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Religion in Mary White Rowlandson's A True History of Captivity and
Restoration of Mrs. Mary White Rowlandson and Harriet Jacobs's
Incidents in the Life of a Slave Girl, Written by Herself

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Submitted by: Supervised by:

Amara Fadhila Dr. Chioukh- Ait Benali Ounissa

**Panel of examiners:** 

The chair: Mrs. Slimi Sabrina

Examiner: Mrs. Mohdeb Assia

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# **Dedication**

This thesis is dedicated, with all my love, to:

My father Hakim who is my source of inspiration.

My mother Ahmim Djouher who taught me the way to become a strong woman.

My beloved sister Lynda.

My dear brothers: Youba, Hichem, and Kacem Amine.

All my relatives; especially, my grandparents.

My friends in Batna: Sabrina, Asma, and Nouzha.

.All my classmates.

My dear friends: Imene, Dhrifa, Hani, and Yanis who supported me a lot.

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**Abstract** 

The present dissertation investigates the theme of religion in Mary White Rowlandson's

A True History of Captivity and Restoration of Mrs. Mary Rowlandson, and Harriet Jacobs's

Incidents in the Life of a Slave Girl, Written by Herself. These two works had been analyzed

using Stephen Greenblatt's New Historicism. Thus, with a special focus on the socio-

historical context in which the two narratives emerged, I have attempted to deconstruct

previous thoughts and tried to clarify the notions of captivity and slavery as employed in the

two narratives. Moreover, this work has included a detailed comparison between the captivity

narrative and the slave narrative and the two authors' use of religion.

Key words: Mary Rowlandson, Harriet Jacobs, Captivity narrative, slave narrative, religion.

# **Table of Contents**

General Introduction	1
Chapter one: the Theoretical Frame and the Historical Background of Captivity and S	lavery in
America	6
Introduction	6
1. New Historicism	7
2. Captivity in Early America	9
2.1. The Revenge of Native Americans	11
2.2. King Philip's War	12
2.3. Women during King Philip's War	15
3. Slavery in the Antebellum America (1800-1865)	17
a. The Economic Concurrence Between The Northern & The Southern States	18
b. The major Political Conflicts during the Antebellum Era	22
c. Religion: The Black Mask of the Antebellum America	25
3.1. Women's status in the Antebellum America.	28
Conclusion	30
Chapter two: Captivity Narratives and Slave Narratives	31
Introduction	31
Captivity Narrative and Slave Narrative: A Comparison	31
a. Captivity Narrative	31
b. Slave Narrative	33
2. The Biography of the Two Authors	36
I. Mary Rowlandson (1637-1710)	36

II. Harriet Jacobs (1813-1897)
3. The summary of the two narratives
a. Summary of Captivity and Restoration of Mrs. Mary Rowlandson
b. Summary of Incidents in the Life of A Slave Girl, Written By Herself39
Conclusion40
Chapter three: The Faith of a Puritan Captive and A Black Slave
Introduction41
1. Religion in Mary Rowlandson's Captivity and Restoration of Mrs. Mary Rowlandson41
2. Religion in Harriet Jacobs's <i>Incidents in the Life of a Slave Girl, Written by herself</i> 50
General Conclusion60
Work Cited63

## **General Introduction**

Almost everybody agrees about the point that American literature is very vast and rich of diversified genres, in which authors try to tackle and report the real issues of the melting pot of races in America. In this New World, everyone struggles to prove his identity, citizenship, and equality among other races either within or without the control of religion. Among these various genres Captivity Narrative is one of the earliest genres in American literature. It dates back to the Colonial period in the seventeenth century. Through these narratives, puritan European explorers, who went to America with the hidden aim of spreading Christianity, retold their experience of being kidnapped and held captives by Native Americans. This genre is the seed and the leading road to the appearance of the Slave Narratives in the nineteenth century during the antebellum period. The fugitive slaves at that time narrate their horrible experience of being black slaves in white America. These two Narratives are often used as political propaganda in order to attract the world's attention towards the circumstances in which captives and slaves were living.

Mary White Rowlandson is the first puritan woman to narrate her trail of being kept by "savage" Native Americans during the kingship of Philip in 1675. The later decided to have his revenge from any white European explorer who dared to think to take Indian lands. Rowlandson also recounted her transmutation from being a noble and aristocratic woman to a simple, uncivilized captive through her famous narrative A True History of Captivity and Restoration of Mrs. White Rowlandson, also known, as Sovereignty and Goodness of God. In this Narrative, Mary uses a lot of images from the Bible to show her faithfulness to God. For Rowlandson, the Bible was the only source of hope to get off her sorrow and fear. Consequently, this early Narrative was one of the many works that inspired the African-American slave writer Harriet Jacobs and others to take an action, and revolt against their white Christian masters and against the institution of Slavery. Through her narrative Incidents

in the Life of a Slave Girl, Written by Herself, Jacobs narrates her story of being a slave from her childhood to adulthood. She writes down all the horrible incidents that happened to her with her brutal master, and her jealous mistress. In this narrative, Jacobs tells us about female slaves' sufferings in the Southern states and the way they were raped by their owners without any mercy. Most importantly, the slave girl discloses the hypocrisy of the southern church, and "the so called Christians" of that era.

Though Mary Rowlandson's captivity narrative, and Harriet Jacobs' slave narrative are written in different centuries, they share some basic features. Furthermore, the two authors have experienced the same horrible experience of being enslaved, subjugated, and separated from their families. Yet, their strong faith has helped them in getting their freedom at the end.

#### Thesis statement, Hypothesis, and the Research Question

While Mary White Rowlandson glorified the puritans and pretended to be a saint, Harriet Jacobs sees the southern Christians in a different perspective. Thus, I hypothesize that Harriet Jacobs is a better Christian than the symbol of purity that Mary Rowlandson represents as this study will try to show. In this dissertation, I intend to study Mary White Rowlandson's A True History of Captivity and Restoration of Mrs. Mary White Rowlandson and Harriet Jacobs' Incidents in the Life of a Slave Girl, Written by Herself. From which I will attempt to pinpoint the major similarities and differences between the two genres through the analysis of the two authors' visions of religion.

The main questions that we will attempt to answer in this research paper are: 1) is there a difference between Captivity narrative and Slavery Narrative? 2) Was the puritan's minister, Mary Rowlandson, hypocrite? 3) Was the slave girl, Harriet Jacobs, a good Christian? 4) What makes the two works comparable? What motivated me to go through this research in the field of literature and civilization is my curiosity to know more about slavery and discovering the notion of captivity that the majority of us may have never heard about. Further, what

attracted me more is the way in which religion separated between races and how it was used by the white puritans against "other" races such as the Indians and the African-Americans to serve their personal objectives.

#### **Literature Review**

These two selected Narratives have been studied by many scholars, and an effective literature review should be provided in order to depict the common critiques about the two works. Among these scholars, Richard Slotkin who analyzed in his book, *So Dreadful a Judgment: Puritan Responses to King Philip's War*, the puritan culture as represented in Rowlandson's narrative, and the way puritans lied about Indians. In this novel, Slotkin portrays Rowlandson as a hypocrite. He argues that her purpose was to serve the puritans' politics, and to convince people that they are real saints. In his book, *American Puritanism and the Defense of Mourning: Religion, Grief, and Etymology in Mary White Rowlandson's Captivity Narrative*, Mitchell Robert Breitwieser explains Rowlandson's fear and anxiety about mourning. He stated that grief in the puritan society was forbidden. So, Rowlandson expressed her sorrow through contextualizing scriptures from the Bible. In addition to that, in his work, *Mary Rowlandson and the Psalm: the Textuality of Survival, in Early American Literature*, Dawn Henwood explores Rowlandson's reading of the Psalms in her Narrative and their role and importance in the Puritan religion. For Henwood, Rowlandson used scriptures from the Bible and the Psalms because it gave her power and hope.

Harriet's narrative is also criticized by many scholars such as Jean Fagan Yellin. Through her essay, "Harriet Jacobs: A Life", Yellin has proved that Harriet Jacobs is a real black slave who narrated her suffering and revolted against her Christian masters. Yellin succeeded to collect Jacobs's letters and published them to prove her authenticity. Ann Taves also analyzed the theme of religion in *Incidents in the Life of a Slave Girl, Written by Herself* through her work "Spiritual Purity and Sexual Shame: Religious themes in the Writing of

Harriet Jacobs". She claimed that Jacobs expressed shame after having an affair with her lover. This shows the great faith of Jacobs. Finally, in his book, *American Exceptionalism*, Professor Deborah L. Madsen explores Jacobs's reading of the Bible. He said that Jacobs used the Bible in order to disclose the hypocrisy of the Southern church, and to show her faithfulness and her belief in God's providence.

Harriet Jacobs's *Incidents in the Life of a Slave Girl, Written by Herself* and Mary white Rowlandson's *A True History of Captivity and Restoration of Mrs. Mary Rowlandson*. We will analyze the notion of religion from a black slave's view and a white captive's perspective. What is original in our analysis is the analysis of the aims of the two authors' use of religion in their narratives as related to the socio-historical context of their works.

#### **Research Methodology**

In this research paper, we want to explore the theme of religion in Mary Rowlandson's *Captivity* and Harriet Jacobs' *Incidents*. Moreover, we will attempt to disclose some hidden realities about captivity narratives and slave narratives in relation to their socio-historical context. For this, we will apply New Historicism, as explained by Stephen Greenblatt in order to provide a deep analysis of the text and context of these two works. we have chosen this theory because it permits us to add my personal point of view and to interpret it according to my own understanding as the theory states. Like the majority of New Historicists, Greenblatt thinks that literature is a constitutive part of the way a society orders and governs itself. Thus, the historical context, as he explains, is primordial in the study of literary texts. (Branningan, J. 6)

#### **Overview of Chapters**

This work will be divided into three main chapters. In the first chapter, we will define the theory of New Historicism. Then, we will deal with the socio-historical background of the two narratives, slavery and captivity in America. And we will talk about the American philosophy that changed the real events of history. In the second chapter, we will discuss the main features of the captivity narrative in Early America, and about the slave narrative in the nineteenth century. Furthermore, we will trace the relationship between these two genres, and the circumstances they were written in. lastly, we will provide my work with the biography of Mary Rowlandson and Harriet Jacobs, and the summary of their works. In the last chapter, we will analyze the theme of religion in Harriet Jacobs's *Incidents in the Life of a Slave Girl*. Written by Herself and Mary white Rowlandson's A True History of Captivity and Restoration of Mrs. Mary Rowlandson. Then, we will compare between the two narratives. Finally, we will try to answer my research questions and to prove the viability of my hypothesis.

#### **CHAPTER 1**

# THE THEORITICAL FRAME AND THE HISTORICAL BACKGROUNG OF CAPTIVITY AND SLAVERY IN AMERICA

#### Introduction

Starting from the 12<sup>th</sup> century, the world adopted Capitalism as an economic system, a process upon which everything is based on 'the survival of the fittest'. In the Age of Exploration, America was discovered and the ignominious Slavery and Captivity were the foundation and the base for it. Many people were dreadfully enthralled especially women. The natives were horribly put to death, kidnapped, and sold in the seventeenth century. Unfortunately, the same story, or maybe worst, happened to the black Africans, who were brought to the New World to act as everything except as human beings.

This chapter will be divided into two sections. In the first part, we will explore the historical context of captivity in America: its major events, principal figures, and its aftermath. In second part, we will examine slavery in the New World as a continuation to the British's horrible inhumanity toward the inferior races; via reviewing: the main reasons behind it, the most important incidents, and its outcomes. In this chapter we will mainly rely on New Historicism as a major theory; because we are going to deconstruct the Eccentric universal truths that provide people with one unique history, through denying these metanarratives, and revealing hidden verities in which the whole world was mistaken for.

#### 1. New historicism

Throughout our analysis, we will use the theory of New Historicism because it is pertinent. New Historicism is a term that was coined by Stephen Greenblatt, in 1992. This theory comes as a reaction to the old theories that study the text in isolation. It focuses mainly on the importance of studying the text within its context. New Historicism is defined as "a shift away from a criticism centered on 'verbal icons' toward a criticism centered on cultural artifacts" (Greenblatt 3). It can also be termed as Cultural Poetics as Greenblatt refers to it in his book *the Forms of Power and the Power of Forms in Renaissance* (1982).

Stephen Greenblatt is best-known for his famous readings of Shakespeare and English Renaissance. Through his works, he explores the social and political context of the playwright himself. In addition, he calls the readers to examine the abstract themes that are not given by the author. In this respect, "Greenblatt was arguing that our attitudes toward such seeming basic matters as sexual identity and love were not given but are 'learned'" (Mitchell 26). For instance, Greenblatt considers Shakespearean works as a reliable source to talk about the themes of religion, colonialism, and sexism that were existing in the sixteenth century.

