the East as a spiritual autobiography. Snader continues to point out that

> Okeley's text displays a number of parallels to the Puritan Captivity narratives and the spiritual autobiography more generally. First, Okeley cites biblical texts that match his experience in captivity, and he shares a favorite comparison with the Puritan captives and many other spiritual autobiographers: the Isrealite captivity in Babylon. (35)

Further, "in a famous instance of [entrepreneurial] success," Snader writes, "Mary Rowlandson manages to support herself occaisionally by selling her sewing skills among the tribe who captured her….A somewhat different vision of captive entrepreneurial skill appears in William Okeley's Algerian narrative….his master forces him to adapt to the labor of a seaman and a weaver" (84). In both cases, the captive demonstrates their

ability to survive economically even when faced with a frightening and foreign force; the European captives were resourceful and could survive even amongst the "infidels" due to their own industriousness coupled with their connection with God.

William Okeley's text was published four times: the original in 1675 and reprinted in 1676, a second edition in 1684, and a much later, third edition in 1764. The dates of these publications are interesting in and of themselves. Daniel Vitkus mentions that there

> are many signs of a Calvinistic, providentialist agenda in Okeley's text, and the revival of antiroyalist Protestantism in England may account for the printing of the text after so many years, in 1675. This was the era immediately preceding the Popish Plot ("revealed" by Titus Oates in September 1678), and popular suspicion of "popery" was strong. (125)

The popularity of Okeley's text, considering this context of suspicion, may account for a reprint so soon, in 1676. The next date of publication is interesting considering the fact that 1684 was two years following the publication of Rowlandson's narrative, the narrative with which I drew an earlier comparison to Okeley's text, two years following Mather's request for narratives. The last date, 1764, is a context during which the novel and captivity narratives have been considered to converge; I will discuss this context briefly in the next chapter.

CHAPTER 4

COLONIALIST DISCOURSE, *OROONOKO*, AND THE EARLY NOVEL

> The coalition between Protestantism and print-capitalism, exploiting the cheap popular editions, quickly created large new reading publics—not least among merchants and women, who typically new little or no Latin—and simultaneously mobilized them for politico-religious purposes. Inevitably, it was not merely the Church that was shaken to its core. The same earthquake produced Europe's first important non-dynastic, non-city states in the Dutch Republic and the Commonwealth of the Puritans.
>
> Benedict Anderson,
> *Imagined Communities*

> Even the most conventional histories of seventeenth- and eighteenth-century England note the simultaneous lifting of censorship, the emergence of the popular press, the growth of a mass readership, and the increasing importance of popular media in determining the outcome of political conflict.
>
> Nancy Armstrong and Leonard Tennenhouse,
> *The Imaginary Puritan*

> Here *Reader*, you may see an instance of the Sovereignty of God, who doth what he will with his own as well as others; and who may say to him, *what dost thou?* here you may see an instance of the Faith and Patience of the Saints, under the most heart-sinking Tryals; here you may see, the Promises are breasts full of Consolation, when all the World besides is empty, and gives nothing but sorrow. That God is indeed the supream Lord of the World: ruling the most unruly, weakening the most uncruel and salvage: granting his People mercy in the sight of the most unmerciful: curbing the lusts of the most filthy, holding the hands of the most violent, delivering the prey from the mighty, and gathering together the outcasts of Israel.

Increase Mather,
Preface to the Reader

The Poltical Functions of Captivity in Colonialist Discourse: Mather's New England and Aphra Behn's Interruption

The "coalition between Protestantism and print-capitalism" of which Anderson speaks was certainly in effect in the new world as well as in England in the late sixteenth century. The cheap popular editions democratized texts, and this availability would only prove more effective in the future organizations of Puritans in the new world. A new reading public reached by texts of religious content would certainly raise the possibility for civil unrest, as the events of the English revolution and the leaving of Puritans for the new world would prove. Mary Rowlandson's narrative, which recounts her captivity amongst the native Americans, was a text that worked politically through the spiritual in a time when the restoration of the crown was a threat to the "commonwealth of Puritans" in the new world. What I will accomplish in this chapter is demonstrating that, as Armstrong and Tennenhouse have suggested, the captivity narrative was a precursor for the novel, but also I will question the assigning of the first novel to Samuel Richardson.

