Transformation through Captivity: An Examination of Mary Jemison's Changing Views

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ABSTRACT

The Narrative of the Life of Mrs. Mary Jemison, initially published in 1824, describes a Scots-Irish gir,l captured by the Indians in the 1750s, who lived her life as a member of the Seneca tribe. Jemison was captured at age 12 during the French and Indian War and was traded to the Seneca. As an adult, she told her experiences to James E. Seaver, the author of her narrative. It provides a White perspective into the lives of the Seneca people. Yet, despite the insight it provides, we are left wondering what was truly said by Jemison and what Seaver decided to write in the narrative.

In this paper, I suggest that Jemison's values changed during her life with the Seneca in three main aspects. Firstly, the agricultural labor performed by Seneca women appealed to Jemison because she had most likely worked on her father's farm. European gender roles were not embedded in Jemison. Secondly, the concept of racial acceptance led to Jemison deciding to remain with the Seneca people. They were accepting of her and her mixed-race children who she had with two different husbands. Finally, Jemison liked the Senecas' attitude towards the world around them. The religious beliefs of the Seneca were appealing to Jemison. Seaver even says that Mary's beliefs correspond in every manner to that of the Seneca. This impacted her environmental ethic.

This project engages scholarship on race, gender, and colonialism; it combines the works of Ruth Frankenburg, a pioneer of Whiteness studies, and of June Namias, who examines Jemison's Whiteness in her monograph White Captives: Gender and Ethnicity on the American Frontier. Scholars such as Namias have argued that Jemison chose to stay with the Seneca simply because she has been converted to their religious beliefs or because she was loyal to her Indian family. This paper will fit neatly into the field of colonial studies, as Jemison can be seen as both the colonizer and the colonized at different points in her life.

Story of a White Captive

> The party that took us consisted of six Indians and four Frenchmen…having taken as much as they could carry, they set out with their prisoners in great haste…[later we] stopped to encamp for the night… here we had some bread and meat for supper…as soon as I had finished my supper, an Indian took off my shoes and stockings, and put a pair of moccasins on my feet, which my mother observed, and believing that they would spare my life, even if they should destroy the other captives… Mary Jemison, November 29, 1823[1]

This is the story of a White captive during the time of Indigenous and African slave captivity. The life of Mary Jemison is an exemplary one, one that is drastically different from that of other Scots-Irish colonial settlers because of her experiences. Her biography, *A Narrative of the Life of Mrs. Mary Jemison,* written by James E. Seaver, describes the factors that led to her living with the Seneca and not returning to the Euro-American settlement in which she had grown up. Jemison lived a life that tells about the Seneca peoples, their land ethic, religious background, gender roles, and their acceptance of those who are racially different from them. The factors as mentioned earlier helped Jemison determine whether she would return to the colonial society she had once known or remain with the Seneca. This paper suggests that Jemison's values changed throughout her life due to being captured during the Seven Years' War. While this paper examines three different value shifts in Jemison's life as a captive, it focuses on the juxtaposition of environmental ethics between the Seneca and European colonizers.

While the scholarly apparatus has extensively examined and explained the life of Mary Jemison, scholars have not examined the importance of the environment on her life. This paper examines the Old-World views, New World views, and Native American perspectives on the environment, religion, gender, and racial acceptance. Old World views encompass those from Europe, with specificity on England, Scotland, and Ireland. These places would have had the most significant impact on the early life of Jemison.

New World views include the beliefs of the colonists who came to America. These Euro-Americans, such as Jemison, who never truly knew Europe, would have grown up with dissenting beliefs than their parents would have. Finally, the beliefs of the Indigenous differed mainly from the beliefs of the Old World and the beliefs of the Euro-Americans.

The 1600s was a time of growth and expansion for the Seneca. The Seneca practiced a form of the mixed economy through hunting, gathering, and horticulture to sustain their ways of life. As part of the Five Nations Iroquois, the Seneca faced exclusion from trade alliances with the Montagnais, Algonquian, and Huron in the 1620s. In the 1680s, the Seneca, amongst others, were exploited by New York governor Edmund Andros to join the Covenant Chain Alliance. The Covenant Chain was meant to be mutually beneficial to the parties involved by putting pressure on the Algonquians who resisted English expansion.[2] However, Edmund Andros only participated in the agreement when helpful to New York. For instance, in 1687, a coalition of French and Canadian militias invaded and burned four Seneca villages, and New York did not assist the Covenant Chain.

