Gender, Religion and Race: Unpacking the Propaganda in Anglo-Indigenous Captivity Narratives, 1675-1885

by

Taylor Lynn Chalker

BA, UNB, 2023

A Thesis Submitted in Partial Fulfillment
of the Requirements for the Degree of

Master of Arts

in the Graduate Academic Unit of Historical Studies

Supervisors: Stefanie Hunt-Kennedy, PhD, Historical Studies

Bonnie Huskins, PhD, Historical Studies

Examining Board: Lisa Todd, PhD, Historical Studies, Chair

Sean Kennedy, PhD, Historical Studies

Lisa Robertson, PhD, English

This thesis is accepted by the Dean of Graduate Studies

THE UNIVERSITY OF NEW BRUNSWICK

August 20, 2025

© Taylor Lynn Chalker, 2025

Abstract

This thesis explores seventeenth and nineteenth century Anglo-Indigenous captivity narratives as propaganda that served to reflect and reinforce settler anxieties, racial ideologies, and gender expectations in colonial North America. Anglo-Indigenous 'captivity narratives' were autobiographical tales of white individuals who had been captured by Indigenous people in North America during European colonization, from the seventeenth to the nineteenth centuries. This thesis analyzes the seventeenth-century narrative by Mary Rowlandson in New England, which is largely considered the first captivity narrative, and the nineteenth-century narratives by Theresa Gowanlock and Theresa Delaney in Western British North America. Together the narratives illustrate both change over time and place, as well as continuity in the captivity narrative genre. The role of gender, race, and religion is key to understanding how the narratives functioned as propaganda that turned settlers further against Indigenous people as a common enemy. The authors emphasized the gender and racial differences between Indigenous people and people of European descent and sensationalized their experiences of captivity to justify European and American colonial expansion and the enslavement and attempted erasure of Indigenous peoples. This thesis combines literary and historical analysis to argue that the writing and publication of these three captivity narratives sought to elevate white women while vilifying Indigenous women and more broadly Indigenous people and their practices. This literary practice served as a powerful way to shore up racial boundaries and justify settler-colonialism as a nation-building project.

Dedication

For my grandfather, Richard.

Acknowledgements

I extend my deepest gratitude to my primary supervisor, Dr. Stefanie Hunt-Kennedy, for her thoughtful critiques and unwavering encouragement during my writing process. Dr. HK, I admire you more than words can express, and I am eternally grateful to have had the opportunity to work under you these past two years.

I am equally thankful to my co-supervisor, Dr. Bonnie Huskins, whose undergraduate history course first introduced me to captivity narratives in the Autumn of 2022. Dr. Huskins, each course you teach is undeniably imbued with the passion that you hold for history. Your love of history is palpable in each seminar, and I strive to one day teach with your level of excitement.

I must also thank the members of my thesis committee, Dr. Sean Kennedy and Dr. Lisa Robertson, for their time and guidance. Finding professors that you truly admire and trust is a rare and special occurrence, I appreciate you both.

My appreciation also goes to the faculty and staff in the Department of History at the University of New Brunswick. From Elizabeth and Misty, who keep us all afloat, to our recently retired Doreen, whose kindness put a smile on my face each time I visited the café. A special thanks goes to Dr. Cindy Brown, whose first-year history course fuelled my interest in academic history. Your authenticity, humanity, and kindness have made me a better scholar and a better person.

I would also like to acknowledge my cohort their friendship, kindness, and constant encouragement. I am so lucky to know you all.

This thesis would not be possible without the unwavering support that I have received from my family and friends. To my father, Mike, who has been a pillar of support. To my grandmother, Elizabeth, who never fails to make me smile. To my mother, Vicki, whose strength, resilience, and love made me the woman I am today. I love you all so much. Thank you for raising me. To my friends, near and far, thank you for always reminding me of my worth when finishing this thesis felt impossible. Danielle, Kat, and Kate – you have taught me what it means to be a friend, and I am so lucky to have you all.

To my cats – Winston, Gomez, and Finley – you each deserve co-authorship of this thesis. Thank you for sitting on my keyboard and under my monitor, for scratching at the office door for attention, and for reminding me to take more breaks. It is a privilege to be annoyed by you.

Lastly, I need to thank my partner, Bradley. I love you, entirely.

Table of Contents

Abstract ii
Dedication iii
Acknowledgements iv
Table of Contents vi
Introduction 1
Chapter 1: Literature Review and Historiography 19
Chapter 2: Eleven Weeks a Captive 30
Chapter 3: The Tale of the Two Theresas 49
Conclusion 70
Bibliography 74
Curriculum Vitae

Introduction

In colonial North America, a genre of propagandist literature was popularized that in many ways reflected the anxieties, fears, and developing racist ideologies of white settlers amidst ongoing European and American empire-building. Anglo-Indigenous 'captivity narratives', as they have become known, were autobiographical tales of white individuals who had been captured by Indigenous people in North America during European colonization, from the seventeenth to the nineteenth centuries. Anglo-Indigenous narratives were part of a wider literary trend that also included narratives chronicling the experience of white captives at the hands of North African Barbary Corsairs during the Barbary Wars. The genre constructed Indigenous and African people as 'savage' and antithetical to European values, serving to justify, or at least quiet, opposition to British and American colonial expansion and the enslavement of people of Indigenous and African descent. The popularity of captivity narratives reproduced and reinforced the construction of racial and religious 'Others' and the notion that European and American empire-building was a justified nationalist project.

This project will examine captivity narratives through a combined historical and literary analysis to demonstrate how stories of captivity served to justify settler-colonialism and deepen anti-Indigenous sentiments among white settlers. Anglo-Indigenous captivity narratives written by white women were written to distance their authors from Indigenous women by exaggerating and denouncing the cultural practices of the latter. Politically, these narratives were wielded and propagandized by community leaders to cast the captors—and by extension all people of Indigenous descent—as enemies of Euro-American values. In this thesis, the term 'propaganda' refers to the

promotion and publication of captivity texts that reaffirmed colonial norms. For instance, Mary Rowlandson's 1682 narrative – commonly referred to as the first Anglo-Indigenous captivity narrative – was used by Puritan magistrates to fuel anti-Indigenous racism in the early decades of European colonialism in New England. Gowanlock's and Delaney's narratives, published together in 1885, demonstrate the longevity of the genre while illustrating how social ideals of femininity changed between the seventeenth and nineteenth century. Together, the three narratives illustrate how Rowlandson, Gowanlock, and Delaney sensationalized their captivity experiences to reinforce the anti-Indigenous views of their respective time periods, add supposed legitimacy to the Anglo-American imperial project, and contribute to Anglo-American identity formation that prized whiteness and so-called civility.

Origins of Captivity Narratives

Contrary to popular belief, the captivity narrative genre predates European imperial expansion.[1] At its roots, captivity narratives were an early modern method of European vernacular history – a method of storytelling that used plain language for mass dissemination. Its applications in early modern America are based on a disparity between Anglo-American captives and Indigenous captors, that fed into an existing colonial narrative of white purity and the so-called 'savage Other'. As Joe Snader contends, captivity writing has roots that "stretch back to the European Middle Ages, and whose

[1] Mary Rowlandson, a Puritan woman of English origin, became a captive of the Nipmuck, Narragansett, and Wampanoag peoples for 11 weeks in 1676. Her narrative, *A True History on the Captivity and Restoration of Mrs. Mary Rowlandson*, was published in 1682 and is considered to be the first American captivity narrative; Rowlandson, *A Narrative of the Captivity and Restoration of Mrs. Mary Rowlandson*.

initial flowering belongs to the early modern vernacular press."[2] Though these roots are often eclipsed by the Americanization of the genre, their consideration allows for a greater understanding of the malleability and functionality of this type of literature.

Barbary captivity writing began in the fifteenth century, predating Anglo-Indigenous captivity writing. Like the Anglo-Indigenous conflict that stoked the embers of the American captivity tradition, so too did the conflict on the Mediterranean and Atlantic seas. Oceanic commerce on the Mediterranean led to the emergence of the Barbary regencies – Tripoli, Tunis, and Algiers – leading the next three centuries to descend into "what was cloaked as a Christian holy war or an Islamic jihad."[3] This clash of powers led each side to plunder trading vessels and take captives, though the 'Barbary captive' would come to refer solely to American captives who wrote of their experience at the hands of North Africans.[4] An estimated 20,000 Christians were captives of Algiers alone in 1621, with that number rising to approximately 27,000 in the 1630s.[5] Following the American revolution, America found itself without the protection of the British empire and vulnerable to conflict with the Barbary corsairs. Fueled by conflict, this subset of the captivity writing genre was launched into the American tradition with the

---

[2] Snader, *Caught between Worlds: British Captivity Narratives in Fact and Fiction*, 1.
[3] Baepler, *White Slaves, African Masters: An Anthology of American Barbary Captivity Narratives*, 3.
[4] Baepler, *White Slaves, African Masters: An Anthology of American Barbary Captivity Narratives*, 3.; While outside of the scope of my research, it must be noted that Anglo captives were not the only ones to write or speak about their captors. For example, Job Ben Solomon and Abd ar-Rahman were both African-born Muslim slaves who wrote or spoke about their time in captivity in America.
[5] Baepler, *White Slaves, African Masters: An Anthology of American Barbary Captivity Narratives*, 3.

publication of John Foss's narrative in 1798, which was used to dichotomize Anglo-Americans and their Muslim counterparts while further vilifying non-whites.[6]

Mary Rowlandson was the first to popularize and restrict the genre to conform to "notions of American experience and identity," effectively harnessing the budding Anglo-American identity and developing it through comparison against subaltern Others.[7] The captivity tradition, as dictated by Rowlandson, allowed the white captive to become representative of 'colonial heroism' by placing the protagonist at the core of an alienating experience and reinforcing her colonial authority through a series of events: conflict, capture, and, ultimately, freedom.[8] Although the captivity tradition began in early modern Europe, generations of scholars have identified Rowlandson's text as the first in which an author defined their colonial status through the lens of captivity. That is, through consistently presenting Anglo-European customs as vastly superior to Narragansett customs, Rowlandson used her status as a captive to highlight the inherent wrongness at being held captive by what she considered to be an inferior race. In doing so, Rowlandson raised herself and, by extension, all Anglo-American colonists above the status of New England's Indigenous populations.

Rowlandson's narrative marked the beginning of a new genre and created the formula for a successful iteration: an Indigenous attack, the "forced journey and consequent introspection of an isolated captive", an indistinguishable group of racialized

---

[6] Foss, *A Journal on the Captivity and Sufferings of John Foss*.
[7] Snader, *Caught between Worlds,* 9.
[8] Snader, *Caught between Worlds*, 8.

captors, and a return to so-called civilization.[9] Indeed, many of the most popular captivity publications followed this formula, adhering to English notions of imperialism and civility while displaying the American Indigenous as strange and seemingly barbaric. [10]

Historical Context

Within her narrative, Rowlandson exuded a lofty dose of hatred for her Indigenous captors that can be understood through an analysis of Anglo-Indigenous relations leading up to King Philip's War. Plymouth, Massachusetts was the first permanent English colony in New England, settled in 1620 by Puritan separatists who had left England.[11] However, before it was taken by English settlers, it was home to the Pokanoket, a group of Wampanoag people who were governed by Ousamequin, elected chief or *sachem* of both their individual tribe and of the Wampanoag confederacy. Although his true name was Ousamequin, colonists mistook his title of Massasoit, which translates to "Great Sachem", to be his name.[12] The English considered Ousamequin/Massasoit to be a tractable ally. As described by Edward Winslow, an English Agent in the colony of New England, Ousamequin/Massasoit saw the English as friends of the Wampanoag people from the time that they first landed on the shores of New England. [13] This friendship grew into an allyship following a devastating plague in 1617 that saw Wampanoag numbers fall from 18000 to 7000. Following this loss, the

---

[9] Snader, *Caught between Worlds*, 2.
[10] Voigt, *Writing Captivity in the Early Modern Atlantic: Circulations of Knowledge and Authority in the Iberian and English Imperial Worlds*, 246.
[11] Winship, *Hot Protestants*, 3.
[12] Dockstader, *Great North American Indians*, 171.
[13] Philbrick, *The Mayflower Papers*, 149.

nation was threatened by the neighbouring Narragansett people who had not fallen ill. To protect his people, Ousamequin/Massasoit allied with the first English settlers through the signing of the Wampanoag treaty of friendship on 22 March 1621.[14] This treaty should have protected the Indigenous and settlers and allowed them to live in harmony, but no treaty is ironclad.

Settlers considered Indigenous oral practices as vastly inferior to their written culture and, therefore, demanded paper treaties. Although the Wampanoag engaged in alliances to better their chance at survival and gain an advantage over rival Indigenous groups, the English viewed this as an opportunity to take advantage of their Indigenous counterparts, using their acts of kindness and protection as exploitable weakness.[15] Between 1636-38, tensions arose between the Algonquin nations of the Pequot and Narragansett, two groups that were not a part of the Wampanoag Confederacy but were linked to them through a shared Othering by the English. This conflict culminated in 1637, when the English joined forces with the Narragansett to overcome their shared enemy and burned a Pequot village to the ground along with hundreds of its people. The English viewed this carnage as religiously justified due to the "blasphemy, witchcraft, and general sinfulness of the vanquished followers of Satan."[16] This conflict, despite being with a separate Indigenous group, did nothing to secure English people's faith in their treaty with the Wampanoag. Rather, it added to tensions that had already been brewing and further threatened the agreed upon peaceful co-existence. The 1621 treaty

---

[14] Dockstader, *Great North American Indians*, 171.
[15] Glover, *Paper Sovereigns*, 6.
[16] Salisbury, *Manitou and Providence* (Oxford university press, 1982), 3.

had aimed to secure peace, friendship, and mutual aid, but the new generations of Wampanoag became frustrated with English settlers for encroaching upon their land and threatening their agreed upon peace.

This peace was officially broken by the son of Ousamequin/Massasoit, Metacomet, also known as Metacom or his English name King Philip, who would come to reject the legacy peace set forth by his father, leading his people into war against the English and their Indigenous allies in 1675. This conflict, referred to as both the King Philip's War and Metacom's War, lasted from 20 June 1675 to 12 April 1678 and it is estimated that "the cumulative effects of war, disease, starvation, and slavery had inflicted losses somewhere between 60 and 80 percent on the total Native population of New England."[17] In addition to this devastating loss of lives, Metacom's War was the catalyst that led to the captivity of Rowlandson and, consequently, the most prolific era of Anglo-Indigenous captivity writings that contributed to the persecution of Indigenous groups in New England.

Like Rowlandson, Gowanlock and Delaney's narratives were preceded by conflict. Tensions between the Métis and the Canadian government first escalated with the Red River Rebellion in 1869. The conflict was a response to the British North America Act and the Canadian government's subsequent decision to encroach upon Indigenous land in western Canada, an action that threatened the Indigenous hunting

[17] Philbrick, *The Mayflower Papers*, ix.

civilization in favor of a government-regulated and commercialized approach.[18] The Métis were joined by the Plains Cree and the Assiniboine in Saskatchewan and Alberta to form the resistance to expansion and the creation of a provisional Métis government, led by Louis Riel who negotiated the entry of Manitoba into the Canadian Confederation. The result of this conflict was twofold: the Métis learned that the federal government could not be trusted, and the federal government learned that the Métis had a strong military and "brilliant political leaders capable of sophisticated diplomacy."[19] Despite Riel's efforts, many settlers in Manitoba had refused to recognize the Métis as legitimate founders and anti-Indigenous hostility increased among settlers. This hostility manifested in the form of persecution, rape, and social ostracism, resulting in many Métis choosing to leave Manitoba to head North-West.[20]

Violence and forced displacement were not new to the Métis. They had long been excluded from settler society due to their Indigeneity and from Indigenous society due to their whiteness. As a mixed-race people, the Métis found themselves unable to identify with either of their heritage groups and eventually came to occupy a distinct Indigenous people of Canada. As indicated in the North-West Company (NWC) testimony in the early nineteenth-century, documented by William Coltman of the British North American Colonial Office, the Métis "constituted an Indian tribe" and should be recognized as

---

[18] Among other things, the 1867 British North America Act promised a 'free and democratic society' in Canada, but did nothing to secure the rights of the working class or Indigenous population; MacLean, *1885*, 16.
[19] MacLean, *1885*, 23.
[20] "Red River Resistance"

such.[21] Negotiating with the NWC, the Métis claimed that the Hudson Bay Company (HBC) had encroached on their ancestral land and negotiated with the NWC to obtain weapons in exchange for allowing NWC fur traders to visit their land. In response to this, the HBC rejected the categorization of Métis as a legitimate Indigenous group, arguing that the Métis were 'wreaking havoc' on Canada.[22] HBC representatives felt that the NWC should have more control over the "numerous and warlike race" who, now that they were recognized as a legitimate tribe, expected legitimate contracts with the HBC.[23] Despite the contested place of the Métis, they became a united force under Louis Riel who advocated for their claims to Indigeneity and rights to land.