Stephen Greenblatt criticizes Russian Formalism that insisted upon the obligation of studying the text, and nothing outside it. Such theories considered that the readers are never in need to the author's background, nor to its context. Nevertheless Greenblatt tried to give a new fresh perspective to the study of the literary text through studying and analyzing the text and context of both, the author and the critic.

In addition, Greenblatt and other New Historicists comes as a reaction to the old theory of historicism. This late is built upon two main traditions. The first one calles for the contextualization of all human thoughts and activities. Therefore, New Historicism agrees on this point; since everything has its historical background. The second tradition considered the historical forces to be deterministic and irresistible. Thus, this idea is highly criticized by the

New Historicist Karl Popper in his essay *the Poverty of Historicism*; he argues that history is never objective. In this context Cox and Reynolds also adds what follows:

New Historicism tends to regard texts in materialist terms, as objects and events in the world as a part of human life, society, the historical realities of power, authority and resistance; yet at the same time, it rejects the idea of "History" as a directly accessible, unitary past, and substitutes for it the conception of "histories", an ongoing series of human constructions, each representing the past at particular present moments for particular present purposes (4).

For Greenblatt, Gallagher, and other New Historicists, literature is discontinuous, unstable, and fragmentary. Unlike the old Historicists who study the literary work from only its historical background. The New Historicists believe that this is not sufficient. For them, the text must be studied and analyzed according to all the factors that surrounded it. They took into consideration the "circulating energy" as Greenblatt describes it; that is the circulating literary and nonliterary materials of that period of time. They argue that any artistic and non artistic work has necessarily something in common.

New Historicism is fundamentally a political approach more than just a literary criticism. It is highly influenced by the ideas of Karl Marx, Mikhail Bakhtin, Raymond Williams, Frederic Jameson, Derrida, and especially Michel Foucault. New Historicists agree with Derrida in the point that the text's meaning is changeable, and that "the text is deconstructed and remade by being subjected to the practices of its own time, those of our time" (Ukkan 6). Stephen Greenblatt was highly influenced by Michel Foucault's *discourse* with power and knowledge; in which he shiftes his attention from the working class to the other alienated groups. Therefore, Greenblatt also gave a big importance to the marginalized groups during the Renaissance; especially, to the oppressed women who had not the right to be involved in any theatrical work.

Greenblatt focuses mainly on the idea that meaning cannot be fixed. For him history should be affected by critical thoughts that are a production of a creative dialogue. In studying history the author and the critics must be taken into consideration, away from any Eurocentric

point of view because "reading from a universal point of view is a fantasy" (Big Think, "Stephen Greenblatt: Can Art Be Universal?"). Greenblatt insists mainly on the obligation of treating the literary texts as mobile rather than universal.

#### 2. Captivity in Early America

According to many historians, the notions of captivity and slavery in America started with its discovery. When Christopher Columbus 'discovered' the New World in 1492, he departed from Spain with three ships: the Pinta, the Santa Maria, and the Santa Clara, taking with him a group of his Jewish best friends, and a large number of servants including black slaves. When they reached to the Bahamas, they encountered the Arawak Indians who seemed to be very peaceful generous, and naïve. As it is mentioned in Columbus's Journal (1893), "they do not bear arms, and do not know them, for I showed them a sword, they took it by the edge and cut themselves out of ignorance" (qtd. in Barlow 184). Columbus and his fifty men took advantage of the Indians' submissiveness, and decided to exploit them as much as they could. Columbus noticed then golden jewelries. As a result, his greed for wealth changed his noble journey to the most horrible one in the American history.

The Arawak Indians were best-known for their kindness, and their great love for sharing everything with anybody as a sign of philanthropy and vineyard. When they subtended Christopher and his men, they welcomed them and tried to introduce the group to their culture through giving them gifts, and taking them to the tribes they were living in. The cunning Columbus availed this. So, he asked them to show him the way to gold and other riches. Indeed, they took him wherever he wanted, and gave him whatever he desired.

He sent a letter to King Arthur and Queen Isabella of Spain, telling them about the unbelievable amount of riches he discovered, and about the submissiveness of the natives who swap expensive materials for ridiculous stuffs. He writes:

The Indians would give whatever the seller requires; as for instance, an ounce and a half or two ounces of gold, or thirty or forty pounds of cotton, with which commodity they were

acquainted. Thus, they bartered like idiots, cotton and gold for fragments of bows, glasses, bottles, and jars; which I forbad myself as being unjust. (8)

In 1495, Columbus made his second voyage to the Americas, sponsored of course by the king and the queen of Spain. This time, he came back with thirteen ships and twelve hundred men for the sake of taking with him all the gold and currents he left behind him three years ago. He exploited the Indians in a very horrible way. He cut the hands of every native that refused to participate in finding and filling up the ships with the findings. Unfortunately, Columbus realized that the huge amount of gold he had expected was not available. He put himself in a very embarrassing situation with the Spaniards, to whom he promised to fulfill up all the thirteen ships with gold.

It is mentioned in the *International Jew*, that Christopher's Jewish friend Gabriel Sanchez convinced him to take the Indians as captives, and sell them as an ersatz to the gold. Indeed it was the case, Columbus captivated more than 1500 Awaksans, some of them were killed, women were raped, and 500 of them were sold in Seville of Spain. In a letter that he sent in 1500 to the Spanish kingdom, he informs them about the increasing demand for slaves especially young girls. He states: "a hundred castellanos are as easily obtained for a woman as for a farm, and it is very general and there are plenty of dealers who go about looking for girls; those from nine to ten are now in demand." (qtd. in Loewen 58)

Columbus was accused of being a slaveholder, but the Catholic pope of Spain, and King Arthur supported him. They asked him to enslave as much as he could for the sake of converting them to Christianity, since they were 'pagan', 'savages' and 'barbarians'. He writes in his journal what follows:

In all these islands there is no difference of physiognomy, of manners, or of language, but they all clearly understand each other, a circumstance very propitious for the realization of what I conceive to be the principle wish of our serene king, namely, the conversion of these people to the holy faith of Christ. (Columbus 10)

Despite Being a brutal slaveholder, Christopher Columbus was glorified in the European 'meta-narratives'. They made of him a symbol of the perfect Christian, who brought civilization, and Christianity into a totally pagan land; denying all the substantiations which proved that America was discovered centuries before Columbus's expedition. In 1992, a large number of American students protested in the *Columbus Day* claiming that "he didn't discover America, he invaded it" (Lindsay 1), asking the government to stop celebrating this occasion.

#### 2.1. The Revenge of the Native Americans

After what Columbus did to the "original" inhabitants of America, the Indians were no more naïve; they became aware of what foreigners desire, and what they were planning for. Many historians agree about the point that the majority of ships and explorers, who disappeared before 1620, were probably killed because of the harsh winter, hunger, the long distance, and the attacks of Native Americans.

In 1620, a group of about 100 separatist, known as the Pilgrims sailed for America in search of freedom to practice their religion as they wished. When they arrived there, they started steeling Indian properties. However, when they were warned, they changed their minds and decided to live in peace with the Natives.

Ten years later, a group of puritans arrived to the New World to form a strict and religious community, and to gain as much riches as possible. It was the age of Mercantilism, which is a competitive economic philosophy. The puritans were very greedy and they wanted to progress even if they kill every creature that threatened their schemes. However, the Indians refused to share their lands with them anymore, and refused to be enslaved as their ancestors. They made very shrewd plans to kill those new comers and to kidnap as much as they could.

#### 2.2. King Philip's War

Native Americans are best-known for their stable life that is organized by a set of rules, traditions, and rituals. They were well organized; each one had his own role. The eldest person in the clan was the king. Women were not subjugated. They were highly respected, and glorified. They were even a part of the political system of the tribe.

When the pilgrims established their settlement at Plymouth, they had to sign a treaty of peace with the Wampanoag, their Indian neighbors. So, the English military commander, Miles Standish came to an arrangement with the Indian sachem, Massasoit, to never use weapons against each other and to collaborate in everything. After this arrangement, the Indians were invited to the biggest feast of that time which is known as the "Thanksgiving Feast" to celebrate their friendship and to thank God for living in peace with each other.

In 1662, Massasoit died, "and his second son, Metacomet" (Pritzker 473), or Philip as the English settlers called him became the new leader of the Wampanoag. Metacomet was very careful in his relationship with the English because unlike the Pilgrims, the "bloodthirsty" puritans, especially in Plymouth colony, were highly atrocious with them. They killed a large number of them, stole their lands, and forced them to follow a set of laws that only served their interests. This truculence ended the fifty five years of cordiality between the Natives and the settlers.

As soon as Metacomet suspected the betrayal of a Puritan Native, who was a translator to both sides, he executed him on the spot. So the English settlers responded to this incident by killing three Indians, and King Philip's brother, Alexander, by kidnapping, and poisoning

him to death. This brutal reaction waged a 'Civil War' between the two powers as it is mentioned in the book *King Philip's War: Civil War in New England, 1675-1676* (1999)

King Philip's War was obviously not just a Civil War putting Indian against Indian. The English and the Indians, as part of the same society with their polities interwoven, fought a civil war by fighting one another. Looking closely at the political culture of the Indians and the English, we see that Philip sought to preserve his people's sovereignty by incorporating them into the English political system. The English, in turn, viewed Philip and his followers as subjects, traitorous ones after they waged the war in 1675. Thus King Philip's War was not just an 'Indian Civil War' but, more broadly, a Civil War. (Drake 198)

In 1676, King Philip led a bloody war against the puritans, many of them died. Women and their children were kidnapped, and families were destroyed. Though the British army was the leader of the world, a group of primitive, barbaric tribes agonized them. King Philip made his utmost to realize the English proverb that says "sometimes you have to give people a taste of their own medicine" (Hamilton 56).

Metacomet was not alone in this fray, the Nipmuck, Narragansett, and the pocumtuck tribes allied with him. The British army otherwise was supported by the Mohegan, the Mohawk tribes, and other colonies except Rhode Island. The reasons behind this war were various as it is claimed in the *Pictorial History of King Philip's War*:

This affair was the signal of war. The two parties had suspected each other so long, that all ties of friendship had been dissolved. Add to this the steady extension of the English, and consequent limitations of the Indians; the disputes about land, the death of Alexander, the mortifying 'examinations' to which Philip was subjected, and the increasing excitement both amongst colonists and Indians, occasioned by the rumors of war, and we may perceive that the opposing elements required but a single further act of aggression on either side to result in an explosion. (Strock 59-60)

The very first battle of this war was in the town of Swansea, where Philip and his men stole a big amount of weapons, and set houses into fire. They attacked Dartmouth, Mass, Mendon, Brookfield, Deerfield, North-field, and Massachusetts Bay Colony; killing several settlers and burning hundreds of house. In February, The Wampanoags attacked Lancaster. They killed and kidnapped as much as they could. Most importantly, the English minister's wife, Mary Rowlandson and her children were kidnapped as a response to the crimes they committed against Indians.

In August, the English army reacted to the kidnapping of Mary Rowlandson and the other puritans by capturing Philip's wife who is the sister of the Queen Weetamoo, and her son. Finally, they enclosed Metacom's camp, a Christian Wampanoag informer named John Alderman, and yet shot and killed Philip as he tried to escape. His death marked the end of the Civil War, except for some other tribes which continued fighting with the French support against the English settlements.

This internecine war brought the death of more than 600 colonists, around 1,200 homes had been burned and 12 out of 90 new settlements were destroyed. However, all these casualties were just like a pathway toward expansion and vigor as it is mentioned in *Pictorial History of King Philip's War: Comprising a Full and Minute Account* (1851):

Philip's war had admirably prepared the colonies for this result. They had suffered, but they had also triumphed; and the triumph was of that sure nature which leaves for the victor no future apprehensions of his foe. That foe was extinct; he had left the wilderness, and the hunting-ground, and the stream from whose waters he had often drawn his daily food, and the hills where his ancestors sat viewing their noble domain, when the coming of the white man was announced to them, to his conqueror. Though the colonists were at this time so poor that they could scarcely defray the expense of the government, yet there never had been a period in their history when they had more solid grounds of encouragement. Almost the whole country was before them; and, what was still a great advantage, there were no enemies to oppose their immediately taking possession. (Strock 406)

The puritans considered their victory in this devastating war as a gift from God, after punishing them with such a calamity. For them, King Philip and his allies were sent by God in order to chastise them for not spreading Christianity as the Christ asked them to do. As a result, in the post-king Philip's War, the English settlers did their best to convert as much as

they could, assimilate them to their culture, and teach them their language for the sake of showing the world that they are really God's chosen people.