As I established in chapter 3, the public of which Benedict Anderson speaks were avid readers, especially the Puritans both in England and in the new world. We can at least document that Increase and Cotton Mather were aware of events both concerning the "Orient" as well as of Englishmen in that same area of the globe. A Puritan, William Okeley, even wrote an "Oriental" captivity narrative. Essential to discussing Puritan politics in the new world and abroad are Mary Rowlandson's text and its context. The scholarly work involving this text is more than simply extensive; Teresa Toulouse has made the most compelling contribution relatively recently. In her article "The Sovereignty and Goodness of God in 1682," Toulouse maps out the context for Rowlandson's narrative and its publication and re-publication in England. Toulouse first

maps out important proofs in a speech by Increase Mather, where she quotes a speech in which he says,

> [i]n England's peace, we shall have peace. That there are special designs against the Protestant Interest there, we are all assured. Neither are we ignorant how awfully God has threatened us with Changes among our-selves; as if He would pluck up our Hedge: and the wild Boar would soon break in upon this Vine…. If that wall of government, which hath hitherto been such a mercy to this people, should be removed, there are three Evils that would quickly follow…. Are there not Contentions? Have not wee been like foolish little Birds Pecking at one another until the great Kite be ready to come and devour one as well as another? (Toulouse

Toulouse mentions that there is interest in the "several interlinked fears about sovereignty" in this speech (929). The "contentions" he mentions here are those between the groups of Puritans in the New World, over issues that are trivial, like "little Brids Pecking at one another," in the face of "the wild Boar." Further, "Mather couches his fear about a loss of colonial political and religious authority in the context of anxiety about transformations in English royal sovereignty as well" (Toulouse 929). Essentially, Mather blames the Indian attacks on the lack of unity in the colonies.

As I mentioned in chapter 3, the years between the first publication of William Okeley's narrative and Mary Rowlandson's saw the supposed unearthing of Titus Oates' "popish plot" in 1678. Briefly, the plot that was "discovered" was one to assassinate the king, Charles II, to bring in his Catholic brother, later to be King James II. While we know that the revelation of this alleged plot was a hoax,[16] the threat of a Catholic crown was both very serious and very useful to Puritan authorities. A Catholic sovereign would certainly harm the "vine" of the Puritan colonies and threaten their lives, much as the Indian attacks had done. In the speech Toulouse quoted above, Mather warned of another trial from God if the Puritans in the new world were to continue the "contentions" of which he speaks. Daniel Vitkus places the Okeley narrative within the context of those concerns, and I see only more validity of that connection with the public announcements

[16] For a more thorough explanation of the "Popish Plot," read W.C. Abbot's 1910 article "The Origin of the Titus Oates' Story" (1910) where he writes: "It has been demonstrated that with slight exceptions, and these not material to the charges of the plot, the whole story was untrue" (126).

involving the supposed plot in 1681, when Charles was able to call Oates' bluff. From 1678 to 1681 the public assumed the plot was true, and this calling of the bluff occurred the same year that Toulouse notes Mather "sent out his 1681 call for stories demonstrating God's past and current providential activities within the colonies" (937). It does not surprise, then, that Mary Rowlandson's story was published in 1682, reminding a Puritan audience in the colonies of the recent trials involving King Philip's War. Overseas, the text's alternative title "focused on God's sovereignty in His relation to a group of troublesome Dissenters [and] could also have been read as possessing charged political as well as theological associations" (930). Mather's rhetoric involving Rowlandson's story would be helpful on both sides of the Atlantic: in England, it would assist in demonstrating the chosen nature of the Puritans, and in New England, the fear of future trials involving the Puritans could bring together the disagreeing factions within the colonies. Upon the entrance of any such "wild Boars," the Puritan colonists should unite against it.

The depictions of the Indians in Rowlandson's text are of that "wild Boar" entering the hedge, entering upon the territory and lives of the Puritans. These "Salvage Bears," as Rowlandson calls them in her text, were specific to the Puritan experience, and it was important to differentiate in order to demonstrate the particular position of the colonists. As Gordon Sayre describes Jesuit and Puritan narratives, the "figures of captive and martyr might have been unified [in 1682]. Instead, Mary Rowlandson's text entrenched a division between English and French treatments of torture that reflected gender and religious ideologies, as well as the two colonies' characteristic attitudes toward Native American cultures" ("Communion" 51). It is very important to note that the Puritans were certainly not alone in the Northeastern Americas. There was another force to the north that also threatened the stability of the colonies: the Jesuits, Catholics seeking not to rid themselves of the Native Americans but to convert them.