Under Riel and fellow Métis leader Gabriel Dumont, the North-West Rebellion officially began with the Battle of Duck Lake on 26 March 1885. On 25 March, Dumont led thirty men to the town of Duck Lake to ransack the storage buildings there and gather supplies. Dumont ordered his men not to fire upon anybody who did not resist, instead taking several members of the community captive. By 26 March, forty members of the North-West Mounted Police and eighty militia members had travelled to Duck Lake. Dumont remained steadfast in his order to not fire until fired upon, as Riel had instructed him. Before a parley could occur, a Métis member of the militia fired upon Dumont and his men, leading to the death of Dumont's brother and igniting a battle between the two forces.[24] For three months, the Métis engaged in conflict with the North-West Mounted

---

[21] Hughes, "Within the Grasp of Company Law," 526.
[22] Coltman, "Mr. Coltman's Mission to the Indian Territory," fol. 244.
[23] Coltman, "Mr. Coltman's Mission to the Indian Territory," fol. 58.
[24] Stanley, "Gabriel Dumont's Account of the North West Rebellion, 1885.," 113.

Police and their militia, taking several captives along the way including Theresa Gowanlock and Theresa Delaney.

Female Tropes in Captivity Narratives

To ensure that they were viewed in a positive light upon the release of their narratives, female captivity narrative authors ensured that they had depicted themselves as adherent to contemporary feminine ideals. In the seventeenth century, these ideals expected women to bear their hardships with strength and resilience while still recognizing that their husbands or fathers were the leaders of their houses and, thereby, the leaders of their lives.[25] Puritanism demanded a biblical family construct of "marital unity" and "male superiority," in which a woman moved from the house of her father to the house of her husband, never living on her own.[26] Puritans who had made the trek to New England and stood upon the American frontier recognized this tradition, but also recognized the need for women to take the steps that they needed to survive.

By the nineteenth century, the culture of "white true womanhood" was propelling ideals of feminine domesticity and piety.[27] The gendered elements to life in British North America served to disenfranchise women by limiting their "chances of inheritance" on the basis of "feminine foolishness and flightiness."[28] In removing opportunities to support oneself, women were encouraged to depend on their husbands and fathers. Thus,

---

[25] Carter, "The Exploitation and Narration of the Captivity of Theresa Delaney and Theresa Gowanlock, 1885," 33.
[26] Westerkamp, *Women in Early American Religion 1600-1850* (Taylor and Francis, 2005), 14.
[27] Tomc, "'Withersoever We Turn Our Eyes,'" 149–50.
[28] Forestell et al., *Gendered Pasts*, 7-15.

women subscribed to domestic expectations set forth for them, in the hopes that they would be viewed as having a strong sense of morality and loyalty to both their families and their societies.

Historian Sarah Carter identified three female tropes utilized in literature: "the 'Survivor' of the colonial period; the 'Amazon' of the revolutionary era and the early republic, and the 'Frail Flower' of the 'era of expansion' of 1820-1870"[29]. In essence, whether consciously, through autoethnographic manipulation, or unconsciously, through learned behaviour, female authors contorted their femininity to adhere to societal expectations. Through this adherence, these authors were able to demonstrate that, despite all they had been through, their morality and virtue remained intact. Adhering to Carter's model, Rowlandson, a seventeenth-century Puritan woman, manifested herself as a 'Survivor,' whereas Gowanlock and Delaney emerge as the 'Frail Flowers' of the nineteenth-century. Despite their differences, Rowlandson, Gowanlock, and Delaney each faced the same challenge: describing their experience as captives while preserving their femininity and, thereby, virtue.

Although members of so-called civilized society, white women were still viewed as inferior to white men. Race and gender intersected and shaped women's experiences in colonial North America so, while white women in English North America held a contested place as empowered by their race, they were still disempowered by their gender. However, they still resided above Indigenous women, who were viewed as

---

[29] Carter, "The Exploitation and Narration of the Captivity of Theresa Delaney and Theresa Gowanlock, 1885," 33.

uncivilized in settler colonial society. Like race, gender directly implicated one's social status and women were relegated to a lower class than men in Euro-American society.[30] Thus, although white men viewed both white and Indigenous women as below the status of men, they deemed white women as being above Indigenous women.

To further distinguish themselves from Indigenous women, Rowlandson, Gowanlock, and Delaney, used their whiteness to contrast with Indigenous non-whiteness. Each of these women used the term 'squaw' to refer to Indigenous women, a term that is further discussed in the content chapters and that served to relegate Indigenous women to being inferior to Indigenous men. Indigenous women were often the "decision makers" in their communities, a practice that challenged settler concepts of hegemonic masculinity that deemed men the decision makers in both social and familial circumstances.[31] The captive's desire to raise themselves above Indigenous women can be understood through the class-race-gender triad, a lens that views gender and race as determinants of class with class becoming implicit rather than explicit.[32] Essentially, a woman's place in society was determined first by her race, then by her gender, and finally by her class status. This applies less to Rowlandson whose entire community was newly settled and, as such, largely equal in terms of class. But, when considering Gowanlock and Delaney, this triad helps to understand why the two authors were so adamant about the lower-class nature of Indigenous women in their narratives.

---

[30] Samuels, *The Culture of Sentiment*, 130.
[31] Little, *Abraham in Arms*, 113–16.
[32] This terminology derives from New Historicism and initially applied to economy but has historiographical applications in literature; Samuels, *The Culture of Sentiment*, 133.

Gowanlock and Delaney differentiated between Indigenous women and Indigenous men, ensuring that they not only distinguished themselves from the Indigenous people, but distinctly from Indigenous women.

Despite surviving captivity, for Rowlandson, Gowanlock and Delaney freedom did not spare them from speculations of sinfulness or immorality. New England Puritans believed that sinfulness manifested differently in women and men. It was understood that women's sins stemmed from an internal depravity, while the sins of men were less personal.[33] Despite this difference, it was never explicitly stated that women were more sinful than men, but it was believed that women were "whom the devil tortured" and who were more susceptible to sinful behaviour.[34] Some, like New England Puritan Magistrate, Increase Mather, suggested that those most prone to captivity were settlers that indulged in sins of worldliness, complacency, and pride.[35] Following this logic, the captivity of Rowlandson, Gowanlock, and Delaney, was a product of sin and in order to redeem themselves, each woman had to rectify any action that distanced them from socio-gender norms through an adamant adherence to socioracial norms. They did so by doubling down on Anti-Indigenous rhetoric to sway their readers back into their favor. This influenced the way that they portrayed their captors, their experience, and themselves. Historian Julia Wohlforth wrote that captives experienced "arrival in a strange land

---

[33] Reis, *Damned Women*, 1.
[34] Reis, *Damned Women*, 2.
[35] Mather, *A Brief History of the Vvar with the Indians in Nevv-England (from June 24, 1675 ... to August 12, 1676 ... Wherein the Grounds, Beginning, and Progress of the Warr Is Summarily Expressed : Together with a Serious Exhortation to the Inhabitants of That Land / by Increase Mather ... - Early English Books Online - ProQuest*.

among people who were inhospitable and antagonistic" not only upon their captivity but also upon returning to their home and community.[36] In essence, their fight for survival did not end with freedom, as they contended with the public suspecting that they had lost their identities, religion, and virtue. To combat this suspicion, it was common for authors to subtly alter their recollections to prepare for the anticipated criticism. As Wohlforth explained, these defensive safeguards often emphasized the cruelty of the captor to avoid "personal culpability" for the author.[37]

Thus, female narratives paid specific attention to the author's inner thoughts of their life before captivity, their religion, and their family to establish themselves as moral upright beings before their captivity and as a rebuttal against the suggestion that their captivity stemmed from sin. Through a combination of anti-Indigenous language and reliance on biblical text, Mary Rowlandson redeemed herself and launched the genre of Anglo-Indigenous captivity writing in North America. Likewise, Gowanlock and Delaney contradicted initial reporting of their experience that illustrated them as sympathetic to their Indigenous captors, writing their own narratives to ensure that they could control how their story was told.

Print and News Media

An analysis of print culture and reading habits helps us better understand the public reception of these narratives as well as the financial motivations of publishers to

---

[36] Wohlforth, "Captive Bodies and Captive Minds: Women in English Captivity Narratives from the Early Modern Mediterranean to Colonial America," 5.
[37] Wohlforth, "Captive Bodies and Captive Minds: Women in English Captivity Narratives from the Early Modern Mediterranean to Colonial America," 5.

produce them. In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, the printing and selling of texts was a political action that catered to the masses and served to educate and control the dissemination of knowledge. Early American printers endeavoured to *sell learning*, employing texts, both fiction and nonfiction, as tools to advance oneself beyond their means. [38] This commodification of learning was heavily consumed by the public and exploited by community leaders, like Increase Mather. Indeed, texts that spoke of the so-called dangers and necessities of conflict and colonialism, like that of captivity narratives, were among the most successful. [39] Thus, while print culture contained its own politics and a multitude of moving parts, it also functioned extrinsically as a tool for political and social movements.

Alongside the rise in print media came the rise of news media, which was the production of so-called public information, be it true or otherwise. As will be seen through an analysis of Gowanlock and Delaney's narratives, the dissemination of incomplete information could be controlled by those disseminating it, which contributed to the illusion of control, the manipulation of truth, and the spread of false narratives.[40] Often, news and print media served to validate the colonial agenda, ultimately creating a breeding ground for propaganda that was complicated by conflict.[41] The quick publication of news media often spread false truths about the captives, which then had to

---

[38] Bannet, *Eighteenth-Century Manners of Reading*, 20.
[39] McLeod, "Social Status and the Politics of Printers in Eighteenth-Century Bordeaux," 305.
[40] Weststeijn, "Empire in Fragments: Transatlantic News and Print Media in the Iberian World, Cs. 1600-40," 528.
[41] Weststeijn, "Empire in Fragments: Transatlantic News and Print Media in the Iberian World, Cs. 1600-40," 531.

be rectified by the women in their narratives in order to set the record straight and preserve their virtue.

Methodology

The primary methodology used in this thesis is autoethnography, a form of intersectional social theory that asks why a writer wrote what they did, when they did, and how they did. It considers both the authorial voice, and the voices which have been subdued to amplify the social, political, or cultural applications of the text. Autoethnography views narratives as 'political theoretical texts' that can act as teaching tools to understand social relations through the absence or erasure of marginalized voices in scholarship.[42] In essence, this theory implores scholars to look beyond the words of the narrative and delve into the context in which the narrative was written. This theory addresses cultural curiosity through the lens of the author's lived experience allowing for a "storied scholarship" that blends the storytelling of narrative history with the cultural and social methodology of ethnography.[43] Analyzing captivity narratives through an autoethnographic lens allows for a deeper understanding of the social and political context, demonstrating the manipulation involved with the writing of these texts. This method challenges canonical methods of literary analysis to analyze a personal experience with the goal of understanding a broader cultural experience.[44]

---

[42] Caivano and Naumes, *The Sublime of the Political: Narrative and Autoethnography As Theory*, 79:95.
[43] Boylorn et al., *Critical Autoethnography*, 13.
[44] Adams et al., *Autoethnography*, 3.

When writing autoethnographic texts, authors often consider a single event as the catalyst for their writing. Scholars Dean Caivano and Sarah Naumes call this event the 'sublime', which he defines as a singular event or experience that "ruptures the mechanistic ordering of time, space, and bodies governed by the nation-state."[45] For Indigenous captives, the sublime may be the event of their initial capture or a particularly striking instance of violence that they witnessed. Through sensationalism, this event may be distorted in their account to intensify feelings of fear, disgust, or anger in the reader, which often elicited a strong response toward the marginalized perpetrators of the act. Publishers and printers often encouraged this sensationalism to intensify the narrative and glorify the author. In presenting themselves in a heroic light, authors increased the potential for their narrative to act as an "allegory of freedom."[46]

Thesis Outline

The first chapter of this thesis reviews the existing scholarship on captivity narratives, both Anglo-Indigenous and Barbary, to demonstrate the need for a unified analysis that considers the presence of gender, religion, and race within the genre. The second chapter examines Rowlandson's narrative, paying close attention to the way that she described her own actions in comparison to that of her captors to secure her piety while denying theirs. Through descriptions of violence, anti-Indigenous racism, her constant reliance on faith, and a fierce desire to return to English familiarities, Rowlandson secured the prominence of both herself and the captivity narrative genre.

---

[45] Caivano and Naumes, *The Sublime of the Political: Narrative and Autoethnography As Theory*, 79:94.
[46] Snader, *Caught between Worlds: British Captivity Narratives in Fact and Fiction*, 6.

The third chapter explores the connection between anti-Indigenous racism and nineteenth-century white womanhood through an analysis of Gowanlock and Delaney's dual narrative. This chapter pays specific attention to the sensationalism of news media surrounding their capture, and the use of their story as an allegory for the vulnerability of both women and the Canadian nation.

Conclusion

Captivity narratives in colonial North America were far more than autobiographical recollections of traumatic experiences. They were deliberate cultural and political tools designed to reinforce settler-colonial ideologies, gender hierarchies, and racialized perceptions of Indigenous groups and North-African Barbary corsairs. Through a combined literary and historical analysis, this thesis will demonstrate that the Anglo-Indigenous captivity narratives of Rowlandson, Gowanlock, and Delaney functioned not only to reclaim personal virtue and social status for their authors, but also to serve broader nationalist and imperialist agendas.

Captivity narratives are foundational texts of settler-colonialism, functioning simultaneously as personal accounts, political propaganda, and cultural reinforcements of white supremacy. Overall, this thesis demonstrates that, despite being separated by two centuries and twenty-five hundred miles, Rowlandson's *The Sovereignty and Goodness of God* and Gowanlock and Delaney's *Two Months* were written under similar circumstances, with each author writing to fit the confines of the social, gender, and racial norms of their time to secure public acceptance of their actions and regain a portion of the agency that had been stolen alongside them in the initial capture.

Chapter 1: Literature Review and Historiography

Although the authors discussed in this thesis were separated by time and distance, each of their narratives address the common threads of gender, race, and religion. By weaving these threads into their writing, Rowlandson, Gowanlock, and Delaney molded their experience to suit the social, political, and religious ideals of their time that required white settler society to outclass Indigenous practices. Much of the existing scholarship ignores the voices of Indigenous or Barbary actors in captivity narratives, which has contributed to both the vilification of the captors and praise for the captives.

This thesis defines the Anglo-American captivity genre as one written by Anglo-European settlers in both the Americas and the Mediterranean and focuses more specifically on the writing of returned female captives in New England and Western Canada. Amidst these specifications, the first section of this chapter will identify the role of the British empire as integral in understanding how Anglo settlers in North America sought to define their own identity while still maintaining English ideals of civility. The second section of this chapter will explore the role of gender in captivity writing through the tropes of a woman in distress who must be saved and an incompetent Indigenous man who defies Anglo-American ideals of masculinity. The third section explores the transition of captivity narratives from religious to political texts and the applications that these texts had in Anglo-American politics. Lastly, this chapter will explore the role of race in the captivity genre, specifically how captivity narratives employ racial Othering to vilify marginalized groups. To fully understand the lasting impact of the captivity genre, it is imperative that scholars recognize the voices that were silenced for white stories to

succeed. These narratives are not just a story of white survival, but also of Indigenous suffering, strength, and retaliation against their oppressors.

