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Anne Bradstreet: The Sacred and the Profane

by

Sandra C. Gamble

A Dissertation

Presented to the Graduate and Research Committee

of Lehigh University

in Candidacy for the Degree of

Doctor of Arts

in

English

Lehigh University

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4 May 98
Date

Rosemarie Arbur
Dissertation Director

4 May 98
Accepted Date

Committee Members:

Rosemarie Arbur
Rosemarie Arbur, Chair

Edward J. Gallagher
Edward J. Gallagher

Jean R. Soderlund
Jean R. Soderlund

David Hawkes
David Hawkes

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Official Seal of the Massachusetts Bay Colony

from
Canup, John. *Out of the Wilderness*.
Middletown, Connecticut:
Wesleyan UP, 1990.

Note on the Text

I often cite seventeenth-century sources and unedited facsimiles which preserve the original orthography, punctuation, syntax, diction, and typography. Some passages cited follow the seventeenth-century practice in their use of “u” and “v,” “f” and “s,” and “i” and “j.”

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Anne Bradstreet: The "Sacred and The Profane"

Abstract

This study examines New World influences on the poetry of Anne Bradstreet, especially from symbiotic interaction between the poet, her Native American neighbors, and the woodland landscape they shared. Richard Slotkin's monumental study of the process of mythogenesis in American literature, *Regeneration Through Violence*, considers the profound influence of Native American culture on early writers such as Cooper and Thoreau. Although Slotkin omits Bradstreet in his discussion of an American mythogenesis, her poem, "Contemplations," clearly establishes her right to a place in Slotkin's progression of writers whose work reflects the development of a distinctly American literature. The dissertation also interrogates the blend of cultures—Renaissance English and colonial American—evidenced in Bradstreet's writing. Chapters one and two show that opportunities for interaction between Anne Bradstreet and the natives did exist. These chapters also look at the woman-poet's place in the psycho-social drama which unfolded as the Puritan fathers strived to uphold their divine mission to create a new Israel, in part by subduing the frontier landscape of the New world and the natives who inhabited it. Chapters three, four and five consider key figures in Anne Bradstreet's life: her father, Thomas Dudley, and her husband, Simon Bradstreet; Queen Elizabeth I and Bradstreet's mother, Dorothy Dudley; Puritan dissident Anne Hutchinson and Bradstreet's sister, Sarah Dudley Keayne. These chapters show that the poet must have considered carefully whether her subjects would be viewed as "sacred" or "profane" in her Puritan community. Chapter four also examines Bradstreet's use of gender-based techniques of compromise in her writing to create the illusion of the proper persona—the model Puritan wife and mother. Chapter six suggests that during the almost forty-two years that Anne Bradstreet lived in New England, she developed a regional/cultural identity, concomitant with the evolution of her nature aesthetic. Chapters seven and eight consider Bradstreet's imagery in her finest poem, "Contemplations," which provides evidence of her conscious and subconscious frustrations over dogma. These final chapters also show that the mature poet who wrote "Contemplations" had attained *individuation* as a woman. The woman-poet's outward acceptance of the role of ideal Puritan wife and mother, however, made it possible for her to keep her voice in the oppressive society of patriarchal New England.

Sandra Craig Gamble
Lehigh University, 1998

Brief Chronology of Anne Bradstreet's Life

I am indebted to Josephine K. Piercy, for her short chronology of the events in the poet's life is as valuable today as a quick reference tool as it was when it was published years ago. I offer it here for the reader's convenience.

- 1612 Birth of Anne Dudley, daughter of Thomas Dudley and Dorothy Yorke Dudley, supposedly in Northampton, England.
- 1619- Thomas Dudley and family in household of Earl of Lincoln
1630 where Dudley was the earl's trusted steward and friend.
Interval in 1628-29, Dudley in Boston, England.
- 1628 Anne Married to Simon Bradstreet, also under patronage of the Earl of Lincoln.
- 1630 Bradstreets and Dudleys sail in *Arbella* with other Puritans to settle in Massachusetts Bay. Quick moves of residence in New world from Salem to Boston to Cambridge.
- 1631 Spring, settle in Newtown (Cambridge).
- 1635 Move to Agawam (Ipswich).
- 1638- Some time in this period move to Merrimac (Andover), which
1644 becomes permanent home.
- 1647 Reverend John Woodbridge sails for England, possibly carrying manuscript of Bradstreet poems with him.
- 1650 *The Tenth Muse Lately Sprung Up in America* published (London).
- 1672 September 16. Death of Anne Bradstreet.

from Josephine K. Piercy. *Anne Bradstreet*.
New York: Twayne Publishers, Inc. 1965 (13).

Introduction

On the deck of the one hundred and fifty foot long *Arbella*,¹ Anne Bradstreet gathered with the other passengers to squint through the glaring June sun at the darkly wooded coastline of the New World landscape surrounding Massachusetts Bay. After three months of travel at sea, she no longer even noticed the sudden lurch of the little ship from a wave which seemed to hold and then release it with a sudden push toward the ragged shoreline of this new land and her destiny ahead.

In his poem, "Homage To Mistress Bradstreet," John Berryman captures what must have been an ambivalent mix of emotions for Anne Bradstreet and the other colonists aboard the *Arbella* as they caught their first glimpse of the New World: "How long with nothing in the ruinous heat,/ clams & acorns stomaching, distinction perishing,/ at which my heart rose,/ with brackish water, we would sing" (stanza 7, 134). Anne Bradstreet's journal, written sixty years later, documents the emotional and psychological impact of the eighteen year old's dramatic first encounter with her new frontier environment.

When the *Arbella*, the flag-ship for the renowned Winthrop voyage, arrived in New England in June of 1630, Anne Bradstreet was catapulted from her elite world of pruned gardens and pastoral landscapes at the Earl of Lincoln's Sempringham

estate where she had lived in England to the rugged, primeval forests of a land of new frontiers. A cultivated, intelligent woman, Anne Bradstreet was caught up in the psycho-social drama that impelled English Puritans to seek asylum in America. But she was just one in that first great rush of God's army that traveled across the ocean to uphold the divine mission of creating a New Israel in a new land. In fact, historian David Hackett Fischer estimates that between 1629 and 1640, 80,000 English men, women and children migrated to the New World (16). Historians John McCusker and Russell Menard estimate that by 1640 there were 13,500 whites in the New England area alone (103).

While many Americans today have a sense of that great wave of Europeans who emigrated to the New World in a relatively short period of time during the seventeenth century, most probably do not realize the extraordinary conditions which confronted Europeans emigrants when they arrived in America. Anne Bradstreet and others on board the *Arbella*, as well as the thousands of others who were to follow soon after as part of what has been called a "great migration" by historian David Hackett Fischer (17), found in the New World an environment very similar to Anglo-Saxon England of old, when beavers, bears, boars and wolves roamed wild in a largely wooded landscape. In fact, wolves were such a problem to

the early settlers that colonist Thomas Gorges wrote home to England in 1640 that if an Indian helped the settlers by killing a wolf, they would “buy him a coat” (*Letters* 14). As we strain to envision a time when the American landscape was marked by dense woodlands as far as the eye could see, there is an inherent irony in the fact that the seventeenth-century colonists, too, must have strained to envision an England long past. Certainly in the mind’s eye of many emigrants, the primeval forests of the New World would have invited comparison with the dense forests of Anglo-Saxon England of long ago. One settler near Salem, Joan White, confided to her minister in 1645 that upon her arrival in New England, she had felt “shut up for a long space of time living far in the woods.”² And, if the adjustment to what must have seemed a “wilderness” landscape weren’t enough to prompt colonists such as Anne Bradstreet to write in her journal so many years after her arrival in New England, “I found a new world and new manners, at which my heart rose,” the early colonists soon encountered another unexpected obstacle. We now know that they also experienced what has been called the “Little Ice Age,” during which extremely harsh winters occurred from before their arrival in 1630 until well into the 1640’s (Kupperman 21). Thomas Gorges also wrote home of the dread with which he and his neighbors anticipated the coming winter, noting in a letter to his uncle that “you

must looke upon us as prisoners from the end of 9ber till the beginning of Aprille”
(*Letters* 47).

Given the jarring nature of Anne Bradstreet’s encounter with her New World reality, the fact that her early writing rhapsodizes over the culture and history of old England is not surprising. Adrienne Rich’s comment in 1966 that Anne Bradstreet’s early work served as a “psychological stepping-stone to the later poems which have kept her alive for us” (xv) is so right! Although Anne Bradstreet was the first published poet in America, her early work is clearly that of a woman proud of her English heritage and homesick for the land she loves. Absent from her early verse are any descriptions of the formidable woodland landscape surrounding her home or the floating ice-islands clogging the Massachusetts Bay during those early winters. Rather, the poet dwells on histories or images of “frolic swains” inhabiting the pastoral landscapes of old England. Rich points out that during her first years in this land of new frontiers, Anne Bradstreet was striving to escape “from the conditions of her experience,” not record the reality of her daily fight for survival (xiv).

Brother-in-law John Woodbridge’s act of carrying Anne Bradstreet’s manuscript of her poems to England for publication in 1650, supposedly without her knowledge, may have been a defining moment for Anne Bradstreet the artist. She had written her poems, as Woodbridge told her readers in a forward to the book,

published as *The Tenth Muse, Lately Sprung Up In America*, during “some few houres, curtailed from her sleepe and other refreshments” (*Works* 3). Anne Bradstreet apparently was, in all ways, the dutiful Puritan wife and mother. Seeing her work in print may have helped to clarify her role as artist as well. After the publication of her book in 1650, she turned more to her personal reality as the basis for the subjects of her poetry. Perhaps also relevant to this shift in the subject matter of her poetry was the death of her father, Thomas Dudley, in 1653. The awe-inspiring Dudley, who repeatedly served as a governor of the Massachusetts Bay Colony, was known for his strict adherence to Puritan doctrine, and led the questioning at the trial of another wife and mother in the community, dissident Anne Hutchinson. Though Anne Hutchinson was a religious woman, who was also well known in the community for her skill as a midwife and for her intelligence, Dudley’s clever line of questioning at her trial finally led her into the damning testimony that ended with her sentence of excommunication in 1636.

Although we may speculate on how the events of the early years in the Massachusetts Bay Colony impacted Anne Bradstreet’s evolution as an artist, we must consider that given her traditional Renaissance background and Puritan beliefs, it is amazing that she wrote poetry at all. When she emigrated to America at eighteen, her spirit still was grounded in the English Renaissance culture that served

as the foundation of her formative years in England. Like any other English woman of the Renaissance, to a large extent she was entrapped by the vast social, political, and economic changes which had emerged in Europe and which created what was perceived by a truly patriarchal society as a “crisis of order” by any, but especially women, who did not obey a master (Underdown 12). As a woman of the social elite in the Massachusetts Bay Colony, Anne Bradstreet would have especially attracted social criticism in her Puritan community for any behavior outside the accepted norm established by the Puritan fathers—a norm which did not typically include women poets. Anne Rosalind Jones underscores the paradoxical condition that Renaissance women encountered when she points out that Renaissance iconography portrayed fame as a woman, a winged figure proclaiming “present and future reknown,” despite the fact that the gender ideology of the time ostensibly forbid fame for women (75). Indeed, one may ask how Anne Bradstreet juggled the dichotomies that existed for a Puritan woman of the Renaissance who was a devoted wife, devoted mother, and devoted writer. In part, the emergence of the true artist that was Anne Bradstreet was made possible by the manner in which she eschewed any stigma of a masterless woman, the bane of the Puritan fathers. And, out from under the watchful gaze of her father, a figure she probably both loved and feared, Anne Bradstreet emerged from her cocoon as an artist.

During the more than forty years that Anne Bradstreet lived in four frontier settlements in New England, her work underwent a metamorphosis. An understanding of the complex cultural system that was Anne Bradstreet's world and the place she occupied in it yields a more cogent reading of her work. But many questions should be asked in order to reconstruct this cultural climate in which Anne Bradstreet, this English woman of the Renaissance, this Puritan woman of the American frontier, wrote her verse. In a postscript written in 1976, ten years after her forward to the well-known Hensley edition of Anne Bradstreet's work, Adrienne Rich posed the following while lecturing at Douglass College on American women poets:

What did it really mean for women to come to a "new world"; in what sense and to what extent was it "new" for them? Do the lives of the women of a community change simply because that community migrates to another continent?... What has been the woman poet's relationship to nature, in a land where both women and nature have, from the first, been raped and exploited?... To what strategies have women poets resorted in order to handle dangerous and denigrated female themes and experiences?... What did the warning of the midwife heretic Anne Hutchinson's fate mean for Anne Bradstreet?... Where are the stress-marks of anger, the strains of self-division, in her work?" (xxi).

More than twenty years after Adrienne Rich posed these questions, they still have not been answered adequately.

This work suggests some answers to the questions put forth by Adrienne Rich, while also addressing other questions concerning Anne Bradstreet and her work: In what ways was the experience of the English emigrants of 1630 different from the experience of those who emigrated to the New World, twenty, or forty years after that date? What attitudes did Anne Bradstreet hold toward close family members, such as husband Simon, father Thomas, sister Sarah (who was eventually excommunicated for speaking out publicly), and mother Dorothy, and how might such attitudes have impacted the writer and her work? Were the attitudes of Anne Bradstreet and other women of the Massachusetts Bay Colony toward their Native American neighbors the same as the attitudes of the Puritan fathers toward the natives? What attitudinal changes took place over time in the minds of English emigrants, specifically English Puritan emigrants, who made New England their permanent home? Do we see in the evolution of Anne Bradstreet's work evidence of the development of a sense of regional/cultural identity with her New England home? To answer these questions, we must examine not only the words of her text, but also try to decode her silences and omissions. When we consider those "sacred" subjects which seem inviolable to Anne Bradstreet, hence those about which she seems to speak freely, such as her parents in her elegies, we detect the presence of a tension which arises from the poet's omissions—what she dare not

say. Also, the poet's work suggests her attitude toward those "profane" subjects about which she never speaks, such as her Native American neighbors. In reading Anne Bradstreet's work, it is important to remember that the "magical sense of being" for any human being comes from "who I say I am, the verbalized being" (Spivack Lecture). In the theocratic society that was the Massachusetts Bay Colony, Anne Bradstreet chose her words carefully, for her definition of self was embodied in her words and in her silences.

Adrienne Rich's comments, written in her 1966 foreword to the Hensley edition of Anne Bradstreet's works, offer some sense of how Anne Bradstreet looked to her past in old England as a psychological crutch during her transition to a new land and a new culture. Adrienne Rich pointed us in the right direction, but scholarship on Anne Bradstreet still has not adequately addressed the complex combination of Old World and New World sources of ambivalent undercurrents in Anne Bradstreet's work. Certainly the unique socio-religious strictures placed on a woman in her culture help to explain the silences we find in place of answers. In considering the evolution of Anne Bradstreet's personality and poetry after her arrival in the New World, however, we might look to contemporary theory in the field of psychology which addresses gender differences in the development of identity. Using contemporary psychology as a model to better understand a woman

of the seventeenth century may be questionable to some. But the progress by contemporary theorists in understanding the special nature of the feminine personality affords us some elucidation of Anne Bradstreet's life and work previously closed to us. For it is only with this close look at the disparity between women's experience and traditional theory on human development that theorists in the field of psychology have come to recognize the unique qualities in the development of female identity, and hence the connectedness of women throughout time and place. Contemporary psychologist Carol Gilligan, in her book, *In A Different Voice*, raises some serious questions about the line of thinking of those developmental theorists who have relied upon Freud's theory of psychosexual development, which was based only upon the experiences of the male child (6). In commenting upon the "observational bias" of psychologists who utilize only male constructs as the basis for their work, Gilligan notes that the "fascination with point of view that has informed the fiction of the twentieth century and the corresponding recognition of the relativity of judgment infuse our scientific understanding as well when we begin to notice how accustomed we have become to seeing life through men's eyes" (6).

Carl Jung laid the basic groundwork in modern psychology for gender sensitive theories on personality development put forth by Carol Gilligan, Nancy

Chodorow, Jean Baker Miller, and others. While Jung's analytical psychology is, in part, an offshoot of Freud's, Jung's theoretical system of human experience is in many respects more comprehensive than Freud's. Rather than just using clinical observations, Jung more than Freud looked at a wider spectrum of human thought and expression as the basis for his data (Coan 134). Although Jung often disagreed with Freud's theories in many ways, one of the most important areas of disagreement pertained to the unconscious. For instance, while Freud believed that dream symbols served to disguise the underlying context, Jung believed that the essential function of any natural symbol was to express content rather than to conceal it (Coan 138). Jung's theory that in the later stage of personality development symbols representing the integrated totality of the self become more frequent (Coan 150) is especially relevant to Anne Bradstreet's later work since many of her poems are rife with symbols.

Also particularly relevant to the development of female identity is Jung's work on what he termed "*individuation*," the true evolution of one's personality. Largely as a result of Freud's influence on the field, traditionally women's failure to display signs of separation from the mother figure during adolescence, as does the male in his quest for gender identity, has been regarded as a failure to develop (Gilligan 9). Jung traced ego development past the early stages of life and

emphasized the importance of the “developmental task for the adult years of life,” during which one is able to achieve appropriate expression of all parts of one’s nature. Anne Bradstreet’s work not only provides us with evidence of the evolution of an artist, but also with clear evidence of a personality in process during the forty-two years that the artist lived in New England.

One important contemporary theorist who has helped to clarify the source of gender-based attitudinal differences is Nancy Chodorow. Chodorow theorizes that *individuation* usually does come later in life for women than men, but not because women have “weaker” ego boundaries, as indicated by Freud. Whereas Freud saw adolescence and achievement as a key aspect in identity formation for males, he saw the lack of development in females at this stage the result of female acceptance of her castration, which affects her “like a scar, a sense of inferiority” (253). On the other hand, Chodorow believes that because “they are parented by a person of the same gender ... girls come to experience themselves as less differentiated than boys, as more continuous with and related to the external object-world, and as differently oriented to their inner object-world as well” (167). In relation to Nancy Chodorow’s work in the field, Carol Gilligan notes Virginia Woolf’s comment in *A Room of One’s Own* “that the values of women differ very often from the values which have been made by the other sex,” adding “it is the masculine values that

prevail.”³ We might ask what effect the psychological pressures of a patriarchal world view might have had upon a woman such as Anne Bradstreet.

Another aspect of Jung’s work which provides an important key in understanding Anne Bradstreet is his identification of the subpersonalities of the psyche, one of the most important of which is the persona. According to Jung, *individuation* requires more than a reliance on the persona, often regarded as an aspect of the ego. In part controlled by the specific make-up of the individual and “in part by the traditions and standards of the family, social group, and society,” the persona usually may be viewed as a compromise between inner and outer demands. To meet these demands, individuals play certain roles in society (Coan 146). Anne Bradstreet, as a member of a prominent family in a society hostile toward women who spoke or wrote publicly, would have felt the need to act out the role prescribed for a woman of her station. Anne Bradstreet clearly was aware of the role a woman was supposed to play when she tells us in her “Prologue” to *The Tenth Muse* that “Men can do best, and women know it well./ Preeminence in all and each is yours;/ Yet grant some small acknowledgement of ours” (*Works* 16). Though Anne Bradstreet often employed such techniques of compromise in her writing to create the illusion of the proper persona, the poet’s work also reveals those aspects of personality not typically attributed to a woman acting out the role of a proper

Puritan wife and mother. Such cross-currents in the poet's work in part may be attributed to what Perry Miller has called "the dual contention of the Puritan synthesis,"⁴ which means that the Puritan was constantly trying to achieve a balance between this world and the next. In part, however, such cross-currents also may be attributed to unique qualities in the development of the female personality.

