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PATHOS AND ETHOS: A STUDY OF THE RHETORICAL APPEALS IN WOMEN'S INDIAN CAPTIVITY NARRATIVES

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I. INTRODUCTION

Aristotle stated in his *Rhetoric* that there were two different means of persuasion available to the speaker: non-artistic and artistic. Whereas the former could not be considered as a part of rhetoric, the latter fell within its province. The art of rhetoric has always been contemplated as the art of persuasion, and when referring to its general mode Aristotle spoke of three different types of «appeal»: *rational* appeal (logos), *emotional* appeal (pathos) and *ethical* appeal (ethos). As Corbett states, when exercising the rational appeal, the speaker appeals to the audience's reason or understanding; when resorting to the emotional appeal, the speaker would explore the means to prompt the audience's emotions, and finally, when turning to the ethical appeal, the speaker would try to attract the audience's trust and admiration by creating the impression that he or she was a person of intelligence, benevolence and probity (1990, 23-4).

Indian captivity narratives refer to stories of non-Indians captured by Native Americans. Whereas some were schemed as bitter pieces of criticism against white society, most of them attempted to describe the sufferings of white women who had been living under the cruelty of the Indian yoke and who had been able to survive thanks to religion. As a consequence, the majority of them reflect the interests of a socially dominant group –the white race– and offer a demonized picture of the Indians. Although most of the narratives shared this common trait, certain formal differences can be observed in the way in which ideology is underpinned.

According to Kathryn Zabelle Derounian-Stodola, three phases can be distinguished in the development of the Indian captivity narrative: authentic religious

accounts in the seventeenth century, propagandist and stylistically embellished texts in the eighteenth century, and outright works of fiction in the late eighteenth and into the nineteenth centuries (1998, xii). It is my intention to choose representative texts of each of these three periods and analyse them in order to study the different types of appeal –rational, emotional or ethical– that can be found in women's Indian captivity narratives and the ideological discourse portrayed through them as well as to prove that the rigid confines displayed by Derounian-Stodola's division tend to vanish and that the boundaries between the eighteenth and nineteenth century texts blur. The narratives chosen are: Mary Rowlandson's «A True History of the Captivity and Restoration of Mrs. Mary Rowlandson» and Cotton Mather's «A Notable Exploit; wherein *Dux Faemina Facti* from *Magnalia Christi Americana*» (17th c.); «God's Mercy Surmounting Man's Cruelty, Exemplified in the Captivity and Redemption of Elizabeth Hanson» (18th c.); Bunker Gay's «A Genuine and Correct Account of the Captivity, Sufferings and Deliverance of Mrs. Jemima Howe» and Shepard Kollock's «A True Narrative of the Sufferings of Mary Kinnan» (late 18th c.); and Sarah Wakefield's «Six Weeks in the Sioux Tepees: A Narrative of Indian Captivity» and Emeline L. Fuller's «Left by the Indians. Story of my Life» (19th c.).

II. RHETORIC AND IDEOLOGY: *PATHOS* AND *ETHOS* AS DOMINANT FORCES

As Bygrave states, «rhetoric and ideology are not the same thing, but the latter is not to be understood without the former». It is obvious that behind a certain way of saying things there is a certain ideology «which may serve either to legitimate the interests of a dominant group or to challenge those interests in the name of others» (1993, 7). Furthermore, Bygrave defends, with great clarity, «that where ideology becomes apparent in language it can only ever be understood (as opposed to "experienced") through interpretation and that the kind of interpretation best suited to it is that which can show the relation of language to action –that is, rhetoric» (1993, 2). Consequently, rhetoric will offer us the necessary resources to envisage and adequately interpret the ideological facets hidden behind the chosen texts.

Richard VanderBeets (1984) considers the Indian captivity narrative as an initiation journey from Death to Rebirth. For him, these narratives follow the ensuing pattern: the subject's Separation from her culture, Transformation and Return. Although the stories tell us of the torments and tribulations of individuals engaged in a strenuous physical journey, we should think of the landscapes and situations portrayed as symbolic recreations of an interior journey from spiritual death to spiritual rebirth in which family dispersal, psychological loss and the role of religion in human suffering (Derounian-Stodola 1998, 318) become key issues in the configuration of the individual as a new self. Consequently, it is very clear that *pathos* or the emotional appeal will be the cornerstone in this type of narrative.

