

Thanks for your paper, Marianne. I wasn't sure your unique approach was going to work well, but it does a good job of relating Hannah's story, your analysis of her story, and your informed speculation about what might have taken place during her captivity and escape. Your writing is both entertaining and informative, and you've drawn on a number of excellent sources. The citation work is good, though a couple of the footnotes could stand a little editing (see my comments within the footnotes). While additional analysis is needed to address historiographical issues (see my note in this regard on page fourteen), the analysis of the possible way in which Mather constructed the story of Hanna's escape shows that you have a good grasp of how to deconstruct a narrative and analyze the author's intentions. These are skills at the heart of a good historiography.

Pastoniskua[‘s] mkezainal[s]:¹
Through Her Eyes: A Different Approach to the Hannah
Duston Captivity Narrative

By Marianne Tomasic

History 520

Graduate Seminar in U.S. History

¹ Translated from the Abenaki Language: An American Woman's Shoes. Jos Laurent, *New Familiar Abenakis and English Dialogues: The First Ever Published on the Grammatical System* (Quebec: Printed by Le'ger Brousseau, 1884).

Winter 2022
Chad Wheaton
February 27, 2022

Historiography and the Research Paper:

Our final high-quality research paper's requirements are to infuse the concept of historiography to an issue addressed in our course of study on a person, event, or theme in American History. Since there are various ways to infuse Turabian footnoting into research, in the writing of my historiography, I chose to interpret the words of R.G. Collingwood, "If all history is present history, then the past is a moving spectacle,"² in a unique way. I chose to bring the past to the present using a braided technique that captures my voice and research with Hannah Duston's voice via a unique perspective of today. I will not capture the entire historiography, but I will share a glimpse of the past redefined today.

² "What Is Historiography", Youtube, 2014, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=au4zrlx4slw&t=5s>.

Pastoniskua

Today

“Hannah”

I hear there are memorials of me in New England, I hear I am the first woman to have a statue erected in her honor, and I hear I am the first woman to have her name branded on merchandise. I hear that in the year 2020, during the national protests, my New Hampshire statue on Contoocook Island was vandalized with red paint to represent the Abenaki blood I spilled when I murdered and scalped them for my survival. A statue that cost \$6,000 began construction January 23, 1873. “On the precise spot where the wigwam stood and where [I] and [my] assistants liberated [ourselves] from [our] captors.”³ In the Spring of 2021, another attack on my Haverhill statue occurred, and controversy broke out about my tomahawk and the engraved word savages. Through my vantage point of well over a three-hundred-year reflection with the added benefit of having God's permission to review life events through others' eyes, I see that the term savages is unfair. I see how to some my statue represents Cotton Mather's version of white supremacy. I see how at the end of the following news brief my statue symbolizes survival.

A controversial statue that has long captured the ire of Native Americans who deem it offensive was vandalized over the holiday weekend, marking the latest effort to deface the monument in Haverhill, Massachusetts. The statue depicting 17th-century Colonial woman Hannah Duston has stood in

³ Robert Boodey Caverly, *Heroism of Hannah Duston Together with the Indian Wars of New England* (Boston, Massachusetts: B.B. Russell, 1874), 381.

Grand Army Park for more than 100 years. Duston, kidnapped by Native Americans in 1697 and brought to what is now New Hampshire, escaped after killing — and scalping — 10 of her captors. The sculpture ... depicts Duston holding a hatchet in her right hand. The base of the statue is engraved with the word "savages," a racially pejorative term for Native Americans. "Her image is misunderstood," said Diane Dustin Itasaka, an eighth-generation descendant of Duston. "We see her image as someone — most of us in the community — as someone who survived." ...Proposals have included altering the statue by removing the hatchet and the word "savages."⁴

To some, I have become a model of virtue and ideals: a heroine. Cotton Mather praised me for exemplifying Puritanism ideals. To some, I symbolize struggles, wars, incredible loss, captivity, the ability to survive and move forward through it all. To others, I'm a monster and villainized in later years in fictionalized stories. I believe I am neither. Reflecting on that moment of my life from today's perspective, I propose that both my life and the Abenakis were pawns used for other white man's war and supremacy, I propose that history has looked at us through a polarizing lens.