In a 1993 edited collection that examines the captivity tradition from 1550-1900, editors Kathryn Zabelle Derounian-Stodola and James Levernier keenly identify the considerations that must be taken when doing captivity scholarship. Unlike most of the existing scholarship that focused on the highly successful narratives of Mary Rowlandson in 1675 and John Williams in 1704, this collection endeavored to examine lesser-known narratives that challenged the vilification of Indigenous peoples by recognizing that Indigenous captors were capable of humanity and kindness.[47] This collection identified the need for a comparison between popular and obscure narratives, specifically one that would contrast the prejudicial treatment and unjust vilification of Indigenous peoples that still permeates in our time.

Empire and Identity Formation

In her 2003 book, *Captives: Britain, Empire, and the World 1600-1850*, historian Linda Colley analyzed the paradoxical role of the British Empire in both the Mediterranean and the Americas. Contrasting what is typically viewed as strength, Colley presents an alternative view of the "smallness, weakness, fragility, and division" of an empire that has stretched itself far too thin in its search for domination.[48] In her text, Colley examined the role that captivity narratives played in forming an Anglo-American identity in the colonies, showing that the narratives had a dual function. On one hand,

---

[47] Derounian-Stodola and Levernier, *The Indian Captivity Narrative, 1550-1900*, xi.
[48] Ogborn, "Gotcha!," 231.

captivity writing was a so-called 'truthful' account of life in the American colonies and the Mediterranean. On the other hand, this writing was a tool of propaganda used to advance the imperial and colonial efforts of the British Empire.[49] Colley's critical examination of the British Empire reinforces the need for scholarship that challenges existing imperial and colonial histories.

In her 1999 text, *Captive Selves, Captivating Others: The Politics and Poetics of Colonial North American Captivity Narratives*, Pauline Turner Strong also maintains that captivity narratives were directly tied to identity formation in Early America. Through a broad analysis of American captivity that covers both American and Indigenous captives from the sixteenth to eighteenth centuries, Strong elucidated that the success of captivity narratives was directly linked to their ability to represent an emerging "American Self" undergoing transformation and hardship.[50] This metaphor permeates throughout captivity scholarship, viewing the American colonies as an individual at risk of assault and corresponding greatly with the formerly captive authors of Anglo-Indigenous captivity texts. Strong identifies the radically selective nature of captivity writing and contends that, through being selective about which narratives were published and what was included, the narratives that emerged as successful served to legitimate colonial power.[51]

The 1991 edited collection, *Strangers in the Realm: Cultural Margins of the First British Empire*, situates Early America as being on the margins of the British Empire.

---

[49] Colley, *Captives*, 12, 72, and 148.
[50] Strong, *Captive Selves, Captivating Others*, Limited territory edition (Westview Press, 2008), 3.
[51] Strong, *Captive Selves, Captivating Others*, Limited territory edition (Westview Press, 2008), 5.

Existing in England's shadow increased the Anglo-American desire for an identity of their own and, through this identity formation, made lasting contributions to the British Empire from the periphery. This collection identifies Anglo-Indigenous interactions as the basis for Anglo-American identity formation, pinpointing belief in the superiority of English ideals of civility and Christianity as the fundamental tenets of Anglo-American settler societies.[52] In a society whose cultural identity relied on being civilized and religious, captivity narratives acted as a metaphor for Anglo-Americans in their new colony, surviving conflict with what they considered to be the Indigenous enemy.

Following the American revolution, American identity was formed in direct opposition to Indigeneity. Historian Susan Scheckel linked the rise of American nationalism to the decline of Indigeneity in her 2001 text, *The Insistence of the Indian: Race and Nationalism in Nineteenth-Century American Culture*. Scheckel wrote that the formation of American national ideology relied on the presence of contradictions to that ideology, like that of Indigenous practices.[53] In other words, to define what Americanness *was*, one first had to define was it *was not*. As Rebecca Blevins Faery explained in her 1999 work, *Cartographies of Desire: Captivity, Race, and Sex in the Shaping of an American Nation*, captivity narratives played a crucial role in colonizers viewing themselves as "American subjects."[54] Historian Rachel Bryant built upon Faery's analysis in her examination of the narrative of John Gyles, indicating that Indigenous culture was a construct that colonizers pitted themselves against to consolidate their own

---

[52] Bailyn and Morgan, *Strangers within the Realm*, 146.
[53] Scheckel, *The Insistence of the Indian,*10-12.
[54] Faery, *Cartographies of Desire*, 60.

identity.[55] Thus, Anglo-American, and later national, identity formation relied less on what it meant to be civilized, and more on what settlers viewed as *un*civilized.

Jennifer Henderson, in her 2003 text, *Settler Feminism and Race Making in Canada*, linked the production of "national literature" like captivity narratives to the expression of national identity.[56] Henderson's work identified female authors of captivity narratives as trailblazers of a distinctly "Protestant and English-speaking trail of 'civilizing' culture."[57] The recognition that female authors were major contributors to identity formation is uncommon in captivity scholarship, presenting a gap that this thesis aims to rectify.

Gary L. Ebersole linked identity and captivity narratives in a different way in his 1995 text, *Captured by Texts: Puritan to Post-Modern Images of Indian Captivity*. Rather than focus on these narratives as a tool of identity formation, Ebersole suggested that captivity could lead to the disintegration of cultural identity. He argued that experiencing bondage led to an inherent dissolution of one's sense of self and that, having experienced a "state of savagery", one could never return to their "civilized" way of life. [58] This viewpoint relied on the captive either willfully engaging in Indigenous practices or undergoing such hardship that they reverted to a primordial state of survival. While not unheard of, this idea of "going native" was not as prevalent in captivity narratives that came to be used as propaganda.[59] Rather, texts that demonstrated a sense of approval for

---

[55] Bryant, "Honey from the Rock," 15.
[56] Henderson, *Settler Feminism and Race Making in Canada* (University of Toronto Press: 2003), 3.
[57] Henderson, *Settler Feminism and Race Making in Canada*, 3.
[58] Ebersole, *Captured by Texts*, 190.
[59] Ebersole, *Captured by Texts*, 191.

Indigenous ways of life were often rejected by settler society and relegated to the shadows of the historical record.

A Woman in Distress and a Man of Incompetence

Captivity writing was built on the metaphor of a female captive being held by a male captor, a foundational structure based on the early American tradition for a colony under siege to be portrayed as a woman in distress.[60] In *The Captors' Narrative: Catholic Women and Their Puritan Men on the Early American Frontier*, historian William Henry Foster examines the "gender power inversion" involved in captivity writing that enabled Puritan female captives to maintain a semblance of control in how their stories were being told.[61] This inversion of power contradicted the traditional role of Puritan women in the American colonies whose stories would have typically been eclipsed by those written by Anglo-American men who returned from captivity. Foster's study focuses on Puritan men who were taken captive by French-Canadian women in New France and how their experiences as male captives reinforced the notions of female authority that were present in female-written captivity narratives. Although Foster's examination of male captives challenged the typical gender power structures in Puritan America, it also reinforced the silencing of female voices that was all too common in the seventeenth century. While conducting his research, Foster struggled to find documentation from male captives who were held by female captors, a silence that he attributes to the "difference in opinion considering the legitimacy of women's authority" in colonial

---

[60] Foster, *The Captors' Narrative*, 1.
[61] Foster, *The Captors' Narrative*, 4.

America.[62] Ultimately, Foster's scholarship reinforced the irrefutable role that gender played in written accounts of captivity.

In her 2007 text, *Abraham in Arms: War and Gender in Colonial New England*, Ann Little identifies a secondary gendered trope in captivity narratives, that of the incompetent Indigenous man. Anglo-Indigenous captives expected their male captors to embody the same social and familial hierarchies as their own society. Early American hegemonic masculinity expected a man to be the head of his household and a pillar of society. At this time, it was common for settler households to compare themselves to their neighbours, and so it was natural that captives would apply the same comparison to their captors.[63] As explained by Little, captives held Indigenous men to the "ideal standards of English headship and inevitably found them wanting."[64] Ultimately, the Indigenous men's failure to live up to the captive's expectation contributed the stereotype that Indigenous men were lazy, disorganized, and incapable of self-rule. This stereotype justified the ongoing persecution of Indigenous people and convinced Anglo-Americans that they needed to protect their sovereignty and preserve their white privilege "at all costs."[65]

Historian Merril Smith determined that Early American women were often "pawns without a voice" when it came to sexual encounters.[66] This made them ideal prey for "drunken, lusty savage" Indigenous men whose incontrollable sexual desire

---

[62] Foster, *The Captors' Narrative*, 19.
[63] Little, *Abraham in Arms*, 106.
[64] Little, *Abraham in Arms*, 103.
[65] Little, *Abraham in Arms*, 103.
[66] Smith, *Sex and Sexuality in Early America*, 22.

threatened the virtue of the helpless female captive.[67] It was often expected that white female captives had been raped by their Indigenous male captors, a situation that reinforced the stereotypical lusty Indigenous man but, as Smith explains, it was much more common that Indigenous female captives were raped by white captors. Of course, the rape of an Indigenous woman was hardly considered newsworthy at a time when Indigenous women often categorized as "spoils" obtained after a successful conquest.[68]

Religion as a Tool of Propaganda

In her 2007 book, *The Captive's Position: Female Narrative, Male Identity, and Royal Authority in Colonial New England*, Teresa A. Toulouse explored captivity narratives in relation to their shift from religious texts to political texts, highlighting their propagandistic applications in gaining political and religious authority. In examining this shift and its causation, Toulouse proposed that captivity narratives enabled male colonial ministerial elites to negotiate the "profound transformations" of their cultural identity amidst the turbulence of the late seventeenth century.[69] Toulouse argued that the political nature of colonial relations between English settlers and their rivals is inherently linked to religious identity, as seen in the writings and actions of theocrats, Increase and Cotton Mather. The Mathers, who had their own individual fascinations with captivity narratives, directly correlated their religious authority with colonial "political legitimacy and authority."[70] In doing so, the Mathers and other religious elites tied religious leadership to

---

[67] Smith, *Sex and Sexuality in Early America*, 8.
[68] Smith, *Sex and Sexuality in Early America*, 16.
[69] Toulouse, *The Captive's Position*, 2.
[70] Toulouse, *The Captive's Position*, 3.

the success of the colonial project, ensuring their own legacies and the legacy of captivity narratives that adhered to their beliefs, like that of Mary Rowlandson. Rowlandson's narrative, like many others, was used to deny tolerance to those that dissented from religious and political ideals of Puritan society in New England, prolonging the persecution of Indigenous peoples.

In her 1993 book, *White Captives*, June Namias contends that the experience of white captives of Indigenous captors is both a result of, and enabler of, the capture and enslavement of Indigenous peoples by European imperialists. As early as 1521, Spaniards enslaved several thousand Southeast Indigenous peoples in the West Indies, a method of control that was not foreign to Indigenous populations.[71] Capture and enslavement were tactics used both by, and against, Indigenous people who considered it a useful tactic of warfare. It is imperative to recognize that white captives were not the first to experience this tactic in North America, but it must be made clear that they were the first to have the privilege to document their experience in such a detailed way. Namias attributed the success of Anglo-Indigenous captivity narratives to the whiteness of their authors, allowing the white captive to become a "centrepiece" in history and literature in the earliest days of settler-Indigenous contact.[72]

Christina Snyder differentiated between enslavement and captivity in her 2010 book, *Slavery in Indian Country: The Changing Face of Captivity in Early America*. Snyder identified enslavement as the "most exploitative" form of captivity, indicating

---

[71] Namias, *White Captives*, 5.
[72] Namias, *White Captives*, 5.

that both were forms of bondage that were used by Indigenous groups and Europeans and directly linked to the colonization of America.[73] Whereas Europeans typically viewed captivity as a static institution that allowed them to gain control over groups that they viewed as racially different, Indigenous groups had a more malleable understanding. Indigenous captivity was not inherently linked to race; in fact, early captives often entered captivity of their own volition in the hopes of being adopted by their captors.[74] From an Indigenous standpoint, captivity started as a way to achieve power over competing Indigenous groups through capturing their warriors and, with the introduction of settlers and their destructive ways, became a way to gain power in a colonial setting. Motivations of power preceded notions of race, and a captive was more valuable for the social and material power that they could bring their captor than the color of their skin.[75] Ultimately, Snyder defined Indigenous captivity as a more malleable experience than that of bondspeople held by European captors.

Historian Colin G. Calloway advocated that captivity writing can be used to better understand Anglo-Indigenous relations. In his 1992 text, *North Country Captives: Selected Narratives of Indian Captivity from Vermont and New Hampshire*, Calloway argued that these narratives illuminate the influences that Indigenous groups and colonists had on each other and that contemporary society owes itself to "layers of interaction" between natives and newcomers.[76] Through viewing the captivity experience

---

[73] Snyder, *Slavery in Indian Country*, 9.
[74] Snyder, *Slavery in Indian Country*, 5.
[75] Snyder, *Slavery in Indian Country*, 5.
[76] Calloway, *North Country Captives: Selected Narratives of Indian Captivity from Vermont and New Hampshire*, xii.

as an opportunity for shared influence, Calloway began to reframe some of the these texts and encourage the addition of Indigenous perspectives in the captivity tradition.

Conclusion

In all, this historiography chapter identifies the origins and critical interpretations that must be considered when analyzing the captivity genre. Although the racialized presentations of Indigenous and African captors in this genre are presented as undeniable facts, they must be recognized as misunderstood representations of the colonial fear of non-whites. Barbary captivity narratives attempted to solidify the notion of African 'barbarity' just as Indigenous captivity narratives work to strengthen belief in Indigenous 'savagery', with each identifying Anglo-American captives as undeserving victims. By weaving together the intersectional threads of gender, religion, and race that are present in captivity scholarship, this thesis contends that that the propagandization of captivity literature both encapsulated the genre and destroyed it.

Chapter 2: Eleven Weeks a Captive

> I had often before this said, that if the Indians should come, I should choose rather to be killed by them than taken alive, but when it came to the trial my mind changed: their glittering weapons so daunted my spirit that I chose rather to go along with those (as I may say) ravenous bears, than that moment to end my days.[77]
>
> — Mary Rowlandson, *The Sovereignty and Goodness of God*

In December of 1620, English settlers aboard the *Mayflower* landed on the shores of Massachusetts at Plymouth Rock, thereby establishing the Plymouth colony. Upon their arrival in New England, English settlers manipulated and exploited Indigenous people to achieve dominion over the colonies. The English colonization of America paid little heed to forming legitimate relationships with the region's Indigenous groups, opting instead for so-called allyships that were broken once the English gained all that they could. The creation and subsequent breaking of allyships stimulated tension between settlers and Indigenous people as trust began to falter.

On 10 February 1676, the Nipmuck, Narragansett, and Wampanoag peoples attacked the town of Lancaster, Massachusetts as part of their campaign against the English during King Philip's War. Mary Rowlandson, a Puritan woman of English descent, witnessed the attack from the home that she shared with her husband, four children, and extended family. At sunrise, Indigenous attackers began lighting houses on fire, shooting and beating the English occupants as they ran outside. Rowlandson, whose

---

[77] Rowlandson, *A Narrative of the Captivity and Restoration of Mrs. Mary Rowlandson*, 8.

house stood at the edge of a hill, watched as the attackers shot into her house "so that the bullets seemed to fly like hail" and wounded three of her family members inside.[78] After two hours, the attackers gathered flax and hemp from a nearby barn, placed it around the outside of the house, and lit it on fire.

With bullets coming from outside the house and fire having reached the roof, Rowlandson took her children and exited the house. In her narrative published seven years later, Rowlandson described the context for her retreat. "Out we must go," she wrote, "the fire increasing, and coming along behind us roaring, and the Indians gaping before us with their guns, spears and hatchets, to devour us."[79] Upon their exit, Rowlandson was shot through the hand, the bullet then tearing through the bowels of her six-year-old daughter, Sarah, whom she had been carrying. Rowlandson's eldest sister watched her son die and cried out that she wished to die with him and was promptly shot dead. The Narragansett approached Rowlandson and pulled her to come with them, and she replied by saying that they would kill her. They assured her that if she "were willing to go along with them" they would not hurt her, and so she went.[80] She spent the following eleven weeks as a captive of the Narragansett, sold by her initial captor to a Sagamore (or Sachem) named Quannopin.