Contemporary psychologist Jean Baker Miller has called for "a new psychology of women" that acknowledges the different starting point for women's development that "woman stay with, build on, and develop in a context of attachment and affiliation with others." Baker asserts that for women the "psychic starting point contains the possibilities for an entirely different (and more advanced) approach to living and functioning ... [wherein] affiliation is valued as highly as, or more highly than, self-enhancement" (83). Carol Gilligan underscores Miller's comments with the assertion that "As we have listened for centuries to the voices of men and the theories of development that their experience informs, so we have come more recently to notice not only the silence of women but the difficulty in hearing what they say when they speak The failure to see the different reality of women's lives and to hear the differences in their voices stems in part from the assumption that there is a single mode of social experience and interpretation" (173). This work attempts to elucidate the attitudinal gender differences in the

reality of the New World experience for Anne Bradstreet and other women settlers in the Massachusetts Bay Colony.

The interpretations of the development of female identity offered by contemporary psychologists helps to refocus our understanding of the evolution of Anne Bradstreet's work during the more than forty years that she lived in New England. In particular, our understanding of "Contemplations," written during Anne Bradstreet's mid life and often regarded as her finest poetic achievement, becomes clearer through the lens of psychology, by which we may trace, in part through her utilization of symbols, the poet's movement toward a full realization of artistic expression and *individuation*.

Certainly, though, Anne Bradstreet's journey to that point was long and arduous. Trained to perform the role of the dutiful Puritan wife and mother, the eighteen year old Anne Bradstreet, upon first arriving in the New World, relied on what she knew to sustain her—her faith and her English cultural heritage. In considering how long would it have taken for the poet to also define herself against the New England landscape where she carried out the daily responsibilities of her reality as wife and mother, we must take into account her day to day interactions with a land still significantly populated by native peoples. Imagine, for instance, the reaction of this sensitive, intelligent woman of Renaissance England to her first

glimpse of the Native American who came on board the *Arbella* on the very first day the shoreline of the New World was spotted (*Winthrop Papers* II: 263).

Despite her silence on the subject of Native Americans, evidence suggests that Anne Bradstreet experienced considerable interaction with her Native American neighbors. For instance, Anne Bradstreet's contemporary, Edward Johnson, tells us that during the early days of New Towne, when Anne Bradstreet lived in that frontier community, the natives "frequented the Englishmans places of aboade" (92). Even without Anne Bradstreet's direct comments on her relationship with the natives, we have a great deal of evidence concerning her possibilities for establishing a "connectedness" with her Native American neighbors.

Relevant to the evolution of Anne Bradstreet's sense of regional/cultural identity is the work of contemporary cultural geographers such as Rebecca Yamin and Karen Bescherer Metheny whose book, *Landscape Archaeology, Reading and Interpreting the American Historical Landscape*, underscores the importance of contemporary cultural geographers who study not just the material landscape, but also "human perception and the experience of landscape, and the interaction of individuals, culture, and society with the landscape" (xv). By the time Anne Bradstreet wrote "Contemplations," she clearly evidenced an identity bound up with the New England landscape around her as she shared her delight in the natural

beauty of her seventeenth-century world. The words of her poem transport us back to the towering trees of the primordial forests surrounding her Andover home.

When the poet exclaims, “I once that loved the shady woods so well,/ Now thought the rivers did the trees excel” (*Works* 210), we visualize her world of forests and rivers with the wide Merrimack River about two miles to the northwest of her home, the Shawshin River one mile westward, and the little Cochichewick River, connecting two large ponds, only a half mile away from her home (Ellis 329).

This reality—the poet’s interaction with her new land—was the “stuff” of her personal poetry later in life. Over the years, as Anne Bradstreet physically and psychologically settled into her new home, she left behind the Renaissance gardens of old England, yet scholarship on Anne Bradstreet still has largely ignored or only slightly acknowledged the impact of the New England landscape and its native peoples upon the poet during her forty-two years in New England. Although both English and American cross-currents are present in Anne Bradstreet’s later work, evidence suggests that the landscapes in her later poetry are distinctly American.

In *Regeneration Through Violence*, his monumental study of the process of mythogenesis in American literature, Richard Slotkin cites the profound influence of Native American culture on early writers such as John Filson, in Filson’s 1784 study of Daniel Boone, as well as the influence of native culture on the American

literature that flowered with the likes of Cooper, Hawthorne, and Thoreau (24). But Anne Bradstreet's later work is that of a woman-poet whose identity is clearly that of a New Englander with a New World mythopoeic vision. Slotkin asserts that the Native American hunting ritual, regarded as an initiation into a symbolic marriage with the spirits of this earth as a source of procreative power, is fundamental to the evolution of an American mythology. Establishing parallels between the Native American hunter and the poet, both free souls "whose purpose in life is neither to sow nor to reap, but to perceive and respond to all of life" (520), Slotkin cites later American writers such as Cooper and Thoreau for the manner in which they present experience in the American landscape "as a search for values and identity" (515). Since Anne Bradstreet meets these criteria as well, she, too, belongs in Slotkin's progression of writers whose work reflects the process of mythogenesis in the development of a distinctly American literature.

In particular, Anne Bradstreet's artistry in "Contemplations" reflects the culmination of a unique mindset which evolved during her years of experience as a frontier settler in a New World landscape. We might, in fact, compare the evolution apparent in Anne Bradstreet's artistry with the evolution apparent in fancy needlework by American women settlers during this same period. The comparison seems apropos, since for most women in New England during Anne Bradstreet's

lifetime, sewing was just about the only form of creative expression safe for women, without the threat of public censure. In 1707, approximately thirty years after Anne Bradstreet's death, a negative attitude toward creative expression by women was still reflected in the advice of the English writer, F. Fenelon, to his daughter: "beware the Reputation of being Witty; A Maid ought not speak but for necessity That which pleases in her is her Silence, her modesty, her love of Retirement ... her Industry for works of Embroidery and fine Needle-Work" (Swan 82). Anne Bradstreet would have not been surprised by F. Fenelon's advice. When Bradstreet tells us in her "Prologue" to *The Tenth Muse*, "I am obnoxious to each carping tongue/ Who says my hand a needle better fits" (*Works* 16), she offers a fitting response to the patriarchal attitude epitomized in F. Fenelon's advice to his daughter.

The largely anonymous creators of early American fancy sewing channeled their dreams, desires, and cultural heritage into their work.⁵ American women first found a creative sewing outlet in the form of samplers. Over time American women used various forms of fancy needlework as vehicles of creative expression in sewing, which reached its peak by the middle of the nineteenth century, especially in the art of quilting, which Mirra Bank calls, "the most anonymous of women's arts, rarely dated or signed," but summarizing "more than any other form the major

themes in a woman's life—its beginnings, endings and celebrations retold in bits of colored cloth” (10). Harriet Beecher Stowe celebrated the importance of quilting in the community during the nineteenth century in her novel of 1859, *The Minister's Wooing*: “Thus the day was spent in friendly gossip as they quilted and rolled and talked and laughed One might have learned in that instructive assembly how best to keep moths out of blankets; how to make fritters of Indian corn indistinguishable from oysters; how to bring up babies by hand; how to mend a cracked teapot; how to take grease from a brocade; how to reconcile absolute decrees with free will; how to make five yards of cloth answer the purpose of six; and how to put down the Democratic party.”⁶

Winterthur Museum's special collection of seventeenth-century samplers and crewel work reveals that those done at the time of arrival of the earliest settlers such as Anne Bradstreet are, much like the poet's earliest writing after her arrival in the New World, indistinguishable from those produced in England (Lovell, Winterthur Interview). For instance, patterns in crewel work were heavy and formal. Gradually, women in colonial America began to shift away from the heavy, formal designs of old England and toward airy, romantic patterns. These changes in fancy sewing were, to some extent, a result of the reality of living in the colonies where there was often a shortage of the wool thread used for sewing since it was imported

from England, and where the dyes to color their thread had to be made from the plants and berries the women collected. But to a greater extent, the changes in fancy sewing were also a result of American women identifying with their new land, so that they began to base their designs on New World motifs, such as flowers indigenous to the American landscape (Lovell Interview). Like Anne Bradstreet, these female artists suggest a movement toward an American identity in the way they plied their craft, but they also continued to rely on their European cultural heritage for some of the motifs they created. Although as the first published poet in America Anne Bradstreet's voice often seems solitary, she was very much a part of the sisterhood of colonial women artists whose work evolved over time. Anne Bradstreet eventually interwove imagery drawn from her present reality in a New England landscape with imagery from her past in old England.

Recently, Jay Parini, novelist and professor of English at Middlebury College, wrote on the importance of recognizing regionalism in literary studies and on his attempts throughout the years to treat primarily the universal nature of literature in his classes through what he calls the "cosmopolitan" approach. Parini commented on his pedagogical approach in his literature classes "in which all works of art were considered beyond the usual boundaries of place and time Lately, however, I've begun to reconsider this notion. The problem with the cosmopolitan approach ... is

that it unintentionally devalues the local; it encourages a kind of reading (of poems, novels, paintings) that lifts the artwork in question out of its natural habitat too quickly, thus diminishing the very soil that nurtures it and the place where it flourishes” (*Chronicle* A60). Too often literary scholars have attempted to transplant Anne Bradstreet’s later poetry to English soil or to just pull it out by the roots in an attempt to universalize the poetry, as Jay Parini put it, in a “cosmopolitan” approach.

We cannot ignore the unique cultural context that was Anne Bradstreet’s in her new land. A source of tension in her personal poetry clearly springs from her fear of offending her God and the Puritan fathers who interpreted the actions of the members of God’s special covenant community on earth. But Anne Bradstreet’s later work especially shows that she was much aware of the distance between the “persona” who needed to act out the role of a proper Puritan woman in the covenant community and the woman-poet who often interacted dramatically with her natural world, much like the native artists who were her neighbors. For instance, in a section of “Contemplations,” Anne Bradstreet exudes all the rapture of an explorer discovering treasure in a new land as she roams the deep paths of the forest in all its majestic solitude, exclaiming “Silent alone, where none or saw, or heard,/ In pathless paths I lead my wand’ring feet” (*Works* 206). Her words bring to mind

psychologist Clarissa Pinkola Estés's comments on the female soul: "Even the most repressed woman has a secret life, with secret thoughts and secret feelings which are lush and wild, that is natural. Even the most captured woman guards the place of the wildish self, for she knows intuitively that someday there will be a loophole, an aperture, a chance, and she will hightail it to escape" (8). But the Anne Bradstreet who as a woman explorer momentarily steps through the aperture via her poem quickly catches herself to assure us that her purpose was "To sing some song, my mazed Muse thought meet./ My great Creator I would magnify" (*Works* 206). Anne Bradstreet's work compels us to consider how women of the first frontier areas in colonial America came to regard their new land over time. Her work also compels us to consider the manner in which socio-religious constraints necessitated that women mediate a position for self-expression in discourse. Although the evidence handed down to us from women of that period is limited, the words we have dilate in meaning when placed within the context of the colonial experience itself.

In writing, Anne Bradstreet must have given great thought to topics viewed as "sacred" or "profane" in her Puritan community. Through historical reconstruction and a close examination of the text, we may better understand the reality of the experience that prompted Anne Bradstreet's words, and hence, we may also

penetrate her silences. In order to pierce through this silence of Anne Bradstreet's to discover the truth concerning the possibilities for her interaction with the colonial frontier environment, we must follow a pathway that leads us on a somewhat convoluted journey. It is a pathway interconnected with the gender politics of Anne Bradstreet's seventeenth-century New England world. Although Anne Bradstreet never speaks of the natives who were her neighbors, just as she never speaks about other public issues that must have touched her in a personal way, such as the trial of Anne Hutchinson, the male Puritan settlers who traveled with Anne Bradstreet on the *Arbella*, such as Thomas Dudley, Simon Bradstreet, John Winthrop, and Edward Johnson, to name but a few, apparently had no qualms about expressing their attitudes toward such important topics. The voices of these seventeenth-century men will help us to reconstruct the frontier environment in which Anne Bradstreet found herself when she arrived in the New World.

“Possessing what we still were unpossessed by” (*Works* 467) was the way Robert Frost described the attitude of early colonists toward their new land in his poem, “The Gift Outright.” Frost’s line is applicable to the eighteen year old Anne Bradstreet who wrote poetry upon her arrival in the New World, according to Adrienne Rich, as a “psychological stepping-stone.” But Frost’s words are not applicable to the poet who evolved, nor to the woman who evolved. Anne

Bradstreet was a New Englander “possessed” by her new home in the Massachusetts Bay Colony.

Chapter One

A Land of New Frontiers

I

“O my America, my new-found-land!”—John Donne

In 1630, when Anne Bradstreet sailed to the New World aboard the *Arbella*, the flagship for the Winthrop fleet, some of the most important leaders of the newly constituted Massachusetts Bay Colony were on board the ship with her. They carried with them an official seal for the colony, depicting a friendly-looking, half-naked Native American holding a bow in one hand and an arrow in the other. Unfurling from the native's mouth was a banner with the words “Come over and help us” written across it. How soon was it before Anne Bradstreet encountered a Native American? Bradstreet remained respectfully silent on the topic of the natives—a topic so outside the boundaries of the private realm of the dutiful Puritan wife. Bradstreet's fellow passenger on the *Arbella*, John Winthrop, assures us in his journal, however, that on the very first day that the party from the *Arbella* went ashore for berries, “An Indian came aboard us, and laye there all night” (*Winthrop Papers*, II: 263). If we probe into the facts surrounding Bradstreet's silence, the evidence suggests that her contact with Native Americans was not only relatively immediate, but also sustained, since she was among the vanguard of settlers in three

frontier towns on land inhabited by the natives, but appropriated by the Puritans. Although critics have long been fascinated with the metamorphosis that takes place in Bradstreet's work during the almost forty years that she lived in New England, none apparently have considered the impact of Native American culture, and the frontier landscape of the New World itself, on Bradstreet's writing. Since the Native Americans had mythologies based on their own experience in relationship to the land, we might ask if those same conditions induced in Bradstreet's mind some non-British vision of the New World, an aesthetic reflected in her later writing.

In his study on the evolution of an American mythology and its impact on American literature, Richard Slotkin cites the influence of Native American culture on John Filson's 1784 study of Daniel Boone, as well as its influence on Cooper and Thoreau. Primary to Slotkin's theory on the evolution of an American mythology is the Native American hunting ritual, which was an initiation into a symbolic marriage with the spirits of this world, the source of procreative power. Slotkin establishes parallels between the hunter and the poet, both "free souls whose purpose in life is neither to sow nor to reap, but to perceive and respond to all of life" (520). Although Bradstreet struggles to follow the Puritan "party line" in her later work, it nevertheless distinctly reflects a woman bound up with her identity as an American with a New World vision. She clearly reveals qualities of the poet/hunter in later

poems such as “Contemplations,” where she openly admires the “stately Elm” in the primeval forest near her home in the frontier town of Andover as she sits near the untamed Merrimack River, “Where gliding streams the rocks did overwhelm;/ A lonely place, with pleasures dignified.”

Many American writers who followed Bradstreet, including Harriet Beecher Stowe and Walt Whitman, directly allude to the influence of neighboring Native Americans on the fabric of their lives. Anne Bradstreet may have been silent on the subject of Native Americans, but she clearly voiced her love of the American frontier they shared. We should keep in mind that Bradstreet’s silence also points the way to not only gender-related constraints for Puritan women on certain subjects, but also to possible gender-related attitudinal differences toward the natives and the frontier landscape. Considering Bradstreet’s profound silence on the subject, an answer to the question of the impact of native culture and the frontier landscape on her writing must rest with an investigation into the possibilities for cultural transference with the natives that Anne Bradstreet may have encountered. Evidence of such interaction with the natives and their culture, along with the manner in which her experience in a frontier landscape is reflected in her writing make manifest the silent symbiosis that occurred.

To begin, we need to construct some framework for possible opportunities that Anne Bradstreet may have had for interaction with the natives by estimating the ratio of natives to colonists during Anne Bradstreet's lifetime. Next, we must consider the initiatives launched by the Puritan fathers in order to establish a new Israel in New England, and how these initiatives directly influenced the existing Native American culture. Also, if we are to have a realistic sense of Anne Bradstreet's private world amidst the frontier landscape, we need to look at the three towns of New Towne, Ipswich, and Andover, in which she and her husband settled as part of the vanguard of colonists on frontier lands once inhabited by the natives. In particular, understanding the layout of the town of Andover is essential in order to have a context for Anne Bradstreet's relationship to the land around her, for she lived in Andover from sometime around 1644 until her death in 1672. In addition, Anne Bradstreet's silence, woven out of the Renaissance gender politics of her lifetime, leads us to consider that the kinds of cultural exchange which may have taken place between Anne Bradstreet and neighboring natives probably would have been gender based in origin since strict boundaries existed between the public domain of the Puritan fathers and the domestic sphere of Puritan women. In relation to Anne Bradstreet's interaction with her New England landscape and its natives, we will consider how many

years passed before she shows evidence of having developed a New England regional/cultural identity. These considerations help us to look at Anne Bradstreet's literature with new eyes. In particular, her most famous nature poem, "Contemplations," is a most telling witness to the symbiosis which occurred between Anne Bradstreet and the frontier environment of the New World.

It is difficult to imagine the wonder and awe that must have descended upon Anne Bradstreet and the other passengers aboard the *Arbella* when they finally spotted the endless span of forested coastline of the New World landscape on June 8, 1630. Excitement would have soared on that day, also, over the passengers' first glimpse of a Native American on board ship after most had just returned from a trip ashore to pick, as Winthrop describes it, a "store of fine straw berr[ies]" (*Winthrop Papers*, II: 263). Winthrop's commentary illustrates how intense the fascination aboard the *Arbella* was with the natives as he describes how on July 2, his twenty - two year old son, Henry, and some other principal officers of the *Arbella* walked out into the new land to view the wigwams of the natives. The party spotted a native canoe on the other side of the river and wanted to claim it for their own use. Young Henry, the only member of the party who could swim, plunged into the river to get

it. Winthrop tells us that apparently Henry was seized with a cramp not far from shore and drowned (*Winthrop Papers*, II: 265).