Nevertheless, *ethos* or the ethical appeal also acquires purposeful dimensions in these narratives. We cannot forget that most of these Indian captivity stories relied on

the autobiographical form and, according to McKay, «Americans presume the absolute truth-value of these texts and an authentic and direct contact with the authors through the written word» (1991, 27). Therefore, the narrator's personality, her capacity, as we have stated above, to attract the audience's trust and admiration by creating the impression that she was a person of intelligence, benevolence and probity (Corbett 1990, 23-4) is crucial to the readers' attitude towards the story. That explains the combination of the woman-protagonist autobiographical form and the ministerial editing: on the one hand, most of these narratives intended to create the illusion of having been portrayed by the protagonist of the story in an attempt to offer a vivid and emotional account of the events (pathos)[1] but, on the other hand, they were really written (or at least edited) by male ministers in an attempt to use their social status and authority as vindication of truthfulness (ethos) since «the "voice" with which a character or a narrator speaks, the language he or she chooses for that expression, are themselves agents of revelation of inner being and moral selfhood» (Rubin Dorsky 1991, 11).

In the following pages I will explore how the patterns of family dispersal, psychological loss and religion (pathos) are displayed through a certain type of narrator (ethos) and how these two elements help unveil the ideology which pervades the various narratives chosen as representative of the three different periods.

Mary Rowlandson's «A True History of the Captivity and Restoration of Mrs. Mary Rowlandson» and Cotton Mather's «A Notable Exploit; wherein *Dux Faemina Facti* from *Magnalia Christi Americana,*» in which we are given a report of Hannah Dustan's captivity, are two of the most representative examples of seventeenth century propagandistic accounts against the Indians and in defence of God and the role of religion in human suffering.

According to Derounian-Stodola, Mary Rowlandson wrote the text alone (1998, 5), although it would be naive to assume that it was not mediated to some extent by several Puritan ministers (among them Increase Mather, who wrote the introduction and arranged for its publication). In the Preface, Increase Mather tries to persuade us through the word of God to read this story. In fact, every statement is bolstered by a long biblical quotation, revealing the importance of the role of God and religion in the protagonist's salvation. In the narrative proper, Rowlandson herself discloses the significant part of devotion and spirituality in her redemption through the dramatic report of her personal circumstances. The Puritan male editor's authority and Rowlandson's passionate chronicle of her sufferings account for both the ethos and pathos which enhance the rhetorical dimension of the story.

From the very beginning, our perception of the world portrayed is modelled by a white Puritan point of view. The conflict is presented less as a struggle for territory than as a religious crusade between Christians and «murtherous Wretches» (12) or «barbarous creatures» (14). On the one hand, in the preface Increase Mather tries to

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1. «the veracity of the narrative must be demonstrated with reference to intimate feeling, to the strict contemporaneity of emotion communicated in the writing» (Starobinski 1971, 291). Pathos becomes then a sign of reliable expression.

arouse the readers's sympathy for Mary by referring to her as «a worthy and precious Gentlewoman» (8). On the other hand, the Indians are described throughout the text as «atheistical», «proud», «wild», «cruel», «barbarous», «brutish», «diabolical creatures» and their spirits as «malicious and revengeful, the worst of the heathen». This one-sided presentation obviously pre-conditions our response to the text and our attitude towards the characters. We are not given the opportunity to see their features: the manicheistic division is well established in advance.

Through crude and direct prose with no embellishments we are told of the physical and emotional destruction that the disregard of Religion implies. Religion acts as a sort of filter: the people lying on the floor are not just people but Christians, and it is «the Lord by his Almighty power, [that] preserved a number of [them] from death» (14). Not only are the Indians to be condemned but also all those white people who do not trust in God. In fact, Mary Rowlandson's elder sister, who had some religious misgivings, was struck dead (13) whereas the protagonist of the story was saved because she trusted God and everytime her strength failed, «the Lord renewed [her] strength» (15-16).

