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**INDIAN CAPTIVITY:
A TOOL IN THE BATTLE FOR SOULS AND
POWER**

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by

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Indian Captivity: A Tool in the Battle for Souls and Power

By honoring the ancient Native American tradition of adopting or enslaving their captured adversaries, the French were able to create an effective tool of warfare with which to terrorize their own New England enemies. Between 1665 and 1763, Amerindians, frequently led by French officers, seized at least 1,641 settlers, ‘carrying’ them to Canada where most spent an uncertain future in various Indian missionary settlements.¹ Many more, especially women and children, died during the cruel raids or on long marches through ‘wilderness’ conditions. It was no coincidence that such incidents occurred largely during the various French-Indian Wars. By inviting Amerindian participation in such wars, the French could cement their native alliances. By capitalizing on their enemies’ innate fear of Indian captivity, they could keep New England’s economy continually off-balance and preoccupied with defense. Ostensibly, these periodic confrontations between France and England were battles for control in North America. Underlying that territorial struggle, however, was a no-less-intensive fight for the saving of souls between two virtual theocracies, Protestant New England and Catholic New France.

The importance of religious conversion gradually diminished as secularity pervaded both colonies. By the outbreak of Shirley’s War, submitting captives to traditional forms of ceremonial torture or enslavement grew increasingly unacceptable as France adopted New European conventions regarding the treatment of prisoners-of-war. However, as a tool of terror, the threat of Indian captivity was still effective. The French, therefore, continued to depend on the skills of their Amer-

¹ Alden T. Vaughan and Daniel Richter, “Crossing the Cultural Divide: Indians and New Englanders, 1605-1763,” *Proceedings of the American Antiquarian Society*, 90 (1980): 91.

Indian allies to seize settlers and transport them to Canada. However, the fates of captives taken between 1745 and 1747 no longer lay in Indian settlements but in a Quebec prison that had been converted specifically for their incarceration.²

Narratives of captives' experiences provide the means to understand how an ancient Native American tradition may have become a tool of warfare. Since 1682, such narratives have enthralled readers. Every word, every action, every nuance, emanating from the captives or their captors has been analyzed from many perspectives, thus spawning the majority of secondary sources. Indian captivity narratives, therefore, offer a unique window through which to observe life in another era. Kathryn Zabelle Derounian-Stodola, James Levernier, and Richard VanDerBeets are among those who have explored the narratives from historical or literary angles.³ Over the years, historians have delved into archives to find lesser known or previously unpublished narratives. Evan Haefeli and Kevin Sweeney's collaborative work, *Captive Histories: English, French, and Native Narratives of the 1704 Deerfield Raid*, is such an example.⁴ Deerfield, the site of the most famous and costly Indian raid, has remained a favorite focal point in historiography. John Demos used John Williams' own narrative as his guide in presenting an in-depth analysis of Williams' experiences.⁵ Many historians have performed similar analyses of other narratives, reprinting original stories to form interesting combinations of both secondary and primary materials. Others, such as Colin Calloway,

² Governor Beauharnois to Intendant Hocquart, October 11, 1744, "Private and Colonial Archives," Library and Archives Canada. www.collectionscanada.ca.

³ Kathryn Zabelle Derounian-Stodola and James Arthur Levernier. *The Indian Captivity Narrative, 1550-1900*. New York: Twayne Publishers, 1993.

Richard VanDerBeets, *The Indian Captivity Narrative: An American Genre* (New York: University Press of America, 1984).

⁴ Evan Haefeli and Kevin Sweeney, eds., *Captive Histories: English French, and Native Narratives of the 1704 Deerfield Raid* (Amherst and Boston: University of Massachusetts Press, 2006).

⁵ John Demos, *Unredeemed Captive: A Family Story From Early America* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1995).

have concentrated their efforts on changing the stereotyped depictions of the captors, from the Puritans' biased perspective to that of ordinary people caught up in international and interethnic conflicts.⁶ Samuel Drake was one of the first to find and collect such narratives.⁷ He took pride in limiting his editing to a few elucidating footnotes, allowing the narrator's words to speak for themselves.

C. Alice Baker and Emma Coleman devoted much of their lives to piecing together the names, places, and stories of those who had been "carried to Canada" between 1665 and 1760.⁸ Their invaluable work formed the basis for others to perform various forms of analysis of the data collected by both ladies, including the interesting study by Vaughan and Richter.⁹ Daniel Barr's *The Boundaries Between Us*¹⁰ illustrated the inter-disciplinary approach preferred by many modern historians in their analysis of the Indian captivity phenomenon. James Axtell has produced multiple books and articles that concentrated on the ethnographical aspects of the issue as he explored both the ways in which captors assimilated captives into their nations and the effects of the resulting acculturation.¹¹ James Merrell's *Into the American Woods*¹² concentrated on the European and Indian

⁶ Colin G. Calloway, ed., *North Country Captives: Selected Narratives of Indian Captivity from Vermont and New Hampshire* (Hanover, NH: University Press of New England, 1991).

⁷ Samuel G. Drake, *Indian Captives* (Boston: Antiquarian Bookstore and Institute, 1839). Reprinted in *The Garland Library of Narratives of North American Indian Captivities*, Vol. 55. New York & London: Garland Publishing, Inc., 1976.

⁸ C. Alice Baker, *True Stories of New England Captives*. Reprinted in *The Garland Library of Narratives of North Indian Captivities*, Vol. 101 (New York: Garland Publishing, 1976).
Emma Lewis Coleman, *New England Captives Carried to Canada*, 2 vols. (Portland, ME: The Southworth Press, 1925).

⁹ Vaughan and Richter, *Crossing the Culture Divide*.

¹⁰ Daniel Barr, *The Boundaries Between Us: Natives and Newcomers along the Frontiers of the Old Northwest* (Kent, OH: Kent State University Press, 2006).

¹¹ James Axtell, *The Invasion Within: The Contest of Cultures in Colonial North America* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1985).

negotiators who moved between cultures, trying to effect meaningful treaties between colonists and Native American nations. June Namias, in *White Captives*,¹³ presented a new analysis of co-existence on the American frontier, focusing mainly upon women captives. Neal Salisbury provided valuable insights into the relationships between Indians and Europeans as they affected the making of New England in his many works, including *Manitou and Providence: Indians, Europeans, and the Making of New England*.¹⁴ Pauline Strong's *Captive Selves, Captivating Others*,¹⁵ offered perhaps the most comprehensive historiography of Indian captivity in all its diversity. However, the possibility that the Catholic French may have used the fear of Indian captivity as a tool in a war for power and for souls against their Protestant New England enemies has not been previously explored. There has also been no prior historical investigation of Quebec's Cazernes Prison in which the French incarcerated their prisoners-of-war, including settlers captured by Amerindians.

The spiritual revival of French Catholicism provided much of the impetus for the colonization of New France in the first half of the 17th century. The settlement's founders planned to make it a community, administered by members of the Church and monarchy, in which Catholic reforms and religious practices were fundamental parts of daily life.¹⁶ From the outset, Cardinal Richelieu, adviser to King Louis XIII, forbade residency to non-Roman Catholics. Therefore, Protestants

¹² James H. Merrell, *Into the American Woods: Negotiators on the Pennsylvania Frontier* (New York: W.W. Norton, 2000).

¹³ June Namias, *White Captives* (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 1993).

¹⁴ Neal Salisbury, *Manitou and Providence: Indians, Europeans, and the Making of New England, 1500-1643* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1982).

¹⁵ Pauline Tyler Strong, *Captive Selves, Captivating Others: The Politics and Poetics of Colonial American Captivity Narratives* (Boulder, CO: Westview, 1999).

¹⁶ Library and Archives Canada, *New France, New Horizons: A Virtual Exhibition to Mark the 400th Anniversary of the French Presence in North America, 2004*. www.archivescanadafrance.org/english/accueil_en.html.

wishing to live in New France were required to renounce their faith.¹⁷ Applicants for official positions had to produce a Certificate of Catholicity as proof of their faith after the Revocation of the Edicts of Nantes by King Louis XIV on October 22, 1685.¹⁸ Jesuit missionaries were allowed into Iroquois country after a 1667 peace treaty, thereby luring converts into burgeoning mission settlements that fringed the colony. Under a new plan, propagated by Louis XIV, the French government actively encouraged the marriage of Christianized aboriginals to French citizens, thus incorporating them into the colony.

In 1632, the Jesuits had received exclusive spiritual control over the colony.¹⁹ The vocation of these members of the Society of Jesus, established by Papal Bull in 1540,²⁰ was “to travel through the world and to live in any part of it whatsoever where there is hope of greater service to God and of help of souls.”²¹ The main objective was to convert the ‘savages.’²² However, with internecine tribal conflict reaching its height, the Jesuits’ zealous evangelizing efforts met with only mixed success.²³ Many missionaries, particularly those working in remote territories of Native nations, experienced Indian captivity first-hand.

Realizing that a missionary was likely to be “on his own, far removed from brethren and superiors, in new, strange and difficult circumstances,” training began in the novitiate to mold the ideal missionary – a man of flexibility, well-educated, of sound judgment, with a propensity for

¹⁷ “Armand-Jean du Plessis, Duke de Richelieu,” *New Advent Catholic Encyclopedia*. www.newadvent.org.

¹⁸ *New France, New Horizons*.

¹⁹ Ian K. Steele, *Warpaths: Invasions of North America* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1994), 68.

²⁰ John W. O’Malley, *The First Jesuits* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1993), 18.

²¹ O’Malley, *First Jesuits*, 73.

²² “The Missions,” *New France, New Horizons*.

²³ VanDerBeets, *Held Captive*, 4.

languages and “a special strength of character . . . to survive and succeed.”²⁴ Spiritual exercises, designed to erase “disordered affections,” such as intransigence or bigotry, formed a vital part of the

²⁴ O'Malley, *First Jesuits*, 73, 78, 80-81.

process of searching for “lost sheep,” whether pagan, Muslim, or misguided heretic. The Jesuit ministry required the recognition and accommodation of the particular needs and situations of those to whom it ministered. In practice, this requirement was often “separated only by a hair’s breadth, or less, from opportunism.”²⁵ Father Jogues’ decision to baptize all his Huron traveling companions at the moment of capture was, perhaps, an example of crossing the line into such opportunism. However, few mortals were more mentally and spiritually prepared than the Jesuits to withstand the tortuous experiences of Indian captivity.

Father Isaac Jogues was by no means the first missionary to be taken but he was one of the first to report his captivity experience in *Jesuits Relations*.²⁶ He was abducted by a band of marauding Mohawks while en route from Quebec back to his mission in August 1642. Despite several opportunities to escape, Jogues believed his capture and survival was a fulfillment of God’s purpose. It allowed him to console French captives by hearing their confessions and granting them absolution; to provide for the safety of the souls of the dying by performing baptism; to instruct new prisoners and remind recently christened Hurons of their duties; and to cleanse infants “with saving waters.”²⁷ During his captivity, he was able to baptize seventy captive children and the young and old from five different Nations. Jogues and others welcomed the pain and degradation to which he was subjected with a joy and a spirit of martyrdom that was “common among the Jesuits in New France ... grounded in a belief that suffering demonstrated the power of one’s faith, even to the torturers who were enemies of that faith.”²⁸ The Protestant Dutch of the Albany area, who eventually

²⁵ O’Malley, *First Jesuits*, 81.