Though personal-experience accounts verify that Anne Bradstreet's contact with Native Americans must have been relatively immediate, these accounts should not be taken as evidence that in 1630 the native population vastly outnumbered the European settlers in the Massachusetts Bay area. In fact, an accurate population count is difficult, for as historian Francis Jennings has pointed out, the data from contemporary sources on native populations north of the Rio Grande has never thoroughly and systematically been analyzed.¹ Yet seventeenth-century contemporary accounts of the native population are sufficient to allow us a sense of the level of transcultural exchange that must have taken place between the natives and the settlers. Given their covenant with God to create a New Israel in the New World, the Puritans were probably surprised, and pleased, that the native population in most areas was much less than anticipated. Ironically, the period of time just prior to the *Arbella*'s arrival in the New World saw a dramatic decrease in native peoples because of the staggering number of deaths resulting from the epidemic disease which arrived with the first Europeans. Although the majority of New England's population in the early seventeenth century, prior to the arrival of the Winthrop group, were natives (Jennings 178), a general decline in native population continued

well into the eighteenth century (Jennings 27). Even as early as 1588, English scientist Thomas Hariot observed that after Englishmen visited native towns, “the people began to die very fast.”² In contrast to the vast influx of Europeans, whole villages of natives had been destroyed in eastern Massachusetts. Estimates on depopulation of native peoples as a result of plague after the arrival of the first Europeans vary. Figures for the New England groups of Native Americans just before sixteenth-century European contact range from 71,000 to 160,000 (Bragdon, 93). Sherburne F. Cook’s estimate of a seventy-five percent decline in natives, based on approximations by contemporaries, contrasts with medical historian Alfred Crosby’s estimate of a ninety percent decline (Salisbury 105). But seventeenth-century contemporary accounts of native population often contradict one another, as we might suspect, and certainly, various areas in New England were more heavily populated with natives than others. For instance, when Anne Bradstreet’s father, Thomas Dudley, wrote to the Lady Bridget, Countess of Lincoln, in March of 1631, he described the Native American population surrounding him in the Boston area. Dudley pointed out that although among the Pawtucket villages near modern Medfield and Saugus there were counted only about fifteen persons each in 1631, and in Naumkeak just two or three families, the area near the Merrimack River had about four hundred to five hundred men (Emerson 69). Also testifying to large

numbers of natives was one of the first settlers of Dorchester in 1630, who described their own party as totaling “not above ten” people. The Dorchester settler recorded in his journal that they were approached by “some hundreds” of natives, and “God caused the Indians to help us with fish at very cheap rates.”³ Likewise, in 1633, John Winthrop commented that the Narragansett Bay [area] was “full of Indians”.⁴

For an overall perspective of the native population during Anne Bradstreet’s lifetime, we might consider the figures put forth by Bradstreet contemporary, Daniel Gookin, however, who published a report on the natives in New England in 1674. Modern historians theorize that Gookin erred somewhat on the conservative side, rather than the liberal, in his estimate of numbers of natives, but his contemporary analysis is still helpful for purposes of approximations and comparisons.⁵ Gookin estimated a minimum of 8,600 natives in New England in 1674. To compare, the United States Bureau of the Census shows 52,000 European settlers in New England in 1670. The combined figure for both groups, 60,600 persons, might be compared to Gookin’s estimate of a minimum 72,000 natives in New England before English colonization (Jennings 31). Gookin’s estimate of 8,600 natives in 1674 also gives us a sense of the native population in New England at the time of Anne Bradstreet’s death in 1672. Historian Alden T. Vaughan asserts that in light

of the still substantial proportion of natives to colonists in the total population of New England, it should not be “surprising ... that contacts between natives and New Englanders proliferated and grew increasingly complex as time passed (185). Again, we may only speculate on Anne Bradstreet’s personal interaction with Native Americans during her lifetime, but certainly evidence suggests that the opportunity for interaction was there.

Reduced in number, those natives who lived close to the European settlements generally hoped to maintain peaceful relations with the colonists. This is illustrated by one of many early instances in which the natives acted to help the colonists. John Winthrop recorded in his journal in December of 1630, an incident involving Richard Garrett, a shoemaker of Boston and one of the Congregation there, along with one of his daughters, a “yonge maid,” and four others, who all found themselves off course from a winter storm and stranded when their boat was surrounded by ice. Winthrop describes how their boat “tooke in mucche water” so that “some had their legges frozen into the Ice as they were forced to be cut out” (*Papers* II: 272). Later, the group was able to hoist up part of a sail so that they were able to arrive on land “towards Plimouthe,” but since they had no hatchet “could gett little wood, and were forced to lye in the open ayre all night, beinge extremely Colde” (II: 272). In the morning, two of the party started off “towardses

Plimouthe ... by the waye they mett with 2: Indian Squaws, who cominge home
tould their husbandes that they had met 2: Englishman, they think[ing] (as it was)
that they had been shippwracked, made after them and brought them backe to their
wigwam, and entertayned them kindly” (II: 272). The husband of one of the
squaws accompanied the two for almost fifty miles to Plymouth for help. The
husband of the other squaw sought the rest of the party to give aid. When the native
found them in such a weakened state that they “could not stirre,” he went to this
wigwam to fetch a hatchet, built them a wigwam, and gathered wood for them.
Richard Garrett died after a few days. Since the ground was frozen and the group
could not bury him, it was the native who “hewed a hole about 1/2 yard deepe with
his hatchet, and havinge layd the Corps in it, he layd over it a great heape of wood,
to keep it from the woulues” (II: 272). Anne Bradstreet, also living in Boston at the
time before the family moved to Newtown in 1631, would have been very much
aware of all of the details surrounding this tragedy that befell members of her
congregation. Her father, Thomas Dudley, was so affected by the event that he
wrote two pages on it in a letter to the Countess of Lincoln. Dudley’s comments
centered on the loss to the congregation, for eventually all but two of the party died
from exposure to the elements. Dudley, with his usual emphasis on God as
paramount, tells us “I set down this the more largely, partly because the first man

that died was a godly man of our congregation ... who, at the time of his death, more feared he should dishonor God than cared for his own life.”⁶ We might speculate on family conversations with the Bradstreets and the Dudleys gathered around a fire in the evenings during that first, fierce winter, and whether Anne Bradstreet’s thoughts ever lingered on the kindness of the two squaws who brought their husbands to the aid of members of her congregation in Boston. The Richard Garrett incident depicts the way in which some Native Americans sought opportunities to demonstrate to their new English neighbors their desire to co-exist amicably.

In fact, after the arrival of the Massachusetts Bay settlers in 1630, no major conflict with the natives occurred until the outbreak of war with the Pequot tribe in 1636, an incursion which resulted in the suppression of the Pequots within the year.⁷ Seventeenth-century contemporary historian of Massachusetts William Hubbard claimed that from 1637 until 1675, the year of an outbreak which became known as “King Philip’s War,” “there was always in appearance amity and good correspondence on all sides, scarce an Englishman was ever known to be assaulted or hurt by any of them.”⁸ Anne Bradstreet died three years before the outbreak of “King Philip’s War,” so that except for the period during the early conflict with the

Pequots, Bradstreet's forty years in the new World were spent during a time of peace between Europeans and Native Americans.

Despite the population shift to a majority of Europeans in most areas of New England during the period, the early settlers depended upon their Native American neighbors for assistance in not merely adjusting, but surviving on a day to day basis in their new environment. The natives assisted the early colonists through items of trade such as corn, beans, squash, and medicinal botanicals. Consider, for instance, comments by Bradstreet contemporary Edward Johnson, who also arrived in New England in 1630, also probably on the *Arbella*. Johnson's revealing observations on life in the Massachusetts Bay Colony appeared in print in London in a book entitled *The Wonder-Working Providence of Sion's Saviour in New England*, three years after the London publication in 1650 of Bradstreet's *The Tenth Muse*.⁹ Johnson described how early settlers "bartered with the Indians for Venison or Rockoons [Raccoons]" (114). Also, through both instruction and imitation, the natives were the source of learning for the Europeans with regard to where to plant, where to hunt and fish, and how to navigate the rivers and ocean (Weinstein 2-3). Edward Johnson gives us a sense of the importance of assistance from the natives when he describes the colonists' desperate attempt to survive in the early stages of settlement in 1631 when he writes: "in the misse of beer [the settlers] supplied themselves

with water ... as also in the absence of Bread they feasted themselves with fish.

The Women once a day, as the tide gave way, resorted to Mussells, and

Clambankes ... where they daily gathered their Families food with much heavenly

discourse of the provisions Christ had formerly made for many thousands of his

followers in the wilderness" (77). In all likelihood, Anne Bradstreet would have

been a member of this group of women who looked to God's bounty from the sea to sustain her family.

So the Puritan settlers looked to Christ and to their Native American neighbors in order to survive in their new environment. Aside from aid in securing food, the natives also taught the settlers how to make and use canoes, moccasins, buckskin clothing, and frontier shelters (Jennings 41). Historian Francis Jennings asserts that given the great extent of interaction between the colonists and natives, especially in the area of trade between the two groups, prolonged contact took place that "created interdependence and cultural change" (39). While the colonists prayed to God for deliverance from the "wilderness" conditions they perceived around them, they depended on native savvy to sustain them until they could transform their rudimentary existence into the cultivated lifestyle they had left behind in old England.

The early colonists also depended upon the natives because of the gap between the settlers' expectations concerning climate conditions prior to their arrival in New England and the reality of the encounter itself. Historian Karen Ordahl Kupperman lends additional insight to the predicament that the settlers found themselves in when they arrived in New England, bringing with them the "common sense idea that climate would be constant in any given latitude around the world"

(3). Since New England's latitude is in the low forties, it was anticipated that the climate would be similar to that of Spain or southern France (Kupperman 3).

London is north of fifty degrees of latitude, and New England lies between forty and forty-five degrees, so it was certainly expected that New England, nearer to the equator, would be warmer than England in both winter and summer (Kupperman 11). We may imagine, then, that the colonists did not fully anticipate which foods would grow most appropriately in their new environment, further complicating their ability to fend for themselves and augmenting their dependence on the natives who were so identified with the land they inhabited. Some of the writings of those first settlers in the forefront of the Great Migration during the 1630's reflect the jarring effect of the unexpected severity of the climate. For instance, William Bradford recorded that the winter of 1635 was preceded that August by a hurricane so violent that "signs and marks of it will remain this hundred years" (279-80). Cold, snowy

weather prevailed in November and December (Kupperman 7). Edward Johnson noted that the winter of 1639-40 was extreme, “with very bitter blasts” (Johnson 191). As the settlers moved into the 1640’s, the weather was still so severe that New England colonist Thomas Gorges wrote that “the like was never known by English or Indian. It is incredible to relate the extremity of the weather. Fouls and fish lay frozen Flotinge thicke on the waters in the sea” (*Letters* 49). We now know that much of the northern hemisphere was then under the influence of the “Little Ice Age.” Although the coldest period of the “Little Ice Age” existed from 1550 to 1700, the first severe weather pattern occurred during the first decades of settlement in the Massachusetts Bay colony (Kupperman 4). Upon landing in the New World, the settlers would have encountered some of the coldest winters of the “Little Ice Age” through the first years of the 1640’s, the likes of which were not seen again until the 1690’s.¹⁰ Although Europe was also experiencing more severe weather than usual, the harshness of the New England climate still perplexed the New England colonists as an intellectual dilemma. They did not expect the New England climate to be so cold because it lies closer to the equator at between forty and forty-five degrees than London’s location north of fifty degrees of latitude. The colonists were actually finding New England colder than England in the winter, raising the worrisome possibility that America had a defective climate (9).

Historical geographer Cole Harris' research on the New England landscape reveals another startling reality of the colonists' encounter with the New World. From their own sense of English history, the colonists may have felt as if they had been transported back in time and deposited in the England of centuries before. The settlers, in fact, had moved back into the forest, which may have called to their minds stories of Anglo-Saxon England, a time when bears, boars, and wolves roamed freely through settlement areas (Harris 120). Although an advantage for the New England colonists was that forests were again available for gathering, chopping, and hunting, the implications for adjusting to such an unfamiliar environment would have been far-reaching.

Probably even more disconcerting to the Puritan fathers was the fact that the natives they encountered, although diminished in number, were totally at ease within that New England forest environment. The natives shared a common heritage since all of the local tribes were of the Algonkian family. They valued maintaining a balance in nature and hence in resource use, and were said to be as at home in the woods as in their wigwams. Their merge with the land is evident in Edward Johnson's description of the New England landscape, referred to as "Wildernesse" so dense that the settlers are "indeed without sight of Sun...the Indian paths being not above one foot broad, so that a man may travall many days and never find one"

(113). Unfortunately for the natives, this sense of balance and contentment that they found within their environment for so many hundreds of years would not mesh with the plans for the New England landscape held by its new inhabitants.

II

“And God said, Let us make man in our image, after our likeness:
and let them have dominion”—Genesis, I:26

If we consider the organic nature of the relationship that the natives had with the American landscape, it is difficult to miss the irony in the native's words on the banner of the seal created for the Massachusetts Bay Colony: “Come over and help us.” The words seem to implore would-be colonists to come to their aid, yet the Puritan fathers perverted those words on the seal as they first seized the help offered by the natives in order to live off the land and then seized the natives' land itself. Certainly Puritan leader John Winthrop, along with Anne Bradstreet's father, Thomas Dudley, and John Endecott, were most instrumental in establishing a government which would uphold the priorities of the Puritan fathers of the colony (Morgan 101). Much of the attitude toward the acquisition of land for settlers in New England resulted from John Winthrop's ambitious adoption of fellow Englishman Samuel Purchas's doctrine of “*vacuum domicilium*,” which

distinguished between two categories of right to the earth, natural and civil, as stated in *The Winthrop Papers*:

Then as men and cattell increased, they appropriated some parcells of ground by enclosing and peculiar [particular] manurance, and this in tyme got them a civil right. (II: 120)

According to this concept, then, the native peoples had no “natural” right to most of the land since they had not “subdued” it by methods recognized in English law.

Also implied was the concept that no Native American government had sovereignty over any domain taken by the English crown, and hence Winthrop and his ruling patriarchs recognized as real property only lands where deeds from grants made by the Massachusetts Bay Colony could be presented by claimants. In effect, this meant that for the most part, despite habitation by the natives, the lands were regarded as “legally vacant.”¹¹

With regard to Winthrop’s doctrine, historian Neal Salisbury points out that while Winthrop may have felt deep within that all the settlers in New England shared a cosmic vision of the “Citty upon a hill” in which their role would be to subordinate personal rewards and gratification to the fulfillment of God’s will,” other motives began to propel the “industrious sort” (181). In fact, although some of the colonists commented on the natives’ practice of burning the woods semiannually in spring and fall, most Puritans did not comment on this practice

because of its implications. For any colonists who understood the rationale of the native inhabitants in this action, it would be difficult to deny that it was done deliberately to improve the land, and hence the quality of life of the natives.

Historical geographer Cecelia Tichi asserts that the “myth of the uninterrupted forest was necessary to Puritan planters justifying appropriation of New World lands on the basis of aboriginal failure to improve” (9). Tichi points out that recent geographical study has shown that Native American practices did improve and hence “subdue” the land, such as the practice of burning of underbrush, which attracted deer and other wildlife to the new green shoots. Native Americans also made incisions into sapwood in order to deaden large trees whose thick foliage blocked sunlight need for a maize crop. Tichi goes so far as to assert that what she calls “terrestrial philandering” weighed heavily upon their Puritan conscience, but that another ill took precedence, the danger that “Failure to make a civilizing impress upon the land they claimed could cancel their self-defined, biblically interpreted rights to those lands” (11). To the Puritan patriarchs who ruled the colony, submission to Christ and the commitment put forth through a holy covenant to found a new Israel took precedence over all else, including the question of rightful ownership of New World lands. Their imperative to reform the land they claimed diminished the New World geography to the level of little importance as the

fathers visualized “ a metaphysically transformed state of being that would characterize the prophecied New Jerusalem” (Tichi 5).

The Puritan covenant with God, coupled with Winthrop’s precepts on ownership of frontier land, meant that opportunities for land acquisition abounded in the New World, especially for men of rank like Anne Bradstreet’s husband, Simon. A vastly different land situation existed from that of “old” England, where land was at a premium and extremely difficult to obtain. Despite the larger native population in some of the outlying areas such as along the Merrimack River, it must have been an enticing prospect to follow the law, and yet practically have land for the taking. Johnson’s *The Wonder-Working Providence of Sion’s Saviour in New England* gives us some sense of Anne and Simon Bradstreet’s place in the dispensation of land during the early days of the colony. For example, Johnson observed of the founding of “New Towne,” of which the Bradstreets were among the first frontier families in 1631, “Wherefore they [the settlers] rather made choice to enter farther among the Indians” (90). Johnson further describes the early days of New Towne, later called Cambridge, when the settlers had “scarce houses to shelter themselves, no doors to hinder the Indians accesse to all they had in them, yet did the Lord so awe their [the natives’] hearts, that although they frequented the Englishmans places of aboade ... yet had they [the settlers] none of their food nor stuffe diminished,

neither Children nor Wives hurt in the least measure, although the Indians came commonly to them at those times ... and were then in number and strength beyond the English by far” (92). Also, Johnson describes the founding of another frontier town in the colony, Ipswich, the Bradstreets’ home only four years later, as lying “in the Saggamooreship, or Earldome of Aggawam, now by our English Nation called Essex.” Johnson goes on to tell us that the town is “scituated [sic] on a faire and delightful River, whose first rise or spring begins about five and twenty Miles farther up in the Country, issuing forth a very pleasant pond. But soone after it betakes its course through a most hideous swamp of large extent, even for many miles, being a great Harbour for Beares The peopling of this Towne is by men of good ranke and quality” (96). In fact, the move from town to town probably does reflect Simon Bradstreet’s “quality,” the desire for the best living situation for an ambitious man of rank and his family, as evidenced by the family’s move again, sometime during the years of 1638 and 1644, this time to the frontier plantation of Andover, which became their permanent home. Edward Johnson comments upon the settling of Andover as “one or two mile distant from the place where the goodly river of Merrimack receives her branches into her own body, hard upon the river of Shawshin, which is one of her three chief heads; the honored Mr. Simon Bradstreet taking up his last settling there ... it being a place well fitted for the husbandmans

hand, were it not that the remoteness of the place from Towns of trade, bringeth some inconveniences upon the planters” (249). We might recall Thomas Dudley’s comments in his letter to the Countess of Lincoln concerning the native population, specifically around the Merrimack River area. If we speculate on the family members who would have constituted the family units of those four to five hundred native men mentioned by Dudley in his letter, it would imply a significant native population near Anne and Simon Bradstreet’s Andover home.

The native population did not seem to present a problem for Simon Bradstreet who was able to parlay John Winthrop’s implementation of the doctrine of “vacuum domicilium” into successful results. Upon his rather ambitious move to the frontier town of Cochiawick, or Andover as it came to be called, Simon was regarded as the settlement’s leading citizen. The town was first established in the early 1640’s in the northeastern section of the Andover plantation lands, between the Cochiawick and Shawsheen Rivers. Fortunately, good records have been kept on Andover since 1656.¹² Philip J. Greven, Jr. has used these records as the basis for his study of colonial Andover, entitled *Four Generations*. Greven’s book makes the important point that initial decisions on the layout of the town and distribution of its land relate directly to the backgrounds of the group of men who were the dominant leaders of the original eighteen men settling the new plantation. Along with Simon Bradstreet,

who came from Lincolnshire, England, were others from Hampshire and Wiltshire, all villages in England built upon the open-field concept, rather than an enclosed-farm model.¹³ This, then, gives us a sense of the layout of early Andover, where two somewhat parallel streets were established for the houses, and house lot sizes established according to the economic and social standing of the settlers (Greven 44-45). Greven notes that given the open-field background of some of its most influential leaders, and the fact that few of its initial settlers are known to have been trained as farmers, it is no surprise that the settlers first “agreed to make Andover a nucleated, open-field village” (Greven 44). As a result of this method of land allocation, Anne and Simon Bradstreet were given the largest house lot, at first twenty acres, and eventually thirty-one acres in the first division. The high regard with which Simon was held in the Massachusetts Bay Colony is reflected in the fact that the majority of lots given to the other first settlers were only four or five acres (Greven 46).