Realizing that many European-Indigenous alliances were shams, Indigenous groups began forming alliances amongst themselves. In the 1760s, the Seneca joined several former enemies, the Huron, and Wyandot to support a new common ground. Due to problems with the French and different Indigenous groups after the Seven Years' War, the English crown decreed the Proclamation Line of 1763. The Proclamation Line attempted to prohibit English colonists from crossing the Eastern Continental Divide to prevent another costly war.

A Narrative of the Life of Mrs. Mary Jemison is broken into two parts. The first section is the chronological story of Jemison's life. Jemison speaks briefly about her family and their decision to leave their home for Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, in 1742. While Jemison's birthdate is unknown, she was likely born on the ship set for the Americas in 1743. She explains that her father was probably quite wealthy because he owned many cattle and sheep. Next, Jemison explains, in detail, the day she was captured in 1758, her last conversation with her mother, and her adoption by two Seneca

women. The subsequent chapters are about her acceptance of life with the Seneca, which included two Seneca husbands and six children named after the family members killed by her captors. During her life with the Seneca, Mary Jemison lived in the Genesee Valley, around present-day Buffalo and Rochester, New York. In 1823, Jemison met with James Seaver and told him her life story, published a year later. In the final chapter of the narrative, Jemison reviews her life and explains that she is content with her life despite initially feeling her freedom being traded for that of slavery.[3] Mary Jemison died in 1833 at age ninety.

Jemison's narrative is further complicated by the two distinct voices which are present in the text. There are parts of the narrative where it is clear Jemison's voice is coming through. Other parts of the narrative seem to be from Seaver's point of view. It is difficult to determine what Jemison said and how Seaver wrote it in the narrative. Seaver practiced medicine and was issued a diploma from the State of Vermont Medical Society. Jemison did not live in Euro-American society for a large portion of her life, but her formative years were spent with her biological family.

This paper adds to the scholarly dialogue regarding Mary Jemison and early American captivity narratives. In an initial reading of the narrative, I was able to piece together the changing land ethic of the Seneca due to the arrival and interactions with European colonists. This paper is not meant to romanticize the relationship of the Seneca with the environment but rather to elaborate on how their land ethic played into other parts of their lives. It also shows the change in beliefs as European culture became more incorporated into the lives of indigenous people. Jemison's narrative provides enough information to better understand the views of the environment by the Seneca. Throughout the narrative, the Seneca move from a less human-centered land ethic to a more human-centric view on land usage. This can be seen in their transition from a mobile to a regionally fixed group and their move to using deeds to determine ownership of private property. The adoption and immersion of Jemison by the Seneca led to changes for Jemison and the Seneca alike. Gender role differences and ethnic pluralism impacted the life of Mary Jemison amongst the Seneca.

Gender Role Differences

There are clear distinctions between the gender roles of women in British colonial society and the culture of the Seneca peoples. In colonial, British society women were to "concentrate on the home, and it was men who should till the field."[4] This dichotomy between men and women was not the same in Indigenous society, as noted by Carol Berkin.[5] Berkin says, "Indian women were beasts of burden, slaves to unmanly men."[6] Of course, Berkin is speaking to the way Europeans would have viewed the Indigenous peoples. Nevertheless, we must recognize the bias that Europeans would have had in seeing a different societal system than their own.

The colonial settlers had vastly different beliefs regarding gender than those who were amongst the Seneca. Susan Sleeper-Smith emphasizes the importance of Indigenous woman to their societies in her *Indigenous Prosperity and American Conquest: Indian Women of the Ohio River Valley, 1690-1792*. Sleeper-Smith supports the assertions made within Jemison's narrative. Jemison's narrative shows that she raised livestock, cared for fields and gardens. The work of Indigenous women was imperative to the success of their society and George Washington recognized this when he ordered Indigenous towns to be ransacked and burned. Washington also ordered for Indigenous women to be kidnapped. This reinforces the importance of women's work and is expressed within Jemison's narrative. The narrative expresses that women did have more to do as Seneca women than as European women.[7] This was undoubtedly the view of Jemison, as Seaver would have likely seen the Indigenous separations of labor as "barbarous" or "uncivilized." However, the work which was completed was essentially different. For example, Jemison discusses that the women do a great deal of work on the farms during the summer months – such as tending to corn.[8] Jemison even says that she was able to work at her own pace without an overseer.[9] Marriage is also quite different for the Seneca people. Jemison describes courtship practices and the gifting process to marry.[10] She says that a man would not give a gift to the woman he was courting, but instead, he would give a gift to her parents. The parents could then accept or reject him as a suitor for their daughter.[11]