Although Mather's narrative shares many common traits with Rowlandson's story, the fact that it is not Hannah Dustan, the woman who suffered the Indian captivity, who narrates the story weakens its emotional dimension (pathos). Nevertheless, Mather's authoritative figure enhances the text's ethical outlook and the narrative benefits from his rhetorical powers. The narrator's elaborate discourse unveils an enthusiastic defence of religion as an instrument of salvation and a bitter attack against the Indian race and the Catholic religion.

On the one hand, although, as in the previous story, the presence of God continues to pervade the whole text, the narrator does not bolster his eloquence by literally reproducing biblical quotations. As a consequence, the protagonist's desperate and blind faith in God as the only means of deliverance seems to be demeaned. However, the narrator's ceaseless references to the Divine Providence of God as answerable for the protagonist's spiritual relief and to Prayers as the only instruments liable «to make . . . Lives Comfortable or Tolerable» (1998, 59) bestow upon religion the customary role of the only alleviator of disgrace.

On the other hand, the narrator's words disclose a profound hatred for the Indian race and the Catholic faith. The Indians appear as the inflictors of suffering and discomfort as they are referred to as «savages», «terrible», «fierce» (58), as «those whose Tender Mercies are Cruelties» (59) and as responsible for «Bloody Devastations» (58). But they are also referred to as Catholics and said to pray more regularly than many English families. Although these two features seem to provide the Indians with more «humane» traits than Rowlandson's Indians and serve as a bitter criticism against some English families, eventually they only contribute to the reinforcement of the Indians as an intolerant people. As a Puritan, Mather was strongly anti-Catholic and here he criticized the fact that the Indians, converted to Catholicism by the French, prayed more than many English families but would not allow Hannah Dustan and the other captives to say their own prayers.

Eighteenth century texts were considered «propagandist and stylistically embellished» narratives (Derounian-Stodola 1998, xii). Notwithstanding this, there is

a detailed analysis of «God's Mercy Surmounting Man's Cruelty, Exemplified in the Captivity and Redemption of Elizabeth Hanson» (1728), a representative text of this time, proves that Derounian-Stodola's attempts to present these texts as clearly differentiated from seventeenth and late eighteenth and nineteenth century texts are worthless. Not only does it share many common traits with the previous religious texts, but it also advances some of the features of the latter fictionalized accounts. As a consequence, I should claim its transitional character rather than its autonomous nature.

Hanson's narrative shares with the seventeenth century religious texts their sermon-like features: God and Providence are accountable for the people's «Deliverance in a Time of Trouble» (1998, 66). In the beginning, we find a blind reliance on God as a helpful resource and, as a consequence, we observe how emotion tinges the story. Although there is not such a substantial presence of biblical quotations and metaphors as in Rowlandson's text, elaborate descriptions of God as a revengeful almighty force who punishes those who act wrongly and helps those who praise him pervade the story: i. e. Elizabeth Hanson's Indian master was struck by the Lord with great sickness –as a punishment for his hideous manners– but, once he had confessed the abuse he committed against Hanson and her child and had promised not to abuse them again, he soon recovered. On the other hand, Elizabeth Hanson, eventually, after so much suffering and thanks to her blind faith in Divine Providence, saves her body and soul from Indian captivity. This narrative is obviously intended with moralizing purposes, as the following final quotation makes clear: «I hope thereby the merciful Kindness and Goodness of God may be magnified, and the Reader hereof provoked with more care and fear to serve him in Righteousness and Humility and then my designed End and Purpose will be answered» (1998, 79).

Notwithstanding the important presence of religious elements which clearly responded to propagandist purposes, the anti-Indian bias of this text is not so obvious: in this narrative there is no such demonization of the Indians as we have already seen in seventeenth century narratives. If, in the previous texts, narratorial references to the Indians as «salvages» were continuous, in Hanson's narrative, her Indian Master's actions and not the protagonist's words characterize his wild nature. She only refers to the Indians once as «barbarous salvages» (1998, 66) but, later on, it is the description of her Indian Master's behaviour and not her words that clearly characterizes him as one. In this respect, the narrative comes closer to later fictionalized accounts of captivities.