What I was talking about in the previous paragraph was the conspicuous part that the settlers were convincing themselves and the world to be like. However, there were invisible truths that disclose the unbelievable hypocrisy of the puritans at that time. On the one hand, they have assimilated the Indians to their culture, through teaching them their way of eating, dressing, talking, acting, and most importantly introducing them to Christianity. They did this in order to obviate their danger, and not because they loved them and wanted to share everything with them as the poor Indians thought. On the other hand, the cruel settlers did their best to harm the majority of them through torturing, killing, raping, and mainly selling them as slaves to Europe, and to other states.

#### 2.3. Women During King Philip's War

During the seventeenth century, European women were subjugated, and dominated by men. This period was pretty known as the Enlightenment. It is the epoch when women were classified to be the 'Other', ridiculous creature that sent by God for the sake of making men's life more comfortable. Even though the pilgrims fled to the New World looking for freedom and deliverance, females were still considered to be the 'weaker vessels' as they had always been treated in England. It is always mentioned that America is founded, and established by the Pilgrim Fathers, but never by the "Pilgrim Mothers". This was simply due to their belief that women were all sinful, and Satan's instrument. Just like Eve who was considered as the main cause for convincing Adam to eat the forbidden Apple as it is mentioned in the Bible. These women were cursed.

Women didn't have any rights like voting, expressing their political thoughts, attending religious meetings in the church, signing contracts, or conducting a business. They were even obliged to wear veils, and to cover their entire body. They were once taught to read the Bible,

but never to write their names, or other things. In other words, their unique role is to answer whatever their husbands demanded, and to give birth to approximately seven children or more. Thus, this situation had totally improved due to the most devastating war in the American history: King Philip's War.

Contrariwise, the Indian women had a very high status in their tribes. They were considered to be shrewd, and powerful. They had the right to vote, to write, to fight, and even to lead the whole clans by themselves. Queen Weetamoo was the major figure of this war, a fearless woman who caused the death of hundreds of settlers. She married five times, mainly with noble men. One of her husbands was King Philip's brother, Wamsutta who is known for the English as Theodore. Weetamoo was the daughter of the Pocasset's chief, Corbitant. She was sent to live alone in the woods at the age of fourteen for the sake of killing her childish soul, and to make her more powerful, fearless, and extremely responsible. She will certainly succeed to her father when he will die.

Unlike the puritan women, Weetamoo and all the Indian women were totally free from their husbands' supremacy. They were the nucleus of their society. The Natives always glorify their wives and daughters. More than that, they considered them to be a source of wisdom and aphorism. The English remarked the holiness of women and their children in the Indian society. So, during the war they concentrated on killing, burning, and kidnapping them for the sake of destroying the Natives physically and morally.

Queen Weetamoo took a decision to take her revenge from the British for torturing her people, especially for killing her husband. In June, 1675, she led more than three hundred warriors against the colonists. This brave woman was finally killed in a horrible way. In this respect, Mather said:

They made a most horrid and diabolical lamentation, crying out that it was their queen's head. If to lament the sad end of their queen was diabolical on the part of the Indians, what was this cruel mockery of their grief by a Christian minister, and what had the heathen to gain by listening to his teachings (History of American Women)

Weetamoo was the queen Warrior who marked history by her unbelievable courage and power, she was so great that many places in America were named after her as a symbol of valor and courage.

It is true that King Philip's war came to an end, and the majority of the Wampanoag were killed, sold, and eloped. However, the puritans' victory in this hematic war geminated their truculence more than ever. Their pretentiousness and avidity pushed them to alter their primary holy mission of practicing their debit freely into using their religion as a concrete evidence that glorifies them, and gives them the right to enslave, and trade with human beings as much as they could. They were spreading around themselves and the whole world the idea of being God's chosen people. When the puritans lost control of the Indians, they turned their direction toward West Africa mainly for the sake of kidnapping a very big amount "of subhumans" who would never rebel against them.

#### 3. Slavery in the Antebellum America (1800-1865)

Transporting slaves out of Africa started centuries ago. In 1472, the Portuguese marked their first negotiation of slave-trading agreement with the chiefs of the unprotected African villages who accepted to exchange their people by ridiculous stuffs like food and rum. Regarding the unbelievable profits that the Portuguese had gained out of this trade, the Dutch and the British made their best to take the monopoly.

In the seventeenth century, there was a massive lack of laborers in America because the European workers could not afford the fatal diseases and the catastrophic conditions of that wild land. As soon as the Dutch traders heard about this dilemma, they took the opportunity to steal a Spanish ship, filled up with hundreds of African slaves, and sent it to the New World as a solution to the European colonizers. This bargain was not for the heaven's sake, but it was a break to the Dutch traders in order to get a large amount of money for selling

"invaluable creatures" as they call black people. The settlers were so happy with this transaction, since their goal of finding strong workers who would support the harshness of work in the vast, scary, and hazardous lands that other races could not endure was finally achieved.

The Antebellum America is pretty known to be the pre-Civil War period. This era was the zenith of slavery, the tissue upon which the American flag was drawn on. At that time, the industrial revolution took the undeveloped New World to a totally higher level. Also, other effective ideas like 'the Manifest Destiny', and 'Westward Expansion' have traced a new map to a larger, wealthier, and titanic country. However, the citizens did never share the same ambitions, and intentions. Consequently, America was divided into northern and southern states, businessmen and slave-traders. A cleavage that was an aftermath of political conflicts, economical concurrence, and fundamentally a result of religious conspiracy.

#### a- The Economic Concurrence Between The Northern & The Southern States

There was a census that both economies, in the northern and southern states, were nearly equal in the beginning of the 1790's. During this period, the whole population shared the same lifestyle, heritage, and the same culture. After this, the world entered in a vehement industrial competition. Succeeding Britain, the leading of the industrial revolution, America adopted capitalism in two different ways.

In the northern states, many factories were built thanks to the dexterous Samuel Slater, "the Father of the American Industrial Revolution". Moses Brown, and Francis Cabot Lowell cheated Britain by memorizing the major techniques and secrets of their textile industry. In the mid 1800's, the majority of the agrarian societies carved their way toward new industrialized big cities; so many people moved to the north in hope of a better future.

During the industrialization, population in the north has highly increased. Many poor Europeans immigrated to the United States, running away from the miserable conditions they were living in. For instance, the Irish who suffered from the Potato Famine, Italians, and the Germans escaped the political and social injustice in their country. These immigrants were robustly abhorred by the American citizens, especially, the Irish who took their jobs since they were working very hard for small amounts of money.

In order to realize 'Westward Expansion' project, the Americans were obliged to invent new means of transportation. For the sake of reaching the west, and transporting their merchandise, Erie Canal was the first man who created a route that connects between the Atlantic Ocean and the Great Lakes. After this, the innovation of steamboats strongly developed the northern economy by transporting people and merchandise through lake cities and big rivers. In 1811, the Cumberland Road, the first national road, was drilled. Then the Americans gave the supreme importance to the Railroads that linked the major Midwestern cities with the Atlantic coast.

In 1793, a shrewd young teacher, Eli Whitney, "invented the cotton gin" (Mitchell 66) that lead to an economic boom in the country. This engine solved the universal problem of separating cotton seeds from its fibers five times quicker than before. She has noticed the harshness of this work in the southern plantations. It also increased the exportation of cotton to other countries, mainly Britain, and it strongly developed the textile industry in America. Most importantly, it caused the increasing demand for slavery in the cotton plantations of the south.

In 1801, Whitney also came up with the genius idea of the Interchangeable Parts. This plan was proposed to Congress in order to improve the fabrication of muskets, because only 1000 pieces were produced in three years. The idea was aiming at producing ten thousand muskets in only two years; through taking pieces from different guns, then using it in other muskets, and vise versa. Because for Whitney "every piece fit every lock!" so these muskets "could indeed be produced by machines" (Mitchell 50)

In 1844, Samuel Morse attributed to the American Industrial Development through inventing the Telegraph. This creation, by which people can communicate from different long distances, was based on sending electrical signals over a wire laid between stations. The first "unforgettable" telegraph message was sent by Mores from Washington, D.C., to Baltimore, Maryland.

Many other engines were created during the antebellum era; like the Sewing Machine in 1846, by Elias Howe, the fire Hydrant in 1801, the vapor-compression refrigeration, coffee percolator, cupcakes, cookies, the doorbell, ice cream maker...etc. it was the economic boom in the northern states.

The printing business also developed in this era thanks to the improvement of the printing machines. In the early 19<sup>th</sup> century, newspapers were only accessible to the bourgeois since it cost six cents a copy. However, the "Penny Papers" came in the 1830's to lead the biggest revolution in journalism. Therefore, this innovation enabled the working class to buy the different magazines and newspapers with acceptable prices. This business also helped widely the politicians to impact people's thoughts through publishing their articles. Most importantly, it gave voice to many poets and writers to share their stories and experiences with not only with Americans, but with the whole world.

Whenever the signifier is the south, the signified is for sure Slavery. The later was the black carpet upon which the Americans walked their way toward erecting the most powerful empire in the world. The southerners also adopted capitalism. They built factories, and railroads...etc, but not like the northern states. They relied on the slave-labor more than on free markets.

Owing to the fact that the southern states contained diversified vast plantations of tobacco, sugarcane, rice, iron, especially cotton; "Black" slavery was vital to the Americans. They needed vigorous laborers to work very hard for them without any nag or whimper. At that

period of time, the poor farmers moved to the south in order to exercise supremacy on the African slaves, to prove their strength, and to become rich.

When Eli Whitney invented the cotton gin, the south became "the cotton kingdom". More than 1 400 000 slaves were working in the cotton plantations, for paltry prices. Thanks to them, the south produced 75% of world's cotton supply by the end of the 1860's. "About one million of African slaves were forced to work in homes or in industry, construction, mining, lumbering or transportation" (Stone 83). The remaining one million worked in agriculture. Some of them were living in the northern states. They worked as servants, artisans, in factories, mines, and some other lucky blacks were given their freedom by their goodhearted masters.

Slaveholders made a very shrewd plan to get wealth through slavery. They concentrated on raping women, making them pregnant, and selling their children to other states. They also made black males work very hard to make their bodies strong enough, in order to attract the traders' attention to buy them. Slave-owners became very rich thanks to slavery as it is mentioned in Dorothy and Carl Schneider's book *Slavery in America*. In this context, they write:

According to (the) slave trader; Theodor Canot 'the financial genius of Africa, instead of devising bank-notes or the precious metals as a circulating medium, has from time to time immemorial declared that a human creature the true representative and embodiment of labor, is the most valuable article on earth' (1)

To sum up, the antebellum America witnessed an extremely developed economic system. On the one hand, the northern states concentrated on industrialization; through erecting factories, transportation, innovation, and urbanization. On the other hand, the southern states based their economy on producing the most important raw materials; especially cotton, and of course southerners used slavery as the most important source of money.

#### b- The Major Political Conflicts During the Antebellum Era

After the American Revolution, the new government tried to unify the whole country under a restricted set of laws. However, the thirteen colonies had different policies. Each delegate run for his state's interests without caring about the other races. At that time, Thomas Jefferson claimed in the Declaration of Independence that "all men are born equal". That was just a politician's promises. Jefferson pretended always to be the man of justice who cared about the poor African-Americans, but factually, he himself was a slave-holder. He could not even help the mother of his children in getting her freedom. Professional historians drew the American "public memory" adroitly. On the one hand, they depicted the northern politicians as the good side that was always fighting for slaves' rights, and the country's union. On the other hand, they associated all southern states with slavery, cruelty, brutality, and rapacity. Factually, Professor Carole E. Scott deconstructed this meta-narrative that glorified the northerners, in his famous article "The Very Different but Connected Economies of the Northeast and the South before the Civil War". He revealed that slavery also existed in the northern states, and abolitionists didn't just exist in the North, but also in the south.

In fact, though the number of slaves in the North declined after the Revolutionary War, slavery continued to exist there well into the nineteenth century. Between 1777 and 1804, all of the states north of Maryland did take steps that would eventually doom slavery within their borders. But only in Massachusetts, Vermont, and New Hampshire were slaves emancipated relatively swiftly, and even in these states abolition measures were ambiguous and their implementation inconsistent. In Pennsylvania, New Jersey, New York, Connecticut, and Rhode Island, state legislatures adopted gradual abolition legislation, which dismantled slavery over a period of half a century. (qtd. in Scott 3)

In reality, not all southerners owned slaves; the majority of them did not. "According to the 1860 Census, only 4.8% of Southerners owned slaves, 95.2 did not." (Fellowship of God's

Covenant People). Factually, the northerners were far more racists than them. They were not against the idea of slavery as we were always taught. But indeed, "they did not welcome freed slaves from the south" (Beckel 208)

According to many historians, some Virginians were the first to call for abolishing slavery. In 1817, they provided the slave-owners with compensations in order to free their slaves. Furthermore, they helped many Africans to escape and to go back to their mother lands. In addition to this, they established a back nation in the heart of the southern states under the name of Liberia, a place where African-Americans can live freely.