²⁶ Society of Jesus, *Jesuit Relations*, (Paris: Cramoisy, 1632-1672). Reprint: Reuben Gold Thwaites, ed. *Jesuit Relations and Allied Documents, Travels and Explorations of the Jesuit Missionaries in New France 1610-1791*, 73 Volumes (np: 1896-1901). Library and Archives Canada. <http://www.collectionscanada.gc.ca/jesuit-relations/h-19-151-e.html>.

²⁷ VanDerBeets, *Held Captive*, 38.

²⁸ Sayre, *American Captive*, 92. The “others” included Guillaume Coûture and Rene Goupic, both lay-helpers or *donnés*, bound by contract and by private, but not religious, lifetime vows to serve and assist the Fathers in the Huron mis-

redeemed Jogues, overcame their detestation of Catholicism because they “deemed it outrageous for a white man to be enslaved by savages.”²⁹

Fathers Francis Bressani and Jean de Brébeuf were both captured in separate incidents by the Iroquois.³⁰ Proclaiming himself to be a “poor cripple” while soaking his official report in the blood from his wounds, Bressani almost gloatingly presented his suffering as merely “some little pain in this world instead of the comparably far greater torments . . . in the next world.”³¹ To his great regret, Bressani was unable to impart to his captors “a knowledge of the true God.”³² In contrast, Father Brébeuf succeeded in angering his tormentors by constantly talking about God while being subjected to the most horrendous torture, reminding his fellow Christian captives that baptism and “the sufferings of this life” were keys to paradise. Enraged, a former baptized Huron and long-time Iroquois captive, used a thrice-repeated baptism of boiling water to expedite Brébeuf’s journey to heaven. Brébeuf’s death song *was* his preaching, which could only be silenced by the excision of his tongue, upper and lower lips.

The Puritans intended their settlement in the New World to be a place where they had the freedom to practice their religious faith and could bring native peoples from the “darkness of heathenism to the bright light” of Protestant Christianity.³³ The Massachusetts Bay Company “modeled

sion, and Eustace Ahatsistari, one of the great war chiefs of the Huron Nations who was a recent convert of the Jesuits. (VanDerBeets, *Held Captive*, footnotes, 7).

²⁹ The Dutch settlement of Fort Orange, Rensselaerwyck, Albany, where the Iroquois and Dutch had established cordial but guarded relations (VanDerBeets, *Held Captive*, 38).

³⁰ A comparison of the captivities of Fathers Jogues and Bressani has revealed a coincidence that has not received prior comment by other historians. One of the *donnés*, captured with Father Jogues, whose bravery under torture led him to be adopted by the Mohawks was Guillaume Coûture. A young man captured with Father Bressani was also named William Coûture (Guillaume being French for William) and is, perhaps, evidence of a closely-related French community. Like Bressani, he was redeemed by the Dutch.

³¹ Levernier and Cohen, *Indians and Captives*, 26.

³² Levernier and Cohen, *Indians and Captives*, 23.

³³ Demos, *Unredeemed Captive*, 6

their government after the theocracy of the ancient Israelites.” Their laws were based on a mixture of English common law and biblical precepts. Adherents were considered to be the new “Chosen People” and Massachusetts was “a new Israel, won from the Canaan wilderness.”³⁴ Believing that God decreed their coming to this new Israel enabled Puritans to think that God intended the land to become theirs.³⁵ However, maintaining a strong theocratic form of government proved to be fraught with difficulties. Despite initial efforts to enact laws to keep undesirables from coming, or to banish those who did, by the 1630s most settlers did not share the Puritan ideal and began challenging established doctrines. Perhaps, more importantly, the indigenous population exhibited little inclination to accept the type of “help” envisioned back in Cambridge in 1629. Indeed, they deeply resented the intrusion of these white newcomers. A Pequot chieftain captured and tortured a few vulnerable settlers in the hope that fear of such capture might force Europeans back to their own countries.³⁶ In 1637, in retaliation against such barbaric native practices, the Puritans launched the Pequot War,³⁷ slaughtering hundreds of men, women, and children.³⁸ Within a few months, “one of the most formidable nations then in New England was swept away.”³⁹ It was apparent that the Puritans’ goal with respect to the American Indians was not being met, despite the best efforts of a few. Ultimately, it was the Quakers, whom the Puritans thought were “Jesuits in disguise,” who largely

³⁴ Levernier and Cohen, *Indians and Captives*, xvii.

³⁵ Elson, *History of USA*, 103.

³⁶ John W. de Forest, *History of the Indians of Connecticut from the Earliest Known Period to 1850* (Hartford, CT: William Hamesley, 1853), 102.

³⁷ Lion Gardener, *A History of the Pequot War* (Cincinnati: Printed by J. Harper, 1860), 6, in *Collections of the Massachusetts Historical Society*, third series, vol. 3 (1833): 152-155.

³⁸ Jedediah Morse, *The Annals of the American Revolution* (Port Washington, NY: Kennikat Press, 1824), 29-34. Reprinted 1968.

³⁹ Morse, 34.

devoted themselves to the conversion of Amerindians.⁴⁰

Generous funding to promote and propagate the gospel of Jesus Christ in New England enabled the Reverend John Eliot to start schools for Native Americans. Christian Indian towns were created throughout Massachusetts that served, as did the mission settlements of New France, as defensive walls for the colony. However, in stark contrast to the Jesuits, “Puritan ministers did not go out to preach.”⁴¹ Most could not bring themselves to live in what they regarded as the “repugnant manner” of the Indians. Even Eliot would only eat food prepared by his wife. The general consensus was that missionaries’ efforts “were useless, if not outright dangerous.” Increasingly, Indians were being viewed as “direct instruments of Satan’s bidding, if not actual devils themselves.” Indeed, many devout Christians considered that genocide might be the best way of dealing with the problem.⁴² It was a time when pious Christians were losing “sight of their Saviour’s precepts...”⁴³

As the white population grew and spread, natives were frequently dispossessed of their lands and forced to scatter. The murder of an Indian praying town missionary, who warned the Plymouth governor of an impending war, triggered the first major, concerted attack by allied native nations against English settlers. Known as King Philip’s War, hostilities began in the Plymouth colony in 1675 and spread throughout New England. The Indians used effective but ‘unacceptable’ guerilla-war tactics against which the colonists responded with ineffective conventional sieges.⁴⁴ Panicked inhabitants, prompted by fear, fueled by rumors that the English could be exterminated by the very

⁴⁰ Henry William Elson, *History of the United States of America* (New York: MacMillan, 1904), 103-111.

⁴¹ Coleman, *New England Captives*, 32.

⁴² VanDerBeets, *Held Captive*, 61. Quote from Richard Slotkin, *Regeneration through Violence: The Mythology of the American Frontier, 1600-1860*. (Middletown: Wesleyan University Press, 1978), 89.

⁴³ Morse, *American Revolution*, 29.

⁴⁴ Steele, *Warpaths*, 103.

heathens that Puritans widely believed should be exterminated, abandoned many frontier towns. One-third of the American Indian population and one-tenth of the colonists of Southern New England died during King Philip's war.

The governments of both New France and New England, confronted with the devastation to their respective economies during times of intertribal wars and Indian attacks against settlers, began to appreciate the importance of alliances with native nations. For the French, acceptance of the tradition of Indian captivity had always been an important part of any Native American alliance, as Champlain discovered during victory celebrations after the Battle of Lake Champlain. Although outraged at the extent of the inflicted cruelty, and eventually granted permission to shoot the victim, Champlain accepted the importance of witnessing the torture as proof that the Huron Indians were true allies of the French.⁴⁵ At some point, later leaders of New France recognized the underlying power that the fear of captivity and torture could impart. It was at such a point that Indian captivity became a tool of Catholic New France against Protestant New England.

As events in Europe renewed enmities between France and England, their disputes spilled over into the colonies. A series of confrontations between New England and New France in 1680, characterized by an increase in Indian raids, eventually merged into the first Anglo-French colonial war, known as King William's War, between 1688 and 1697, to be followed by Queen Anne's or Governor Dudley's war, from 1702 to 1713.⁴⁶ During these wars, traditional tribal raiding parties changed in composition to a mixture of French soldiers and Mission Indians, all led by French officers. Surviving settlers became instant captives of the Indians. Their fates were largely decided during the long and difficult journey to Canada or by running the gauntlet and other ceremonies that

⁴⁵ Steele, *Warpaths*, 65.

⁴⁶ Steele, *Warpaths*, 73, 76-77.

greeted their arrival in Indian villages and settlements. The wars ignited what was to be an ever-increasing power struggle between the two colonies for greater control, initially of their own territory, then of that portion of Canada known as Acadia, but ultimately of the continent itself. Such wars, and the Indian captivity that became associated with them, also provided opportunities for the direct confrontation of religious beliefs.

Hannah Swarton typified a new generation of Puritans. Concerned for the physical well-being of their growing family, she and her husband moved to an isolated new settlement, Casco Bay, far from the nearest church. The Puritan hierarchy, represented by the Mather family, considered living without the sustained protection of the ministry to be a deadly sin. For Hannah, and her family, retribution was swift. Mr. Swarton died defending his home against the French-led Indian raid on their settlement. Hannah and her four children were taken captive, separated, and marched through the ‘wilderness,’ where her eldest son was killed. Upon her arrival in Quebec, the Intendant of New France paid a ransom to the Indians for her release and Hannah became his property. She was soon convinced that the kindness with which she was at least initially treated was merely a persuasive attempt to convert her to Catholicism. “Here began a greater snare and trouble to my soul and danger to my inward man.”⁴⁷ Withstanding such temptation, Hannah, together with other English captives, found comfort and strength in her own beliefs, passing the tests she believed God imposed upon her, despite French threats that she would be “sent to France and there I should be burned because I would not turn to them.”⁴⁸ After about five years in captivity, she, and one of her children, were released and returned to New England. Since Mrs. Swarton lacked gentility or education, Mather wrote her narrative himself, interweaving appropriate biblical exhortations into the

⁴⁷ Hannah Swarton in Cotton Mather, *Magnalia Christi Americana: Or, the Ecclesiastical History of New England*, 7 vols. In Sayer, *American Captive*, 190.