Not only are we presented with a relatively positive portrait of the Indians with regard to religion (75) but also with a negative image of the Catholics, who, in spite of being Elizabeth Hanson's saviours, are depicted as bigots and sectarians: «the *French* were civil beyond what I could either desire or expect. But the next day after I was redeemed, the *Romish* priests took my Babe from me, and according to their custom, they baptized it» (77).

Nevertheless, there is an overall prevalence of ethos over pathos, seen in the relative absence of emotion in Hanson's explanation of her dramatic experiences –i. e. she passes over the killing of two of her children without dwelling on the gory details or on the emotions she felt as a mother being deprived of two of her offspring– and an

extreme interest in ethnographic details as she elaborates on the description of certain Indian mores such as scalping, description of wigwams, their eating habits... which bring this narrative closer to the other fictional stories I will comment upon later. According to Carroll, this may «signal the intervention of a shaping hand who shifts the tone from personal suffering to impersonal observation» (1997, 119). We perceive then the duality of the narrative voice. Although, at the beginning of the text, it is claimed that «it was taken from her [Hanson's] own Mouth, by a Friend, [and] differs very little from the Original Copy, but is even almost in her own Words (what small Alteration is made being partly owing to the Mistake of the Transcriber)» (Derounian-Stodola 1998, 66), it was most likely written and edited by one or more male friends and then sponsored by the Quaker publishing establishment (Deroudian-Stodola 1998, 63).

According to Derounian-Stodola, Bunker Gay's «A Genuine and Correct Account of the Captivity, Sufferings and Deliverance of Mrs. Jemima Howe» and Shepard Kollock's «A True Narrative of the Sufferings of Mary Kinnan» clearly exemplify the late eighteenth century more fictionalized and stylistically embroidered reports of captivity narratives. Although both texts surmise the truthfulness of an ethical order using an «I-narrative», it is very clear that «despite the vow of sincerity, the "content" of the narrative can be lost, can disappear into fiction» (Starobinski 1971, 286). And this is exactly the case here. What is first intended as a faithful relation of the protagonists' physical distress and spiritual struggle becomes a fictionalized account of the miserable circumstances which finally lead them to religious renewal.

In Jemima Howe's narrative, the Reverend Bunker Gay editorializes the heroine's story and later gives way to her voice. His introductory presentation of Howe's sufferings is intended as a complete and objective account of the Indians' brutal attacks against the white race. He even explicitly refuses to wield his rhetorical powers in the description of the emotions which pervaded the protagonist and her friends after hearing the enemies' guns: «...their feelings at this juncture I will not attempt to describe» (96).[2] Bunker Gay's authority as a prominent and respectful figure in the Puritan community seems to answer for the authenticity of the circumstances described. This ethical authority together with the air of genuineness which a first person narrative –the protagonist's– apparently provides should contribute to the creation of a faithful account of events.

However, and in spite of the Reverend's attempts to create the illusion that it is Jemima Howe who is telling us her own story, there is no recognisable transition in the style of both narrators and a dual voice seems to permeate the text, unveiling two conflicting ideologies: on the one hand, that of a religious character, who relies on Providence and who upholds anti-Catholic ideas; and, on the other hand, that of an agnostic person who relies on earthly forces for her own redemption. In spite of the

2. A similar attitude is adopted by Mary Kinnan in her narrative (Derounian Stodola 1998, 110).

continuous sermon-like references to Providence, which is deemed to be accountable for many of the protagonist's circumstances, religion takes a secondary role in Howe's redemption: earthly forces rather than God are responsible for the protagonist's liberation. In fact, the narrator speaks of the role adopted by «several gentlemen of note» in her own deliverance and the recovery of her children.[3]

Not only do the particular traits of the narratorial voice(s) but also a series of formal elements bolster the fictional character of the narrative and bring it closer to the nineteenth century fictional captivity stories.