The status of Indigenous women was much different than that of European women. European women had much less power outside of the home; even within the home, they held less power than their male sons. European society was incredibly patriarchal, meaning that the father was the head of the household. The arrival of Europeans in the Americas in the late-fifteenth century led to a shift in the status of Indigenous men. In the eyes of the Europeans, agricultural economies were supposed to replace hunting and gathering economies.[12] While this did not happen immediately in all tribes, it did influence the Seneca people. The Seneca men would hunt while the women were expected to tend to the agrarian communities.

With the growth of the colonies, Indigenous cultures began to be impacted by European beliefs. Peter Stearns downplays how much the arrival of Europeans destroyed the Indigenous way of life; he goes as far as to say that "Native American cultures were not destroyed." [13] Stearns explains that Native American cultures incorporated European ideas with their own. This shows the resilience of native cultures but seems to miss the point that Indigenous cultures were becoming marginalized. Indigenous people were the colonized and Europeans were the colonizer. Linda Tuhiwai-Smith would completely disagree in her monograph *Decolonizing Methodologies: Research and Indigenous Peoples*. Tuhiwai-Smith asserts that "while these practices [British rules of practice] lead to forms of subjugation, they also lead to subtle nuances which give an unevenness to the story of imperialism."[14] She explains the importance of including Indigenous beliefs in their histories and allowing them the chance to write about *their* people. While some tried to retain their cultures, they were forced to clash with a new culture: Europeans. Despite saying this, Stearns continues to assert in the later edition of the previous text that "Native cultures were not destroyed," but adds that "core elements combined [their culture] with a Christian overlay."[15] This addition implies that changing the beliefs of one group to align itself with another is a form of progress. Jemison's religious identity was not the only change throughout her life. She was born into a Scots-Irish family that raised her in the American colonies but spent much of her life with the Seneca. Europeans saw those of different

ethnicities as subordinate to them; this common sentiment of the time does not come through in Jemison's narrative.

Ethnic Pluralism

Once Jemison had assimilated into the Seneca culture, she was fully accepted, as were her mixed-race children with Seneca men. She says that it was "…my happy lot to be accepted for adoption."[16] She was adopted by two squaws (women) who had lost a brother in the war. She explains how it is the custom of the Seneca to take a prisoner when one of their own is killed in battle.[17] Seaver wrote, "they seemed to rejoice over me like a long lost child…I [Jemison] was made welcome amongst them as a sister to the two Squaws."[18] The women who took Jemison in did not care that she was White; she was the gift given to them due to the death of their brother. They saw her as one of their own, almost like a sibling of theirs. This was vital to the flourishing life Jemison led while with the Seneca. In terms of success, she was able to marry two men and have children. A sort of power was given to Mary. They trusted her and did not find it necessary to supervise her as she worked.

Carol Berkin argues that she did not need to assimilate, for she was accepted the way she was. Berkin says, "Englishwomen entered Indian communities, too, primarily as captives who, like Mary Jemison, chose to remain and create families among their adoptive people… Jemison's membership in the Seneca required no adjustment of racial attitudes or examination of community identity."[19] Jemison was accepted for the way she was; she was not forced to act a certain way or attain certain marks to be a member of the Seneca society.

Berkin explains Jemison as a "hybrid" of a Euro-American person and an Indigenous person. While Berkin and Oakes see Jemison as a racial hybrid, Susan Scheckel is not convinced of this in her monograph. Scheckel brings up that "Hybridity…is not a third term that resolves the tension between two cultures."[20] She is not convinced that hybridity deals with the tension between native-born, Indigenous people and Jemison – a woman raised by Indigenous peoples but born into a Scots-Irish family that raised her in English colonies. Scheckel goes further to assert that "critics such

as Karen Oakes…miss the complexity and power that arise from Jemison's sustained border condition."[21] Hybridity insinuates that Jemison is European, American, and Seneca. Scheckel explains that she was not entirely European, American, or Seneca due to the circumstances of her life.