I'm not a writer; my words may flounder, but listen, and I will do my best to tell you my tale with the help of my descendent from my father's, the Emerson's, side.

Introduction

“Marianne”

In elementary school, I spent every Sunday at Holy Family Catholic Church listening to Father Curry's sermons. I never left feeling exalted; I always left feeling guilty, like I was never good enough for God's love. Curry's fiery sermons of what will happen if we sin in the slightest way and the guilt it instilled in me still reside in my soul. It wasn't until my undergraduate days in my early American Lit class and later while teaching Am Lit to my eleventh graders that I connected the dots. Father Curry's sermons mimicked sermons of Jonathon Edwards and other

⁴ Mike Manzoni, "Controversial Haverhill Statue Vandalized, Sparking Discussion about Changes," NBC Boston (NBC10 Boston, November 30, 2021), <https://www.nbcboston.com/news/local/controversial-haverhill-statue-vandalized-sparking-discussion-about-changes/2577923/#:~:text=A%20status%20memorializing%20Hannah%20Duston,an%20engraved%20reference%20to%20%22savages%22>.

Puritan ministers. God will punish you for any wrongdoing and He enjoys punishing those who sin. The Puritans hated Catholics - they were deemed demonic, and since the Abenakis converted to Catholicism, to Puritans, that made them enemies. Hannah Duston was kidnapped on March 15, 1697 by Abenakis. The Abenakis killed twenty-seven residents, burned several homes, and captured twelve to take with them to New France. As the story goes, Hannah's newborn was murdered in front of her eyes, she was forced to walk in her nightgown with only one shoe, and then the night before being forced to run the gauntlet, she scalped and killed her captors and their children for revenge of her murdered child. Afterward, she and two of her other captives took to a canoe and sailed down the Merrimack for home and then later demanded the war price for the Abenaki scalps.

Upon returning home, Cotton Mather, the now-famous Puritan minister, wrote her story - two pages, and to this day, those two pages continue to intrigue its readers and listeners. But did Cotton Mather write the true story? Did Hannah tell everything that happened to Cotton Mather? Did the Abenakis have a choice in King William's War?

Taking another look at her story through the eyes of a revisionist historian, Hannah was not the only one involved in the killing of the Abenakis. I also question the idea of her killing as a mother's revenge. Since 1697 was nearing the end of King William's War, the New England colonists were already familiar with Indian Captive Narratives. Hannah was not the only captive who witnessed the death of her child at the hands of the natives, yet no other prisoner murdered their captors.

Captivity narratives of the time interwove aspects of sermons "'Themes and languages,' including moral lessons and frequent inclusion of biblical citations. The final literary strand, the jeremiad, were sermons that 'catalogued the sins of an erring people, recited the afflictions visited upon them by a wrathful God and urged them to reform before they were punished.'"⁵ This interweaving of Puritan ideas in their stories was a way for the female captives to redeem their sins and reinforce Puritanism and white supremacy in its American infancy for the readers and listeners. "Mather regarded Hannah's escape as one of the '*Wonders of the CHRISTIAN RELIGION*' and transformed her into a Puritan saint, at once a self-reliant frontier woman and an afflicted Christian saved by God's 'infinite Power, Wisdom, Goodness, and Faithfulness.' Also predictably, his method of narrating her deliverance relied heavily upon Biblical parallels to elevate her stature, to

⁵ (Whiting, n.d.) ([Please present a full citation.](#))

define the significance of the event to the American Puritan community, and to establish continuity between Old and New World experiences.”⁶

As a Puritan minister, Cotton Mather would have looked at Hannah’s life and seen an afflicted Christian who needed saving. She grew up with a sister who allegedly murdered her newborn twins and put to death as a result; a father who was both a shoemaker and constable, but also known to punish his children severely. Finally, as a mother who sinned because she already lost children during childbirth and to scarlet fever.