The story of Rowlandson paraphrased above is based on her 1682 narrative, *The Sovereignty and Goodness of God*, which launched the genre of Indigenous North

---

[78] Rowlandson, "A True History of the Captivity and Restoration of Mrs. Mary Rowlandson," 2.
[79] Rowlandson, "A True History of the Captivity and Restoration of Mrs. Mary Rowlandson," 3.
[80] Rowlandson, "A True History of the Captivity and Restoration of Mrs. Mary Rowlandson," 3.

American captivity writing and elevated Rowlandson as the female archetype of captivity narratives. Her narrative is comprised of a series of twenty removes, marking the twenty times that she and her captors moved their encampment. The religious and political applications of her narrative enabled her individual experience to become a collective experience that allowed her peers to externally comprehend her suffering and deem her a true 'survivor' in the colonial period. Using a combination of literary and historical analysis, this chapter will show that Rowlandson's piety helped her to comprehend her circumstance and justify any actions that could be construed as sinful by her peers. Ultimately, this chapter will demonstrate the ways in which Rowlandson wielded race, gender, and religion within her writing to ensure that she emerged as subservient to her religion.

Puritanism in Early America

Mary Rowlandson, formerly Mary White, was an infant when her parents brought her to New England in 1639. As devout Puritans, her parents were English 'Dissenters' who disapproved of the Church of England's integration of religion and state. Like many other Protestant dissenters, the Whites found themselves inundated with a "sense of impending spiritual desolation" and left England for the American colonies in the hopes of forging a community that centred Puritan views of God, the church, and humanity in their everyday lives.[81] Puritanism was a sect of Protestantism that directly rejected any

[81] Andrew Delbanco, *The Puritans in America: A Narrative Anthology* (Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press, 2019), 39; Wald, Kenneth, *Religion and Politics in the United States* 38-39

elements of Catholicism with "remarkable intensity."[82] As their name implies, Puritans felt they had to entirely remove themselves from England to preserve their purity, lest they become tainted by the spiritual decline and political upheaval that they believed was taking place in England. The use of the Holy Scripture contained in the bible, which was declining in England as people began to favor the Book of Common Prayer, was the foundation on which Puritanism stood.[83] Evangelical preaching inspired directly from biblical texts was paramount in Puritan churches and was used to both explain and combat the supposed wickedness of the world around them. Once in the colonies, Puritans channeled their religious zeal into combatting the wickedness exhibited by those "living without the benefit of any religion" and "who had embraced the wrong religion."[84]

As a Puritan woman in the seventeenth century, Rowlandson was expected to conform to the gendered expectation of feminine docility and frailty. At this time, colonial authorities sought to depict New England as the pinnacle of serenity and meekness, traits that were duly epitomized by the colonial goodwife.[85] A Puritan woman was expected to heed the guidance of her husband and father to ensure that men emerged as leaders of the family. Historian Laurel Thatcher Ulrich refers to this as the "dignity of anonymity," a trait prized by Puritan women who did not challenge societal expectations of their gender.[86] The acquiescence of Puritan women stemmed from the ideals of

---

[82] Delbanco, *The Puritans in America*, 41.
[83] Delbanco, *The Puritans in America*, 41.
[84] Ahlstrom, *A Religious History of the American People*, 91.
[85] Romeo, *The Virtuous and Violent Women of Seventeenth-Century Massachusetts*, 3.
[86] Their first child, a daughter, died before Mary's captivity; Waldrup, *Colonial Women*, 169.

"feminized passivity, humility, and obedience" that were prevalent in Puritan theology.[87] Like the biblical Bathsheba, a Puritan woman was expected to be satisfied to maintain her household and fulfill her duties as a mother, wife, and church member. In religious texts, Bathsheba is also depicted as a strong woman who "girdeth her loins with strength and strengtheneth her arms… Strength and honour are her clothing; and she shall rejoice in time to come."[88] However, this strength was expected to be used only for the good of others and if a woman called attention to herself or became infamous in the colonies, it usually meant that she had done something wrong.[89]

For dissenters who came to New England to redeem their purity, the local Indigenous groups "represented the complete inversion of the world they sought for."[90] Through labelling Indigenous people as savages, Puritan settlers increased the divide between themselves, and the Native inhabitants based on perceived social, cultural, and phenotypic differences. This forged divide encouraged settlers to engage in anti-Indigenous hatred and raise themselves above the station of their Indigenous counterparts.

Anti-Indigenous Racism and Puritan Femininity

Laurel Thatcher Ulrich, *Good Wives: Image and Reality in the Lives of Women in Northern New England, 1650-1750*, 1st Vintage Books ed (New York: Vintage Books, 1991), 33.
[87] Ralph Bauer et al., eds., *Creole Subjects in the Colonial Americas: Empires, Texts, Identities*, Published for the Omohundro Institute of Early American History and Culture, Williamsburg, Virginia (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2009), 320.
[88] Proverbs 31:17, (New Revised Standard Version).
[89] Romeo, *The Virtuous and Violent Women of Seventeenth-Century Massachusetts*, 3.
[90] Salisbury, *Manitou and Providence* (Oxford university press, 1982), 11.

The anti-Indigenous prejudice in *The Sovereignty and Goodness of God* vehemently reaffirmed the dominant settler narrative that Indigenous beliefs and practices were cruel and unsophisticated. Rowlandson described the death of her youngest daughter, Sarah, who had been wounded during the initial attack in Lancaster. She described carrying Sarah in her lap as the young girl "moaned night and day" with her captors threatening time and time again to 'knock the child upon the head' to quiet her. Helpless, Rowlandson received no aid or comfort from her captors:

> Thus nine days I sat upon my knees, with my babe in my lap… My child being even ready to depart this sorrowful world, they bid me carry it out to another wigwam, I suppose because they would not be troubled with such spectacles; whither I went with a very heavy heart and down I sat with the picture of death in my lap. About two hours into the night, my sweet babe, like a lamb, departed this life, on Feb. 18, 1676, it being about six years and five months old.[91]

Rowlandson described watching her daughter struggle in pain for nine days until she ultimately died in her arms from the bullet that hit them both on the day of their capture.

Following Sarah's death, the Narragansett forced Rowlandson to abandon the body to visit the wigwam of her master. When she returned, her daughter had been buried in an unmarked grave. This act directly contradicted the death rituals typically practiced by Puritans. In Puritan society, death was met with communal mourning that served to both honour the deceased and give strength to the bereaved.[92] After their captors denied her daughter this rite, Rowlandson fell back on her piety to bring her strength,

---

[91] Rowlandson, "A True History of the Captivity and Restoration of Mrs. Mary Rowlandson," 63.
[92] Beaver, "'Sown in Dishonour, Raised in Glory,'" 401.

committing herself "in this wilderness condition to Him who is above all."[93] In describing the death of her daughter and the emotional aftermath, Rowlandson used the universality of motherhood to evoke empathy within her readers. Amidst grief, Rowlandson relied heavily on her faith, eliciting Puritan sympathies from her readership and casting herself as a devout Puritan mother. Simultaneously, Rowlandson illustrated the cruelty of her captors who denied Sarah a proper burial, reaffirming the differences between herself and her Indigenous captors.

These differences are further developed in Rowlandson's eighth remove, in which she met the Indigenous leader of the conflict that led to her capture, Metacom. Upon meeting her, Metacom offered her a pipe to smoke. Rowlandson recognized that this offer was intended as a compliment but ultimately insists herself that it was a trap laid by the devil that was only fit among "saints and sinners."[94] In convincing herself away from viewing this act as a kindness, Rowlandson demonstrated the conflicting feelings that she had towards her captors. As will be seen in the case of Gowanlock and Delaney, captives often juggle feelings of hatred with feelings of appreciation when their captors show them small kindnesses. Ultimately, Rowlandson chose to listen to her hatred and directly linked Metacom to the devil, further vilifying him and likening the actions of her Indigenous captors to that of Satan. In her analysis of the narrative of John Gyles, historian Rachel Bryant theorized that this rejection of kindness stems from a fear of becoming irrevocably changed by captivity. Discussing an instance in which Gyles buries

---

[93] Rowlandson, "A True History of the Captivity and Restoration of Mrs. Mary Rowlandson," 64.
[94] Rowlandson, *A Narrative of the Captivity and Restoration of Mrs. Mary Rowlandson*, 1903, 69.

a biscuit that he had been given by his captors, Bryant explained that he feared the gift "because it contained *kindness*."[95] Puritan captives feared that recognizing that their captors had the capability to be kind would be evidence of Indigenous humanity, a fact that they did not reconcile with the settler understanding of Indigeneity.[96] Like Gyles, Rowlandson made efforts to conceal the kindness of her captors to deny the iconoclastic disassembling of settler-defined Indigenousness.

With the publication of her narrative, Rowlandson's position entered a state of flux as she navigated a "culturally constructed doubleness."[97] Her role as a humble wife was challenged by the so-called sinful action of working in exchange for goods, a choice that Rowlandson rectifies as a charitable act. Carter's model classified Rowlandson as a "Survivor" of the colonial period, as seen when Rowlandson tempered the actions that she took to survive by placing them alongside critiques of her captors. In her ninth remove, Rowlandson described having to rely on her own skills to barter for herself, receiving small amounts of food or small amounts of freedom in exchange for her services.[98] She recalled a "sorry Indian" asking her to make him a shirt in exchange for a knife.[99] Rowlandson described trading her sewing services, advocating to receive her payment, and ultimately receiving the knife. This contradicted the gender expectations of the day that viewed women as so defenceless that they had to consult their fathers,

---

[95] Bryant, *The Homing Place*, 35.
[96] Bryant, *The Homing Place*, 35–37.
[97] Bauer et al., *Creole Subjects in the Colonial Americas*, 322.
[98] Rowlandson, *A Narrative of the Captivity and Restoration of Mrs. Mary Rowlandson*, 30.
[99] Mary Rowlandson, *A Narrative of the Captivity and Restoration of Mrs. Mary Rowlandson* (New York: Open Road Integrated Media, Inc, 2016), 43-44.

husbands, or ministers to handle a problem.[100] Rather than recognize this as a potential act of kindness from the man, Rowlandson's choice to describe her trade partner as a "sorry Indian" indicated that her decision to trade was about survival and charity. Through selling her wares, Rowlandson challenged the passiveness of Puritan womanhood, asserted her autonomy, and negotiated the terms of her captivity.

To avoid any appearance of violating Puritan values, Rowlandson attempted to reframe her experience from captivity to servitude, a distinction that would better rectify the labour that she engaged in to survive. She does this by using terms typical of English servitude, referring to her captors as 'master' or 'mistress' and identifying herself as a 'servant'.[101] Labouring for payment was considered unbecoming for Puritan women who were only permitted to sell goods with their husbands' permission, this perhaps explains why Rowlandson was hesitant to publish her story.[102] However, labouring in duty to one's master could be understood as a necessity rather than a choice. In this way, Rowlandson protected herself from accusations of having willfully engaged with Indigenous practices. The epigraph to her narrative indicated that she had prepared her work for public consumption, stating that the narrative was published to benefit others who had been likewise 'afflicted'.[103]

To secure the superiority of whiteness and, more specifically, white femininity within her work, Rowlandson attempted to depict Indigenous femininity as inherently

---

[100] Koehler, *A Search for Power*, 30.
[101] Ceppi, *Invisible Masters*, 86–87.
[102] Koehler, *A Search for Power*, 114.
[103] Rowlandson, *A Narrative of the Captivity and Restoration of Mrs. Mary Rowlandson*, 6.

inferior to her own. She did so through her consistent use of the descriptor 'squaw'. A form of this term can be found in many Indigenous languages but is most associated with the Algonquian definition meaning 'woman'. Although this term was originally not racialized, white settlers used it specifically to refer to Indigenous women in a derogatory way. Mohawk language translates *squaw* to 'vagina', suggesting that the generalized use of the term is a way of sexualizing Indigenous women.[104] Contention remains regarding the historical intent of this term when used by non-Indigenous people, but scholars agree that use of the term *squaw* was a way of demeaning Indigenous women.[105] In using this term, Rowlandson placed herself on a pedestal to detract value from Indigenous women.

However, Rowlandson's encounter with an individual Indigenous woman inadvertently challenged her arguments about Indigenous humanity. For instance, she wrote about an Indigenous woman that she did not know who gave her some bear meat and invited her to sit near a fire. She later wrote of her surprise at the kindness of this woman: "I cannot but think how pleasant it was to me."[106] This section contradicts the overriding sense of Indigenous cruelty in this narrative, challenging the typical rejection of Indigenous kindness found in captivity narratives. It is likely that Rowlandson chose to include it because it is an instance of kindness that came from a stranger that she met during her captivity, rather than her own captors. Through this, Rowlandson

---

[104] Goddard, "Letter to the Editor," 19.
[105] This term, widely considered to be a slur in modern times, was also viewed as a dehumanizer in Early America. I include it here to better understand the way that Rowlandson used this term to depict Indigenous women as inferior, but I will not be including any of the direct quotations that use this term. If you would like to see her use of the word, please refer to the eighth, ninth, tenth, twelfth, thirteenth, eighteenth, nineteenth, and twentieth removes in her narrative.
[106] Rowlandson, *A Narrative on the Captivity and Restoration*, 44.

demonstrated that she did not categorize this woman in the same dangerous calibre as her captors, suggesting that perhaps other Indigenous people were capable of humanity while maintaining her beliefs in the cruelty of the Narragansett.

Reliance on Faith

Within her narrative, Rowlandson championed her faith for getting her through the captivity while simultaneously challenging the Puritan ideals of womanhood that insisted on a woman's silence. By structuring her narrative as a series of twenty removes, she suggested that each moment spent with her captors brought her further away from God. This process of removal further solidified her faith, allowing readers to see her consistent piety as an act of rebellion against her captors. Rowlandson drew on scripture more than eighty times within her work, through either direct references to verse or by comparing her circumstances to that of biblical characters.[107] Her intense piousness justified her transgressive actions and compelled her readership to view her as a survivor.

When discussing actions or events that challenge Puritan ways of life, Rowlandson's writing denied culpability. Although it is expected that her experience of captivity would not align with Puritan cultural practices, it is important to recognize the intention behind her writing. In a section that described being forced to work on the Sabbath under the threat of violence if she did not comply, Rowlandson anticipated the potential disapproval of her readers. As outlined in Deuteronomy, work was prohibited on the Sabbath to honour the day of rest that God took after creating the world.[108] She

---

[107] Downing, "'Streams of Scripture Comfort': Mary Rowlandson's Typological Use of the Bible," 252.
[108] Deuteronomy 5:12-15 (English Standard Version)

expressed her disapproval, questioning why her God would preserve "the heathen" who worked on the Sabbath.[109] This suggested that she either did not understand, or disapproved of, God allowing her captors to engage in a way of life that would not be deemed as faithful by herself or her peers.

Her antipathy towards God was momentary, as Rowlandson soon described the difficulty that the group had in crossing a river. She justified the failed crossing through unworthiness explaining that, had they been worthy, "God would have found a way."[110] This statement faith directly followed her momentary questioning of God, reaffirming her piety to demonstrate that she was still subordinate to her religion[111] In doing so, she justified any instances that could be construed as a religious transgression and ensure that her piety shone through.