⁴⁸ Swarton in Sayer, *American Captive*, 190.

fearful detail of the cruelty of those “creatures of the devil” who took her captive. He found grist for his jeremiads in the additional dangers offered by the evils of French papacy, that “false religion to please men ... [that brought Hannah] to the very pit of despair about what would become of my soul.”⁴⁹

The battle for souls reached its apex when the first Puritan minister, Reverend John Williams, was taken captive and carried to Canada in 1704. The Deerfield raid was the most destructive of all Native-French attacks staged between 1689 and 1760.⁵⁰ On February 29th of that leap year, some “250 to 300 allied Indians and Frenchmen killed 50 and captured 112 inhabitants of the northwesternmost village in Massachusetts.”⁵¹ There was evidence that Williams was deliberately targeted for captivity, ostensibly to be exchanged for a key Frenchman who was being held in a Boston prison.⁵² Indeed, the Governor of New France, Philip Vaudreuil, personally assured Williams that he would be “sent home as soon as Captain Battis was returned, and not before ...”⁵³ However, given the pressures that were placed on Williams for religious conversion whilst under French jurisdiction, the underlying reason for such ‘pre-targeting’ may well have been Williams’ prominence as a New England minister who, through his marriage to Eunice Mather, had strong connections to the influential Mather family.⁵⁴ John Williams’ narrative, composed after his eventual return to Boston in 1707, contained valuable insights into his interpretation of Puritan doctrine and the extent of the battle between Puritanism and Catholicism. His deep-seated Puritanical preju-

⁴⁹ Swarton In Sayer, *American Captive*, 192.

⁵⁰ Haefeli and Sweeney, *Captive Histories*, xiii.

⁵¹ Haefeli and Sweeney, *Captive Histories*, 1.

⁵² Demos, *Unredeemed Captive*, 17.

⁵³ John Williams, *The Redeemed Captive Returning to Zion*, (Boston, Printed by B. Green, 1707), 38.
<http://books.google.com/books>.

⁵⁴ Demos, *Unredeemed Captive*, 6.

dices against even the kindest of Indians was also evident: “My youngest son, aged 4 years was wonderfully preserved from death; for though they that carried him ... were tired with their journeys, yet their savage cruel tempers were so over-ruled by God, that they did not kill him ...”⁵⁵

The conversion attempts began immediately upon arrival in Canada. Williams was physically forced by his Indian master to enter a Catholic church and attend a service despite his abhorrence for its “idolatrous superstitions.” Using a quotation from Mark, Williams argued his Puritan doctrine’s position that the Catholic form of worship taught the commandments of men, not of God and, therefore, represented a sin that had to be rejected. The Jesuits, already offended by Williams’ derision of their worship, warned him that, after his death, he would go to hell “for want of praying to the Virgin Mary for her intercession with her Son,” to which Williams responded that he found comfort that Christ, not they, would be his ultimate judge.⁵⁶

The French used constant threats and promises to pressure Williams to convert. The Superior of the Jesuits “propounded to me, if I would stay among them and be of their religion I should have a great and honorable pension from the Governor every year.” He was also promised that if he would comply with this offer, his children would be immediately restored to him and that there would be sufficient ‘honorable maintenance’ for all of them. Williams refused but the offer was renewed in the presence of an old bishop and a priest, to which Williams replied: “What is a man profited if he gain the whole world, and lose his soul?” Repeatedly told that his children would never be returned unless he converted, Williams remained steadfast in his refusal, avowing that as much as his children were “dearer to me than all the world,” he could not deny Christ and his truths by having them with him. He preferred to put his trust in God “who could perform all things for

⁵⁵ Williams, *Redeemed Captive*, 12.

⁵⁶ Williams, *Redeemed Captive*, 29-31.

me.”⁵⁷

Many pages of Williams’ narrative are filled with detailed descriptions of the myriad of means used to successfully proselytize the English prisoners, including threats to turn the recalcitrant over “to the Indians.” Children were especially vulnerable. Joseph Kellogg, who was a child when taken captive from Deerfield, explained why English captives, including his younger sisters, were won over by “a list of arguments and techniques” used by Jesuits and Sulpicians to procure conversion. Kellogg’s own conversion was coerced by a Jesuit in exchange for the promise of a cure for the smallpox from which he was suffering. Converts were “threatened with eternal damnation if they broke their vow.”⁵⁸ The focus of this battle for souls was on the young. A Jesuit priest personally instructed the Indians to baptize all the children before they killed them during the raids on New England settlements, telling Williams that “such was my desire of your eternal salvation, though you were our enemies.”⁵⁹ As Williams had seen for himself, and as Kellogg confirmed, youngsters kept captive by the Indians quickly became indistinguishable from ‘native’ children in dress and habits.⁶⁰ Not allowed to speak to each other in English, it was easy, at such a young age, to learn the native language and forget their mother tongue. Indians gave children, particularly boys, all the freedom they wanted. Such an easy way of life, in comparison with the austerity of Puritanism, could make choice relatively simple.⁶¹

The relationship between the French and their Indian allies had always been complex. The

⁵⁷ Williams, *Redeemed Captive*, 45-47.

⁵⁸ Joseph Kellogg, “When I was Carried to Canada . . .” Manuscript in “Papers Relating to the 1704 Attack on Deerfield,” case 8, box 28, in Haefeli and Sweeney, 181-187.

⁵⁹ Williams, *Redeemed Captive*, 40, 44.

⁶⁰ Williams, *Redeemed Captive*, 27.

⁶¹ Haefeli and Sweeney, *Captive Histories*, 186.

French recognized that any alliance could be easily endangered should their military officers or Jesuit priests act in any way that Amerindian leaders might interpret to be an attempt to control or subordinate. Although officially French led, the Amerindian participants of any raiding party always appeared, at least to their enemy, to be in charge. Captives, even Williams, had to recognize and respect their Indian captors as their masters. Jesuits, too, successfully performed the role of the 'invisible power behind the throne' by claiming to be powerless to intercede between the Indians and their prisoners because "the savages would not hearken to reason." However, Williams witnessed many ways in which the Jesuits were able to influence their indigenous flock. It was the priests who ended any freedom of worship that had been allowed by the Indians during the difficult journey to Canada. The "plundered Bibles, psalm books, catechisms and good books" the Indians gave their captives were immediately confiscated upon arrival in Canada and prisoners were barred from praying or "joining together in the service of God."⁶² It was the Jesuits who, realizing the influence English adults had on their children, suggested that "the Macquas sell all grown persons to the fort [because] they hindered the children's complying."⁶³ As a result, adults were routinely separated from their children, either traded to another Indian settlement or sold to French authorities who housed them in local forts until they could be sold to local French families as servants or virtual slaves, or eventually redeemed by family and friends in New England.

The Jesuits and French priests continued to encourage debate by frequently inviting Williams to dine with them. However, underlying the seeming triviality of attempting to prove whose prayers for rain and other forms of help were most likely to be answered by God, there was a deadly seriousness. The Jesuits frequently bragged to Williams that a continuance of the French success in

⁶² Williams, *Redeemed Captive*, 19, 23-24.

⁶³ Williams, *Redeemed Captive*, 40.

war would ensure the re-establishment of Catholicism in both Europe and New England. To convince the English about the rightness of Catholicism, “Scriptures [were] horribly perverted and abused in a Compendium of the Romish Catholic Faith.” Recognizing the triumph that his conversion would give his enemies and the effect it would have on wavering Puritans, Williams was certain that the French would have no compunction about falsely telling “the English that I was turned.” He was enraged by the deceit used by the French in accomplishing the conversion of his son, Samuel, who was “frightened into compliance.”⁶⁴ Williams strove to regain Samuel by refuting the Catholics’ arguments, prompting a stream of correspondence between father and son.⁶⁵ However, it was the struggle for Williams’ daughter, Eunice, which became the ultimate test.

Due to the considerable personal efforts of Governor Vaudreuil and his wife, Williams was, eventually, allowed a one-hour visit with his seven-year old daughter, Eunice. Whether the eventual outcome would have been different had he been able to take his frightened child into his arms, hugging, holding, caressing and reassuring her, is a matter of conjecture. However, that was not the Puritan way and Williams could no more set aside his Puritan priorities than he could willingly worship in a Catholic church. He wrote: “She could read very well and had not forgotten her Catechism ...I told her she must pray to God for his grace every day.”⁶⁶ Eunice tried to reassure him that she was doing the best she could. She admitted that she was afraid that the prayers she was forced to say, in a Latin she could not understand, might do her harm. She was clearly disturbed by her father’s admonition that “she must be careful she did not forget her Catechism and the Scriptures she had learnt by heart.”⁶⁷ This seven-year old was probably instilled with a terror that forgetting

⁶⁴ Williams, *Redeemed Captive*, 52-60.

⁶⁵ Samuel Williams, “Samuel’s Story,” in Haefeli and Sweeney, *Captive Histories*, 135-151.

⁶⁶ Williams, *Redeemed Captive*, 36.

⁶⁷ Williams, *Redeemed Captive*, 36.

either would mean that her father could never forgive her and she would have lost his love forever. Perhaps that was the underlying reason she did not want to give up whatever happiness she was eventually able to enjoy, influencing her decision to remain in New France with her Indian husband and family, as a practicing Catholic. However, for Williams, for his followers, and for the Puritan religion, losing Eunice, body and soul, to both the Indians and the Papists, must have been a bitter defeat.

The relationship between the Governor of New France and Williams was also complex. Citing many examples in which Vaudreuil's actions belied his orders, Williams concluded that "if he [Vaudreuil] was able to act for himself, he would not have allowed such things to be done but that he never did know of several things acted against the English."⁶⁸ However, it was Philippe de Rigaud de Vaudreuil who ordered the Deerfield raid. He also, personally, redeemed Williams from his Indian masters immediately upon arrival in Quebec. He acted in full knowledge of what would happen when he invited his Amerindian allies to participate actively in the Deerfield raid, including how the English prisoners would be treated by their Indian captors. As he disclosed in his personal report to his superior, the Minister of the Marine, Jérôme Philypeaux, he had previously provided advance notice to the French government that he intended to concentrate his war actions in New England by using his Abenaki allies to counterbalance both the English and the recently pacified Iroquois League. The assistance of the Abenakis was to be rewarded in accordance with their own traditions: the capturing and retention of civilian prisoners.⁶⁹ The Governor of Montreal, Claude de Ramezay voiced strong opposition to this strategy in his own letter to M. Philypeaux, questioning Vaudreuil's judgment and downplaying the success of the Deerfield raid. He was also highly criti-

⁶⁸ Williams, *Redeemed Captive*, 38-39.

⁶⁹ Governor Vaudreuil to the Minister of the Marine, 1704. In Haefeli and Sweeney, *Captive Histories*, 79-82.

cal of the use of Native allies, stating: “It is impossible to imagine the cruelties carried out by the Indians on the return journey, killing about fifty-six women in cold blood.” In Ramezay’s view, “this cruel deed against the rights of man” discredited the French nation. It also incurred severe English reprisals in Acadia. In Ramezay’s opinion, the end results made these costs too high a price for the French to pay.⁷⁰

The Minister in Paris, in rejecting these arguments and rebuking Ramezay for his criticism of Vaudreuil, provided implicit endorsement of Vaudreuil’s entire plan, including its religious ramifications. In so doing, the French government virtually approved, as official French policy, the practice of inviting Indian allies to participate in future raids against New England, with the full and certain knowledge that such participation would result in, and be rewarded by, a continuance of all Indian hereditary traditions, including the torture, enslavement or adoption of their English captives. By inviting Native American participation the French were able to cement their native alliances. By using the terror of Indian captivity as a tool of warfare, they could keep New England settlers, and the New England economy, continuously off-balance and preoccupied with their defensive positions. They could also take the fight far to the south of their own small population.⁷¹ The use of Indian allies to capture Protestant settlers enabled the French to continue their active policy of religious conversion as “American Protestants feared the spread of Roman Catholicism even more than they feared French political conquest.”⁷²

In New England, Governor Dudley recognized that the payment of redemption was an inducement for Amerindians and the French to continue and even increase the practice of Indian cap-

⁷⁰ Claude de Ramezay to the Minister of the Marine, 1704. In Haefeli and Sweeney, *Captive Histories*, 83-86.