“Hannah”

1697/Today

At the age of forty, I was tired, bone-deep tired. All those old fears of mothering crept into my mind. I stayed in bed because I lost more than the usual amount of blood during this birth; moving was not worth the effort. My husband, Thomas, tried to rouse me from time to time, but I had no interest.

This latest birth drained me. My bed became my life: a place of solitude and rest. After the birth of my twelfth babe, but before I was kidnapped, I was a mother stricken with postpartum depression.

The harsh Puritan God was an entity to be feared, especially if you were a woman. We believed our pastor’s message, or sermon, was the Word of God.

Jonathan Edwards preached, “Consider what it is to suffer extreme torment forever and ever; to suffer it day and night, from one age to another.” Edwards’ words resided in our minds. The fear of a vengeful God plagued us through our daily routine. In his sermons, Edwards continued to instill fear of a vengeful God, “[God’s wrath] towards [us] burns like fire. [That we] are abominable in his eyes. [That we] have offended him. but [that] it is His hand that holds [us] from falling into the fire every moment.”⁷

Since our pastors taught us God relished in the joys of torturing our souls, we learned to be grateful God let us live, yet we blamed our impurity and sinning after a loved one or

⁶ Robert D. Amer, “The Story of Hannah Duston: Cotton Mather to Thoreau,” *American Transcendental Quarterly* (1973), <http://www.hawthorneinsalem.org/page/11874>.

⁷ Jonathan Edwards, “Sinners in the Hands of an Angry God - Jonathan Edwards,” *Sinners in the Hands of an Angry God - Jonathan Edwards*, 8, 1741, <http://www.biblebb.com/files/edwards/je-sinners.htm>.

Formatted: Font: Italic

child passed away too soon. Our mindset after sinning was the only way to explain why our babies died so young. Four of my babes, Mary, John, Jonah, and Mehitable had been laid to rest by God's hands.

I lie in my bed this fateful day, still unable to rouse myself. Mary Neff, my nursemaid, brought my twelfth child to me. We named my newest babe Martha after Martha who witnessed Jesus raise her brother, Lazarus, from the dead. I prayed for her to resurrect my tired bones and my crumpled mind, but nothing roused me from my state.

Marianne

“Postpartum Depression”

In Hannah Duston’s captivity story, several resources reference her inability to get out of bed after the birth of her daughter Martha and how she relied on her nursemaid. There are also conflicting reports on blood loss; some research states she lost a significant amount of blood, and other research refutes the data. Since she was older, it was her twelfth pregnancy, and she could not get out of bed, I consider it a possible case of postpartum depression. “Controversies and speculation about depressive symptoms following childbirth have existed since the earliest medical literature. Hippocrates made the first known reference to PPD in the fourth century B.C. and his hypotheses became dogma that survived for over a thousand years.”⁸ If in a postpartum state, this could explain Hannah’s ability to kill without feeling. “Johns Hopkins researchers say they have discovered specific chemical alterations in two genes that, when present during pregnancy, reliably predict whether a woman will develop postpartum depression. a condition marked by persistent feelings of sadness, hopelessness, exhaustion, and anxiety that begins within four weeks of childbirth and can last weeks, several months, or up to a year.... ‘Postpartum depression can be harmful to both mother and child,’ says study leader Zachary Kaminsky, Ph.D., an assistant professor of psychiatry and behavioral sciences at the Johns Hopkins University School of Medicine.”⁹

⁸ (Sparks 2013, 1) ([Is this the Manzoni piece?](#))

⁹ https://www.hopkinsmedicine.org/news/media/releases/genetic_predictors_of_postpartum_depression_un_covered_by_johns_hopkins_researchers

Her numbness could be from both her depression and seeing her baby murdered in front of her eyes. It could also be a genetic condition outlined in Kaminsky's research, especially since Hannah's sister Elizabeth killed her newborn babies and suffered from depression after her pregnancy. No matter how it might feel to suffer from ~~Post-Partum~~ ~~Depression~~, the effects of watching someone murder your child has the effect of bringing one's soul into a darker place. In Mather's writing of Hannah's tale, he writes of her newborn's death.