Thirty-one acres in Andover was by no means the final extent of Bradstreet land holdings, however. After the first house lots were given out, there were still almost sixty square miles of land remaining for the settlers. Some of this sixty square miles of land was used up by the town fathers when they established their first open field for the town, Shawsheen Field, a parcel of about 160 acres located

on the west side of the Merrimack. The founding fathers divided Shawsheen Field among the house-lot holders, giving one acre in the field for each acre of an inhabitant's house lot. Later, they established a second field of about the same size north of the Shawsheen Field, beside the Merrimack, called the Newfield, which was also parceled out to the first settlers. By the time the Puritan Fathers divided the third division of upland in the late 1650's, however, there was clear indication that a shift away from the open-field system to an enclosed-field system was in progress. For instance, land parcels given to settlers were much more generous than in the first two divisions. Also, the third division of land was allocated to inhabitants throughout the town, rather than within a single field. Greven points out that by 1662, when the fourth and final division of land in Andover took place, the "magnitude" of grants accepted by the town's inhabitants suggests their decision to individually "take advantage of the land which belonged to them in common for their private interests" (57). In light of such land divisions, the end result of Simon Bradstreet's bold move with his family to the outlying frontier settlement of Andover was a land holding of 610 acres (Greven 58).

If we are trying to imagine in our mind's eye the landscape view that Anne Bradstreet would have beheld in colonial Andover, we should conjure up an abundance of woodland, for despite the Puritan father's penchant for clearing what

they viewed as “wilderness” land, they remained, for the most part, unable to tame their land holdings immediately because they did not have the manpower at hand to do it. Indicative is a drawing done in 1637 of John Winthrop’s property, “Ten Hills,” revealing a house and its outbuildings against a backdrop of forested land dwarfing a lone fenced field in the midst of the single, hand-drawn trees which dominate the map (*Winthrop Papers*, IV: 410). Most settlers spent a great deal of time and energy just toiling over a portion of the land. Yet, records reflect their diligence, for account books of Salem merchants and probated wills of the seventeenth century indicate that some of the Andover land farmed by the settlers was productive soon after the settlement began. Even as early as 1653, grains such as Indian corn, wheat, and rye were being grown as staple crops, and both grain and livestock were being used to barter for hard goods from Salem merchants (Greven 68). Yet, this sense of vistas of vast woodland dotted with clatches of cultivated farmland gives us a context for Anne Bradstreet’s environment from somewhere between 1638 to 1644 until she died in 1672, an environment that helped to shape what has been judged to be most of her best writing, such as her long poem, “Contemplations,” which may celebrate the heavenly paradise awaiting her above, but no less also celebrates an earthly paradise comprised of the woodlands surrounding her Andover home.

Although we must consider the possible pathways for cultural interchange with the natives that Anne Bradstreet may have experienced which may have influenced her work, first, we might consider the influence on native culture generated by the Puritan fathers who were consumed with what they interpreted from the Bible to be a need for gaining and maintaining “dominion” over the land and its native peoples. While the Puritan fathers early on could not prevent some seepage of native culture into their sphere, resulting to a large extent from their immediate need to depend on the natives for advice on farming, building shelters, and trading, later they actively resisted the ways of the natives. Some have even said the Puritan fathers attempted to erase the culture of the “other.”¹⁴ Certain efforts to wipe the native culture away were rather blatant, such as the conversion of most Native American place names to Anglicized forms. Cochiawick, for instance, was immediately converted to Andover upon settlement by the Puritans who took control of the land near the Merrimack River once inhabited by the natives.

Native attire was also a problem for the Puritan fathers, or, during the summer, the lack of it. Native American children did not wear clothing until puberty. While native men wore just a breechclout, the women, according to one colonial, “commonly go naked as far as the Naval downward, and upward to the middle of the Thigh, by which means they have the advantage of discovering their

fine Limbs and compleat Shape” (Beverly, *History of Virginia* 166). As historian James Axtell points out, to the colonists, the apparel of the natives “was a phantasmagoria of animal pelts, bird feathers, and reptile skins, of colors and textures as wild as the people themselves” (*European and Indian* 57). Much as the European mindset sought to transform the frontier land into the cultivated fields they left behind in Europe, it also sought to transform the attire of the natives since there was the feeling that if a native “looked as well as lived and acted like a European, the chances were considered good that he would eventually think European thoughts and believe Christian truths” (57). Also, it was not just the garb of the natives that fouled their appearance in the eyes of the Puritan fathers—the long hair of native men was repugnant too. The sense of independence and pride of the native male was symbolized by his long hair (Axtell, *European and Indian* 59). Yet, a traditional abhorrence of long hair existed for many of the colonists that was rooted in the political upheaval of old England, where the “Cavaliers” they viewed as so oppressive sported long hair and powdered wigs (Axtell 60). Transforming the appearance of the natives became part of the Puritan imperative, just as transforming the land.

Puritan missionary John Eliot is perhaps the best testimony to the form of outreach extended to the natives by the Puritan fathers. Eliot was pastor of the First

Church of Roxbury, Massachusetts, almost all of his adult life (Vaughan 239). Very early on Eliot took measures to address the problem of the natives' appearance, as well as their "uncivilized" behaviors. Although it is not known when or under what circumstances John Eliot first became interested in native languages, apparently sometime during the 1640's he became acquainted with a young Indian captured during the Pequot War who had eventually become a servant to an Englishman in Dorchester, in whose service he learned to speak and read English. What is known is that by the year 1646 Eliot knew enough Algonkian to converse on theological issues with the natives in eastern Massachusetts (Vaughan 246). The consummate Puritan, Eliot decided very quickly that converting the natives to Christianity was meaningless, if converting them to what he perceived as Christian living did not also occur (Vaughan 260). Of course, Eliot equated "Christian living" with the Puritan lifestyle, a rigid way of life not easily transposed onto native culture. In some instances, though, Eliot was able to convert the majority of a tribe to the Puritan mode of "civility" that he desired. These Christianized natives became known by other natives and Europeans alike as "praying Indians" (Vaughan 261). Eliot even instituted some "Indian towns," wherein a government like that of the colony's was established. Schools, too, were created to educate the natives in these "Indian towns." The Puritans encouraged the native men to fence their land, to cultivate it

in the European manner, and to produce goods that could be sold at the New England market. By September of 1647, Eliot could say that the “praying Indians” of Massachusetts “begin to grow industrious, and find something to sell at Market all year long: all winter they sell Brooms, Stanes, Elepots, Baskets, Turkies” (Shurtleff 188-189). Eliot also was able to work magic on the appearance of the “praying Indians,” for most native converts cut their hair short in the Puritan “roundhead” tradition. Many natives even adopted Puritan clothing that was donated by friends of the missionaries (Vaughan 262).

Of note is that Thomas Hutchinson’s history of the colony cites ten towns of “Praying Indians” in 1660.¹⁵ Several of these existed in the area of the Merrimack River not far from Anne Bradstreet’s home. One of the towns, Natick, was regarded as the “chief town, where most of the Indian rulers dwelt, and where their courts were held” (I: n 142). Another town of praying Indians, Pantucket, was located at the falls of the Merrimack river (I: n 143). Hutchinson pointed out that in the praying town of Wamesut, located where the Merrimack met the Concord river, the Indians “were not in general much noted for their esteem for [the Puritan] religion” (I: n 143).

As for the interior condition of Eliot’s outwardly transformed subjects, Eliot worked very hard to overcome the difficulties the natives had in achieving the

“conversion experience” that the Puritans considered so necessary for membership in the church. One obstacle that Eliot had to overcome was dealing with the religious beliefs common to the natives of the Algonkian tribes. They held in common the belief in a God-like presence and after life, but did not have a systematized religion. The natives sometimes held powwows to pray to their deities for rain or other help. At other times they offered prayers of thanksgiving for kindnesses from their gods. Specifically, Eliot came to understand that the natives believed the soul was immortal, but did not understand resurrection in the Christian sense. The determinant for whether an individual’s soul went to the southwest for a peaceful afterlife or was damned to wander restlessly forever was based on the extent to which an individual demonstrated ethical behavior (Vaughan 37). In 1640, Thomas Gorges, the newly arrived Puritan Governor of Maine, wrote home to England about the spiritual beliefs of the local natives:

The great Sagamour hath bin with me to welcome me to his country. I find them very ingenious men only Ignorant of the true wisdom. I told him I pittied his case that he was soe Ignorant of God. He answered me he knew his great God Tanto, that he lives westward in a great City & feeds uppon pigeons & they that doe well shall goe to him to the west country, & the naughty men shall go into the east cold country, & with those that dy they bury theyr bows & arrowes, money which they call wampumpeage and theyr other thinges because they [think?] they shall have need of it where they goe. Truly I take great delight to discourse with them. (*Letters* 2-3)

Eliot had to find a way to channel native religious tenets toward Christianity. A benchmark for Eliot in his efforts to lead the natives toward the Puritan faith was his publication of the first Algonkian edition of the Bible in 1663 (Vaughan 237). Eliot was carrying out pathbreaking work, but in 1650 most natives in the five colonies still were unaffected by missionary work (Vaughan 256). In particular, the missionaries encountered bitter opposition from the powwows or shamans, traditional holy men of the tribe. Even the “praying Indians” were vulnerable to warnings from powwows in times of illness, when offers of medicine were extended along with the mysticism. The native priest was both feared and revered for his “extraordinary spiritual power” (Axtell, *European and Indian* 75).

The government of Massachusetts attempted to establish an efficient system for administration of the Indian tribes within its jurisdiction in 1656 when the General Court appointed Daniel Gookin of Cambridge to be superintendent of all Indians who acknowledged the authority of the Massachusetts government (Vaughan 294). Yet, by 1674, Gookin’s estimate of the total number of Christian Indians throughout the fourteen towns in the Bay Colony was only about eleven hundred (Vaughan 293). This might be considered in terms of Gookin’s estimate of a total of 8,600 natives in 1674, previously cited. If we consider these figures in light of Gookin’s alleged penchant for erring on the conservative side, we may

consider the possibility of a population closer to 10,000 total natives in New England in 1674, of them about 1,500 Christianized.

As a final comment on the conversion efforts of the Puritan fathers, not all New England colonists viewed it as appropriate. Roger Williams noted the hypocritical nature of their attempts to transform the natives in the following verse:

Adulteries, Murthers, Robberies, Thefts,
Wild Indians punish these!
And hold the Scales of Justice so,
That no man farthing leese.

When Indians heare the horrid filths,
Of Irish, English Men,
The horrid Oaths and Murthers late,
Thus say these Indians then.

We weare no Cloaths, have many Gods,
And yet our sinnes and lesse:
You are Barbarians, Pagans wild,
Your Land's the Wildernesse.

(Seventeenth Century American Poetry 181)

Chapter Two

Anne Bradstreet and Native American Culture

“This land is the house
we have always lived in.
The women,
their bones are holding up the earth.”
—Linda Hogan

Considering that the majority of the existing native population during Anne Bradstreet’s lifetime held fast to elements of Algonkian tradition, despite attempts at conversion by the Puritan fathers, we should ask how the traditions and beliefs of Native American women interfaced with those of colonial women of the Massachusetts Bay as both groups toiled everyday to meet the needs of home and family, fostering a different set of priorities from their male counterparts.

In *Women of America, A History*, Carol Ruth Berkin and Mary Beth Norton point out in their introduction that “Each year new discoveries in the history of women illuminate shadowy corners of the lives of white, red, yellow, and black people on the American continent” (3). Berkin and Norton also pose an essential question: “in what ways does the history of women mesh with or deviate from the history of men in America?” (9). Although they proceed to affirm that historians of women must “recognize that females cannot be defined solely by their sexual identity,” they still maintain that historians of women must also recognize that females “share nearly universal experiences alien to men” (9). In light of such

considerations, we can only wonder if Anne ever privately differed in opinion from the Puritan patriarchs concerning the frontier land the colonists came to inhabit. We certainly have nothing so far in the body of literature by Anne Bradstreet that commemorates newly tilled fields of wheat or rye on Andover farmland. The acts of acquiring and cultivating land apparently were not central in Anne Bradstreet's sphere of thought. In fact, it is the unchecked beauty of nature, such as that along the Merrimack River near Andover, "Where gliding streams the rocks did overwhelm;/ A lonely place, with pleasures dignified" ("Contemplations" 21: 145), that becomes the substance of Anne Bradstreet's admiration. "Becomes" is the key word in the above, however, for Bradstreet's early verse, apparently written during her first years in the New World, speaks not at all of the raw beauty of the frontier landscape into which she was thrust. Rather, idyllic images such as those in her poem "The Four Seasons Of The Year" conjure up thoughts of the bucolic life of England's countryside near the Sempringham Estate where she lived for most of her life before leaving for "new" England: "Now go those frolic swaines, the shepard lads,/ to wash the thick cloath'd flocks, with pipes ful glad;/ In the coole streames they labour with delight/ Rubbing their dirty coates till they look white" (107).

If we ask what factors precipitated the transformation that took place in Anne Bradstreet's perception of what constitutes beauty in nature, certainly we must

consider that she lived for forty-two of her sixty years in a New World frontier environment, apparently one that replaced “old” England in her heart, apparently one that she came to love for its natural beauty. Her husband Simon undoubtedly came to love his new land also, but possibly for the commercial success that it brought him as much as for its beauty. A letter in 1646 from colonist Emmanuel Downing to John Winthrop alludes to Simon’s diligence in trading the fruits of his land holdings: “mr. Broadstreet is about to settle his habitation with vs, at Salem; and to imploy his stock in trading here” (*Winthrop Papers*, V: 78). But it is the words of a Puritan of Massachusetts Bay who arrived there in 1661, a little over thirty years after the Bradstreets, that more directly points the way toward possible gender-related attitudinal differences regarding the Puritan doctrine of subduing New England’s natural landscape. Samuel Sewall’s diary entry for January 10, 1676, reads “Felled the oak at the E. end of the house. Matre et Sorore valde plangentibus” (14). Sewall’s use of the Latin phrasing conjures the image of women in ancient times mourning on a grand scale, so to speak, since the Latin “plangentibus” conjures up the image of Sewall’s mother and sister beating their breasts in sorrow at the demise of the tree.¹ Also, some years later Sewall wrote in a letter “I can’t endure Trees of so great Bulk, near a house.”² Just as Puritan men and women such as Samuel Sewall and his mother and sister may have disagreed

about the changes wrought on the natural landscape as a result of Puritan theocratic precepts, so may they have viewed opportunities for cultural exchange with the natives differently. The practical expectations of colonial women settlers in Anne Bradstreet's day would have helped to foster a cultural transference between Native American women and colonial women that was far different from that of their male counterparts.

In particular, since many of the daily tasks essential to the family life of Native Americans and colonials were a common part of the female culture in both groups, we should consider on how this commonality may have generated pathways for cultural exchange. Of note in any consideration of possibilities for cultural exchange between the two groups of women is the fact that, in general, the Puritans regarded Native American females in a more sympathetic light than they did their male counterparts. Ethno-historian James T. Axtell maintains that most European observers of Indian culture viewed the tasks performed by Indian women as very close to the Puritan ideal of "labour" (*European and Indian* 49). While the colonists perceived the hunting and fishing of native men as an idle pursuit, they valued the work ethic of the native women. The Reverend Francis Higginson, in his seventeenth-century work, *New England Plantation*, noted that among the natives, "Men for the most part live idly, they do nothing but hunt and fish," whereas

“Their wives set their corne and doe all their other worke” (qtd. in Axtell, *Invasion Within*, 152). Especially since the native women took care of the field crops with their “Clamme shell-hooes,” their work load was considered more laborious than that of colonial women, whose husbands worked the fields. Higginson’s contemporary, William Wood, in his *New England’s Prospect*, published in 1634, describes the effect of the stringent work ethic of Native American women on the early interaction between the settlers and the Indians:

since the “English” arrivall comparison hath made them miserable, for seeing the kind usage of the “English” to their wives, they doe as much condemne their husbands for unkindnesse, and commend the “English” for their love. As their husbands commending themselves for their wit in keeping their wives industrious, doe condemne the “English” for their folly in spoyling good working creatures. These [native] women resort often to the “English” houses, where “pares cum paribus congregate,” in Sex I meane, they do somewhat ease their miserie, by complaining and seldome part without a releefe: If her husband come to seeke his Squaw and beginne to bluster, the “English” woman betakes her to her armes which are the warlike Ladle, and the scalding liquors, threatening blistering to the named runaway, who is soone espelled by such liquid comminations. In a word to conclude this womans historie, their love to the “English” hath deserved no small esteeme, ever presenting them some thing that is either rare or desired, as Strawberries, Hurtleberries, Raspberries, Gooseberries, Cherries, Plummes, Fish, and other such gifts as their poore treasury yeelds them. (109)

Wood’s use of the Latin, “pares cum paribus congregate,” meaning those who are equal or similar coming together with others who are like them, brings to mind a more famous variation of the phrase, “pares cum paribus facillime congregantur,”

meaning “birds of a feather flock together” (*Latin* 211). Wood paints a scene of sharing and bonding between Indian and Puritan women, with meaningful, sympathetic communication occurring between the two groups. The Puritan allegation that the workload of native women was much greater than that of Puritan women was probably based on Indian women’s cultivation of the fields, a chore thought by the men of the Puritan community to be masculine domain. In fact, Puritan women toiled long and hard; their burden is captured in the words on the gravemarker of an early colonial Ipswich women, which reads simply: “She Dyed wore out” (St. George 177). John Woodbridge, Anne Bradstreet’s brother-in-law, perhaps unwittingly gives testimony to the long work day expected of a Puritan woman when he tells the reader in his prefatory remarks in Bradstreet’s *The Tenth Muse*, “these poems are the fruit but of some few hours, curtailed from her sleep and other refreshments” (3).

William Wood’s description of the relationship between Native American and colonial women settlers also highlights the way in which Indian women accessed the bounty from their natural landscape. Although native women managed fields of planted crops, they also sought plants, berries, and nuts in the woodlands. Laurie Weinstein, in her book, *Enduring Traditions, The Native Peoples of New England*, emphasizes the hundreds of different native fruits, berries, nuts, and plants put to

use by the natives for medicinals or flavoring for food (9). Weinstein emphasizes that while “Ethnobotany, the study of how a culture used or uses the floral environments, is scarcely one hundred years old, yet herbalism, curing, and healing practices and foodways of the eastern woodland Indians span millennia” (16). Specifically, Weinstein asserts that much of American Indian botanical treatments evolved “to treat the needs of women and children and to aid in childbirth” (18). Primarily, the native women dealt with the necessities resulting from what we now call gynecology, obstetrics, and pediatrics. Weinstein points out that the first pharmacopoeias in this country, published in the nineteenth century, included native medicines, as do present pharmacopoeias. Often, early nineteenth and twentieth century medications depicted an illustration on the label with an Indian woman pointing to a special healing plant as her white companion looked on “indulgently” (18).