⁷¹ Demos, *Unredeemed Captive*, 16.

⁷² Levernier and Cohen, *Indians and Captives*, xx.

tivity because both were profiting from the trafficking of New Englanders.⁷³ The raids and the practice of Indian captivity against settlements continued during all ensuing French-Indian wars of the early eighteenth century. However, the outbreak of King William's or Shirley's war, in 1744, signaled a shift in emphasis from a battle for souls to a battle for greater territorial control that was concentrated on Nova Scotia, prized for its fishing and fur-trapping potential.⁷⁴ The primary target, the fortress at Louisburg, fell to the English in 1745.⁷⁵ In retaliation, future French/Amerindian attacks became largely concentrated against remote forts and settlements scattered along the New England frontier. Consequently, as at Deerfield, it was the civilians, the men, women and children living in isolated settlements or sheltering in forts, who were the main targets of the French. One such raid took place in Gorham:

Early in the morning of 19th April, 1746, a party of Indians entered the settlement of Gorham, after shooting and killing William Bryant they surprised Mr. Cloutman as he was sowing Wheat in his field and after a desperate struggle, succeeded in overpowering him and carried him a captive to Canada where he was taken to Quebec and placed in a fortress there.⁷⁶

Governor Beauharnois' preparations for Shirley's War had included plans for incarcerating many military prisoners. To this end, he ordered the conversion of a building, originally designed as a barracks, adjacent to the Royal Redoubt.⁷⁷ Cazernes Prison was the "fortress" in Quebec in

⁷³ Coleman, *New England Captives*, 120.

⁷⁴ Samuel Gardner Drake, *A Particular History of the Five Years French and Indian War in New England and Parts Adjacent* (Albany, Joe Munsell, 1872), 68-72.

⁷⁵ Proceedings and Translation of the Royal Society of Canada for 1887, Section ii, 49. In Evan Haefeli and Kevin Sweeney. *Captive Histories: English, French, and Native Narratives of the 1704 Deerfield Raid*. Amherst and Boston, MA: University of Massachusetts Press, 2006, 63-66.

⁷⁶ Ezra S. Stearns, William F. Whitcher, Edward E. Parker, eds. *Genealogies and Family History of the State of New Hampshire*. (Chicago: Lewis Publishing, 1908), 678-679. Also: Coleman, *New England Captives*, 221-224; Hugh Davis McLellan, *History of Gorham, Me.* (np: Smith & Sale, Printers, 1902), 52-54, 278, 433-434; Herbert Milton Sylvester, *Indian Wars of New England* (Cleveland, OH: W.B. Clarke, 1910), 352-359, 441-442.

⁷⁷ Luc Noppen, Claude Paulette, Michel Tremblay, *Québec, trois siècles d'architecture* (Québec: Libre Expression, 1979), 151, 336-339.

which all English prisoners, both combatants and civilians, were incarcerated between 1745 and 1748. With two-foot thick stone and lime walls, Cazernes was two stories high and about one hundred and fifty feet long. Windows were “sashed” with strong iron bars on the outside and the entire prison was surrounded by a high palisade fence.⁷⁸ Inside that fence was a yard in which prisoners were allowed to walk at appointed hours. All contact or conversation with passers-by outside the palisade fence was strictly prohibited.

The only description of the interior was the room that housed one of four prisoners who recorded their experiences of Cazernes. Up to forty-two men crowded into a room that was “but 34 Foot by 18 out of which is a Privy of 6 Foot Square.”⁷⁹ It was located next to the prestigious Captains’ apartment that accommodated about a dozen of the higher-ranking civilian, military or naval prisoners. None of the chroniclers described the quarters in which the less elite lived, or mentioned what arrangements were made for women and children, or for the entire families that were sometimes captured. George, the most informative of the four, provided an illustration of the wood-burning stoves that were in each apartment, providing the only form of heating during the long Canadian winters, (see Appendix). The only other description of Cazernes was a brief reference to a cramped, unlit, dungeon or “cashot” where prisoners experienced a week’s solitary confinement, subsisting on a diet of bread and water, for the smallest infraction.⁸⁰

The first of the journal-keepers to be taken was Captain William Pote, Jr., a twenty-six year old land surveyor who, as master of the schooner, *Montagu*, had been en route to deliver supplies for the repair and defense of the fort at Annapolis Royal. On May 17, 1745, an army of about 300

⁷⁸ John George, *Journal of a Captive, 1745-1748*. In Isabel M. Calder, ed. *Colonial Captivities, Marches and Journeys* (Port Washington, NY: Kennikat Press, Inc. 1935), 30.

⁷⁹ George, 37.

⁸⁰ George, 62.

French and 300 Indians ambushed the *Montagu* and another schooner, the *Seaflower*, taking both crews prisoner within ten minutes. Shortly thereafter, Pote found himself owned by two Huron masters and on a long and perilous march towards the settlement of La Jeune Lorette, about eight miles from Quebec. Traveling with Pote were John Read and three ‘English Indians,’ all captured on May 9, 1745. One Indian escaped en route, but the remaining prisoners eventually arrived in Quebec on July 25, 1745.⁸¹ Overruling the objections of their Huron captors, Governor Beauharnois personally ordered Pote and Read to Cazernes. However, they were not Cazernes’ first inhabitants. Twelve prisoners, all taken on the high seas by French privateers, had preceded them by almost a month.⁸²

Nehemiah How, the second journal-keeper, arrived at Cazernes on November 17, 1745. Indians captured him outside the Great Meadow Fort on October 11th, 1745.⁸³ A party of Abenakis from St. François brought him to Quebec eighteen days later. With the help of both French and Indians, How was able to survive his long march, via Crown Point, that included a modified ‘gauntlet’ run. Governor Beauharnois personally ‘interviewed’ him and treated him “to as much bread and wine as he desired.” Somewhat reminiscent of Williams’ experiences in New France, How spent a week in the Governor’s guard-house being civilly treated by “a stream of French gentlemen who kept coming in to see me.”⁸⁴ Transferred to the prison-keeper’s quarters of Quebec’s general prison, How and another captive, James Kinlade, spent the next eight days again receiving many visitors “who showed us great kindness in giving us money and other things, and their behavior towards us was pleas-

⁸¹ William Pote, *The Journal of Captain William Pote, Jr.* (New York: Garland Publishing Inc., 1976), 3-79.

⁸² Pote, 79-80.

⁸³ Nehemiah How, *A Narrative of the Captivity of Nehemiah How*, In Drake, *Indian Captivities*, 127. Also, Pote, 84.

⁸⁴ How, in Drake, *Indian Captivities*, 132.

ant.”⁸⁵ Finally, both were brought into the quite different atmosphere of Cazernes, where How was assigned to the ‘Captains’ apartment.’

Reverend John Norton was the third, and probably the most well-known of the writing quartet. He was the chaplain of Fort Massachusetts at the time of its capture on August 20, 1746, arriving in Quebec on September 15, 1746 to join the 125 prisoners already incarcerated within Cazernes’ walls.⁸⁶ He and Sergeant Hawks, who had been responsible for the defense of Fort Massachusetts, were both assigned to the ‘Captains’ room.’

Pressured to adopt new European conventions with regard to the treatment of prisoners-of-war, the French attempted to modify their policy towards Indian Captivity. Their acceptance of the particular Articles of Capitulation at Fort Massachusetts signaled the increasing unacceptability of submitting captives to traditional forms of ceremonial torture or enslavement. Indeed, the surrender of the small garrison at Fort Massachusetts to some 400 French and 300 Indians, had been predicated on an unequivocal assurance from the French that: “(1) they would not be given to the Amerindians; (2) their families would not be separated; (3) their injured would not be killed in transit; and (4) they all would be exchanged promptly.”⁸⁷ In addition, the French General personally “promised that the prisoners should have all the Christian care and Charity exercised toward them; that those who were weak and unable to travel, should be carried in their Journey ...”⁸⁸

General Rigaud de Vaudreuil, brother of the former Governor, headed the French delegation that entered the fort. He accepted a petition decreeing that “dead corpses” would be decently buried

⁸⁵ How, in Drake, *Indian Captivities*, 133.

⁸⁶ John Norton, *Redeemed Captive* (Boston: 1748), Reprinted in Samuel Drake, ed., *Particular History of Five Years French and Indian War* (Boston: 1870), 28.

⁸⁷ Steele, *Right to Life?* 17. Also, The Reverend John Norton, *The Redeemed Captive, 1748*. Reprinted in *Narratives of Indian Captivities*, Vol. 6 (New York: Garland Publishing, 1977), 4-9.

⁸⁸ Norton, *Redeemed Captive* in Drake, *Particular History*, 31.

and would not be abused.⁸⁹ However, his Amerindian allies, angry at being shut out, forced their way in, trying to reach a corpse they had spotted in the watch-box. Initially, the French kept them from “meddling” with the body. Eventually, the Indians succeeded in bringing it down and, carrying it outside the fort, they immediately scalped it and cut off the head and arms. Perhaps in a show of bravado, “a young Frenchman then took one of the arms, flayed it, roasted the flesh and offered some to Daniel Smeed, one of the prisoners, to eat, but he refused it.” The prisoners later learned that, in further contravention of the promise not to allow the desecration of the dead, the French had dressed the skin of the arm and made a tobacco pouch of it.⁹⁰

After the fort was plundered and burnt, the Indians began demanding the prisoners they had been promised as an inducement to fight with the French. The General’s interpreter asked Norton to persuade the soldiers to go with the Indians, but “all were utterly unwilling.”⁹¹ Norton insisted that, had the English believed the General “would deliver any of our men to the savages,” all would have strenuously opposed the surrender of the fort, preferring to die fighting than to see men killed because they had no chance to resist.⁹² Despite such protests and acting on the General’s orders, officers “took away John Perry and his wife, and all the soldiers except Serjeant Hawks, John Smeed, and Moses Scott and their families, and distributed them among the Indians.” Perhaps to placate the still protesting Norton, Vaudreuil promised the Indians additional awards to carry the feeble during the journey. Consequently, most of the captives, including the Smeed’s daughter, Captivity, born during the march and baptized by Norton, survived to be incarcerated within Cazernes.

Within days of Norton’s arrival, the number of prisoners was rapidly increased by about 112

⁸⁹ “Pierre François Rigaud, Chevalier de Vaudreuil,” in Henry James Morgan, ed. *Sketches of Celebrated Canadian* (Quebec, Canada: Trubner, 1862), 46. <http://books.google.com/books>.

⁹⁰ Norton, 9-10.

⁹¹ Norton, 10.

