



Visualizing Early American Captivity

Mapping and Graphing Narratives Published Between 1682 -

1800

An Interactive Qualifying Project submitted to the faculty of Worcester
Polytechnic Institute in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the Degree of
Bachelor of Science

On May 26, 2017

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Abstract

This Interactive Qualifying Project used data visualization and mapping to interpret early American captivity narratives from the Evans TCP archive. Using Neatline we developed data point maps to help analyze the deeper context of captivity narratives and how their content was influenced by the time period. Excel was used to develop graphs that supports the data mapped and provided further analysis of the captivity narratives.

This project aims to provide the scholarly community with a tool that will help them understand and contextualize the captivity narrative.

Executive Summary

This IQP sponsored by the American Antiquarian Society examined the application of the digital humanities to analyze encoded texts of captivity narratives published in North America throughout a long eighteenth century. The digital humanities are a field of study concerning the application of computational tools to the humanities, such as data visualization software, geographic information systems, and textual analysis software. This project demonstrates the advantages of using software to visualize the geographical and textual features of the captivity narrative over traditional methods. In particular, the significance between location and time, location and “validity” of narratives, and textual structure vs. the “validity” of narratives. Deliverables like interactive maps, scatter plots, charts, and word clouds were produced, and analysis between these deliverables allowed our group to make claims about both the captivity narrative genre as a whole as well as certain individual narratives like Maria Kittle, Britton Hammon, and James Smith.

The visualizations were created using Neatline, Microsoft Excel, Voyant. These visualizations used data regarding publication dates and locations, liberation dates and locations, abduction dates and locations of both the first edition and reprinted versions of captivity narratives in the Evans TCP and gender. This data was gathered from several main sources: The Evans TCP, the Printer’s File at the American Antiquarian Society, and R.W.G Vail’s book *The Voice of the Old Frontier*.

The captivity narrative is the story of men and women who were taken captive in the eighteenth century. These narratives were broken up into Indian captivity, prisoner of war, and Barbary narratives. Upon studying these narratives as well as other scholarly materials, we found the Barbary narratives to be more closely related to the slavery narratives. For this reason, the Barbary narratives were left out of the data visualizations.

Another genre we looked into as a comparison to the Indian captivity narrative was the slavery narrative. In order to create this collection we used the University of North Carolina's Documenting the American South collection. From here we created a collection of 48 texts so that it was comparable in size to the Evans-TCP. This collection included six female narratives and the remaining were the earliest male narratives. The male narratives also includes eleven execution confession narratives.

The maps created provided locations of liberation, abduction, and publication location of the narratives. Using the maps we were able to find trends in locations of the narratives and find outliers among the archive. Using textual analysis, we found trends in the language of the corpus and found exceptions in particular narratives that differed from the typical captivity narrative. The graphs were used to help support the other visualizations and claims made in this project or by other scholars.

Microsoft Excel was used to create static images that related publication data, liberation data, and gender. Different trends in the data, such as spikes in publication during certain decades, were coupled with scholarly literature to make claims about the captivity narrative as propaganda and analyze the significance of gender. One visualization, a 4 quadrant map relating lag time between liberation and publication and distance between

site of liberation and publication, was saved as an image and implemented into Neatline. An interactive quadrant map that could identify outliers in space and time as well as display information about the captive each point represents.

Textual analysis was done using Voyant with assistance from custom Python scripts. For the analysis we looked into word clouds to see prevalent words within individual narratives and the corpus. Using these terms, we looked into the frequency of the words across the corpus in order to outline trends. Narratives we found occurred at changes in trends were put under scrutiny and analyzed on an individual level. Narratives which had supporting work in other graphs or map were also looked at more deeply.

The analysis started with narratives considered fake such as Maria Kittle's or Jackson Johonnett narratives. In the case of Kittle, it was found that each visualization shows that she is an outlier when compared to the rest of the data. This data helps support the claim that this narrative is fake since it stands out from the rest of the narratives. James Smith was another outlier among the narratives. He was the only redemption POW narrative surrounding Ohio and his narrative was published in Lexington. The only other publication in Lexington was Jackson Johonnett's narrative. After searching secondary sources we found the scholarly community said that while Smith was a real person, the authenticity of his narrative is questioned. This isn't enough to prove the narrative is fake but it clearly supports the claim.

Possibly the most important aspect of this project is that the visualizations are available for use by the scholarly community. Due to time constraints, the analysis performed during this project are limited to what was deemed important by the group.

However, these visualizations allow anyone to perform further analysis beyond the scope of what was discussed in this project report. This required work in separating the authorship and distribution elements of Neatline and Omeka, so that these deliverables could have a life beyond that of the project. The maps that were produced and the description of the methodology of this project can prove useful for future scholars who are interested in creating their own tools for analysis based on Neatline, Microsoft Excel, and Voyant.

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1: INTRODUCTION

Captivity narratives are the stories of men and women who were abducted and forced to travel with their captors against their will, usually for trespassing in enemy territory or for religious or political reasons. Whilst in captivity, the captive experiences a very different and difficult way of life, often being forced to provide labor for the captor and being subject to abuse and humiliation to varying degrees depending on the captor, location, and the circumstances of the captivity. While the captivity narrative genre was not invented in America, many popular narratives that detail colonial and early American captivity, or North American captivity, were written from the late 17th to the 18th century. The appeal of these North American captivities spread across the Atlantic Ocean to England, which inspired a new genre of “fictional” captivity narratives to be written¹. 56 North American captivity narratives are held in the online archives of the Evans Text Creation Partnership, with physical copies found in the American Antiquarian Society. The Evans Text Creation Partnership is a collaboration between the American Antiquarian Society (AAS), Readex, and the Text Creation Partnership not-for-profit organization. The Evans TCP archive contains many more texts than just the captivity narratives, with over 6,000 culturally significant works from 1640 to 1800 being held in their online archives.

¹ Snader, Joe. "Mastering Captivity." in *Caught Between Worlds: British Captivity Narratives in Fact and Fiction*, 127. University Press of Kentucky, 2000. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/j.ctt130j24m.9>.

Most of the captivities in the Evans TCP involve Indian captors taking early Americans or English colonists captive in North America, with several being strictly military related with captives being held by French or British soldiers. A small sample of these texts are accounts of men who were taken by pirates on the coast of North Africa. The North African captivities focus on the captivity, suffering, forced labor, and sale of the captives. The itemization of captives and stationary environment faced by North African captivities can be used to draw parallels between this kind of captivity and slavery in North America. The relationship between North African captivity narratives and slavery narratives, their similarities and differences, and arguments for whether or not they should be classified in separate categories were explored this project.

The American Antiquarian Society is an enormous library of historical texts from early American history. These texts include various broadsides, novels, narratives, letters, and other types of literature that were written in English colonies and early United States from the year 1640 to 1800. For this project, we interacted with the American Antiquarian Society in two main ways. The first is our work helping to encode Ellen Watkins Harper's collection of poems "*Forest Leaves*" into TEI format, an XML-based project for representing texts in digital form. In addition with helping the AAS with the poems, we utilized their vast archive of early American literature and other resources, like the Printer's File, to access important and otherwise hard to obtain information on the narratives, like accurate publication information for the captivity narratives.

The American Antiquarian Society is also interested in the digital humanities. While there is not a single, solid definition on what the term digital humanities means, Robert

Scholes and Clifford Wulfman have provided a loose yet accurate description. In their article "*Humanities Computing and Digital Humanities*" (2008) written in the *South Atlantic Review*, Scholes and Wulfman define digital humanities as "a grand name for something more humble, the use of digital technology in studying--and teaching--the sorts of things the humanities have always conceived as proper objects of study: textual, for the most part."² This definition covers both the studying of humanities using computers, like the use of digital maps and other data visualizations, as well as the teaching of the humanities through digital archives. This project focuses on the visualization of captivity narratives available from the Evans TCP and American Antiquarian society using Geographic Information System software, like Omeka's "Neatline" extension and graphical analysis using Microsoft Excel.

Using Neatline allows data from captivity narratives, like publication location, liberation location, and "lag" time between liberation and publication, to be mapped in both time and space. Neatline uses GIS technology uses software to relate images of places on Earth to data sets and trends. The use of Neatline and other GIS technologies in the humanities is critical to being able to visualize complex trends and to relate data geographically. In addition to visualizing known sets of data, new observations based on geography can be revealed. Using GIS software like Neatline allows for the creation of complex, layered maps that can reveal relationships and spark new conversations between literature and the larger historical context.

² Scholes, Robert, and Clifford Wulfman. "Humanities Computing and Digital Humanities." *South Atlantic Review* 73, no. 4 (2008): 52. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/27784811>.

Excel can produce scatter plots and pie charts that can show important trends between production, time, gender, and publication of the narratives. These visualizations can support other deliverables produced with Neatline or stand on their own. These visualizations can also be saved as photos and used in Neatline, creating interactive charts and graphs that can show more data in an efficient, visually appealing way.

Neatline and Microsoft Excel were used to visualize relationships between gender, publication data, culture, and war between the intriguing genres of captivity and slavery narratives . In addition to relating factors from society and the tales of the captives, there are geographical representations of these men and women’s journeys that give more detail to their journeys. The overall goal of this project is to visualize captivity narratives using Neatline and Excel to explore and discover relationships between geography, society, slavery and the captivity narrative.

2: BACKGROUND

2.1 History and Evolution of the Captivity Narrative genre

The captivity narrative in North America follows the stories of captives who were abducted by Indians. Many of these captivity narratives describe savage behavior and inhumane treatment by their captors. This genre of literature first appeared in North

America at the end of the 17th century, with *The sovereignty and goodness of God*³, the narrative of Mary Rowlandson's captivity.

The sovereignty and goodness of God describes the captivity of Mary Rowlandson from the years 1675 to 1676 during King Phillip's War. A detailed account of her role in her captive's society, her freedoms, and treatment by captives were thoroughly recorded. This account of captivity was extremely popular upon its publication in 1682, being reprinted multiple times within its first year following the initial publication. Several other captivity narratives were published before the beginning of the 18th century, such as Hannah Swarton, Hannah Dustan, and Robert Barrow. The earlier narratives were mainly Indian Captivity narratives with the mode of liberation being redemption.

As the 18th century began, Indian captivity narratives continued to line the shelf while prisoner of war narratives had not yet made a significant appearance. Of the few prisoner of war narratives that were published, the tale of John Williams, was one of the first POW narratives that became popular. The tale of a village raided during the Queen Anne's War and the captivity of a famous pastor along with many other villagers would become one of the most famous tales of North American captivity. Up until about the 1750s and the last major French and Indian War, captivity narratives could primarily be categorized as Indian captivity. During the first half of the 18th century, popularity of the North American captivity narrative was not contained to the English colonies in continental North America. British

³ Mary W. Rowlandson, *The sovereignty and goodness of God, together, with the faithfulness of his promises displayed; being a narrative of the captivity and restauration of Mrs. Mary Rowlandson. : Commended by her, to all that desires to know the Lords doings to, and dealings with her. Especially to her dear children and relations, / Written by her own hand for her private use, and now made publick at the earnest desire of some friends, and for the benefit of the afflicted. ; [Three lines from Deuteronomy]* (Ann Arbor, MI: Text Creation Partnership, 2004-12),

tales of North American captivities were fabricated in England and printed in the early 1700s. The earliest fictional narratives printed in Britain actually regarded Oriental captivity, where the settings of the captivity narratives were in the Middle East⁴ These British tales of North American captivity were almost always fictional, so the publication of these stories and articles were some of the first examples of fabricated captivity narratives.

During the middle of the 18th century, the captivity narrative began to transition from a more Indian Captivity heavy genre to a healthy mixture of Indian Captivity and prisoner of war narratives. Tales of captives who were abducted during the French and Indian War became popular and were printed in larger numbers than in the first half of the century. The narrative of Thomas Brown is one such example of a prisoner of war narrative that was published during this era. While the majority of narratives published during this time period were still largely considered to be genuine accounts of captivity, the popularity of fabricated captivity narratives in England continued to increase⁵.

The allure of a tale that combined fantastical themes based on problems that were all too real in the North American colonies had established itself as a new genre of literature. The majority of literature available at the time being either based largely in fantasy, such as the romances and fantasies that were so popular in the 18th century, or based in reality, such as sciences and other information about the natural world and current events. The fictional

⁴ Snader, Joe. "Mastering Captivity." 127

⁵ Pitcher, E. W. "The Un-American Fiction of "The American Moral & Sentimental Magazine", with a Comment on the "Captivity Narrative"" *Early American Literature* 14, no. 3 (1979): 314-15. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/25070951>.

captivity narrative was able to bridge the gap between the two extremes, presenting a new genre in literature that would ultimately influence the evolution of the novel.

As the 18th century came to a close, the last two decades following the Revolutionary War produced the largest number of captivity narratives of the century. Re-publications of many favorite narratives like Mary Rowlandson and John Williams⁶ were read to the point where they literally fell apart, while the publication of many narratives that involve captives who were liberated decades prior were published for the first time. For example, the narratives of Susannah Johnson and Maria Kittle, who were initially liberated in the 1750s and 1760s, respectively, were printed for the first time in the 1790s. However, several narratives like that of Jackson Johonnet, have received criticism that question their validity as actual accounts of captivity⁷. Maria Kittle's narrative, which was written by Eliza Bleecker, is in fact a novel rather than a genuine account of North American captivity. Validity of several other narratives published in this time period like the captivity narratives of James Smith and the Manheim Family is also questionable based on their word usage and structure.

The captivity narrative continued to be a popular genre in the 19th century. As more wars with the Indians occurred due to westward expansion, more captivity narratives regarding captivities during these wars were published. For example, the Black Hawk War produced multiple captivity narratives. The language used in these narratives, particularly

⁶Sieminski, Greg. "The Puritan Captivity Narrative and the Politics of the American Revolution." *American Quarterly* 42, no. 1 (1990): 35. doi:10.2307/2713224.

⁷Furlong, Patrick J. *Indiana Magazine of History* 83, no. 1 (1987): 85-87. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/27791052>.

the account of Mrs. Hannah Lewis, showed extreme bias towards the Natives⁸. For example, Mrs. Hannah Lewis writes: “Nearly two years now passed since I was forced, from my peaceable habitation, conveyed to a wild wilder ness, and retained by an unmerciful race of being, as their lawful prisoner- -as ten months passed without again seeing my son, I harboured fears that he had either given up the idea of attempting an escape, or that he more probably had been detected in the attempt, and had fallen a victim to savage fury and rage!”. As mentioned earlier, the trend of using language that was highly critical and demonized the Indians became much more common as westward expansion became a focus of America in the 1790s, and continued to be the primary linguistic theme of many captivity narratives in the 19th century.

The increase of popularity of the captivity narrative corresponds with the increase of uncertainty regarding the validity of the narrative. Additionally, the evolution of early novels like Maria Kittle’s captivity show the importance of the evolution of the captivity narrative into a fictional narrative based in reality, which would ultimately evolve into the novel. At the close of the 18th century, this new focus on the captivity narrative as a tool for amusement rather than purely as an account of verified captivity may have been exploited as a tool for propaganda. The use of fictional captivity narratives as propaganda would not have been new to the United States as England had been doing so for decades before America gained independence. The perception of captives in false captivity narratives in England showed the captive as person who went through extreme turmoil at the hands of

⁸ Fisher, Darlene E. "The Captivity Narrative as Propaganda in the Black Hawk War." *OAH Magazine of History* 2, no. 3 (1987): 16-46. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/25162546>.

their captors and wanted nothing more than to return to “civilized” society. False captivity narratives written in America may have served several purposes like justification for violence against Indians during westward expansion or as a way to protect the white American identity. False narratives published in America were similar in structure to those published in Britain but had a slightly different message. While English narratives were focused on maintaining the idea that white society is preferable to Indian society, the American narratives were focused on the preservation of the image of white women. The mixing of races was not socially acceptable, especially with savages, and constantly telling tales of women and men who were abused by savages could have been another use of the fictional captivity narrative in America.

Overall, publication of captivity narratives in America transitioned from mostly Indian Captivity to a mix of Indian Captivity and prisoner of war to a large percentage of prisoner of war captivity narratives. False narratives appeared in both England and America before the end of the 18th century, both having their own uses as propaganda. The development of fictional captivity narratives were a factor in the evolution of the novel as we know it today.

2.2 The Different Kinds of Captivity Narratives

This project focuses on the analysis captivity narratives that are available on the Evans TCP and the American Antiquarian Society. Since reading the archived captivity narratives and reading scholarly literature on captivity narratives will be the main sources of research for this project, having a solid understanding of what captivity narratives are is vital.

In his article *The Indian Captivity*⁹(1943), Phillips D. Carleton defines the Indian captivity generally as the capture or attempted capture of a party by Indians. Carleton goes on to postulate that many of these narratives were so popular because of the excitement they provide as a non fictional piece of literature. He further explains that this type of literature can tell the account of an ordinary man experiencing extraordinary circumstances, like a farmer who opened his barn early in the morning expecting to greet his worker, but instead met six savages. Most narratives follow the structure of capture, travel and containment with the captors, and the eventual climax of the escape or redemption of the captive. This general plot structure suggests that the Indian captivity genre is so interesting because a real person overcame extreme odds and triumphed over the demons who had taken them.

The Evans TCP archive contains 56 captivity narratives, most being North American captivities. These works can be further divided into three categories: Indian captivity narratives, Prisoner of War captivity narratives, and Barbary captivity narratives. Indian captivity narratives are narratives where a man, woman, or a family are abducted by Native Americans. The Prisoner of War narratives are accounts of soldiers or other members of the military who had been taken by Indians or Indian allied soldiers during times of war. Barbary narratives are narratives involving the captivity of men and women captured along the coast of North Africa, usually related to the Barbary slave trade.

Oftentimes, these Barbary narratives involve the captive experiencing many of the same horrors that African Americans experienced during American slavery. Captives were

⁹ Carleton, Phillips D. "The Indian Captivity." *American Literature* 15, no. 2 (1943): 169. doi:10.2307/2920419.

bought and sold in the Barbary slave trade, experienced daily beatings, and were forced to work with little food and water. The captive was treated as a slave, and was the property of his or her master. Now, the captive is dependent on the master for almost every resource, so they had two options: either submit to their captors or try to escape into a foreign land with the large chance of being recaptured. This section will highlight the dominant themes of each narrative subset and further discuss the similarity between slavery and captivity.

2.2.1 North American Captivity

A majority of the captivity narratives in the Evans TCP archive are North American captivity narratives, which include POW and Indian captivity narratives. Indian attacks on villages that resulted in the abduction of civilians from their homes, towns, or settlements will be the focus of Indian captivity. Prisoner of War narratives could be classified as Indian captivity narratives as well, with the main difference between the two being a direct tie between a war or military expedition being the motivation for the captivity.

When the Indians took captives it was usually after attacking a village. Tribes would rush in killing men, women and children, taking scalps as trophies and burning down homes. Many give accounts of the brutality of these attacks, seeing infants killed in the arms of their mothers, men disemboweled. Not all were killed in these attacks though; survivors of the initial assault were often taken captive. The Indians were not very selective as to who they would take. Men, women, and children were all taken, but those who were unable or unwilling to travel in captivity would often be killed without a second thought.

The captives were often treated as subhuman servants along their journeys, where they were forced to travel great distances with their captors. Some traveled with injuries and other while caring for infants or children. The treatment of the captive depended greatly on the captor. In Mary Rowlandson's *The sovereignty and goodness of God*, Rowlandson wrote "with my wounded Child in my lap, and there being no furniture upon the horse back; as we were going down a steep hill, we both fell over the horses heads, at which they like inhumane creatures laugh, and rejoiced to see it."¹⁰ In Elizabeth Hanson's narrative, *God's Mercy Surmounting Man's Cruelty* (1728), she wrote "we went up some very high Mountains so steep, that I was forc'd to creep up on my Hands and Knees, under which Difficulty the Indian my Master, would mostly carry my Babe for me, which I took as a great Favour of God that his Heart was so tenderly inclined to assist me, tho' he had, as is said, a very heavy Burden of his own."¹¹ They were forced to travel with little food and soaked clothes, until they reached their destination. In most cases they were brought to an Indian village. Once the captives arrived at the village they usually stayed for months or years. The treatment of the captives differs in each captivity narrative but all seem to highlight the cruelty of the Indians to different degrees. Many accounts refer to the Indians as savages, and many captives go further describing their captors as inhumane, as devils, or as creatures. Most of the captives were expected to work while held by the Indians, expected to perform simple

¹⁰ Rowlandson 7-8.

¹¹ Elizabeth Hanson, *God's mercy surmounting man's cruelty, exemplified in the captivity and redemption of Elizabeth Hanson, wife of John Hanson, of Knoxmarsh at Keacheachy, in Dover township, who was taken captive with her children, and maid-servant, by the Indians in New-England, in the year 1724. : In which are inserted, sundry remarkable preservations, deliverances, and marks of the care and kindness of Providence over her and her children, worthy to be remembered. / The substance of which was taken from her own mouth, and now published for a general service* (Ann Arbor, MI: Text Creation Partnership, 2004-08), 9-10.

tasks like gathering wood for fire. Failure to perform their tasks would result in beatings and deprivation of resources like food and water. Sometimes, the captive would not be provided food, and would have to hunt for himself and the tribe holding him captive. When food was scarce for the Indians, or captives were disobedient, the captive would usually get the scraps the tribe had left over. The guts of animals and other portions that did not offer nutritional value would be all the captive had to eat. Some narratives involve the captive being beaten by the Indians for disobedience, or “just for fun”. Most captives are threatened with death and are provided with minimal shelter.

The treatment is much different for someone who holds value to the Indians. If there was someone willing to pay for their release, they could be sold to the family or sometimes the French. If they are to get their reward, their captive needs to remain alive. This means they will provide food and while they may still abuse their captive they will not kill them. Some accounts even mention Indians keeping captives for marriage. One of Elizabeth Hanson’s daughters was held by an Indian woman planning to marry her to her son. Since she was not held for profit, the family was unable to purchase her from her captors.¹²

Those who feared death at the hands of their captors or had no other hope for redemption were forced to escape. In most narratives the two options for escape are sneak away or kill your captors. Isaac Hollister was held in an Indian village along with a Dutchman. Obviously outnumbered they decided the only escape was to run off while gathering

¹² Hanson, *God's mercy surmounting man's cruelty*, 35-36

firewood¹³. On the other hand, there are examples where small parties of captives successfully revolt against their captors. In *A narrative of the capture of certain Americans, at Westmorland, by savages; and the perilous escape which they effected, by surprizing specimens of policy and heroism. To which is subjoined, some account of the religion, government, customs and manners of the aborigines of North-America*, the narrative of Moses Van Campen and several others, a small party was held by only 10 Indians¹⁴. Though slightly outnumbered they successfully overthrew their captors. While their Indian captors slept, the men freed themselves from their bindings, stole their captor's guns and tomahawks, and killed their captors.

The captives that do manage to escape still face many hardships. If they did escape they know the Indians will be trying to track them and, if caught, expect torture and death. They also need to keep from starving or in some cases freezing while traveling. Many leave with little or nothing in the way of food or weapons for hunting. Most are usually able to live off nuts, berries, or tree bark and sometimes find an animal carcass to keep them sustained. Others are forced to escape in winter with little to no footwear. They are willing to risk their lives to escape the Indian captors because it's their only option. Due to this high level of risk involved during the escape, our group did not define the captive as being completely liberated until the captive returned to a populated city.

¹³ Isaac Hollister, *A brief narration of the captivity of Isaac Hollister, who was taken by the Indians, anno Domini, 1763. / Written by himself.* (Ann Arbor, MI: Text Creation Partnership, 2007-10), 3.

¹⁴ Moses Van Campen, *A narrative of the capture of certain Americans, at Westmorland, by savages; and the perilous escape which they effected, by surprizing specimens of policy and heroism. To which is subjoined, some account of the religion, government, customs and manners of the aborigines of North-America* (Ann Arbor, MI: Text Creation Partnership, 2007-10), 6-13.

Many captivity narratives in the Evans TCP archive include a preface written by someone of high standing in the church. These prefaces may be added to the texts for political reasons. Some even go as far to say the narrative is reasoning to eliminate the Indians. Many believe that gender plays an important role in the reasoning behind the publication of so many narratives. Comparing the percentage of men and women with a preface written by someone of power could show that one genders narrative would be more effective at pushing political and religious rhetoric. If the data we find supports it, this could help expand on the idea that the female captive narrative was a powerful tool used to demonize the Indians.¹⁵

June Namias's *White Captives: Gender and Ethnicity on the American Frontier* (1993), provided another aspect of the captivity narrative to focus on. The beginning of this book examines the differences between male and female captives. Treatment was an area of focus. One comparison of note was who was tortured. *White Captives* point out that men were usually the one tortured but this was not always the case. Some men were even accepted among the tribes that held them captive.