The Puritans felt and would continue to feel that threat of the "Boar" not only from the sovereign, but from the French just north of the land on which they lived. Sayre has documented the differences in ideology revealed by the differences between Isaac Jogues' captivity and Mary Rowlandson's:

> Jogues went among the Iroquois willingly; in fact, he escaped from captivity and torture and wrote of his experience, only to return to the mission, where he was finally killed in 1646. His death offered no threat, but instead glory for New France. The situation was quite different for the New England captive who was violently abducted from the bosom of church and family and whose fate was tied to that of the whole colony. For the Puritans, the temptation figured by Indian freedoms was a threat to every individual and, through each, to the colony itself. Just as the Protestant individual read and interpreted the Bible within a sacred community, he or she faced the evils of the wilderness as a representative of that community. The pious attitude of self-abasement appropriate to the female Puritan was entirely different from Jogues'. She subordinated the value of her own life to that of her family and community and wished to be redeemed because it might typologically figure the redemption of the community. The Jesuit interpreted his fate by a very different typology. In martyrdom, he individually was lifted out of worldly suffering through an apotheosis for which the savior's own crucifixion was the best metaphor. (Sayre, *Les Sauvages*, 22-23)

The typology was certainly different. Rowlandson's death would not be "providence" at all, it would be a sign of dread, a sign to the Puritans that they were to be continually punished. In England, the idea that God would aid his "Dissenters" would be lost on a reading public that was Protestant. For Isaac Jogues, however, his martyrdom meant he was also a sign of God's presence with his "apotheosis." Whereas the Jesuit version of captivity required bodily disfiguring and invasion, the Protestant woman's text must make sure to depict that suffering and include a redemption, with her body un-invaded. The other threat, the one involving these other individuals in the Northeastern Americas, was more insidious. Sayre notes that

> the captivity archetype did not reflect simply the confrontation of civility and savagery, but also of Puritan Protestantism with French Catholicism. After all, Rowlandson refers to her Indian captors as "Diabolical," "Wolves," "Bears," and "merciless Heathen," yet remarks of her son, held

> captive by a different band, that "it might have been worse with him had he been sold to the French."… For New Englanders, the idea of a Catholic captive, a figure such as Isaac Jogues, was almost oxymoronic. ("Communion" 51)

With the differences in relations or lack thereof with the Native Americans, with the French more living amongst them than against them and the Puritans drawing a definite rift between themselves and the natives, the further alienation from the Jesuits is clear. Rowlandson writes in her narrative, as Sayre mentions here, that if her son had been sold to the French, that they would convert him to Catholicism, a fate worse than death for the Puritans. It was better to die a Puritan than to live a Catholic. This fact is doubly informative, as it demonstrates both the "hemmed-in" feeling of the Puritans in the New World. While the French saw fit to work with the natives, possibly for reasons involving the fur trade, the Puritans saw a different agenda and implemented it with captivity narratives.

The agenda that narratives such as Mary Rowlandson's put in motion would continue for at least a century. Sayre points out that "in the genre's sensational heyday… gratuitous representations of mutilation ostensibly proved the savagery of American Indians, and thus justified campaigns of genocide against them" ("Communion" 50). Such rhetoric was in place during Rowlandson's time as well, if only on another level. In her narrative, Rowlandson depicts the sluggishness of the English in saving the colonists. Citing their sluggishness both as God's will to continue her suffering and as an account of the lack of help from the English, Rowlandson recognizes the

> fair opportunity lost in the long March, a little after the Fort-fight, when our *English* army was so numerous, and in pursuit of the Enemy; and so near as to overtake several and destroy them; and the Enemy in such distress for Food, that our men might track them by their rooting in the Earth for Ground-nuts….I say, that then our Army should want provisions, and be forced to leave their pursuit, and return homeward…. I cannot but remember how the *Indians* derided the slowness and dullness of the *English* in its setting out…. (59)

Here Rowlandson not only demonstrates the folly of the English and their "dulness" in fighting, but she uses this folly to further demonstrate the staying of the hand of God with the Enemy to chasten her. When published in England, recounting these events would work as an account of the lack of helpfulness by the English. And the narratives were published in England. Apart from Teresa Toulouse's discussion of the differences in titles on each side of the Atlantic, Armstrong and Tennenhouse have suggested another way of looking at this proof:

> information from those worlds began to circulate along with that from their own, and to become part of European culture. If *Paradise Lost* went virtually everywhere that English-speaking people did, then captivity narratives poured back just as consistently into Europe along with news from the colonies. Early modern colonialism was, in other words, far less one-sided than [Benedict] Anderson's narrative suggests; simply in terms of the information which people consume on a day-to-day basis, it changed western European culture profoundly. (21)

We can talk not only about the fact that narratives were published on both sides of the Atlantic, and of the flow of this information back and forth across that same body of water, but of the influence of that information, of those texts. It is clear, as Armstrong and Tennenhouse demonstrate here, that this "news from the colonies…changed Western European culture profoundly." It is clear that the experiences writers had in the new world were not lost in the European world, much less in the country from whence the Puritans came.

In later captivity narratives as in Rowlandson's, the juxtaposition of the savagery of the Indians and the carelessness of the English would place those in the Americas in a particular position, one that called for the further proving of the Indian savagery and perhaps making a request for more help from England. The Indians were likely still the most immediate threat and the most important story in a time of colonialist discourse. The colonialism that had begun with Captain John Smith's works had only continued through the works of the Puritans, and the colonies' cultural work "ostensibly prov[ing] the savagery of American Indians" could only work to prove the superiority of the English and the necessity of their presence. Rowlandson's text "appeared during the late

seventeenth century, just at the time when discourses of racial difference were evolving in the colonies into the forms we would recognize today" (Faery 34), and this trend would continue in captivity narratives published in America. Some examples with their publication dates are: Quentin Stockwell (1684), Hannah Swarton (1697), Hannah Dustan (1697), Sarah Gerish (1698), and Elizabeth Hull Heard (1699).

The most notorious of those narratives was Hannah Dustan's 1697 account, not written by her hand, of her escape from captivity amongst the Abenakis. This particular account is astonishing in that Dustan escaped by killing and scalping 10 of her captors with two other captives. Certainly a cause for hesitation, Cotton Mather turned her act into an act of heroism as, "according to Puritan belief, not only did God use Dustan as His instrument to kill the Indians, but He allowed her to withstand the Indians' pressure on her to renounce Puritanism and adopt Roman Catholicism" (Derounian Stodola 56). God's "instrument" kills Indians; Puritans in Mather's New England would accept this discourse of colonialism, and Puritans on both sides of the Atlantic would read it in his *Magnalia Christi Americana*.

Aphra Behn's book would attempt an interruption of colonialist discourse; whether one can consider her *Oroonoko* a successful interruption depends on one's criteria. Colonialism in any of its incarnations, whether it was African slaves in Surinam or killing Indians, did not stop due to opposing arguments. *Oroonoko*, however, thrived literarily from its publication date through the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries in both its original state and in theatre as a widely popular story. The story of the African prince and his beautiful African lover thrown into slavery by unfortunate events was not only a royalist text, but one that depicted the personal consequences of colonialism. Early in her text, Behn discusses misconceptions of African people:

> these People represented to me an absolute *Idea* of the first State of Innoc-cence, before Man knew how to sin: And 'tis most evident and plain, that simple Nature is the most harmless, inoffensive and vertuous Mistress. 'Tis she alone, if she were permitted, that better instructs the World, than all the Inventions of Man: Religion wou'd here but destroy that Tranquility, they possess by ignorance; and Laws wou'd but teach 'em to know, Offence, of which now they have no Notion. (40)

By cutting through the conventionally constructed notions of indigenous and African people as primitive and in need of civilizing, a notion writers such as Sir Walter Raleigh had first forwarded during the Elizabethan era, Behn also eliminates the need for colonizing. While Behn's text does not apologize for trade-- indeed she discusses it as if it were a good thing-- she does oppose the way in which the Europeans conduct trade, and the interruption of culture by white intervention. In *Oroonoko*, the moral superiority, the almost edenic nature, of the "other" cultures undercut the popular notion in England of other cultures seemingly in need of cultivation, including the Native Americans or "Barbarians."