⁹² Norton, 11-12.

men, four women and two children, taken from various vessels on the high seas by two French Men-of-War.⁹³ Pote's editor reported the total number as 168. Those that were not sent to Cazernes "either died of the epidemic prevailing amongst them, or were too sick to be transported and remained in Minas."⁹⁴

Amongst those arriving on September 26th was the fourth diarist who chose to write anonymously. Many years later, he was identified as John George, from Weybread, Suffolk, in England. His journal began with an entry on December 19, 1745, his first day on board the brigantine, *Adventurer*, commanded by Captain John Oldham, sailing for Touchet and Company, London, West Indies merchants.⁹⁵ His ship left Falmouth on March 30, 1746, only to be captured on April 4, 1746 by the two French ships, *Le Castor* and *L'Aurore*. He, too, was subjected to a long journey to Quebec, interviewed by Governor Beauharnois, and ordered to Cazernes. On September 30, 1746, acting on the Governor's orders, George took a new list of prisoners. The official count was 259 men, women and children, mostly from New England.⁹⁶

Daily life in Cazernes, at least for those whom the chroniclers chose to mention, appeared to be spent playing cards which the French dispensed throughout the prison. George was fortunate to be able to spend most of his daytime hours in the Captains' apartment. There, he offered daily lessons in "Mathematicks," while Pote taught French, and How and Norton conducted religious services and discussions.⁹⁷ These elite prisoners spent much of their time writing, not only maintaining their daily journals, but in composing letters and petitions. French officials, particularly the

⁹³ Pote, 96-97.

⁹⁴ Pote, footnote, 97.

⁹⁵ George, 4.

⁹⁶ George, 28.

⁹⁷ George, 33.

chief interpreter, M. de Chalet, periodically collected or delivered correspondence to and from the inmates and their distant families. While the prisoners sent frequent petitions to the Governor of New France containing protests about conditions within Cazernes, they also wrote to various influential officials in New England about the possibilities of redemption. All the incarcerated yearned for freedom, whether in the form of prisoner-exchange or some type of traditional redemption arrangement. The French, too, had anticipated and, at least initially, promised early release. A small group, headed by the captains of two vessels who had helped pilot *Le Castor* and *L'Aurore* into what is now Halifax harbor, received a promise of early release. Somewhat belatedly, on October 29, 1745, they boarded French ships for France and freedom.⁹⁸ The failure of early hopes for redemption through the specific efforts of the Governors of Albany and Boston added to prisoners' disappointments and frustrations. It also added to the high costs of incarceration that New France had to absorb.⁹⁹

The importance of religion had appreciably diminished by this time, but had not altogether faded. How led his fellow captives in morning and evening devotions and the elite, at least, enjoyed the freedom to worship within their own apartment. All the journal-keepers tended to judge their fellow prisoners by their degree of piety.¹⁰⁰ Catholic priests were, however, active throughout the prison population. Both Pote and George referred to their various efforts, led by Father Chaveze of the Order of St. Françoise. Despite his Catholicism, he was highly regarded because "he was very Industrious in visiting the sick in this prison, and made several converts to the Roman faith, both sick and well, and caught his Distemper in the prison by his frequent visits."¹⁰¹ Father Chaveze

⁹⁸ Pote, 83-84.

⁹⁹ Pote, 82-84.

¹⁰⁰ How in Drake, *Indian Captivities*, 133.

¹⁰¹ Pote, 109.

and the Reverend Norton evidently enjoyed the type of discussions that John Williams had once shared with the Jesuits. Just before his death, Chaveleze delivered his written reasons to Norton why “y^e Roman Catholick faith was preferable to y^e Protestant,” in expectation of an early response.¹⁰² The significance of faith was particularly illustrated in the treatment of the dead. Only those “who had recanted their Errors as they Term’d it and Died Good Catholicks had the privilege of a coffin.”¹⁰³ With the exception of a Captain Roberts whose body was buried in a coffin made by his former Mate, Mr. John Durrant,¹⁰⁴ most corpses were “carried out in the same box that was made for y^e first who died, made about six feet long, two feet wide, and 1-1/2 feet high or deep, with four handles like a hand barrow ... carried between two men ... but where they were Carried we Never Could Learn, But they Usualy Return^d with y^e Box in a Very Short time.”¹⁰⁵ According to George, the bodies of the first to die of ‘prison distemper,’ father and son Jacob and John Read, were “Strip’d and their Bodies thrown Out upon the Strand in the NW’T Arm of River Opposite the Prison and the Savages Suffered to Mangle their Bodies at Pleasure in Sight of the Prisoners in the House.” Captain Chapman recorded the incident in a written complaint submitted to Governor Beauharnois.¹⁰⁶ In comparison, the elaborate funeral afforded to the prison-keeper’s fifteen-year old daughter, Josette Lorain, was conducted in a “Verey Genteel and Decent manner, after having had many Ceremonies.”¹⁰⁷

There were considerable differences in the treatment of “genteel” and “common” prisoners. Upon his arrival in Cazernes, George received “a bed stuffed with straw, a blanket of Bethlem

¹⁰² Pote, 109.

¹⁰³ George, 68.

¹⁰⁴ George, 68.

¹⁰⁵ Pote, 105.

¹⁰⁶ George, 94.

¹⁰⁷ Pote, 108

Broad Cloath; and [was] left to our ‘Private Meditation’ with bread and water.”¹⁰⁸ Next day, he received the current common daily food allotment of a “common prisoner” that was subject to periodic reductions, eventually reaching “1lb of Dry Fish per man per 3 days.”¹⁰⁹ In comparison, ‘the genteel ration’ appeared to remain constant at “two pounds of good Wheat Bread and one pound of Beef and Peas per man per day.”¹¹⁰ Members of the general prison population received only an occasional handout of clothing and had to file a petition for better maintenance because they were in such dire need.¹¹¹ In contrast, How’s old, “lousy” clothes were replaced upon his arrival and “other clothing given me from head to foot.”¹¹² Norton received money ... and several shirts, a good winter coat, some caps, a pair of stockings, and a few handkerchiefs.¹¹³ The Governor and other officials periodically sent wine, food or money to the elite but, unless expressly specified by the donors, none trickled down to the lower echelons.¹¹⁴

All four chroniclers dutifully tried to record details of new arrivals to Cazernes in their journals. Frequently, however, they recorded only the total number of incoming captives brought in from different locations. Until a comprehensive list of all known prisoners, compiled by Norton, was published in the *Boston Gazette* on August 18, 1747, the names of the majority of prisoners were never revealed.¹¹⁵ (See Appendix). Too often, a prisoner was named only upon his death. Due

¹⁰⁸ George, 28.

¹⁰⁹ George, 33.

¹¹⁰ How, in Drake, *Indian Captivities*, 133.

¹¹¹ Pote, 82.

¹¹² How, in Drake, *Indian Captivities*, 133.

¹¹³ Norton, 28.

¹¹⁴ How, in Drake, *Indian Captivities*, 134 and George, 39-40.

¹¹⁵ *The Boston Gazette, or Weekly Journal*, August 18, 1747, Issue 1326. <http://0-infoweb.newbank.com.wncln.wncln.org/iw-search/we/His...> In the tradition of Baker and Coleman, this author has compiled a comprehensive listing of all Cazernes’ prisoners, together with maps indicating their place of capture, based on Norton’s list and information garnered from all four journals. (See Appendix).

to the lack of conventions and rules concerning spelling or punctuation, each writer wrote his own phonetic rendition of names. The four journals, therefore, contained many discrepancies in personal and place names. How hinted that some type of personal interview was involved in the process of gathering information.¹¹⁶ There may have been an informal exchange of information during walks in the yard but, since the chroniclers never revealed the degree to which prisoner-interaction was allowed within Cazernes, it is possible that there was no direct communication between many incoming prisoners and the diarists. Indeed, it is difficult to ascertain how much freedom of movement or contact may have been allowed. As early as August, 6, 1745, the Governor ordered that “we must be deprived of the liberty to go down and converse with the people as we had before.” Prisoners appear to have been largely confined to their rooms, not allowed to go out “except for our Necessity.”¹¹⁷ It is known that all interior doors were locked between 8:00 p.m. and 8:00 a.m.

Nevertheless, considerable intimate contact did occur among certain prisoners. The following entries reflected George’s disapproval:

12th Feb: Moderate thaw. French took Susan Phillips into town today for her lying in, she having by her industry got her Belly up ... 18th Feb: They took likewise a second child of Miss Ann Butcher; this is Doing of business, for now She’ll be at Leisure to get more ... 29th March: Miss Susan Bolosin, who had been carried out last October when she was very ill. She has been in town ‘in Quality of a Servant’ ever since. Now fornication will go on again ... 19th Aprill: Came into Prison again, Miss Ann Butcher without her Children the French having taken them away from her to keep within the Town now fornication is like to be Caried on again as usul ... 2nd May: Died Jane Carter, infant made Out of Susan Phillips and Cornelius Mahanah, one of our crew ... 28th May: Quarrel between three whores ...¹¹⁸

On May 14, 1746, Jacob Read and Edward Cloutman, who had been captured during the

¹¹⁶ How, in Drake, *Indian Captivities*, 135.

¹¹⁷ Pote, 81.

¹¹⁸ George, 44-47, 58, 67.

Gorham raid, arrived in Cazernes.¹¹⁹ There, Jacob was reunited with his son, John, who had survived the long march from Annapolis Bay to Quebec with William Pote.¹²⁰ Cloutman, accompanied by Robert Dunbar, from Albany, are the only two men known to have escaped from Cazernes.¹²¹ According to George, though not documented at the time, there had been an earlier escape attempt that had been thwarted by “the Treachery of one MacClure a D_____d Rascal.”¹²²

Pote’s entry for October 24, 1746 began “Great Upore Concerning Two Prisoners made their Escape Last Night.”¹²³ George observed that both escapees were hardy men, “well used to the woods through which they have to Travil ... they were furnished out with about 16lb of Bread and Pork, a hatchet, fire works, a pocket Compass and a Large Paquet of Letters for his Excellency Governor Shierly of Boston.”¹²⁴ Neither escapee appeared to have divulged his plans to others, but prisoners were questioned and threatened with the “Cashot or Dungeon” for possible complicity. A formal hearing was conducted before the Governor and the Assembly about a week later. The French represented the escape as “a Monstrous piece of Ingratitude ... when they were so kindly used.”¹²⁵ However, a Mr. Stubbs, representing the English prisoners, pointed out that escape was nothing new for prisoners, especially those “close Confined.” He cited an incident in which four French officers, imprisoned in New England, escaped after giving their “Patrol of Honour.” The dif-

¹¹⁹ “Boston: Last Tuesday morning ...” *Boston News-Boy*, April 28, 1746.
<http://0-infoweb.newsbank.com.wncln.wncln.org/iw-search/we/Hist...>

¹²⁰ Pote, 88, How, in Drake, *Indian Captivities*, 134.

¹²¹ How, in Drake, *Indian Captivities*, 137, Norton, 30, George, 31.

¹²² George, 31.

¹²³ Pote, 99-100.

¹²⁴ George, 31.