African-Americans were always seen as servants in the Southern states. It's true that they were tortured by their masters, but at least they had the right to work and to buy their freedom. It is mentioned in *the White History Month* that only northerners were calling them slaves before 1830. In fact, not only white Americans owned slaves. Freed blacks such as the well-known Anna Kingsley enslaved a large number of her 'brothers' and 'sisters'.

By 1830, a runaway black slave named Nat Turner lead a rebellion in the south, and killed more than sixty white men. Most of them didn't own any slaves. Even their children and wives were killed in their sleep. After few weeks Nat Turner and his band were all hanged up. More than that, one hundred blacks were all killed in the next days as an ultimatum to any madmen who dare to revolutionize again. As a result, this incident reversed the southerners view toward slavery. They decided to treat them as slaves, but never as servants. Ideas such as rights and freedom seemed to be very dangerous after what they had seen.

The African-Americans are no more trusted in the south. So the majority of them decided to leave that hazardous era and runaway to the northern states, Canada, and England. Consequently, the slaveholders caught them and tortured them mercilessly. When the famous runaway slave Dread Scott was caught, he asked for his right of citizenship. Yet, the

confederate court refused his request immediately. Such a decision would threaten their lives, economy, and society.

The southerners are well-known for their pigheadedness and stubbornness. They did never accept anyone to tell them what to do and what not to do. So when the northern politicians issued a set of compromises that put an end to the expedition of slavery to the western states, the southern statesmen reacted pointedly. For them, this inequitable decision aggravated their conflicts. Thomas W. Cobb of Georgia said to the congressman, Tallmage of New York that "they were kindling a fire which all the waters of the ocean could not extinguish, it could be extinguished only in blood" (Julius 25)

Slavery was not the only nodus between the northern, and the southern states. Actually, the southerners were heavily suffering from northerners' dominance. They were obliged to pay taxes and high tariffs for buying the goods, which were made by their own raw materials. Furthermore, the election of Abraham Lincoln in 1861 was a thwack on the federalists' face. For them his victory was not legal. According to Judge George L. Christian of Richmond,

Lincoln was only nominated by means of a corrupt bargain entered into between his representatives and those of Simon Cameron, of Pennsylvania, and Caleb B. Smith, of Indiana, by which Cabinet positions were pledged both to Cameron and to Smith in consideration for the votes controlled by them, in the convention, and which pledges Lincoln fulfilled, and in that way made himself a party to these corrupt bargains. (Wikisource)

Lincoln made great effort to represent the south as the evil who wanted to destroy the country's union; especially; after southerners' secession in 1861. Despite this, the southern secession was lawful and legitimate; since state sovereignty was the linchpin of the American policy. They thought that the ideas in the Declaration of Independence which states that "...It is the Right of the People to alter or to abolish it, and to institute new Government....", Would give them the right to establish their own institution. In addition, President Davis made his best to avoid the Civil War through sending many peace commissions to negotiate with

Lincoln. Nevertheless, he did not gave much importance. Therefore, all these events led at the end to the macabre Civil War.

Overall, the majority of the historical lessons that we were taught about the politics in the Antebellum Era were falsified. Ideas like the northern states were all the time safeguarding the dervish slaves, and that all southerners were evils; were all deconstructed in the famous historical book, *Everything You Were Taught about the Civil War was Wrong*. It is stated that

What the South wants to know is why the North has not also apologized for its role in the "peculiar institution." After all, it was Northerners who first introduced the slave trade to the American colonies in 1638; it was Northern ship builders who constructed America's first slave ships; it was Northern businessmen who financed these ships; it was these Northern slave ships which first sailed to Africa; it was Northern ports that harbored the first American slave ships; it was a Northern state (the colony of Massachusetts) that first legalized slavery in 1641; it was Yankee businessmen who owned and operated the entire American slave trading business; it was the North that first prospered from slavery; and finally, it was the North that sold its slaves to the South when it finally found them to be both disagreeable and unprofitable. Also, an apology for African slavery in America is also due from the thousands of descendants of early slave owning African-Americans, Native-Americans, and Latin-Americans, as well as Africa herself: Africa not only practiced slavery long prior to the arrival of Europeans, but greatly expedited and even encouraged Europeans in developing the Atlantic slave trade. (Seabrook 93)

#### c. Religion: The Black Mask of the Antebellum America

After the American Revolution, many changes happened in the American society. It became a melting pot of races. There were diversified cultures, thoughts, and religions. After the independence, people started getting new ideas of liberation and exoneration. Therefore, the only solution to unify all these cogitations was developing new religious strategies.

In the Antebellum period, Protestant Christianity was the dominant religion in America. In the early 19<sup>th</sup> century, Methodist and Baptists made their best to convert as many as they could to Christianity. As a reaction to the gloomy ideas of the Enlightenment, these preachers led a new movement called the Second Great Awakening. Its main goal was to reverberate Romanticism; concentrating on the human's soul and emotions instead of his reasoning.

During this period, many churches were built everywhere. It became the place that congregates people to share gossips, news, and ideas. They were trained to sing some spirituals, and to listen attentively to the preachers' long sermons. One of the main speeches was about the Second Coming of Jesus. They were convincing people that the son of God will come back again only if everyone admits his sins and asks for remission. The sermons at that time were like hypnosis. They had an incredible impact on people since they were crying, jumping, and even fainting. At that time, churches played a great role in educating people. Beside the Biblical lessons, they devoted Sundays to provide people with lesson in mathematics, philology, literature and so on.

When the Western territories were explored, the Methodists and the Baptists came out with the idea of the Manifest Destiny. Their first priority was to spread Christianity in every pagan spot in the country. They pretended to be the chosen people of God, and that their mission was the Christ's commandment. However, the case was different with the African Americans.

During the period 1680 to 1730, the Anglican Church in Virginia debated about converting the slaves to Christianity or not. Black Africans were not even considered as human beings in the first half of the Enlightenment period. In the second half of the eighteenth century, the Negroes were finally introduced to Christianity.

The missionaries that went to the southern states made their utmost to prove the validity of the institution of slavery. Though there were black preachers at that time, they could not deny what the whites were lying about. The majority of their sermons were about the prophets who were once slaveholders such us Jacob, Abraham, and Moses. Moreover, they mainly focused on the story of Ham who was cursed by Noah after killing his brother. They said that this curse was about turning all his descendents to blacks and to become

servants till the Day of Judgment. The reverends at that time talked about everything except the real Christianity.

The slaves in the south became machine-like. They were programmed to respect their masters and to never disobey their orders. The reverends were convincing them that respecting masters and mistresses is the only way to heaven:

You slaves will go to heaven if you are good but do not ever think that you will be close to your mistress and masters No! No!, there will be a wall between you, but there will be holes in it that will permit you to look out and see your mistress when she passed by. If you want to sit behind this wall, you must do the language of the text; obey your masters (qtd, in Mathisen 298)

When the African-Americans started educating themselves secretly, they had finally understood the real meaning of Christianity. They became more aware about all the lies that they were believing in. they recognized that their masters and mistresses are just simple creatures as they are, and that "whites were all going to hell like a damn banal full of nails" (Taslitz 156). Accordingly, they have decided to create their own secret churches in which they could teach each other, and enlighten the slaves' minds with real interpretations of the Bible.

The African-American religion was a mixture of Christianity and Africanism. Even though the slaves have read the Bible respectively, they could not relinquish their African beliefs. They kept believing in supernatural powers, spirit possession, traditions, rituals, and myths, they have created their own world where they could find solace and consolation. When they were meeting in their "invisible institutions", they were listening to each other; they shared their stories and tribulations. They were composing their own Spirituals, and singing them all together. It was not because of their joy as the whites thought, but it was a set of encrypted words that helped them in communicating and exchanging news secretly.

In the light of these assumptions, religion played a major role in the Antebellum America. The slaveholders trade on the Bible through teaching the slaves only the verses that

served their interests. They succeeded in convincing them that God will award them only if they obey their masters and mistresses. However, this case has changed after establishing "invisible" churches. The African-American slaves understood the real meaning of the Bible, and they became closer to God who was for them the only savior.

#### 3.1. Women's Status in the Antebellum America

The Antebellum society was marked by the dominance of men over women. White women at that time were placed at the bottom of hierarchy. For them, God created wives to fulfill the needs of their husbands. In this respect, it is stated that, "... a woman's role in her marriage and her life was to be a mother and take care of her family in the domestic real. If a woman was unable to have children, it was often shameful to the couple and detrimental to the wife's status as a woman." (Cobb 2). This inferiority killed the faithfulness and respect between white couples.

In contrast, the black woman was highly respected in her community. She was seen as the Goddess who blesses her family, and her society. They were believed to have supernatural powers. Nonetheless, this posture has totally changed when they became enslaved. They became everything except human beings.

Though the white women were subjugated, the black women doubly suffered from this feeling. They were dominated by their masters on one hand and by their mistresses on the other hand. When a female slave was born, her parents had a great feeling of melancholy; because she will be her master's toy.

Thousands of female slaves were raped everyday in the large plantations by their masters to increase the number of slaves. They were a profitable source of money to their holders as Thomas Jefferson stated, "a woman who brings a child every two years was more profitable than the best man on the farm" (Berlin 127). When they obey them they might have some rights, but once they were pregnant they became a threat to the master's marriage. Therefore, the jealous mistresses in this case made their best to torture them, and to convince their husbands to sell them in the market-slave.

At that time, both white families and black families were broken up. The white masters raped their slave girls, and the white mistresses as a response "forced black men into having sex with them" (Kennedy 119) with their slaves. And the black women were suffering from many diseases because of the sexual relationships with different masters. They were sold away from her children and husbands, and they suffered from the shame of the horrible relationships that they went through.

In brief, we can say that white women and black women were both suffering from inferiority during the antebellum period. Both of them were dominated by the white man, who considered himself to be the supreme power of his own world.

#### Conclusion

The American history is full of bewilderment and mystification. It was knitted in a controversial way by American historians who made their utmost to show the tidiness and the purity of its patriarchs. Most importantly, they legitimized the institution of slavery and glorified all the horrors that happened at that time. In this chapter, I have examined the

historical context of both Captivity and Slavery. I have relied on New Historicism as a way to deconstruct the traditional truths about these two unpleasant notions. I have stated the real hidden facts that the majority of people ignore. Furthermore, my aim in this chapter was to find out a relationship between the Indian Captivity and the black slavery. Both captives and slaves were tortured and enslaved, especially, women who were doubly suffering at that time. I have also focused on the religious conspiracy that led to the existence of these two institutions. After exploring the socio-historical context of the two narratives, the next chapter will deal with the biography of Harriet Jacobs, and Mary Rowlandson. I will give a summary of the two narratives and the main relationship between them.

#### CHAPTER TWO: CAPTIVITY AND SLAVE NARRATIVE

#### Introduction

Captivity narratives and slave narratives are the most know genres in the American literatures. Through these narratives, enslaved people could narrate their horrible experiences of being inferior to other races. Mary Rowlandson's *Sovereignty and Goodness of God Together, with the Faithfulness of His Promises Displayed* portrayed the Indian society and the puritan beliefs in the seventeenth century. Harriet Jacobs pictured the horrors of slavery in the southern states, and female slaves' tribulation.

In this chapter, I will try to define the slave narratives and the captivity narratives; their structure, and the correlation between the two genres. Furthermore, I will deal with the biographies of the Mary Rowlandson, and Harriet Jacobs. Then, I will provide a summary of their works.

# 1. Captivity Narrative and Slave Narrative: A Comparison

## a. Captivity Narrative

Captivity narrative was extremely popular in colonial America. It was a sort of an autobiography. They were used by the Euro-American settlers to tell their horrible experience of being held captives by Native Americans. Through this literary genre, the world had the opportunity to know more about the indigenous people of America who were introduced only by the anthropologists. This kind of plot was mainly told by female captives, or by male writers who retold the experiences of other females. Even though women were subjugated at that time, the female captives were given the opportunity to write down their dreadful trail.

Moreover, females' accounts were unbelievably moving and poignant that readers believed all the details.

Captivity narratives' aim was not limited to tell the series of events that happened to the captives with their captors. In fact, settlers wanted to voice the beauty of their religion and culture through it. Many politicians and ministers were responsible for these writings. They coerced the authors to portray the Indians as "heathens", "savages", and "barbarians" to make the world think that all the harms that the puritans did to them was justifiable.

This genre was notably marked by the overuse of the Biblical typology. The narrators read and relate the events that happened to them to the stories that were mentioned in the Bible. They were considering themselves to be the chosen people of God. Thus in puritan society, poetry, theatre, and singing were banned. At that time, only captivity narratives that provided the norms of this zealot society were permitted.