This provides us with another way to try to analyze texts. Analyzing the number of texts that include male torture compared to the number of texts containing female torture could give more insight to the treatment of captives based on gender and help support June Namias' claims. The narratives that include acts of torture could also be further analyzed by how the captive refers to their captor. Narratives with accounts of torture may refer to their

¹⁵ Teresa A Toulouse, *The Captive's Position : Female Narrative, Male Identity, and Royal Authority in Colonial New England* (PA: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2013), 1-5.

captors using terms like inhumane or demons more so than one without accounts of torture or violence.¹⁶

Julie Rehbock's master thesis aimed to analyze particular words or phrases used by the captive that could give insight to their view of their captives. One example of this is looking for the use of "we" or "us" when speaking about their captives. Using words like "that" could give insight on the way they saw themselves among their captives. Using words like "this" show the captive felt like a part of the tribe as compared to a captive alone among the Indians. Using this technique we could try to read deeper into the captivity narratives to find instances of this and other phrases that could be used to better categorize the narratives. Analyzing the narratives and comparing how many narratives include instances of what we would consider acculturation may provide a source of data visualization that could help explain the relationships between captive and captor.¹⁷

The second subset of North American captivity narratives are the prisoner of war narratives. The distinguishing characteristics of a prisoner of war captivity narrative are the abduction of colonial soldiers in Indian territory, the abduction of civilians from an English settlement during the time of war, and the captivity of men and women primarily for political reasons. Oftentimes, these narratives overlap with the larger subset of Indian captivity narratives. These narratives span the entire timeline of the archive, with the very first entry being *The sovereignty and goodness of God* account of Mary Rowlandson's

¹⁶ June Namias, *White Captives: Gender and Ethnicity on the American Frontier* (Chapel Hill, NC: The University of North Carolina Press, 1993), 21-84.

¹⁷ Julie Rehbock, "Women and Indians in the 1800s: captivity narratives as fact and fiction" (master's thesis, San Jose State University, 1989), 51-52.

captivity during King Phillip's War in 1675 to the account Matthew Bunn's captivity, which began in 1791.

Separating the Indian captivities from the prisoner of war captivities can get difficult. Since the location of the narrative and race of the captors are essentially the same between the two subsets, our group has decided to categorize the prisoner of war narratives as captivities that occur during times of war. There are two kinds of prisoner of war captivities; those where a soldier is captured and those where a civilian is captured. Thomas Brown's narrative, which follows the journey of a soldier whose squad got ambushed by Indians during an expedition¹⁸, would be an example of a soldier prisoner of war. Civilian prisoner of war narratives are those that involve the Indian invasion and pillaging of a village during war times such as Maria Kittle's¹⁹ captivity.

Generally, soldier prisoner of war narratives tend to be pretty brutal. Usually, the soldier is captured after getting defeated in battle, ambushed by Indians, or straying too far from the rest of his squad. The horrors of captivity seem to be well known to those in the army. For example, Thomas Brown's commanding officer, Captain Spikeman, pleads a tomahawk so he can kill himself in order to avoid capture.²⁰ Those who do make the decision to surrender to the enemy witness the cruelty of the Indians early in their journey. Most narratives detail the murder of a weak or disabled companion since they cannot continue on

¹⁸ Brown, *Deliverance of Thomas Brown*, 5

¹⁹ Bleecker, *The History of Maria Kittle*, 7,8

²⁰ Brown, *Deliverance of Thomas Brown*, 7

their own. One of Jackson Johonnet's²¹ fellow captives was unable to continue on due to injury and lack of resources, so he was stabbed multiple times and scalped. The soldiers who made it to the settlement usually endured frequent beatings and lack of food and water. Abuse and embarrassment of the captives for entertainment are common traits in soldier POW. Civilian prisoner of war narratives are still cruel, but the captives are treated more as servants rather than slaves. This means that they have some control over the beatings they received, as productive work and cooperation can lead to less violence.

The brutality that a soldier captive faces when they arrive on an Indian settlement usually depends on whether or not he the Indians that captured him are allied with the French. If the Indians are working with the French, then the prisoner would be treated more humanely than one taken strictly by savages. This is because the captive served as a source of information or bargaining chip with the colonial army. A famous example of a prisoner of war narrative that focused around the use of a captive as a "bargaining chip" would be John Williams. During the Queen Anne's War, John Williams was taken from Deerfield as a consequence of the English colonists capturing Pierre Masionnat dit Baptiste. The reason he was targeted was because he was seen as a man of equal value of Baptiste, and the French colonies wanted to exchange prisoners²². In other cases, soldiers are that are captured by Indians allied with the French are held in prisons and pestered for information on the

²¹ *The remarkable adventures of Jackson Johonnet, of Massachusetts; who served as a soldier in the western army, in the Massachusetts line, in the expedition under General Harmar, and the unfortunate General St. Clair. : Containing an account of his captivity, sufferings, and escape from the Kickapoo Indians.* (Ann Arbor, MI :: Text Creation Partnership, 2007-10.)

²² Squires, Austin W. "Biography-MAISONNAT, Baptiste, PIERRE-Volume II (1701-1740)" http://www.biographi.ca/en/bio/maisonnat_pierre_2E.html (accessed December 15, 2016)

colonial army. Regardless of whether these efforts provide information, the prisoners are treated fairly well compared to prisoners held by Indians not allied with France, although they were still deprived of food and shackled in irons²³. The captive also had the same kind of influence over beatings he received that civilian prisoners of war had to an extent, receiving less beatings the more he cooperated.

When Indians that are not allied to the French soldiers, the captive would face a much worse fate. With no practical reason to keep the prisoner alive, the savage community would treat their new captive as a tool for labor and entertainment. For example, Matthew Bunn was taken in 1791 after straying too far from his group and getting surrounded by savages. He endured frequent, unwarranted beatings from the Indians and was denied food and water for extended periods of time during his captivity. When he first arrived at the Indian settlement, he race across town to a house and endure beatings along the way. He was beaten so badly that he could barely see anything but the blood pouring down from his head.²⁴ After this initiation, Bunn was frequently tormented by the children of the village who tested their makeshift weapons on him as well. Bunn's only uses for the savages were hard labor and amusement. Captivities where a soldier is held by Indians without influence from French soldiers demonstrate how evil the savages could be.

A difference between the soldier and civilian POW narratives is level of acculturation that the captive achieved with the tribe that took them. Acculturation is when a captive begins to accept and practice the culture of those who capture him or her. This tends to

²³ Brown, *Deliverance of Thomas Brown*, 15

²⁴ Bunn, *A Journal of the Adventures of Matthew Bunn*, 9

happen almost regularly in the civilian POW narratives, but never in the soldier POW narratives. A reason for this may be that soldiers in POW narratives are viewed by Indians as persons intent on destroying their society. In civilian POW narratives, the civilian is given the chance because they are not seen as a threat to their culture. They are not treated as equals, but as servants of the Indians, yet are given the opportunity to travel and sometimes earn money for themselves²⁵. An extreme example of this merging of the civilian with the Indian society would be the tale of Eunice Williams. As Audra Simpson mentions in her journal article *From White Into Red: Captivity Narratives as Alchemies of Race and Citizenship*²⁶, Eunice was not merely adjusting to life in captivity, but ended up fully embracing life with the Mohawks and became part of the tribe herself. She was not treated as a respected servant, but an equal that was fully accepted as a Mowhawk. Simpson says that Eunice Williams' captivity was "consensual", which allowed for complete assimilation into Indian society.

2.2.2 North African Captivity Narratives

As a literary genre, Barbary captivity captured the imagination of America vividly between the years of 1785, when two American ships became the first to succumb to capture at the hands of Algerian forces, and 1815, when the success of the Second Barbary War marked the end of Algerian piracy as a major concern for US shipping.²⁷ For the

²⁵ Rowlandson, *The sovereignty and goodness of God*, 25

²⁶ Simpson, Audra. "From White into Red: Captivity Narratives as Alchemies of Race and Citizenship." *American Quarterly* 60, no. 2 (2008): 251-57. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/40068532>.

²⁷ Peskin, Lawrence A.. 2010;. *Captives and countrymen: Barbary slavery and the American public, 1785-1816*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press.

purposes of this project—to distinguish it from prisoner of war and Indian captivity narratives—we'll define a Barbary narrative to be strictly naval, and the captors must be operating from North Africa. The main motivation for sea captivities was monetary, that is, captives were often taken with the expectation that they would be ransomed back by their government, and the money would go into the coffers of the pirates or the Ottoman empire. Although the new American government made it a policy not to ransom captives taken in this way,²⁸ communities—most often churches—rallied together to ransom their members that had been taken.²⁹

And in fact the religious aspect of the early American community is key to understanding some aspects of Barbary captivity. Put into the context of a wider Islamic vs Christian conflict, Barbary captives were often pressured to convert or, as it became known in the states, “turn Turk”, in order to gain favor or freedom amongst their new captors. The ones who did however, were less likely to return and, upon return, less likely to write their narratives. Therefore, most of the Barbary narratives available to us are explicitly framed in the context of religious persecution, and the oppression of Christianity.³⁰ This—like in other captivity narratives—becomes a defining feature of the genre. The contrast between the human suffering of Christians and the inhuman, “monstrous” behavior of the un-Christian

²⁸ Peskin, p. 3

²⁹ Although not always with the most noble of motives—along with legitimate fundraising there was also a spate of “Algerian Prisoner Fraud”, notable enough that George Washington even spoke out against it

³⁰ Baepler, Paul. "The Barbary Captivity Narrative in American Culture." *Early American Literature* 39, no. 2 (2004): 217-246. <https://muse.jhu.edu/> (accessed December 13, 2016).

Africans draws attention to and reinforces the conception of civilization as an intrinsically Christian creation in the new American republic. The cities and empires of the Ottomans and Moors are dismissed, downplayed, and distorted in order to emphasize their distance from civilization.

And, of course, it's impossible to ignore the racial dimension to the Barbary narrative. As succinctly summarized by the title of Paul Baepler's article *White Slaves, African Masters*, the Barbary narrative is often situated as an inversion of the standard American slave narrative. However, as Baepler points out, this is a disingenuous comparison at best. To begin with, while the treatment of white slaves on pirate ships was abysmal, they were there because they had ventured into danger on entrepreneurial missions or military conquests. Furthermore, white slaves on the Barbary coast were very often ransomed—redeemed, in the parlance of the captivity narrative—a process which reunited them with their family. However, freedom for a black American slave often required abandoning their families, or at least breaking family ties, and still living under racism. In general, white slaves had a “normal life” to go back to after their captivity. The characters of slave narratives don't get that luxury.

However, this doesn't preclude the fact that the Barbary narratives were often used in comparison during the discussion of slavery in the US in the public discourse of the time. Often, they were used to justify slavery, using the (oft conflated) racial and religious approaches earlier described. However they were also, albeit rarely, used to argue for abolition in the US, with writers using the public outrage around Barbary captivity to argue that the support of slavery was hypocritical, when their own were being enslaved across the

sea. In all, Barbary narratives were one of the most popular literary genres at the time, and an incredibly attractive concept to a young nation whose public rhetoric was focused intently on ideas of liberty and slavery.

2.2.3 Slavery Narratives

A genre that deserves to be discussed separately when examining the broad category of captivity narratives is its close cousin, the slave narrative. Both types of narratives were prevalent throughout the colonial period in North America. When evaluating whether or not we believe that slave narratives should be enveloped under the same umbrella as the captivity narrative, there must first be some criteria considered. One way to delve into the interpretation of whether they should be considered separate and distinct narratives is to examine the differences between the two groups and determine if those differences are significant.

Slaves were subjected to distinct actions from their owners that clearly sought to establish their subservience. Slave owners limited the language their slaves could speak in. By doing this, slave owners limited the potential for ideas to flow throughout slave communities. Slave owners also often demanded to be referred to by titles such as General or Colonel, emphasizing their superior status simply by the way they were routinely addressed.³¹ In the Indian captivity narratives, the captives do not mention being forced to speak a language or having their language limited, nor do they refer to their captors with

³¹ Sekora, John. "Black Message/White Envelope: Genre, Authenticity, and Authority in the Antebellum Slave Narrative." *Callaloo*, no. 32 (1987): 482-515. doi:10.2307/2930465.

words that signify their captors as having a higher social status than themselves. With this metric, the slave narrative begins to differentiate itself from the captivity narrative.

In fact, the slave narrative is consistently a more oppressive version of the captivity narrative, which can be demonstrated by instances of people taken captive by pirates and sold into slavery. An excellent example of this was Robert Morecock. In the *“Elizabethan Documents, Captivity Narratives, and the Market for Foreign History Plays,”* Knutson says that Morecock was taken from his ship. From there he was sold through several different slave markets along the Mediterranean, such as Cofu and Bizarta. After meeting a captain, Knuck quotes Morecock as having gotten on his knees and “begging to redeem him from his captivity.”³² Knuck also refers to these as captivity narratives and explains that this experience is similar to what would have occurred in other Barbary narratives in areas like Dunkirk or Spain. According to Knuck, many of these captivity narratives involved the search for ransom or the intention to place the captive in slavery.

Another area to explore when distinguishing the slavery narrative from the captivity narrative is the state of race relations at the time. One piece of slave narrative presented by Sekora is *“A Narrative of the Uncommon Sufferings, and Surprising Deliverance of Briton Hammon, A Negro Man...”*³³ This is considered a slave narrative as it was written by a black slave working on a ship off the coast of Florida. After he became a castaway, he was taken by Indians as a captive for thirteen years. Over this period of time, he describes “the horrid

³² KNUTSON, ROSLYN L. "Elizabethan Documents, Captivity Narratives, and the Market for Foreign History Plays." *English Literary Renaissance* 26, no. 1 (1996): 75-110. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/43447510>.

³³ Sekora, p, 482

Cruelty and inhuman Barbarity of the Indians in murdering the whole Ship's Crew," as the printing press in Boston wrote. In this narrative, Sekora says that he only uses fourteen pages to describe explicitly what happens and chooses to allow his "betters" to interpret what those facts mean. Another narrative that occurred at a similar time was by Thomas Brown, a white man from New England. The title of this article regards the men killed and taken as heroes saying how he was left for dead on the field of battle and was wounded. Generally, captivity narratives that feature white people as the captured, present the captive in a noble light and discuss the terrible situation the captive is in. In contrast, however, when a slave is captured, the narrative presents the captive in a different light, as inferior.

The social status of the writer also distinguishes the slave narrative from the captivity narrative. In the case of an uneducated black slave, relative to the slave masters and those printing the book, the narrative is used much more as a tool to drive the slave master's narrative, and the literature itself tends to be more simplistic in its description. Meanwhile, the white man, who might have experienced a struggle for far fewer years than the black man, was exalted and glorified by the press and was able to present his story and interpret it using his own words and ideas.

Another characteristic that could potentially distinguish the slavery narrative from the captivity narrative is the duration of time the captive is expected to be the possession of the captor and the nature of the captive's narrative. Slaves could be considered those subservient at the outset to their captors, and continued to be throughout the relationship, with the main purpose of performing work and providing service.

Most captivity narratives result in the redemption of the captive by the end of the narration. In slavery, however, this is often not the case. Slavery often was a process that often took multiple generations as opposed to an event which may have varied in duration from several days to years. When referring to slavery, Brooks words it as being in “cruel and inhuman bondage without any days of rest.” He continues to refer to their plight as being labor intensive and harsh.³⁴ In many captivity narratives, forced labor is not the focal point of the narrative.

There are several significant differences that distinguish the slave narrative from the broader captivity narrative. These differences highlight the lower social status of the slave and the harsh nature of their captivity, centered on the expectation of hard work. Most importantly, the slave narrative is one of ownership of another human being, not just captivity.

2.3 Archival Resources

A large part of the reading and research done for this project was done using the Evan’s Text Creation Partnership and bibliographical tools like R.W.G Vail’s *The Voice of the Old Frontier*. Jstor and Ebrary are both databases of scholarly and articles and resources

³⁴Brooks, Francis. “Barbarian cruelty. Being a true history of the distressed condition of the Christian capitol under the tyranny of Mully Ishmael Emperor of Morocco, and King of Fez and Macqueness in Barbary. : In which is likewise given a particular account of his late wars with the Algerines. The manner of his pirates taking the Christians and others. His breach of faith with Christian princes. A description of his castles and guards, and places where he keeps his women, his slaves and negroes. : With a particular relation of the dangerous escape of the author, and two English men, more from thence after a miserable slavery of ten years.” Ann Arbor, MI :: Text Creation Partnership: 2006-02 .
<http://name.umdl.umich.edu/N00751.0001.001>

that were used to gain support from the scholarly community for claims made in this project. Jstor is owned by ITHAKA, a company focused on using digital techniques to archive scholarly articles. Ebrary is an archive of scholarly ebooks. Access to both of these resources are provided by the WPI Gordon Library.

2.3.1 Evans TCP

The Evans TCP gives the public access to their archive of electronic texts. The hope is that allowing access to the texts will give various projects an easily accessible source of data. The TCP texts contain early print books from the eighteenth century England and America, but our focus will be on using Evans Early American Imprints for our Interactive Qualifying Project.

Evans Early American Imprints Collection contains roughly forty thousand texts written between 1640 and 1800. Evans TCP is partnership between the TCP, NewsBank/Readex Company, and the American Antiquarian society who sought to make these texts easier to access. Evans TCP's goal was to take the most studied texts in the Evans Early American Imprints Collection and convert the texts into electronic texts. Through the Evans TCP partnership six thousand electronic texts were encoded by hand, not software, and made available online. Although time consuming, encoding the texts by hand ensures highly accurate texts are available and allows for improved searches of texts. In order to select the electronic texts that should be in the Evans TCP database the American

Antiquarian Society, along with scholars and specialists, decided which texts should be included in the database.³⁵

Evan TCP's text archives are simple to use. Since the database contains such a large number of electronic texts, Evans TCP made finding a desired text easy. Multiple methods of searches are available to the user including simple, Boolean, proximity, and citation searches. If the user isn't searching for a particular text or group of texts the browse option is available. This allows the user to organize the entire collection of texts by author, title, or subject and separate the texts in alphabetical order. The list of texts contain an impressive list under the subject headings. Some of the larger collections of texts are Bookseller's advertisements, literature related to religion, execution sermons, literature related to Great Britain, and many more subjects containing over one hundred electronic texts.

Originally the database was only available privately. Any member of the Evan TCP partnership had access to the Evans texts. As of June 30, 2014 the Evans TCP Partnership has decided to make the texts available to the public. Their goal was to allow anyone access to the texts without needing to go through a member of the partnership for access. Now anyone can download any of the texts in the TCP archive from their home. This gives the scholarly community a simple tool that anyone can use for research, in the classroom, or just a general interest in eighteenth century American life

³⁵Text Creation Partnership, "Evans-TCP: Evans Early American Imprints," Text Creation Partnership , Access Date: November 2016, <http://www.textcreationpartnership.org/tcp-evans/>.

2.3.2 Scholarly Resources

Jstor is a digital library that was created in 1995 of that contains, academic journals and scholarly articles and excerpts from texts that review other literature. For this project, the academic journals and reviews were used as a secondary source to the Evans TCP. Jstor is such a valuable tool for scholarly research because it allows access to a vast amount of information that is otherwise difficult to find online, such as reviews of important text by other scholars. These reviews allow scholars to piggyback off of the interpretations and findings of other scholars, allowing for new questions to be brought to the reader's mind.

One of the main sources for secondary literature was Ebrary. Ebrary is a digital library containing electronic versions of texts that are available online. As students enrolled at WPI we have access to the texts contained in the library. Ebrary allows us to search for materials related to captivity narratives and helps narrow the search by showing only the selected genre of texts. Using ebrary we will be able to search for literature on research that has already been done relating to captivity narratives. Using this literature, we are able to examine other methods of research and look for methods that will improve our research while avoiding methods we believe did not work. Other secondary sources for literature, such as R.W.G Vail's *The Voice of the Old Frontier* may be used besides ebrary or Jstor but these will be the primary sources along with the American Antiquarian Society's library.

2.4 Digital Humanities

Digital humanities is the blanket term given to the use of computers to store, spread, and analyze humanities data. Digital archives like the Evans TCP contain historic literature that can be accessed by the public. These archives, which can be used for personal research or teaching, are coded using TEI, a type of language for XML developed specifically for the scholarly community. The discussion of humanities through social media and online forums can also be considered digital humanities³⁶. Essentially, the term “digital humanities” is a term used to describe the discussion, analysis, and visualization of humanistic data either online or using software.

In addition to the use of archives for education and research, visualization software can be used to present and analyze data in new ways. GIS software is a group of software that uses satellites to link places on a digital map to images of their real life coordinates. Neatline is an example of this software. Microsoft excel is another data visualization software that can be used for graphing trends between data. Excel is easy to learn and use, and provides a different, more contextual kind of analysis than the mapping software.

2.4.1 Digital Humanities Text Encoding

Our project works heavily with TEI-encoded texts and sources. TEI is a type of structured text markup for the Digital Humanities that was developed to meet the growing

³⁶ “Digital Humanities: The Expanded Field”. Accessed May 4, 2017.
<http://dhdebates.gc.cuny.edu/debates/2>

need for a standardized communication language between scholars. TEI was developed in 1987 out of a need to standardize the encoding process for digital texts, but it also has been maintained and is under active development—with the latest stable release being version 3.1.0, released on December 15th, 2016³⁷. It uses a technology called XML to define a hierarchical markup language that allows for the both the marking of features in the source text beyond just the content itself (handwriting, rendition, footnotes) and the establishment of the semantics of that content itself, in a machine-readable format that allows future work with that text to have access to rich content details. For example, listing every place name mentioned in a properly annotated text would be a trivial program to write, and further processing (Which places are mentioned most often? Do authors from similar locations have similar frequency of mentioned place names?) can be done from there.

Compared to other, non-specialized, languages such as EPUB, HTML, RTF, or just plain text, TEI allows for the encoding of specific semantic information relevant to the text at hand, rather than either exclusively rendition information (as is the case with RTF and most EPUB files) or semantic information that isn't necessarily relevant to historical texts, such as HTML. In contrast, TEI provides many high-level semantic tags to enable the procedural analysis of many different texts with a common format.

TEI was built out of a need for a standard text-encoding format. Prior to TEI, each organization was encoding their own texts with their own specific format. That meant that if you wanted to compare texts encoded by two different organizations, you would have to

³⁷ Text Encoding Initiative. "TEI P5 version 3.1.0 release notes" [tei-.org
http://www.tei-c.org/release/doc/tei-p5-doc/readme-3.1.0.html](http://www.tei-c.org/release/doc/tei-p5-doc/readme-3.1.0.html) (accessed December 16, 2016)

write specific code to convert from one format to the other, and that code would grow exponentially with the amount of formats you wanted to convert between. Furthermore, some of those formats were proprietary, and were a detriment to the broader community because they were harder to access, work with, and tied to the lifetime of one particular company. In contrast, TEI was designed to be extensible enough for individual organizations to add their own elements, if necessary, while still maintaining overall compatibility with other TEI texts.

2.4.2 Data Visualization

Data visualization is a method used to represent information visually using computer software. Many different softwares can be used to visualize humanities, including Geographic information systems, which is used to analyze humanistic data related to geography and mapping, as well as Microsoft Excel, which can produce graphs and charts that can visualize data quantitatively.

A GIS, or geographic information system, is a technology that is used to capture, store, and display data that is related to places on Earth's surface.³⁸ In other words, GIS technology can take a picture or data and display it on a map. This technology has many uses in the fields of science, engineering, and more recently humanities because of the simple way images and data are combined to form a visualization of patterns and trends that otherwise may have been hard to see.

³⁸ Caitlyn Dempsey. "History of GIS." GISlounge.com
<https://www.gislounge.com/history-of-gis/> (accessed December 15, 2016)

Microsoft Excel is a versatile software that is used in many different fields. Whether it be used to organize data in spreadsheets or solve equations, excel has established itself as useful technology across the board. Not only is excel versatile, but learning only the basics can go a long way in providing valuable data for analysis. Knowing only the basics allows for visualization using tools like pie graphs and scatter plots. Making complex and layered plots are another reason excel is a great choice. Since this project is focused on mapping and visualizing captivity narratives to relate them to other trends and norms during the timeframe of the narrative, easily being able to add different data sets to relate places, quantities, and more specific data like percentages all on one graph is a crucial feature for the software of our choice. Since it is simple to use, versatile, and provides many different options for data visualization, excel will be used to create charts and graphs for this project.

Using Neatline, Voyant, and Excel, our group hopes to discover trends between publication time and location, liberation time and location, production, gender, and language. These trends will be used to infer the use of the captivity narrative as propaganda, the extent of acculturation based on gender and subset, the defining characteristics of fake and fictional narratives, and the overall relationship between the captivity narrative and gender.

2.4.3 Other Projects Used as Resources and Guides

While structuring this project report and deciding on the software to use to visualize the historical data, our group researched other projects as guides. Daniel Boudreau and

Bryan MacDonald submitted the IQP “A New Commonwealth Votes³⁹” in 2013, which dealt with the visualization of election results in the state of Massachusetts from the years 1798-1800. Boudreau and Macdonald worked with both our advisor, Professor Cocola, as well as the American Antiquarian Society. The positive response this project received from both parties influenced our group to format our proposal in a similar format to Boudreau and MacDonald’s final report. In particular, this project was especially useful because it provided our group with a better idea of what kinds of background and methodological information that our advisor and sponsor would expect from a project of this magnitude.

Another influential project that is on the AAS website is “James Fenimore Cooper: Shadows and Substance⁴⁰”, which was produced by Ashley Cataldo. This project displays James Cooper’s manuscripts online. The reason that this project was so useful was that it was an AAS sponsored project that uses Netline. On the website under the “Editing Cooper” tab, there is an interactive book shelf that contains works by James Cooper. If you click on a work, an annotation appears that gives information on the author, a description of the work, as well as a location, publication, and date information. This annotated bookshelf is similar to some of this projects mapping efforts, as annotating places on a picture, such as a base map, will be a deliverable that can help analyze captivity narratives in new ways.