¹²⁵ George, 32.

ference was the English “never threatened their remaining prisoners with repercussions.”¹²⁶ Thereafter, security was stepped up at Cazernes. Sentry boxes which had been located outside the picket fence were re-erected within the Yard, the guard was doubled, the hours that prisoners could walk in the yard were curtailed, and inmates had to be in their beds or hammocks for a daily 6:00 a.m. and 8:00 p.m. official count.¹²⁷ Sadly, on May 18, 1747, a new captive brought the news that Cloutman had never made it home. It was, therefore, “Generally Concluded they perished In y^e woods or that y^e Indians killed them Since they made their Escape.”¹²⁸ Two corpses were eventually found at Lake Champlain. Cloutman’s body was identified by the compass he carried.¹²⁹

Sarah Bryant, captured from her home in Gorham, together with Read and Cloutman, had been weakened by the recent birth of a baby. Upon her arrival in Canada, she was sold as a maid to the French.¹³⁰ However, on about September 26, 1746, ‘Widow’ Bryant also became a prisoner at Cazernes.¹³¹ On November 20, with the permission of the Governor, and in the presence of French officials, she married one of Cazernes’ first inmates, Leonard Liddle, captured at sea with Captain Chapman. They were the only couple to ‘legally’ marry within Cazernes. The Reverend Norton officiated at the ceremony and the ‘captains’ provided the celebratory supper.¹³² Another couple, John Simpson and Susan Bolinson “took each other’s word” in a form of unrecognized civil mar-

¹²⁶ George, 32.

¹²⁷ Pote, 103, George, 36.

¹²⁸ Pote, 132, George, 64.

¹²⁹ *Genealogy and Family Histories of the State of New Hampshire* (Chicago: Lewis Historical Publishing Company, 1908), 679. <http://books.google.com/books>; Also, Coleman, *New England Captives*, 223.

¹³⁰ Coleman, *New England Captives*, 223.

¹³¹ There is a discrepancy in the date of her imprisonment: Norton indicates September 25 or 26 (36), Pote says September 30 (97) How makes no mention of her, and George records the date as Oct 1 (29).

¹³² George, 37.

riage which they performed in the Captains' apartment on July 12, 1747, without any accompanying supper and much to the disgust of all four journalists.¹³³

In October, 1746, a violent epidemic erupted within Cazernes. A member of the Gorham trio, Jacob Read was the first to die, on October 20, 1746.¹³⁴ His son, John, died barely two weeks after his father.¹³⁵ Only two deaths had been previously recorded but, for the next several months, the alarming "Sickness that prevailed among the Prisoners" took an almost daily toll.¹³⁶ Initially, the French took no action. After the deaths of Father Chaveze and Josette Lorain when the infection spread throughout the entire population of Quebec, they finally began transferring the sick from the rudimentary infirmary they had established in "the Common Throughfare of the Prison" to a hospital located a quarter of a mile outside Quebec.¹³⁷ For months, each diarist tracked the death toll. Their fear of who would be next was palpable. Nobody was safe. Entire families were almost totally wiped out. Nehemiah How was the first member of the Captains' apartment to die.¹³⁸ Sarah Bryant's new husband reached death's door and was removed to the hospital. Leonard Liddle was among the few to recover and return to Cazernes, but Sarah was one of those who died.¹³⁹ Pote petitioned Governor Beauharnois to permit patients to take care of their private affairs by making a Will or allowing family members to visit the dying. The petition was refused.

The source of the epidemic seemed obvious. The 168 prisoners who had been captured on

¹³³ George, 78

¹³⁴ Pote, 99, How, in Drake, *Indian Captivities*, 137, Norton, 29, George, 30

¹³⁵ Pote, 100-101, How, in Drake, *Indian Captivities*, 137. Norton, 31, George, 33.

¹³⁶ Norton, 30.

¹³⁷ George, 41, Pote, 108.

¹³⁸ How, in Drake, *Indian Captivities*, 138,

¹³⁹ Pote, 165-166.

the high seas had been taken on board French vessels where “a very mortal epidemical Fever raged.”¹⁴⁰ Many had probably contracted the disease, carrying it to Cazernes where it spread rapidly through the entire prison population. However, the nature of this “prison distemper” has never been revealed. Some captivity narratives ascribe it to yellow fever,¹⁴¹ but it was more likely to have been Typhus, originating from lice infestations.¹⁴²

On April 28, 1747, Cazernes was almost destroyed by fire. 207 inmates, men, women and children, marched to an open court before the Governor’s palace where, without “any Distinction of Age, Sex or Condition” they were housed in two hastily erected elongated wigwams.¹⁴³ The French accused the English of starting the fire but this could never be proven because it erupted on the roof of the prison during the early morning while inmates were still locked within their rooms. After the fire, reaction to the prisoners, both by their guards and ordinary French citizens, became extremely hostile, perhaps because of the high costs of maintaining Cazernes at a time when war was making conditions in Quebec difficult. As George gleefully reported, “the French have laid out the sum of 2200 Livres for Bedding; Skins for Shoes, and Shirts” since the fire.¹⁴⁴

Reconstruction of Cazernes was barely completed when, on July 26, 1747, 171 prisoners finally set sail for Boston, under a flag of truce. A few days later, approximately ninety newly released soldiers and sailors sailed for Louisburg. About thirty people were still too ill to travel. Children who were in Indian hands were not allowed to leave Quebec until the required redemption to their Indian masters had been received or hostilities finally ended. Several families, therefore, chose

¹⁴⁰ Pote, 165-166.

¹⁴¹ Mary Fowler, *Captivity of Mary Fowler, of Hopkinton*, in Drake, *Indian Captivities*, 140.

¹⁴² Canadian Encyclopedia, “Typhus,” <http://www.thecanadianencyclopedia.com/index/cfm?PgNm=TCE...>

¹⁴³ George, 36.

¹⁴⁴ George, 59.

to remain to be closer to their children.¹⁴⁵ Twenty-eight men and women voluntarily chose to stay with the French.¹⁴⁶ The total costs for the 1745-1747 period was believed to be 150,000 Livres, equivalent to about £6,250 sterling.¹⁴⁷

Indian captivity did not begin or end within a specific period and it would continue for many years after the Cazernes experiment. It became a means of retaliation as the white North American populace pushed the frontier ever westwards. However, the use of Indian captivity as a tool of the French in the battle for souls and power existed only during the Indian-French wars. The fierce battle for souls essentially halted once the diversity and size of the New England's secular population forever sealed the fate of the Puritan theocracy. Its use as a tool in the struggle between New France and New England for territorial control eventually ended in the defeat of the French and their quest for power in North America in 1760.

¹⁴⁵ George, 92-96.

¹⁴⁶ George, 82.

¹⁴⁷ George, 79.

ANNOTATED BIBLIOGRAPHY OF SECONDARY SOURCES

Books:

Axtell, James. *The Invasion Within: The Contest of Cultures in Colonial North America*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1985.

Annotation: One of many books and articles written by James Axtell, concentrated on the ethnographical aspects of the issue as he explored the ways in which captives became assimilated into their captors' nations, and the resulting acculturation. Useful for general and background information.

Baker, C. Alice. *True Stories of New England Captive: Carried to Canada During the Old French and Indian Wars*, in *The Garland Library of Narratives of North Indian Captivities*. Vol. 101. New York: Garland Publishing, 1976.

Annotation: An in-depth study to discover what actually happened to many of the ordinary people who were taken captive and transported to Canada. Alice Baker's research was the first of its kind and has become, with Coleman's work, a basis of reference for many other works. In addition, Baker includes a chapter in which she relates how her own research in Canada was conducted.

Barr, Daniel. *The Boundaries Between Us: Natives and Newcomers along the Frontiers of the Old Northwest*. Kent, OH: Kent State University Press, 2006.

Annotation: The essays examine the socio-cultural contexts in which natives and newcomers lived, traded, negotiated, interacted, and fought. A portion of this work includes references to the early colonial Indian captivity phenomenon. It is included to illustrate the application of inter-disciplinary perspectives that are now a part of modern historiography.

Coleman, Emma Lewis. *New England Captives Carried to Canada*. 2 vols. Portland, ME: The Southworth Press, 1925.

Annotation: Emma Coleman was Charlotte Baker's assistant and continued the work of piecing together the names of those taken captive with the place and circumstances of their captivity. She includes some original stories and others found from secondary sources. Her work includes the story of the Indian raid on Gorham and what happened to those who had been made captive, including Edward Cloutman. She adds an in-depth view of the settlements of "mission Indians" in Canada which makes her work an extremely valuable secondary source. Within the two volumes, lie many primary source narrations that have now become largely inaccessible.

DeForest, John W. *History of the Indians of Connecticut from the Earliest Known Period to 1850*. Hartford: William Hamesley, 1853.

Annotation: Chosen for its authenticity. As its title suggests, this is an in-depth history of Connecticut. Its importance to this research was the revelation of a Pequot plan to drive the white man from the country by fear and starvation.

Demos, John. *Unredeemed Captive: A Family Story from Early America*. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1995.

Annotation: An in-depth analysis of the capture of the Reverend John Williams and his family from Deerfield, and its consequences, particularly for his daughter, Eunice. Uses many primary sources to examine the parts played by the Governor of Massachusetts and the Governor-General of New France, the individual "go-betweens" who tried to effect a return of the surviving members of the entire family.

Drake, Samuel Gardner. *A Particular History of the Five Years French and Indian War in New England and Parts Adjacent*. Albany, Joe Munsell, 1872.

Annotation: Despite its age, or because of it, this work provided a vibrant history of Shirley's War.

Elson, Henry, William. *History of the United States of America*. New York: MacMillan, 1924.

Annotation: Chosen for its 'color' of the age, this book contains a chapter devoted to the Massachusetts Bay Company from a perspective that was particularly useful as background material.

Merrell, James H. *Into the American Woods: Negotiators on the Pennsylvania Frontier*. New York: W.W. Norton, 2000.

Annotation: An intriguing perspective on Indian captivity from the viewpoint of the European and Indian negotiators who moved between cultures, trying to effect meaningful treaties between colonists and native American nations. This work supplied important historical background material of how such negotiators were chosen that added a useful insight even though it was concentrated on an area outside the parameters of this writer's research.

McLellan, Hugh Davis. *History of Gorham, Me.* n.p.: Smith & Sale, Printers, 1902.

Annotation: Officially, a secondary source. However, McLellan's family was a part of the fledgling township of Gorham, Maine and were directly involved in the Indian raid on their community. Many of the primary sources on which this work was based were either in the private possession of the McLellan family or no longer existed. The work has, therefore, been cited as a primary source in many other works, including the references to the Cloutman family originally found within a genealogical tome in New Hampshire that prompted the writer's own research. The McLellan home and collection was broken up and sold to a variety of private individuals in 1965.

Morgan, Henry James, ed. *Sketches of Celebrated Canadians*. Quebec, Canada: Trubner, 1862.
<http://books.google.com/books>.

Annotation: Authentic work of the time, this work includes interesting information on Pierre François Rigaud, Chevalier de Vaudreuil, captor of John Norton et al at Fort Massachusetts, and other members of the Vaudreuil family.

Morse, Jedediah. *The Annals of the American Revolution*. Port Washington, NY: Kennikat Press, 1824), 29-34. Reprinted 1968.

Annotation: Valuable insight into Pequot War and Puritan views towards Amerindians expressed in uniquely color language.