Early narrative's writers considered their captivity as a punishment from God. For them, God has chosen them to disseminate the faith of Christianity and to introduce it to the heathens. Yet, they deceived him. By 1682, Mary Rowlandson's *The Sovereignty and Goodness of God Together, with the Faithfulness of His Promises Displayed,* was the first to publish her "female captivity narrative". She wanted to prove to her readers that God forgave her as he did for his prophets since she believed in his supreme power.

Therefore, the ministers of the church at that time had imposed some obligatory norms when writing the captivity narrative. Richard Slotkin examined the main characteristics of the captivity narrative in his work, Regeneration Through Violence: *The Mythology Of The American Frontier*, 1600, 1860. (1973). According to him, white women are the most commonly captured. They narrate in the "first-person accounts of actual ordeals" that developed as "natural, spontaneous product of the New World" (95). After that, the narrator exposed the puritans' civilization, and depicted the enemy as pagan and uncivilized. The

captivity narrative contained Biblical stories and scriptures as to glorify themselves. Finally, the narrators usually ended up their narratives by evincing God's power and goodness through redeeming them, and helping them in going back to their families.

#### b. Slave narrative

As for the slave narratives, fugitive slaves were also inspired to write down their own autobiographies. Because once they were enslaved in America, they could never tell anybody about their horrendous experience. The forlorn slaves were totally voiceless. At that time, the majority of them suffered from linguistic problems. Not only the world was new for them, but the language itself was bizarre. The only thing that they could do was expressing themselves orally. They shared their stories through the "call-response" tradition. Moreover, they transmitted their culture and heritage to their descendents verbally.

When the new generation of the African-Americans was born, they were extremely accommodated to the white community. Some of them had the chance to live with goodhearted owners who voluntarily taught, and took care of them. The others were incredibly ignored by their holders. However, some of them had enough courage to educate themselves secretly.

Education was the only thing that enlightened the slaves' minds. Through studying, their destiny was changed forever. This window enabled them to understand the real circumstances that they were living in. As a result, some of them committed suicide since they could not handle the awful realities that they ignored for decades. Yet, other African-Americans have decided to take advantage from their knowledge to prove their existence in that racist society.

In 1789, Olaudah Equiano's Interesting Narrative of the Life of Olaudah Equiano; or, Gustavus Vassa, the African, Written by Himself was the first slave narrative in America. In this memory, he told his trail of being held captive, the way he was brought to the New World, and how he suffered from grilling and torment. After that, many abolitionists in the nineteenth century like William Lloyd Garrison encouraged the slaves to write down their memories. Frederic Douglass's The Narrative of the Life of Frederick Douglass, An American Slave, Written by Himself (1845) was one of the most influential narratives. He succeeded in portraying the horrors of slavery. Douglass did not just attract the northern community; he enticed the whole world's attention. His enumeration embosomed the major cryptic enigmas about the shocking live of slaves in southern society.

In 1850, the congress passed the Fugitive Slave Law. This act consisted mainly on the idea of looking for the runaway slaves, and the obligation of getting them back to their masters. Some white abolitionists opposed this act and published fictional slave narratives that were based on real anecdotes. Harriet Beecher Stowe's *Uncle Tom's Cabin* was the most recognizable fictional recital of that time. She retold the journey of many runaway slaves from the south to the northern states, and the way white people helped them to escape through underground railroads.

In 1860, Harriet Jacobs had enough courage to publish her notorious factual narrative, incidents in the life of a slave girl. She was the first female slave to write her own experience. She depicted the authentic truth about women's tribulation in the southern states. She also dealt with the sexual harassment of the master toward his female slaves, and the way they suffered from separation from their children. Moreover, issues like religious hypocrisy in the south, and fugitive slaves' sufferance were also at the core of this extraordinary narrative.

It is true that the unchained slaves had the right to publish their works. Yet, they had to follow the "master's plan". The abolitionists controlled the slave narratives, and many of them

tried to get fame from it as James Olney stated in his famous work "I Was Born": Slave Narratives, Their Status as Autobiography and as Literature. He writes that "The lives of the narrators are never, or almost never, there for themselves and for their own intrinsic, unique interest but nearly always in their capacity as illustrations of what slavery is really like. Thus in one sense the narrative lives of ex-slaves were as much possessed and used by abolitionists as their actual lives had been by slaveholders". (51)

Professor James Olney came to a conclusion at the end that there was "a master outline" to any slave narrative. This outline was abridged by him as containing first of all, an engraved portrait, signed by the author. Second, the title page has to include the claim, "written by himself", or someone who is related to the narrator. Third, the slave narrative has to include one or more prefaces, introductions, or a handful of testimonials written by an editor, or a white abolitionist friend of the narrator like Lydia Maria Child, and William Lloyd Garrison. Furthermore, the narrative has to include a "poetic epigraph, with a preference to William Cowper" (Olney 50). Moreover, the fugitive slave has to begin his narrative with the sentence "I was born" to talk about his childhood under the institution of slavery. In this part the narrator is obliged to mention his place of birth, but never the date because the majority of them ignored their real ages. In addition to this, the black writers have to talk about the cruelty of their masters who were mostly supposed to be their fathers, and about the inhumanity of his mistress and overseers. Also, the narrator has to tell about his resistance against his owners, and his successful attempt to run away to the northern states. The writer has to narrate his journey in educating himself. Lastly, the appendix is an important element in the slave narrative. It included bill of sale, sermons, poems, or anti-slavery speeches.

As a conclusion, I can say that captivity narrative and the slave narrative share many similarities. First of all, both of them are a sort of a memory and an autobiography, in which the authors told their experience from childhood to adulthood. Second, the authors of the both

genres told real events about their sorrow and heartache when they were enslaved. Third, the two genres had political purposes, both of them are propagandas. Furthermore, in the two cases, publishers controlled the narratives, and imposed their own structure. Moreover, religion was a main theme. Many Biblical images and religious stories are included in the two categories. Furthermore, redemption and freedom are the conclusion of both types.

In the light of this analysis, I come to conclude that the slave narrative is a continuation and a development of captivity narrative. It is mentioned in *the Encyclopedia of Women and Religion in North America* that, "slave narratives followed similar pattern to the captivity narratives. They used a journey motif with a descent into hell, followed by personal humiliation, and bottoming out, and then redemption" (1001).

# 2. The Biography of the Two Authors

## **I.** Mary Rowlandson (1637-1710)

Mary White Rowlandson was the first woman to write about her captivity during king Philip's war in America. She was born in 1637 in Somerset, England. When she was thirteen, she sailed with her family to Salem in Massachusetts Bay Colony. They were looking for a better life, and running from the religious oppression in their mother country. In 1653, Mary Rowlandson moved to Lancaster where she met her husband. When she turned twenty, she married Joseph Rowlandson, Lancaster's puritan minister. At the beginning of her marriage, she lost her first baby girl. After that, she gave birth to three other children, Joseph, Mary and Sarah. Mary lived a great life with her humble family. She was spending all her time at home or in the church, listening to her husband's sermons. In February 1676, Rowlandson's happiness was broken down when the "savage" Indians attacked Lancaster during King

Philip's War. They took Mary, her three children, and twenty four other settlers as captives. They killed the rest of her family, except her husband who was abroad, and then they set their houses in fire. After one week of captivity, Mary lost her daughter Sarah, who suffered from massive wounds. Moreover, they separated her from her children for more than eleven weeks. Mary who was once a white mistress became the slave of King Philip's sister, Weetamoo, who treated her aggressively. She suffered a lot during her captivity since she was separated from her children, family, and culture. After eleven weeks of captivity, her husband John bought her freedom for 20£ and saved her from the horrors of captivity. After that, Joseph Rowlandson succeeded in getting his children back too. He then decided to take his family to settle in Wethersfield, Connecticut. Yet, he died after one year. Thus, Mary Rowlandson took her children and moved to Boston, where she wrote her famous narrative Sovereignty and Goodness of God, or what was well-known under the title of Captivity and Restoration of Mrs. Mary White Rowlandson. In 1679, she married for the second time with Captain Samuel Talcott, and then she died in 1711.

# **II.** Harriet Jacobs (1813-1897)

Harriet Ann Jacobs is the first slave woman to write an autobiography in America. She was born a slave in Edenton, north California. When her parents died Harriet was very lucky since her mother's mistress taught her how to read and write. When she was six the kind mistress died, and Jacobs became a chattel slave in Dr. James Norcom's house. She suffered from the doctor's sexual harassment and from her mistress's jealousy. Therefore, She made a secret

relationship with a white man called Samuel Tredwell Sawyer, and gave birth to Louisa, Matilda, and Joseph. Jacobs could not bear her owners' mistreatment anymore. Thus she decided to run away to the northern states; where she can find a solution to buy her freedom. However, that was not easy. Her master kept looking for her everywhere. As a result, Linda hid for more than seven years in her grandmother's house. Then, she could finally escape to the north by boat. When she arrived to New York, she was helped by a northern family that bought her freedom after the death of her master. Brent published her narrative *Incidents in the Life of a Slave Girl, Written by Herself;* with the help of Lydia Maria Child, since Harriet Tubman wanted to publish it with her authorship. She continued her life fighting for African-Americans' emancipation until she died in 1897 after a breast cancer.

# 3. The Summary of the Two Narratives

## a. Summary of Captivity and Restoration of Mrs. Mary Rowlandson

In this narrative, Mary reports her experience of being kidnapped by the "heathen" Indians on February 10, 1665. In the absence of her husband, the "savages" as they were called killed the majority of her family, wounded her and her daughter Sarah, and took her and her children as captives with a group of twenty four other British settlers. Then, they set their houses on fire.

Mary and her children were forced to walk for a long distance in the wilderness. Before arriving to the Indian settlement Wenimesset, Mary and Joseph were taken away from their mother. After a week, the young Sarah died, and Mary was sold to King Philip's sister; who enslaved her for eleven weeks. As the puritan minister's wife, Rowlandson divides her narrative into twenty removes, and tells her story in comparison with other stories from the Bible. At the beginning of the narrative, Mary shows her big sorrow after her daughter's

death, and about the miserable circumstances she and her children went through. Also, she reports the shocking facts about the Indian society; their costumes, what they eat, and how they were living together. Rowlandson also shows to the reader the importance of reading the Bible in guiding her, and inspiring her to endure her trial. Then, she tells her readers about her adaptation in the Indian society, and how she starts knitting and working to gain money at the heart of her captivity. Moreover, she talks about her mistress's jealousy and how she treated her very badly; unlike her brother, King Philip. At the end, Mary focused on redemption; clarifying that God punished her and saved her at the end because she was simply one of the God's chosen people. Finally, Mary's husband bought her freedom, and took her back to her home with her children.

# b. Summary of Incidents in the Life of A Slave Girl, Written By Herself

In this narrative, Harriet starts her narrative by delivering a strong message to the ignorant northern women to help their sisters in the southern states. Then, she gives the reasons behind her narrative, confessing that it is written by herself. Furthermore, she adds a preface to Linda Maria Child who witnessed the truthfulness of her trail.

Under the pseudonym of Linda Brent, Harriet Jacobs tells her story starting from her childhood to adulthood. She starts her narrative with telling her readers about Linda who was raised in a warm family in North Carolina. When her mother died, the young girl realized that she was a slave, and she had to live with her mother's mistress. Linda did not understand the real meaning of slavery because her owner was very kind with her. She taught her, and gave her everything she needed. However, this was not for a long time. The goodhearted mistress passed away, and the young girl became a slave to her mistress's niece who is five years older.

When Linda was eleven, she moved to live with her new owners where she understood the real meaning of being a female slave. Her mistress's father, Dr. Flint forced her to be his sexual slave. However, she refused that, and preferred to have a secret relationship with her lover, Mr. Sands, who was a white lawyer. As a result, she gave birth to her two children Benny and Ellen, hoping that he could buy their freedom one day.

When Dr. Flint discovered her deeds, he became mad. He punished her through sending her, and her children to work in the large plantation. Nonetheless, he didn't stop his harassing. Linda decided to change her destiny through running away to the north as her brother did. Thus, that was not an easy task. One night, the brave teenager escaped from the plantation, and went to her grandmother house. Therefore, she hid in the attic crawl space of the house for seven years. Her master kept looking for her. But, he could never find her since she was sending him letters from different addresses.

Mr. Sands managed finally to buy his children's liberty through sending an unknown trader to Dr. Flint. Linda was extremely happy, and she thought that Louisa and Jacob are free. However, her lover married and took her children to the north without freeing them yet. She was unable to do anything due to her health's problems caused by the small space that she was hiding in.

After seven years of pain, Linda Brent succeeded to escape to the north thanks to her family and friends. Then, she found a job in the Bruce's house, where she took care of them. Thus, they loved her so much, and they promised her to buy her from her master. When Mrs. Bruce died, Brent had the opportunity to visit England where she tasted the real meaning of freedom.