³⁹ Boudreau, Daniel, and MacDonald, Bryan. “A New Commonwealth Votes.” wpi.edu <https://web.wpi.edu/Pubs/E-project/Available/E-project-030513-131535/> (accessed December 15, 2016)

⁴⁰ Cataldo, Ashley. “Editing Cooper” americanantiquarian.org <http://americanantiquarian.org/JFCooper/neatline/show/editing-cooper#records/34> uses (accessed December 15, 2016)

2.4.4 Archiving The Digital Humanities

As the internet becomes the primary way researchers, analysts, and scholars of all types publish their work and talk to each other, the longevity and permanence of this content becomes vitally important to the scholarly community. One important organization is the Internet Archive, which is a not-for-profit US-based organization dedicated to preserving our digital heritage and culture. The fact of the matter is that the ephemeral nature of the Internet—and companies on the internet—makes it hard to rely on a website still being there even 2 years later, much less decades in the future. This stems directly from the technical details of how the web is implemented: all websites have to be actively supported in order to exist on the internet.

There is no one "best practice" for the preservation of digital information, because the term digital information can span many many different types of data and formats, but for publicly available websites the current standard is the Web ARchive Format, or WARC. The WARC format preserves websites directly through the data they return, and includes the option of adding many types of metadata about the file⁴¹. This allows users to preserve data in the same format as it was served by websites.

When creating and evaluating our deliverables, it was very important to us that they be able to live on in as easily supported a manner as possible, whether that be as HTML files, WARC files, or something else that end users can download, modify, and distribute.

⁴¹ "Sustainability of Digital Formats: Planning for Library of Congress Collections." WARC, Web ARchive file format. August 31, 2009. Accessed May 01, 2017. <http://www.digitalpreservation.gov/formats/fdd/fdd000236.shtml>.

3: METHODOLOGY

3.1 Techniques for Research

Digital humanities projects utilize GIS software and other data visualization software as a tool to analyze humanistic data. Our project, “Visualizing Early American Captivity” used both of those elements to tell and better understand the story of captivity mainly in the English colonies, but also in the young United States as well as North Africa. Previous works of digital humanities, like the Evans TCP will be a tool for researching and producing several different kinds of data visualizations. The main deliverables, several interactive annotated maps, will provide scholars with a tool that shows the journeys of these captives in a brand new way. As Philip D Carleton mentions in his article “The Indian Captivity⁴²”, mapping captivity narratives produce a map that started from the center of civilizations in the colonies and branch outwards. These static maps do not offer much in the sense of analysis, nor do they convey the true story told in the narrative very well. An interactive annotated map will allow for a much more comprehensive learning experience as each step of the captives journey is met with annotations that provide insight on what the captive was experiencing at that point. This project will provide the scholarly community with ideas and examples of how the captivity narrative can be viewed in a digital humanities context through the use of mapping and other data visualizations.

⁴² Carleton, *The Indian Captivity*, 170

3.1.1 Work with AAS

The Printer's File at the American Antiquarian Society was necessary to find information about printers whose information was more difficult to find. The Printer's File is a card catalog containing information about early American printers. The information included on these cards gave us information on the names of print locations the printer worked at, the printers they worked with, information on what they printed as well as the year ranges they printed there. There was some difficulty in using this resource. First off none of us had ever used a card catalog before, but with the help of Molly Hardy, the Digital Humanities Curator at the AAS, we were able to utilise this resource effectively. Another issue is printing and publishing appeared to be a family trade. Many of the names, first and last, were the same for different cards. This meant we had to be especially careful when checking dates as well as locations and making sure it matches the publication information on the narrative itself.

To find the location they printed from we would start by searching for information about the print shop they worked in during that time period. If that didn't work we search for information about a popular newsletter they might have printed, and look for an electronic version that may have a print location listed on the front or back. If we still didn't have an address we would find more information on the printer they worked with during that time period. By this point most research resulted in an approximate location of the publication location. If after all this we were unable to find an address to use the location would be mapped as the center of the city, usually on a main street.

3.1.2 The Voice of the Old Frontier

Comparing the first edition publication information to data from all narratives in the TCP can provide an interesting form of analysis. In order to gather more accurate information regarding the time of the first publication of each narrative and more a more precise location on where the narrative was printed, our group used the book *The Voice of the Old Frontier* (1949) by R.W.G Vail, the director of the New York Historical Society. *The Voice of the Old Frontier* is essentially a bibliography that includes information on many captivity narratives written in North America. Most publication information, including print location and year, for first editions of captivity narratives that are not available in the TCP are available in this book. For example, the earliest edition of the Daniel Boone narrative in the TCP gives print information from Norwich, Ct. This is not the earliest available information for the printing of the Boone narrative, however. Vail was used to get the earliest known printing information, which was Wilmington, MA. This information is important because the Boone narrative in Evans was printed in 1786 in a different state than the first edition in Vail, printed in Massachusetts in 1784.

Vail was an important tool for getting more accurate information on the first edition of captivity narratives that the Evans TCP did not have. The information on the first editions is important for analysis because it allows for analysis of captivity narratives as propaganda. Knowing the first publication of each narrative allowed us to identify the number of reprints and where reprinted versions of an older narrative are posted, allowing us to perform a quantitative analysis based on production as well as location. For mapping, Vail made finding

and plotting printer shops much easier on the interactive Publication vs Redemption location map. Usually the street name and name of the shop were given, which was not always the case with the Evans TCP.

3.1.3 Online Research Resources

After categorizing the narratives in Evans TCP we needed to obtain information about each narrative to produce the visualizations. Evans TCP our main source for data, since the project is focused around this archive. Each member gathered locations on liberation, abduction and publication if the narrative was a first edition. This was the data used to create the mapping visualizations. Numerical data was gathered based on method of liberation, gender and narrative subset. Evans was also the source for the dates of liberation as well as the dates for the first edition publications. This provided the data for the supporting graphs created in this project. The Evans TCP archive was also used for our textual analysis. By performing textual analysis on all texts in the archive, we were able to get a “baseline” for the word useage in the typical narrative. With this we are able to compare word frequencies in a single narrative to the typical narrative.

Jstor was an important resource that was used to learn more about the captivity narrative and its significance today as well as how it impacted society in the late 17th and early 18th centuries. Scholarly articles were used to learn more about the context of the captivity narratives and the consequence of their production. The captivity narrative was ultimately linked to several cultural phenomena during the time period in which they were

produced, such as the use of captivity narratives as propaganda⁴³, the evolution of fake captivity narratives⁴⁴, and gender roles in captivity⁴⁵.

Since our group only had several months to learn about the captivity narrative, being able to read reviews and chapters of selected books by using the “advanced search” function in JStor provided us with information important to this project without overloading us with the task of reading entire books or having to search google for reliable scholarly sources. JStor’s massive collection of text could make it difficult to find the information that was sought, but changing the phrasing of the search and using the various filters provided in the search tool that was easy to use made JStor an invaluable resource for delving into the scholarly community of the captivity narrative.

3.1.4 Creation of Slave Narrative Collection

For the slave narratives we originally planned to use the American Antiquarian Society’s Shaw-Shoemaker corpus, which documents American literature from 1801-1819. However, this corpus presented two challenges to us. First, it is not TEI encoded, meaning we would have needed to rely on OCR technologies, which could be less exact compared to an already encoded collection. Second, we were only able to find several slave narratives in this corpus, which would not have been a large enough sample. Therefore, we looked for

⁴³ Fisher, Darlene E. "The Captivity Narrative as Propaganda in the Black Hawk War." *OAH Magazine of History* 2, no. 3 (1987): 16-46. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/25162546>.

⁴⁴ Snader, 127

⁴⁵ Teresa A Toulouse, *The Captive's Position : Female Narrative, Male Identity, and Royal Authority in Colonial New England* (PA: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2013), 1-5.

another source that would provide a sufficient sample size. When looking up several of the narratives in Shaw, we also saw them hosted at *Documenting the American South* (docsouth.unc.edu).

Documenting the American South is an online corpus sponsored by the University of North Carolina. This corpus presents various collections, one of which is “North American Slave Narratives.” This corpus contains various autobiographies and biographies, the earliest dating to 1734 and the latest after 1900. This corpus also provides the texts in TEI encoded format as well as in plain text formatting, meaning we could run many of the same tests on these narratives that we performed on our Indian captivity narratives. Because this corpus contains slave narratives that, like the captivity narratives in Evans, originate from the continental United States and a sufficient number are available within the same date range, we selected a portion of this corpus for the comparison analysis.

In total we chose 48 narratives from *Documenting the American South*, creating a sample similar in size to Evans’ captivity narratives. In order to stay consistent with the narratives in Evans, we selected narratives published before 1850. In the Evans captivity narratives, there are 34 male and 14 female distinct narratives. I tried to keep this proportionality the same in both sources, but the UNC narratives are predominantly male, only containing six female narratives printed before 1850. In order to represent male narratives proportionately to female ones, I took the six female narratives and fifteen male narratives, and then added on 27 additional male narratives based on the date of publication. In order to mirror the Evans population as closely as possible, we selected the first fifteen male narratives based on two criteria: the narrators were non-criminals and the

publication date was as early as possible. We decided that it was more important to compare narratives based on time frame rather than gender.

One thing should be noted about the slave narrative autobiographies published before 1820: they are largely confessions of slaves sentenced to execution for violent crimes, such as rape and murder. This accounts for 11 of the 13 autobiographies within that time period. They are death confessions. This demographic is vastly different from what we see in the captivity narratives, which are not written by criminals sentenced to death. This is information that should be taken into account before drawing conclusions on the slavery corpus.

3.2 Software for Visualization

3.2.1 Omeka

Early on in our project, as we moved towards implementing our planned deliverables, one of the first choices we had to make was the platform we would be using to create our maps. The first tool we looked at was using Omeka with Neatline, a standard Digital Humanities tool and implements many features for the creation and display of maps of information. Another approach we looked at was being able to create a standalone HTML/JS page that would show a narrative alongside of a map, where you could interact with the narrative to show different annotations:

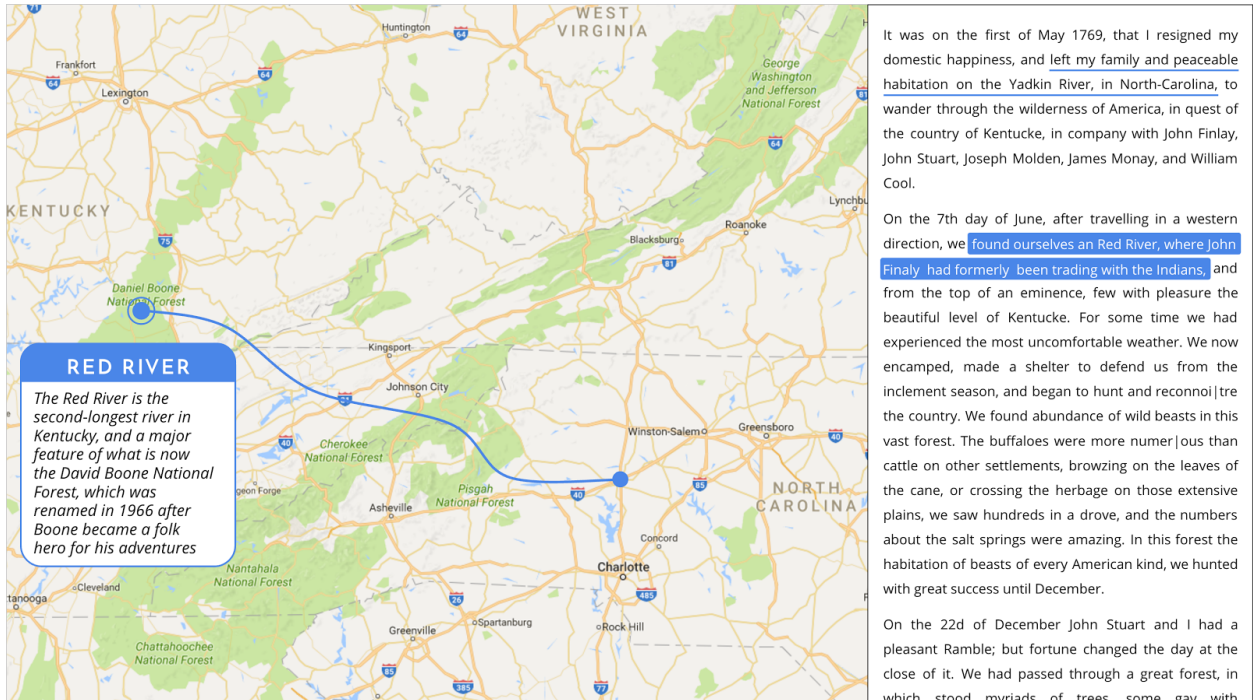


Figure 1: An initial mockup of the map/narrative annotation idea

The benefits of this would be that it would be much more lightweight than Omeka/Neatline, meaning it would be easier to maintain over a long term and easier to modify for different applications, it would also be more focused, meaning that we could tune it much better to the specific deliverables we wanted.

We eventually ended up going with Omeka, because we decided that it fit more of the map deliverables we wanted (including ones that weren't focused on a specific narrative), that the additional time spent making a new framework would be better spent with other deliverables, and that we could still spend some time making Neatline do the specific things we wanted it to do even if we didn't write a whole new framework from scratch.

3.2.2 Neatline Visualizations

In this project, Neatline was used to produce working maps to be used for analysis. Neatline is a versatile tool that provides many mapping options while still being easy to use. There are multiple neatline base maps but it also lets you upload your own base maps to overlay Neatlines. "Records" are used to title or categorize the multiple visualizations. For each captive two records were made. One record provided the location of print or capture of the narrative and the other provided the liberation location. Neatline allows for multiple points for each record but providing only one point per record allows us to label the point so the user knows who the captive is and what the point represents to the captive. This also allowed us to create links between the points inside the text box that appears when selecting a data point. This allows the user to quickly move between captive locations on the map. One downfall of Neatline is that there is only one shape for data points. Neatline makes up for this by allowing you to upload a .png or a .svg file with a preferred shape. The files used to mark the map with triangles were found on wiki commons.

3.2.3 Microsoft Excel Visualizations

Microsoft Excel was used in order to create visualizations that link to publication information to the information within the captivity narratives. Publication dates and locations were plotted against information from the narratives like redemption or escape date, creating visualizations that can be used to draw connections between the time period, geography, and literature. In addition to the comparison of publication location and

information in the literature, visualizations that compared information in narratives to other subsets and themes of captivity narratives in the Evans corpus were created. These visualizations revealed interesting connections within the corpus, like relationships between the subsets and gender.

Microsoft Excel was chosen because it is simple to use and can produce visualizations that can accompany other larger deliverables as well as act on their own to make arguments about the captivity narrative. The easy to use interface, accessibility, and various kinds of possible visualizations are why Excel were chosen. One issue that was encountered, however, was selecting certain series to keep on the axis for the legend. In a couple of cases, adding data would not show up if added to a preexisting series, so a new series would need to be added. This would mess up the legend and add an unwanted series to the key. This issue was easy enough to solve, however, by copying the graph into either Paint or Microsoft Powerpoint and adding the key in as a separate image.

In addition to the issue mentioned above, there were limitations on what could be done using the software. Many simple visualizations could be made, but more complex visualizations that could show as much information in one as excel could in multiple visualizations may be more useful and easier to understand. This is why a base map was created with Excel and then integrated into Neatline. Creating a base layer in excel then making that layer interactive was how one of our deliverables, an interactive quadrant map, was created.

3.2.4 Textual Analysis

Voyant is a web tool specializing in text analytics which we were first informed about by Molly this spring. It was used to create three types of visualizations: word clouds, word links, and word frequencies.

Before we used Voyant we created a list of blacklisted words. These were words that frequently occurred in text, but we thought were irrelevant to our interests in the text. Examples of this being words such as: I, a, and page. Although these are all useful in their own right, for the analysis of things such as acculturation, we believed they were not relevant.

Word clouds were a way we believed efficiently displayed the raw count of the words in the narrative. This method of presenting this data was useful to quickly see which words were being used most from narrative to narrative. One thing to note when looking at word clouds, is that the size of the word is proportional to the length of the narrative. This means when you look for a specific word in a word cloud, you must also pay attention to the total amount of words in addition to the size of the word. The word frequency utility was used to show when in narratives certain words are being used. Word links are used to show where words are used relative to one another.

Voyant's word frequency functionality was used to analyze certain words used in the text, examples being god, indian, and tribe. The goal of this analysis was to find the frequency of certain words in certain narratives where themes of acculturation were present as well as narratives that were suspected to be fictional or fake. This kind of analysis yielded

several interesting trends in word usage that may be helpful in differentiating the types of narratives based on the language used.

For narratives where the captive has become more accepting of their captors and has somewhat integrated into the Indian society, Voyant was used to find the most common words to find similarities between the language of each narrative. An interesting observation that was made between narratives where the captives acculturated somewhat and those that strongly rejected integration into their captive's tribe was the use of the word "Indian". Indian appeared much more in the narratives that we analyzed where the captive rejected the tribe than when they accepted it. This may be because a party that rejects the Indians as their equals may try to alienate them as much as possible from themselves in the literature they write, while a party that accepts themselves as part of the Indian society is willing to use words like "we", "us", and "they", to refer to Indians in a more familiar way. Some of these narratives even have the word "tribe" appear more frequently than the word "Indian". Another interesting observation that was explored was the change in the frequency of the words "Indian" and "savage" in different parts of the novel. In Maria Kittle's narrative, she initially uses the word savage more commonly than Indian to refer to her captors, but as she spends more time with the tribe, the word Indian becomes more common. The attitude towards her captors changes, and so does her choice of words to describe them.

Fictional narratives, which are narratives where the legitimacy of the account of captivity is highly questionable, are an important part of the argument for captivity narratives as propaganda. Narratives of the captivity of Jackson Johonnet⁴⁶, Maria Kittle, and

⁴⁶ Furlong, Patrick J. 86.

James Smith⁴⁷ are examples of fictional narratives due to the controversial and inaccurate retelling of the events of their captivity during the time period they were published. Additionally, these are narratives that have had their legitimacy questioned by the scholarly community. There is no dispute over the illegitimacy of certain narratives, so our group analyzed those narratives with Voyant and compared the word usage to narratives we suspected were fake and those that were verifiably true. Frequent references to God, the use of the word “savage” and other demonizing words, and attention to detail on the more gruesome aspects of captivity were some of the staples of these fictional narratives. Lack of attention to details on date and location were also apparent in some of the fake narratives, suggesting that the actions of the Indians towards their captives was the main focus of the literature.

3.3 Deliverables

3.3.1 Neatline Mapping

The Publication vs Liberation Location map shows the location the captive was redeemed or escaped. This is connected to the location of the original publication of the narrative. This provides a visual tool that can show information on which narratives were printed in each city. To provide a more accurate representation of the printer locations we attempted to find the addresses of the printers in each city. Some printers like Robert Bell provided their addresses in the publication narratives themselves. Others like Bennett

⁴⁷ Eid, Leroy V. "Their Rules of War": The Validity of James Smith's Summary of Indian Woodland War." *The Register of the Kentucky Historical Society* 86, no. 1 (1988): 4-23. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/23380726>.

Wheeler provided a landmark which they printed close to. Using the landmark as the print location provided an address to use as the print location. The street name would be found using google maps and then compared to a historical map to confirm there was no change in street name or if there was, find the original location of the street. One example of this is Court St. in Boston. When the narrative was published, the street was named Queen St. (1708-1788) Using Historical maps of Boston we were able to find out that the streets name was changed in 1788. In the Evans archive 53.6% of the narratives provided locations of the printers. We should note that 28% of the narratives mapped were not original prints so *The Voice of the Old Frontier* provided information on the original printers.

Some printer's information was more difficult to find. As with Reinier Jansen, we had to find more information through secondary sources. For Jansen we found "Early Printing in Philadelphia", by John William Wallace and Andrew Bradford. This book stated "it cannot be ascertained how long before or after 1699, Jansen printed in Philadelphia, nor is it certain that he owned a press. *It is supposed that he was either an apprentice or a journeyman to William Bradford.*"⁴⁸ This was roughly the same time period that Jansen published the narrative. William Bradford was known for printing the Pennsylvania Journal. Searching online we were able to find images of the Pennsylvania Journal of a later year. Going to the last page of the journal we were able to find the address the journal was printed from. Although the date was different than the publication date of the narrative, this provided us with an approximate address to use when mapping the location of the printer.

⁴⁸ John William Wallace and Andrew Bradford, "Early Printing in Philadelphia," *The Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* vol. 4, no. 4 (1880): 433.

With the data gathered we were able to produce the map. The goal was to make a simple to use map that provided as much information without overwhelming the user. The colors on the map represent the type of narrative. Reds represents POW while blues represent Indian captivity. The shades of these colors represent the gender of the captive. Light shades are females while darker shades are males. To represent the type of liberation triangles are used to show an escape narrative while circles are redemption narratives. Lastly some shapes are hollow. These represent the print location while fully shaded shapes are liberation locations. It should be noted that although the street names are given in the map, this may not be the same name given during this time period. Many of the streets shown in this map would not have existed during the eighteenth century. This provides general information about the captivity narratives in the Evans database.

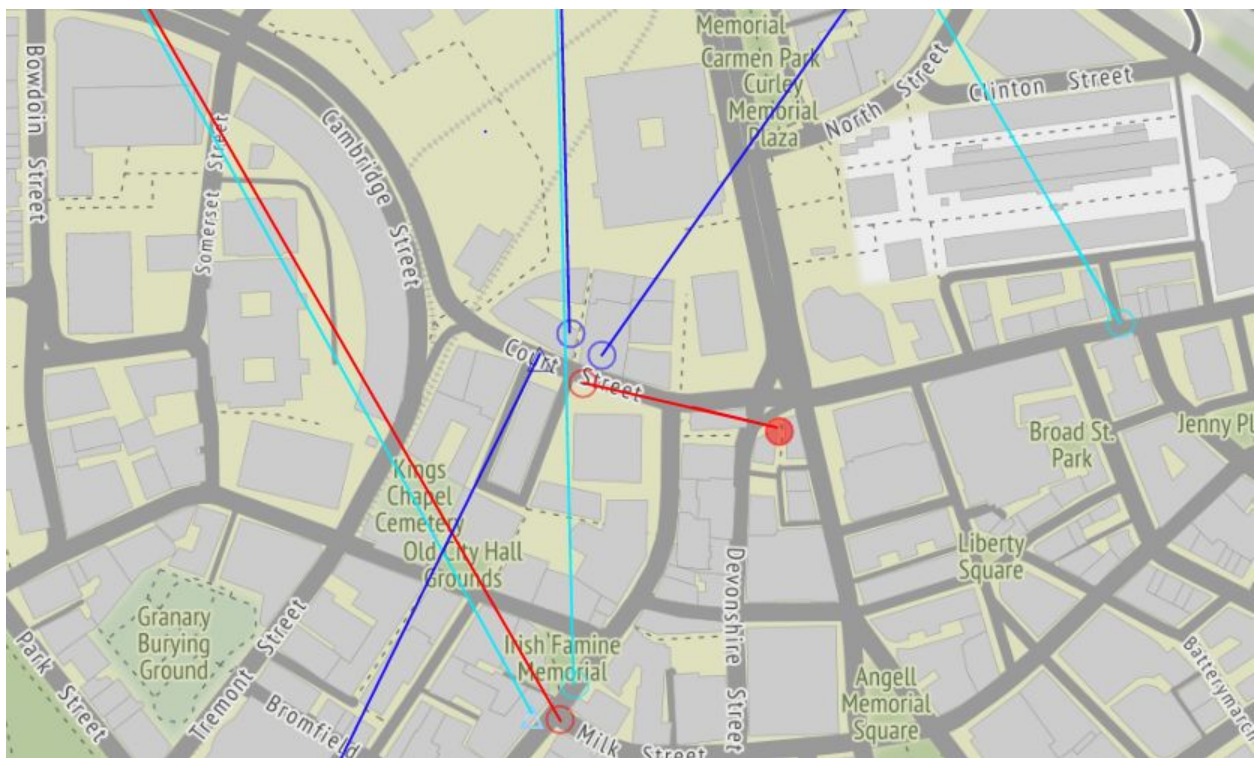


Figure 2: 1st Edition Publication Locations in Boston, MA

This map also provides more specific information on each narrative. When hovering over a point the name of the captive is shown in the upper left corner of the window. When selecting the point two links are given in the text box. If the liberation location is selected a link to the print location is given and if the print location is given a link to the liberation location is given. This allows the user to easily move between the locations to better analyze the data mapped. The second link given will bring the user to the narrative in the Evan website. This allows the user to easily access the narrative if more information about the captive is needed.

The Escape vs. Redemption map shows the location each captive was taken from and their escape or redemption location. This may can be used to better analyze the reasoning in captives trying to escape or waiting for redemption based off location. The locations were gathered by each team member reading through the narratives to find a location. Some narratives like “A very surprising narrative of a young woman” didn’t provide information on the the locations. Others like Britton Hammon’s narrative provided locations but not accurate ones. In Hammon’s case, he was shipwrecked off the coast of Florida. Since they were sailing between Cuba and Florida, the point was estimated to be somewhere on the southern tip of Florida. After gathering the data from the narratives we were able to find accurate locations for 78% of the narratives.