Hermeneutic Applications and Pedagogy

Rowlandson's narrative, like many to follow it, was used by magistrates to exploit the experience of captives and make them martyrs. Religious leaders used this narrative, and others like it, to reaffirm their Puritan beliefs. This manipulation of texts can be viewed as a function of hermeneutics, the methodological practice of interpretation, specifically that of religious texts. Due to the colonial notion that women were innately vulnerable, thus making their captivity all the more harrowing, women's captivity narratives were appropriated more than men's. Rowlandson's narrative is a prime

---

[109] Rowlandson, *A Narrative on the Captivity and Restoration*, 66.
[110] Rowlandson, *A Narrative on the Captivity and Restoration*, 67.
[111] Westerkamp, *Women in Early American Religion 1600-1850* (Taylor and Francis, 2005), 1.

example of this, as it was heavily influenced by Puritan magistrate, Increase Mather. Mather had helped Rowlandson's husband, Joseph, obtain enough money for his wife's ransom and, after her release, housed the family in his community's church. It is widely assumed that Mather facilitated the publication of the narrative and wrote its preface, namely due to the generalization of the preface and its alignment with Puritan hermeneutics. While revising her narrative, Mather encouraged Rowlandson to expand on the already present themes of female passivity, obedience, and humility. [112] These themes corresponded greatly with Puritan theology and were key elements of its success. Historian Pauline Strong estimates that the preface of the narrative, which is written in a style significantly grander than the rest and signed "Per Amicum" (Latin, for "by a friend") was likely written by Increase Mather.[113] When discussing Rowlandson's Indigenous captors, the writer of the preface described them as "atheistical, proud, wild, cruel, barbarous, brutish (in one word) diabolical creatures as these, the worst of the heathen."[114] Although this directly referred to Rowlandson's Indigenous captors, the language was also used to describe other enemies of Puritanism, such as atheists and non-Christians.[115] This generalization allowed the narrative to speak not only to Indigenous enemies, but all enemies that arose as a threat to Puritan ways of life. The dehumanization of Indigenous people is evident when Mather referred to them as "creatures" in the preface, thus setting a precedent for the depiction of Indigenous people

---

[112] Bauer et al., *Creole Subjects in the Colonial Americas*, 320.
[113] Strong, *Captive Selves, Captivating Others: The Politics and Poetics of Colonial American Captivity Narratives*, 103.
[114] Rowlandson, *A Narrative of the Captivity and Restoration of Mrs. Mary Rowlandson*, 67.
[115] Vaughan, *The Puritan Tradition in America*, 276.

within the entire narrative. Through his use of prejudicial language, Mather sought to unite the Puritan readership against a common enemy: their Indigenous neighbour. This forced readers to transform personal experiences into "collective reflections and shared understanding" that were used as a tool to unite the Puritan masses.[116]

In generalizing personal experiences as collective experiences, Mather contributed to the Puritan theological practice of creating a "rhetorical reality."[117] In other words, Mather, like many other Protestant theologians in early America, constructed their own realities in the American colonies that placed them as the rightful inheritors of land, rather than the Indigenous communities. This malleability of reality and, consequentially, of history allowed religious community leaders to redefine their purpose in America, depicting them as saviours of the land and its people, rather than religious refugees participating in colonialism. This portrayal strengthened the Puritan communities, securing their purpose as meaningful amidst the struggles and confusion that come with colonial relocation.

Alongside the generalization of the preface, Rowlandson's own recounting of her experience was used as a tool of Puritan pedagogy. Rowlandson portrayed her captors "as instruments of God whose actions, whether abusive or merciful, were ultimately oriented to her own spiritual condition rather than to Algonquin values, grievances, or interests."[118] Rowlandson's characterization of her captors as "instruments of god"

---

[116] Allen, *Tocqueville, Covenant and the Democratic Revolution*, 21.
[117] Rivvett, "Religious Exceptionalism and American Literary History: 'The Puritan Origins of the American Self,'" 396.
[118] Strong, *Captive Selves, Captivating Others*, Limited territory edition (Westview Press, 2008), 98–99.

allowed religious officials to sermonize her experience and address not just Indigenous people, but all enemies of Puritan ways of life. Moreover, when acknowledging her sins of working on the Sabbath and engaging in trade, Rowlandson interpreted them as chastisement rather than condemnation. Using Psalm 118:17-18, she explained that "the Lord hath chastened me sore yet he hath not given me over to death."[119] In defining her experience through the lens of chastisement, Rowlandson sanctified herself of all sins through bearing the punishment of captivity. This allowed her narrative to serve as a lesson for not only herself but the entire Puritan community: bear God's punishment, and you shall be absolved. [120]

Viewing Rowlandson's text through a hermeneutic lens, Puritan magistrates claimed her narrative as one of religious significance, allowing it to attain a level of malleability that is usually reserved for biblical writings. In *The Puritan Origins of the American Self*, scholar Sacvan Bercovitch explains that through reading a text with Puritan ideals and practices in mind, one is called to understand the text through the lens of Puritanism, rather than that of personal experience. [121] The goal of the magistrates was to ensure that the public received these narratives through a lens of biblical exegesis that proved palatable to church and community leaders. These leaders wanted to ensure that their congregation would only interpret captivity narratives with the tools that the *church*

---

[119] Psalm 118.17-18 (New Revised Standard Version)
[120] Downing, "'Streams of Scripture Comfort': Mary Rowlandson's Typological Use of the Bible," 254.
[121] Bercovitch et al., *The Puritan Origins of the American Self*, 111.

had given them, allowing for a controlled understanding that aligned with the Puritan ideals that intertwined religion and politics.

Public Reception

Colonial captivity narratives were not invented by Rowlandson, but her narrative differed from the previous texts written by priests and explorers because it was authored by a Puritan English woman. The social place Rowlandson occupied as a Puritan English settler woman contributed to the cause for the publication and subsequent popularity of her text. Her narrative was more than just an account of captivity because it examined both the physical and spiritual trials of a 'normal' woman. As explained by Teresa A. Toulouse, her text exemplified "culturally valorized qualities of religious acceptance, humility, and obedience" that allowed for her redemption upon release.[122] Rowlandson's narrative transcended her own experience and, through the sermons of magistrates, functioned as a teaching tool for Puritan communities. This concept speaks to the pressures that may have been affecting Rowlandson while she was documenting her experience, pressures like that coming from religious officials who hoped to capitalize on her writing.

Officials capitalized on these narratives by commodifying them through print and publication. Indeed, when Rowlandson's narrative was first released in 1682, three subsequent issues were published within the same year, and others came periodically in

---

[122] Toulouse, *The Captive's Position*, 1.

the following years.[123] The success of *The Sovereignty and Goodness of God* was unique, as female-penned works were not often met with such enthusiasm. Women, who were thought to be weak-minded, were believed to have little familiarity with reading and writing. Their works were often praised for being beyond the custom of their sex, but nowhere near as good as the writing of a man.[124] In a society that did not prize the works or art of fiction, Rowlandson's narrative brought both literary and psychological intrigue. It captivated audiences, adding new elements of action, excitement, and fear to a piece of non-fiction literature. Moreover, when partnered with intense piety, the peculiar personal nature of this text catapulted it into popularity and filled a cultural and literary void.[125]

As colonialism flourished, qualities like piety and providence became the expectations of those who were extending into the Puritan Atlantic world. As explained by Linda Colley, "contact with and dominion over manifestly alien peoples nourished Britons' sense of superior difference. They could contrast their law, their treatment of women, their wealth, power, political stability, and religion with societies they only imperfectly understood."[126] Thus, when faced with individuals who challenged their way of life, such as the Indigenous people of North America, English settlers reaffirmed their beliefs through imperialism, prizing English superiority above the brutishness of their Indigenous opponents. This was extremely evident in the captivity narratives that came

---

[123] Alden T. Vaughan and Edward Clark, *Puritans Among the Indians: Accounts of Captivity and Redemption 1676-1724* (The Belknap Press: Cambridge Mass. 1981), 3.
[124] Koehler, *A Search for Power*, 31.
[125] Vaugh and Clark, *Puritans Among the Indians*, 3.
[126] Linda Colley, *Britons: Forging the Nation, 1707-1837* (Yale Nota Bene: New Haven, Conn. 2005) 369.

from American experiences and whose publication gained popularity in America and beyond.

Conclusion

This chapter has analyzed Rowlandson's *The Sovereignty and Goodness of God* to demonstrate how she transgressed gendered expectations of Puritan women at the expense of Indigenous people. Through her use of racist language, her recognition of the ideals of Puritan femininity, and her reliance on faith, Rowlandson secured the success of her narrative and the Anglo-Indigenous captivity narrative genre. Most notably, this chapter revealed the ways in which Rowlandson herself wielded her captivity. Through manipulating existing anti-Indigenous sentiments, Rowlandson balanced her narrative so that any actions or events that threatened her piousness were tempered with socially acceptable racism. Through a combination of autoethnographic cognisance and inherent self-preservation, Rowlandson was able to write a narrative that preserved her purity and portrayed her as a fiercely devout heroine. An examination of Puritan leadership sheds light on the motivations of clergymen, like Increase Mather, who supported and endorsed the writing and publication of Rowlandson's narrative. Ultimately, in appropriating the female captive, New English ministers were able to capitalize on her experience and "negotiate profound transformations in their own sense of personal and cultural identity during a crucial transitional period" towards the end of the seventeenth century.[127] In doing so, they secured controlled of the trajectory of their flocks and, subsequently,

---

[127]Toulouse, *The Captive's Position*, 2.

surrounding communities in New England. This direction, fuelled by a distinct Othering of Indigenous groups and desire for religious validation, laid the groundwork for further Indigenous conflicts in North America, like that of the Métis uprising led by Louis Riel in Western Canada and the captivity of the two Theresas, as will be discussed in the following chapter.

Chapter 3: The Tale of the Two Theresas

> When a few generations shall come and go; our sad story of the 'Frog Lake Massacre" may be totally forgotten, and the actors therein consigned to oblivion; but, these few papers, should they by any chance survive the hand of time, will tell to the children of the future Canada, what those of your day experienced and suffered.[128]
>
> — Theresa Delaney, *Two Months in the Camp of Big Bear*

On 30 March 1885, Theresa and John Gowanlock received a letter from Thomas Quinn, the Indian Agent at Frog Lake, warning them of a nearby conflict and telling them to go to the home of their neighbours, Theresa and John Delaney. The Gowanlocks had only lived in the area for three months and their home was not as developed as that of their neighbours. Although they did not expect any trouble to arise, they decided to heed Quinn's warning and went to stay with the Delaneys.[129]

Quinn warned them about what came to be known as the Battle of Duck Lake, which took place on 26 March and is often considered the first engagement of the Northwest Rebellion. At first, representatives from Canada's Northwest Mounted Police (NWMP), Superintendent Leif Crozier and Métis interpreter 'Gentleman' Joe McKay, engaged in a parlay with two Métis representatives, Isidore and Assiwiyin. The NWMP suspected that this was a distraction that would allow Métis troops to flank the police and, therefore, they attempted to return to their men. As they turned, Isidore and Assiwiyin drew their guns, and conflict ensued.[130] Despite lasting only thirty minutes, the conflict

---

[128] Gowanlock and Delaney, *Two Months in the Camp of Big Bear*, 77.
[129] Gowanlock and Delaney, *Two Months in the Camp of Big Bear*, 13.
[130] *The Witness*, "The Duck Lake Fight: Half-Breed Account of the Defeat of Crozier by Dumont."

resulted in twelve NWMP casualties and eleven wounded. The Métis, led by Louis Riel and Gabriel Dumont, suffered only five casualties, emerging as the victors. Separated by four hundred kilometres, Theresa Gowanlock explained that "we all felt perfectly safe where we were, saying that as we were so far away from the trouble at Duck Lake, the Government would likely come to some terms with them and the affair be settled at once."[131]

On the morning of 2 April, the Gowanlocks and Delaneys were awoken by John Pritchard, a local Métis man who both couples knew and trusted, and Ibesies, son of the Plains Cree chief Big Bear. They informed the Gowanlocks and Delaneys that Big Bear and his people had reached Frog Lake, and that conflict was imminent. Big Bear was known to the community at Frog Lake and was relatively well liked by settlers.[132] Trusting this reputation, the Gowanlocks and Delaneys allowed Big Bear and his band of Cree to lead them from the house. Shortly after, the Cree began to shoot at their new captives, killing both John Gowanlock and John Delaney. Thus began Theresa Gowanlock and Theresa Delaney's two months of captivity with Big Bear and his band of Plains Cree and Métis, an experience which they documented in *Two Months in the Camp of Big Bear*: *The Life and Adventures of Theresa Gowanlock and Theresa Delaney*. This dual narrative, containing Gowanlock's account in the first half followed by Delaney's account in the second half, was published in Autumn of 1885 following their release from captivity.

---

[131] Gowanlock and Delaney, *Two Months in the Camp of Big Bear*, 13.
[132] Gowanlock and Delaney, *Two Months in the Camp of Big Bear*, 13.

This chapter will explore the nuances between Gowanlock and Delaney's accounts through lenses of race, gender, and autoethnography as Gowanlock adhered to the "Frail Flower" motif of the nineteenth-century while Delaney strayed from it.[133] Through a literary lens, this chapter will examine Gowanlock and Delaney's use of racialized language and their treatment of Indigenous and mixed-race individuals, in particular, the different treatment exhibited towards the Cree and the so-called 'half-breed' Métis. In *Two Months,* Gowanlock and Delaney demonstrated an affinity towards the Métis captives that they were held alongside, while exhibiting disgust towards their Cree captors. This ability to ally with one Indigenous group and not the other speaks to the malleability of anti-Indigenous racism, specifically in nineteenth-century Canada. Through identifying fragility as the key component of nineteenth-century womanhood, this chapter analyzes how adhering to, or straying from, feminine fragility enabled Gowanlock and Delaney's narratives to differ from one another. The dual nature of *Two Months* allows for a unique analysis of autoethnographic manipulation, as the similar experiences of Gowanlock and Delaney are presented differently within their own writing. Through a combined literary and historical approach, this chapter explores how exemplifying nineteenth-century white womanhood and exhibiting anti-Indigenous racism contributed to Gowanlock and Delaney's reintegration into society following their captivity.

The Woods Cree, The Plains Cree, and the Métis

---

[133] Carter, "The Exploitation and Narration of the Captivity of Theresa Delaney and Theresa Gowanlock, 1885."

The attack at Frog Lake is widely considered to be the "worst tragedy" of the North-West Rebellion.[134] Frog Lake was home to about two hundred members of the Woods Cree, whom Gowanlock described as "peaceable and industrious" and not responsible for the massacre.[135] After the publication of their dual narrative, Gowanlock expressed the desire to repay a "debt of gratitude" to the Woods Cree for their kindness.[136] Delaney, who had resided at Frog Lake since 1882 with her husband, affirmed this description of the Woods Cree, and described them as "submissive" and "kind".[137] Each woman distinguished the Woods Cree from the Plains Cree and were adamant that the Woods Cree were captives and not captors. Like Rowlandson, Gowanlock and Delaney recognized the possibility for Indigenous humanity but were adamant about distinguishing the cruelty of their captors from the kindness of other Indigenous people.