When she came back from England, she sent her daughter to school, and sent her son to her brother in California. Mr. Bruce remarried, and his wife was extremely kind with Jacobs. She was the person who bought her and her children's freedom from her mistress once Dr. Flint died. At the end, Linda expressed her gratefulness to Mrs. Bruce, and to all the persons

who helped her, hoping to own her own house where she would start a new life with her children.

## Conclusion

In this chapter, I gave an overview about the two masterpieces, and the major events that happened to the two authors. After that, I dealt with Harriet Jacobs and Mary Rowlandson's lives. I have also tried to introduce the two genres through highlighting the main similarities between them. Finally, I have explained the theories that I will refer to in the analysis of the works. In the next chapter, I will analyze the themes of religion and women's oppression in *Captivity and Restoration of Mrs. Mary White Rowlandson*, and *Incidents in the Life of a Slave Girl, Written by Herself.* Further, I will try to answer my research questions, and to prove the workability of my hypothesis.

#### **CHAPTER THREE**

#### THE FAITH OF A PURITAN CAPTIVE AND A BLACK SLAVE

#### Introduction

Mary White Rowlandson and Harriet Jacobs are the first women to mark the American literature with their unusual autobiographies. *Incidents in the Life of a Slave Girl, Written by Herself* and *A True History of* Captivity *and Restoration of Mrs. Mary White Rowlandson* tell us the horrible trail of two women under the state of captivity and slavery. Even though Rowlandson and Jacobs are from different periods of time, they share the same feeling of inferiority. Religion is the most important tool that helped the two writers in either maintaining or reaching their freedom. Both of them believed in God's providence, and both of them were empowered thanks to keeping hope and trusting the goodness of the Lord.

The aim of this chapter is to demonstrate the way Mary Rowlandson and Harriet Jacobs were oppressed, and show the way they follow to find redemption through religion. Second I will show the hypocrisy of the white church in the antebellum south. Third, I will compare the two women's faith, and I will try to prove my hypothesis that states that Jacobs was more faithful than the Puritan Rowlandson.

## 1. Religion in Mary Rowlandson's Captivity and Restoration of Mrs. Mary

#### Rowlandson

In colonial America, puritan writers' style is nearly the same as Saint Augustine's spiritual biography. Its content is fundamentally "saturated with references to the Bible" (Downing 252). Mary Rowlandson's *Sovereignty and Goodness of God Together with the Faithfulness of his Promises Displayed* serves as the best example of a typical puritan narrative, in which

"she draws more than eighty times in the form of direct quotation, allusions to biblical characters, or echoes of biblical phrases" (Downing 252).

Being a minister's wife, Rowlandson's first target is to provide a set of spiritual lessons for the puritan community. As we can notice in her narrative's title, *Sovereignty and Goodness of God Together with the Faithfulness of his Promises Displayed*, Mary Rowlandson focuses in her story on describing God's providence, and His ultimate power more than anything else. She tries to convince the readers that all the horrible events that happened during her captivity are meant to happen. For her, God shows His goodness and mercy in each situation. The puritan woman mirrors herself as a heroine who is sent by her Lord in order to teach the whole society about his goodness, and sovereignty. As Richard Slotkin writes "the puritans were preeminently 'the people of the Book'. Their doctrine required literacy so that the individual could understand the word of God appearing in scripture" (39).

The preface of Mrs. Mary Rowlandson's narrative is written by a clergyman, who is believed to be Cotton Mather. This clergyman shows his great respect to the "dear consort of the said Reverend Mr. Rowlandson" (Rowlandson 1) in the preface. Mather calls all the readers to esteem her work, and to believe in the truthful events she is narrating to them. He also tells the readers that this account is written by Mary Rowlandson herself for religious purposes.

Mary Rowlandson starts her narrative with a detailed description of the terrifying Indians' attack on Lancaster. Many of them are horribly killed and burnt. Then, she states that "several houses were burning, and the smoke ascending to heaven" (1); as if Rowlandson tells her readers that these sinless puritans are directly going to heaven without any doubt. When the Indians were about to reach the minister's house, Rowlandson could not escape. So the only solution for her was to take her children and pray for God to save her; declaring that:

"The Lord hereby would make us the more acknowledge His hand, and to see that our help is always in him" (2). Once the "ravenous beasts" arrive to her house, they kill the majority of her family, and wound her and her youngest daughter. Most importantly, Rowlandson pictures in this passage her sister's despair when she sees her dead children, and the fact that God answers her prayer to end her grief and let her die with them. Due to this, the narrator hopes that "she is reaping the fruits of her good labors, being faithful to the service of God in her place" (3). She mentions the Biblical scripture that says "And he said unto me, my grace is sufficient for thee" (3). Additionally, she directly adds that "more than twenty years after, I have heard her tell how sweet and comfortable that place was to her" (4). In the light of this, Mary Rowlandson tries through these lines to convince the readers that if they are faithful enough to God like her sibling, paradise is accessible for them.

In the next paragraph, the female captive asks her readers to take a look at the providence of God who instantaneously turns their happy life upside-down. In the beginning of the narrative, Rowlandson says that she prefers to die rather than to go with such merciless pagans. However, she changes her mind immediately. The puritan woman compares herself to Job who says, "And I only am escaped to tell the news" (2) to tell the readers that God preserves her life because He wants her to narrate her story just as Job did before.

In the First Remove, Mary Rowlandson portrays the brutality and the barbarity of the Indians. They celebrated their victory after carelessly killing and kidnapping the settlers. She wants to show that unlike the Christians, the "pagans" are heartless, and merciless. In the Second Remove, Rowlandson pictures her daughter's distress, and the way she, as a mother, finds comfort only through her faithfulness. She affirms that, "[...]But the Lord renewed my strength still, and carries me along, that I might see more of His power; yea, so much that I could never have thought of, had I experienced it." (4)

When I started reading Rowlandson's narrative, I understood Greenblatt's emphasis on the importance of literature in portraying history. For me, *A True History of Captivity and Restoration of Mrs. Mary White Rowlandson* is senseless without studying its context. In this perspective, Stephen Greenblatt declares that,

My deep ongoing interest is in the relation between literature and history, the process through which certain remarkable works of art are at once embedded in a highly specific life-word and seem to pull free of that life-word. I am constantly struck by the strangeness of reading works that seem addressed, personally any intimately, to me, and yet were written by people who crumbled to dust long ago" (Greenblatt and Gallagher 1).

Due to this, the details that Rowlandson is providing in her narrative, take us in a journey to the past. Through her narrative, we can learn many things about King Philip's War. Rowlandson's story also gives us an important description about the Indian society, and about the puritans' beliefs and experiences in early America.

In the Third Remove, we understand that Mary Rowlandson tells her readers that even though she fails in completing her duties toward God, He is still helping and guiding her. Then, she mentions that a Christian captive from Roxbury gives her oaken leaves to heal her wounds. In fact, this plant has a very deep meaning in the puritan community. First, it has a religious value. It symbolizes Abraham's unbelievable faith, forbearance, and strength. Second, the oak tree typifies England's vigor, and power. Third, it is a fundamental plant in the colonial settlements' trade; especially, Roxbury. Consequently, Rowlandson wants through this symbol to tell her readers that the Lord is the one who sends the Christian, the chosen man, to cure her wounds, and to reanimate her strength. In addition, she points at her country's power, meaning that the English army will for sure save her from the "pagans".

After that, Mary White Rowlandson informs her readers that her daughter Sarah is dead in very miserable circumstances. Nonetheless, she doesn't describe her grief in details. Instead of this, she thanks the Supreme God for his goodness "in preserving me in the use of my reason and senses in that distressed time, that I did not use wicked and violent means to end my miserable life" (5). Later on, she declares that she wants to see Mary and Joseph after

losing her beloved daughter. Then, she extracts a Biblical passage that says, "Me (as he said) have ye bereaved of my children, Joseph is not, and Simeon is not, and ye will take Benjamin also, all these things are against me" (6). This irony shows Rowlandson's anxiety about mourning. This anxiety is also well shown in the Sixth Remove, when Rowlandson cites Lot's wife's temptation. She writes "I went along that day mourning and lamenting, leaving farther my own country, and travelling into a vast and howling wilderness, and I understood something of Lot's wife's temptation, when she looked back." (10). Through these lines, we can understand that Rowlandson is referring to the outcomes of mourning. She clarifies that because of Lot's wife mourning about her people, she disobeys God by turning back, and seeing what was happening to them. Rowlandson here puts herself in Lot's wife's place because The Lord judges her in the same way. On the one hand, her dead daughter is behind her, and on the other hand, her duty is calling her to accept God's plan for her.

As a Puritan woman, Mary Rowlandson is not free to reveal her melancholy because the puritans did always consider grieving as a quibbling about God's sovereignty and potency. Death in the puritan society is considered as "the absolute master' (that) was not an enemy to humanity, but rather an ally to the state's ideology." (Breitwieser 54). Therefore, puritan writers do not talk directly about this antagonism toward sorrowing, but it is shown in some way. Mitchell Robert Breitwieser in his famous book, *American Puritanism and the Defense of Mourning: Religion, Grief, and Etymology in Mary White Rowlandson's Captivity Narrative*, clarifies that,

"Unfortunately, puritan writing is for the most part practical and militant, rather than theoretical and multisided, so no puritan text I know explains the hostility toward mourning or registers mourning as other than a force haunting the periphery of thought, though there are many texts that express or deploy the hostility" (21).

Even though mourning is forbidden in the puritan society, the minister's wife doesn't succeed in hiding her sorrow, especially, in the Third Remove. Mary White Rowlandson tries to concentrate more on her reason. Yet, she finds herself emotionally narrating her story.

Though Rowlandson is maybe expressing her sorrow unconsciously, this failure could be also understood as a sort of challenge to the puritans' beliefs.

In the last part of the Third Remove, Rowlandson thanks God for sending her an Indian to give her a Bible. When she starts reading the 28<sup>th</sup> chapter of Deuteronomy, all the negative thoughts are gone; especially, when she reads the seven first verses of the 30<sup>th</sup> chapter. She asserts that she figures out that "there was mercy promised again, if we would return to him by repentance; and though were scattered from one end of the earth to the other, the Lord would gather us, and turn all those curses upon our enemies" (7). The minister's wife tries to convince herself and her readers that it is only through returning to God, that all their wishes will come true. Then, she gives a very shrewd example of the puritan captive, goodwife Joslin, who could not endure her captivity. Rowlandson tries to persuade Mrs. Joslin not to run away through reading with her the Psalm 27 that says, "Wait on the Lord, Be of good courage, and He shall strengthen thine Heart, wait I say on the Lord" (7). However, the impatient white woman cannot bear it anymore. As a result, the goodwife Joslin tells her captors to set her free. So, they "gathered a great company together about her and stripped her naked, and set her in the midst of them, and when they had sung and danced about her (in their hellish manner) as long as they pleased they knocked her on the head, and the child in her arms with her. When they had done that they made fire and put them both into it" (8). Through this scene, Rowlandson tries to clarify that only God can help his people, and that those who doubt his sovereignty would probably face the same fate as Joslin.

In the Fifth Remove, Rowlandson also shows her great faith when the English army fails in getting her back to her husband. She writes that it is not the English who fail, but God doesn't decide to free her yet. In the next Removes Mary Rowlandson quotes a lot of scriptures from the book of the Psalm. The narrator and the majority of puritans believe in the

stories, and the set of principles that are treated in the Psalms because they consider themselves God's chosen people. The puritan captive states in the Eighth Remove that:

And here I may take occasion to mention one principal ground of my setting forth these lines: even as the psalmist says, to declare the works of the Lord, and His wonderful power in carrying us along, preserving us in the wilderness, while under the enemy's hand, and returning of us in safety again. And His goodness in bringing to my hand so many comfortable and suitable scriptures in my distress. (11)

The real reasons behind this inter-textuality between Rowlandson's narrative and the book of Psalms are various. First of all, the narrator considers herself as the puritan heroine woman who experiences not only the same trails as the Old Testament's prophets, Job, Jeremiah, Isaiah, Amos, and Micah, but also as the psalmist David. She glorifies herself through this textuality, and in the same way she finds hope through the Psalms. The minister's wife wants to prove that she is the "female scribes of God's truth" (Henwood 170) as Cotton Mather clarifies it in the introduction. Second, Rowlandson quotes verses from the Old Testament, and the Psalms in order to elevate her style, and to make her narrative more attractable. Most importantly, Rowlandson finds a shrewd way to express her real emotions, and feelings through the Book of the Psalm. Dawn Henwood writes in this context that she "turns often to this first book of the New England puritans to reliance her anguish" (169). Therefore, we understand that the Psalms is Rowlandson's voice to express her anger, grief, and sorrow in an indirect way. This puritan captive spends her most time in reading it since it is the only thing that gives her hope and determination.