June Namias examines the ethnicity of Jemison and how Seaver downplays Jemison's race throughout her narrative. Namias uses her text to juxtapose the Whiteness of Jemison by first portraying her as White and later as an "Indian." This text hybridizes Jemison; it shows her as both European and Indigenous. Ruth Frankenburg asserts that race is a social construct in her introduction. She explains that despite it being a social construct, it still has always had a prominent political and social reality to it – she stresses the reality of Whiteness. [22] Frankenburg argues that "white women's daily experiences differed from those of our sisters of color." [23] Frankenburg's monograph combines the experiences of White women with that of women of color. The Indigenous were much more accepting of White people compared to the way Europeans treated the Indigenous peoples. The racial acceptance of the Seneca people allowed Mary Jemison to remain with them for much of her life.

Environment Ethics and Religious Influence

Within Jemison's narrative, she explains how the Seneca lived alongside the environment. At the same time, she does not explicitly discuss this in one section of the narrative; the pieces throughout provide a well-rounded picture of her gratitude to the world around her. Before European contact, the Indigenous and the environment lived in an interdependent manner; the people relied on nature for food, and the environment was left plentiful by the Natives. They cared for one another. Despite this, J. Donald Hughes argues that "of course they made changes in their surroundings. All living things do. . ."[24] However, the environmental decisions of the Indigenous were often influenced by the abundance. Spirit persons who could communicate with the Indigenous would assist them in decision-making in terms of taking what was needed in the present and leaving a supply for a later time.[25]

However, their treatment of the land eventually began to move away from the mobile to fixed lifestyle. A mobile style of living allowed the Seneca to live in a minimalistic manner. The introduction of livestock to the Seneca permanently changed the way they lived. When cattle were first brought to the Seneca, they began to move away from their relationship with the land. They no longer needed to rely as much on the land for food. Instead, they relied upon the livestock that was initially gained from the French and British [26] Alfred Crosby explains the importance of portmanteau biota, such as cattle, and how they transformed the Neo-Europes. [27] The Neo-Europes that Crosby discusses include North America. Within his seminal text, Crosby argues that while Europe went through its imperialistic era, it led to a diaspora of typically European flora and fauna. In the case of Jemison, this is true. The scattering of new animals and plants led to a different life for these Indigenous groups; Jemison's narrative shows her liking for this new life. While Europeans brought their biota to the Americas, the Indigenous people exacerbated their incorporation on the continent. This hybridized way of living was appealing to Jemison. She lived alongside the environment, but eventually she had more tedious duties on the farms as the Seneca adopted a more semi-permanent way of life.

Jemison has an appreciation for the way the Seneca lived with their environmental ethic. Jemison discusses that while on her trek down the Ohio River, she noticed a flourishing Shawanee town. Seaver writes that "the land produced good corn; the woods furnished a plenty of game, and the waters abounded with fish."[28] Another area that she discusses that is also plentiful is the hunting ground on the Scotia.[29] Chapter three of the narrative portrays the transition from a mobile group to a seasonally fixed one. Seaver writes, "we tended our cornfields through the summer; and after we harvested the crop, we again went down the river to the hunting ground on the Scotia, where we spent the winter." The language that is used here shows her grateful spirit – Jemison, along with the Indigenous people, were thankful for the abundance of resources. They did not want to extinguish these resources. Their religious beliefs greatly impacted the way the land was cared used. Jemison describes that the people were one with nature and

reaped the benefits only when needed. The Seneca believe in the Good Spirit who created the world and all good that they come across.[30] As an animistic group, they believed in the importance of performing prayers and ritual sacrifices to give reverence to the Good Spirit.[31] During the warmer seasons, the Seneca relied less upon hunting and focused on crop husbandry.

Hunting was a large part of Indigenous life before and after European contact. Jemison never discusses the need for abundance in her narrative. Her tribe lived in a minimalistic manner; for the most part, they only took what was needed for survival. Calvin Martin explains that "the hunting by the Indians in the old times was easy for them. They killed only in proportion as they had needed…hunting was above all else conducted by and controlled by spiritual rules."[32] Despite gaining cattle during a raid, the Seneca still primarily relied upon hunting for food and religious ceremonies. Deer would be killed and eaten for a religious ceremony.[33]

Judeo-Christian beliefs placed less importance on the environmental ethic that the Seneca and Jemison treasured so greatly. Roderick Nash begins his monograph *Wilderness and the American Mind* by delving into the Old World's view on the environment. It is essential to understand the beliefs that settlers would have come to the New World with, and Nash provides a short explanation. Nash claims that Judeo-Christian tradition allowed for the environment to be pillaged; they saw it as God's gift to man.[34] Due to this, "the Judeo-Christian tradition constituted another powerful formative influence on the attitude toward wilderness of the Europeans who discovered and colonized the New World."[35] The work of Nash has been important to the field of American environmental history and has been expanded upon by Carolyn Merchant and William Cronon.