Sitting down to Rest, she was not able to Rise, until her Diabolical Master help'd her up; which when he did, he took her Child from her, and carried it unto a River, where stripping it of the few Rags it had, he took it by the Heels, and against a Tree dash'd out its Brains, and then flang it into the river.¹⁰

But still, was she the one who killed the Abenakis? As stated earlier, Hannah is known to have murdered her captors as a mother's revenge, but she was not the only person who had the time, access, or know-how.

"Hannah"

1697/Today

My anger kept me going. I was angry at the Abenaki for burning my home, capturing me, and killing Martha. I was angry at the Puritan God for allowing such torture in the world and for rejoicing in the pain I suffered for my sins. I was also mad at myself for committing the sins allowing this atrocity to happen.

No matter the reasons for my anger, my anger fueled my desire to survive.

Sam's nurturing me intrigued me since he was a student of the Sachem. After living for more than a year among these savages, Sam spoke French, English, Algonquian, and Abenaki.

I kept my silence when the Sachem taught Sam about scalping. Sam learned about the tools, how to keep the blade sharp, where to start the cut, how to make the kill quickly.

¹⁰ (Whiting, n.d., 6)

The boy's interest worried me therefore I prayed for him. In the quiet of the early evening, Sam told me he was now more of an Abenaki than he was a New Englander. He spent the past year learning the customs and traditions of his captors, and he knew their ways were not always vengeful.

Marianne

“The Puritan Ideal”

By promoting the idea that Hannah Duston murdered all of her captors, Cotton Mather was reinforcing Puritan ~~V~~y values. Her captive narrative included spiritual autobiography, sermon, and jeremiad. “A harrowing and often bloody capture, followed by an extended period of intense physical suffering and humiliation, then a recognition, acceptance, and cataloging of the sins that brought about God’s just wrath, and concluding with the spiritual and physical redemption of the captive and a closing addendum calling for a return to traditional Puritan piety.”¹¹ Even though Hannah, a female, is subject to the Puritan laws of submission to men, several factors allowed her to perform the act of killing. One is that she was subjected to watching the Catholic rites of the Abenakis, a religion Puritans deemed in league with Satan. Since she was away from her Puritan brethren and outside her society, she did not need to follow societal norms.

Since Sam Leonardson, a fourteen-year-old boy, ~~was~~ captured a year prior, knew how to scalp, and would have had experience or at least witnessed his captors killing swiftly and scalping efficiently, he would have been the logical choice to have murdered the natives. However, since he had been living with the Abenaki for the past year, his story would not sell the idea of reestablishing your Christian self or white supremacy. Not only did Hannah’s story, as told by Cotton Mather, sell the concept of white supremacy from 1697 to the early 1700s, but her story resurfaced to sell the same supremacy in the early 1900s through the already erected monuments in her name and through branding various items and buildings. [\(Compelling informed speculation.\)](#)

¹¹ Ibid p2

“Hannah”

Today

Have you ever bought a pair of my shoes? In 1907, The Hannah Duston Shoe Company opened with offices at 25 and 27 Washington Square in Haverhill, Massachusetts. In the beginning, the company only sold my shoes through mail order catalogs and newspaper advertisements. The shoes made were solid, sensible shoes. In 1917, the company went public and sold 5,000 shares of stock.¹² Now, in the ~~21st~~ [21st](#) ~~21st~~ [21st](#) century, the shoe store is no longer in business. Yet still, my hometown has buildings named after me from a nursing home and more. Furthermore, the Jim Beam Whiskey Company made a commemorative decanter in my likeness.

Having your name branded and sold is an odd emotion. Would shoes have ever been produced and sold using my name if I would have had the time to put the second shoe on my foot? I believe not. Or if my father did not have a reputation as an excellent shoemaker? Would men drink whisky from my likeness if my actions did not speak to them at some level?