The Escape vs. Redemption map was designed to function as closely as possible to the print vs. redemption map. This will provide an easy transition between the maps making using both maps simple. Like before the blues represent indian captivity and reds represent POW. The lighter and darker shades represent female and male captives. Again, the triangles

represent escape narratives and the circles represent redemption narratives. The main difference in this map is the hollow shapes represent the location the captive was taken from and the solid shapes are the liberation location. This map also provides a link for the user to move between the liberation point and the location taken from. There is also a link that brings the user to the captivity narrative in the Evans database.

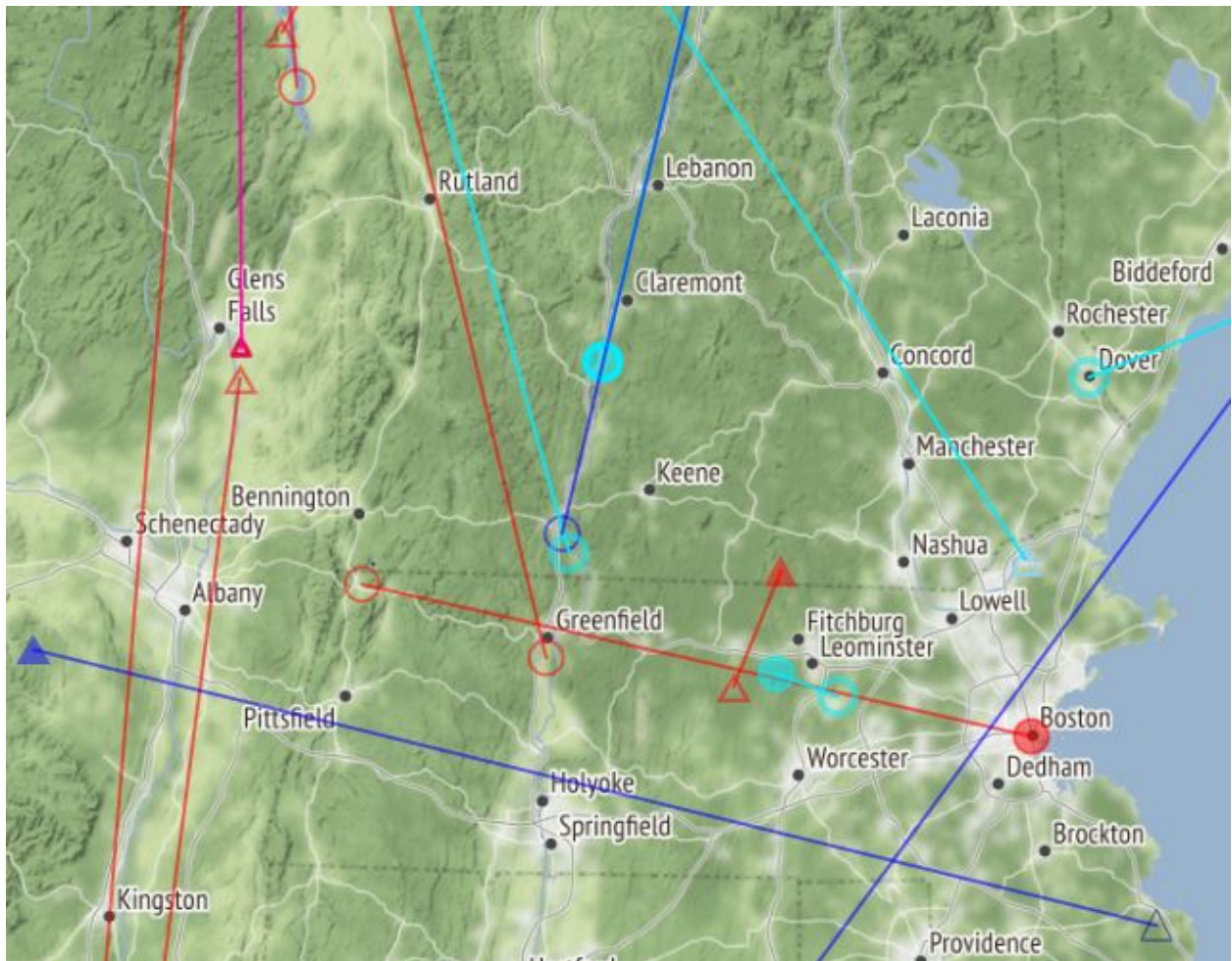


Figure 3: Escape vs Liberation Map

The Boon vs Bunn map is slightly different than the previous two maps. Instead of categorizing two specific locations in the narrative this map closely follows the narratives of Daniel Boon and Matthew Bunn. The map gives specific locations and times during the

captivity narrative. The points also provide links that will bring you to the next mapped location in the narrative.



Figure 4: Boon vs. Bunn Map

In addition to the interactive maps of liberation location vs publication location and escape vs redemption, Neatline was used to create an interactive scatter plot. This interactive scatterplot exhibit compares the lag time, or time between liberation of a captive and publication of the narrative, and the distance between site of liberation and publication.

To get the data for distance between liberation and publication, the gps coordinates used for the liberation and publications locations in the interactive maps were plugged into an online program⁴⁹. This program calculates the direct distance between two points in a

⁴⁹ Moveable type scripts.

straight line based on sets of GPS coordinates. This is useful because other programs like google maps only give distances between two places based on modern roads. Once the data was added to a an excel sheet, it was plotted against the time between liberation of a captive and the publication of the narrative.

The quadrant graph was then prepared to be used as the base layer for the Neatline exhibit. Using the snipping tool, a screencap was taken of the graph and saved as an image. The image was then added to the Omeka server as an item to ensure that it had a url that could be used in the exhibit. The url of the image was used to set the quadrant graph as the base layer for the Neatline exhibit. With the base layer set, each individual point was assigned its appropriate information: Name of captive, gender, subset of narrative, and annotations that direct the user to the narrative of the captive and to the publication and liberation locations on the Liberation vs Publication map . This was done by adding a point using “draw point” under the “map” tab over the appropriate point on the quadrant graph. Once the point was created, the name, gender, and subset of the captive and the narrative were added under the “title” section of the “text” tab. Finally, the narrative in the Evans TCP was linked by using the notation:

```
<p><a href="narrative url">Narrative</p>
```

The quadrant graph now shows the name, gender, subset, lag time between liberation and publication, and physical distance between liberation and publication. It is also possible to now easily navigate between the interactive quadrant map and the Liberation vs Redemption map.

3.3.2 Voyant Visualizations

We utilized Voyant in order to analyze in further detail some claims that others had made about the captivity narrative as a genre, as well as identify trends within the genre and its subsets.

Word clouds tended to be one way in which we quickly identified difference between the sets of narratives. Although the word clouds do not provide much in regards to specific numbers, they provided us with a quick glimpse into which words were prevalent in sets of narratives, and which ones were used more than others.

Word frequency graphs tended to be used in order to isolate trends within the corpus and individual narratives. It allowed us to isolate narratives and also see how the usage of words changed over time since files could be ordered chronologically.

Finally links were used in order to see how words were used. This allowed for us to see how different subsets of narratives used terminology differently. It also allowed us to see how much certain words are used together.

3.3.3 Graphing and Supporting Visualizations with Excel

Graphing visualizations were created to aid in our analysis of the captivity narrative, particularly analysis based on gender and propaganda. The data from all publications in the Evans TCP and first edition information for Vail was visualized using scatter plots, line graphs, and pie charts.

One of the questions our group was trying to answer with our visualizations regarded the use of captivity narratives as propaganda, whether it be based on culture, expansion, or other political and societal reasons. While it was easy to find literature on the subject of 18th and 19th century captivity narratives being used as propaganda, there was a lack of visual aids to accompany that argument. Our visualizations show several interesting trends based on the publication of captivity narratives at the end of the 18th century. Figure 5 shows the publications in the Evans TCP per decade from 1670 until 1800.

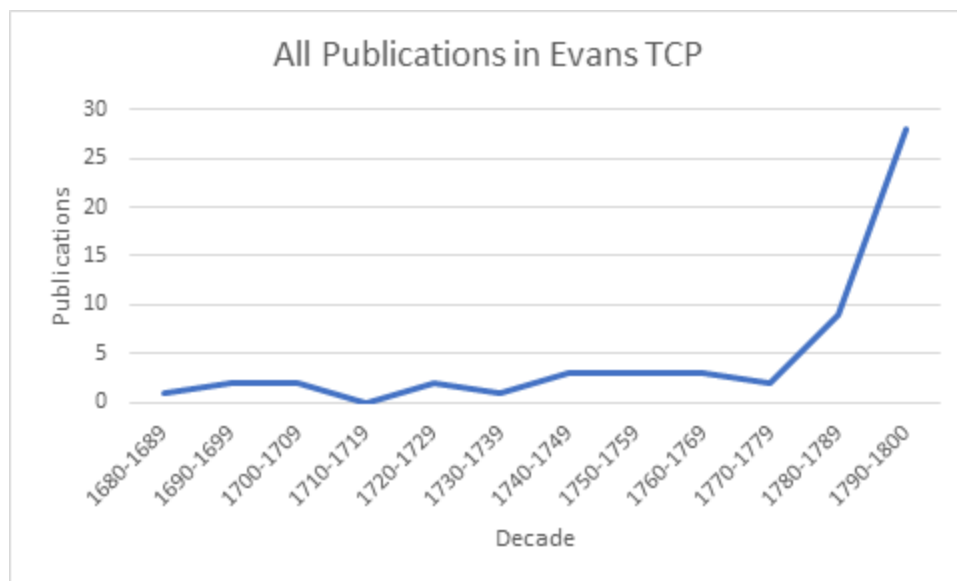


Figure 5: Total number of publications in the Evans TCP published per decade

Figure 5 includes reprints of the same narratives, though, so it is not clear from the graph how many are reprints and how many are first editions. Figure 3 is a graph of only first editions of captivity narratives, with the data gathered from R.W.G Vail's *The Voice of the Old Frontier*.

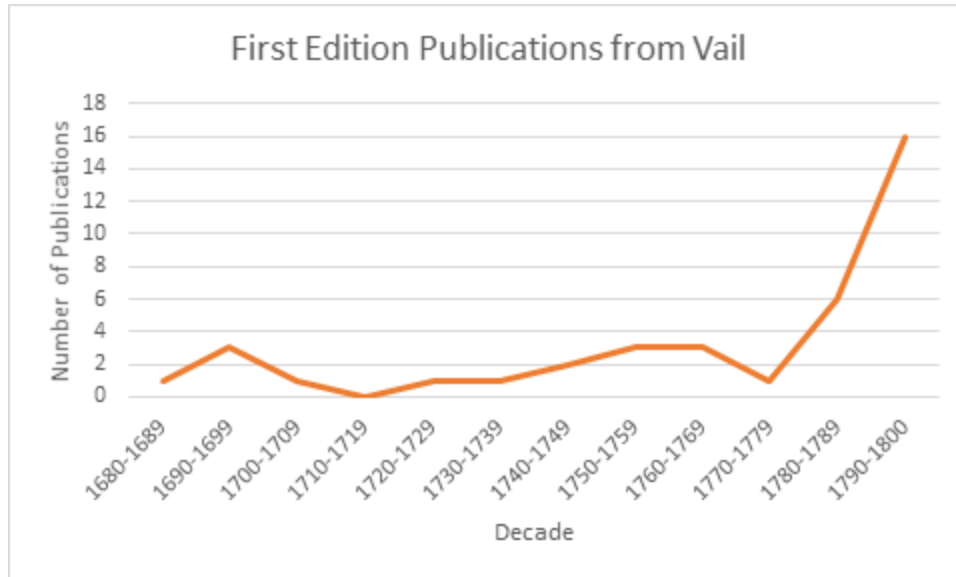


Figure 6: Number of first editions of captivity narratives published per decade

This graph follows the same trend as Figure 6, which shows that not only were a larger quantity of narratives published in the last two decades of the 18th century, but many more more narratives were being published for the first time than in the previous decades as well. It is also clear that the number of total publications in the last two decades in Figure 2 is much higher than the number of first editions printed in the last two decades of Figure 3. So not only are there a lot of narratives being published for the first time in these decades, but older narratives are being republished at almost the same rate as first editions are being published.

One of the strongest visualizations in the argument of early American captivity narratives being used as propaganda towards the end of the 18th century is shown in Figure 7, which shows the average time between the escape or redemption of a captive, or “lag time”, and how it corresponds to its time of publication and its publication.

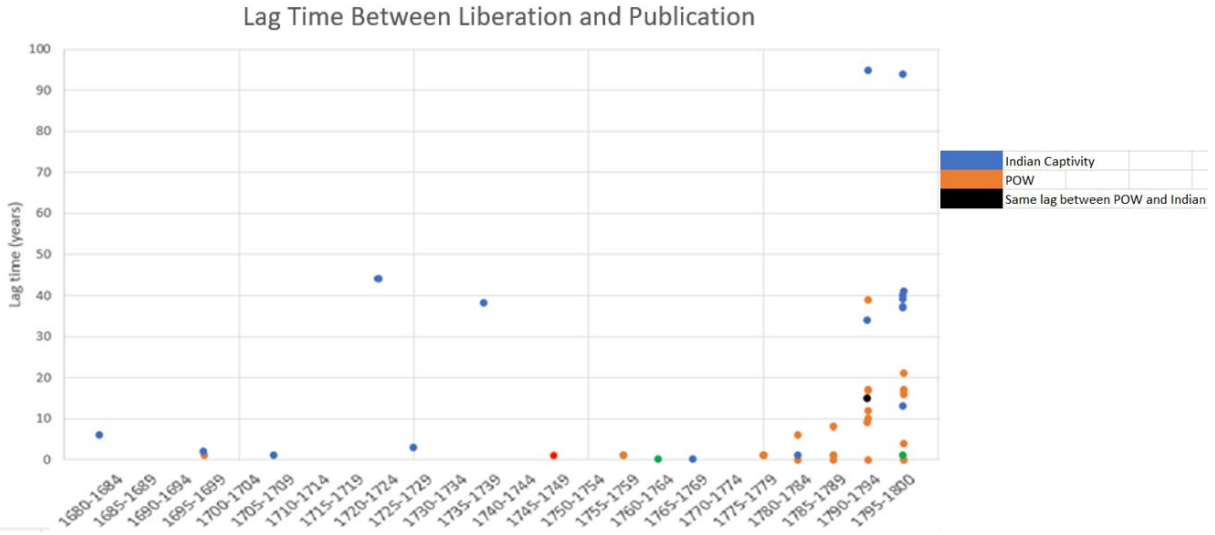


Figure 7: “Lag Time” Between a captive’s escape, redemption, or death and the publication of the narrative

Periods of five years rather than a decade were used for this visualization because using ten years made the data very hard to read.

Figure 8 shows a similar comparison except it is between the type of narrative and lag time rather than the means of liberation and lag time.

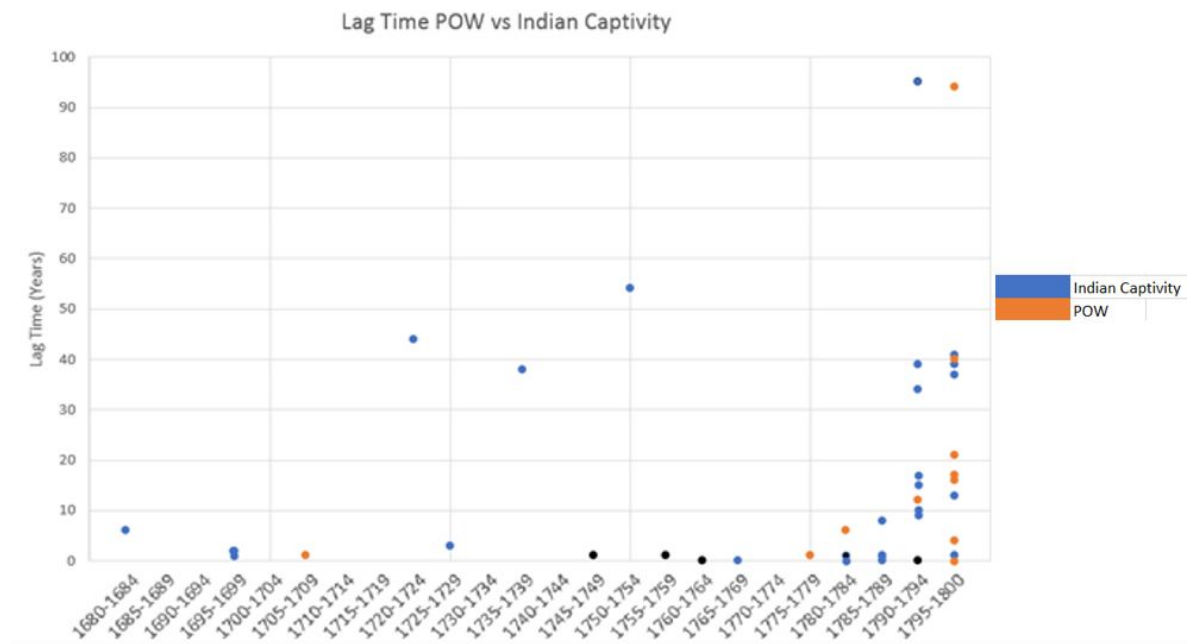


Figure 8: “Lag Time” Between the publication of prisoner of war and Indian captivity narratives

Figures 7 and 8 both show that the range of “lag time” between when a captive gained freedom and the narratives publication is much larger in the last two decades of the 18th century. This further supports the claim that the popularity of captivity narratives was increasing during the end of the 18th century. There were many first editions that had a lag time of over 30 years published in these two decades as well as many re-publications of older, more famous narratives.

The relation between gender and subset was visualized using pie charts. The amount of narratives in each subset for the two genders was obtained from Evan’s TCP and was tabulated. A pie chart was then created that showed the what percentage of narratives were prisoner of war or Indian captivity for each gender. Figure 9 shows the percentage of female North American captivities that are POW and Indian captivities.

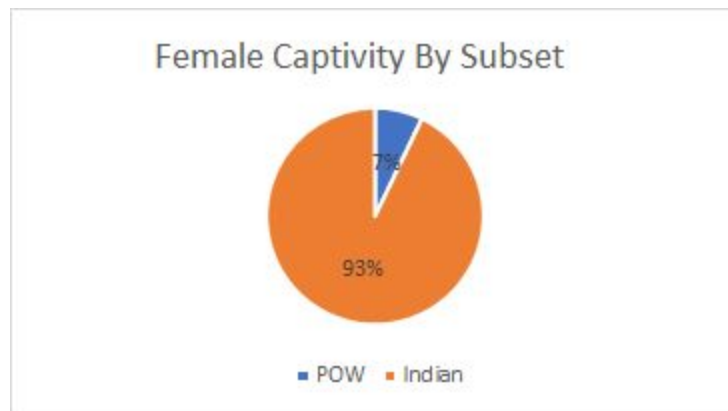


Figure 9: Female Captivity broken down by subset

Figure 10 shows a similar breakdown of male captivity narratives between POW and Indian captivity in North America.

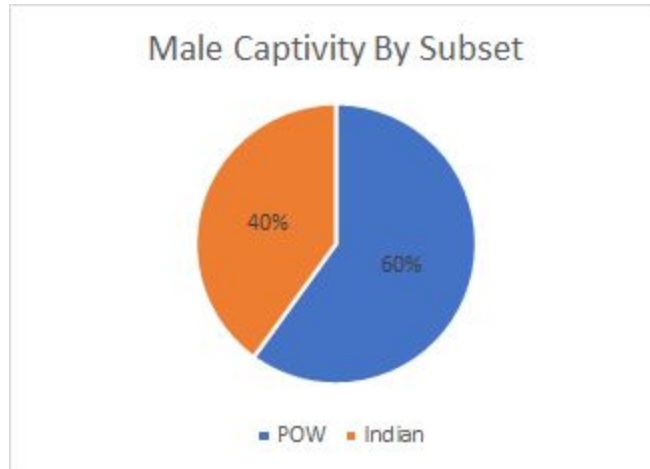


Figure 10: Male Captivity broken down by subset

In addition to the subset and gender pie charts, figures 11 and 12 show relationships between gender and means of liberation. Figure 11 shows the percentage of female captives who were liberated via escape or redemption.

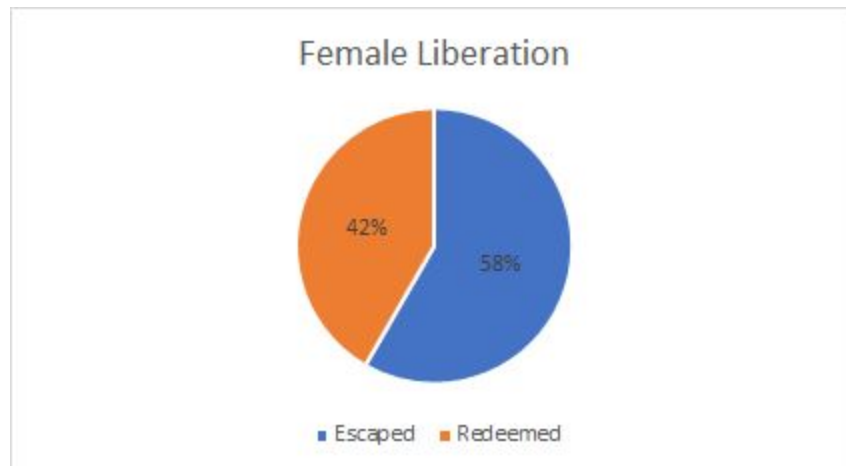


Figure 11: Female Captivity liberation

Figure 12 shows a breakdown of male liberation.

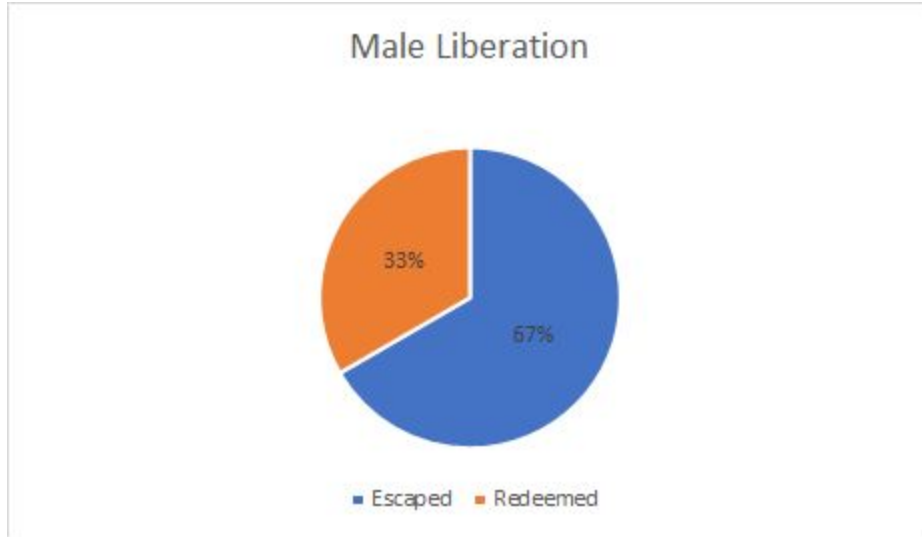


Figure 12: Male Captivity liberation

Comparison between figures 9-12 will allow for an analysis between gender, subset, and mode of liberation.

Figure 13 show the four quadrant map that related lag time and liberation distance was created with both Excel and Neatline.

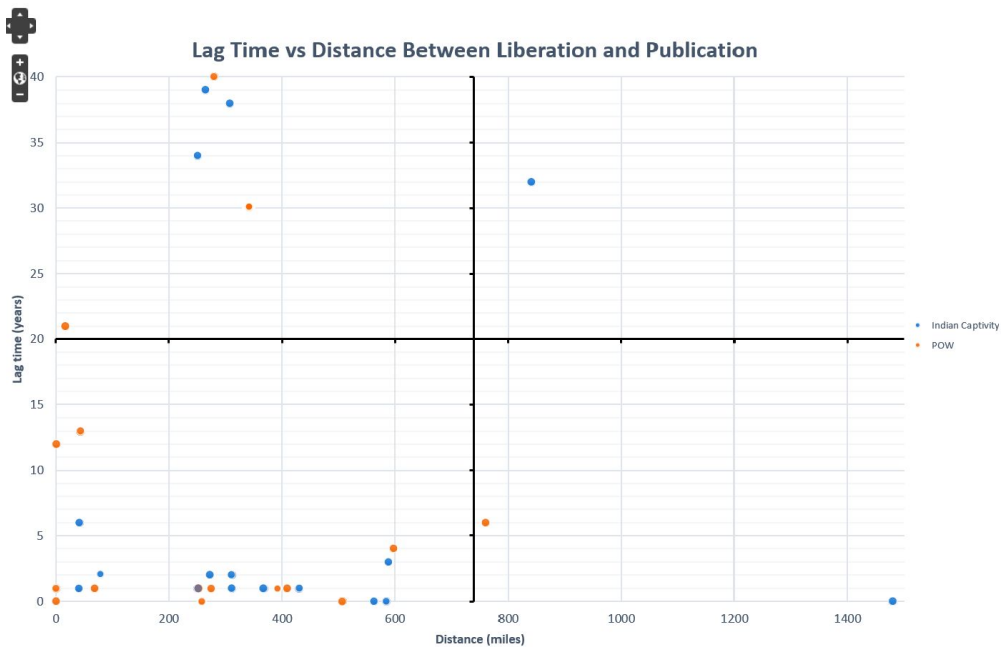


Figure 13: Four quadrant graph created with Excel and Neatline

The base layer was a four quadrant map created using liberation data and publication data that was plotted with excel. The axis were decided on based on the median lag time and distance between largest and smallest lag time and distances This allowed for comparison for narratives in both spatial and geographical dimensions. This map was then saved as an image and integrated into Neatline where it was made into the Interactive Quadrant Map.