After reading Mary Rowlandson's work, I conclude that her narrative is a product of her own status and society. The minister's wife is obliged to write, and publish her narrative according to the puritan beliefs and standards. In the very first chapters, Rowlandson describes the Indians as monsters, as she puts it, "and saw nothing but wilderness, and woods, and a company of barbarous heathens" (16). Then, she writes in the Sixth Remove that, "there

was a vast difference between the lovely faces of Christians, and foul looks of those heathens, which much damped my spirit again." (21). Paradoxically, she narrates how good they are with her. Rowlandson writes that,

There one of them asked me why I wept. I could hardly tell what to say: Yet I answered, they would kill me. 'No,' said he, 'none will hurt you.' Then came one of them and gave me two spoonfuls of meal to comfort me, and another gave me half a pint of peas; which was more worth than many bushels at another time. (11-12)

This contradiction is for me a clear hypocrisy of this narrator. For me, Rowlandson's first and foremost goal is to portray the indigenous inhabitants of America as worst as possible. She wants to show to the whole world that unlike the puritans who are highly civilized and humane, the Indians are pagan and beasts. The puritan writer is telling a big lie in her narrative in order to mislead people's view. In this context, Richard Slotkin writes that,

Prior to 1675 opinions at least among the ministry had held that the Indians were 'heathens', subsequently they became 'savages'. A 'praying Indian', according to Mary Rowlandson's eloquent witness, was no more than a hypocrite, totally enslaved still to his master Satan, the prince of this world and the Father of Lies." (303).

Rowlandson's interpretation of the Old Testament is a representation of the puritans' beliefs. This religious group believes that "God had finally lost faith in the Hebrews as his chosen people and had chosen the puritans in their stead." (Slotkin 306). Rowlandson tries her utmost to glorify herself and the white Christians through portraying her captors as savages and inhumane. Whenever we read *Captivity and Restoration of Mrs. Mary Rowlandson*, we find confusion. On the one hand, the narrator mirrors her captors badly; on the other hand we understand from her narrative that the majority of them are extremely kind with her.

We can also notice Rowlandson's hypocrisy in the Eighteenth Remove when she steals the Christian child's food. As a puritan captive, she did always criticize her captors for not sharing food with her. However, once she becomes starved, she as a heathen Indian. Rowlandson tells her readers about this incident without any feeling of guilt, as she writes:

Then I went to another wigwam, where there were two of the English children; the squaw was boiling horses feet; then she cut me off a little piece, and gave one of the English children a piece also. Being very hungry I had quickly eat up mine, but the child could not bite it, it was so tough and sinewy, but lay sucking, gnawing, chewing and slabbering of it in the mouth and hand. Then I took it of the child, and eat it myself, and savory it was to my taste. (22)

In the first chapters, Mary White expresses her anger toward the "pagans" who kill her daughter remorselessly. However, when an Indian child dies, she shows satisfaction and joy as she puts it, "My mistress's papoose (baby) was sick, and it died that night, and there was one benefit in it--that there was more room" (19). Moreover, the puritans believe that women are cursed by their bodies and beauty. Rowlandson insists in her narrative on proving to her readers that she is still pure. She says that God helps her in preserving her chastity and purity in the wilderness. Yet, the captive woman's weird relationship with her Indian master poses many questions in the readers' minds. Rowlandson expresses in the Twentieth Remove her happiness when her drunken master invites her to go to him. She says, "Then he called for me. I trembled to hear him, yet I was fain to go to him, and he drank to me." (27). In another scene in the Nineteenth Remove, Rowlandson states that, "After many weary steps we came to Wachusett, where he [her master] was: and glad I was to see him. He asked me, when I washed me? I told him not this month. Then he fetched me some water himself, and bid me wash, and gave me the glass to see how I looked" (22). As a result, we can clearly notice that Rowlandson's master is not only a friend of her as she claims. He is far more than that. In addition, I think that Rowlandson's mistress's jealousy has for sure her reasons.

In a nutshell, Mary Rowlandson's Sovereignty and Goodness of God Together with the Faithfulness of his Promises Displayed is one of the earliest narratives in the American Literature. This work mirrors in details the puritan beliefs and the Indian community. From the analysis it becomes clear that the minister's wife, Rowlandson is not free in expressing her true feelings. However, scriptures from the Old Testament and the psalms helped her in conveying encrypted codes to her readers. A True History of Captivity and Restoration of

*Mrs. Mary Rowlandson* is a reflection of Early Americans' life during King Philip's War. In this narrative, Mary Rowlandson represents the puritan society that was in conflict with Native Americans. It is true that she uses a lot of typological scriptures in her autobiography. Nonetheless, I think that her account serves a good example of the white puritans' hypocrisy too. As I have explained before, we can figure out that the narrator tells lies to prove that the puritans are really the chosen people of God and justify their deeds in America.

# 2. Religion in Harriet Jacobs's *Incidents in the Life of a Slave Girl, Written by herself* Harriet Jacobs is the first black woman who dared to narrate her horrible experience of being a slave in the Antebellum south. *Incidents in the Life of a Slave Girl, Written by herself* discloses the real southern society where Afro-Americans are never considered as human beings. Unlike the previous Slave Narratives, Jacobs's autobiography portrays not only the aggressive society, but it narrates the real sufferings of the female slaves. Under the pseudonym of Linda Brent, Jacobs recounts the incredible hypocrisy of the slave-owners, and the southern preachers who used God's words to control millions of slaves.

Harriet Jacobs opens her narrative with a very strong message to the northerners who are totally ignorant about their miserable life in the south. As a representative of North Carolina's black women, Jacobs says, "Northerners know nothing at all about slavery. They think it is perpetual bondage only. They have no conception of the depth of 'degradation' involved in that word, SLAVERY; if they had, they would never cease their efforts until so horrible a system was overthrown." (1). Through these lines, the narrator blames the northerners for not helping them, and she invites them to have a close look to their case. She also asks them to stop believing in the lies that they are told about the legitimacy of the institution of slavery.

The writer also addresses the northern women to wake up, and she asks them to take an action. Jacobs delivers her message indirectly through using Biblical scriptures that states,

"Rise up, ye women that are at ease! Hear my voice, ye careless daughters! Give ear unto my speech" (*Isaiah* xxxii.9.). The writer here asks the white women to help their sisters in the southern states instead of just helping each other.

When Harriet Ann Jacobs published her narratives under the pseudonym of Linda Brent, the white society refused the idea that a black woman could be the narrator of such a "genius" work. Since abolitionists are pretty known to be publishing slaves' accounts at that time, Americans thought that the editor Lydia Maria Child is the one who wrote it by herself. However, Jean Fagan Yellin believes that Jacobs is the real writer of her own narrative. This American Professor conducts a research to find the evidences that would prove Jacobs's authenticity. As a result, she finds a set of letters that are written by Jacobs to her Quaker friend Amy Post telling her about the process of writing her trail. Yellin publishes Jacobs' letters in her famous work entitled, *Written By Herself: Harriet Jacobs' Slave Narrative* (1981), because she thinks that "The primary literary importance of Harriet Jacobs letters to Amy Post is that they establish her authorship of *Incidents* and define the role of her editor, L. Maria Child. They also yield a fascinating account of the experiences of this underclass black female autobiographer with several antebellum writers." (481)

In the first chapter, Harriet Ann Jacobs narrates the childhood of Linda Brent. This girl lives happily with her parents. At the age of six, her mother died, and she discovered that she was a slave. Her mother's mistress takes care of her, and teaches her how to read and write. Most importantly, Brent's mistress makes her best to teach the pagan young girl the basic scriptures of the Bible, and to inculcate the morals and values of Christianity in her. The slave girl states that she did always believe her mistress's saying "thou shalt love the neighbor as thyself", and "whatsoever ye would that man should do unto you, do ye even unto them" (Jacobs 9). However, Linda Brent understands later on that her mistress doesn't love her as a

neighbor. She gets that her owner is just preparing her for becoming a chattel slave in doctor Flint's house.

In the second chapter, "The New Master And Mistress", Jacobs describes her shock from the cruelty and brutality of her new holders. Brent mirrors the horrors of slavery in the southern states by telling the story of the cook who "was ordered to make an Indian mush" (Jacobs 13) to her master. Because the food is not well cooked, this cook is killed by his owner. In addition, the narrator tells another story about the black slave who accuses his master of raping his wife, and fathering her son. In the next morning, the two slaves were sold in the market because the slave woman "had forgotten that it was a crime for a slave to tell who was the father of her children." (14). Jacobs clarifies that the female slaves are mostly raped by their butchered masters who sell, or kill them in the case these women disclose their sexual affairs with them. Linda Brent also shows the hypocrisy of her mistress who tell her slave that heaven is never made "for the like of her and her bastard." (14). Like all southern mistresses, this mistress believes that only white people will go to heaven, and that the black people will remain their servants in life and afterlife.

In the fourth chapter, "The Slave Who Dared To Feel Like A Man", Harriet Ann Jacobs talks about the kindness of her grandmother, aunt Martha, who was the source of hope for her and Benjamin. Jacobs says that her grandmother always convinces them that all the bad things that happen to them are "much more the will of God" (Jacobs 17). From the reading of this chapter, we understand that Jacobs's goodhearted grandmother is the reason behind her strong faith in God. Aunt Martha is the person who inculcates the love of God, and the strong belief in his ultimate providence in their souls, and never the hypocrite church. In another scene, we can read the narrator's attack toward the missionaries through declaring that Benjamin hears "those who profess to be religious declare there was no heaven for self-murderers" (Jacobs

25). We understand through this declaration, the horrible hypocrisy of the slave-owners, and the southern church that legitimize the killing of the slaves through God's percepts.

Linda Brent describes her master's sexual advancements to rape her. However, Brent refutes to be an easy toy in Dr. Flint's hands. This resistance for me is a result of Jacobs's faith who could not contradict her beliefs and assumptions; especially, when her mistress forces her to "swear before God" (32) that she doesn't betray her with her husband. Being a good Christian, Brent feels very sorry for her mistress's miserable life, and for all southern white women. Linda Brent feels that southern women are inferior and oppressed as nearly as the female slaves are.

In the eighth chapter, "What Slaves Are Taught To Think Of The North", Harriet Jacobs discusses the horrible lies that the slaveholders tell about the northern states. The slave-owners try to convince their slaves that being a slave in the southern states is better than running away to the north. They portray the northerners as being crueler than themselves. Moreover, the southern slaveholders argue that the legitimacy of the institution of slavery is proved in the Bible by declaring that "God created the Africans to be slaves" (Jacobs 43). In the last paragraph, Linda Brent talks about a very important issue. She tells the story of the woman who tells her that, "the black people had sent word to the queen of 'Merica that they were slaves" (43), and then they go see the president who promised to free them. The narrator here raises a very controversial question. She wonders where the queen, and the president of America in all this. Then, Jacobs provides her readers with a very shrewd answer to the question black slaves in America. She states that, "that poor, ignorant woman thought that America was governed by a Queen, to whom the president was subordinate. I wish the president was subordinate to Queen Justice" (43). Jacobs ironically declares that injustice is the real name of the American country.

In the ninth chapter, "Sketches Of Neighboring Slaveholders", Jacobs tells her readers about the different events that happened in the neighboring large plantations. She depicts the miserable life of slaves, and the way they are tortured by their cruel masters and overseers. Whipping, lynching, and knocking slaves' heads according to Jacobs is mainly practiced by the master who "was highly educated, and styled a perfect gentleman. He also boasted the name and standing of a Christian, through Satan never had a truer follower" (47). Jacobs here portrays the unbelievable hypocrisy of the "Christian" slave-owners who pretended innocence and perfection. The problem lies in the fact that these mean masters know that God would punish them for their doings. However, greed for wealth and power blind their minds. Harriet Jacobs illustrates her views by mentioning the cruelest planter Mr. Litch who tortures his slaves more than anyone in the area. When he is about to die, he says "I'm going to hell; bury (Jacobs 44). At the end of this chapter, Jacobs mentions the my money with me." goodhearted mistress who is "very pious and there was reality in her religion" (48). For Jacobs, southerners are not all the same. Instead, there are some true Christians who love their slaves, and wish to free them.

In the tenth chapter, "Perilous Passage In The Slave Girl's Life", Linda Brent tells her readers about her master's repeated sexual advancement, and about her mistress's unsupportable jealousy. For Brent, the only solution to her owner's abuses is to have a sexual affair with her white lover, Mr. Sands. This Christians man is for Jacobs the only hope, thinking that he will help her in obtaining her freedom. *Incidents* as Yellin states, "defied the taboos prohibiting women from discussing their sexuality-much less their sexual exploitation-in print" (486). The aftermath of Jacobs's forbidden relationship with Mr. Sands is pregnancy, and giving birth to two children later on. Harriet Jacobs regrets what she has done, and she feels that she brings shame to herself and to her family.