Firstly, the description of the forces of nature, which contributes to the creation of a more terrifying atmosphere, as a clear reminder of what John Ruskin called «pathetic fallacy»: «we were soon surrounded with darkness. A heavy storm hung over us. The sound of the rolling thunder was very terrible upon the waters . . .» (98).

Secondly, the use of an elaborate grammar and ornamented vocabulary: «The lips of my poor child were sometimes so benumbed, that when I put it to my breast, it could not, till it grew warm, *imbibe the nourishment requisite for its support*» (98), which sometimes are underlined by effective comparisons: «he [her little son] looked . . . like a starved and mangy puppy, that had been wallowing in the ashes» (100).

And thirdly, the use of trite melodramatic devices, both in form: «the Governor de Vandreuil . . . ordered the young and amorous Saccapee . . . *from the field of Venus to the field of Mars*» (102) and content: «hardly knowing many times, how to behave in such a manner as at once to secure my own *virtue*» (1998, 102).[4]

Mary Kinnan's narrative, like the former, is seen as «a prime example of the eighteenth-century Indian captivity narrative as an editorially embellished text, still based loosely in fact, but lacking the spirituality of the early captivities and resisting the wholesale secularism and fictionalization of the later ones» (1998, 107). However, there are certain elements which permit us to doubt the veracity of the whole statement. Although it is undeniable that Mary Kinnan's expression of spirituality largely differs from seventeenth century narratives, it is also evident that her story exploits the rhetorical resources of later fictional accounts remarkably.

On the one hand, the biblical quotations, which aimed at illustrating and reinforcing certain religious beliefs in seventeenth century narratives, have been substituted by Shakespearean references, which contribute to elucidate some of the protagonist's physical and psychological conditions and to enhance the secular dimension of the text: the religious component wanes and more fictional hues tinge the narrative. However, it is worth mentioning that, in spite of the narrator's attempts to exclude both religious allusions and biblical passages from the story, their presence is still revealing. Firstly, from the very beginning, the doctrinal purpose of the narrative is underlined: Mary Kinnan's «history» «will display the supporting arm of

3. «Col. Schuyler in particular was so very kind and generous as to advance 2700 livres to procure a ransom for myself and three of my children. He accompanied and conducted us from Montreal to Albany, and entertained us in the most friendly and hospitable manner a considerable time, at his own house, and I believe entirely at his own expense» (Derounian-Stodola 1998, 104).

4. Italics are mine.

the Divine Providence: it will point to the best and surest support under danger and adversity and it will teach the repiner at little evils to be juster to his God and to himself"» (109). Secondly, a biblical quotation appears in the last paragraph and with it the narrator seems to recapture the spiritual and devoted tone exhibited by the previous women captives by pointing out the beneficial character of Kinnan's own affliction and asking the reader to follow her example and recline «on the bosom of your Father and your God» (116).

On the other hand, the artificiality of Mary Kinnan's style seems to undermine the vigour of her «pathos.» If seventeenth century narratives were pervaded by passionate spiritualism and motherly sufferings, Kinnan's story is imbued with an aimless and irksome rhetoricism which conceals a complete absence of genuine emotions in the description of the protagonist's personal experiences. She even avoids relating her feelings in the description of her husband's and child's scalping and the latter's slaughter: «Spare me the pain of describing my feelings at this scene» (1998, 110).

This artificiality of emotions can be explained by the author's real identity, as Shepard Kollock, the printer of the story, and not Mary Kinnan herself, wrote this account (Voorhees 1928, 154). However, the impression of authenticity and the vividness of detail which the first person narrative provides accounts for Kollock's impersonation. The hyperbolic nature of the literary language used in Jemima Howe's narrative is even more emphasized in this one and clearly anticipates features of later fictionalized accounts. Firstly, the correspondence between certain states of inner anguish and terrible external conditions is made explicit through their metaphorical projection in nature:

> when the arrow of calamity was rankling in my bosom; when I was faint through loss of blood; and without refreshment, without rest. Nature too seemed to conspire against me: the rain descended in torrents; the lightnings flashed dreadfully, and almost without intermission; whilst the thunder rolled awfully on high. (110)

Secondly, there is a disproportional rhetoricism aimed at propagandistic purposes against the British and the Indian peoples:

> O Britain! How heavy will be the weight of thy crimes at the last great day! Instigated by thee, the Indian murderer plunges his knife into the bosom of innocence, of piety, and of virtue; and drags thousands into captivity worse than death. The cries of widows, and the groans of orphans dayly ascend, like a thick cloud, before the judgment-seat of heaven. (113)

Thirdly, there is excessive sentimentalism in the portrayal of certain events, which underlines the deceitfulness of the emotions depicted:

> My child, scalped and slaughtered, smiled even then; my husband, scalped and weltering in his blood, fixed on me his dying eye, which, though languid, still expressed an apprehension for my safety, and sorrow at his inability to assist me; and accompanied the look with a groan that went through my heart. (110)

We are not offered an elaborate account of Mary Kinnan's genuine feelings but a fictionalized report of her personal experiences.

Sarah Wakefield's «Six Weeks in the Sioux Tepees: A Narrative of Indian Captivity» and Emeline L. Fuller's «Left by the Indians. Story of my Life» were classified by Derounian-Stodola as outright works of fiction (1998, xii). However, an elaborate analysis of these stories shows that the term «fiction» applies as much to them as to any of the previous narratives. As Alfonso Reyes states, literature is a verbal fiction of a mental fiction, fiction of fiction.[5] An account of a real event always implies choice and arrangement on the narrator's part. And this is exactly what happens, without exception, in all these women's Indian captivity narratives: a fictionalization of reality through intervention for ideological purposes. The chroniclers tend to colour their narratives in order to persuade the audience of the validity of their principles. As a result, fictionalization is not a distinguishing feature for the last two stories. Although they are less emotionally laden accounts of captivity, both Wakefield's and Fuller's stories comprise most of the distinctive features of previous captivity narratives, thus revealing their hybrid nature.

Apparently, and that is the main difference with regard to the rest of the stories, Sara Wakefield wrote the text herself with no male mediation. The private nature of her initial diary and the absence of a desire for economic profit seem to account for the truthfulness of this narrative. Nevertheless, and despite Wakefield's claims to have written «a *true* statement of [her] captivity» (241), the ethical dimension of the narrator is called into question.

Wakefield's story has always been viewed as a bitter piece of propaganda against the white establishment and in defence of the Indian world. In fact, she is more interested in ethnographic descriptions and acculturation than in presenting the Indians as demonized figures. Moreover, this is the only narrative in which we are given an image of them as human beings: «Many persons say the Indian can not be civilized. I think they can» (244). They are even assigned some positive features: they are Christians able to show charity towards their white captives: «where would the white captives now be if the Christian Indians had not taken an interest in their welfare?» (249). It is the white man who is to be blamed for the Indians's behaviour as «if all these Indians had been properly fed and otherwise treated like human beings, how many, very many innocent lives might have been spared» (248).

Nevertheless, the manipulative rhetoric of the narrator and the conflicting duality of voices which pervade the text lead us to reconsider its anti-white-pro-Indian-propagandistic nature and to suspect the narrator's reliability. On the one hand,

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5. «ficción verbal de una ficción mental, ficción de ficción» (Anderson Imbert 1996, 12).

far from letting the audience reach their own conclusions from the events told, Wakefield attempts to mould and direct their emotions with continuous addresses to their frame of mind: «Just for a moment, my readers, think of a woman at any time, lying in the woods alone, all night. We would all pity a person who was so exposed. Then again think of me, being down in those deep, dark woods» (260).