I read a report indicating the selling of my merchandise, "sheds light on the enduring function of [my story] to enforce neocolonial values, including white supremacy and cultural superiority."¹³ Why anyone would buy my branded items, I am not sure, but maybe to keep ties with the colonial days of America or maybe because those shoes lasted through a rough, New England winter hike. I wish I wore those shoes during my long winter trek. No matter the reason,

¹² The New York Public Library, Shoe Retailer and Boots and Shoes Weekly, Volume 61, 1907, p. 125

¹³ Humphreys, "The Mass Marketing of the Colonial Captive Hannah Duston." [\(Full citation needed.\)](#)

they became a symbol for the shoe I did not wear. For everyone else, my shoes and my decanter became symbols for survival and hope through desperate, difficult times, and unfortunately for some the idea of white supremacy.

Marianne

“What about the other side?”

The idea of historiography means stories need examining from all aspects to uncover more truths and find out the reasons for actions. Looking at the raids of New England towns from the Abenakis, it would be easy to consider them as the savages that Cotton Mather and other Puritans claimed them to be. However, from their perspective, the Puritans were encroaching on their lands, so after King Philip's War ended and they moved to New France and converted to Catholicism, the French priests used them in their war against the English. Thus, the period of King William's War was a difficult time in New England. “The expeditions marked the beginning of systematic French-directed Indian attacks on the New England settlements, in which Abenakis served as the shock troops of the French War Effort.”¹⁴ The Abenakis were pawns in a territorial and religious war, which was easy to get behind because of the encroachment of their land.

In the 1897 text, *True Stories of New England Captives Carried to Canada During the Old French and Indian Wars*, the compiler Charlotte Alice Baker recounts this conversation:

Abenaki: We are a free people, Allies of the French King from whom we have received our religion and help in time of need. We love him and we will serve his interests. Steven's Reply: I ask you, My Abenaki brothers, if your attack against the English during the past two years have been because of their encroachments upon your lands. [sic] Are you satisfied with

¹⁴ Colin G. Calloway, *Western Abenakis of Vermont, 1600-1800 War, Migration and the Survival of an Indian People* (Norman: Univ. of Oklahoma Press, 1994), 95.

the death of your people by means of the blows you have struck against the English? Abenaki continues: when peace was made we expected to enjoy it with the French, but at the same time we learned that you, our English brothers, had killed one of our men....your ill-will towards us has been shown...and we resolve to defend ourselves.¹⁵

This conversation reinforces the idea that the Abenakis, siding with the French, believe in defending their fallen brothers. Unfortunately, they could be swayed by the French priests who ignited them with passion for Catholicism, revenge for lost lands, and fighting in the name of conversion and land. There is a sadness in this idea that a culture developed in peace was torn apart by European greed.

“Hannah”

1697

Upon being shoved into the wigwam by the Chief, my body collapsed into a gelatinous mess on the dirt floor. My bloody bare foot was three times its normal size. This is it, I thought, the moment of my death - I would finally reunite with my husband and children. I would be free. I lost consciousness.

I woke up, and Mary Neff, my nursemaid, sat by my side holding my hand, and with her other hand, she placed something cool on my forehead. A female Abenaki sat cross-legged at my feet. I noticed my one shoe was off my foot and discarded in the corner. The female Indian wrapped my healthy foot in a soft cloth. She wiped a gooey, noxious substance off my infected foot, cleaned it with water, and applied a healing poultice. I breathed in a mixture of scents from honey to peppermint to ginger and other herbs and

¹⁵ Charlotte Alice Baker, *True Stories of New England Captives: Carried to Canada during the Old French and Indian Wars*, 3rd ed. (New York: Fireworks Press, 2015), 179-180.

spices. She intended to draw out the infection in my foot and reduce the swelling. I would do the same for my child or my husband.

She spoke to me in French. I recognized the language but was unfamiliar with what she told me because the discussion was not about money, provisions, or simple trade agreements.