The publication date of *Oroonoko*, in 1688, was in the midst of colonialist discourse coming both from the Americas and from narratives involving the East. Behn even writes in her narrative that Oroonoko "had an extreme good and graceful mien, and all the civility of a well-bred great man. He had nothing of barbarity in his nature, but in all points addressed himself as if his education had been in some European court" (6), noting the enduring stereotype of those from Barbary as without civility, as several captives depicted them in their narratives. Behn uses this term to counteract notions of the "other's" acts by assigning barbarous behavior to Oroonoko's perpetrators. Behn assigns the title of "barbarity" to the actions of the white Governor, who whips Oroonoko (here referred to as "Caesar") "in a most deplorable and inhuman manner, rending the very flesh from [his] bones." And yet again, the narrator, supposedly Behn, states in another place that she was at one time "no sooner gone than the Governor…. communicated his design to one Banister, a wild Irishman, and one of the council, a fellow of absolute barbarity, and fit to execute any villainy," placing the Governor not only as a barbarous individual, but as employing them as well. Behn embedded the term in her text quite craftily, as the meaning for the term is assumed. She interrupts colonialist discourse not only through the depiction of a very civilized Prince, but also in naming the English with a title known to describe the supposedly horrible behavior of those foreigners in Barbary.

***Oroonoko* and Captivity's Influence on the English Novel**

Why is *Oroonoko* never included in studies of "The American Novel" or in courses on "Early American Literature [sic]?" As a literary work written in English about America by someone who claims to have lived there, it would seem to deserve a place in the canon at least as much, say, John Smith's *Generall Historie*, a work that few Americanists would think of ignoring, even though Smith was not an American and his narrative is not exactly "literature."

William C. Spengemann,

"The Earliest American Novel:
Aphra Behn's *Oroonoko*"

By questioning the origins of the English novel, we want to challenge the tendency among scholars and critics to assume that modern fiction has to originate in some earlier European genre. To think about the origins of the English Novel we will try out a narrative more like one that might be used to describe the emergence of new cultures on *this* side of Atlantic. We want to think of England as part of a larger nation whose boundaries extended overseas to North America.

Armstrong and Tennenhouse,
The Imaginary Puritan

In *The Imaginary Puritan*, Nancy Armstrong and Leonard Tennenhouse state that one "has to go to America…to understand where novels come from" (199). This is true; one certainly must go to America to talk about the origins of the novel, but one cannot end the journey there. Indeed, there should be several journeys going on at once to follow the complicated origins of any form, or of any moment in history. As Armstrong and Tennenhouse write, their "purpose for drawing such a parallel between the origin of the English novel and that of Norwegian Americans is not only to cast the whole project of discovering cultural origins in a slightly ridiculous light but also to understand the consequences of understanding ourselves and or novels in that way" (198). The Norwegian Americans of which they speak are those that a somewhat misguided group of people sought to prove were the founders of a community in Minnesota. This particular exercise, which included building a boat and sailing, is a great example of the

"discoveries" of such origins; the proof can be found and is certainly "possible." It is, however, certainly not "true" simply because someone can prove it. As in the case of captivity narratives, searching for the origins of the novel has proven to be complicated and somewhat elusive. Like Armstrong and Tennenhouse's mistrust of the tendency of scholars of the English novel to see its origins as necessarily English, my mistrust is of a tendency to see any origin as singular, given that culture, especially that of the eighteenth-century, is permeable, thus making origins elusive.

As I mentioned in my first and third chapters, matrices are particularly difficult, especially when one desires to assign one to a single text. There were narratives before Mary Rowlandson's; there were narratives even before Captain John Smith. While Americanists still get to use these texts as early examples of captivity in the Americas written in the English language, we cannot say that they are the first, nor can we even say they are the first of their kind. Further, the more particular we get, perhaps by qualifying it further and stating that Mary Rowlandson's narrative was the first narrative of captivity in the Americas written by a woman, that text as origin becomes more fuzzy, more unlike a narrative of something peculiar, or even peculiarly American. What I do not want to do in this portion of my thesis is attempt to redraw any line of origin or to revoke those texts as important to other fields, such as feminist studies. I simply seek to look at a much more inclusive vision of the Americas in general and of early American literature in particular.