On the other hand, allusions to the Indians as equal to the white race –«the Indians were as respectful towards me as any white man would be towards a lady . . . some are as manly, honest, and noble *as our own race*» (273)– coexist with references to the former as savages or even monkeys (277). Despite the narrator's indefatigable efforts to offer an unprejudiced portrait of the Indian race, Wakefield takes the role of a God overviewing the Indians' performances and adopts a patronizing attitude towards them. Even though she attempts to present a favourable picture of the Indians, white prejudices tinge the narrative and shape it on her own interest. No matter how humble an attitude she assumes in the beginning –«we, poor, ignorant mortals» (244) for whom the Indian customs are unknown–, the white race standards are always the starting point from which the Indians traditions are judged: «the women have sewed for me, and I have employed them in various ways around my house, and began to love and respect them *as if they were whites*» (247). A condescending approach is masked behind this seemingly positive comment on the abilities of these subdued people: Indians can do things much better than white people but only because the former have been educated by the latter, this being «the good work of the Missionaries» (255, 300).[6]

Her continuous remonstrances about the sufferings she had to bear under the Indian yoke and her extended appeals for understanding reveal the self-justifying nature of her writing: the attack against white civilization and the exoneration of the Indians are accessories to her self-defence. Fear more than any other thing compelled her to act the way she did and once back in the white settlement justification for her pro-Indian attitude was needed: «It was awful the promises I made to kill my own people, but I was nearly crazy . . . Many unthinking captives, hearing me make such remarks, have since published it to the world, causing people to believe I really meant all I said» (274). Her need to survive among the Indians compelled her to lie:

> They said Little Crow was going to destroy all the whites, but would spare all who had Indian blood in them. I made up this story, which I will relate here. I said I was safe, as I was part Indian . . . I said I was about an eighth-breed; that my grabdfather married a squaw many years ago in the west, and took her east, and I was one of her descendants. (289)

6. She does not defend all the Indians but the «civilized Indians». Chaska, her saviour, is very close to the white man: the difference between Chaska and Hapa, the good and the bad, was «the teaching that Chaska had received; although he was not a Christian, he knew there was a God, and he had learned right from wrong» (255).

Thus, her desperate need to ingratiate herself with the white civilization may have driven her to write such a story in which she even revolts against those she is trying to blandish. Wakefield relies on her presentation as a God-fearing person to reinforce the credibility of her narrative. Contrarily to what happened in eighteenth century narratives, religion acquires a relevant function and God adopts a dominant role in the resolution of her personal drama, «trusting that in God's own time I will be righted and my conduct understood, for with Him all things are plain» (313).

As with many previous narratives, Emeline Fuller's chronicle was editorialized by a male minister. The Methodist minister James Hughes implied that the first-person narrative in the story belonged to Fuller (Derounian-Stodola 1998, 317). Again, both *ethos* and *pathos* are used as vindicators of truthfulness and two differing voices seem to pervade the same sphere. Even though Hughes' real authorship can easily account for the detached narratorial attitude towards the events presented, such aloofness can also be explained if we understand the text as «self-interpretation» (Starobinski 1971, 286) on Fuller's part: that is, she evokes her own past and renders an exegetic vision of it from the emotional remoteness that distance in time and space provides. The protagonist's state of mind when saved by the soldiers clearly illustrates the actual mood and tone from which the narrative is written and reflects the fragmentation of the protagonist's inner self after the terrible sufferings she had to endure:

> About ten o'clock in the morning we saw signal fires off a few miles from our camp, and we knew that either they were coming to kill us, or help was close at hand, and . . . *my heart was so benumbed by my terrible sufferings that I hardly cared which it was*. I was alone in the world and had suffered enough in the past few months *to change me from a light-hearted child into a broken-hearted woman*. (332)[7]

Thus, the duality of voices we perceive when dealing with Jemima Howe's narrative is also revealed in Fuller's chronicle: the voice of the male minister advocating the determining role of religion for her salvation and endowing the text with sermon-like reminiscences coexists with the voice of the sufferer doubting the influence of God in her redemption. In spite of the evident absence of religious references and the agnostic scepticism which characterize Fuller's discourse,[8] the mighty voice of the Methodist church cannot but be heard and it finally prevails, when the protagonist acknowledges her conversion to God and to the church and her profound belief in Christ as a «friend that sticketh closer than a brother» (337).

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7. Italics are mine.

8. To Mr Myer's claim of him and his family having been saved from death by prayers, Fuller's voice responds: «I can say that extreme selfishness had more to do with their being saved than prayer . . . Perhaps the good Lord, who is the searcher of all hearts, heeded his selfish prayers, but I would quicker believe that shirking duty and stealing from others was what saved the Myers family» (334).