Anne Bradstreet tells us in her personal poems and prose that she (like her Native American female neighbors) was caught up in the concerns of childbirthing, weaning babies from the breast, preparing medicines for the ailing, and food for the table. Labor and delivery, in particular, became central events within the community of women settlers as a whole. Historian Laurel Thatcher Ulrich notes that in 1657, depositions presented in an Essex County case reveal that a dozen

women were present at a Gloucester birth (126). Ulrich supports the fact that in early America, childbirth was “almost exclusively” in the hands of women, who used herbs previously gathered from the field and garden to relieve the discomfort of labor (127). Ulrich asserts, in relation to childbirth in the colonial community: “In no other experience in the premodern world were women so completely in control or so firmly bonded” (132).

Seventeenth-century women such as Anne Bradstreet were so dependent on plants, that in addition to venturing out into the fields and woodlands to gather, they also created gardens next to their homes, which were very much part of their domain. Anne Bradstreet alludes to the garden, as well as other sources for collecting plants near her home in her poem, “In Honour of Du Bartas, 1641,” when she comments metaphorically, “If summer or my autumn age do yield/ Flowers, fruits, in garden, orchard, or in field/ They shall be consecrated in my verse” (16-18). Anne Leighton, a scholar on the history of gardens and plants in early America, theorizes that the seventeenth-century gardens of the settlers, in all probability, resembled the English cottage gardens of today, which are the “direct descendants of the Elizabethan gardens with which early Puritans were familiar” (165).

Anne Bradstreet, like other women in the Massachusetts Bay Colony, would have exercised her skill with plants from the natural setting and from the garden in what was called a “stillroom,” usually a little room off one side of the kitchen but situated somewhat lower to ensure coolness. Sometimes the stillroom was a separate little house (Leighton 103). One might especially think of Anne Bradstreet’s background in relation to the stillroom and her years spent growing up at the Earl of Lincoln’s Sempringham estate, for Anne Leighton indicates that “Ladies who arrived from manor houses in England well versed in the arts of distilling and fermenting and brewing, seething and drying, and making waters and spirits and pills and powders, found themselves as busy as any apothecary in England” (125). In seventeenth-century England, it had been the lady of the manor and “other housewives of distinction” who presided over the making and dispensing of medicinals concocted from plants gathered from field or garden (Leighton 115). Clearly Anne Bradstreet would have accepted this responsibility in her New World home.

Somewhat related to the importance placed on home remedies made from plants and herbs in the seventeenth century was the art of alchemy in producing medicinals. While we might not suppose that the alchemy practiced in old England would be relevant to the responsibilities of Puritan women in the New World, Ann

Leighton points out that “this combination of infant chemistry and ancient residue of suspect marginal arts had a direct bearing upon the everyday life of the average New England housewife, endeavoring to survive and succeed” in the New World (78).

Both men and women recognized the potency of natural remedies. When Governor Winthrop’s wife was having “a fit of the mother,” John Endecott, another leader in the colony, came to Margaret Winthrop’s aid by sending a letter with advice and comfort, along with what was supposedly a unicorn’s horn as a remedy.³

There is no doubt that Anne Bradstreet was familiar with such remedies from the art of alchemy as the unicorn’s horn, as well as home remedies from plants and herbs. In an early poem, “The Four Elements,” she alludes to the value of the unicorn’s horn as an antidote to poisons, asserting through the persona of “Earth” that “The behemoth and rare found unicorn,/ Poison’s sure antidote lies in his horn” (179-80). And although she is speaking metaphorically in spiritual terms about the Christian being weaned from the sweets of this earthly life in her prose meditation 38 of “Meditations Divine And Moral,” Anne Bradstreet demonstrates that she still is very much grounded in her role as a mother when she comments, “Some children are hardly weaned; although the teat be rubbed with wormwood or mustard, they will either wipe it off, or else suck down sweet and bitter together.” The mustard plant was used in the seventeenth century for medicinal purposes, as well as

flavoring for food because of its property of “burning the tongue” (Leighton 348).

We may easily see why Anne Bradstreet would have used mustard for weaning a child from the breast. Anne Leighton cites the use of wormwood in the seventeenth century as a cure for colic, and as a preventative for mice destroying writing paper (Leighton 417), apparently a reference to its bitter flavor.

While most would not be surprised at the sundry uses for plants by Native Americans, given their philosophy of synthesis and balance in nature, most probably would be surprised at the level of reliance of the Puritan settlers on plants and herbs for “meate and medicine,” a reliance well grounded in the heritage and philosophy of the Puritans. First, and always foremost, were the words in the Bible itself. As Anne Leighton points out, clearly Genesis assured the reader that everything growing on earth was to serve mankind (137). After all, on the sixth day of creation God gave man and woman “every herb bearing seed which is upon the face of all the earth, and every tree, in the which is the fruit of a tree yielding seed; to you it shall be for meat” (verse 29). Even the words of the 104th psalm, “He causeth the grass to grow for the cattle, and herb for the service of man” later became popular verse in the *Bay Psalm Book*: “For beast hee makes the grass to grow/ Herbs also for mans good” (Facsimile-unnumbered). The use of plants and herbs for “meate

and medicine” had played an important part in the world of seventeenth-century Puritans long before they ever emigrated to the New World.

Part of the heritage of the Puritans sprang from the dependence of seventeenth century English men and women upon knowledge passed down from ancient Greece and Rome. Puritan households looked to Aristotle’s theory of the four elements of fire, air, earth, and water, as they were affected by the qualities of hot, cold, dry and moist, to form the human temperaments of sanguine, phlegmatic, choleric and melancholic, as a guiding principle. In order to restore the balance or “temper” of an individual who appeared melancholic, phlegmatic, choleric or sanguine, often distillation of a plant was given as a cure (Leighton 137). Anne Bradstreet, herself, serves as testimony to the importance placed on this philosophy through her early poems, “The Four Elements” and “Of The Four Humours In Man’s Constitution.” In “The Four Elements,” the persona “Earth” lends support to the poet’s belief in the importance of plants:

But hark you wealthy merchants, who for prize
Send forth your well-manned ships where sun doth rise,
After three years when men and meat is spent,
My rich commodities pay double rent.
Ye Galenists, my drugs that come from thence,
Do cure your patients, full your purse with pence;
Besides the use of roots, of herbs and plants,
That with less cost near home supply your wants. (189-196)

Anne Bradstreet's words also lend credence to the value she places on the use of herbs and plants "near home," rather than the expensive, and often rare remedies advocated by "Ye Galenists" in "The Four Elements."⁴

Anne Bradstreet's reference in "The Four Elements" to plants and herbs "near home," however, prompts the obvious question—was she speaking of plants and herbs "near home" in old England or New England? The answer is somewhat problematic in that "The Four Elements" was written during Anne Bradstreet's early years in New England. Adrienne Rich seems so right in her assessment of this early period in Anne Bradstreet's life in the New World as "a last compulsive effort to stay in contact with the history, traditions, and values of her former world" (XV). In using her early poetry as a "psychological stepping-stone," as characterized by Rich, Anne Bradstreet may well have been mentally back in the world of old England as she knew it, much as she was when she alluded to "those frolic swaines, the shepard lads" in her early poem, "The Four Seasons of the Year." Bradstreet's later work, however, makes evident the poet's regional/cultural identity with the New England landscape.

Also muddying the issue of the source of plants and flowers alluded to by Anne Bradstreet at various stages in her writing is the disagreement among botanists from the seventeenth century until the present over what plants were native to

American soil and which were brought to the New World by the settlers.⁵

Englishman John Josselyn's book, *New Englands Rarities Discovered*, published in the year of Anne Bradstreet's death, 1672, does shed some light on the origin of plants possibly used by Anne Bradstreet. Josselyn made two voyages to New England to visit his brother Henry, who spent most of his life in Maine as a magistrate, deputy governor, and soldier. Josselyn's first visit was in July, 1638, when he sailed into Boston, visited with Governor Winthrop and the eminent Puritan minister, John Cotton, and then sailed up the coast to Scarborough where he stayed for one and a half years. He returned to New England in 1663, this time remaining for eight years.⁶ Josselyn's book is still widely regarded as the first "careful account of all the flora and fauna of New England" (Leighton 46). Besides his description on his title page concerning the contents of his book in relation to native plants, Josselyn tells us on the title page of *New Englands Rarities* that he also includes "The Physical and Chyrurgical Remedies wherewith the Natives constantly use to Cure their Distempers, Wounds and Sores," as well as "A perfect Defcription of an Indian SQUA, in all her Bravery; with a POEM not improperly conferr'd upon her" (qtd. in Leighton 46). Josselyn quickly followed his first book with another of similar content, entitled *Two Voyages to New England*. Josselyn's two volumes are regarded as the source of our most extensive knowledge of what plants the colonists

grew themselves or used locally (Leighton 46). In relation to Anne Bradstreet's possible use of the mustard plant, which she alludes to in her meditation 38, we might note that in Josselyn's book he describes a plant in New England called "New England Mustard," which was like "Kravers-Mustard" of old England in its bitterness of taste, and hence presumed to have been brought over by the settlers, or "naturalized" (Leighton 348). Whether the mustard plant was brought over by the Puritans, however, is not the major issue. The colonists would have sought varieties of plants in the New World with properties similar to those with which they were familiar in old England. Anne Bradstreet's allusion to the "wormwood" plant in meditation 38 is even more difficult to track than the "mustard" plant, with regard to origin. Ann Leighton lists five varieties of plant known as "wormwood" in the seventeenth century, some originating in Europe and some originating in America. Although the plants vary in their properties, Leighton indicates that they were grouped as "wormwood" because "a lot of plants were supposed to share the special property of expelling worms" (417).

Although Josselyn does not significantly dispel doubts about the origin of plants utilized by settlers such as Anne Bradstreet, he does provide additional information by attempting to list plants common to both old England and New England, and also those plants used by both the settlers and the Indians (Leighton

192). His work evidences the cultural interchange between the European settlers and the natives via the plant life of the New World, as reflected in the following description of “Zea Mays” or “Indian Wheat”:

Five or Six Grains of Indian Wheat hath produced in one year, 600. It is hotter than our Wheat and clammy; excellent in Cataplasma to ripen any Swelling or impostume It is light of digestion, and the English make a kind of Loblolly of it to eat with milk which they call Sampe (qtd. in Leighton, 200)

Josselyn characterizes “Indian Beans” as “better for Physick and Chrurgery than our Garden Beans,” and indicates that “they are much eaten by the Indians and the English” (qtd. in Leighton, 203). Or, there is the Sumach plant, which Josselyn tell us differs from any plant that he has ever seen in the “Herb lists.” Josselyn describes how “our English Cattle devour it most abominably, leaving neither Leaf nor Branch, yet it sprouts again next Spring” (qtd. in Leighton, 206). As for the medicinal function of “Sumich,” Josselyn tells us that the English “use to boyl it in Beer, and drink it for Colds; and so do the Indians, from whom the English had the Medicine” (qtd. in Leighton, 206). Josselyn’s description of “Sumich” also suggests the transcultural exchange that may have taken place between a colonial woman like Anne Bradstreet and her Native American neighbors.

In addition, Josselyn’s report on the “Cran Berry or Bear Berry,” so called because Bears used to feed upon them (Leighton 207), suggests another

commonality between the natives and the Puritan settlers. Josselyn tells his reader that the “Cran Berry or Bear Berry” grows in the wild, in “Salt Marshes that are over-grown with Moss” (qtd. in Leighton, 207). He also reports that these distinctive “sower” berries are “excellent against Scurvy” and are “also good to allay the feaver of hot Diseases” (qtd. in Leighton, 208). Josselyn further indicates that both the Indians and English “use them much,” also boiling them with sugar as a sauce for their meat (Leighton 209). To “use them much,” the Indians and the settlers of seventeenth-century New England had to gather the “Cran Berry or Bear Berry” from its place in the natural landscape, not from a cultivated field or garden.

Although Ann Leighton contends that the Indians were not as much help to the settlers in relation to medicinal matters as legend suggests (133), Laurie Weinstein, on the other hand, contends that the “Algonquin peoples managed rich wild resources” (16). For support, Weinstein cites the early medicines, formulas, healing practices, and healing societies that developed along with native foods (16). But the key to the possible byways that Anne Bradstreet found in her world for cultural exchange with her Native American neighbors and opportunities for interaction with the natural landscape surrounding her home does not seem to rest with the question of whether the natives were as much help to the settlers as a source for plant medicinals as legend suggests. Rather, the key to such cultural

byways finds its source in evidence suggesting that these two seemingly very disparate groups, natives and Puritan settlers, were compelled, even obsessed perhaps, with growing and gathering plants and herbs for “meate or medicine” to enhance the quality of life for themselves and their loved ones in an environment they shared. In particular, Native American women and Puritan women literally and figuratively shared a common ground, for some of the most essential responsibilities of their world—childbirthing, caring for the elderly in pain or the baby with colic, or just providing the family with flavorful meals, depended upon a common American landscape. How long, we might ask, would it have taken for the raw beauty of the primordial forests of the New World landscape to have influenced Anne Bradstreet and her writing?

Chapter Three

Patriarchs

I - My Father, Thomas

“Within this tomb a patriot lies
That was both pious, just and wise ...
In manners pleasant and severe;
The good him loved, the bad did fear”
—Anne Bradstreet

Upon first glance at Anne Bradstreet’s lines composed as an elegy for her father, Thomas Dudley, they appear to be a heartfelt tribute to a patriarch much loved, a man who apparently so epitomized the Puritan way in New England that Bradstreet could freely comment upon such a “sacred” subject as his life. Bradstreet Biographer Elizabeth Wade White calls Bradstreet’s father “the strongest influence in her life” since he “watched over her upbringing and education, provided her with an admirable husband, and encouraged her to develop her literary inclinations” (4-5). In fact, from all that has been written about her father, one has to wonder why we do not hear more about the poet’s mother, Dorothy Dudley, and her influence on Bradstreet and her work. As I shall discuss in the next chapter, “Matriarchs,” Dorothy Dudley seems to have followed the conventional role of Puritan wife and mother and stayed strictly within the domestic sphere; hence, given the constrictions on a woman’s public presence in the patriarchal society of the

Massachusetts Bay, almost nothing is known about Dorothy Dudley. She was part of the mainstream of Puritan women in the colony who dared not to express themselves publicly and about whom little is written, yet they exerted a tremendous influence on those around them. Dorothy's daughter, Anne (as a woman in the unusual circumstance of having a public voice), must have given a great deal of thought and consideration to what she voiced in her writing so that she would not offend the Puritan fathers. When we examine the lines of Anne Bradstreet's elegy for her father closely, for instance, we detect a certain ambivalence in her words: "In manners pleasant and severe;/ The good him loved, the bad did fear" (*Works* 203). Although there seems to be no doubt that Anne Bradstreet loved her father, a scrutiny of his life reveals a man who appears to have been in sundry ways the diametric opposite of Anne's husband Simon, whom she called "My head, my heart" ("Absent Upon Public Employment" 1). If Simon and Anne were of one mind and heart, which she implies, then husband and wife must have had carefully to control their speech and actions, for fear of incurring father Thomas' wrath. Although we have no real record of Anne's actions and attitudes in relation to public issues, we do have a great deal of evidence concerning Simon's public life, often a reflection of his own private attitude toward issues in the Bay colony, and no doubt a reflection of Anne's as well. Simon may have embraced the Puritan way, but

records show a man endowed with an inclination toward compromise and tolerance, unlike Thomas Dudley.

Anne Bradstreet's elegy for her father minimizes his rigid, intolerant nature, a quality that is foremost in almost every description put forth by those who were his contemporaries. A complex mix of positive and negative traits as a leader of the colony, and probably also as a leader of a family, Thomas Dudley may have been a wonderful source of support for Anne Bradstreet's extensive humanistic education, but he also may have been Anne Bradstreet's greatest obstacle to a free expression of self.

Circumstances surrounding Thomas Dudley's death mirror the life of the man and assist us in understanding what drove his rigidity and anger toward any who veered from Puritan precepts as he interpreted them. When Thomas Dudley died in 1653 at the age of seventy-seven, the verses found in his pocket, composed by him, reflect a learned man who was familiar with the classics and poetry.¹ The verses also reflect a religious man ready to go to his eternal rest, as he writes: "Dim eyes, Deaf Ears, Cold Stomach Shew/ My Dissolution is in View./ Eleven times Seven near liv'd have I,/ And now God calls, I willing Die" (*Seventeenth Century American Poetry* 365). But most striking about Dudley's lines is that they end with an admonition against tolerance, with this solemn vow:

Let Men of God in Courts and Churches watch
O're Such as do a Toleration hatch,
Left that Ill Egg bring forth a Cockatrice,
To poison all with Heresie and Vice.
If Men be left, and otherwise Combine,
My Epitaph's, I DY'D NO LIBERTINE.²

Regarded as second only to John Winthrop among the leaders of the Massachusetts colony, Thomas Dudley had the opportunity to exercise his strict judgment throughout his tenure in public office. Although John Endecott's government at Salem had controlled the colony prior to the arrival of the Winthrop fleet in 1630, a new government was already in place prior to the landing of the fleet. Winthrop would become governor and Thomas Dudley, deputy governor, as soon as they arrived (Rutman 42). Colonists in the Massachusetts Colony regarded Dudley as a leader with many positive virtues. As Anne Bradstreet tells us in her elegy, "While others tell his worth, I'll not be dumb./ One of thy Founders, him New England know,/ Who stayed thy feeble sides when thou wast low" (27-29). The people's confidence in Dudley as a leader is clear from the number of times he was elected to public office. He served as deputy governor until 1634, when he was then elected governor of the colony. He held the governorship again in 1640, 1645 and 1650, and the position of deputy governor again in 1637-1640, 1646-1650, and 1651-1653, the year of his death. Given evidence concerning Dudley's nature, his repeated election to public office also tells us something about the mindset that

existed from the start among some of the colony's populace, a mindset that would eventually lead to the witch hunts which began in the colony early on and culminated with the wave of hysteria which shook the colony in the 1690's. As Carol Karlsen points out in her study, *The Devil in the Shape of a Woman*:

Puritan belief made it easy to hold women responsible for the failures of the emerging economic system. Discontent, anger, envy, malice, and pride were understandable responses to the stresses of social and economic change. Yet the clergy's repeated descriptions of these responses as sins against the hierarchical order of Creation, and their association of women with these sins and with the Devil, encouraged the conviction among men that if anyone were to blame for their troubles it was the daughters of Eve. (217)

No doubt Thomas Dudley would have zealously pursued those accused of witchcraft since the accusation carried with it the implication of the witch having certain powers. In Dudley's eyes, the patriarchs of the theocracy held all the power. Anne Bradstreet hints at her father's treatment of those who challenged the theocracy in these lines from her elegy for him: "Who is't can tax thee ought, but for thy zeal?/ Truth's friend thou wert, to errors still a foe,/ Which causes apostates to align so" (33-35).