"Mary, would you please find Sam?" I asked. I did not recognize my hoarse voice. Mary left, and I glanced at the Abenaki woman who sat cross-legged by my side. She bent her head to pray. This time her words did not come in French but Latin. When she finished, her right hand touched her forehead, then her belly moved to her left shoulder and back to her right shoulder. I recognized this as the traditional Catholic sign of the cross. In the teachings of the Puritan religion, Catholics should not be trusted. God saved the Puritans, not the Catholics. The Abenaki are referred to as the People of the Dawnland. This title refers to their closeness to the sun. It is magical the way the sun rises in the eastern sky of New England. The Abenaki believed New England was a spiritual place. A creature called Odzihozo, "the Man Who Made Himself," created the rivers, lakes, mountains, and valleys of the Abenaki lands.

The Abenaki used the waterways created by Odzihozo as they traversed from place to place. Furthermore, the Abenaki believed in Tabaldak, a Native American God of Creation: Tabaldak inadvertently created the mythical hero Gluskab from the dust Tabaldak shook from his hands after creating Earth. Gluskab kept man, earth, water, and animal in balance. These savages, as I had been calling them, were, in fact, a spiritual and religious group of people. They kept a balance in life, which the white man disrupted.¹⁶

I rested in my wigwam and listened to Sam, who was well versed in the Abenaki stories because of his time in captivity. He described the legends, and I appreciated the folklore behind these people's history. I even found irony in the story of how red autumnal leaves came about after a hunter killed an enormous celestial bear and spilled its blood along the Earth's floor since the Abenaki considered themselves the descendants of animals.

I admit after hearing this story, I was angered. How dare these men pray for the spirit of a rabbit or deer; and without mercy and without offering a prayer, kill my Martha in

¹⁶ Colin G. Calloway and Frank W. Porter, *The Abenaki* (New York, New York: Chelsea House Publishers, 1989).

front of me? Did the white men so radically change the Abenaki beliefs enabling them to kill an innocent, newborn child for spite?

In the end, though, the white men from French Canada gave these particular people something which they later gifted to me: a new way to view God. I now saw God, not as the vengeful spirit who delighted in our torture, but a kinder God, who readily forgave our transgressions. I admired the Abenakis' deep tradition and reverence to God, but that is a thought I kept to myself all these years.

“Marianne”

Today

Hannah's story is essential because examining it allows the readers to understand the historiography on a deeper level than what our elementary and secondary texts taught us about pre-colonial New England. We are taught that the Puritans left England to practice freedom of religion; they struggled harsh winters and had some help from natives, but also many skirmishes. We skim through New France and the reasons behind King Phillip's and King William's wars. We are taught the Native Americans are savages; it is folklore so ingrained in who we are that we do not see how the Puritan religion is intolerable to outside faiths and how it teaches women to be submissive. We do not learn how religion by both the Puritans and Catholics is used as agents of war. [\(This is a good place to discuss particular historians who promulgated these ideas. Who were they? When did they write, and what cultural currents influenced their narratives? How did other historians, perhaps writing during later time period, differ in their presentation of Hannah's story or of captivity narratives in general?\)](#)

During Hannah's captivity, she, Sam Leonardson, and Mary Neff, were taken to Contocook Island in the middle of the Merrimack River by some Abenakis while others continued to Canada. The question remains why did Hannah or Sam or Mary murder the natives instead of just quietly stealing a canoe and escaping in the middle of the night? There is no easy answer, but fear of recapture, a gut instinct to survive, and the financial reward that would help rebuild their home are all reasons for the killings instead of an escape. Today, we use the phrase Running the Gauntlet to mean a test usually of mental

capacities or emotional hardships; however, in March of 1697, it meant a physical beating with little to no chance of survival. If one was to survive, the natives saw it as a sign of great physical form that would be a financial reward via selling the captive as an enslaved person.

“Hannah”

1697

Sam came upon Mary Neff and me creating cooking and serving bowls from birch bark. His knowledge of the Indian language came in handy from time to time as he overheard their news and plans. This moment was one of those times.

"They are still planning on selling us up north in Canada," Sam told us.

"Are you sure, Sam?" Mary asked.