Despite her final words, the whole narrative shows that religion and God are not consolation enough for all her disgraces. Whereas the seventeenth century stories placed greater emphasis on the role of religion as an instrument of salvation, in Fuller's narrative more prominence is given to family loss and her desire that nobody else should go through the same terrible experience and drink «the awful bitterness of the cup which [she] was forced to drink to the very dregs» (327). Evidently, when trying to portray her suffering she focuses not so much on gory descriptions of Indian attacks and physical ordeals as on the loneliness, despair and psychological constraint in which those attacks result:

> A child of barely thirteen years, and slender in build and constitution, taking a nursing babe of one year, and four other children, all younger than herself, and fleeing for life without provisions and barely clothing enough to cover us, into the pathless wilderness or what is worse yet, across the barren plains of the west. (326-7)

Similarly to Wakefield's narrative, Fuller focuses less on the uncivilized behaviour of the Indians than on the general description of the difficulties she encountered as a frontierswoman in settling down in new territories. Although the atrocities committed by the Indians are important in the development of the story, there is not such a detailed and emotional description of these barbarities as in the seventeenth and eighteenth century texts.

The same can be said of the presentation of her feelings with regard to family ties. There are only two occasions in which the display of her emotions is not devoid of a magnified use of melodramatic fictional devices: «But I shall never forget the tearful faces of my dear old grandparents as they stood at the end of the lane, leading to the road, with tears streaming down their wrinkled faces bid a last adieu to their youngest child and her family» (321) and «if father, mother, brothers and sisters had only been with me, my joy would have been complete; but they were gone, and with all that beauty spread before me, I could not help but turn my longing heart toward them, and weep in my loneliness» (335).

Far from exploiting the fictional devices which characterize the captivity narratives of this period, the story of Fuller's life reminds us of the style of seventeenth century narratives. Perhaps it is the narrator's acknowledgement of the passing of time and the weakness of memory that helps to abate the bitterness of the crude reality she survived and to offer a softer vision of her life: «I write from memory, having kept no diary, and all know that twenty-five years will dim the memory of the past in one's mind» (323).

V. CONCLUSIONS

Both *pathos* and *ethos* become the cornerstone of the women's Indian captivity narratives I have analysed. The captivity narrative conceived as an interior journey

from spiritual death to spiritual rebirth resorts to the emotional appeal of religion and to the ethical identity of a first-person narrator to fulfill its propagandistic purposes and persuade the audience of the validity of a particular ideology.

Initially, captivity narratives showed the ideological interests of the white community, against the Indians, and the result was a demonized picture of the latter. Later on, these narratives moved towards a bitter criticism of white society and a significant emphasis on the ethnographic dimensions of Indian life and traditions. Family dispersal, psychological loss and religion became key issues. Whereas religion is more important in the seventeenth century narratives, its presence wanes in the eighteenth and nineteenth century narratives, where more emphasis is placed on the protagonist's efforts to recover from family dispersal and psychological loss on an interior journey from loneliness and despair to emotional fulfillment.

In these seemingly autobiographical accounts of captivity experiences, the identity of the narrator is aimed to contribute to the veracity and the persuasive power of the story. The figure of a male editor together with the protagonist's first person record of the events grants the necessary air of authority and truthfulness which an autobiographical account (ethical appeal) should convey and supplies the narrative with the cogent effect of the impressive and pervading presence of the sufferer of such torment (emotional appeal).

In spite of Derounian-Stodola's efforts to establish rigid boundaries between the seventeenth, eighteenth and nineteenth century women's Indian captivity narratives, the limits between the three phases are not so clear, especially between the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Although stylistically speaking the differences between seventeenth century texts and those pertaining to other periods are relatively evident,[9] the differences become diluted when comparing eighteenth and nineteenth century narratives. All of them are propagandist and stylistically embellished texts[10] and, in my opinion, fictionalized accounts of real experiences.

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9. At least regarding the hyperbolic presence of religious elements (biblical quotations, metaphors...).

10. But for the excessive presence of biblical quotations, these traits are also shared by seventeenth century narratives.

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