Namias, June. *White Captives*. Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 1993.

Annotation: Namias presents a new analysis of the co-existence on the American frontier by depicting a visual literary historical account of captives and captors. Her focus is largely upon women captives, including Jane McCrea, Mary Jemison and Sarah Wakefield. The basis of her work is on what happens when people from one culture come into contact with those of a very different culture and what part does the relationship of men and women play in what ultimately happens.

Noppen, Luc, Claude Paulette, Michel Tremblay. *Québec: trois siècles d'architecture*. Québec: Libre Expression, 1979.

Annotation: Includes a section on the Prisons of Quebec and includes sketches of the Carzarnes Prison, a site plan, and a brief history of the building. This work provided the vital link in proving the location of the prison in Quebec that had, evidently, been in some dispute.

O'Malley, John W. *The First Jesuits*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1993.

Annotation: The history of the first generation of the Society of Jesus. O'Malley's work provided this writer with important background information about the Jesuits.

Salisbury, Neal. *Manitou and Providence: Indians, Europeans, and the Making of New England, 1500-1643*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1982.

Annotation: One of many valuable contributions made by Neal Salisbury to the history and background of intercultural relationships.

Strong, Pauline Tyler. *Captive Selves, Captivating Others: The Politics and Poetics of Colonial American Captivity Narratives*. Boulder, CO: Westview, 1999.

Annotation: Strong has introduced an anthropological approach to colonial encounters between European and Native Americans, presenting overwhelming evidence that numbers of Native Americans captured, imprisoned and enslaved by English, and by other Amerindians in intertribal warfare, far exceeded the numbers of white captives. Strong also presents an impressive historiography on the subject of Indian captivity.

Steele, Ian K. *Warpaths: Invasions of North America*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1994.

Annotation: Invaluable resource for background material on conflicts and alliances between Amerindians and settlers, and on intertribal warfare and alliances.

Sylvester, Herbert Milton. *Indian Wars of New England*. Cleveland, OH: W.B. Clarke, 1910.

Annotation: Offers additional authentic background material regarding the peace and wartime relationships between local Abenakis and settlers. It reveals that certain people were 'marked' as potential captives because of their redemption value to their communities. Sylvester includes a detailed account of Gorham raid and Edward Cloutman's capture. Interesting source of important background material as this work covers the history of the five years French and Indian War in New England from its declaration by the King of France, March 15, 1744, to the treaty with the eastern Indians, October 16, 1749, sometimes called Governor Shirley's War.

Articles, Lectures, Journals:

Richter, Daniel K. "Iroquois versus Iroquois: Jesuit Missions and Christianity in Village Politics, 1642-1686." *Ethnohistory* 32(1):1-16.

Annotation: For many years, the Iroquois were the fiercest enemies of New France, yet the Jesuits continuously strove to convert them to Catholicism. Many among the Iroquois, were former captives who had previous encounters with the Jesuits before being adopted by the Iroquois. The resulting factions could deeply divide Iroquois villages. This article provided much useful, background information.

Society of Jesus. *Jesuit Relations*, (Paris: Cramoisy, 1632-1672).

Reprint: Reuben Gold Thwaites, ed. *Jesuit Relations and Allied Documents, Travels and Explorations of the Jesuit Missionaries in New France 1610-1791*, 73 Volumes (np:1896-1901). Library and Archives Canada.

<http://www.collectionscanada.gc.ca/jesuit-relations/h-19-151-e.html>.

Annotation: The publication of the *Relations* in Paris by Sébastien Cramoisy, launched in 1632, provided information about large chapters of France's colonial history in North America. The Jesuits' reports to their Superior of the missions in New France were frequently edited and reprinted in *Relations*, providing valuable information about the aboriginal societies encountered by the French as well as the economic,

cultural, and other consequences of these encounters. The historian, Reuben Gold Thwaites, provided an English translation, completing this enormous undertaking between 1896 and 1901. The entire collection of *Jesuit Relations* has now been made available by the Library and Archives, Canada.

Steele, Ian K. *A Captive's Right to Live: The Interaction of Amerindian, Colonial and European Values*. The Lawrence F. Brewster Lecture in History, XIV, November, 1955. Greenville, N.C.: East Carolina University, 1955.

Annotation: The published text of this lecture makes for fascinating reading as it examines the different ways in which prisoners, particularly victims of Indian captivity, could expect to be treated. Amerindians considered all members of enemy societies to be legitimate prisoners. Captured warriors were not considered to have behaved honorably, except when they died defiantly. Civilians, particularly women and children, were more likely to be adopted into the captor's society and were expected to assimilate completely. For Amerindians, whether in intertribal warfare or in conflicts against colonists and settlers, scalps and prisoners were the fundamental objectives. Redemption values became an increasingly important consideration but prisoner-exchange was not a part of Amerindian peacemaking. Surrender terms may have reflected European influence but were not a normal consideration in Amerindian conquests.

Vaughan, Alden and Daniel Richter, "Crossing the Cultural Divide: Indians and New Englanders, 1605-1763." *Proceedings of the American Antiquarian Society*, 90 (1980): 91-95.

Annotation: Vaughan and Richter base their article on the work of Emma Coleman, translating and updating her facts into statistics and concluding that "relatively few adult Puritan captives became white Indians."

Encyclopedia:

"Armand-Jean du Plessis, Duke de Richelieu," *New Advent Catholic Encyclopedia*.
www.newadvent.org.

Annotation: The encyclopedia provides concise and useful background information about the Catholic religion and some of its notable practitioners.

"Typhus," <http://www.thecanadianencyclopedia.com/index/cfm?PgNm=TCE...>

Annotation: An extract from a Canadian encyclopedia concerning a Typhus epidemic in Quebec in 1747.

Exhibitions:

Library and Archives Canada, *New France, New Horizons: A Virtual Exhibition to Mark the 400th Anniversary of the French Presence in North America, 2004*.
www.archivescanadafrance.org/english/accueil_en.html.

Annotation: This exhibition uses primary documents to illustrate each of its divisions that include brief overviews of the Missions, Worship, Female Religious Communities, Daily Life, the Regulation of Everyday Life, the Nobility, Quebec and Montreal.

Genealogies:

Genealogy and Family Histories of the State of New Hampshire. Chicago: Lewis Historical Publishing Company, 1908.

Annotation: Includes description of Edward Cloutman's capture and escape from Quebec prison that would seem to rely on McLellan's *History of Gorham, Me.*

Stearns, Ezra S., William F. Whitcher, Edward E. Parker, eds. *Genealogies and Family History of the State of New Hampshire.* Chicago: Lewis Publishing, 1908.

Annotation: This is the work which began the author's research into Indian captivity. Its dusty, dry exterior belies its many interesting stories of early settlers in New Hampshire and other New England colonies – proving the old adage that you can't tell a book by its cover.

Illustrations, Sketches and Photographs:

The Royal Redoubt and Cazernes Prison. In , Luc Noppen, Claude Paulette, Michel Tremblay. *Québec: trois siècles d'architecture.* Québec: Libre Expression, 1979.

Annotation: Extract showing Carzernes Prison, a site plan, and a brief history of the building. This work provided the vital link in proving the location of the prison in Quebec that had, evidently, been in some dispute. Included in Appendix.

“Old Mill (Little River)” *Photo Album of Gorham Historical Society*,
<http://www.cascofcu.com/ghs/photos/oldmill.html>

Annotation: Reference to grist mill, built in 1743, constructed at the falls below the mill in the picture. The reference is to the first sawmill erected by John Gorham that was the scene of the first confrontation between Mr. Edward Cloutman and the Indians, in 1745, in which he killed one attacker. The mill was burned down by the Indians the following day, as confirmed in the Chronology of the Town of Gorham, Maine.

Books:

Calder, Isabel M., ed. *Colonial Captivities, Marches and Journeys*. Port Washington, NY: Kennikat Press, Inc. 1935.

Annotation: Rare, reprinted Primary Source Narratives edited under the auspices of the National Society of the Colonial Dames of America, this collection is divided into Military Captivities, Economic Servitudes, Marches, and Journeys. It includes “the Journal of a Captive, 1745-1748,” written by a prisoner in the Cazernes Prison, Quebec who has since been identified as John George, the “anonymous” writer of the diary to which Coleman refers, which includes references to Edward Cloutman.

Calloway, Colin G., ed. *North Country Captives: Selected Narratives of Indian Captivity from Vermont and New Hampshire*. Hanover, NH: University Press of New England, 1991.

Annotation: Draws a distinction between the earliest narratives in which Native Americans were considered to be “little more than sadistic, irrational creatures,” to a new-found emphasis on depicting Indian captors in more human terms – “ordinary people caught up in international and interethnic conflicts.” Calloway’s work includes primary source narratives that include depictions of Indian captors and their ways of living as “more ordinary people caught up in international and interethnic conflicts.”

Derounian-Stodola, Kathryn Zabelle and James Arthur Levernier. *The Indian Captivity Narrative, 1550-1900*. New York: Twayne Publishers, 1993.

Annotation: Using primary source narratives, this work explores the reasons for Indian captivity while attempting to counter stereotypical narratives. It also extends the accepted chronology of Indian captivity narrative, following the history of the Captivity Narrative from a religious story, to its stylization and fictionalization, incorporating examples of each phase with reprints of primary sources. The emphasis is on women and propaganda.

Drake, Samuel G. *Indian Captives*. Boston: Antiquarian Bookstore and Institute, 1839. Reprinted in *The Garland Library of Narratives of North American Indian Captivities*, Vol. 55. New York & London: Garland Publishing, Inc., 1976.

Annotation: The volume consists of entire Narratives, “without the slightest abridgement.” Historical and Biographical notes are added by Samuel Drake. This was the first such collection of Indian Narratives. It includes the stories of John Ortiz, Mary Rowlandson, Quintin Stockwell, Sarah Gerish, Elizabeth Heard, John Gyles, Robert Rogers, Mehetable Goodwin, Elizabeth Hanson, Nehemiah How, John Fitch, Mary Fowler, Isabella McCoy, Peter Williamson, Jemima Howe, Frances Noble, Captain Jonathan Carver, Colonel James Smith, Robert Eastburn, Alexander Henry, Frederick Manheim, Rev. John Corbly, Francis Scott, Captain William Hubbell, Massy Herbeson, Sergeant Lent Munson, Ransom Clark, and John W.B. Thompson.

Fowler, Mary. "Captivity of Mary Fowler, of Hopkinton," in Samuel Drake, *Indian Captivities*, Boston: Antiquarian Bookstore and Institute, 1839. Reprinted in *The Garland Library of Narratives of North American Indian Captivities*, Vol. 55. New York & London: Garland Publishing, Inc., 1976.

Annotation: Mary Fowler, formerly Mary Woodwell, and her family were captured by the Indians and imprisoned in Cazernes. Mary's mother died during a deadly epidemic which Drake called yellow fever.

Gardener, Lion. *A History of the Pequot War*. Cincinnati: Printed by J. Harper, 1860 in *Collections of the Massachusetts Historical Society*, third series, Vol. 3 (1833).

Annotation: The 1660 narrative of an English military engineer who advised against engaging with the Pequots but writes the history of this war from his own experience and observations. This work provided important historical background.