Overall, visualizations with Excel like line graphs and scatter plots were used as tools to analyze trends between gender, subset, publication location, publication time, and publication quantity. Data used in the publication based visualizations were obtained from the Evans TCP, *The Voice of the Old Frontier*, and the Printer's File at the AAS. Through these resources we were able to visualize first editions and re-publications against variables like subset and lag time between liberation and publication. Many narratives had a date of liberation, so most narratives have a lag time that is accurate within a margin of error of a year. Some narratives, like Maria Kittle, had to have their liberation date generalized based on the context of the narrative while many others had specific years they were liberated in. The comparison between lag time and publication years is particularly important for propaganda purposes because it shows how long it had been since a narrative had been "finished" with a liberation vs how long it took to get published. The trends of lag time with the 5 year increments can show which points in time the captivity narrative was most popular, both based on the bulk number of publications and the number of narratives that were published that resulted in liberation decades earlier.

3.3.4 Archiving Omeka and Neatline

For our final deliverables, we needed to put them into a format that would be achievable within the context of WPI's eCDR system, as well as one that would continue to be accessible after the completion of the project. Using just Omeka as it stands, the lifetime of the deliverables is bounded by the lifetime of the server hosting it. Given that we only used a temporary server hosted for the duration of the creation of the project, we needed to ensure that our deliverables would be usable by those who came after us.

The theoretical basis that underlies this approach comes from Omeka and Neatline's dual purpose as a content *server* and a tool for content *creation*. By separating one of these from the other, we allow the use of Neatline for authorship and editing of interactive map-based deliverables, while not tying it to their distribution method. This means that the final deliverables can operate independently of the Omeka infrastructure.

One alternative we considered was partnering with an organization, like the AAS, who could provide a more permanent home for the Omeka and Neatline installation. However, given that we had already invested a significant amount of work into creating our deliverables, and that Neatline and Omeka do not allow for users to export their maps, which is a requirement for moving them to an existing Omeka installation, that option wasn't open to us.

Our solution was achieved by using a combination of existing tools and custom scripts that mirrored the content served by the Omeka server. The first step was to gather all of the static resources on the server that made up the Neatline and Omeka client-side distribution.

This was performed using `wget`, which has a “mirror site” mode that allowed us to easily sketch out the base template of our deliverables. This grabs all of the static resources from the server, but doesn’t get any resources that are loaded dynamically. We compiled a list of the assets manually and then fetched them as well, so that they could be found dynamically. A list of these assets is included, with the scripts we used to fetch them, in our deliverables.

The next step was modifying the interactive portions of Neatline to accommodate the restrictions we needed. When code is run “locally” (that is, not using a server), it can’t use XHR requests, which is what the Neatline code uses to fetch its records. The fix to this is to modify the neatline code to inject the records directly into the page, instead of fetching them asynchronously. This was done using a script we developed to do this, which is also included with our eCDR submission. It fetches the correct records for each page and injects them as a script tag into the HTML file. This also required modifying the Neatline code to use these records, which was a few small patches deep in the internals of the source file. You can see these patches by comparing the copy of `neatline-public.js` in the submission alongside this report with the standard Neatline javascript file. We’ve included a copy of those patches for posterity, but they’ll only apply cleanly to a formatted version of the file, and minor changes to the minification will mean that you’ll have to manually upgrade the changes to different versions of neatline.

Finally, the last change that needed to be made was searching the records for hardcoded URLs and images and modifying those to use the locally fetched content. Part of this was also fetching the basemap of our deliverables that used a static basemap. This was done by searching the record JSON and the exhibit settings JSON and replacing any absolute

URLs with static ones. This code is included in the same script we developed—more documentation about how to use that script is included with its code.

Our hope is that this script can provide, if not a final solution, a starting point for other scholars looking to migrate their Neatline or Omeka projects to more stable homes. It was written to be maximally applicable, and published in the hopes that it can be useful for other researchers as well.

3.4 Rejected Deliverables

When we began looking into possible visualizations for this project. One of the first ideas would be an interactive map that follows the narrative of Mary Rowlandson. We believed that since this narrative is one of the most famous Indian captivity narratives, this map would be of interest to the scholarly community. After finding multiple static maps that provide the same information, we decided not to include this in our list of deliverables.⁵⁰ Since this information is already available, creating an interactive map of Mary Rowlandson's narrative would provide little benefit to this project and the scholarly community. Due to the time constraints of this project we wanted to focus on creating as many useful deliverables as possible.

⁵⁰Anonymous, "Mary Rowlandson's Captivity Journey Map," *The Mary Rowlandson Story*, 4/20/2017, <http://www.maryrowlandson.com/maryscaptivityjourneymappage.html>.

4. Results & Analysis

The interactive maps, graphs, static charts, and textual analysis visualizations created in this project provided our group with several different tools for analysis of the captivity narrative. Our interaction with scholarly archives provided us with a substantial knowledge of the significance of the captivity narratives and important themes within them, such as the acculturation of captives and the role that gender can play. On a broader scale, the captivity narrative has generated a lot of discussion in the scholarly community as a tool for propaganda, with fictional narratives, or narratives that have the authenticity of their content questioned or determined to be outright false, being a large component of our analysis of the captivity narrative and society.

Over the next few sections, the connection between the captivity narrative, gender, culture, society, and the scholarly community will be discussed. Based on the tools we created from data gathered from the Evans TCP, *The Voice of the Old Frontier*, the Printers File, and scholarly archives, the visualizations from Neatline, Microsoft Excel, and Voyant will be compared. The comparison will focus on observations initially observed in one deliverable between the scholarly community or our other deliverables, with a larger focus and analysis based on the observations that connect the scholarly community and several of our deliverables very well, such as the narratives of Maria Kittle, Britton Hammon, and James Smith.

The aforementioned narratives are outliers on each of our tools of visualization (interactive maps, interactive graphs, Voyant). The ability of our tools of visualization to

support each other as well as complement the work of the scholarly community are one of the most important findings that we will discuss. Aside from the textual significance that is found from our deliverables, certain limitations of the captivity narrative regarding publication and liberation will be discussed based on their locations on the interactive map as well as the significance of lag time between liberation and publication are discussed. Certain narratives that have similar liberation locations but significantly different lag times, for example, will be discussed.

4.1 Final Deliverables

4.1.1 Neatline Mapping

We began the map analysis by looking for differences in male and female captivity narratives based on location. To start we examined the escape vs redemption map as a whole looking at all data points at once. It seems there are two areas where the captivity narratives seem to focus around. The first is near Ohio. A majority of these points are male POW narratives which makes sense. With the westward movement of settlers and many forts being constructed throughout the frontier, men serving in the army would be likely to be captured during a battle or while near a fort. The other area of focus is close to New England. Again, this is expected due the east coast being a more densely populated area than the rest of North America during the eighteenth century. With little of interest found examining the map as a whole, we began looking closer at locations with multiple data points.

One area we found interesting is Quebec. Quebec has five liberation points in the city, three male and two female. While both of the females were redemption narratives, two of the males were escape narratives and the other male died in captivity. We thought this was interesting since the likelihood of being redeemed from Quebec seems to have a dividing line drawn based on gender. With only five data points, we don't have enough to make the claim that men would not get redeemed from Quebec while women would. This does however, support claims that male captivity narratives end in escape more than female captivity narratives.⁵¹ Since many male narratives depict the male as heroic, these narratives would be escape narratives since escaping your captors is more heroic than having your freedom bought. Another possible explanation is since the males fight the wars, they are perceived as a threat if liberated. We have so far been unable to find any secondary sources making this claim but it does seem plausible that this could be a factor.

⁵¹ Namias June, *White Captives: Gender and Ethnicity on the American Frontline* (North Carolina: UNC Press Books, 1993), 50-57 .

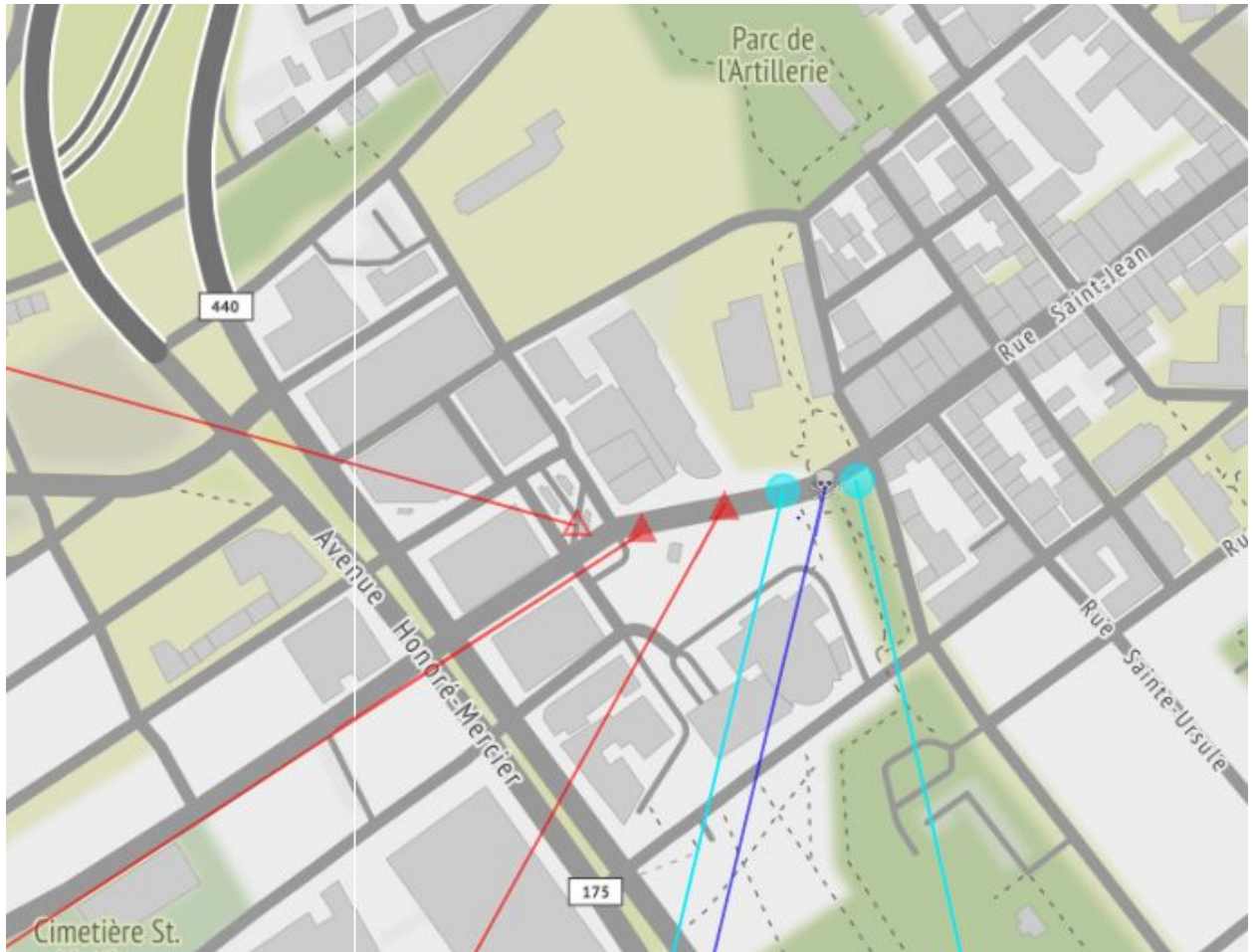


Figure 14: Liberation from Quebec

We were also interested in the captivity narrative as propaganda. Since Voyant will be the strongest tool for analyzing this, we thought the maps could help support the claim of a fake narrative. For example, Maria Kittle is a known fake narrative. Using the escape vs. redemption map we found the location of her liberation, Montreal. Of the four liberations mapped in Montreal, Maria Kittle is the only escape narrative. This shows how finding an outlier on the map may be useful in finding out if a narrative is fake. If there is a narrative that doesn't follow the typical trends of the maps, further analysis can be done, such as

textual analysis, to confirm if the narrative seems like a typical narrative or like a fake narrative.



Figure 15: Maria Kittle Liberation Location

By looking for outliers on the map we can pick out narratives we would like to analyze further. For example, looking at Ohio there is only one POW narrative where the captive is redeemed. This doesn't mean the narrative must be fake, but as an outlier textual analysis would show if the wording is more like a typical narrative, or more like Kittle's narrative.

analyzing narratives using multiple deliverables shows how these tools can support each other and help support claims about the narrative.

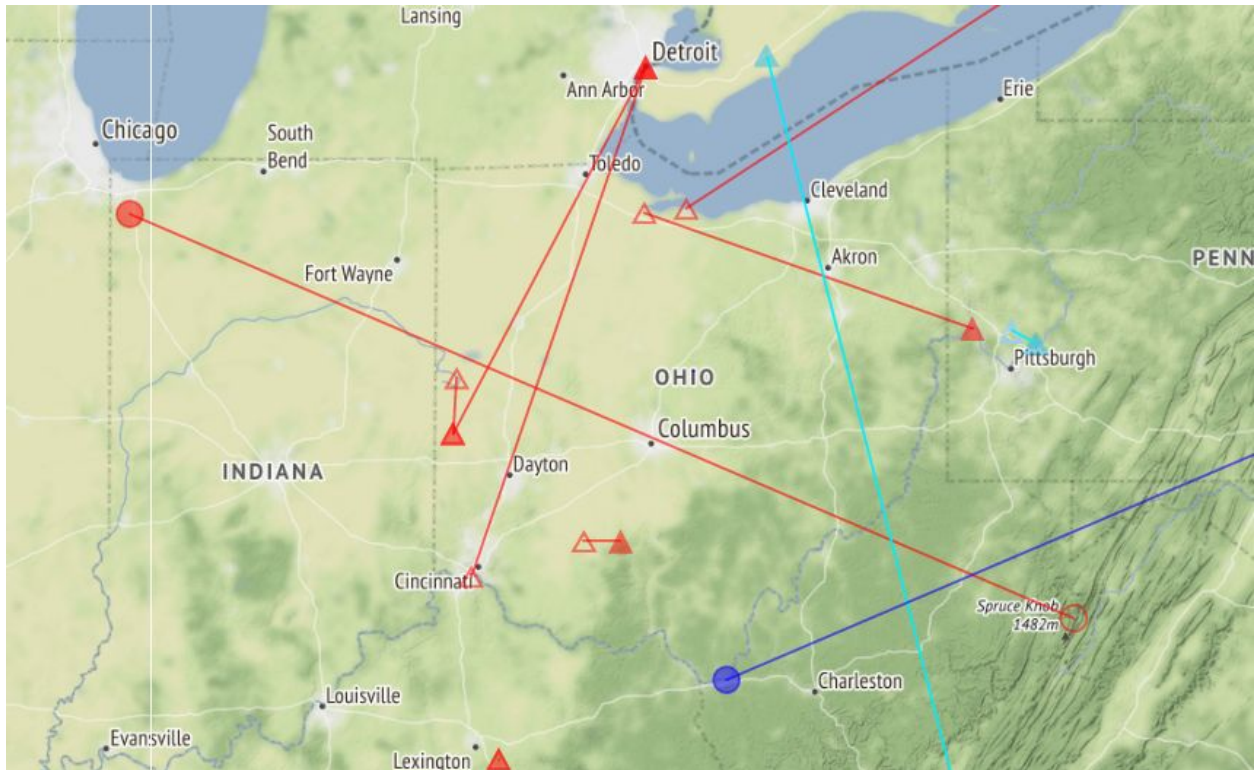


Figure 16: POW Narratives Near Ohio

The liberation vs publication location map may also be used as a support tool for analysis narratives. If a narrative is suspected to be fake, the publication location of the first edition narrative may help. When multiple fake narratives are gathered, their publication locations can be compared. If they have similar print locations, such as being printed outside a major city, this may help support the claim of a fake narrative. Looking at Kittle's publication location, There are only a few publications near by. Since this is outside the two major printing cities, Boston and Philadelphia, this might mean that publications outside these cities are more likely to be fake but we would need more fake narratives to support this before making this claim.

4.1.2 Excel Visualizations

Visualizations using Microsoft excel yielded valuable data for our analysis on the role of gender in captivity narratives and the use of the captivity narrative as a tool for propaganda. Using pie charts and scatter plots, several significant trends were apparent regarding our group's mentality towards the captivity narrative and how it relates to gender and how trends in the publication of captivity narratives relate to the social context of the late 18th century.

The role of gender in captivity was one of the main topics our group hoped to learn about from these visualizations. What we learned speaks a lot about how we classified the captivity narratives and how unintentional biases may have had an effect on the classification of the data that we gathered. For example, figures 9 and 10 in Appendix A show the breakdown of the percentage of prisoner of war and Indian captivity narratives based on gender. Obviously, the way that our group classified the narratives and made decisions in narratives in the "gray area" between the two subsets seems to be biased based on gender. The percent of narratives classified as prisoner of war for female captivities are much less than those of males even though the same criteria was applied to each set. Does this mean that our group may have mislabeled certain narratives based on gender? The thought process that distinguished Indian captivity narratives and prisoner of war narratives was largely based on how largely a captivity was influenced by war. Men typically were more involved in war than women, but that does not mean that women that were abducted during the time of war were not abducted largely due to the war. Since our group was not

able to read all of the texts in the archive, is it possible that we were more apt to classify female captivities in the “gray area” as Indian captivities while male captivities were more likely to be classified as prisoner of war?

One argument for this bias can be made by looking at figures 11 and 12 which break down the means of liberation in the captivity narratives based on gender, not accounting for narratives where the captives died in captivity. Figures 10 and 12, which correspond to the number of narratives per subset for male captivity and the means of liberation in male captivity show very similar proportions. While tabulating our data, we noticed most of the captives we classified as prisoner of war escaped while the a larger number of Indian captivity narratives end up with the captive being redeemed. The similar proportions between male subset division and male liberation division may mean that our classification of male narratives was fairly accurate, as the proportion of prisoner of war narratives and escaped captives are similar. On the other hand, the female captivity breakdowns for subset and liberation, figures 9 and 11, show much different proportions. This supports that our group may have had some bias towards classifying the “gray area” female captivity narratives. In turn, this ultimately would change the data of many other visualizations by changing how which narratives would be plotted as Indian captivity narratives and which would be prisoner of war. In the future, a more detailed understanding of the text by those who have time to read the narrative in detail may provide more accurate results that face less potential bias.

The captivity narrative as propaganda was another one of our main topics of interest when interpreting visualizations. Vail, the Printer’s File at the AAS, and the Evans TCP

provided the publication data that we visualized, which includes the date of publication and its location. Several different visualizations related the number of narratives published in certain time increments, as shown in figures 5-8. Figures 5 and 6 focus more on the trend of narratives published per decade (either all editions in the Evans TCP, figure 5, or first editions, figure 6). There are two significant observations that can immediately be made based on these graphs, which are not divided by subset or gender. The first is the obvious spike in publication of these narratives in the last two decades of the 18th century, and the second is the eerily similar trend that the total publication graph from the Evans TCP and Vail both share. Both figures show nearly identical trends in publications, just at different scales of production. This means that the publication of first editions of narratives and the republication of older narratives were occurring at similar rates.

There are several explanations for the increase in popularity of the captivity narrative during these later decades. For example, the westward expansion of the newly founded United States was being slowed by Native people who were armed by the British⁵². Therefore, the captivity narrative may have been used as a way to gather support for the elimination of Indians during westward expansion. Figure 8, which compares the “lag” time, or time between liberation of a captive and the publication of the narrative, with the decade in which the narrative was published supports this idea. Figure 8 shows this relationship between space and time by comparing Indian captivity and prisoner of war narratives in particular. There are more Indian captivity narratives published, both first edition and

⁵² Fixico, Donald “A Native Nations Perspective on the War of 1812” Pbs.org <http://www.pbs.org/wned/war-of-1812/essays/native-nations-perspective/> (accessed April 17, 2017)

reprints, in the 1780s to 1800 than there are prisoner of war narratives. In addition to the difference in number, the largest lag times are those for Indian captivity narratives. There are 8 narratives with lag times over 30 years from 1780 to 1800, 6 of which are Indian captivity. As a side note, several of the prisoner of war narratives that were published in the 1780s and 1790s, such as Matthew Bunn and Daniel Boone, tell the tales of captives who were either abducted in the west (Boone, near Kentucky) or held captive in the west (Bunn, Little Miami).

4.1.3 Voyant Visualizations

Our text analysis resulted in us noticing some patterns with narratives, as well as revealing texts that stood out within the Evans Indian captivity corpus. With the use of Voyant's word frequency graphs and their links, we were able to determine where the various terminology was used within individual texts, and how much these words were used as time went on throughout the corpus. We were also able to use word links to tell how these individual words were used within the corpus, and compare this to usage in narratives we thought were exceptions.

One of the most relevant findings of the Voyant graphs, was our look into how those who wrote the captivity narratives thought of the Indians. To analyze this, we checked which words used they used most often to refer to the Indians, and what those words were linked with. Based off our readings we found three words were predominantly used to refer to the Indians: Indians, savage, and tribe.

Indian was the word used most frequently in reference and tended to be the most neutral. This term was most frequently used in the narratives up until about 1700 with Jonathan Dickinson's narrative. After this point, it showed a steep decline in usage until the 1720's, with John Gyles narrative having less than 57% the usage of the peak narrative before. After this point, it slowly became a more popular term again with narratives such as a reprinting of *The sovereignty and goodness of God*, providing peaks that would slightly fall off.

This remained the trend until after the mid-1750's, where it began to fluctuate and then steeply fall off. One point to make this cutoff for the drop off is the publication of Isaac Hollister's narrative in 1763. At this point, the usage of the term Indian fell off sharply. Isaac Hollister had the usage of Indian at a relative frequency of .008964. Narratives within the drop off had relative frequencies as low as .000596, demonstrated by John Dodge's narrative. After this there are several narratives such as Dr. John Knight's, which boosted the popularity of terms, but in general the usage of the term fell off. Notable examples which boosted this trend were Dr. Knight's, Nehemiah How's, and Luke Swetland.

It is also interesting to note that the term Indian was most often used in the plural. Of the 3014 times the string Indian occurs in the corpus, over 2000 are in the word Indians. Knowing that the Indian most commonly occurs in the plural, we can look at how the relationship between singular and plural changes over time. Over time, the gap between the two becomes smaller. Several notable examples occur after 1790 in which the usage of the singular gains slightly more usage than the plural form.

Savage was the second most common word used when referring to Indians. Savage yielded interesting results with regards to singular narratives, as well as the whole corpus. The most common usage of savage within the texts was being used as an adjective as opposed to a noun. The term was most closely linked with cruelty, men, war, country, and day. The term savage peaked in popularity during Nehemiah How's publication. After this the term experienced small waves of popularity.

Only a very small percentage of narratives have the string savage used more often than Indian. This is most drastic in *The Returned Captive, A Poem on a Late-Fact*. In this poem, savage is used 45 times, meanwhile, Indian is only used four times. Other prominent examples include narratives like Maria Kittle's.

Tribe was a third term used to refer to the Indians. This term was used much less frequently than the other two, occurring less than half as often as savage. Until after 1756, the only narrative to use the term was Elizabeth Hanson's, published in 1728. After 1756 the term became a more regular occurrence with 23 narratives using the term. Despite the number of narratives using the terms increased, there was a large variation in the amount of times the word occurs in the narrative, with several narratives using the term much more than others. This was one of the terms we believed to be indicative of acculturation as it was largely present in narratives such as Charles Dennis's that we believed portrayed the Indians in a more positive light.

Salvages was a final term used to refer to the Indians. This was a term that was present in the early narratives, but quickly faded out of use by 1750. It is interesting to note

that the 1682 edition of Mary Rowlandson uses the term once, but this is removed in the 1720 edition.

Narratives written by men and those written by women begin to have some similarities and differences that are exemplified by this data. The frequency of these terms is relatively consistent throughout the male and female narratives. The only female narrative in which a savage is used more frequently than Indian is Maria Kittle's. Tribe is the word which differentiates itself between men and women. The overall usage of the term is more prevalent throughout the male narratives. The narrative of Jemima Howe is the exception to this trend. This narrative uses term relatively more frequent than any other narrative in the corpus besides Charles Dennis's.

Links also provided insight into how different men and women used different terms. When looking at the usage of the word man between men and female, you can notice several differences. At a context value of seven, man's link contains the words child and children in the female narratives, the male narratives contain neither of these words in it's links. It is also interesting to note that in the female narratives, man is directly connected to dead, while dead does not appear in the male narratives. As opposed to dead in the female narratives, male narratives present an indirect link to died through the word taken.

The narrative of Briton Hammon was one which textual analysis helped to provide insight into. In Robert Desrochers' book *"Surprising Deliverance"?: Slavery and Freedom, Language, and Identity in the Narrative of Briton Hammon, "A Negro Man"*, puts forth the idea that Briton Hammon is never becomes truly free, which is supported by our Voyant work.

There are three predominant entities that preside over hammon throughout the narrative, his master, his captain, and the Indians. Throughout the narrative, the prevalence of each of these figures shifts between each other, however, at all points one of them is mentioned, and as the occurrence of one term falls off in usage, another begins to rise.