Certainly Thomas Dudley's rigidity in public affairs was not viewed in a positive way by all in the colony. Sir Richard Saltonstall, who served as one of the first governing "assistants" to Governor Winthrop and Deputy Governor Dudley after the Winthrop fleet landed in the New World (Rutman 42), casts an interesting

light on the way in which Dudley's ideas were viewed by others in the colony. In a letter written in 1652 to two of the most eminent ministers in the colony (John Cotton and John Wilson), Saltonstall relates how at the beginning of the English Civil War some Christians living at the time in Holland to avoid religious persecution asked him to write to Governor Dudley to inquire as to whether the colony would accept those who differed in religion such as Anabaptists, Seekers, and Antinomians. Dudley's response to the inquiry was "God forbid, our love for the truth should be grown so cold that we should tolerate errors" (Hutchinson, *Collection of Original Papers* 401). In Saltonstall's letter to Cotton and Wilson concerning Dudley's response, he was adamant about the weakness of Dudley's intolerant viewpoint:

I hope you do not assume to yourselves infallibility of judgment, when the most learned of the Apostles confessed he knew but in part and saw but darkly, as through a glass; for God is light, and no further than He does illuminate us can we see, be our own parts and learning never so great. (Hutchinson, *Collection of Original Papers* 401-402).

In studying Thomas Dudley's life, historians agree that he was a zealous heresy hunter. Historian Edmund Morgan went so far as to say that Dudley was one of several early leaders of the colony "intoxicated with their own righteousness" (115). Historian James Kendall Hosmer compared Dudley's personality with John Winthrop's by pointing out that while Winthrop was "mild, disposed to lenity, and

always a seeker of peace, the latter [Dudley] was intolerant, uncompromising, of quick temper, and disposed to ride roughshod” (n 88-89). And ride roughshod he did, for when controversy surrounding religious dissenter Anne Hutchinson culminated with her trial in 1636, it was Thomas Dudley’s clever, unrelenting line of questioning at the trial which led her to admit her ability to receive directly immediate revelations, an admission which resulted in her defeat (Ziff 139). Apparently even John Cotton, the most highly regarded Puritan minister in the colony, became Dudley’s target at the Hutchinson trial since Hutchinson had emigrated to America as a disciple of Cotton’s teachings. Thomas Hutchinson’s history of the colony records that “He [Cotton] seems to have been in danger when she was upon trial. Mr. Dudley, the Deputy governor, bore hard upon him” (v. I, 65). In fact, a transcript of the trial reveals a Thomas Dudley who clearly seems to have been intent on pushing Cotton to further incriminate his former pupil. Although Puritan leader John Endecott tells Cotton during the questioning at the Hutchinson trial that he is satisfied with the minister’s responses, Thomas Dudley indicated the opposite: “Sir, you weary me and do not satisfy me” (Hutchinson, v. II, 387).

As second in importance in the colony only to John Winthrop, Dudley often disagreed with Winthrop’s decisions as first in command. Edmund Morgan

contrasts Winthrop's desire for "judicial discretion" in carrying out the responsibilities of his office with Dudley's "legislative precision" (106). It is said, for instance, that Dudley felt Winthrop was not severe enough in dealing with offenders of the law "failing to have punishments fully executed, failing to levy fines as strictly as he should" (Morgan 104). In Cotton Mather's commentary upon Thomas Dudley's life in his *Magnalia Christi Americana* of 1702, he lauds the former leader of the Massachusetts colony with these words:

His *Justice* was a perpetual Terror to Evil Doers: His *Courage* procured his being the first *Major-General* of the Colony, when they began to put themselves into a *Military Figure*. His *Orthodox Piety* had no little Influence into the Deliverance of the Country, from the Contagion of the Familistical Errors, which had like to have overturned all. (16)

Cotton Mather clearly intended his words as pure praise of Dudley, but we might imagine how such an inflexible personality may have negatively influenced affairs of state. An incident involving Dudley and the great sachem Miantonomo of the Narragansett tribe illustrates the detrimental effect that Dudley's personality could have on the affairs of the colony. Even though the conflict with the Pequots in 1636 was the only major incursion with the natives that occurred during Anne Bradstreet's lifetime, intertribal frictions still existed, especially between the powerful sachem, Uncas, of the Mohegan tribe and Miantonomo. Both had been loyal to the colonists during the Pequot campaign, and the colonists wished to see an

end to the friction between them (Vaughan 155). This intertribal friction was apparently the source of rumors circulating in 1640 that the Narragansetts were instigating a conspiracy against the colonists. Thomas Dudley was governor of the colony at the time and summoned Miantonomo to Boston to demonstrate his innocence, but as it turned out, Dudley's behavior at the meeting aggravated hostilities between all involved, rather than resolving the problem. Miantonomo agreed to come to Boston to prove his innocence, but did so with the request that Roger Williams be permitted to come to Boston to act as his interpreter. Since Williams had been banished from the colony as a religious dissenter, Dudley would not permit him to visit Boston to act as the sachem's interpreter (even though Roger Williams had aided the Massachusetts colony during the conflict with the Pequots). Dudley further insulted Miantonomo by insisting that he use an interpreter from the enemy Pequot tribe. When the talk between the colonists and Miantonomo was concluded, Dudley felt that Miantonomo "stalked off" in a proud manner without thanking the governor for his entertainment. Dudley would not allow the sachem the honor of dining at the magistrates' table until he acknowledged his error. Although Miantonomo eventually acquiesced, as a result of Dudley's behavior "nothing constructive was accomplished except a reaffirmation of the old treaty of peace" (Vaughan 157). Knowing her father's inflexible nature, Anne Bradstreet

never commented directly (in her autobiographical prose or in her poetry) on his interaction with those in the colony who did not embrace the colony's brand of Puritanism or others who were regarded as different, such as their Native American neighbors. Bradstreet carefully crafts her comments on her father's strong personality as tribute, even in his elegy when she refers to him as a "whip and maul" to "sectaries" (79).

Thomas Dudley's apparent need to assert his authority probably would not have shocked anyone in the colony by the time the incident with Miantonomo occurred in 1640. From the time of the arrival of the Winthrop fleet in 1630, Dudley stridently asserted his authority, even with John Winthrop. One early event in the life of the colony seems to have set the stage for disagreement between the two throughout their lives. Soon after the arrival of the Winthrop fleet, bands of colonists moved out of the Charlestown camp and across the Charles to the Shawmut area, which became known as Boston. Soon Boston and Watertown became the two largest settlements, but when Winthrop and Dudley both moved to Boston by December, the government of the new colony followed. Some of the leaders of the colony (Thomas Dudley foremost) still wanted to establish another town on the Charles River as the seat of the government. Though many leaders of the colony, including Winthrop, increasingly felt that there were major problems in

trying for centralization, in the spring “a halfhearted attempt” was made in that direction. Dudley moved out of Boston sometime after March in 1631 and began building in Newtown. Winthrop also agreed to set up a house there and sent servants to begin the frame of his house. When Dudley’s house was completed, it was the finest in Newtown, which had eight or ten families (Rutman 28-31).

Anne and Simon Bradstreet were one of those first families who settled in Newtown with Dudley. Historian Samuel Eliot Morison indicates that upon their arrival in the New World the Bradstreets camped in Charlestown for a few months before moving to Newtown: “Their house faced that part of the common which later became the Harvard Yard; and near by was the ‘great house’ of Thomas Dudley” (326).

Historian Darrett B. Rutman indicates that the few families in Newtown depended upon Dudley for leadership, just as the residents of Boston depended upon Winthrop’s leadership. Thomas Dudley’s new position of leadership seems to have become very important to him, “aggravating with suspicious jealousy the already high regard he had for his own prerogatives” (31). Perhaps fearing that the Boston inhabitants would continue to look to Winthrop for leadership once they emigrated to Newtown, Dudley apparently began to discourage the Boston residents from moving. The Boston inhabitants, in turn, asked Winthrop not to move to

Newtown. Finally in the fall, Winthrop decided not to move. Without consulting Dudley or the other leaders, Winthrop had that portion of his house already erected in Newtown disassembled and brought to Boston. Winthrop had his new house built in Boston in time for the arrival of his wife Margaret from England that November (Rutman 32).

Dudley was furious with Winthrop over the governor's move and complained to the ministers of the colony that Winthrop's action had exceeded his power as governor. When Dudley put his complaint against Winthrop forward at a formal hearing at Charleston, Winthrop explained to the ministers gathered there that "his neighbors of Boston had been discouraged from removing thither by Mr. Deputy [Dudley] himself" (*Winthrop's Journal* I: 84) and so "he would not leave them" (85). The ministers deliberated one hour before reaching the following verdict:

the governor was in fault for removing of his house so suddenly, without conferring with the deputy and the rest of the assistants; but if the deputy were the occasion of discouraging Boston men from removing, it would excuse the governor a tanto, but not a toto. (*Winthrop's Journal* I: 85)

Governor Winthrop accepted the conclusion of the ministers and admitted "himself faulty." After the dinner which followed the meeting, however, Dudley continued to bring complaints against Winthrop. *Winthrop's Journal* records that "the deputy rose up in great fury and passion" (I: 85). In fact, Dudley brought seven more

charges against Winthrop most of which highlight the difference in mindset of the two foremost leaders of the colony. In one charge, for instance, Dudley questioned Winthrop on what authority he had loaned twenty-eight pounds of powder to the colonists at Plymouth. Winthrop answered “it was of his own powder, and upon their urgent distress, their own powder proving naught, when they were to send to the rescue of the men at Sowansett” (*Winthrop's Journal* I: 86). In another charge, Dudley questioned Winthrop concerning under what authority Winthrop had allowed two banished men to stay within the colony’s limits. Winthrop responded that given cause, the Governor might stay the execution of a sentence in criminal cases: “Now the cause was, that, being in the winter, they [the banished men] must otherwise have perished” (87). A third charge against Winthrop was that fines were not being levied as they should. Winthrop responded that this responsibility was the secretary’s, not his, but “he confessed, that it was his judgment, that it were not fit, in the infancy of a commonwealth, to be too strict in levying fines” (87). Apparently discord between the two leaders continued until Winthrop’s death in 1649. Thomas Hutchinson’s history of the colony records: “Some writers say, that upon his death-bed, when Mr. Dudley pressed him to sign an order of banishment of an heterodox person, he refused, saying, ‘he had done too much of that work already’” (I: 129).

Anne Bradstreet probably heard a great deal about the political squabbles between her father and John Winthrop, usually regarded as the two most powerful men in the colony. The Bradstreet and Dudley families, living so close at the time in Newtown, may well have discussed local politics at family gatherings. Yet, though the poet evidences her interest in politics in her poem, “Dialogue Between Old England and New,” she is silent on the subject of her father’s political disagreements in the colony. In fact, she seems to have distanced herself from the turmoil of settling into a new home and the turmoil of politics by focusing in her early poetry during this period on an ordered treatment of such subjects as “The Four Elements” (of the earth) and “The Four Seasons.” She needed to protect her poetic voice and her position as a respected woman in the community by not straying into the political realm, which would have been regarded as unfeminine by the Puritan fathers.

Just as Thomas Dudley’s stern, intolerant nature was reflected in his verses warning against tolerance that were found in his pocket at his death, another circumstance related to this death also reveals an important facet of his personality—his passion for attaining financial success. That circumstance is his choice of a special seal on his will. Shortly before his death in 1653, Dudley wrote his will and affixed to it a seal bearing a lion rampant with single tail and with a crescent for difference, which would show descent from a younger son of a baronial

house.³ The seal was that of the baronial line of Sutton, Lords of Dudley (White 10). Thomas Dudley's use of the seal provides a clue to how much Dudley may have yearned for the power and prestige that he felt should be his. Elizabeth Wade White points out that since he was a man of such "inflexible probity," he would not have sealed his will with the proud image of the lion rampant of the Sutton-Dudleys if he were not entitled to it (15).

White's thorough investigation of Thomas Dudley's lineage is an invaluable piece to this puzzle of a man who could evoke such a variety of feelings in those who knew him, and in particular provides a key to the awe in which he was held by his daughter, Anne Bradstreet. Thomas was born in 1574; even his baptism date is recorded in the parish register of St. Andrews' Church as October 12, 1576. White points out that there is a great deal of disagreement, however, over the ancestry of Thomas Dudley's father, Capt. Roger Dudley, "slain in the wars" when Thomas and his sister were still very young (6). Thomas' mother, Susanna, was the granddaughter of Edward Purefoy, Lord of the manor of Shalston in Buckingham (White 7). White notes that since no further "contemporary mention" of Thomas' family has been found after an October 1588 bequest from Susanna's father to the children of his widowed daughter, it is probable that Thomas's mother and sister did not long survive Roger Dudley (9). At about the age of twelve, the orphaned

Thomas was taken in by Anne Purefoy, his great-aunt by marriage. She had married Richard Purefoy, owner of the manor of Faxton in Northamptonshire and the brother of Mary Purefoy, Thomas' natural grandmother (White 9-10). This was quite possibly the beginning of Thomas Dudley's first personal exposure to the wealth and power for which he came to long.

Although Thomas Dudley's use of the Sutton-Dudley seal does not prove his descent, evidence suggests that Thomas was entitled to ownership and use of the seal. Most likely Thomas knew more about his father's background than he recorded or made known publicly. White notes that Anne Bradstreet, herself, seems to have had some knowledge of the family lineage. In Bradstreet's poem, "Elegie upon Sir Philip Sidney," as printed in the first edition of *The Tenth Muse* in 1650, she wrote: "Let them, none dis-allow of these my strains,/ Which have the self-same blood yet in my veines" (qtd. in White 11). Bradstreet revised the second line of the couplet for later editions of her poems so that it read "Whilst English blood yet runs within my veins" (*Works* 190: 43). Despite the altered line of verse, the possibility that Anne Bradstreet was related to Sir Philip Sidney through the Dudley family was very real.

Sir Philip Sidney's mother was the Lady Mary, daughter of John Dudley, Duke of Northumberland. The Earl of Leicester, so powerful during the reign of

Elizabeth, was Sidney's uncle. Elizabeth Wade White's investigation of Thomas' ancestry provides considerable evidence that his paternal grandfather is the "missing link"; yet it is highly doubtful that he did not know who his grandfather was. The fact that Thomas did not record the information or make it public implies that he wanted to suppress it (White 13).

White's extensive scholarship on Thomas Dudley's lineage led to one rather shadowy figure as his probable grandfather—George Sutton-Dudley,⁴ a near relation that Thomas Dudley would have wanted to conceal. George Sutton-Dudley was a younger son of John Sutton, eighth Baron Dudley, who was already in great financial difficulty at George's birth in 1528. By 1532 John Dudley had begun to sell off his possessions and properties, finally relying on "the Charity of his Friends" and eventually spending the remainder of his life visiting among them so that he came to be referred to as "Lord Quondam."⁵ Of note is the fact that at this time the Sutton-Dudleys were loyal to the Roman Church, so much so, that "Lord Quondam" and his eldest son Edward became involved in the plot to overthrow King Henry VIII and restore papal power in England. Even George was drawn into the plotting at age thirteen or fourteen, acting as a go-between for his elders. George's actions apparently drew enough attention that it was decided that it was best to get him out of England. Sir John Dudley, George's second cousin, had acquired Dudley Castle

and its lands from George's father. Since John Dudley acted as deputy governor of the English-held city of Calais from 1538-1542, it is thought that his influence gained George a position in the garrison there (White 17-18). As a "seasoned intriguer," George soon was carrying secret papers to Rome for Cardinal Pole, the focus of hopes by Catholic conspirators in England. Cardinal Pole must have realized that George could not be sent back to England where he was wanted for treason nor to France or northern Italy where he was also viewed as a fugitive, so he apparently came up with the clever idea of making George a member of the ancient, aristocratic order of chivalry, the Knights Hospitalers of St. John of Jerusalem, generally known as the Knights of Malta (White 19-22). The Tongue of England, one of the eight national groups into which the resident Knights of Malta were divided, accepted George Dudley in July of 1545.

It is possible that George continued to work toward restoration of the authority of Rome in England, for evidence suggests that for several years he continued to travel widely in Europe. By 1554, however, he had returned to England; records there indicate that he married a woman named Ellen Barnyshe in that year.⁶ White points out that it might seem strange for a member of the Knights of Malta (who took the vows of poverty, chastity, and obedience) to marry, but some changes had taken place during the reign of Edward VI that would have made

the marriage possible. Parliament had ruled that it was legal for clergy and those in religious orders to marry if they wished. With restrictions on Catholics very much in place during Edward's reign, George Dudley also converted to Protestantism (White 24-25).

The twists and turns in George Dudley's life continued with the death of King Edward and the accession to the throne of Mary Tudor, a zealous Catholic. Mary ordered Sir John Dudley, the Duke of Northumberland, who was George's second cousin, to be executed. She also restored the lands and property that John Dudley purchased from George's father, "Lord Quondam," by turning them over to Edward, George's older brother (White 25-26). Not surprisingly, George converted back to Catholicism and was treated in a favorable way, for in 1558 he was listed as the "Venerable Lieutenant Turcopilier," presiding officer of the tongue of England of the Knights of Malta.⁷ When Mary's rule ended in 1558, however, Elizabeth I steered England on a Protestant course that eventually meant the end for the Knights of Malta in England. The last known reference to George Dudley was in a letter in 1560 from Sir Nicholas Throckmorton, Queen Elizabeth's ambassador to France, to the Privy Council, in which Throckmorton stated that he was entrusting the delivery of important documents to George Dudley (White 28-29).

The mutability of George Dudley's religious persona and political sympathies helps us to better understand the steadfast, even rigid personality of Thomas Dudley. Elizabeth Wade White points out that there is no other "scion of the Sutton-Dudleys" whose birth and marriage dates line up with the birth of a son in 1555 or 56. As White notes, "if Thomas, Roger's son, was descended from the soldier of fortune George Dudley, conspirator against at least two of his country's monarchs, expedient Knight of Malta, turncoat in religion and deserter of his wife, it would surely account for the reluctance of the righteous old governor of Massachusetts to make public the facts of his grandfather's life" (29). After all, Thomas Dudley as a young man had served the Protestant Queen, Elizabeth, by going to war as a volunteer to assist King Henry of Navarre against the Spanish (White 36). He probably shared with his children tales of his war experience as a loyal subject of the monarch, perhaps in part inspiring Bradstreet's admiration for the powerful figure of Elizabeth, reflected in her poem, "In Honour of Queen Elizabeth."

As for the twists and turns of Thomas Dudley's own life, although he was orphaned at an early age, he had the benefit of a series of beneficial placements, beginning with his benefactress, Mary Purefoy. And, at fourteen years of age, the customary age for leaving grammar school, Thomas left his student's lodging at

Northampton and the Purefoy manor house at Faxton to become a page at the “highly sophisticated household” of William, Lord Compton, who in 1618 became the Earl of Northampton (White 31). In all probability Thomas stayed with Lord Compton until 1594, when at eighteen years of age he took a position with Augustine Nichols, Mrs. Purefoy’s son by her first marriage. King James knighted Nichols in 1603, and he was made judge of the Common Pleas in 1612 and Chancellor to Charles, Prince of Wales, by 1615 (White 34). Thomas Dudley apparently kept the prestigious position with Judge Nichols until the Judge’s death in 1616 (White 37). During this period of Dudley’s life he had the opportunity to interact with a number of well-known Puritan ministers who sought asylum at Judge Nichols’ manor house at Faxton; he also married Dorothy Yorke,⁸ “a Gentlewoman whose Extract and Estate were considerable” (*Magnalia* Bk. II, 16). Thomas Dudley may have married for love, but he undoubtedly married well. As a young man with no real estate of his own, his concern in marriage for his future estate evidences his condition at that point in time, but also perhaps reflects his own knowledge of his noble ancestry and the destitute state to which his ancestors were brought because they lost their estate.