Like William Spengeman, I find the exclusion of Aphra Behn's *Oroonoko* a curiosity. As he mentions in his provocatively named *A Mirror for Americanists*, as I write an analysis of the captivity narrative I would find it problematic to exclude John Smith's *Generall Historie*; doing so would seem more than misguided, especially when discussing the elusive matrix of the captivity narrative. For we must regard the America about which Smith, Rowlandson, and Behn were writing "as the one that existed in the time [these texts] were written. And that America, as even the most cursory glance at any seventeenth-century map will show, was a very different place—in size, in shape and in meaning—from the one that existed in the nineteenth century" (Spengemann 385), or from our conceptions of those boundaries in the context in which we live. The Puritans, after all, looked to the English government for protection and were afraid of being

suppressed or abandoned during the unsure changing of the guard and the "popish" threat. As Okeley was sailing from England to the West Indies to start a colony, Behn traveled to visit another, Suriname. It is important to note that England had lost its colony in Suriname in 1673, and Behn's story takes place in a much earlier context than Mary Rowlandson's. The book, however, as I mentioned, was published in 1688, only six years following Rowlandson's. As her narrative illustrates, these worlds were all more intricately connected than any exceptionalist of any discipline would assume. To push this discussion of the Americas even further, it has been noted in more than simple speculation that in her trip Behn stopped off in Virginia, making her relation to the culture there more intimate than one might assume.[17]

Also like Spengeman, I question the criteria with which scholars so often choose originary works; for instance, I too am unsure as to why we should consider Richardson's *Pamela* to be the earliest novel, either stated or assumed. Like the many studies that start with Mary Rowlandson's text as the first captivity narrative, many books on the novel begin with Samuel Richardson. While I do not wish to move the origins of the earliest novel, or the earliest American novel, to *Oroonoko*, I do wish to question why scholars have not more often considered to be. When Armstrong and Tennenhouse mention that *Pamela* demonstrates the American origins of the novel, and do so by demonstrating the strong likelihood that Richardson got his heroine from captivity narratives, why state that there is an "origin" of the novel there? Behn's book, for instance, has a sentimental core much like later novels. It depicts, in a sense, two star-crossed African lovers and their tragic affair. Imoinda is almost forcefully seduced and is in fear of having to deny her true love, Oroonoko. The style of the book is somewhat epistolary, seeming like one long letter from the writer to the reader whom she addresses directly as "you," even though it is from only one perspective, like a play with only monologue. Most of all, Behn's book is like the novels that Cathy Davidson describes as being "formalistically, voracious" and that "fed upon and devoured more familiar literary forms such as travel, captivity" (13) and I would add, drama, in that it is an amalgamation of forms. *Oroonoko* is as much a novel to look at for the origins of the novel form as any other similar piece,

[17] Behn's probable route is pictured in the Bedford Cultural Edition of *Oroonoko*, edited by Catherine Gallagher, page 33.

so why look only at the later texts written by men? William Warner asks a similar question in his article "Recent Studies in the Restoration and Eighteenth Century" :

> In other words, given the popularity of Behn, Manley, Haywood, and Defoe, given the aesthetic 'finish' of novels by Behn and Congreve, given the coherent ethical design of novels written by Penelope Aubin and Jane Barker, how is it that Richardson's and Fielding's novels are the ones that were counter-signed in the eighteenth century as exemplary models for future novels?…. This positive reception of their novels functioned as a "contingent decision" in favor of their novels…. [t]he decision is "contingent" because it did not have to happen that way. (578)

Warner points out that the moment in the eighteenth century when contemporary critics consciously made the decision to favor Richardson's and Fielding's novels seems to be the root of the problem: the critics treated these two male authors as exemplars. It was not, then, something about the form of the books Richardson and Fielding had written, but more of a public decision "contingent" upon a finite number of eighteenth-century critics' preferences. The decision, he adds, did not have to be that way. If we are not, as scholars, to limit ourselves according to one another's opinions, why should we allow those critics to continue to do so? "Well over two hundred years," continues Warner, "of novelistic and critical practices has sustained itself upon a certain fable of origins" (578). That fable is that Richardson and Fielding founded the novel as a form.

When Armstrong and Tennenhouse state that the English novel has American origins, I find it problematic for two reasons. One reason is the troublesome nature of origins, an idea that they themselves worry over. The other is to find that proof in Richardson's *Pamela*. While their discussion is the most enlightening work to date and has helped my own inquiries into the novel, I think the transatlantic dialogue of which they speak may also be found in Aphra Behn's *Oroonoko*, thus complicating their somewhat cleaner view of the origins of the English novel. I only wish to make those clean lines fuzzy, and to demonstrate that even history itself will show us that origins are nearly unidentifiable. Aphra Behn's novel, *Oroonoko*, should remind both Americanists and scholars of the English novel of the transatlantic dialogue that made life as the eighteenth-century inhabitants knew it possible, as its author was an English woman

playwright who traveled to the New World. Behn's book is a travel narrative of the new world written that an inhabitant of the old world wrote, a story of love in colonial times. It was a plural, porous, and complicated culture and history that brought about the novel as a form and that caused Behn to write, a history that has and will resist any easy definitions.