Haefeli, Evan and Kevin Sweeney, eds. *Captive Histories: English French, and Native Narratives of the 1704 Deerfield Raid*. Amherst and Boston: University of Massachusetts Press, 2006.

Annotation: A Collection of Primary Narratives to illustrate the Deerfield Raid from a variety of perspectives. Includes: Quentin Stockwell, Chepasson, Daniel Belding, Samuel Partridge, Letters from William Whiting and Isaac Addington to Governor Fitz-John Winthrop, letters from the Governor General of New France and from Claude de Ramezay to the Minister of the Marine, John Williams, Stephen Williams, Joseph Petty, Joseph Kellogg, Louis d'Avaugour, Hertel, and more.

Kellogg, Joseph. "When I was Carried to Canada ..." Manuscript in "Papers Relating to the 1704 Attack on Deerfield," case 8, box 28, in Evan Haefeli and Kevin Sweeney, eds. *Captive Histories, English French, and Native Narratives of the 1704 Deerfield Raid*. Amherst and Boston: University of Massachusetts Press, 2006.

Annotation: A rare first-hand account of how one captive, Joseph Kellogg, was induced to convert to Catholicism and the methods used to procure the conversion of others.

Levernier, James and Hennig Cohen, eds. *The Indians and Their Captives*. Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1977.

Annotation: A collection of, and commentary on, narratives about whites taken as captives by Indians from 1557 to, approximately, 1860. Primary sources used to illustrate the authors' five divisions of Indian captivity – The Discovery of the Indian; Trials of the Spirit; The Land Imperative; Behind the Frontier; Beyond the Frontier. Includes the narratives of Ortiz, Captain John Smith, Father Bressani, Hannah Swarton, Jonathan Dickinson, John Norton, and many others. The original publication information for each story is cited in footnotes.

McLellan, Hugh Davis. *History of Gorham, Me.* n.p.: Smith & Sale, Printers, 1902.

Annotation: Officially, this is a secondary source. However, McLellan's family was a part of the fledgling township of Gorham, Maine and many of the primary sources on which this work was based are either in the private possession of the McLellan family or no longer exist. This work has, therefore, been used as a primary source for many other works. It details all the encounters between Mr. Edward Cloutman and the Indians, including his captivity. A copy, that includes genealogy, is included in Gorham Historical Society's collection. However, it is believed that the McLellan collection was sold and dispersed to private owners in 1965.

Sayre, Gordon M., ed. *American Captivity Narratives.* Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 2000.

Annotation: Contains the reprinted, primary source narratives of Hans Staden, Juan Ortiz, John Smith, Father Isaac Jogues, Father Jeande Brébeuf, and Father Gabriel Lalemant.

Swarton, Hannah. From Cotton Mather, *Magnalia Christi Americana: Or, the Ecclesiastical History of New England*, 7 vols. Reprinted in Sayre, *American Captive*, 177-182; Drake, *Indian Captive*, 31-39; Derounian-Stodola and Levernier, *Indian Captive Narrative*, 113-118, et al.

Annotation: This work was probably actually written by Cotton Mather. He used her story to illustrate the fate that he believed surely awaited backsliders, people who put their own, personal, interests before their religious duties. The Swarton family's sin was to move to Casco Bay where there was no minister and no church to guide them in their daily lives. Hannah Swarton not only pays a horrifying personal price for this lapse by being taken captive and losing her family, but also has to find the strength to resist the efforts to convert her to Catholicism exerted by the Intendant and his family who redeem her from the Indians.

VanDerBeets, Richard, ed. *Held Captive by Indians: Selected Narratives, 1647-1836.* Knoxville, TN: The University of Tennessee Press, 1973.

Annotation: Presents reasons for the popularity of Indian narratives but contends that "the significance of such narratives was shaped and differentiated largely by the society for which such narratives were intended." The work includes primary narratives to illustrate his points and includes: Isaac Jogues, Mary Rowlandson, Jonathan Dickenson, John Gyles, Robert Eastburn, Thomas Morris, James Smith, and many others.

--- *The Indian Captivity Narrative: An American Genre.* New York: University Press of America, 1984.

Annotation: Explains the reasons for the Indian Captivity – to obtain financial reward through redemption, for enslavement, or for adoption into the tribe to replace those who had been slain. Compares the changing perspectives of the narratives from the earliest "generally unadorned religious documents" to the lessons that captives felt obliged to pass on to others, and to the exploitation of such works for propaganda

and sensational purposes. This work again includes primary narratives as a means of illustrating the author's thesis.

Williams, John, *The Redeemed Captive Returning to Zion* (Boston: Printed by B. Green, 1707)
<http://books.google.com/books>.

Annotation: The Reverend John William's narrative of his experiences of the Deerfield Raid, 1704, and its aftermath. One of the most famous and oft-reprinted Indian Captivity narratives. Provides detailed information about French attempts to convert English prisoners to the Catholic religion.

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Collections:

Library and Archives Canada. Series C-11-A, General Correspondence.

http://mikan3.archives.ca/pam/public_mikan/index.php?fuseaction. www.canadacollections.ca.

Annotation: The source of many primary documents cited by historians in connection with Indian captivity and New France's relations with English colonies and with France.

Proceedings and Translation of the Royal Society of Canada for 1887, Section ii, 49. In Evan Haeffeli and Kevin Sweeney. *Captive Histories: English, French, and Native Narratives of the 1704 Deerfield Raid*. Amherst and Boston, MA: University of Massachusetts Press, 2006.

Annotation: Primary French documentation concerning the conflicts between New France and New England.

Journals:

George, John. *Journal of a Captive, 1745-1748*. In Isabel M. Calder, ed. *Colonial Captivities, Marches and Journeys*. Port Washington, NY: Kennikat Press, Inc. 1935.

Annotation: Writing anonymously, John George captured the daily experiences of prisoners incarcerated by the French in the Cazernes Prison, including the arrival and escape of Edward Cloutman. He provided the most detailed information of all four journalists.

How, Nehemiah. *Narrative of the Captivity of Nehemiah How*. In Samuel Drake, *Indian Captivities*, Boston: Antiquarian Bookstore and Institute, 1839. Reprinted in *The Garland Library of Narratives of North American Indian Captivities*, Vol. 55. New York & London: Garland Publishing, Inc., 1976.

Annotation: The journal of Nehemiah How, from the moment of his Indian captivity to his death in Cazerne Prison.

Norton, Rev. John. *The Redeemed Captive, 1748*. New York: Garland Publishing, 1977.

Annotation: A reprint of the original journal that was written, "printed & sold opp. the prison" in Boston in 1748. He was of Connecticut (b. 1716), a graduate of Yale and first minister of Bernardston (then Fall Town). Norton was taken captive when Fort Massachusetts fell. His journal describes the conditions of the prison in Quebec in which he was incarcerated. His journal includes references to Cloutman's captivity and escape.

Pote, William. *The Journal of Captain William Pote, Jr.* New York: Garland Publishing, 1976.

Annotation: Includes detailed descriptions of conditions in the Quebec Jail in which he was imprisoned as a prisoner-of-war. His manuscript was brought out of the jail, hidden under a woman's dress. In 1890, it was found in Geneva, Switzerland. His journal includes references to Cloutman's captivity and escape.

Letters and Notes:

Beauharnois, Governor. Letter to Intendant Hocquart, October 11, 1744, "Private and Colonial Archives," Library and Archives Canada. www.collectionscanada.ca.

Ramezay, Claude de. Letter to the Minister of the Marine, 1704. In Evan Haefeli and Kevin Sweeney, eds. *Captive Histories: English, French, and Native Narratives of the 1704 Deerfield Raid*. Amherst and Boston: University of Massachusetts Press, 2006.

Vaudreuil, Philippe de Regaud de. Letter to the Minister of the Marine, 1704. In Evan Haefeli and Kevin Sweeney, eds. *Captive Histories: English, French, and Native Narratives of the 1704 Deerfield Raid*. Amherst and Boston: University of Massachusetts Press, 2006.

Williams, Samuel. "Samuel's Story." Correspondence between John and Samuel Williams in Evan Haefeli and Kevin Sweeney, eds. *Captive Histories: English, French, and Native Narratives of the 1704 Deerfield Raid*. Amherst and Boston: University of Massachusetts Press, 2006.

Maps:

Mitchell, Jn^o. *A Map of the British and French Dominions in North America with the Roads, Distances, Limits and Extend of the Settlements*. n.p. February 13, 1755.

Annotation: End Maps included in both volumes of Emma Lewis Coleman's, *New England Captives Carried to Canada*, courtesy of the Harvard College Library. Will be included in the Appendix of the writer's paper.

Miscellaneous:

A Brief Chronology of Historical Events in the Town of Gorham, 1736-1936. Gorham, ME: Gorham Historical Society. <http://www.cascofcu.com/ghs/chronology.html>.

Annotation: Produced by the Gorham Historical Society, this chronology confirms the two major encounters between Mr. Edward Cloutman and the Indians, including his captivity. It will be included in the Appendix to the writer's paper.

Newspaper Articles:

"Boston: Last Tuesday morning ..." *Boston News-Boy*, April 28, 1746.
<http://0-infoweb.newsbank.com.wncln.wncln.org/iw-search/we/His...>

Annotation: A colorful though not entirely accurate report of the killing of William Bryant and the capture of Sarah Bryant, Edward Cloutman and Jacob Read

"Boston, August 17. Yesterday arrived here ..." *New-York Gazette, or Weekly Post-Boy*, August 24, 1747.
<http://0-infoweb.newsbank.com.wncln.wncln.org/iw-search/we/His...>

Annotation: Announcement of the arrival in Boston, under a flag of truce, of "a large Ship from Quebec, in Canada, with 171 English Prisoners, Men, Women and Children." Included in the Appendix

"The Names of the Persons that have been Taken by the Enemy." *The Boston Gazette, or Weekly Journal*, August 18, 1747. <http://0-infoweb.newsbank.com.wncln.wncln.org/iw-search/we/His...>

Annotation: A list of names of prisoners incarcerated in Cazernes, Quebec the places to which they belonged as provided by the Reverend John Norton. Included in the Appendix

Photographs and Sketches:

"The Quebec Prison." Sketch of Cazernes Prison. In John George. *Journal of a Captive, 1745-1748*. In Isabel M. Calder, ed. *Colonial Captivities, Marches and Journeys*. Port Washington,

NY: Kennikat Press, Inc. 1935. Also in Emma Lewis Coleman, *New England Captives Carried to Canada*. 2 vols. Portland, ME: The Southworth Press, 1925.

Annotation: Crude drawing of the prison from which the illustration was made, found in an anonymous diary, still in manuscript – of dates between 19 Dec. 1745 and 18 October, 1748 – which is in the Congressional Library.

“The Stove.” Sketch of the only form of heating in Cazernes Prison. In John George. *Journal of a Captive, 1745-1748*. In Isabel M. Calder, ed. *Colonial Captivities, Marches and Journeys*. Port Washington, NY: Kennikat Press, Inc. 1935.

Annotation: The main form of heating at Cazernes. Sketch will be included in Appendix.