Big Bear (Mistahimaskwa), one of the last Cree men to be allotted to the reserve system, was Chief on the Plains Cree reservation that sat near Frog Lake. Of strong mind and will, Big Bear led a band of likeminded individuals whom settlers considered to be 'malcontents' and rebels, but it is contentious to consider Big Bear the true leader of the attack at Frog Lake. As Gowanlock wrote, Big Bear was "only nominally the chief of this tribe, the ruling power being in the hands of Wandering Spirit, a bad and vicious man,

---

[134] Desmond Morton and Reginald H. Roy, *Telegrams of the North-West Campaign, 1885* (Toronto: The Champlain Society, 1972) xviii.
[135] Gowanlock and Delaney, *Two Months in the Camp of Big Bear*, 11.
[136] Gowanlock and Delaney, *Two Months in the Camp of Big Bear*, 1.
[137] Gowanlock and Delaney, *Two Months in the Camp of Big Bear*, 61.

who exercised it with all the craft and cunning of an accomplished freebooter."[138] The local Indian agent Thomas Quinn, who was of mixed settler-Indigenous descent, considered Big Bear and his band of Cree to be dependable and trustworthy charges.[139] To demonstrate his trust, Quinn dismissed the local police, a decision which enabled the group of Cree to overpower the inhabitants of Frog Lake on 2 April 1885. The community, comprised of both white and mixed-race peoples, was overpowered by Big Bear's band and by day's end "nine of them, including Quinn and two Roman Catholic priests, were dead."[140] Theresa Gowanlock, Theresa Delaney, and William Bleasdell Cameron, a Hudson's Bay employee, were the only white individuals who survived and were taken into captivity by the Cree. Big Bear and his people believed that they were keeping the women safe by taking them into the care of their group, while Gowanlock and Delaney described themselves as being imprisoned captives by the Métis and Cree.[141]

Femininity and Vulnerability

In *Two Months in the Camp of Big Bear,* Gowanlock and Delaney represent nineteenth-century ideals of white femininity. At the time of publication, Canada was in its first decades of nationhood and intent on separating itself from the aggressive

---

[138] Gowanlock and Delaney, *Two Months in the Camp of Big Bear*, 11.
[139] Within this chapter, the term 'mixed' will be used to replace the racialized term 'half-breed', a title that typically refers to individuals who have one English or French parent and one Métis parent. Settlers used this term to deprive mixed individuals of their claim to their Indigenous heritage while also likening them to animals through the concept of breeding. It *must* be noted that most Indigenous people do not view themselves as being "mixed". The concept of a blood quantum is colonial in nature and must be used with caution when discussing Indigenous heritage; Morton and Roy, *Telegrams of the North-West Campaign, 1885,* xviii.
[140] Morton and Roy, *Telegrams of the North-West Campaign, 1885,* xviii.
[141] Higginson, "Feminine Vulnerability, (neo)Colonial Captivities, and Rape Scares", 40.

expansionist nature of its American neighbour.[142] Thus, the Canadian public leaned into existing notions of nineteenth-century settler colonialism, including feminine ideals of fragility and vulnerability. Gowanlock presented herself as a nineteenth-century woman first and a captive second, which enabled her reading audience to identify with her and empathize with all that she had lost. Gowanlock's representation aligned with nineteenth-century Canadian expectations of women as virtuous and domestic. Gowanlock's authorial acceptance of feminine vulnerability gave her an advantage over Delaney, who, as will be discussed further, repeatedly insisted upon her feminine strength and authority.[143]

At a time when a woman's virtue directly corresponded to her domestic abilities Gowanlock displayed her hopes and dreams of domestic happiness. In nineteenth-century Canada, domestic work supposedly kept women away from the "rough-and-tumble male world of political and economic life."[144] This view of women relegated them as the lesser sex and limited their social, legal, and economic self-determination and agency. [145] As a result of this limitation, women's place as Canadian citizens was directly linked to domestic ability. At the beginning of her narrative, Gowanlock spoke of the home that she shared with her husband as newlyweds, having been married on 1 October 1884. She wrote of her anticipation for their home in Frog Lake, picturing it as "a

---

[142] Macdonald et al., *Canada Transformed*, 214.
[143] Higginson, "Feminine Vulnerability, (neo)Colonial Captivities, and Rape Scares", 37.
[144] Cecilia Morgan, *Public Men and Virtuous Women: The Gendered Languages of Religion and Politics in Upper Canada, 1791-1850* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1996) 3.
[145] Kate Higginson, "Feminine Vulnerability, (neo)Colonial Captivities, and Rape Scares" in *Recalling Early Canada: Reading the Political in Literary and Cultural Production* (Edmonton: University of Alberta Press, 2003), 38.

beautiful oasis, in that land of prairie and sparse settlement, and with a buoyancy of spirit which true happiness alone can bring."[146] Here, Gowanlock expressed excitement at building a home and domesticating the land, setting a hopeful tone that would soon be overshadowed by conflict. Once at their home, she described the setting as 'beautiful and enchanting' and spoke of the beauty of the prairies. The peace that Gowanlock felt in her new surroundings was violently contrasted when she described the attack at Frog Lake. She recalled feeling like she was living in a dream, one that was crushed by the "terrible reality" of the attack on Frog Lake.[147]

In nineteenth-century Canada, a wife's ability to run a well-kept home spoke to her ability to adhere to the gender ideals of the day that prized domesticity and subservience to her husband. Like Rowlandson, Gowanlock and Delaney positioned themselves as ideal women by not only reinforcing and adhering to gender expectations of white Canadian women, but also by distinguishing themselves from Indigenous women. This was done using the term 'squaw' which, as discussed in the last chapter, elevated white women above their Indigenous counterparts. Consistently, anytime that Gowanlock and Delaney spoke of an Indigenous woman they did so using this term: "one of their squaws" or "four squaws came into our tent".[148] While Rowlandson usually accompanied the use of this term with a direct example of actions that defied Puritan femininity, Gowanlock and Delaney used it as more of an identifier. Within their dual narrative, 'squaw' identified Indigenous women, while 'Indian' described Cree men, and

---

[146] Gowanlock and Delaney, *Two Months in the Camp of Big Bear*, 7.
[147] Gowanlock and Delaney, *Two Months in the Camp of Big Bear*, 13.
[148] Gowanlock and Delaney, *Two Months in the Camp of Big Bear*, 25.

'Métis' individuals of mixed descent. It is notable that both Métis men and Métis women were referred to using the same term, suggesting that Métis women were already differentiated enough from white women because of their mixed heritage, negating the need for a further identifier.

In addition to the use of 'squaw', Gowanlock used other disparaging language to demean Indigenous women. She described the "'shrimpy-looking' women trotting along with their brown babies slung in a sort of loose pocket dangling away behind their backs, it was comical in the extreme, they would stop and look and laugh at us, our appearance being so very different to their own dark skin and sharp eyes."[149] Here, Gowanlock identified the phenotypic differences between herself and the Woods Cree at Frog Lake, while also subtly critiquing their cultural practice of baby wearing. Intriguingly, Gowanlock demonstrated an understanding, albeit limited, that beauty standards and judgments of physical difference were relative. Woods Cree women also noticed the racial and cultural differences between themselves and Gowanlock, laughing as they looked at her.

At this time in Canada, women were entering the workforce in greater numbers; however, the norm was still that women performing domestic work while men worked outside of the home doing skilled or manual labour.[150] Thus, whereas middle-class nineteenth-century Anglo-American women were increasingly relegated to the home and seen as unfit to labour, many Indigenous nations held different standards and women

---

[149] Gowanlock and Delaney, *Two Months in the Camp of Big Bear*, 9.
[150] Heron/Storey, *On the Job*, x.

continued to participate in the labour economy. Gowanlock criticized the gendered division of labour among Indigenous societies and chastised Indigenous men as a "big, lazy, good-for-nothing Indian" who "lolls about in idleness" while their women labour.[151] In describing them as such, Gowanlock both criticized the men, who were not acting in accordance with nineteenth-century masculinity by avoiding labour, and also differentiated herself from the women, who were taking on labour that was uncharacteristic of settler femininity.

Through its ideals of vulnerability and fragility, nineteenth-century womanhood presented itself an allegory for the "neo-colonial rape scare." As explained by historian Kate Higginson, "the new Canadian Dominion was frequently represented in visual and print media by a young, besieged woman."[152] This propagandization of feminine vulnerability was typified in the form of 'Miss Canada', a stereotypical damsel in distress who needed to be saved by a hegemonically masculine hero. In fact, in his 1891 campaign, electoral posters circulated in which Prime Minister Macdonald saved Miss Canada from being gang-raped by Uncle Sam and his henchmen.[153] The poster depicts Canada as a woman at risk of attack, once again likening the vulnerability of empire or, in this case, nation to the vulnerability of a woman in distress. Gowanlock and Delaney's experience mirrors that of Miss Canada, with their own vulnerability mirroring that of an infant nation facing conflict from the Indigenous population.

---

[151] Gowanlock and Delaney, *Two Months in the Camp of Big Bear*, 6.
[152] Higginson, "Feminine Vulnerability, (Neo)Colonial Captivities, and Rape Scares: Theresa Gowanlock, Theresa Delaney and Jessica Lynch.," 35.
[153] Higginson, "Feminine Vulnerability, (Neo)Colonial Captivities, and Rape Scares: Theresa Gowanlock, Theresa Delaney and Jessica Lynch.," 35.

Gowanlock and Delaney: A Comparison

As previously mentioned, Gowanlock and Delaney differed in their approach to writing. They both knew that an autoethnographic narrative had the power to yield response from the public, and they were wary of its manipulative capabilities. They did not write their story to gain fame, but to simply secure a future for themselves in a society that now viewed them as having endured "the fate worse than death."[154] Despite differing approaches, the goal of both Gowanlock and Delaney was to repair the damage to their reputations that had been done by sensationalist news reporting. Whereas Gowanlock spent the first five sections of her narrative giving a detailed description of her marriage life and domestic ambitions, Delaney gave a more sober account of her life both before and during captivity. Of her marriage, she wrote only "my wedding took place in the usual manner: the same congratulations, presents, kisses, well-wishes all the world over. I need not dwell upon the event any further."[155] This pragmatic recollection did not imply any ill will towards her relationship, but also did little to foster empathy within her readership for the loss of her husband.

This pragmatism is further evident as Delaney described the death of her husband. Whereas Gowanlock described the weight of her grief and stated a desire to follow her husband to the grave, Delaney's reaction to her husband's death was more subdued. After he had been shot, Delaney held her husband's head in her lap while he recited a confessional prayer before he was dealt a second, fatal shot. Delaney described that a

---

[154] Carter, "The Captivity of Theresa Delaney and Theresa Gowanlock," 52.
[155] Gowanlock and Delaney, *Two Months in the Camp of Big Bear*, 56.

second shot fired for her husband and "finished him," elaborating no further on her feelings about his death.[156] Her description of his death reflects the intensity of her grief which, although more understated than Gowanlock's, was undoubtedly present. She explained, "I will not now stay to describe my feelings or attempt to give in language, an idea of the million phantoms of dread and terror; memory seemed too keen, and only too vividly could I behold the repetition of the scenes that had just passed before me."[157] This justification attributes the minimal discussion of grief in her writing to the emotional pain that she had to endure. Each woman describes holding their husbands as they died, with Delaney cradling her husband's head and Gowanlock throwing herself to the ground to hold her husband's body. Gowanlock wrote that she felt "his life was ebbing away so quickly, and was prepared for the next shot myself, thinking I was going with him too.[158] This emotional description of loss evoked sympathy from the audience and illustrated Gowanlock and Delaney's dependency on their husbands, further portraying them as the epitome of womanhood as they mourned the loss of their providers. Public readers, however, found Gowanlock and Delaney's grief to be "decidedly unsentimental," a view that contributed to the speculation that they each faced following their release.[159]

Delaney's narrative, like that of Rowlandson, relied heavily on religion to express her views. As she reflected on the watchful eye of her captors, she wrote the following:

> Imagine yourself seated in a quiet room at night, and every time you look at the door, which is slightly ajar, you catch the eye of a man fixed upon

---

[156] Gowanlock and Delaney, *Two Months in the Camp of Big Bear*, 70.
[157] Gowanlock and Delaney, *Two Months in the Camp of Big Bear*, 70.
[158] Gowanlock and Delaney, *Two Months in the Camp of Big Bear*, 14.
[159] Henderson, *Settler Feminism and Race Making in Canada*, 108.

> you, and then try to form an idea of my feelings… Had we but the same conception of that 'all seeing eye,' which we are told, continuously watches us, we would doubtlessly be wise and good.[160]

Delaney directly addressed the audience and, in doing so, demonstrated her awareness of her readership. She writes of the all-seeing eye that "we are told, continually watches us" likening the constant threat of male surveillance to the omnipresence of God. Like Rowlandson, whose belief in providence allowed her to have faith that her captivity was God's doing, so too did Delaney believe that God played a role in her plight. This recognition of religious and male surveillance speaks to the expectation of women in the nineteenth century. They were to act in a way that would be approved of by God and by men, specifically their husbands, willfully assuming their roles as the vulnerable and fragile "Frail Flower."[161]

Delaney did not fit as neatly into the role of the feminine architype of this period but her reliance on faith ensured that she still connected with her readers. Quoting the theologian, Thomas Kempis, who wrote the devotional *Imitation of Christ,* Delaney concluded her narrative with a question. "Who is it," she writes, "that has all which he wishes for? Not I, not you, nor any man upon earth."[162] Using the words of Kempis, Delaney reflected that she still had much to be thankful for, despite all that she had lost. Her reliance on devotional text amplified her own faith through words known by many,

---

[160] Gowanlock and Delaney, *Two Months in the Camp of Big Bear*, 71.
[161] Carter, "The Exploitation and Narration of the Captivity of Theresa Delaney and Theresa Gowanlock, 1885."
[162] Gowanlock and Delaney, *Two Months in the Camp of Big Bear*, 76.

allowing the reader to connect more deeply with her writing. In contrast to Delaney, and except for one reference to the poet Coplas de Don Jorge Manrique, Gowanlock recounted her entire captivity in her own words.[163] As a writer, Delaney may have relied more heavily on her faith to process her experience than Gowanlock did. Whereas Rowlandson's narrative was used by Mather for hermeneutic purposes, catapulting it into the public eye and allowing for its success, Delaney's narrative was not directly endorsed by any religious officials. Without the influence of one such as Mather, Delaney's narrative did not have the same ecclesiastical applications as that of Rowlandson.

Publication

Two Months in the Camp of Big Bear, published by Gowanlock's brothers in Toronto and addressed to "'civilized' Anglo-Protestant Canada", had financial recompense in mind as it aimed to secure profit for its publishers and federal pensions for Gowanlock and Delaney.[164] As stated in each of their prefaces, Gowanlock and Delaney hoped that publishing their narratives would mean that they had fulfilled their public duty, with each expressing the desire to move past their experience. As it will be seen, Gowanlock and Delaney did not tread an easy road as they attempted to reintegrate into society and struggled to receive financial support from the government.

---

[163] Taken from Henry Wadsworth Longfellow's English translation of Spain's Coplas de Don Jorge Manrique, Gowanlock quoted this upon her release: "No foe, no dangerous path we lead, | Brook no delay, but onward speed." ;Gowanlock and Delaney, *Two Months in the Camp of Big Bear*, 34.
[164] Kate Higginson, "Feminine Vulnerability, (neo)Colonial Captivities, and Rape Scares" in *Recalling Early Canada: Reading the Political in Literary and Cultural Production* (Edmonton: University of Alberta Press, 2003), 37; Henderson, *Settler Feminism and Race Making in Canada*, 108.

In Delaney's preface, she described her motivation for writing as a "duty imposed on her by gratitude" towards her peers, suggesting that she felt she owed her story to the public.[165] This echoes Gowanlock's preface, wherein she expressed the desire to rectify the harsh views of the Woods Cree.[166] It is likely that Gowanlock viewed the Woods Cree as having more humanity than the Plains Cree, who were her captors. Though, despite her gratitude and good opinion of them, Gowanlock clearly still viewed the Woods Cree as below her station, describing them as "very unclean and filthy," and further stating that no civilized person could be convinced to "enter upon the free life of the red man."[167]

Caught in the middle of racial demarcation were the Métis, who belied the binary categorization between white and non-white. Mixed race individuals found themselves amidst a turbulent sea, having been denied reprieve or comradery from each of the groups from which they descended. Because of their liminal status, mixed race individuals posed a threat to the sociopolitical boundaries that defined nationhood, "by exposing the inconsistencies that characterized definitions of standard racial categories."[168] For instance, both Delaney and Gowanlock expressed a fondness for John Pritchard, a Métis man, who acted as the translator for the settlement's Indian Agent, Thomas Quinn. After her capture, Delaney sought Pritchard out, trusting that he would be able to keep her safe. She recalled:

> I fully trusted to Pritchard's manliness and good character, and I was not deceived. He not only proved himself a sincere friend and a brave

---

[165] Gowanlock and Delaney, *Two Months in the Camp of Big Bear*, 50.
[166] Gowanlock and Delaney, *Two Months in the Camp of Big Bear*, 1.
[167] Gowanlock and Delaney, *Two Months in the Camp of Big Bear*, 11.
[168] Basson, *White Enough to Be American?*, 2.

> fellow, but he acted the part of a perfect gentleman, throughout, and stands, ever since, in my estimation the type of God's noblest creatures – A TRULY GOOD MAN [sic].[169]

Delaney demonstrated an inherent trust in Pritchard, despite his Indigenous heritage, and indicates that she did not view his mixed descent as being indicative of incivility, like that of her Indigenous captors. In describing him as a 'perfect gentleman' a 'noble creature' she likened him to that of the other men in her life, promoting him beyond the status that settlers would typically befit a Métis man. Like their view of other mixed-raced peoples in the Americas, white people viewed Pritchard's white blood as a partial redemption for his Indigeneity.