"Yes," Sam replied. "Tomorrow, they plan on running us through the gauntlet to make sure we are strong enough for the rest of the journey so they can sell us." I peered into Sam's eyes, hoping for a glimpse of light: none existed.

All three of us would be stripped down, naked, and then forced to run back and forth on a line in the middle of two rows of Abenaki. While running naked, the Indians would whip us with long metal chains with spikes.

Chances of survival of the Running of the Gauntlet were slim.

Mary, Sam, and I did not sleep. We made our plans in whispers. With carefully designed intentions, with precision and speed, we killed the ten Indians who held us captive. Sam killed the most, but Mary and I took the lives of a few ourselves. Most of the men could not respond fast enough to save their lives. One almost escaped, but I tracked him down and finished him so we could escape.

At first, I did not think I could commit such a brutal act as murder. I do not believe Mary or Sam thought they could either. But, to save our lives, we did.

“Marianne”

Today

Think about the frame of mind Hannah was in. Possibly still feverish from her foot infection, hiked in the cold March winter for over almost two weeks, watched her baby - even if in the despair of depression, killed by swinging its head to a tree, not knowing if the rest of her family survived, and finding out she would have to run naked while being hit with metal spikes. There is a point where survival instinct kicks in.

From the Abenaki side, it is unknown why this particular group veered off from their northern trek to Canada to stop at the island in the middle of the Merrimack River. However, Hannah was slowing them down with her foot infection. It is possible to believe they needed to prove she was strong enough to bring in slave money from her sale. Allowing her to rest and heal a bit, and then seeing what physical punishment she could survive would determine her financial worth. If she did not survive, the Abenaki could still sell her scalp for money. Hannah, her nursemaid and the fourteen-year-old boy, Sam, also knew that the Natives scalps would also bring them money. The brutal act of scalping was about financial survival, the kidnapping was partly about financial security.

In the earlier centuries Hannah was upheld as a heroine, today, her killing is looked at as villainous and her name represents an evil, but I believe neither are true. Puritan beliefs, Hannah reaching a tipping point, and the Abenaki willing to do anything their French leader and priests asked them to do as a favor for allowing them a place to live all play a role. There are no heroes, there are no villains, only people caught in the middle of a war for land and religion.

Bibliography

- Arner, Robert D. "The Story of Hannah Duston: Cotton Mather to Thoreau." *American Transcendental Quarterly*. American Transcendental Quarterly, 1973.
<http://www.hawthorneinsalem.org/page/11874>.
- Baker, Charlotte Alice. *True Stories of New England Captives: Carried to Canada during the Old French and Indian Wars*. 3rd ed. New York: Fireworks Press, 2015. First published 1897
- Bowles, Mark. "What Is Historiography". *Youtube*, 2014.
<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=au4zrIx4sIw&t=5s>.
- Calloway, Colin G. *Western Abenakis of Vermont, 1600-1800 War, Migration and the Survival of an Indian People*. Norman: Univ. of Oklahoma Press, 1994.
- Calloway, Colin G., and Frank W. Porter. *The Abenaki*. New York, New York: Chelsea House Publishers, 1989.
- Caverly, Robert Boodey. *Heroism of Hannah Duston Together with the Indian Wars of New England*. Boston, Massachusetts: B.B. Russell, 1874.
- Chase, George Wingate. *The History of Haverhill, Massachusetts from Its First Settlement, in 1640, to the Year 1860*. Haverhill, Massachusetts: Pub. by the author, 1861.
- Cowasuck Band of the Pennacook-Abenaki People - The Abenaki Language. Accessed December 28, 2014. <http://cowasuck.org/language.cfm>.
- Cowasuck Band of the Pennacook-Abenaki People - Traditional Lifestyle. Accessed December 28, 2014. <http://cowasuck.org/lifestyle.cfm>.
- Dwight, Timothy, and Barbara Miller Solomon. "Letter XXXIX (The Thomas and Hannah Dustin Story)." In *Travels in New England and New York*. Cambridge, Massachusetts: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1969.
- Earle, Alice Morse, and Shirley Glubok. *Home and Child Life in Colonial Days*. New York, New York: Macmillan, 1969.
- Edwards, Jonathan. Sinners in the Hands of an Angry God - Jonathan Edwards, July 8, 1741.
<http://www.biblebb.com/files/edwards/je-sinners.htm>.
- Ford, Helen, and Hannah Dustin. "Hannah Dustin's Letter to the Elders of the Second Church in Haverhill, 1724." Haverhill Historical Society. Accessed November 15, 2014.
<http://www.hawthorneinsalem.org/Literature/NativeAmericans&Blacks/HannahDuston/MMD2097.html>.