William Cronon expands upon the work of Nash by addressing the conflicting conceptions of the environment for Indigenous and Euro-Americans. While the text does not explicitly reference the Seneca, it does examine Indigenous relationships with the land. The colonists saw the Indigenous groups as wasting the land because they did not use all the resources but instead took what they needed for a time. Once the colonists began interacting

with Native Americans, the Native Americans began to take more from the land to trade with the European colonists.[36] This led to decreasing populations of fauna in the region. Carolyn Merchant adds to the points made by Cronon and Nash, but also complexifies their arguments. In *Ecological Revolutions*, Merchant explains that Indigenous people were stewards of the land. While European colonists remained in fixed to their land, Indigenous people moved to fresh ground every seven or eight years. This prevented soil depletion. European colonists used the same land and merely planted different crops to replenish the soil with nutrients. Indigenous people burned the land to make hunting and navigating the land easier; colonists burned woods to have new fields. Land stewardship was different for Indigenous people and colonists.

One of the reasons colonists came to the New World that is often glazed over is the depletion of resources within Europe. Krech explains that "the Old-World environment compared to the New World one was also obviously far more heavily changed and depleted of resources."[37] The European environment had been used to its fullest extent. Lumber became hard to come by in places like England that already had a smaller supply of resources. The North American environment was relatively untouched in the eyes of the colonists. This is what led to the romanticization of the North American environment. It was "untamed," "untouched," and available for exploitation. Jemison's narrative suggests that this land was not untouched. People lived on that land for centuries. Despite common belief, "the native people who molded North America were fully capable of transformative action in ecosystems."[38] The Seneca people knew how to use fire and used it for burial, religious rites, and clearing the land.[39] Indigenous groups, including the Seneca, were not stewards of the land. They, too, used the land for their benefit. The difference between the Seneca and the European colonists is that the Seneca did not deplete the land of resources. This was methodically planned to allow plants and animals to continue thriving to provide food in the future, not just in the present. While not expressed explicitly within the narrative of Jemison, it is clear by analyzing the work that she had an appreciation for the way that the Seneca people lived and accepted many of their values. Jemison lived in a time in which

religious beliefs were of the utmost importance to Europeans. Her religious beliefs changed as her life with the Seneca progressed and this impacted her environmental ethic.

Jemison grew up in a religious family; however, it is not explicit in her narrative what denomination of Christianity she was raised practicing. Her narrative only discusses how the Christian Bible was used in her education.[40] Within the introduction of the narrative, Seaver writes that "her ideas of religion, correspond in every respect with those of great mass of the Senecas."[41] Despite this, we do not receive much information about the religious beliefs that "correspond" with the Seneca until the appendix. The main chapters of the narrative largely neglect the topic of Jemison's spiritual alignment to Seneca's belief. By living with the Seneca for nearly her entire lifetime, she abandoned the religion that she grew up with until adolescence and adopted the belief system of her captors. She had lived during the Great Awakening, yet the beliefs that consumed the time did not remain with Mary; this is at least how Seaver interpreted what Jemison was explaining to him. Later in the introduction, Seaver describes that "the doctrines taught in the Christian religion, she [Mary] is a stranger to."[42] This helps to determine that Jemison was, at the very least, not the typical Christian that Seaver had known in his Euro-American society. Her belief systems did not align with the Great Awakening.

By the end of her life, Jemison believed in the Great Good Spirit. Alan Taylor describes animism, the way of life that Jemison would have been affiliated with:

> North American natives subscribed to "animism": a conviction that the supernatural was a complex and diverse web of power woven into every part of the natural world. Indeed, Indians made no distinction between the natural and the supernatural. . . Because of their animistic convictions, Indians lived very differently within their nature than Europeans did within theirs.[43]