Another Idea put forth by Desrochers is that Hammon tries to maintain a semblance of control over his life. Desrochers says "In the event Hammon took upon himself the task of breaking his bonds asunder, or at least, and more realistically, controlling who held the key and whenever possible under what terms."⁵³ This holds true with what we generally found with Voyant work and the narrative as a whole. One point at which we can see this is when Hammon is in Havana, he refuses to go on the ship bound for Spain. Although this results in him being thrown in a dungeon, he chose where he would be enslaved by his own agency.

Another example of this includes his referencing of himself as a servant as opposed to slave. Hammon uses the term servant as opposed to slave in the narrative. We can see with word links that he is directly linked to the word servant and that master directly linked to good. Within the actual text we can also see that Hammon tries to make what happens to him appear to be of his own agency. An example of this being in the very first sentence of the narrative, Hammon writes, "where I immediately ship'd myself on board of a Sloop, Capt. John Howland, Master, bound to Jamaica." This sentence also is interesting for the fact that he uses the term Captain and Master to describe Howland. As stated before captain eventually overtakes master as his life becomes more intertwined with the ship. The term

⁵³ Desrochers, Robert. " "Surprising Deliverance"?: Slavery and Freedom, Language, and Identity in the Narrative of Briton Hammon, "A Negro Man"." In *Genius in Bondage: Literature of the Early Black Atlantic*, edited by CARRETTA VINCENT and GOULD PHILIP, 158. University Press of Kentucky, 2001. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/j.ctt130jq8v.12>.

captain is more frequently used than master in the narrative, this again shows him choosing a more equal role as being on a ship with a captain as opposed to with a master.

Word links and clouds tended to be how we compared the language used between the slavery narratives and the indian captivity narratives. Using words that appear in both word clouds such as god, in addition to other words we believed relevant to both genres, we were able to select words and then use links to find out how these words are different in usage between the corpuses.

Man was an interesting word that appeared very prominently in the slavery corpus' word cloud, however, wasn't present in that of the indian captivity narratives. It is interesting to note that in the slavery corpus, man is closely linked with god, while in the indian captivity narrative it is not linked with god at all. Despite this Man is linked with great in the indian corpus.

Other interesting terms are freedom. In the slavery corpus, freedom is a much more prevalent concept than in the Indian captivity narratives. While the word freedom occurs over 450 times in the slavery corpus, it only appears 38 times in the Indian corpus. Links also show freedom is a more relevant term, immediately linked with slavery and slaves, words also present on the word cloud. It is also treated as a commodity being directly linked to purchase. This is different from the Indian captivity corpus in which it is linked a more varied set of words such as the french, speech, and great.

5. Conclusions and Recommendations

5.1 Conclusions

Using the data visualization created during this interactive qualifying project we were able to perform further analysis on the texts we otherwise would not be able to do. The visualizations can be used as a way to support claims made by the scholarly community as well as make claims of our own. Although the visualizations can be used individually, we found we were able to make the most concrete claims if we used as many supporting visualizations as possible.

A four quadrant graph was created in Microsoft Excel using the first edition publication data regarding liberation location, liberation date, publication location, and publication date. The graph was then saved as an image and added to Neatline as a base image and made into an interactive quadrant map. The interactive quadrant map was used in order to determine captivity narratives that were outliers in space and time regarding their liberation and publication. Any narratives outside of the third quadrant were considered outliers due to large gaps in time or space between liberation and publication dates and years. The graph also shows that most of the outliers are with regard to lag time rather than distance between liberation and publication.

Outliers were then further analyzed spatially using the liberation vs publication map and textually using Voyant. Overall, the interactive quadrant map was a useful tool for recognizing outliers in space and time that would not be obviously recognized as outliers,

and certain outliers like Maria Kittle, Briton Hammon, James Smith were researched and analyzed based on their abnormal spatial and temporal data.

In the case of Maria Kittle, who is considered to be a fake narrative⁵⁴, we were able to use multiple visualizations to show that this narrative is an outlier when compared to the rest of the narratives. Using the interactive quadrant map, we identified Kittle as an outlier because of her relatively short distance between liberation and publication but lag time of approximately 30 years. Most other narratives with similar spatial distances have liberation vs publication lag times of under 15 years. Using the Escape vs. Redemption Map we were able to see that her narrative was the only escape narrative from Montreal. The other three liberations from Montreal were all redemption narratives. When looking at the Liberation vs. Publication Location Map we can see the first edition of this narrative was published in New York. Since most publications were published in Philadelphia or Boston, this narrative is an outlier in the location of publication. Next we performed textual analysis on this narrative. Maria Kittle being a fake narrative was further supported by our results on this front. One way in which this was supported is in that she over uses the term savage in comparison to the rest of the Indian captivity corpuses. Very few narratives use the term savage more than Indian, Maria Kittle is one of the few that do. Maria Kittle also primarily used the string savage in the noun savages, directly referring to the Indians, as opposed to the corpuses normal usage of the term in a an adjectival form.

Hammon was another outlier when analyzing the quadrant graph. Hammon was redeemed 1,480 miles from his narrative's site of liberation, which is the largest spatial

⁵⁴ Snader, Joe. "Mastering Captivity." 183

difference on the map, but was published less than a year after his liberation. The large spatial difference and small lag time is one reason why we decided to analyze Hammon's narrative.

Another narrative historians debate on the accuracy of is James Smith. Leroy Eid makes the point in his book that although not many historians have said the narrative is false, very few will use it as a reference because of discrepancies with official sources⁵⁵. James Smith was another outlier found while analyzing the quadrant graph. The interactive quadrant map showed that James Smith has the largest lag time for first edition publication in the entire TCP. Next we analyzed the maps. In the Escape vs. Redemption Map most of the narratives surrounding Ohio are escape narratives. We assume this is because these narratives are POW narratives which are more likely to be redemption. James Smith is the only POW narrative near Ohio that ends in redemption. When examining the Liberation vs. Publication we found James Smith's publication location is Lexington, the same town as Jackson Johonnett, another fake narrative. Considering how much of an outlier this captive is, we came back to our secondary scholarly sources to learn more about James Smith's Narrative.

5.2 Recommendations

During the analysis of this project, we were given the opportunity to present our project to the American Antiquarian Society. While this provided us with the opportunity to

⁵⁵ Eid, Leroy V. "*Their Rules of War*": *The Validity of James Smith's Summary of Indian Woodland War.* *The Register of the Kentucky Historical Society* 86, no. 1 (1988): 4-23. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/23380726>.

reflect upon our project, it also provided us with feedback from scholars whose work parallels and surpasses our own. Based on feedback given from our presentation as well as our own observations, we developed recommendations for this project that we would like to complete, but are unable due to time constraints.

After creating the maps we noticed two major shortcomings while analyzing them. The first is the lack of a search feature. If there was a particular captive that was of interest, there is no way to go directly to the locations tagged to that captive. Unfortunately this is a feature that is not currently supported by Neatline. The second is there is no filtering. If you are interested in seeing data for only one category of narratives, such as female Indian captivity, there is no feature that will allow you to hide all other data point on the map. This would make viewing the data while zoomed out much less cluttered and allowing for more specific analysis of the maps. Since the addition of these features would be beyond the scope of our project, we would recommend adding these features if future work was done on these deliverables.

One of the most difficult shortcomings we had to overcome while using Neatline was the longevity of its content. While it may be impractical to change Neatline in a way that would make it possible to rehost Neatline-generated content on other servers, like we did with our project, a good middle ground would be a tool that would let you “move” your Neatline content, including records and their metadata, between Omeka installations. Having a stable and transparent export format is one of the most crucial and basic steps towards making your technology archive-friendly and long-lasting.

We believe that the introduction of a categorizing system in addition to the tagging that Evans-TCP currently has would be a valuable addition to the way in which the narratives are cataloged. Currently, tags overlap and some narratives, which are not a good representative of Indian captivity narratives, are still tagged as such. We believe the inclusion of a categorization system would allow us to put narratives into discrete categories which more accurately fit them, such as travel narrative, but then also allow for broader tags such as Indian to inform you of other relevant subjects.

One feature we believe should be added to Voyant is the option to create subsets of a corpus. Currently, the tool allows you to upload an individual narrative or an entire corpus. From the entire corpus, you can choose to analyze trends over the entire corpus or individual narratives, however, you cannot break the corpus up into subsets. Because of this, you must upload different corpuses that contain subsets of the original corpus.

One of the members of the AAS who attended our presentation also mentioned a software by Hofstra University called Itinerary. This is a software that was used to map several events such as the spread of the London plague in 1665. This would be another resource that would potentially be able to host our dynamic maps. An advantage of this software is that they are currently working on moving Itinerary into a JavaScript application so that it could be hosted on any server's backend.⁵⁶

One problem with our analysis is it only focuses on the settlers who were captured. The settlers were not the only captives taken during this time. Many Indians were taken captive. This means our data is only representative of the English who were taken, not all

⁵⁶ Bryant, John. "Itinerary At The Digital Research Center At Hofstra University," Hofstra University, accessed May 11 2017, <http://hofstra.github.io/itinerary/>

“Early American Captivities”. We believe it would be interesting to gather locations of Indians who were taken into captivity by settlers. Obviously there will not be a database full of narratives for this, but some data could be gathered when reading accounts of battles or other early texts. These data points could be added to the Escape vs. Redemption Map . This would allow for further analysis related to the correlation of the captures of both settlers and Indians.

Appendices

Appendix A: List of Graphs and Figures

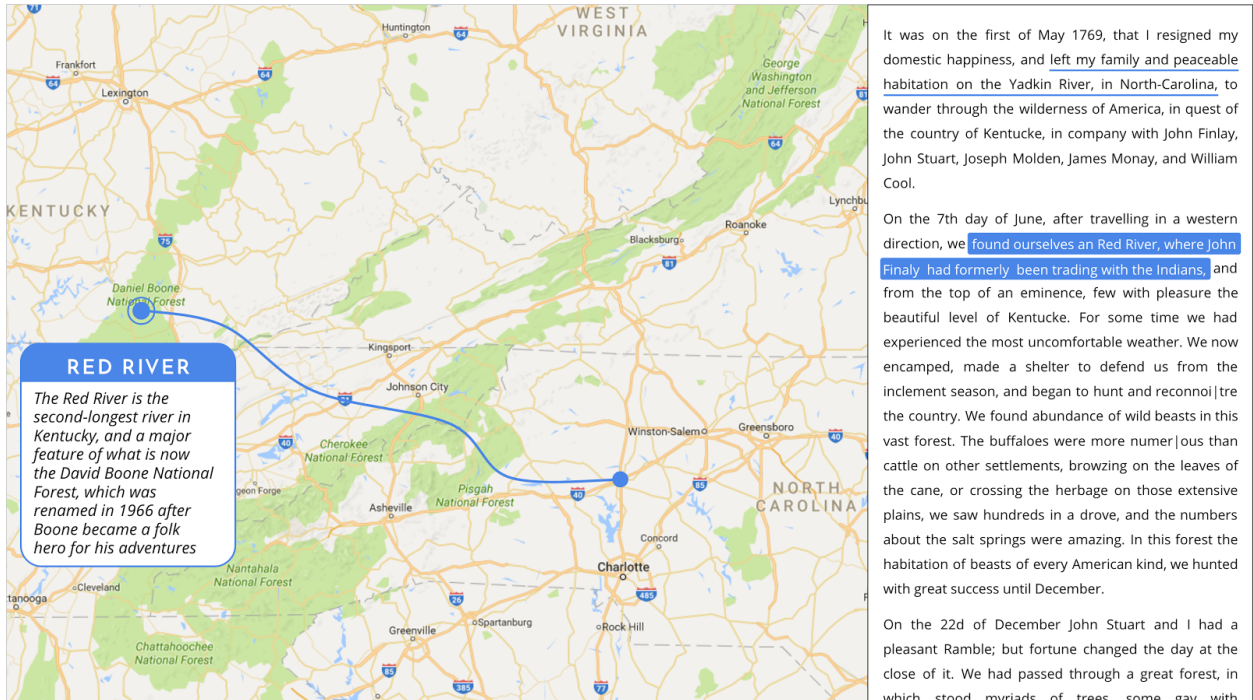


Figure 1: An initial mockup of the map/narrative annotation idea

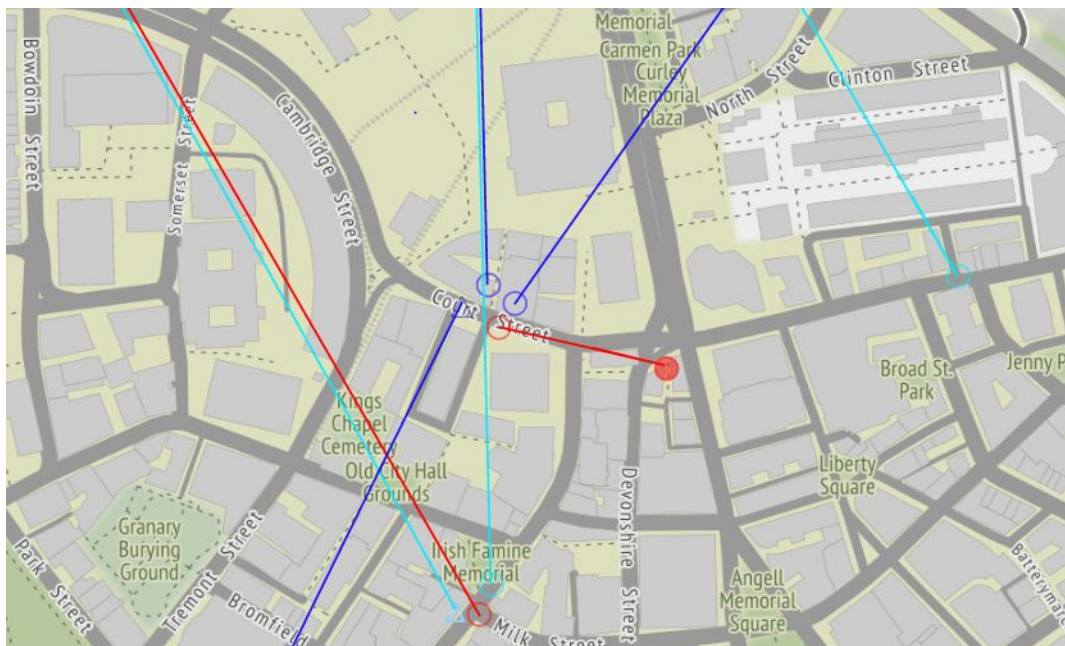


Figure 2: 1st Edition Publication Locations in Boston, MA

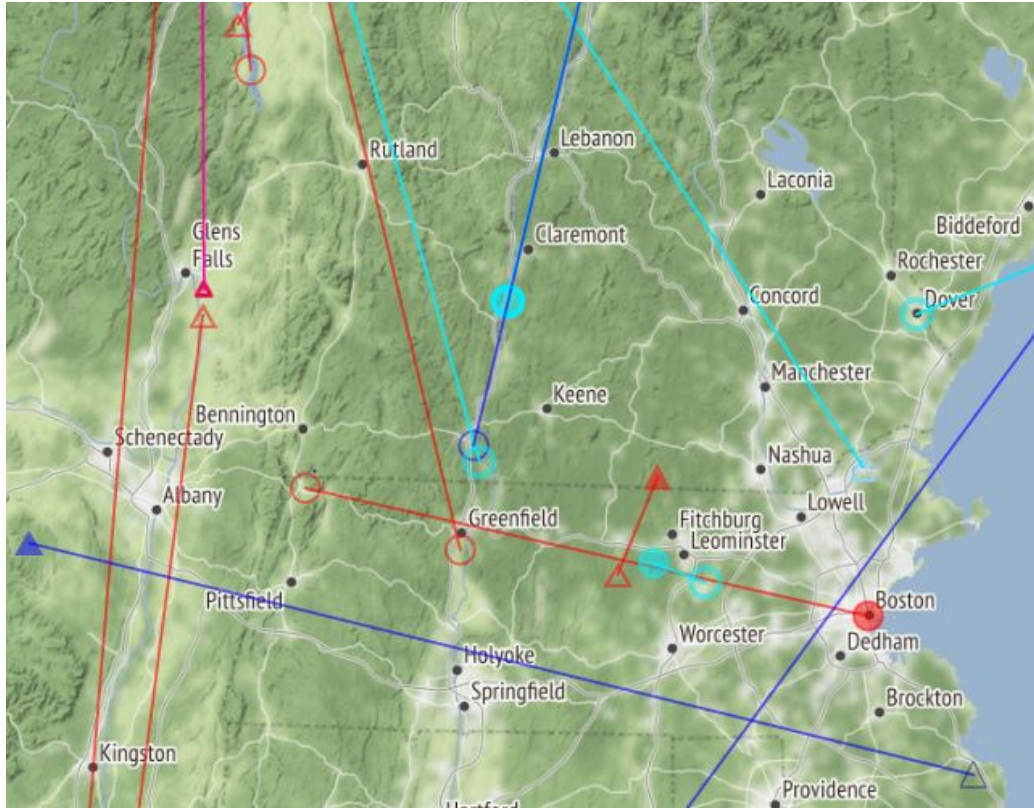


Figure 3: Escape vs Liberation Map



Figure 4: Boon vs. Bunn Map

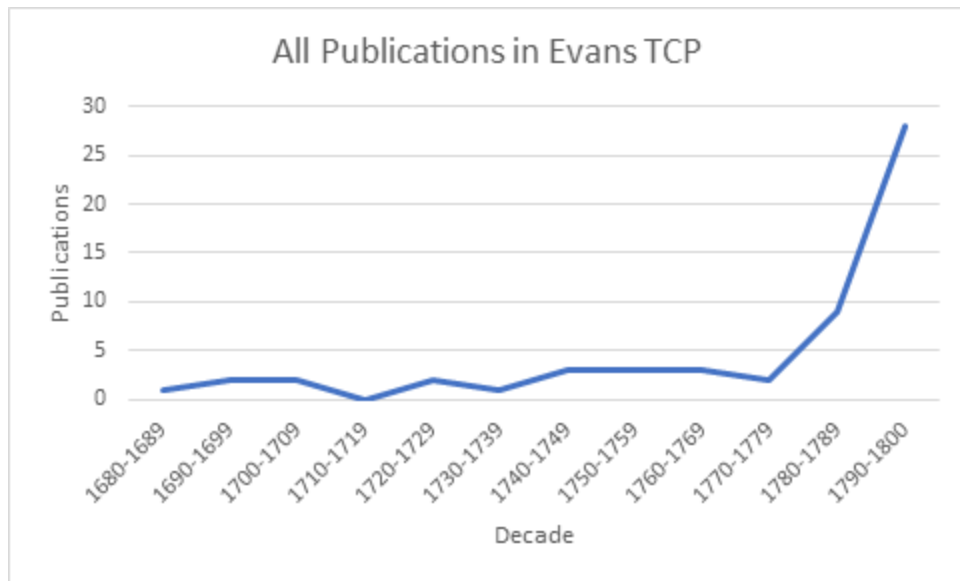


Figure 5: Total number of publications in the Evans TCP published per decade

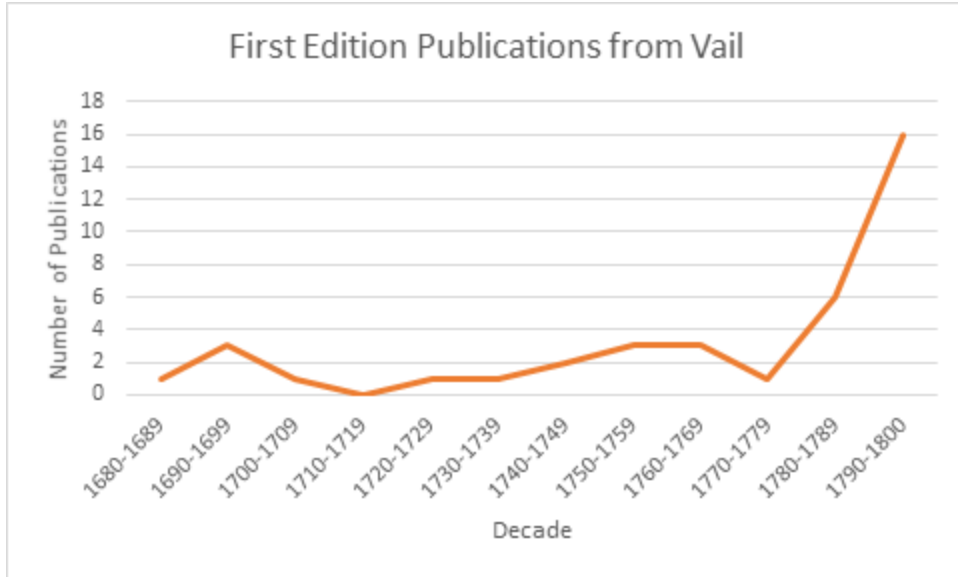


Figure 6: Number of first editions of captivity narratives published per decade

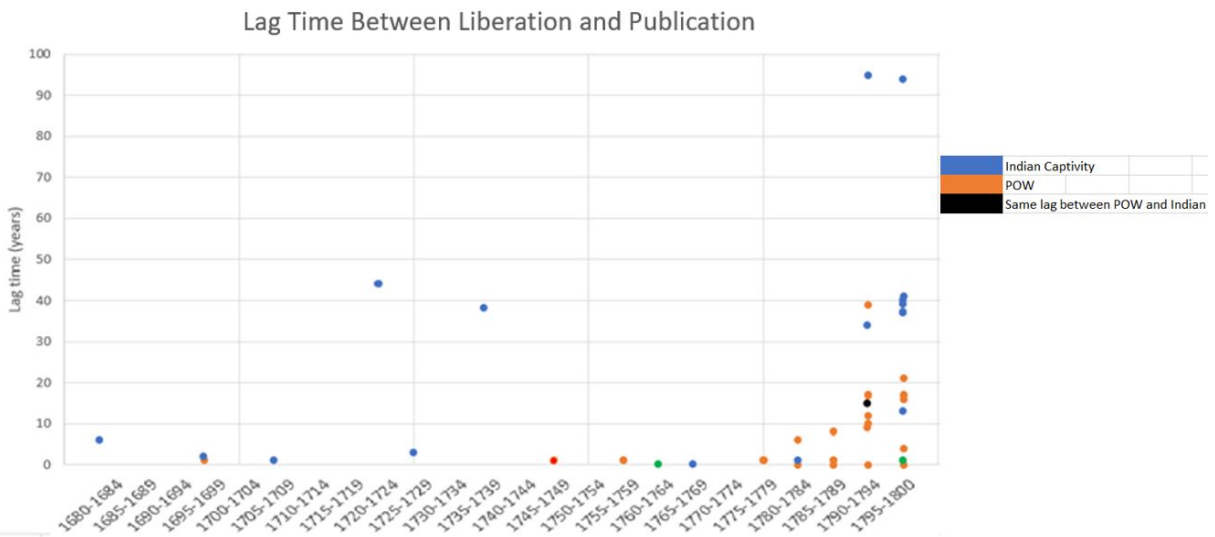


Figure 7: "Lag Time" Between a captive's escape, redemption, or death and the publication of the narrative

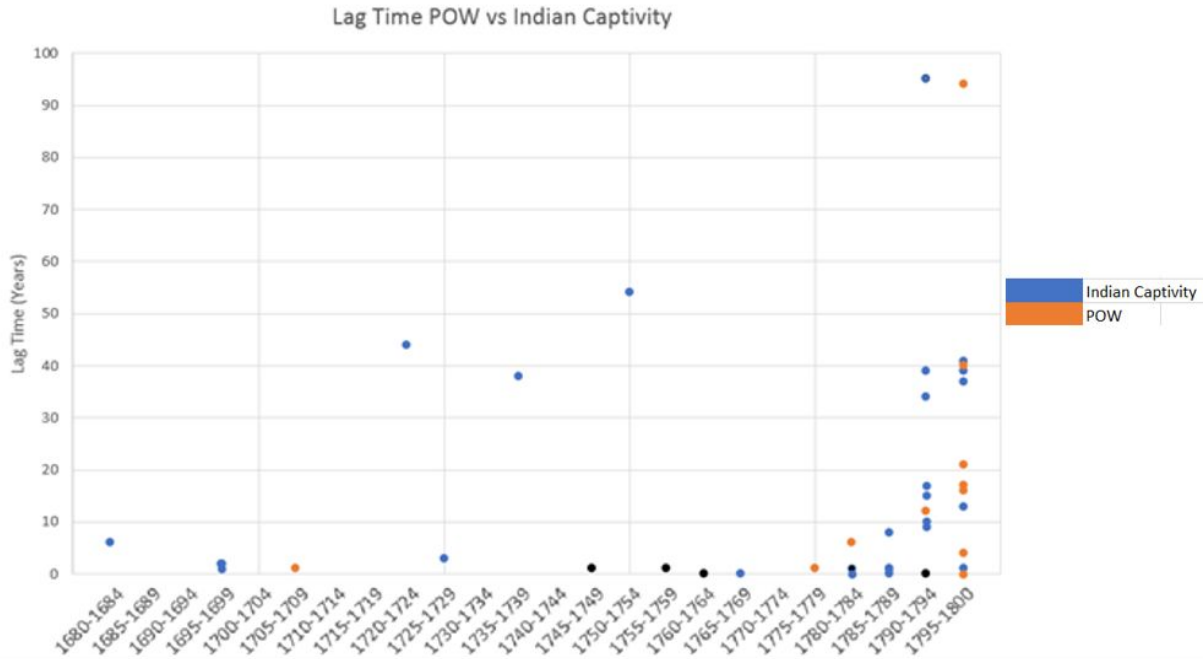


Figure 8: "Lag Time" Between the publication of prisoner of war and Indian captivity narratives