CONCLUSION

> The new account of American history in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries demonstrates that America was international before it became national. The unit of study is America, the future United States, and this space is acknowledged to exist, producing and experiencing history, throughout the period. And the motors for the generation of history are located throughout the Atlantic world and across the continent….A continental history will necessarily include all actors, and will thus reflect more clearly the actual concerns of people in the past, who did not think in the compartmentalized terms that we have imposed on their history.
>
> Karen Kupperman,
> "International at Creation: Early Modern American History"

This "new account" of which Karen Kupperman speaks is the kind of literary history that I have been creating throughout my thesis. While Kupperman is mostly focusing on the rest of the New World continent when she speaks of being more inclusive, the internationalization she writes about is as important. Her usage of the term "compartmentalization" is particularly of interest to my project, and my projects in the future. It's true: John Smith did not consider himself an explorer of the East and then therefore refrain from traveling to the West. The turn of events would have been quite different if he had compartmentalized himself. Instead, his former experiences naturally colored and informed his later experiences in the West. With the massive explosion of the printed word in the eighteenth-century and the larger demand in the New World for fiction, many scholars do tend to privilege that century as being the point at which the New World came into "being," became international.

For lack of space, I have included narratives written predominantly by English captives, with the exception of mentioning the French concerning Medieval romances.

To do so would have made this project substantially beyond the scope of an MA thesis. Following the research I have recently done, I have a strong belief that we will see more studies like Kupperman's and mine in the years to come. As I mentioned in my introduction, the revolution that Cathy Davidson spoke of in *Revolution and the Word* is perpetual, it continues on.

Scholars are now asking new questions of literary history; the evidence was in all of the sources I researched. Rebecca Blevins Faery finds gaps in the story about Pocahontas, and works to have Pocahontas' side of the story, however much we could possibly know, figured into history. Karen Kupperman argues for Americanists to begin teaching Native American history as an integral subject, and not a special one. Linda Colley does much of what I wished to do here, by shedding light on an under-theorized aspect of British history. By answering these kinds of questions, by making the picture of history more inclusive, literary scholars can understand the context in which each text was written. This can only be done through a breaking down of compartments in literary studies.

Returning to a context much earlier than that of Davidson has made it easier for me to make those comparisons and to consider textual impact due to the more dependent nature of the colonies on England, and the more accepted notion of the wide nature of the English empire. Also, I have not bound myself to considering one place a separate country and separate culture simply because the context in which I work does not allow. There are no real cultural boundaries to be had other than that of the practice of religion and scenery in the context I chose for this study. The individuals I have written about here may still be considered "English" regardless of from which side of the Atlantic they write. Many of them were even born in England, but their origins may not be so important.

The trouble with the search for origins is that there may be several places where the seeds of any conflict or event can be found. John Demos' *The Unredeemed Captive*, his book about the captivity of John Williams and his five children in 1704, works from this observation. He begins with the question: "Where does the story begin? Perhaps it is in the old university town of Cambridge, England. In the summer of 1629" (3). He

states this only to suggest again that it perhaps "began in the villages of the Iroquois heartland (what is today upstate New York). In the decade of the 1660's" (4). These two beginnings consider more than one event to be the influence of the attack on Deerfield, and also more than one group of people. Tying together these different possible histories creates a more three-dimensional vision of Demos' subject. As is fitting for his work, he uses the same strategy to conclude his story.

The notion that the captivity narrative is the precursor for the novel is not one I wish to dispute, as it is one precursor. I would, however, like to see the many other forms that begat the novel connected to the later form with such fervor as the captivity narrative. Even Cathy Davidson, whose revolutionary work was part and product of the inspiration to study the American novel, has stated that the novel was voracious in its consumption of forms. And again, I would ask: When did the novel "begin?" This is a debate I do not wish to touch upon here, for lack of space and time, as the debate is ongoing and complex. We may find that, if the captivity narrative's origins are not found through the study of a singular culture, that neither are the novel's origins in any context.

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