This explanation of animism provides good insight into the lives of Indigenous peoples. Still, it is imperative to rely on the narrative of Jemison for better insight into the Seneca people. Jemison explains to Seaver why her people never adapted to Christianity, a religion that was forced upon them by Christian missionaries; "the Christian

religion was not designed for their benefit."[44] t is imperative to examine religious history before European settlement in the New World. Many of those who came to the New World dismissed the Native American religious belief as mere superstition.[45] In reality, the Native Americans had a system of trust with the environment and faith in the Good Spirit. The environment dramatically ties into their religious practices. The Seneca would pray and make sacrifices to show reverence for the land.[46] While on the other hand, the Europeans believed that the Earth was a gift from God to be used by the people. The polarity of these beliefs led to clashes between the Native Americans and the Europeans. While relatively few articles directly discuss the views of the Seneca, there are many articles written about the Iroquois, who lived in what would become Eastern Canada and in the Mid-Atlantic region, which is the same region in which the Seneca resided. These people believed in a complex ritual of animal ceremonialism in which they would hope to be forgiven for killing an animal.[47] Hultkrantz continues by saying that with the secularization of the Americas, the "red man's particular relationship to nature is there no more."[48] The coming of the Europeans to the Americas caused the Natives to lose their sense of relation to the land – however, the Seneca that Jemison lived with still clearly show their relationship with the land.

To understand the religious clashes occurring within colonial America, it is also pertinent to examine European religions, such as Christianity. At the time, Christians focused on converting Indigenous people. They had to compete for legitimacy and parishioners in a new land. The Christian missionaries tried to convert the Seneca; however, their religion was not widely accepted by the Seneca. Beliefs of the Native Americans were widely dismissed as superstitious and idolatrous.[49] Frank Lambert discusses how the Europeans viewed the Indigenous people; he explains that the Europeans would have regarded the belief in an evil deity as strange. Jemison's narrative does reference an evil God in several parts.[50] When "religious rites [were observed the Indigenous would have to] appease the anger of the evil deity."[51] Indigenous people clung to their heritage despite being forced to accept European culture and religious values.

The hybridization of religions quickly ensued. Calvin Martin explains that "by accepting the European culture, the natives were thus impelled to accept the European abstract culture, especially the European religion…native spiritual beliefs lost…their practical effectiveness."[52] However, the Seneca did not accept the religious beliefs of the European colonists. Since the Seneca are an animistic people, their religious beliefs were, and still are, primarily tied to the world around them. Due to European colonialism and their economic system, mercantilism, Indigenous religions no longer made sense for many people. This led to mass conversion – or at least attempted conversion – of Indigenous people in the Americas. The discussion concerning Jemison's hybridity continues in an examination of gender and race differences.

Conclusion and Unanswered Questions

> Looking at captivity materials from 1607 through the nineteenth century one cannot miss the gendered nature of the depictions. Often European or American men and women were undergoing the similar if not identical experiences, but these were represented in startlingly different ways…captivity materials, especially those from the late eighteenth century, are notorious for blending the real and highly fictive.[53] June Namias, *White Captives*, 1993

"No copy of Seaver's original notes survives…" and because of this, interpreting the external impacts on Jemison's life.[54] The conversation notes between Seaver and Jemison have been lost to time, which leaves historians with many questions regarding Mary Jemison's narrative. Namias makes an essential point in her monograph; "we would also like to know what he [Seaver] left out about her Indian life, but to date, no trace of Seaver's notes has been found." [55] The audience is left asking, what religion was Jemison born into? While we know she was initially a Christian; she does not specify a denomination in her narrative. This could have been left out to make her seem "savage" and removed from European society. It is also essential to ask questions such as: what factors influenced her before being captured? Jemison lived during a time of significant change for North America. She lived through

the Seven Years' War, the Great Awakening, the mercantilist system, and class divisions, all of which would provide great insight into the first twelve years of her life. However, scholars have solely focused on the latter portion of her life: captivity.

Captured at age twelve, Jemison lived with the Seneca until she died. Her narrative shows the differences between Native American and European society. The main differences include the attitudes towards the environment, religious beliefs, gender roles, and the acceptance of other races. Jemison's narrative challenges the dominant narrative of the White settler and shows the border condition that she faced within many aspects of her life. The narrative leads the audience to wonder why Jemison would remain as a captive with the Seneca. While answering this is impossible without further documentation that is unlikely to exist, the narrative shows Jemison's ethical commitment to environmental practices, gendered division of labor, and social integration, rooted in Seneca's spirituality and beliefs.

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[1] Seaver, *Narrative of the Life*, Chap. 2.
[2] Alan Taylor, *American Colonies: The Settling of North America* (New York: Penguin Group, 2001), 262.
[3] Seaver, *Narrative of the Life*, Chap. 16.
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