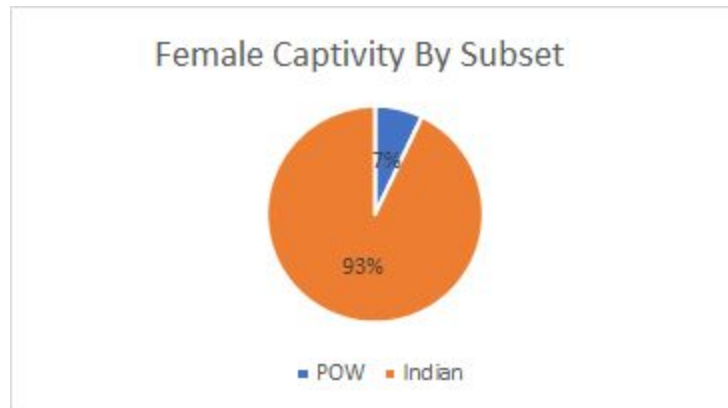


Figure 9: Female Captivity broken down by subset

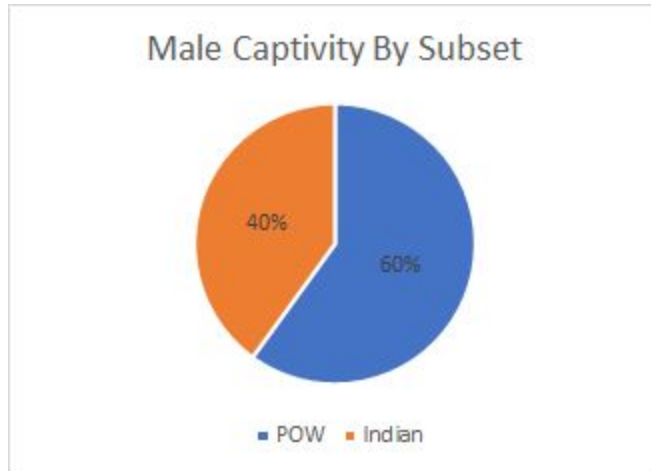


Figure 10: Male Captivity broken down by subset

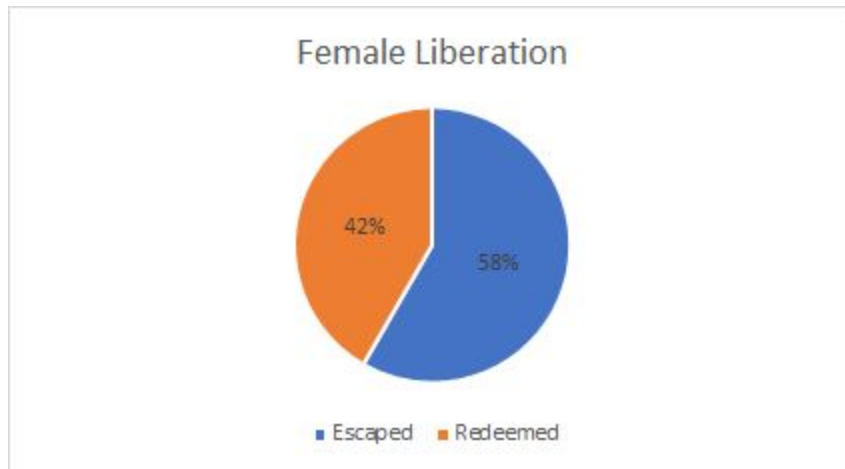


Figure 11: Female Captivity liberation

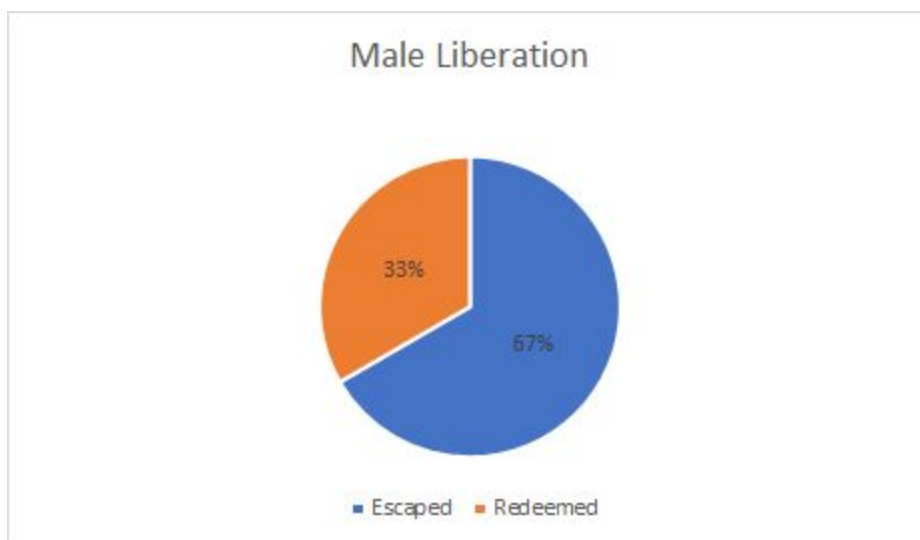


Figure 12: Male Captivity liberation

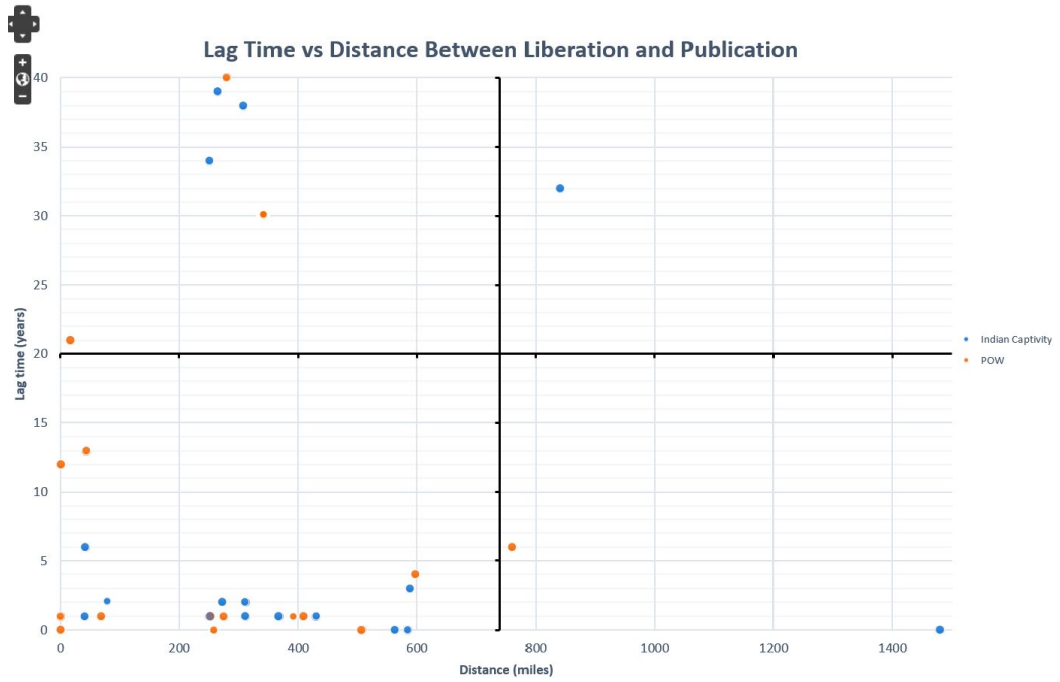


Figure 13: Four quadrant graph created with Excel and Neatline



Figure 14: Liberation from Quebec



Figure 15: Maria Kittle Liberation Location

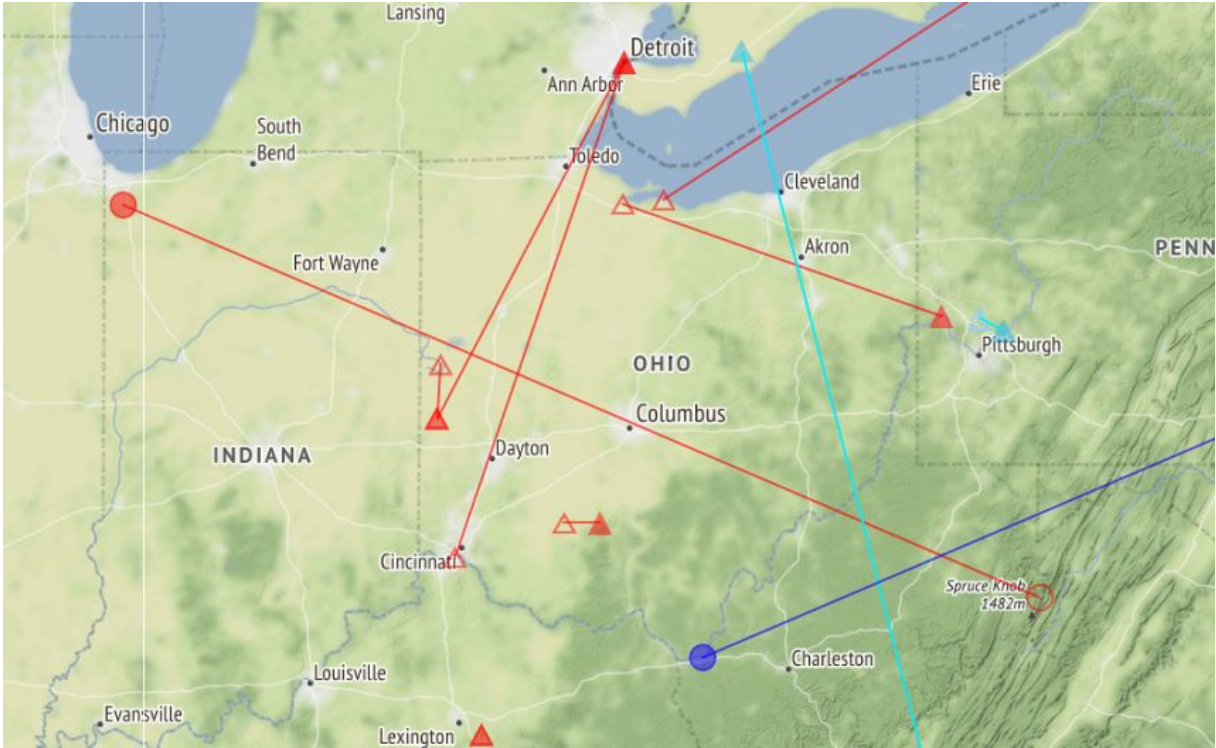


Figure 16: POW Narratives Near Ohio

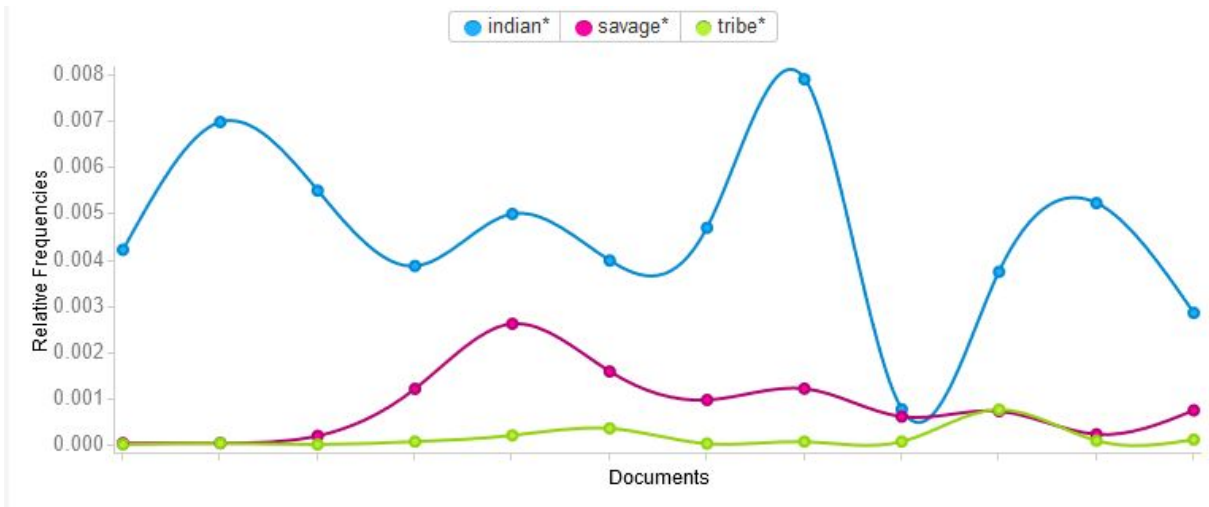


Figure 16: Relative Frequency of Indian*, Savage*, and Tribe* in Evans-TCP

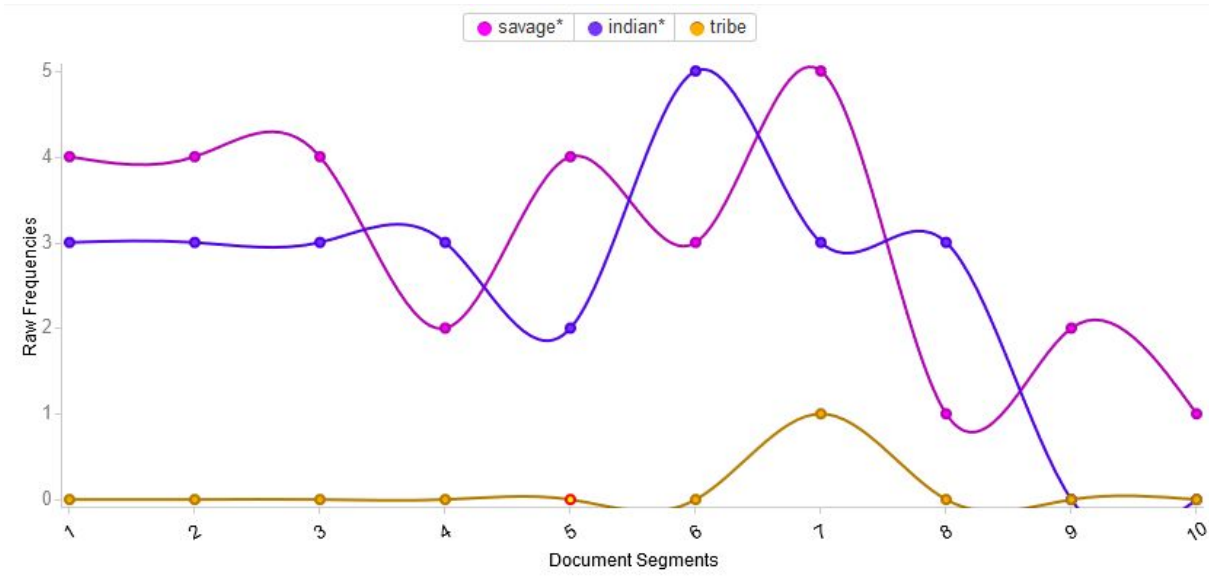


Figure 17: Raw Frequency of Indian*, Savage* and Tribe in Evans-TCP

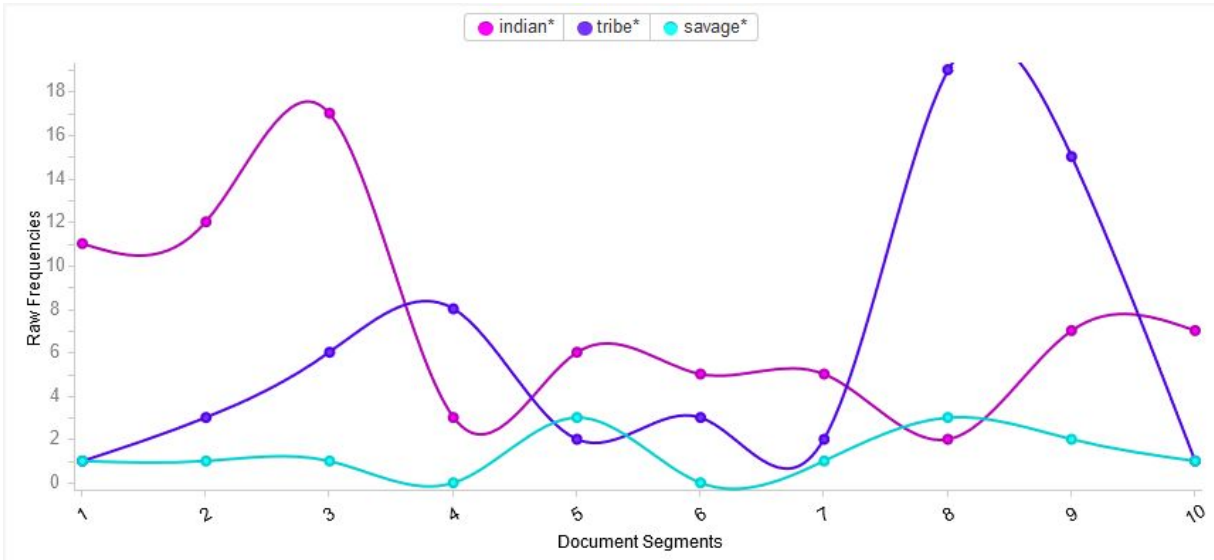


Figure 18: Raw Frequencies of Indian*, Tribe*, and Savage* in Charles Dennis

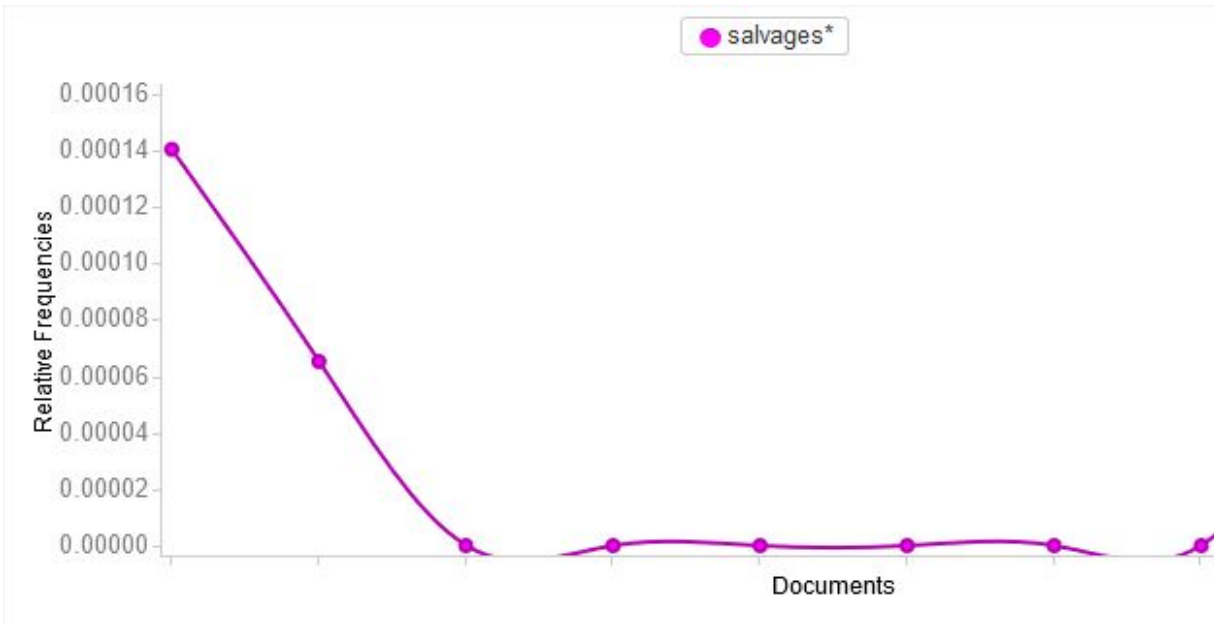


Figure 19: Relative Frequency of Salvages* in Evans-TCP

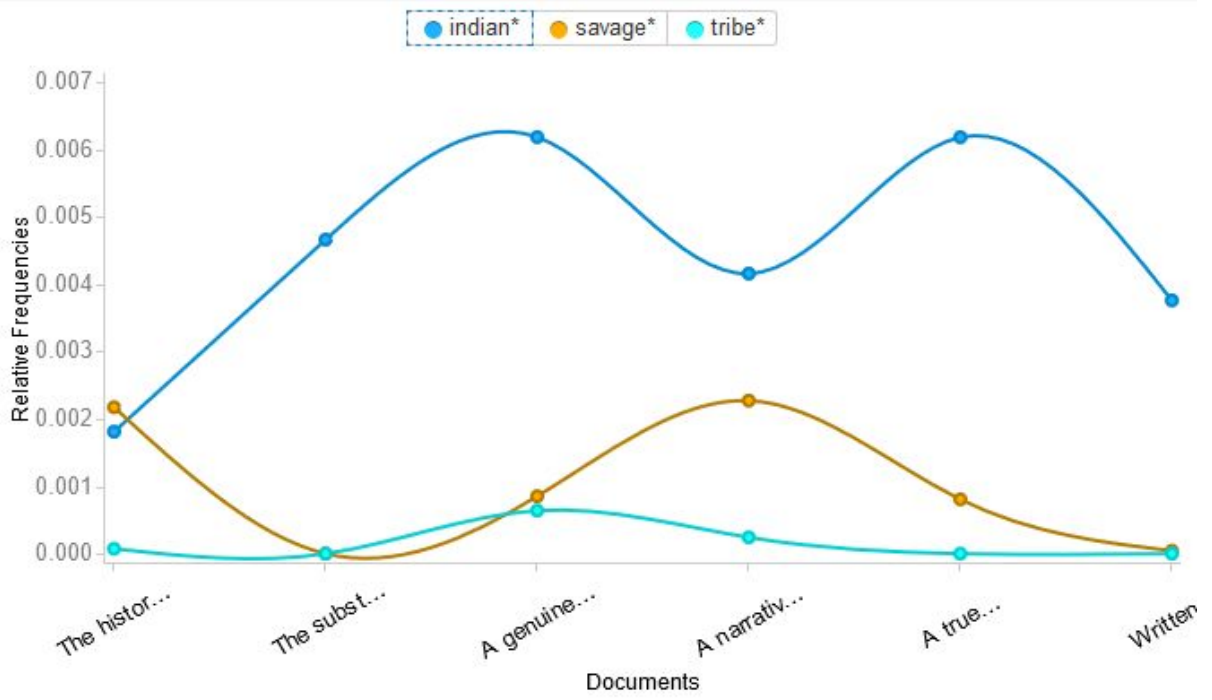


Figure 20: Relative Frequency of Indian*, Savage*, Tribe* in Female Authored Indian Captivity Narratives