While Pritchard offered protection to both women, Gowanlock further credited him with saving her from rape. Having been purchased by Peter Blondin, a man whom her husband had taken "pity on'" and employed prior to the attack, she was then brought to the tent of the Pritchard family where she was to reunite with Delaney.[170] Blondin, having set up a tent of his own, demanded that she join him in his tent but, fearful of being raped, she refused. In her words, "he became angry and did everything he could do to injure me. That man treated me most shamefully; if it had not been for Pritchard I do not know what would have become of me. Pritchard was kinder than any of the others."[171] Here, Gowanlock stated that Blondin was intending to sexually assault her,

---

[169] Gowanlock and Delaney, *Two Months in the Camp of Big Bear*, 70–71.
[170] Mrs. Gowanlock expressed distrust of Blondin, believing that his familiarity with the local Indigenous meant that he was "cognizant of everything that was going on, if not responsible in a great degree for the murders which were afterwards committed." Gowanlock and Delaney, *Two Months in the Camp of Big Bear*, 10.
[171] Gowanlock and Delaney, *Two Months in the Camp of Big Bear*, 17.

and that Pritchard protected her from that fate. In describing her experience with Blondin, Gowanlock spoke to the rape-scare narrative of the time and presents Pritchard as a saviour. Following Blondin's advance, Gowanlock expressed to Pritchard and his family that "I would go and drown myself in the river before I would go with him."[172] In writing this, Gowanlock credited Pritchard with keeping her safe and preserving her virtue, but also from killing herself.

However, Pritchard may not have been the women's saviour at all. George Stanley (Musunekwepan), a member of the Woods Cree, had a different recollection of how Gowanlock and Delaney came to be under the protection of Pritchard. He described that the distraught women, having been torn from the sides of their dead husbands, were brought to the tent of his father Ohneepahaow who assured their safety.[173] According to Stanley, his family and the other Woods Cree were not in league with Big Bear and saw themselves as fellow captives who were protecting the women from the dangers of Big Bear and his followers. This interpretation suggests that the Woods Cree were the initial protectors of the women, rather than Pritchard. If so, the Woods Cree are deserving of the redemption that the women sought for Pritchard, but that would mean acknowledging that full-blooded Indigenous people were worthy of admiration which was a far-fetched hope for the people of nineteenth-century Canada.

This is reaffirmed by Nepowquatow, an Indigenous man who was in Frog Lake at the time of the rebellion, who said "us Indians were not even friendly with Big Bear and

---

[172] Gowanlock and Delaney, *Two Months in the Camp of Big Bear*, 17.
[173] Stanley (Musunekwepan), "An Account of the Frog Lake Massacre," 165.

Wandering Spirit. The Bush Indians never thought of a Rebellion. It was through the Government that Big Bear's band came here."[174] This alternative recollection of how Gowanlock and Delaney came to be protected speaks to the contextual nature of captivity narratives. These writings are formed from the perspective of their writers, the influence of hindsight, and the anticipation of how the readership will respond. Gowanlock and Delaney were not privy to the intertribal relationships between the Cree and Métis, nor were they encouraged by social pressures to recall kindnesses exhibited to them by Indigenous people. Whether they were aware of Ohneepahaow's kindness or not, their narratives served to prize the actions of Pritchard and Blondin, whose status as mixed descent individuals made them more redeemable to a settler audience than their 'full-blooded' counterparts.[175]

Scholar Kate Higginson explains that, "Gowanlock accounts *for* herself: her text is a tampered ledger arguing her worth by deftly balancing the qualities requisite for a violated woman to be repatriated into the fatherland or national family."[176] In other words, Gowanlock used autoethnographic authority by editing her experience to suit public opinion and secure her future through subtle manipulation and selective omission within her narrative.[177] Although Gowanlock wrote of her rape scare, both she and Delaney were kept quite comfortable and safe during their captivity. Their place amongst Pritchard's family secured them physical safety, albeit this safety came alongside the loss

---

[174] Stanley (Musunekwepan), "An Account of the Frog Lake Massacre," 167.
[175] Once again, the concept of 'full-bloodedness' is colonial in nature and is being used here solely to explain the colonial nature of *Two Months*.
[176] "Feminine Vulnerability, (neo)Colonial Captivities, and Rape Scares", 37.
[177] O.R., "Rebellion," 2.

of their husbands and homes. Ultimately, there was "no foundation" for the stories that circulated at this time that called their virtue into question.[178]

Public Reception

Despite the murkiness of who it was that protected them, when the news of Gowanlock and Delaney's ordeal became public, some deemed that both Blondin and Pritchard were heroes. On 18 June 1885, Toronto's *The Week* published a piece encouraging women, or 'the sisterhood', to contribute money towards a reward for the two men. The article read: "A woman proposes that every one of her sex who is able to do so should contribute twenty-five cents with which to form a fund to reward the men by whom the liberty of the captives was purchased."[179] This statement, only attributed to "a woman," suggests that the public believed Pritchard and Blondin to be redeemed of their mixed heritage through their heroic actions. In acting as heroes, Blondin and Pritchard separated themselves from their Indigenous brethren, contributing to the cognitive dissonance that saw Indigenous people as being both inherently evil and capable of civilized behaviour.[180] Within their texts, Gowanlock and Delaney made use of this dissonance by categorizing Pritchard as being morally superior in comparison to his peers. For Gowanlock, this distinction was an important part of securing her future as it encouraged the public to believe that her virtue had been protected during her captivity.

---

[178] Mulvaney, *The North-West Rebellion of 1885*, 95–96.
[179] "Topics of the Week."
[180] Hughes, "Within the Grasp of Company Law," 523.

Following their 'rescue' on 5 June 1885, the women gave accounts that showed no resemblance to the vulnerability and dimwittedness that colonial society expected of them. Instead, they praised members of the Cree nation for their fine treatment of them during their ordeal, demonstrating a strength of character and mind that was upheld amidst their captivity. On the day of their rescue, *The Globe* published an article stating that "Big Bear treats his prisoners well."[181] This same article praised their mixed co-captives, "[Gowanlock and Delaney] escaped from Big Bear last Monday with some half-breed families who had all along protected them from the Indians." However, in their dual narrative, Gowanlock and Delaney portray their captors as "not only vicious, treacherous, and superstitious, but [also] childlike and simple."[182]

This dissention from the truth speaks to the political applications of autoethnography; in this case, publishers saw the benefits of a self-narrated history of the captivity and encouraged the women to write the book. Gowanlock and Delaney were not inspired of their own volition. In fact, the women were incredibly hesitant to pen the narrative because, according to them, the insertion of violence and horror would pose a challenge for their social reintegration.[183] Ultimately, amidst pressure from publishers and media, the narrative was written and published quickly after their 'rescue.' Many

---

[181] O.O.R., "REBELLION: DESPATCHES RECEIVED FROM GEN-MIDDLETON WHO IS AFTER BIG BEAR PRISONERS ESCAPE FROM THE REBEL INDIAN CHIEF STRANGE FIGHTS THE INDIANS HOLDS A PARLAY WITH BIG BEAR BY AN INTERPRETER PRISONERS WELL TREATED MRS. DELANEY AND MRS. GOWANLOCK SAFE IN MIDDLETON'S CAMP MIDDLKTON'S CAMP AFTER BIG BEAR TO READ THEM OFF LIST OF THE ESCAPED THE WOUNDED FORT PITT WOUNDED ANOTHER GATLING WAS SENT ... BIG BEAR" in *The Globe* (Toronto: 8 June 1885) 2.
[182] Gowanlock and Delaney, Theresa, *Two Months in the Camp of Big Bear*, 24.
[183] Carter, "The Captivity of Theresa Delaney and Theresa Gowanlock," 52.

hypothesize that the women felt that they were more likely to receive a government pension if they published, as they had no means of supporting themselves following their captivity.[184] In nineteenth century Canada, a woman's claim for government assistance was directly correlated to her status as a dependant. It was considered a privilege, not a right, for a woman to receive a pension and relied on her ability to prove that she was "morally deserving of the state's support."[185] Thus, Gowanlock and Delaney's chances at receiving a pension were tied to their ability to write narratives that demonstrated their sacrifice during the North West Rebellion and evoked sympathy within their readership.

As explained by Gowanlock, following the publication of their narrative she intended to "bid a grateful farewell and seek [her] wished for seclusion from which [she] would never have emerged but to perform a public duty."[186] Indeed, her 'public duty' did yield a pension of $400 annually, but not until three years later in 1888. She was also granted a one-time payment of $907 from the Rebellion Losses Commission for the loss of her home and property.[187] Delaney, on the other hand, received her pension of $400 annually on 14 November 1885, but was not granted any compensation for the loss of her home at Frog Lake, as it was considered government property. She was reported to have lived out her years as a "broken woman," relying on the financial help of her family until her death in 1913.[188]

---

[184] Carter, "The Captivity of Theresa Delaney and Theresa Gowanlock," 52.
[185] Strong-Boag, *Rethinking Canada*, 187.
[186] Gowanlock and Delaney, Theresa, *Two Months in the Camp of Big Bear*, 2.
[187] N.O. Cote, Controller, to W.W. Cory, Deputy Minister of the Interior, 5 May 1915.
[188] Carter, Sarah A., "The Captivity of Theresa Delaney and Theresa Gowanlock," 55–56.

Conclusion

In all, the authorial distortion in *Two Months* did little to better the lives of its authors who, to perform a 'public duty,' had tried to capitalize on a manipulated tale that was disadvantageous for the Métis and Cree. The origins of this manipulation become evident when considering the autoethnographical nature of this piece alongside theories of gender and race. When considering social status and re-entry into society, Gowanlock and Delaney wrote their narratives in the hopes of demonstrating that they conducted themselves in a socially palatable way. To depict herself as a docile and fragile woman, Gowanlock described herself in relation to her losses, that of her house, her husband, and her happiness. Through depicting herself as a victim, Gowanlock was able to cater to the gendered trope of the frail female in need of saving by her peers and her government. Comparatively, Delaney's more stoic account contrasted the emotionality of Gowanlock's and evoked less of an emotional reaction in the reader. Ultimately, the analysis in this chapter identifies Gowanlock and Delaney's captors as more than just the Cree and Métis, but also the social, political, and financial confines of nineteenth-century womanhood.

Conclusion

At their core, Anglo-Indigenous captivity narratives go much deeper than simply telling a tale of captivity. They are rich texts that reflect contemporary ideologies and push settler colonial notions of race, gender, religion, empire, and nation. This thesis has demonstrated that the three narratives analyzed herein were propagandized and sensationalized to advance a colonial agenda and elevate whiteness and femininity while vilifying Indigenous peoples. In doing so, this thesis challenged the presumed legitimacy and authority of settler colonial history by bringing attention to the political function of these narratives and analyzing who got to tell the story, whose suffering was amplified, and whose humanity was made invisible.

Through a triad analysis of gender, religion, and race, this thesis maintains that captivity narratives played a fundamental role in the development of an Anglo-American identity. When their narratives were published, Rowlandson, Gowanlock, and Delaney each considered the public perception that they would be met with. Anticipating judgement, they each ensured that their narratives aligned with the expectations of their society. Rowlandson proved herself to be a survivor that remained steadfast in her piety and chastised her Indigenous captors for their lack of godliness. Gowanlock and Delaney mourned the loss of their husbands and providers and were hesitant to trust their fellow captives due to their categorization as mixed-race. Each woman's fight for survival did not end with their freedom from captivity, instead, it morphed to protect them from the new threat to their livelihood: judgement from their peers.

The writing and dissemination of these narratives were inextricably linked to the cultural, religious, and political climates of their conception. Rowlandson's narrative

became the framework for the American captivity genre, with her pious femininity and anti-Indigenous sentiments serving as justification for violence and prejudice towards Indigenous peoples. Similarly, the dual narrative of Gowanlock and Delaney embodied the endurance and adaptability of the captivity genre as it catered to new colonial anxieties like the vulnerability of the Canadian nation.

Adhering to Carter's model, Rowlandson emerged as the "Survivor", while Gowanlock and Delaney each embodied elements of the "Frail Flower."[189] These categorizations were used effectively in this thesis to distinguish between the differing gendered expectations of seventeenth and nineteenth centuries. From an autoethnographic standpoint, each author anticipated the public's reaction to their narratives and edited their writing to suit this expectation. As such, Rowlandson, Gowanlock, and Delaney participated in the commodification of their own suffering, ultimately producing a product that had both literary and political applications.

These narratives were influenced not just by their authors, but also by the printers, publishers, and magistrates that disseminated them. The politics of printing and reading is crucial in understanding how these texts were written, edited, distributed, and read. After all, the dissemination of these texts is what allowed them to become successful as political and religious propaganda. The propagandization of these texts shifted them from personal accounts to broader cultural texts that were used to unite the respective settler communities. Rowlandson's narrative transcended her own suffering to embody the

---

[189] Sarah A. Carter, "The Exploitation and Narration of the Captivity of Theresa Delaney and Theresa Gowanlock, 1885," in *Making Western Canada: Essays on European Colonization and Settlement*, ed. Catherine Anne Cavanaugh (Toronto: Garamond Press, 1996), 33.

suffering felt by the Puritan masses in New England who viewed themselves as under siege by the land's Indigenous peoples. Her story of survival became emblematic of Puritan survival and, ultimately, helped the Puritans to develop and understand their own Anglo-American identity.

While this thesis has centred the voices of white women, it has also endeavored to draw attention to the erasure of Indigenous voices. Concerning Rowlandson's narrative, context for King Philip's War is used to situate her capture as a response to ongoing conflict, rather than pure cruelty on part of the Narragansett. While Rowlandson's narrative, alongside countless other early American texts, depict America's Indigenous as savage, they seem to ignore the "inhuman barbarities" committed by the English in the name of empire.[190] Likewise, Indigenous accounts are used to contrast and, sometimes, combat the so-called 'true account' of Gowanlock and Delaney's captivity that aimed to vilify the Plains Cree. In modern day, the rage exuded by Canada's Indigenous population towards the federal government is a clearly justifiable cause for rebellion. At this time, and with the aid of the federal government, churches operated the notorious residential schools that enabled the perpetration of an Indigenous cultural genocide.[191] Yet, at the time of *Two Months* publication, Canada's public was less aware of the atrocities being committed at these institutions and, given the anti-Indigenous sentiment of the nineteenth century, likely wouldn't have factored that into their opinion. Thus, the

---

[190] Paul, *We Were Not the Savages*, 49.
[191] *Residential School History - NCTR*.

accounts of George Stanley and Nepowquatow must suffice as contradictory opinions to the writings of Gowanlock and Delaney.

Through a combined literary and historical analysis, and guided by critical autoethnography, this thesis has unpacked the propagandist application of these texts while exposing the tendency for colonial violence to be legitimized if it was directed at those marked as non-white, non-Christian, and non-settler. In doing so, this work contributes to an emerging field of anti-settler and decolonization scholarship that seeks to challenge the presumed legitimacy of settler colonial history while elevating Indigenous perspectives. This thesis calls for a deeper commitment to unsettling settler narratives and re-centering Indigenous thought as a foundational method for understanding both historical thought and modern experiences. The archetype of the innocent white victim still permeates contemporary media, having adapted itself to suit modern platforms like social media and news broadcasts. Juliet Hooker defines modern white victimhood as "white grievance," ensuring that regardless of who is in power, there will always be measures taken to ensure "white dominance."[192] Understanding the historical roots of white grievance is critical to challenging its ongoing influence.

In an era of increased attention to truth and reconciliation, it is not enough to add Indigenous voices to settler colonial frameworks. What is required is a fundamental rethinking of how knowledge is produced, circulated, and legitimized. In all, this thesis endeavors to read past the words of those that were privileged enough to write them, and search for insight into the voices that have long been ignored.

---

[192] Hooker, *Black Grief/White Grievance*, 39–40.

Bibliography

Adams, Tony E., Stacy Linn Holman Jones, and Carolyn Ellis. *Autoethnography*. Series in Understanding Statistics. Oxford University Press, 2015.

Ahlstrom, Sydney E. *A Religious History of the American People*. 7th print. Yale Univ. Pr, 1977.

Allen, Barbara. *Tocqueville, Covenant and the Democratic Revolution: Harmonizing Earth with Heaven*. Lexington Books, 2005.

Baepler, Paul, ed. *White Slaves, African Masters: An Anthology of American Barbary Captivity Narratives*. University of Chicago Press, 1999.