Ann Traves argues in her book, *Spiritual Purity and Sexual Shame: Religious Themes in the Writings of Harriet Jacobs*, that her decision to have an affair with Mr. Sands in order to avoid being raped by Jacobs's master led to the shame of sex outside marriage and to two illegitimate children". This is clearly shown in Brent's discussion with her master, stating that "I have sinned against God and myself" (56). Even Jacobs' grandmother doesn't accept what she has done, and she throws her from the house. The feeling of shame doubled in the slave girl's heart. She says, "I thought I could bear my shame if I could only reconcile to my grandmother. I longed to open my heart to her. I thought if she could know the real state of the case, and all I had been bearing for years, she would perhaps judge me less harshly."(55). In my opinion, because of her shame, Jacobs does not have the courage to tell the reverend who helps her in the north, about the real father of her children.

Brent's sexual shame is clearly shown in her letters with the abolitionist Amy Post. The female slave tells her friend that: "I have felt nothing out [of the manuscript] but what I thought the world might believe that a slave woman was too willing to pour out, that she might gain their sympathies. I ask nothing. I have placed myself before you to be judged as a woman, whether I deserve your pity or contempt" (Yellin 90). This confession is "an affirmation of purity as a religious and sexual ideal" (Taves 65). For me, Jacobs tries to justify through her letters to Amy Post that her affair with Mr. Sands is just a result of the bad circumstances she is living in Dr. Flint's house.

In the thirteenth chapter, "The Church And Slaves", Harriet Ann Jacobs gives her readers the details of the hypocrite sermons that are presented in the southern church. She discloses the hypocrisy of Mr. Pike who teaches the slaves only the verses that serve the slaveholders' interests. He always repeats to them, "servants be obedient to them that are your masters according to the flesh, with fear and trembling, in singleness of your heart, as unto Christ" (Jacobs 65). Mr. Pike tells the slaves through this verse that obeying and fearing their

masters is compulsory to their survival. Moreover, this hypocrite preacher tells them that God is very angry on the "rebellious sinners" who revolt and kill the pure Christians in the incident of Nat Turner. He even orders them to never "stop at the corners of the street to talk, but go directly home, and let your master and mistress see that you have come." (65). The poor African-American slaves are physically enslaved by their owners, and spiritually enthralled by the southern missionaries.

Harriet Jacobs also tackles a very important topic in this chapter which is the role of Spirituals in the slaves' life. She says that the majority of the slaves cannot wait the Sabbath days to go to the church in order to sing their spirituals. These songs according to Harriet Jacobs were not a sign of joy and happiness. They are a means to express their feelings without fear. Jacobs states that thanks to the spirituals that the slaves sing in the church, they feel that they are "as free as the birds that warbled around us." (67). After that, Harriet Jacobs summarizes the hypocrisy of the southerners in few words. She states that:

There is a great difference between Christianity and religion at the south. If a man goes to the communion table, and pays money into the treasury of the church, no matter if it be the price of blood, he is called religious. If a pastor has offspring by a woman not his wife, the church dismiss him, if she is a white woman; but if she is colored, it does not hinder his continuing to be their good shepherd (71)

Jacobs clarifies that the southern church allowed the sexual harassment toward the colored women, and encourages the existence of this unpleasant institution. After that, the writer talks about the new minister and his wife. The couple enlightens the slaves' minds with true Christianity. They teach them how to write and read, and they make them more aware about their lives. At the end, Jacobs shows her anger when her master joins the church. Dr. Flint asks her to go to the church with him arguing that she must obey him as God says. Nevertheless, the brave slave interrupts him and tells him that, "The Bible didn't say that" (Jacobs 71). This answer makes Brent's master goes crazy.

Harriet Jacobs is not just criticizing the hypocrite southern church. Nonetheless, she tries to prove her strong faith. Moreover, she relies on her narrative's use of many Biblical

scriptures. Professor Deborah L. Madsen explains Jacobs's reading of the Bible in his book, *American Exceptionalism*, and reasons that make her quote from it. He argues that "the Bible offers a source of comprehension for Linda's various ordeals." (84). According to Madsen, Linda Brent understands, and accepts her miserable life thanks to the similar stories of captivity that are mentioned in the Bible. Her faith in God empowers her, and guides her in the journey for freedom. The turning point in Harriet Jacobs's life is when she finally understands the real Christianity. Daborah L. Madsen demonstrates that "trust in God becomes a meaningful experience after Linda had learned to distinguish between the God of the slave-holder from the God who assists her flight" (85).

At the end of this autobiography, Harriet Jacobs thanks God for "ordering circumstances" (Jacobs 186) for her to run away, and to meet Mrs. Bruce who buys her freedom after the death of her master. She also mentions the goodness of God with her when she finally buys the freedom of her children, Louisa and Jacob. And she prays God to preserve all the abolitionists who work hard to help black people.

Americans do not believe the idea that *Incidents in the Life of a Slave Girl, Written By Herself* is written by a freed slave girl. Yet, Professor Yellin proved its authenticity after years of doubts. Under the pseudonym of Linda Brent, Harriet Jacobs portrays the horrors of slavery in the southern states. Most importantly, she mirrors the unbelievable hypocrisy of the southern church that used God's words to serve their interest. She shows to her readers her deep shame from committing a sin with her white lover Mr. Sands. As a result of my analysis, I consider that Jacobs's strength is the result of her faith in God's will. Though Harriet Jacobs knows everything about the hypocrisy of the church and southern Christians, her faith increases more than before. For me, this is a clear evidence that religion is not necessarily taught by white preachers. Yet, the slave acquires it from his own family. I think that even Jacobs's feeling of shame is a result of her fear from her grandmother more than anything

else. She could not even tell Aunt Martha about her master's sexual harassment because this correct woman will feel very ashamed.

Though A True History of Captivity and Restoration of Mrs. Mary Rowlandson, and Incidents in the Life of a Slave Girl, Written By Herself are written in different periods of time, they share many similarities. First of all, the slave narrative is a continuation of the captivity narrative. As we have shown in chapter two. The two genres have nearly the same form "tracing the journey from slavery to freedom" (O'Reilly 96). Further, both of these narratives have served political aims. On the one hand, A True History of Captivity and Restoration of Mrs. Mary Rowlandson is guided by puritan ministers, to show "The Lord's doings and dealing with her" (1). She wants to picture the puritans as God's chosen people and to report the incivility of the Native Americans. On the other hand, Harriet Jacobs declares that Incidents in the Life of a Slave Girl, Written By Herself is not a simple autobiography, it is more than that as she writes it in her introduction,

"I have not written my experiences in order to attract attention to myself; on the contrary, it would have been more pleasant for me to have been silent about my own history. Neither do I care to excite sympathy for my own sufferings. But I earnestly desire to arouse the women of the north to a realizing sense of the condition of two millions of women in the south, still in bondage, suffering what I suffered, and most of them worse." (2)

Mary Rowlandson and Harriet Jacobs are the first two women to portray the real sufferings of the female captive and slave. In addition, both enslaved women find hope and redemption by believing in God's providence. In this context, Mary Rowlandson states that, "the goodness of God was admirable to us in our low estate." (32). Harriet Jacobs also shows her belief in God's will. She says that, "I thought that God being my helper, they should never pass into his hands." (75). The two writers base their narration on Biblical scriptures in order to show their great faith in God, and to transmit their ideas in an indirect manner. Rowlandson expresses her grief through Biblical stories, and Jacobs, uses the Bible to prove the slaves' right to live freely.

Despite the fact that Mary White Rowlandson's captivity narrative, and Harriet Ann Jacobs's slave narrative have many points in common, many differences could be distinguished throughout the analysis of two works. The first remarkable difference between Rowlandson and Jacobs is their social status. The white narrator lives a very happy life as a wife to the puritan minister of Lancaster, Joseph Rowlandson. "She even had probably had servants herself" (Hill 39). Jacobs in the contrary is born into slavery, and grows up as a chattel slave in North Carolina. Moreover, Rowlandson contextualizes extracts from the Bible because she considers herself to be the saint who experiences the same incidents as God's prophets. She says that, "then I must say as Job." (22). Then, she states that, "the love and goodness of God towards us, make it true of me, what David said of himself." (33). In contrast, Jacobs uses the Bible for the sake of proving the illegitimacy of the institution of slavery, and to show the hypocrisy of the southern church that convinces the northerners that, "the slaves don't want their freedom; that they have hallelujah meetings and other religious privileges."(Jacobs 66). Furthermore, the puritan captive portrays all Indians as "heathens" (21), "inhumane" (4), and "barbarous creatures" (17). Otherwise, Jacobs makes a clear distinction between the good, and the bad southerners. After depicting the hypocrisy of southerners, She states the example of the young lady who "was very pious, and there was some reality in her religion" (48). Finally, Mrs. Mary Rowlandson shows some hypocrisy in her narrative. As we have seen, this puritan woman contradicts her beliefs and attitudes in many scenes, without showing any sign of regret. Because she is a puritan mistress, she considers herself sinless. She writes that, "My conscience did not accuse me of unrighteousness toward one or other" (19). Nonetheless, Harriet Jacobs admits her sins and shows her shame, she declares that "the remembrance fills me with sorrow and shame" (51). As a result, my hypothesis that says that the slave girl is more faithful than the puritan minister's wife is true.

# GENERAL CONCLUSION

Throughout my analysis of Mary Rowlandson's *A True History of Captivity and Restoration of Mrs. White Rowlandson*, and Harriet Jacobs' *Incidents in the Life of a Slave Girl, Written by herself*, I came to many conclusions concerning the Indian captivity in the seventeenth century, and the institution of slavery in the nineteenth century. I treated the theme of religion in the two narratives, and the purposes behind using references from the Bible by the two authors.

Back in time, Christopher Columbus led a group of expeditors in a journey of discovering new lands. Once they reached the New World, Native Americans helped them to become acclimatized to the harsh environment. These indigenous people were very kind with the settlers. Nonetheless, Columbus and his friends exploited them to discover the riches of the new land. Their rapacity pushed them to kill and captivate many Indians; especially, women. They sold them in Seville of Spain. After these incidents, many expeditors disappeared in America, until 1620 when puritans could finally establish their settlements there. This religious group has fled to New England in order to build a new life away from any iniquity and oppression. Nevertheless, their greed for wealth ruined again their relationship with Indians. Accordingly, these native people took their revenge through killing the Anglo-Americans, and kidnapping their wives and children during King Philip's War.

Mary White Rowlandson was the most famous puritan woman of that time. She was the first Anglo-American woman to write her experience of being held captive by Indians in 1675. Her narrative, *A True History of Captivity and Restoration of Mrs. White Rowlandson*, portrays the horrors of captivity in Early America, and the female captive's tribulation in the wilderness. Moreover, Mary Rowlandson shows in her narrative her strong faith, and belief in

God's Providence. She focuses mainly on showing the immorality of the "heathen" (Indians) to glorify God's chosen people: the puritans.

In the nineteenth century, Americans continued their shameful deeds of practicing their supremacy on other races. Because of the hard labor in America, Africans were kidnapped, and brought to the New World for the sake of fulfilling Americans' needs. Dissimilar to all the lies that were taught in books about the American history, many studies proved that Africans were enslaved by both northerners and southerners as well. It is explained in the first chapter that abolitionist movement was first created in the southern states. But, as a reaction to Nat Turner's instruction, Southerners changed their view toward African-Americans. Northerners helped slaveholders to export slaves from Africa, and to establish the huge institution of slavery in the South. Slaves were never considered as human beings in America, they were highly tortured in the South, and unbelievably discriminated in the North; especially women.

Harriet Ann Jacobs is the first fugitive slave to narrate her trail of being enslaved in the South. Jacobs's *Incidents in the Life of a Slave Girl, Written by Herself* portrays the female slave's sufferings in the southern states. It discloses the cruelty of slaveholders who raped, tortured, and killed them mercilessly. The theme of religion is predominant one in our analysis. The narrator shows her faithfulness to God, and her belief in his supremacy. Finally, Jacobs insists in her work on disclosing the hypocrisy of the southern church.

Thanks to the theory of New Historicism, we came to the conclusion that history can never be a universal truth. We have been taught many lies especially about slaves and captive in America. The notion of captivity and slavery were never been legitimate. Yet professional historians and philosophers made us believe their own stories.

In this study, I have established the main similarities between captivity narratives and slavery narratives. I have examined the socio-historical context of captivity during King

Philip's War, and slavery in the antebellum period. Furthermore, I have analyzed the theme of religion in both Mary Rowlandson's *A True History of Captivity and Restoration of Mrs. White Rowlandson*, and Harriet Jacobs' *Incidents in the Life of a Slave Girl, Written by Herself*, and its role in getting their freedom at the end. Finally I have proved my hypothesis that states that the slave girl, Harriet Jacobs, is a better Christian than the minister's wife, Mary Rowlandson.

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