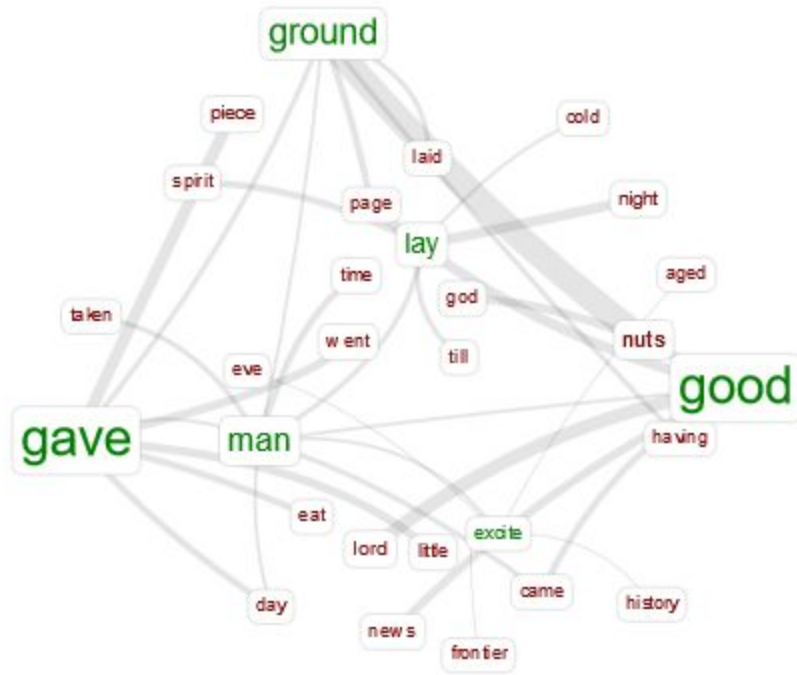


Figure 21: Man Links in Female Authored Indian Captivity Narratives

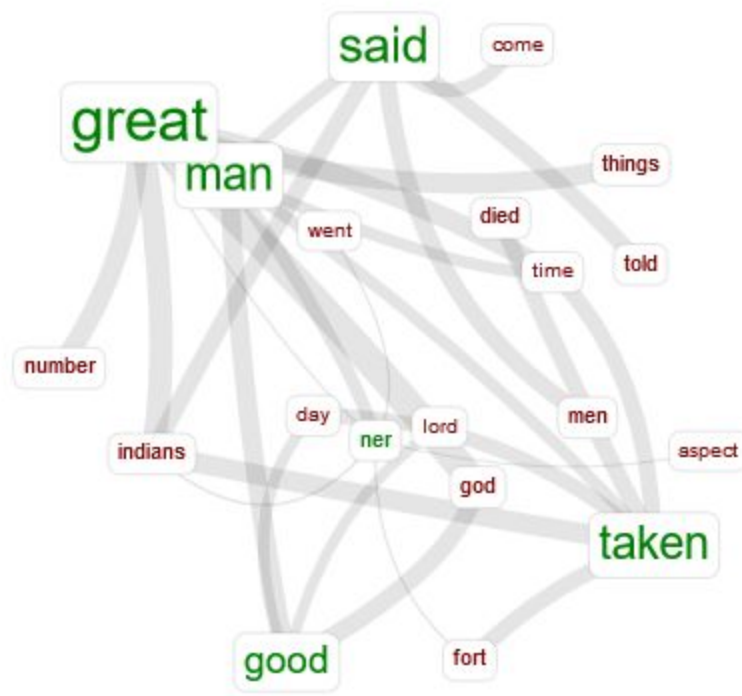


Figure 22: Man Links in Evans-TCP



Figure 23: Word Cloud for Evans-TCP Captivity Narratives

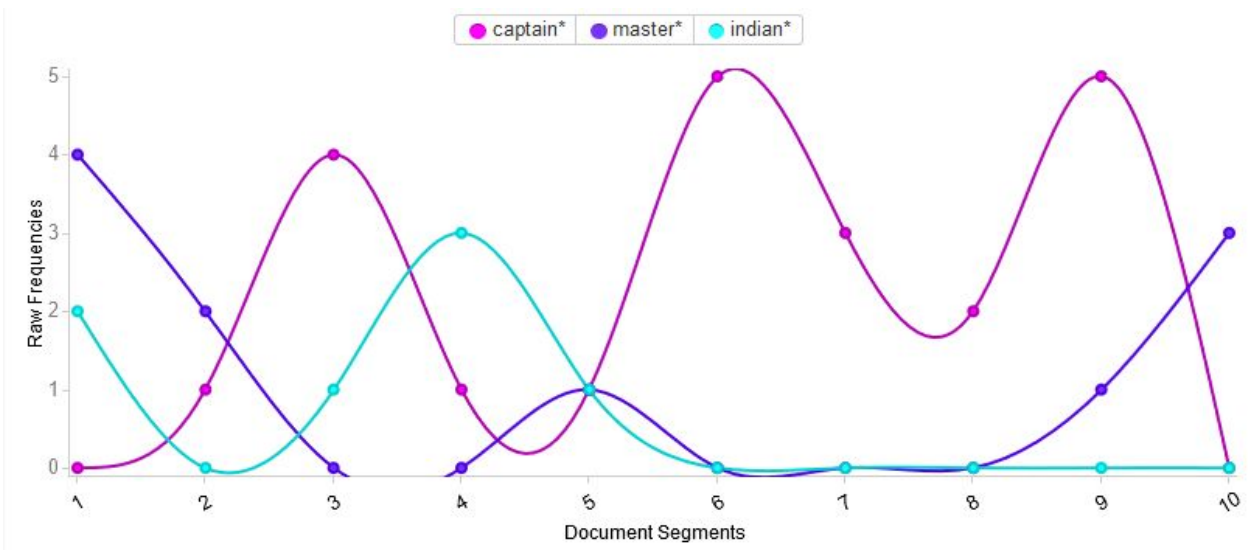


Figure 24: Frequency of Captain*, Master*, and Indian* within Briton Hammon's Narrative

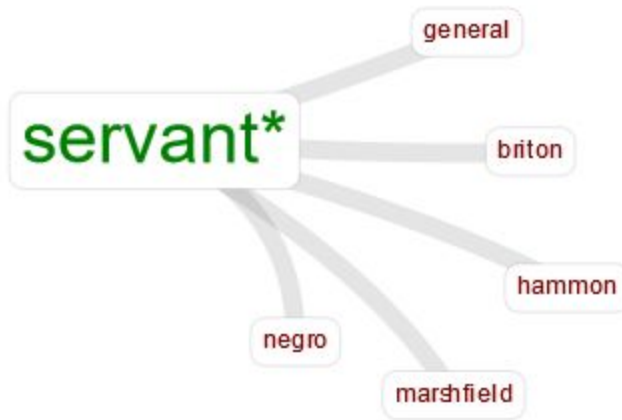


Figure 25: Servant Links in Britton Hammon's Narrative



Figure 26: Master Links Britton Hammon



Figure 27: Slavery Corpus Word Cloud



Figure 28: Freedom Links in Slavery Corpus



Figure 29: Freedom Links in Evans-TCP

Appendix B: Source Code Listing for Deliverables

The source for the script used to archive the Neatline deliverables is available:

<https://github.com/wpi-captivity-iqp/neatline-grabber>

Appendix C: Contributions to Project:

Matt:

Writing:

Executive Summary

Abstract

1 Introduction

2.1 History of the Captivity Narrative

2.2 Different Kinds of Captivity Narratives

2.2.1 North American Captivity(Prisoner of War)

2.2.3 Slavery Narratives

2.3 Archival Resources

2.3.2 Scholarly Resources

2.4 Digital Humanities

2.4.2 Data Visualization

2.4.3 Other Projects Used as Resources

3.1 Techniques for Research

3.1.2 Vail

3.1.4 Jstor

3.2.2 Neatline Visualizations

3.2.3 Microsoft Excel Visualizations

3.2.4 Textual Analysis

3.3.1 Neatline Mapping

3.3.3 Graphing and Supporting Visualizations

4 Results and Analysis

4.1.2 Excel Visualizations

5 Conclusions and Recommendations

Visualizations:

All Microsoft Excel Visualizations

Interactive Quadrant Graph with Neatline

Zack

Writing:

Executive Summary

2.2.1 North American Captivity

2.3.1 Evans TCP

- 3.1.1 Work with the AAS
- 3.1.3 Evans TCP
- 3.2.2 Neatline Visualizations
- 3.3.1 Neatline Mapping
- 3.4 Rejected Deliverables
- 4.1.1 Neatline Mapping
- 5. Conclusions and Recommendations

Visualizations:

- Escape vs. Redemption Map
- Liberation vs. Publication Map
- Boon vs. Bunn Map

Cam

Writing:

- Executive Summary
- 2.2.3 Slavery Narratives
- 3.1.5 Creation of Slave Narrative Corpus
- 3.2.4 Textual Analysis
- 3.3.2 Voyant Visualizations
- 4.1.3 Voyant Visualizations
- 5 Conclusions and Recommendations

Visualizations:

- Voyant work

Evan:

- Abstract
- 2.2.2 North African Captivity
- 2.4.1 Digital Humanities Text Encoding
- 2.4.4 Archiving The Digital Humanities
- 3.2.1 Omeka
- 3.3.4 Archiving Omeka and Neatline
- 5. Conclusions and Recommendations

Deliverables:

- Omeka/Neatline HTML Distribution
- Neatline Grabber script for archiving Neatline projects

Appendix D: Captivity Narratives in Evans TCP

Affecting history of the dreadful distresses of Frederic Manheim's family. To which are added, the sufferings of John Corbly's family. : An encounter between a white man and two savages. : Extraordinary bravery of a woman. : Adventures of Capt. Isaac Stewart. : Deposition of Massey Herbeson. : Adventures and sufferings of Peter Wilkinson [i.e., Williamson]. : Remarkable adventures of Jackson Johonnot. : Account of the destruction of the settlements at Wyoming.

A narrative of Colonel Ethan Allen's captivity, from the time of his being taken by the British, near Montreal, on the 25th day of September, in the year 1775, to the time of his exchange, on the 6th day of May, 1778: : containing voyages and travels ... Interspersed with some political observations.

The history of Maria Kittle. By Ann Eliza Bleecker. ; In a letter to Miss Ten Eyck.

The adventures of Colonel Daniel Boon, one of the first settlers at Kentucke: containing the wars with the Indians on the Ohio, from 1769 to 1783, and the first establishment and progress of the settlement on that river.

A narrative of the extraordinary sufferings of Mr. Robert Forbes, his wife, and five children; during an unfortunate journey through the wilderness, from Canada to Kennebeck River, in

the year 1784: in which three of their children were starved to death. : (Taken partly from their own mouths, and partly from an imperfect journal; and published at their request.)

Barbarian cruelty. Being a true history of the distressed condition of the Christian capitol under the tyranny of Mully Ishmael Emperor of Morocco, and King of Fez and Macqueness in Barbary. : In which is likewise given a particular account of his late wars with the Algerines. The manner of his pirates taking the Christians and others. His breach of faith with Christian princes. A description of his castles and guards, and places where he keeps his women, his slaves and negroes. : With a particular relation of the dangerous escape of the author, and two English men, more from thence after a miserable slavery of ten years.

A plain narrative of the uncommon sufferings, and remarkable deliverance of Thomas Brown, of Charlestown, in New-England; who returned to his father's house the beginning of Jan. 1760, after having been absent three years and about eight months: containing an account of the engagement between a party of English, led by Maj. Rogers, and a party of French and Indians, in Jan. 1757 ... How he was taken captive by the Indians, and carried to Canada, and from thence to the Mississippi; where he liv'd about a year, and was again sent to Canada ...

A journal of the adventures of Matthew Bunn, a native of Brookfield, Massachusetts, who enlisted with Ensign John Tillinghast, of Providence, in the year 1791, on an expedition into the western country,-- was taken by the savages, and made his escape into Detroit the 30th

of April, 1792. : Containing a very circumstantial account of the cruel treatment he suffered while in captivity, and many of the customs of the savages, which have never before appeared in print. : Published by the particular request of a number of persons who have seen the manuscript.

A journey over land to India, partly by a route never gone before by any European,

A narrative of the extraordinary adventures, and sufferings by shipwreck & imprisonment, of Donald Campbell, Esq. of Barbreck: with the singular humours of his Tartar guide, Hasan Artaz; : comprising the occurrences of four years and five days, in an overland journey to India. : In a series of letters to his son. : [Three lines from Young]

A short account of Algiers, and of its several wars against Spain, France, England, Holland, Venice, and other powers of Europe, from the usurpation of Barbarossa and the invasion of the Emperor Charles V. to the present time. : With a concise view of the origin of the rupture between Algiers and the United States. : [Four lines from Buchanan] : To which is added, a copious appendix, containing letters from Captains Penrose, M'Shane, and sundry other American captives, with a description of the treatment those prisoners experience.

A narrative of the sufferings of James Derkinderen, who was taken prisoner by the Halifax Indians, on the 10th of the 6th mo. (commonly called June) 1759.

God's protecting providence, man's surest help and defence in the times of the greatest difficulty and most imminent danger; evidenced in the remarkable deliverance of divers persons, from the devouring waves of the sea, amongst which they suffered shipwreck. And also from the more cruelly devouring jaws of the inhumane canibals of Florida.

God's protecting providence, man's surest help and defence, in the times of the greatest difficulty, and most eminent danger. Evidenced, in the remarkable deliverance of Robert Barrow, with divers persons, from the devouring waves of the sea; among which they suffered shipwreck: and also, from the cruel, devouring jaws of the inhuman canibals of Florida.

The remarkable deliverance of Robert Barrow, with divers other persons, from the devouring waves of the sea, among which they suffered shipwreck; and also from the cruel devouring jaws of the inhuman cannibals of Florida: God's protecting providence, man's surest help and defence, in times of greatest difficulty, and most eminent danger.

A narrative of the capture and treatment of John Dodge, by the English at Detroit. Written by himself.

A faithful narrative, of the many dangers and sufferings, as well as wonderful and surprizing deliverances of Robert Eastburn, during his late captivity among the Indians: together with

some remarks upon the country of Canada, and the religion and policy of its inhabitants; :
the whole intermixed with devout reflections.

The discovery, settlement and present state of Kentucke: and an essay towards the
topography, and natural history of that important country: : to which is added, an appendix,
containing, I. The adventures of Col. Daniel Boon, one of the first settlers, comprehending
every important occurrence in the political history of that province. II. The minutes of the
Piankashaw Council, held at Post St. Vincents, April 15, 1784. III. An account of the Indian
nations inhabiting within the limits of the thirteen original United States, their manners and
customs, and reflections on their origin. IV. The stages and distances between Philadelphia
and the falls of the Ohio; from Pittsburg to Pensacola and several other places.--The whole
illustrated by a new and accurate map of Kentucke, and the country adjoining, drawn from
actual surveys.

A narrative of the sufferings and surprizing deliverances of William and Elizabeth Fleming,
who were taken captive by Capt. Jacob, commander of the Indians, who lately made the
incursions on the fronties of Pennsylvania,

A narrative of the captivity and sufferings of Mr. Ebenezer Fletcher, of Newipswich, who was
wounded at Hubbarston [sic], in the year 1777, and taken prisoner by the British, and, after
recovering a little from his wounds, made his escape from them, and returned back to
Newipswich.

A journal, of the captivity and sufferings of John Foss; several years a prisoner in Algiers: together with some account of the treatment of Christian slaves when sick:-- and observations of the manners and customs of the Algerines. : Published according to act of Congress.

A journal, of the captivity and sufferings of John Foss; several years a prisoner at Algiers: together with some account of the treatment of Christian slaves when sick:-- and observations of the manners and customs of the Algerines. : [Eight lines of verse]

Good fetch'd out of evil, in three short essays. : I. A pastoral letter, of Mr. John Williams, the faithful Pastor of Deerfield; now detain'd a captive in Canada; written to part of his flock, and some others, returning out of their captivity. II. The conduct and constancy of the New-English captives when strongly tempted unto the popish idolatries. And certain plain poems, written by some of them, to fortify their children against such temptations. III. An account of most remarkable and memorable deliverances, received by many of the captives; and great things done by their Almighty Deliverer for them. : Collected and published, that the glorious God may have the glory of his power and goodness; and that his people may reap some advantage from what has befallen their brethren.

A short sketch, of the life of Mr. Lent Munson. [Two lines of quotation]

Memoirs of odd adventures, strange deliverances, &c. in the captivity of John Gyles, Esq; commander of the garrison on St. George's River. Written by himself. ; Eight lines in English from Homer's Odyssey]

A narrative of the uncommon sufferings, and surprizing deliverance of Briton Hammon, a Negro man,---servant to General Winslow, of Marshfield, in New-England; who returned to Boston, after having been absent almost thirteen years. : Containing an account of the many hardships he underwent from the time he left his master's house, in the year 1747, to the time of his return to Boston. --How he was cast away in the Capes of Florida;--the horrid cruelty and inhuman barbarity of the Indians in murdering the whole ship's crew;--the manner of his being carry'd by them into captivity. Also, an account of his being confined four years and seven months in a close dungeon,--and the remarkable manner in which he met with his good old master in London; who returned to New-England, a passenger, in the same ship.

[God's mercy surmounting man's cruelty, exemplified in the captivity and redemption of Elizabeth Hanson, wife of John Hanson, of Knoxmarsh at Keacheachy, in Dover township, who was taken captive with her children, and maid-servant, by the Indians in New-England, in the year 1724. : In which are inserted, sundry remarkable preservations, deliverances, and marks of the care and kindness of Providence over her and her children, worthy to be remembered.

A brief narration of the captivity of Isaac Hollister, who was taken by the Indians, anno Domini, 1763.

A genuine and correct account of the captivity, sufferings & deliverance of Mrs. Jemima Howe, of Hinsdale, in New-Hampshire. Taken from her own mouth, and written, by the Rev. Bunker Gray [i.e., Gay], A.M. Minister of Hinsdale, in a letter to the author of The history of New-Hampshire, ; extracted from the third volume of said history, by consent of the author. ; In this account the mistakes of Col. Humphreys, relating to Mrs. Howe, in his "Life of General Putnam," are rectified.

A narrative of the captivity of Nehemiah How, who was taken by the Indians at the Great-Meadow Fort above Fort-Dummer, where he was an inhabitant, October 11th 1745. : Giving an account of what he met with in his travelling to Canada, and while he was in prison there. : Together with an account of Mr. How's death at Canada. : [Seven lines from Psalms]

A narrative of the captivity of Nehemiah How, who was taken by the Indians at the Great Meadow-Fort above Fort-Dummer, where he was an inhabitant, October 11th 1745. : Giving an account of what he met with in his travelling to Canada, and while he was in prison there. : Together with an account of Mr. How's death at Canada. : [Seven lines from Psalms]

A narrative of the captivity of Mrs. Johnson. Containing an account of her sufferings, during four years with the Indians and French. : Published according to act of Congress.

The remarkable adventures of Jackson Johonnet, of Massachusetts; who served as a soldier in the western army, in the Massachusetts line, in the expedition under General Harmar, and the unfortunate General St. Clair. : Containing an account of his captivity, sufferings, and escape from the Kickapoo Indians.

A true narrative of the sufferings of Mary Kinnan, who was taken prisoner by the Shawanee Nation of Indians on the thirteenth day of May, 1791, and remained with them till the sixteenth of August, 1794.

A remarkable narrative of an expedition against the Indians with an account of the barbarous execution of Col. Crawford, and Dr. Knight's escape from captivity.

A surprising account, of the captivity and escape of Philip M'Donald, and Alexander M'Leod, of Virginia. From the Chickemogga Indians, and of their great discoveries in the western world. From June 1779, to January 1786, when they returned in health to their friends, after an absence of six years and a half.

Humiliations follow'd with deliverances. A brief discourse on the matter and method, of that humiliation which would be an hopeful symptom of our deliverance from calamity. :

Accompanied and accomodated with a narrative, of a notable deliverance lately received by some English captives, from the hands of cruel Indians. And some improvement of that

narrative. : Whereto is added a narrative of Hannah Swarton, containing a great many wonderful passages, relating to her captivity and deliverance.

A narration of the captivity of John Fillmore and his escape from the pirates.

Narrative of a late expedition against the Indians; with an account of the barbarous execution of Col. Crawford; and the wonderful escape of Dr. Knight & John Slover from captivity in 1782. : To which is added, a narrative of the captivity & escape of Mrs. Frances Scott, an inhabitant of Washington County, Virginia.

The Narrative of Mr. John Soren, a native of the United States of America, piratically captured on the high seas, in requital for an act of humanity, in saving a British transport, with near 300 troops on board, from sinking. : With an appendix, containing the documents referred to in the narrative, A letter from the American minister, and testimonials of the truth of the statement from Major Mansergh, the commanding officer of the troops, and Captain Davis.

Narrative of Mrs. Scott and Capt. Stewart's captivity.

Narratives of a late expedition against the Indians; ; with an account of the barbarous execution of Col. Crawford; and the wonderful escape of Dr. Knight and John Slover from captivity, in 1782.

The redeemed captive. Being a narrative of the taking and carrying into captivity the Reverend Mr. John Norton, when Fort-Massachusetts surrendered to a large body of French and Indians, August 20th 1746. : With a particular account of the defence made before the surrender of that fort, with the articles of capitulation &c. : Together with an account, both entertaining and affecting, of what Mr. Norton met with, and took notice of, in his travelling to, and which in captivity at Canada, and 'till his arrival at Boston, on August 16. 1747.

A very surprising narrative of a young woman, discovered in a rocky-cave; after having been taken by the savage Indians of the wilderness, in the year 1777, and seeing no human being for the space of nine years. : In a letter from a gentleman to his friend.

The Returned captive. A poem. Founded on a late fact. : [Six lines of verse]

The sovereignty & goodness of God, together, with the faithfulness of his promises displayed; being a narrative of the captivity and restauration of Mrs. Mary Rowlandson. : Commended by her, to all that desires to know the Lords doings to, and dealings with her. Especially to her dear children and relations,

The sovereignty and goodness of God, together with the faithfulness of his promises displayed: being a narrative of the captivity and restauration of Mrs. Mary Rowlandson. : Commended by her, to all that desire to know the Lords doings to, & dealings with her; especially to her dear children and relations.

Memoirs of Charles Dennis Rusoe D'Eres, a native of Canada; who was with the Scanyawtauragahroote Indians eleven years, with a particular account of his sufferings, &c. during his tarry with them, and his safe return to his family connections in Canada; : to which is added an appendix, containing a brief account of their persons, dress, manners, reckoning time, mode of government, &c. Feasts, dances, hunting, weapons of war, &c. Making peace, diversions, courtship, marriage, religious tenets, mode of worship, diseases, method of cure, burying their dead, character of the Scanyawtauragahroote Indians, particular description of the quadrupeds, birds, fishes, reptiles and insects, which are to be met with on and in the vicinity of Scanyawtauragahroote Island. : Copy right secured.

The journal of William Scudder, an officer in the late New-York line, who was taken captive by the Indians at Fort Stanwix, on the 23d of July, 1779, and was holden a prisoner in Canada until October, 1782, and then sent to New-York and admitted on parole: : with a small sketch of his life, and some occurrences of the war, which chiefly happened under his notice previous to his captivity. : Containing also, some extracts from history, novels, &c.

An account of the remarkable occurrences in the life and travels of Col. James Smith, (now a citizen of Bourbon County, Kentucky) during his captivity with the Indians, in the years 1755, '56, '57, '58, & '59, in which the customs, manners, traditions, theological sentiments, mode of warfare, military tactics, discipline and encampments, treatment of prisoners, &c. are better explained, and more minutely related, than has been heretofore done, by any author

on that subject. Together with a description of the soil, timber and waters, where he travelled with the Indians, during his captivity. : To which is added, a brief account of some very uncommon occurrences, which transpired after his return from captivity; as well as of the different campaigns carried on against the Indians to the westward of Fort Pitt, since the year 1755, to the present date.

An historical and geographical account of Algiers; comprehending a novel and interesting detail of events relative to the American captives.

A very remarkable narrative of Luke Swetland, who was taken captive four times in the space of fifteen months, in the time of the late contest between Great Britain and America; showing how and when taken, whether carried and how treated until his return to his family; with a concise account of the exercise of his mind during his trials; a short account of the manners of the Indians; and a short sketch of the rarities of the Indian country.

A narrative of the capture of certain Americans, at Westmorland, by savages; and the perilous escape which they effected, by surprizing specimens of policy and heroism. To which is subjoined, some account of the religion, government, customs and manners of the aborigines of North-America.

The redeemed captive, returning to Zion. A faithful history of remarkable occurrences, in the captivity and the deliverance of Mr. John Williams; Minister of the Gospel, in Deerfield, who,

in the desolation which befel that plantation, by an incursion of the French & Indians, was by them carried away, with his family, and his neighbourhood, unto Canada. : Whereto there is annexed a sermon preached by him, upon his return, at the lecture in Boston, Decemb. 5. 1706. On those words, Luk. 8. 39. Return to thine own house, and shew how great things God hath done unto thee.

The redeemed captive returning to Zion. Or A faithful history of ramarkable occurrences in the captivity and deliverance of Mr. John Williams, Minister of the Gospel in Deerfield. Who, in the desolation which befel that plantation, by an incursion of the French and Indians, was by them carried away, with his family and his neighbourhood, into Canada. Drawn up by himself. ; Annexed to which is a sermon preached by him on his return. ; An appendix, by the Rev. Mr. Williams, of Springfield. ; An appendix, by the Rev. Mr. Taylor, of Deerfield. ; Some observations, by the Rev. Mr. Prince, of Boston. ; Subjoined to this is, a sermon, delivered in the First Parish in Springfield, on the 16th of October, 1775. Just one hundred years from the burning of the town by the Indians. By Robert Breck, A.M. Pastor of the church there.

Sufferings of Peter Williamson, one of the settlers in the back parts of Pennsylvania. Written by himself.

Appendix E: Slave Narratives Used in this Project

(From Stedman's Narrative of a Five Year's Expedition against the Revolted Negroes of Surinam). Boston: Isaac Knapp, 1838.

Weld, Theodore Dwight, 1803-1895, ed. *American Slavery As It Is: Testimony of a Thousand Witnesses*. New York: American Anti-Slavery Society, 1839. Bluett, Thomas. *Some Memoirs of the Life of Job, the Son of Solomon, the High Priest of Boonda in Africa; Who Was a Slave about Two Years in Maryland; and Afterwards Being Brought to England, Was Set Free, and Sent to His Native Land in the Year 1734*. London: R. Ford, 1734.

The Royal African: or, Memoirs of the Young Prince of Annamaboe [William Ansa Sessarakoo]. London: W. Reeve, 1749.

Hammon, Briton. *A Narrative of the Uncommon Sufferings, and Surprizing Deliverance of Briton Hammon, a Negro Man,---Servant to General Winslow, of Marshfield, in New-England; Who Returned to Boston, after Having Been Absent almost Thirteen Years. Containing an Account of the Many Hardships He Underwent from the Time He Left His Master's House, in the Year 1747, to the Time of His Return to Boston.---How He was Cast Away in the Capes of Florida;---The Horrid Cruelty and Inhuman Barbarity of the Indians in Murdering the Whole Ship's Crew;---The Manner of His Being Carry'd by Them Into Captivity. Also, an Account of His Being Confined Four Years and Seven Months in a Close Dungeon,---and the Remarkable Manner in which He Met with His Good Old Master in London; Who Returned to New-England, a Passenger in the Same Ship*. Boston: Green and Russell, 1760.

Arthur, 1747-1768. The Life, and Dying Speech of Arthur, a Negro Man, Who Was Executed at Worcester, October 20th 1768. For a Rape Committed on the Body of one Deborah Metca. Boston: s.n., 1768.

Gronniosaw, James Albert Ukawsaw, 1712-1775 A Narrative of the Most Remarkable Particulars in the Life of James Albert Ukawsaw Gronniosaw, an African Prince. Ed. Walter Shirley. Bath: S. Hazzard, 1770.

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