- Foulds, Globe correspondent. "WHO SCALPED WHOM? HISTORIANS SUGGEST INDIANS WERE AS MUCH VICTIMS AS PERPETRATORS." *The Boston Globe*. Accessed November 13, 2014. <http://www.highbeam.com/doc/1P2-8621222.html?>
- Hawthorne, Nathaniel. "The Duston Family." *The American Magazine of Useful and Entertaining Knowledge*, May 1, 1836.
- Holliday, Carl. *Woman's Life in Colonial Days*. Williamstown, Massachusetts: Corner House, 1968.
- Humphreys, Sara. "The Mass Marketing of the Colonial Captive Hannah Duston." *Canadian Review of American Studies* 41, no. 2 (2011): 149–78.
- Kaminsky, Zachary. "'Genetic Predictors of Postpartum Depression Uncovered by Johns Hopkins Researchers' ." Johns Hopkins Medicine, based in Baltimore, Maryland, May 21, 2013. https://www.hopkinsmedicine.org/news/media/releases/genetic_predictors_of_postpartum_depression_uncovered_by_johns_hopkins_researchers.
- Kathryn, Whitford. "Hannah Duston: The Judgement of History." *Essex Institute Historical Collections* CVIII, no. 4 (1972): 304–25.
- Laurent, Jos. *New Familiar Abenakis and English Dialogues: The First Ever Published on the Grammatical System*. Quebec: Printed by Léger Brousseau, 1884. Jos. Laurent, Abenakis, Chief of the Indian Village of St-Francis, P.Q.
- Manzoni, Mike. "Controversial Haverhill Statue Vandalized, Sparking Discussion about Changes." NBC Boston. NBC10 Boston, November 30, 2021. <https://www.nbcboston.com/news/local/controversial-haverhill-statue-vandalized-sparking-discussion-about-changes/2577923/#:~:text=A%20statue%20memorializing%20Hannah%20Duston,an%20engraved%20reference%20to%20%22savages%22>.
- Mather, Cotton. "The Ecclesiastical History of New England (1702)." In *The Great Works of Christ in America: Magnalia Christi Americana*. Carlisle, Pennsylvania: The banner of truth trust, 1979.
- Moondancer, and Strong Woman. *A Cultural History of the Native Peoples of Southern New England: Voices from Past and Present*. Boulder, CO: Bäuu Press, 2006.
- Philbrick, Nathaniel. *Mayflower: A Story of Courage, Community, and War*. NY, NY: Penguin Books, 2007.
- Slotkin, Richard. "The Mythology of the Indian Captivity Narrative." In *Regeneration through Violence: the Mythology of the American Frontier, 1600-1860*. Middletown, Connecticut: Wesleyan University Press, 1973.
- Thoreau, Henry David. "Retelling of the Hannah Dustin Story: Thursday Section, 1849." In *The Concord and the Merrimack; Excerpts from A Week on the Concord and Merrimack Rivers*. Boston, Massachusetts: Little, Brown, 1954.
- Whitford, Kathryn. "Hannah Dustin: The Judgement of History." *Essex Institute Historical Collections* CVIII, no. 4 (n.d.): 308–9. <https://doi.org/October 1972>.
- Whittier, John Greenleaf, and John B. Pickard. "The Mother's Revenge." In *Legends of New England (1831)*. Gainesville, Florida: Scholar's Facsimiles & Reprints, 1965.