When in 1619 Thomas Dudley became steward to Theophilus Fiennas Clinton, the nineteen-year old Earl of Lincoln, he had an opportunity to demonstrate

his financial awareness and expertise at managing an estate. The young Earl had inherited a vast estate in Lincolnshire, with Tattershall Castle and Sempringham Manor as the primary family seats, but he also had inherited a “staggering burden of debts” (White 51). In rating Dudley’s success in managing the young Earl’s estate, we might take into account historian Edmund Morgan’s pointed comment that Dudley took much pride in the fact that he brought the Earl out of debt by raising the tenants’ rent. This same money-managing ethic of Dudley’s was also evident in his business dealings in the Massachusetts colony. Morgan tells us that he “engrossed quantities of corn” and then lent it to poor neighbors on credit. After harvest, Dudley would receive ten bushels for every seven and a half lent. Apparently John Winthrop regarded this practice as oppressive usury, but Dudley’s temper flared whenever anyone questioned his conduct (Morgan 87). Anne Bradstreet acknowledges her father’s interest in increasing his wealth in the lines of her poem, “To Her Father With Some Verses,” where she refers to herself as the “principal” which “might yield a greater sum” if she conducts herself in a way pleasing to her father (*Works* 231). While she acknowledges Dudley’s interest in money, however, she never dares to risk censure by commenting on the appropriateness of her father’s money-making efforts.

Thomas Dudley's insistence on a grand house in the new colony might be another reflection of his insecurity about his family's past history. *Winthrop's Journal* tells us that Governor Winthrop raised the issue of the grand style of Dudley's Newtown house at a meeting of the colony's leaders, "the governor having formerly told him, that he did not well to bestow such cost about wainscotting and adorning his house, in the beginning of a plantation, both in regard of the necessity of public charges, and for example, etc." (I: 77). Dudley countered that the adornment was only added to contribute to the warmth of his house (77), an unlikely reason. Morgan tells us that "Dudley's preference for executing the laws of God with unbending rigor struck a responsive chord among the pious men and women who had seen too much lenity at home in England" (106). But it is apparent that Dudley's sense of what constituted godliness and his zest for wealth were not mutually exclusive—he exercised "unbending rigor" in seeking both. He epitomized the Puritan precept that it was his duty to achieve success as part of his duty to God.

Consideration of the evidence supporting White's theory on Thomas Dudley's probable grandfather, the elusive Catholic-Protestant-Catholic George Dudley of the great house of the Sutton-Dudleys, helps to explain Thomas' need to

demonstrate his zealous brand of Puritanism and his strong desire to accumulate and display his wealth.

In her introduction to Anne Bradstreet's works, Jeannine Hensley notes that "Anne may not have suffered personally from the narrowness of Puritan doctrine" (xxvii). No doubt Anne Bradstreet strived to please a father whom she loved and respected. She described her father as a "magazine of history" (*Works* 203) and actually gave her early poems to him. Much of the content of these poems was based on history, as were Thomas Dudley's own verses "On the Four Parts of the World," which are now lost (Hensley xxvi). Anne Bradstreet's desire to please her father is reflected in the following lines from her poem, "To Her Father With Some Verses," which evidence a woman-poet fully engaged in the use of techniques of compromise appropriate for a woman who dared to have a voice at that time. Bradstreet adopts a stance laden with humility as she strives to demonstrate to her father her knowledge of financial terminology and to appeal to his appreciation of what might be regarded as American capitalism in somewhat primeval form:

Most truly honored, and as truly dear,
If worth in me or ought I do appear,
Who can of right better demand the same
Than may your worthy self from whom it came?
The principal might yield a greater sum,
Yet handled ill, amounts but to this crumb;
My stock's so small I know not how to pay,

My bond remains in force unto this day;
Yet for part payment take this simple mite,
Where nothing's to be had, kings loose their right.
Such is my debt I may not say forgive,
But as I can, I'll pay it while I live;
Such is my bond, none can discharge but I,
Yet paying is not paid until I die. (*Works* 231)

Considering the sensibility mirrored by the Anne Bradstreet that we come to know from her writing, it is difficult to agree with Hensley's comment that the writer "may not have suffered personally from the narrowness of Puritan doctrine." Bradstreet was an intelligent, thoughtful woman; her silence with regard to so many subjects on which she undoubtedly held an opinion evidences the constraints (though unofficial) that the Puritan patriarchs, especially her own father, Thomas Dudley, placed on women with a voice. In fact, given the narrowness of Thomas Dudley's world view and Anne Bradstreet's unconditional love for him, she probably suffered all the more.

I offer a poem by an anonymous author, entitled "Thomas Dudley/ Ah! old must dye," which was sent to Thomas Dudley in 1645 while he was governor of the colony, as a final comment on a man whose complex mix of positive and negative attributes must have elicited powerful feelings in those who knew him:

A death's head on your hand you neede not weare,
A dying head you on your shoulders beare.
You neede not one to mind you, you must dye,
You in your name may spell mortalitye.
Younger men may dye, but old men, these dye must,

'Twill not be long before you turne to dust.
Before you turne to dust! ah! must! old! dye!
What shall younge doe, when old in dust doe lye?
When old in dust lye, what N. England doe?
When old in dust doe lye, it's best dye too. (*Seventeenth Century
American Poetry* 505)

Surely this man who could be such a formidable opponent (or a staunch ally) had an immeasurable influence on his daughter, Anne Bradstreet, and her poetry. Since the poet could not express herself fully about her father in a public way, however, we must examine Thomas Dudley's life as a way to penetrate Anne Bradstreet's silences.

II - My Husband, Simon

“My head, my heart, mine eyes, my life, nay more
My joy, my magazine of earthly store”

—Anne Bradstreet

When Anne Bradstreet wrote about Simon, “If ever two were one, then surely we./ If ever man were loved by wife, then thee” (“To My Dear And Loving Husband” 1-2), the image that she held in her mind’s eye must have been one similar to the formal portraits of Simon still in existence. Much more the Cavalier than the Roundhead Puritan,⁹ Simon is portrayed with long, flowing hair, full, curving lips, and intense, dark eyes; his physical appearance may well have helped to fuel the ardent love poems of his wife, but evidence suggests that more likely it was the sensibility of the man that fired her verse.

Before the Winthrop fleet landed in New England in 1630, the twenty-seven year old Simon had already been appointed a magistrate of the colony. He would continue to serve in the government of the colony throughout his long life, eventually also serving as deputy governor and governor, even helping to steer the colony through its difficulties of the 1690’s prior to the arrival of Sir William Phipps with the new charter in 1692. Cotton Mather, in his *Magnalia Christi Americana*, published only five years after Simon’s death in 1697, maintains that it was Simon Bradstreet whom the people of the colony turned to in their time of trouble in

the 1690's¹⁰: "though he were then well towards Ninety Years of Age, his intellectual force was hardly abated, and he retained a Vigour and Wisdom that would have recommended a younger Man to the Government of a greater Colony" (Bk. II, 20). In fact, Mather notes that the people of New England out of respect came to call him, the "venerable Mordecai of his Country."¹¹

Anne Bradstreet's many poems which declare her love for Simon evidence his influence on the woman-poet. These poems for Simon, such as "Upon My Dear And Loving Husband" (*Works* 265) and "In My Solitary Hours In My Dear Husband His Absence" (267), testify to the love and support that Anne Bradstreet received from Simon. By examining the life of Simon Bradstreet, we have a better sense of why the poet perceived him as such a source of strength and inspiration.

We may ask, what was the unique sensibility of Simon Bradstreet?

Simon no doubt had a pleasure-loving side as, no matter how much he outwardly disguised it in keeping with his public image. Mather's biography of Simon maintains that as a youth he gave in to idleness and intellectual pleasure while at Cambridge (recorded in Simon's own hand and given to Mather):

I met with many Obstacles to my Study in Cambridge; the Earl of Lincoln had a Brother there, who often called me forth upon Pastimes. Divers Masters of Art, and other Scholars also, constantly met, where we spent most part of the Afternoons many times in Discourse to little purpose or profit, but that seemed an easie and pleasant Life than, which too late I repented. (Bk. II, 19)

Although Simon's account of his early years at Cambridge implies that he later lamented giving in to the lure of long afternoons of pleasurable intellectual discussion, the open mind that he displayed in so many instances throughout his public life leads one to believe that it was the delay in attaining his degree that he lamented rather than his intellectual discussions with scholars. Bradstreet biographer Helen Campbell noted that Simon returned from Cambridge to his life at the Earl of Lincoln's estate after only one year at Cambridge, and did not receive his bachelor's degree until 1620.¹²

Simon's placement in the Earl of Lincoln's household at the age of fifteen was a serendipitous event for Anne Dudley and Simon Bradstreet. We might speculate on the admiration that eight year old Anne Dudley might have felt for the older youth, Simon. Simon's entry into the estate was related to the separatist sympathies of the Earl of Lincoln. Simon was "the Son of a Suffolk Gentleman of a fine Estate" (Mather, Bk. II: 19), a minister who was one of the first fellows of Emanuel College, esteemed by Puritan separatist noteworthies such as John Cotton (who served as the minister of St. Botolph's church near the Earl's estate). Just as the Dudleys seem to have become very much a part of the Earl's household at Lincolnshire, so Simon seems to have become fully integrated into the Earl's family sphere, where he was regarded as a companion by the Earl's brother at Cambridge,

and trained to the duties of a steward by the Earl's own steward, his future father-in-law, Thomas Dudley (Campbell 26).

Although the Dudley family and Simon Bradstreet had felt friendship and support within the Puritan confines of the Earl of Lincoln's estate, outside those protecting walls the King's Court of Star Chamber persecuted Puritans throughout England. The Star Chamber even ordered the Earl of Lincoln, himself, to be imprisoned in the Tower of London for a time (White 80-81). With the support of the Earl and others in the Earl's family, Thomas Dudley and Simon Bradstreet (having wed Anne in 1628) agreed to emigrate to the New World with their families, as part of the great Puritan venture, led by John Winthrop, to seek asylum in America, where the Puritans would build a new Isreal in the new land. On the 8th of April, 1630, the Winthrop fleet set sail (White 108). Winthrop, the Dudleys, and Bradstreets, on board the *Arbella* for the long, arduous journey, finally cast anchor in Salem harbor on June 12, 1630 (White 110).

Simon's managerial skills and devotion to Puritanism were two traits that he held in common with Thomas Dudley; both men utilized these qualities as leaders in the colony in the New World. Simon probably felt that he owed Thomas Dudley a tremendous debt of gratitude for the care and interest that he showed him during his formative years at Lincolnshire. No doubt Simon felt some affection for his

irascible father-in-law, but Simon's actions as part of the government of the new colony clearly shows the demarcation between his open-minded attitude toward issues in the new colony and the hard-line orthodoxy which shaped Thomas Dudley's world view.

One crucial incident in the early life of the colony clearly reflects the inner conflict that must have been present in Simon Bradstreet on those many occasions when he chose to be a dissenting voice on a public issue. In 1646, the very year in which Anne Bradstreet's sister Sarah was excommunicated from the church and ostracized by the colony (probably for voicing her views on public issues), another issue arose in the colony concerning the rights of the colonists. Specifically, the sub-group of colonists at the center of the controversy were citizens who were not official members of one of the congregational churches in the colony. The controversy, which apparently stirred up the emotions of most in the colony, one way or the other, mainly focused on Robert Child, the first signer of a document called the "grand Remonstrance and Petition to the General Court," dated May 6, 1646 (Morison 250). Historian Samuel Eliot Morison called Robert Child "the best educated man among the early settlers," citing his "scientific curiosity and wide attainments," as a man "who found the body politic of the Bay much too cramped" (244). Robert Child was born in Kent to a good family in 1613, only one year after

the birth of Anne Bradstreet. Though Child received his medical degree at the University of Padua in 1638, apparently he found the fields of scientific agriculture, chemistry, and metallurgy more interesting than medicine. Actually, the Massachusetts authorities had called into question Child's unwillingness to practice medicine, but there were very practical reasons why life as a physician may not have enticed him. Morison notes that most colonists with ailments depended upon household remedies or looked to a woman herbalist,¹³ citing the testimony of one Giles Firmin, the only physician at the time north of Boston, who lamented "The gaines of physick will not finde mee with bread" (qtd. in Morison, 245).

Robert Child did not allow his medical degree to hold him back. He seems to have viewed the resources of the Bay Colony with a scientist's mind and the eye of an entrepreneur. Child made numerous friends in the colony as he explored its resources. One of his most important friends was Samuel Maverick, a planter established with vast holdings in the Bay area long before the arrival of the Winthrop fleet, with its new rules for life as a citizen along the Bay. Maverick, too, signed the remonstrance with Robert Child. Another influential friend of Robert Child's was John Winthrop, Jr., son of Governor Winthrop. Evidence suggests that he and Robert Child discussed plans for a venture to tap the resources of the rich soil of the New World (Morison 246).

Although Robert Child was not a member of a congregational church in the colony and thus was denied the rights and privileges granted to those colonists who were church members, there seems to be no doubt that he was a Puritan. Therein lay the crux of the problem—Child was a Puritan in the same sense as many were in Old England, really more Presbyterian in belief. Tensions were high in the colony, for the Civil War raged in England. The colony's leaders had been watching warily as the events of the war unfolded, for they knew that the colony would not be regarded sympathically by the Cavaliers, should they win the war. Compounding the problem was that the two religious groups which composed the Puritan Roundhead side in the war also were unacceptable in the eyes of the strict, orthodox leaders of the colony. One group of Roundheads were the Presbyterians, like Robert Child; the Presbyterians had proposed to Parliament, in exchange for aid from the Scots, that the "Established" church be maintained, with Presbyterianism as the official religion of the state. The other group of Roundheads, Independents such as Oliver Cromwell himself, claimed to embrace the "New England Way" with its congregational churches (Morison 250). Why, we might ask, would the New England fathers not have rejoiced and joined at least with this second group of Roundheads; the answer lies with the fact that this second group of Roundheads also embraced toleration—anathema to rigid New England Puritans such as Thomas

Dudley. Yet, remarkably, Simon Bradstreet, whom Anne Bradstreet calls her “head” and her “heart” (*Works* 226), would openly disagree with his father-in-law in the Child case. Robert Child and his fellow remonstrants had stepped forward on behalf of victims of intolerance in the colony, those who were disenfranchised and denied a vote in the colony because they were not official members of a congregational church (Morison 250). The complaint made by the remonstrants was a politically volatile issue, for the Massachusetts Bay Colony still very much depended upon Old England’s support. Yet, here was Child, through his petition to be enfranchised (since he was both a Presbyterian and a citizen), highlighting the fact that the Massachusetts Bay was really only paying lip-service to the idea of one church with England, a dangerous concept.

Manuscript copies of the petition put forward by Robert Child and his fellow remonstrants circulated throughout the colony and created such a furor that one of the magistrates in Ipswich, Samuel Symonds, wrote to Governor Winthrop that the Remonstrance was gaining such support among the younger generation in Ipswich that the Governor should send him a counter-response that could be used to change their minds. Morison theorizes that the controversial response to the Remonstrance was penned by no other than Thomas Dudley himself (253). Governor Winthrop in his journal writes of the colonial government’s bold response to Child, which defended the

colony's actions as appropriate since the colony's leaders viewed the colony as having autonomy as a result of the Massachusetts Bay charter: "1. We have received the power of our government and other privileges, derived from thence by our charter We conceive, that in point of government we have granted by patent such full and ample power of choosing all offices that shall command and rule over us, of making all laws and rules of our obedience, and of a full and final determination of all cases in the administration of justice, that no appeals or other ways of interpreting our proceedings lie against us" (I: 294). Supremacy of the Puritan government meant that the franchise could be interpreted so narrowly that anyone who settled in the colony would be subject to a test of orthodoxy. Also implied was that if an individual wrote or spoke in a manner which displeased the colony's authorities, that individual could be banished (Morison 255-56).

In Winthrop's telling of the event in his journal, he notes the "Doctor's logic, who undertook to prove, that we [the colonists] were subject to the laws of England." Winthrop also records that the petitioners were "persisting thus obstinately and proudly in their evil practice." The magistrates decided to fine the remonstrants heavily. Winthrop further notes that since Dr. Child was the leader of the petitioners and "had carried himself proudly, etc., in the courts," he was fined

the rather exorbitant sum of fifty pounds; the others were fined between ten and forty pounds.¹⁴

Clearly Winthrop and Dudley hoped to quiet Child and the other petitioners before they caused a stir in England, arousing Parliament there. The remonstrants later all were summoned back to the General Court and given an opportunity to recant their appeal so that their fines would be lifted: “they were exhorted to consider better of their preceedings ... and that they had transgressed the rule of the Apostle [blank], study to be quiet and to meddle with your own business.”¹⁵ Winthrop recorded that the remonstrants remained so “obstinate” that the court declared as their sentence the fines previously announced (I: 305).

What follows in Winthrop’s journal is not remarkable upon a first reading. The Governor tersely records: Three of the magistrates, viz., Mr. Bellingham, Mr. Saltonstall, and Mr. Bradstreet dissented, and desired to be entered contradicentes in all the proceedings (only Mr. Bradstreet went home before the sentence)” (I: 305). But remarkable it was. Here was the son-in-law of Thomas Dudley (suspected of penning the reply to the petitioners), not only dissenting from the mindset of Winthrop and Dudley, but also requesting that it be recorded for all time for all to see. Simon’s leaving the meeting before the sentence was read may well have been an effort to hide the sense of injustice, and anger, he felt over those

proceedings. Of course, we have only silence on this controversial episode from Anne Bradstreet. Even Thomas Dudley must have chosen to down-play what must have been a painfully embarrassing and upsetting incident between him and his son-in-law, for we have no commentary by Dudley on the open disagreement. Perhaps Simon was of a similar mindset to colonist George Downing, who wrote to his cousin John Winthrop, Jr. concerning the strict rules of the colony, complaining that “the law of banishing for conscience ... makes us stinke every wheare” (qtd. in Morison, 249).

Despite Simon’s own silence over the Robert Child incident, his actions say a great deal about the man who was Anne Bradstreet’s “head and heart” (*Works* 226: 1). Simon’s behavior at the court proceedings must have caused quite a sensation in the colony, for Edward Johnson, in his contemporary account of the early days of the colony, seems to consider it in his verse, “Mr. Simon Brodestreet, in this short Meeter is he remembered” (141). Johnson begins by commenting on both Simon’s youth as a magistrate, and his wisdom: “Now Simon yong, step in among, these worthies take thy place... Thee wisdom grave betime he [Christ] gave, and tongue to utter it.” Johnson goes on to acknowledge Simon’s memory which “doth amplifie” or contribute to meetings where “matters great” are considered. At this point in the verse, however, Johnson’s tone becomes accusatory when he seems to

ask Simon directly, “Broad liberty, do thou deny, Brodestreet [,] Christ would thee have.” Johnson thus reminds Simon of his own freedom as an enfranchised citizen of the colony and church member. Johnson hints at the danger in not using “strong reason” to “save” these freedoms of the enfranchised from the “aspersion” of others, a danger which presents itself in the granting of equal rights to unenfranchised members of the colony such as Robert Child.