Bailyn, Bernard, and Philip D. Morgan. *Strangers within the Realm: Cultural Margins of the First British Empire*. With Omohundro Institute of early American history and culture. University of North Carolina press, 1991.

Bannet, Eve Tavor. *Eighteenth-Century Manners of Reading: Print Culture and Popular Instruction in the Anglophone Atlantic World*. Cambridge University Press, 2017.

Basson, Lauren L. *White Enough to Be American? Race Mixing, Indigenous People, and the Boundaries of State and Nation*. The University of North Carolina Press, 2012.

Bauer, Ralph, José Antonio Mazzotti, Omohundro Institute of Early American History & Culture, and Society of Early Americanists, eds. *Creole Subjects in the Colonial Americas: Empires, Texts, Identities*. Published for the Omohundro Institute of Early American History and Culture, Williamsburg, Virginia. Published for the Omohundro Institute of Early American History and Culture, Williamsburg, Virginia, by the University of North Carolina Press, 2009.

Beaver, Dan. "'Sown in Dishonour, Raised in Glory': Death, Ritual and Social Organization in Northern Gloucestershire, 1590–1690." *Social History* 17, no. 3 (1992): 389–419. https://doi.org/10.1080/03071029208567847.

Bercovitch, Sacvan, John Roger Paas, and George C. Schoolfield. *The Puritan Origins of the American Self: With a New Preface*. Yale University Press, 1988. https://doi.org/10.12987/9780300162233.

Boylorn, Robin M., Mark P Orbe, and Carolyn Ellis. *Critical Autoethnography: Intersecting Cultural Identities in Everyday Life*. Taylor & Francis Group, 2016.

Bryant, Rachel. "Honey from the Rock: John Gyles and the Northeastern North American Search for Anglo Indigeneity." *University of Toronto Quarterly* 85, no. 1 (20160101): 1–24. https://doi.org/10.3138/UTQ.85.1.01.

Bryant, Rachel. *The Homing Place: Indigenous and Settler Literary Legacies of the Atlantic*. Indigenous Studies Series. Wilfrid Laurier University Press, 2017.

Caivano, Dean and Naumes, Sarah. *The Sublime of the Political: Narrative and Autoethnography As Theory*. Edition Politik. Vol. 79. Transaction, 2020.

Calloway, Colin G. *North Country Captives: Selected Narratives of Indian Captivity from Vermont and New Hampshire*. University Press of New England, 1992.

Carter, Sarah A. "The Exploitation and Narration of the Captivity of Theresa Delaney and Theresa Gowanlock, 1885." In *Making Western Canada: Essays on European*

Colonization and Settlement, edited by Catherine Anne Cavanaugh. Garamond Press, 1996.
Carter, Sarah A., Carter. "The Captivity of Theresa Delaney and Theresa Gowanlock." In *Making Western Canada: Essays on European Colonization and Settlement*. Garamond Press, 1996.
Ceppi, Elisabeth. *Invisible Masters: Gender, Race, and the Economy of Service in Early New England*. Re-Mapping the Transnational: A Dartmouth Series in American Studies. Dartmouth College Press, 2018.
Colley, Linda. *Captives: Britain, Empire and the World, 1600-1850*. Pimlico, 2003.
Coltman, William. "Mr. Coltman's Mission to the Indian Territory Disputes between the Hudson Bay and North West Companies." 1819 1818. CO 42/181. Colonial Office, National Archives.
Delbanco, Andrew. *The Puritans in America*. Edited by Alan Heimert. Harvard University Press, 2021.
Derounian-Stodola, Kathryn Zabelle, and James Arthur Levernier. *The Indian Captivity Narrative, 1550-1900*. Twayne's United States Authors Series 605. Twayne, 1993.
Dockstader, Frederick J. *Great North American Indians: Profiles in Life and Leadership*. A Norback Book. Van Nostrand Reinhold, 1977.
Downing, David. "'Streams of Scripture Comfort': Mary Rowlandson's Typological Use of the Bible." *Early American Literature* 15, no. 3 (1980): 252–59.
Ebersole, Gary L. *Captured by Texts: Puritan to Postmodern Images of Indian Captivity*. Studies in Religion and Culture. University Press of Virginia, 1995.
Faery, Rebecca Blevins. *Cartographies of Desire: Captivity, Race, and Sex in the Shaping of an American Nation*. University of Oklahoma Press, 1999.
Forestell, Nancy, Kathryn McPherson, and Cecilia Morgan, eds. *Gendered Pasts: Historical Essays in Femininity and Masculinity in Canada*. Canadian Social History Series. University of Toronto Press, 2017. https://doi.org/10.3138/9781442627970.
Foss, John. *A Journal, of the Captivity and Sufferings of John Foss; Several Years a Prisoner at Algiers: Together with Some Account of the Treatment of Christian Slaves When Sick:-- And Observations of the Manners and Customs of the Algerines. [Eight Lines of Verse] - Document - Eighteenth Century Collections Online*. Angier March, 1798.
Foster, William Henry. *The Captors' Narrative: Catholic Women and Their Puritan Men on the Early American Frontier*. Cornell University Press, 2003.
Glover, Jeffrey. *Paper Sovereigns: Anglo-Native Treaties and the Law of Nations, 1604-1664*. University of Pennsylvania Press, 2014.
Goddard, Ives. "Letter to the Editor." *News from Indian Country*, April 1997, 19.
Gowanlock, Theresa, and Theresa Delaney. *Two Months in the Camp of Big Bear*. Andrew G. Gowanlock, 1885.
Gowanlock, Theresa, and Delaney, Theresa. *Two Months in the Camp of Big Bear*. First Rate Publishers, 2015.
Henderson, Jennifer. *Settler Feminism and Race Making in Canada*. University of Toronto Press, 2016. https://doi.org/10.3138/9781442679818.
Heron/Storey. *On the Job: Confronting the Labour Process in Canada*. McGill-Queen's University Press, 2014.

Higginson, Kate. “Feminine Vulnerability, (Neo)Colonial Captivities, and Rape Scares: Theresa Gowanlock, Theresa Delaney and Jessica Lynch.” In *Recalling Early Canada: Reading the Political in Literary and Cultural Production*, edited by J. Blaire. University of Alberta Press, 2005.

Hooker, Juliet. *Black Grief/White Grievance: The Politics of Loss*. Princeton University Press, 2023.

Hughes, Michael. “Within the Grasp of Company Law: Land, Legitimacy, and the Racialization of the Métis, 1815-1821.” *Ethnohistory* 63, no. 3 (2016): 519–40. https://doi.org/10.1215/00141801-3496811.

Indigenous Peoples Atlas of Canada. “Red River Resistance.” Accessed February 27, 2025. https://indigenouspeoplesatlasofcanada.ca/article/red-river-resistance/.

Kidd, Thomas S. *The Protestant Interest: New England After Puritanism*. Yale University Press, 2008. https://doi.org/10.12987/9780300128406.

Koehler, Lyle. *A Search for Power: The “Weaker Sex” in Seventeenth-Century New England*. University of Illinois Press, 1980.

Little, Ann M. *Abraham in Arms: War and Gender in Colonial New England*. Early American Studies. University of Pennsylvania Press, 2007.

Macdonald, John A., Arthur Milnes, and Sarah Gibson. *Canada Transformed: The Speeches of Sir John A. Macdonald: A Bicentennial Celebration*. McClelland & Stewart, 2014.

MacLean, Donald George. *1885: Metis Rebellion or Government Conspiray?* 2. print. Pemmican Publ, 1985.

Mather, Increase. *A Brief History of the Vvar with the Indians in Nevv-England (from June 24, 1675 ... to August 12, 1676 ... Wherein the Grounds, Beginning, and Progress of the Warr Is Summarily Expressed : Together with a Serious Exhortation to the Inhabitants of That Land / by Increase Mather ... - Early English Books Online - ProQuest*. Printed and sold by John Foster, 1676.

McLeod, Jane. “Social Status and the Politics of Printers in Eighteenth-Century Bordeaux.” *Histoire Sociale* XXIII, no. 46 (1990): 301–23.

Mulvaney, Charles. *The History of the North-West Rebellion of 1885 : Comprising a Full and Impartial Account of the Origin and Progress of the War, of the Various Engagements with the Indians and Half-Breeds, of the Heroic Deeds Performed by Officers and Men, and of Touching Scenes in the Field, the Camp, and the Cabin : Including a History of the Indian Tribes of North-Western Canada, Their Numbers, Modes of Living, Habits, Customs, Religious Rites, and Ceremonies, with Thrilling Narratives of Captures, Imprisonment, Massacres, and Hair Breadth Escapes of White Settlers*. Coles Canadiana Collection. A.H. Hovey & Co., 1885.

Ogborn, Miles. “Gotcha!” *History Workshop Journal*, no. 56 (2003): 231–38.

O.R., O. “REBELLION: DESPATCHES RECEIVED FROM GEN-MIDDLETON WHO IS AFTER BIG BEAR PRISONERS ESCAPE FROM THE REBEL INDIAN CHIEF STRANGE FIGHTS THE INDIANS HOLDS A PARLAY WITH BIG BEAR BY AN INTERPRETER PRISONERS WELL TREATED MRS. DELANEY AND MRS. GOWANLOCK SAFE IN MIDDLETON’S CAMP MIDDLKTON’S CAMP AFTER BIG BEAR TO READ THEM OFF LIST OF THE ESCAPED THE WOUNDED FORT PITT WOUNDED ANOTHER

GATLING WAS SENT ... BIG BEAR." *The Globe (1844-1936)* (Toronto), June 8, 1885.
Paul, Daniel N. *We Were Not the Savages: A Micmac Perspective on the Collision of European and Aboriginal Civilizations*. Nimbus, 1993.
Philbrick, Nathaniel. *The Mayflower Papers: Selected Writings of Colonial New England*. With Thomas Philbrick and Benjamin Church. Penguin Publishing Group, 2007.
Reis, Elizabeth. *Damned Women: Sinners and Witches in Puritan New England*. Cornell University Press, 1997.
Residential School History - NCTR. December 21, 2020. https://nctr.ca/education/teaching-resources/residential-school-history/, https://nctr.ca/education/teaching-resources/residential-school-history/.
Rivvett, Sarah. "Religious Exceptionalism and American Literary History: 'The Puritan Origins of the American Self.'" *Early American Literature* 47, no. 2 (2012): 391–410.
Romeo, Emily C. K. *The Virtuous and Violent Women of Seventeenth-Century Massachusetts*. University of Massachusetts Press, 2020.
Rowlandson, Mary. *A Narrative of the Captivity and Restoration of Mrs. Mary Rowlandson*. J. Wilson and Son, 1903.
Rowlandson, Mary. "A True History of the Captivity and Restoration of Mrs. Mary Rowlandson." In *Journeys in New Worlds: Early American Women's Narratives*, edited by William L. Andrews et al. University of Wisconsin Press, 1990.
Salisbury, Neal. *Manitou and Providence: Indians, Europeans, and the Making of New England, 1500-1643*. Oxford university press, 1982.
Salisbury, Neal. *Manitou and Providence: Indians, Europeans, and the Making of New England, 1500-1643*. Oxford university press, 1982.
Samuels, Shirley R., ed. *The Culture of Sentiment: Race, Gender, and Sentimentality in Nineteenth-Century America*. Oxford University Press, 1992.
Scheckel, Susan. *The Insistence of the Indian: Race and Nationalism in Nineteenth-Century American Culture*. Princeton University Press, 2008.
Smith, Merril D., ed. *Sex and Sexuality in Early America*. New York University Press, 1998.
Snader, Joe. *Caught between Worlds: British Captivity Narratives in Fact and Fiction*. University Press of Kentucky, 2000.
Stanley, George F. G. "Gabriel Dumont's Account of the North West Rebellion, 1885." *Canadian Historical Review* 102, no. s1 (2021): 108–29. https://doi.org/10.3138/chr-102-s1-007.
Stanley (Musunekwepan), George. "An Account of the Frog Lake Massacre." In *The Frog Lake "Massacre" - Personal Perspectives on Ethnic Conflict*, edited by Stuart Hughes. McClelland and Stewart Limited, 1976.
Strong, Pauline. *Captive Selves, Captivating Others: The Politics and Poetics of Colonial American Captivity Narratives*. Westview Press, 2008.
Strong, Pauline Turner. *Captive Selves, Captivating Others: The Politics and Poetics of Colonial American Captivity Narratives*. Limited territory edition. Institutional Structures of Feeling. Westview Press, 2008.

Strong, Pauline Turner. *Captive Selves, Captivating Others: The Politics and Poetics of Colonial American Captivity Narratives*. Limited territory edition. Institutional Structures of Feeling. Westview Press, 2008.
Strong-Boag, Veronica Jane, ed. *Rethinking Canada: The Promise of Women's History*. 4., [Rev. and Updated] ed. Oxford Univ. Press, 2002.
The Witness. "The Duck Lake Fight: Half-Breed Account of the Defeat of Crozier by Dumont." March 27, 1885.
Tomc, Sandra. "'Withersoever We Turn Our Eyes': Reimagining Democratic Writing in Nineteenth-Century Print Culture." *American Literary History* 37, no. 1 (2025): 147–59. https://doi.org/10.1093/alh/ajae135.
"Topics of the Week." *The Week: A Canadian Journal of Politics, Society, and Literature* 2, no. 29 (1885).
Toulouse, Teresa A. *The Captive's Position: Female Narrative, Male Identity, and Royal Authority in Colonial New England*. University of Pennsylvania Press, 2007. https://doi.org/10.9783/9780812203677.
Vaughan, Alden T., ed. *The Puritan Tradition in America: 1620 - 1730*. Documentary History of the United States. Univ. of South Carolina Press, 1972.
Voigt, Lisa. *Writing Captivity in the Early Modern Atlantic: Circulations of Knowledge and Authority in the Iberian and English Imperial Worlds*. University of North Caroline Press, 2009.
Waldrup, Carole Chandler. *Colonial Women: 23 Europeans Who Helped Build a Nation*. McFarland, 1999.
Westerkamp, Marilyn J. *Women in Early American Religion 1600-1850: The Puritan and Evangelical Traditions*. Christianity and Society in the Modern World. Taylor and Francis, 2005.
Westerkamp, Marilyn J. *Women in Early American Religion 1600-1850: The Puritan and Evangelical Traditions*. Christianity and Society in the Modern World. Taylor and Francis, 2005.
Weststeijn, Arthur. "Empire in Fragments: Transatlantic News and Print Media in the Iberian World, Cs. 1600-40." *Renaissance Quarterly* 74 (2021): 528–70.
Winship, Michael P. *Hot Protestants: A History of Puritanism in England and America*. Yale University Press, 2019. https://doi.org/10.12987/9780300244793.
Wohlforth, Julia. "Captive Bodies and Captive Minds: Women in English Captivity Narratives from the Early Modern Mediterranean to Colonial America." PhD Diss., Tufts University, 2021.

Curriculum Vitae

Candidate's Full Name: Taylor Lynn Chalker

Universities Attended:

2023-Present	**Master of Arts**, History, University of New Brunswick Thesis topic: Gender, Religion and Race: Unpacking the Propaganda in Anglo-Indigenous Captivity Narratives, 1675-1885 Supervisors: Dr. Stefanie Hunt-Kennedy and Dr. Bonnie Huskins
2019-2023	**Bachelor of Arts with First Class Honours**, Joint Honours in History and English, University of New Brunswick
2016-2018	**Marketing for Entertainment Diploma**, Toronto Film School

Publications:

Chalker, Taylor. "Anglo-Indigenous Female Captivity Narratives and the Construction of the Ideal Briton." *Timepieces* (UNB Undergraduate History Society Journal) 23, (2023). (*Peer-reviewed Article*)

Conference Presentations:

2024	"'That Grievous Captivity': Gender and Race in Indigenous and Barbary Captivity Narratives," presented virtually at the Bow River Graduate History Conference at the University of Calgary.
2024	"'Tears of Sympathy Will Flow': The Manipulation of Race and Gender in Captivity Narratives" presented virtually at the Michel Gordon Memorial History Graduate Conference at the University of Wisconsin – Milwaukee.
2023	"A Cerebral Siege on Ignorance: The Origins of Urizenic Thought," presented at the Annual Atlantic Undergraduate English Conference at Mount Allison University.