Simon showed himself to be a man of substance, an independent thinker throughout his life. He also must have been a man of some political grace with an understanding of how to smooth over his sometimes controversial behavior, much as his wife Anne used literary elements of compromise in order to be accepted as a woman-poet within the Puritan community (as I will discuss in the next chapter). We know that in September of 1653, it was Simon Bradstreet alone who dissented from the majority when the Commissioners of the United Colonies met to decide whether to wage an expedition against Ninigret, the Eastern Niantic sachem who was the most powerful leader of those Indians living in southern Rhode Island. Rumors that Ninigret had spent the previous winter at Manhattan in an attempt to align himself with the Dutch and convince the Mohawks to make war had prompted the Commissioners of the United Colonies to take action, deciding that they were “called by god to make a present warr against Ninnegrett the Nianticke Sachem”

(La Fantasie II: 404). When the commissioners voted to raise an army of two hundred and fifty men to go against the Niantics, it was only Simon Bradstreet who voted against the motion. In this case, when the other leaders of the Massachusetts Bay Colony heard about Simon's vote against waging war, they quickly agreed with him (La Fantasie II: 405). Simon proved that he was a man with enough inner strength to act on his beliefs, whether in the proceedings of the General Court of the Massachusetts Bay or those of the United Colonies.

Simon's reasons for his vote against waging war against Ninigret were probably complex. No doubt one reason for his vote, however, was that relations with the Dutch at that time were particularly problematic. During 1651 hostilities between the Dutch and English had escalated in Europe (*Hutchinson* I: 152). Also, disagreements between the Dutch and the New England colonies were ongoing, as both groups attempted to maximize profits from trade in resources from the New World. These tensions with the Dutch resulted in a crisis in 1654, with the threat of war. The elders (ministers of the congregational churches) of the Massachusetts Bay Colony met and listened to evidence presented for and against waging war. They decided against war, but they "advised to be in a posture of defence and readiness for action, until the mind of God should be more clearly known, either for a settled peace or more manifest grounds of war" (qtd. in *Hutchinson's History* I:

154). When the Commissioners of the United Colonies later met to decide the issue, however, all but Simon Bradstreet voted for war; even “Mr. Hawthorne, the other [another representative from Massachusetts Bay], joining with those of the other colonies” (155).

Especially noteworthy is that the Massachusetts Bay must have realized that the votes of their own representatives were not decided in advance, for just after the Commissioners of the United Colonies cast their votes, the General Court of Massachusetts had a declaration delivered “that no determination of the commissioners though they should all agree, should bind the general court to join in an offensive war which should appear to such general court to be unjust” (155).

Although the General Court’s declaration claims the court to be unwilling to support a war it judges to be “unjust,” justice was not always the primary factor in the court’s decisions; rather, the strength and welfare of the colony was foremost. No doubt the General Court tried to control the votes of their representatives, but this declaration reflects their frustration with keeping men like Simon Bradstreet (who obviously did not always follow the majority) in check. The General Court’s declaration caused such tensions between the Massachusetts General Court and the Commissioners of the United Colonies that the confederacy was threatened with dissolution. Negotiations with the Dutch continued, however, and finally a peace

treaty was signed on April 5th, diffusing the crisis for the confederacy of colonies (155-56). Unquestionably, Simon Bradstreet voted his conscience on issues at hand, regardless of whether the vote aligned him with or against the majority of leaders of the Massachusetts Bay Colony.

Simon Bradstreet held firm in issues related to his home and family, as well. Puritan culture looked to the law to settle disputes, even small ones. Often such disputes revolved around animals since fences in the colony were few. Anne Bradstreet's signature is clearly written as the first of several witnesses in a legal complaint brought by her husband Simon in 1670. Simon's dispute was with "goodman Sutton" concerning the circumstances surrounding the death of Simon's mare:

Further, we testifie the sd. Sutton sd. att y^t tyme there was noe dogg there, but his w^{ch} was a puppy, & Mr. Danes that would not byte.

Anne Bradstreet

Mercy Bradstreet

Dudley Bradstreet

John Bradstreet

Edward Whittington

Alexander Sessions [his marke]

Rob^{te}. R^B Busely (qtd. in Campbell, 342)

Simon's complaint addresses the apparent lack of agreement concerning the cause of the death of the mare and implies that dogs owned by his neighbors were somehow involved with the horse's death. The list of signatures also illustrates the

still close-knit Bradstreet household of 1670, with the younger of the eight Bradstreet children witnessing the words of “goodman Sutton,” just two years before Anne’s death in 1672. Anne Bradstreet’s signature showing public support of her husband not many years before her death, calls to mind the line from one of her poems for Simon, “Another,” in which she states, “Let’s still remain but one, till death divide” (*Works* 230).

In another family matter involving the marriage arrangements for the Bradstreet’s daughter, Mercy, Simon is at once the concerned father, the business minded estate steward, and the first generation colonial landholder exercising his paternal authority. In a deposition given by Simon Bradstreet on September 21, 1683, he describes a conversation which took place when a wealthy merchant from Ipswich, Jonathan Wade, came to the Bradstreet house in 1672 to “make a motion of marriage Between his sonne Nathanielle & my Daughter mercy.”¹⁶ The wedding between Mercy and Nathaniel actually did take place on October 31, 1672, just a little over a month after Anne Bradstreet’s death on September 16, 1672.¹⁷ Simon’s deposition so many years after the wedding reflects a father with a strong sense of principle who is willing to take legal action, lest the rights of his daughter and son-in-law be violated. In his deposition, Simon maintains that Jonathan Wade

promised in 1672 to give to Nathaniel “one half of the ffarme att mystick & one third part of his Land in England when he dyed” (qtd. in Greven, 78). Simon took legal action because in 1672 he had proposed to Jonathan Wade that the land in England be given to Nathaniel by means of a deed of gift, rather than just putting it in his will. Simon was well aware that Jonathan Wade’s will could later be changed, whereas a legal deed would insure that the land would legally go to whom it was originally promised—Nathaniel and Mercy (Greven 79).

Simon’s deposition of 1683 may seem rather single-minded in light of the tensions that the suit must have created in the family after ten years of marriage for Mercy and Nathaniel, but the colonists of the Massachusetts Bay valued highly the ownership of land in the New World, just as it had been prized in old England. If anything, the colonists’ penchant for acquiring land may have been even more aggressively pursued than in England since the colonists had the additional stimulus of an abundance of land now available to them in the New World as they worked to establish estates for their families. Historian Philip J. Greven points out, however, that the majority of land-holding fathers in seventeenth-century Andover did not wish to allow their land to pass from them until it was inherited at their death, and Simon Bradstreet eventually agreed with Jonathan Wade that the land in question would go to Nathaniel upon his father’s death (82).

If Simon Bradstreet showed a stern side of himself in 1683 with his deposition against Jonathan Wade, he must also have shown a more flexible nature at times, as well, for the personality of the patriarch of the Bradstreet family certainly did not hinder the youthful exuberance of some of the younger family members. Records for 1672 reveal that twenty year old John Bradstreet was brought before the County Court for “smoking late at night” with his friends. Young Dudley Bradstreet, too, was cited in that year for “shooting pistols and drinking in the Quartermaster’s house” with friend “Nathaniel Wade and others.”¹⁸

Simon’s involvement with the personal life of his daughter Mercy and son-in-law Nathaniel calls up Anne Bradstreet’s description of her husband as “my head, my heart” (*Works* 226: 1). From the perspective of the seventeenth-century New England patriarch, Simon’s actions to some extent mirror the emotional involvement shown by his wife Anne in her elegies for their daughter-in-law, Mercy, and their grandchildren (Elizabeth in 1665; Anne and Simon in 1669). Anne’s pain is as raw as an open wound in her lines for Samuel’s wife Mercy, who died not long after the birth of a premature child, who also died soon after¹⁹: “My bruised heart lies sobbing at the root,/ That thou, dear son, hath lost both tree and fruit” (*Works* 238: 12-13). Nor is Anne Bradstreet’s anguish easily forgotten from her lines for granddaughter Elizabeth: “Farewell dear Babe, my heart’s too much content,/

Farewell sweet babe, the pleasure of mine eye”; nor is her note of near defiance when she asks: “And time brings down what is both strong and tall./ But plants new set to be eradicate,/ And buds new bloom to have so short a date” (*Works* 235). If it would not have been considered such outright blasphemy to questions God’s actions, a question mark may have followed those bold lines before her final line of the poem, marked by her tone of outward resignation, “Is by His hand alone that guides nature and fate” (235). So often Anne Bradstreet’s independent spirit is there, just below the surface, incapable of being as freely expressed as husband Simon’s.

It is Anne Bradstreet’s poems written for her husband, however, that best portray the man. In one of Anne Bradstreet’s most moving poems, “Before The Birth Of One Of Her Children,” she openly expresses the fear she feels at the possibility of dying as a result of childbirth; however, it is not death, itself, that she fears, but rather separation from her friend and lover, Simon: “How soon’t may be thy lot to lose thy friend,/ We both are ignorant, yet love bids me/ These farewell lines to recommend to thee,/ That when that knot’s untied that made us one,/ I may seem thine, who in effect am none” (*Works* 224: 10-14). Over and over again in her poems for Simon, she pays tribute to the man who is the object of her love. In one of her poems entitled “Another,” she prevails upon him to return from his

journey as quickly as possible—her quality of life is so diminished without him:

“Return my dear, my joy, my only love,/ Unto thy hind, thy mullet, and thy dove,/

Who neither joys in pasture, house, nor streams,/ The substance gone, O me, these

are but dreams” (*Works* 229: 25-28). Simon is her “substance.” Simon, the ardent

lover was also the basis for the lines, “Return, return, swell Sol, from Capricorn;/ In

this dead time, alas, what can I more/ Than view those fruits which through thy heat

I bore?” (*Works* 226: 12-14). The passion in their love is implicit in Anne’s lines,

and the friendship.

Other contemporary accounts also attest to Simon’s capacity to be a loving friend. Robert Keayne, a devoted Puritan and a fantastically wealthy Boston merchant, who at one point was much maligned in the community, apparently because he crossed the boundary of Puritan propriety with his vast acquisition of material wealth, named Simon Bradstreet as the first of his “honored and loving friends” who should act as overseers of his considerable estate (*Apologia of Keayne* 89). And chronicler Samuel Sewall records the pleasure he finds in the company of his friend during his walk with the honorable Governor Bradstreet (I: 63).

Anne Bradstreet’s death on September 16, 1672, no doubt devastated Simon Bradstreet. Though members of the Puritan Community were encouraged to marry again as soon as a suitable mourning period passed, Simon did not remarry for four

years. At the age of seventy-three he married Anne Gardner, whose first husband was Captain Joseph Gardner of Salem (Ellis lxix). Probably most telling is that with the death of Anne Bradstreet, his wife of forty years, who, Anne tells us, “long lay in thine arms” (“Before the Birth” 22), he departed from the house he shared with Anne, giving possession of it to their son, Dudley, who would become one of Andover’s leading citizens (Campbell 335).

It is noteworthy that unlike her verses in honor of her father, Anne Bradstreet’s poetry honoring her husband does not cite his positive traits that serve as the basis for her love. In her elegy for her father Thomas, she catalogues his qualities, which are so admired by the Puritan community. She notes that Thomas’ “love to true religion e’er shall shine.” He is “a patriot,” “pious,” a “magazine of history,” and to sectaries, “a whip and maul” (*Works* 202-203). The public persona cultivated by Anne Bradstreet could openly compliment her father’s ultra-Puritan ways. Her biographical comment to her children, “I have often been perplexed that I have not found that constant joy in my pilgrimage and refreshing which I supposed most of the servants of God have” (*Works* 243), reveals what must have been a very real sense of inadequacy that she sometimes felt in the presence of such a stalwart,

hard-line Puritan as her father. For her husband, Simon however, whom she says in her poem, "Another," is "more loved than life" (9), this assurance to her readers of his worth is safer (for the woman-poet and her beloved Simon) than any explanation of why she thinks so. Only through the records of Simon's actions in the life of the early colony do we have a sense of the personality of the man who elicited this response in Anne Bradstreet. In a sense, her silence on the subject of Simon's positive traits protected them both.

Chapter Four

Matriarchs

I - My Mother, Dorothy

"Here lies,
A worth matron of unspotted life.
A loving mother and obedient wife"
—Anne Bradstreet

On the surface, Anne Bradstreet's short elegy of fifteen lines for her mother, Dorothy Dudley, appears to be a fitting public tribute from one Puritan woman for another; yet these lines do not glow with the praise one would expect from a daughter-poet for her mother. Rather, the silences inherent in the verse suggest Dorothy Dudley's limitations, left unarticulated by the poet. There is no question, however, that Dorothy Dudley exemplified the model of Puritan motherhood esteemed in the patriarchal world of the Massachusetts Bay Colony. Anne Bradstreet could have freely sung her mother's praise since ideal motherhood was regarded as a "sacred" subject in the Puritan community. The elegy for Dorothy Dudley is far from song; instead, the lines catalogue those qualities of womanhood upheld by Renaissance gender ideology, a male-dictated ideology still operative in 1643 at the time of Dorothy Dudley's death. Anne Bradstreet's lines for her mother take on a mechanical, plodding quality as she lists those traits embodied by Dorothy Dudley that were so grounded in the domestic sphere regarded as a woman's proper

place by the Puritan fathers. Anne Bradstreet tells us that her mother led an “unspotted life,” was an “obedient wife,” religious “in all her words and ways.” Dorothy Dudley also filled the role of model Puritan wife and mother in the new colony by frequently attending “public meetings” and serving as an “instructor” to her six children (*Works* 204). No doubt Dorothy Dudley’s persona as the ideal of Puritan womanhood made a deep and lasting impression on Anne Bradstreet. Nini Herman, in her book, *Too Long A Child, The Mother-Daughter Dyad*, notes that “to daughter as a child, woman is a mother In that role she will be judged as sufficient or as wanting to the exclusion of all else” (xv). Adrienne Rich’s commentary on the strength of the complex ties between mother and daughter further elucidates what must have been a difficult journey for Anne Bradstreet as she moved away from the traditional model of Puritan womanhood exemplified by her mother and toward her own individuation and identity as a mother–poet: “The first knowledge any woman has of warmth, nourishment, tenderness, security, sensuality, mutuality, comes from her mother. That earliest enwrapment of one female body with another can sooner or later be denied or rejected, felt as choking possessiveness, as rejection, trap, or taboo; but it is, at the beginning, the whole world” (218).

To better understand the constraints placed upon women of the period such as Dorothy Dudley and Anne Bradstreet, it is important to recognize the constraints concomitant with the role of womanhood as dictated by Renaissance gender ideology. Historian Joan Kelly largely blames the demise of the medieval ideal of courtly love for negative constraints on women of the Renaissance. Feudal women had been empowered to have political roles wherein they had direct power over their subjects. During the medieval period in Europe, the basis for courtly love was “the dominant political institution of feudal Europe that permitted actual vassal homage to be paid to women” (Kelly 30). Changing economic and political factors merged to support the movement away from feudal governance to the consolidation of power in state as a political center. Concurrently, the relationship between the sexes moved away from courtly love as an ideal to one that reflected the new social relationship between male courtier and the state. Kelly theorizes that the courtier was now expected to “charm” the prince just as the lady was expected to charm the courtier. Hence, a pattern of “dependency and domination” developed between the sexes (46). Soon Renaissance noblemen who held power became a hereditary, dependent class who viewed legitimacy of birth as extremely significant, so they could no longer support the often adulterous sexuality that accompanied courtly love (42). Female chastity came to replace courtly love as the ideal. And, with this new

ideal came new divisions for women between the public and private in Renaissance society.

Accompanying the ideal of the chastity of the perfect wife were new limits on women in English society. Women of the Tudor age could no longer attain prestige through their own achievements. Husbands in the patriarchal society of Tudor England sought to keep their wives under close control. In fact, public law gave wives almost no rights. All property, even jewelry and clothing, was completely controlled by the husband (Hogrefe 22-23). And, all the while the image of the ideal chaste wife supported the pattern of male domination. Historian Ruth Kelso, in her book, *Doctrine for the Lady of the Renaissance*, describes the ideal wife as one who would be beautiful, since this was regarded as a requisite for moral and intellectual perfection. Following beauty are other requisites such as “humility, sweetness, simplicity, peaceableness, kindness, piety, temperance, obedience, patience, charitableness, and the like The quality most frequently praised is chastity” (24). Kelso also points out that the qualities regarded as ideal in a wife do not really change over the two hundred years between 1400 and 1600 on which she based her study (24).

Louis B. Wright in his classic study, *Middle Class Life in Elizabethan England*, which examines attitudes and mores of English society from the accession

of Elizabeth through the reign of King James to the 1640's, points out that middle class attitudes toward women were in general remarkably similar to aristocratic views.¹ Considering King James' negative attitude toward women, it should be no surprise that his attitude seems to have trickled down to other levels of English society of the period. James especially took issue with women behaving in ways other than the accepted norm and sought to suppress this behavior through the clergy. A letter of John Chamberlain, dated January 25, 1620, reflects the King's concern that with such aberrant behavior from women, "the world is very much out of order":

Yesterday the bishop of London called together all his clergie about this towne, and told them he had expressed commandment from the King to will them to inveigh vehemently against the insolencie of our women and theyre wearing of brode brimmed hats, pointed dublets and theyre hayre cut short or shorne ... adding withall that if pulpit admonitions will not reforme them he would proceed by another course; the truth is the world is very much out of order. (qtd. in Wright 493)

James's disdain for women who dressed in masculine clothing or spoke out publicly was mirrored in the literature of the period. Women who dressed with male adornments were the target in 1620 in an anonymous pamphlet entitled "Hic Mulier: Or, the Man-Woman: Being a Medicine to cure the Coltish Disease of the Staggers in the Masculine-Feminines of our Times." And popular playwright, Thomas Middleton, for instance, in 1611 presented his play, *The Roaring Girl*, featuring the

notorious “Moll Cut-Purse” who dressed like a man and ranted in public.² Thus, a woman-poet had to be very careful when treading into the public sphere. Anne Bradstreet, for example, makes a great effort in “The Prologue” to her book to not offend her audience when she refers to the popular French poet, Du Bartas (a male), saying, “A Bartas can do what a Bartas will/ But simple I according to my skill” (13-14). She thus attempts to mediate an acceptable position as a woman writer.

Women who appeared to be beyond the control of the male hierarchy that dominated the culture were particularly held in contempt. Women who expressed themselves verbally in a bold manner like “Moll Cut-Purse,” however, were not the only women targeted for ridicule for speaking or writing for a public audience. Ann Rosalind Jones considers the basis for the negative attitude during the Renaissance toward women who wrote or spoke openly as a “body–speech link” which stemmed from the emphasis during the period upon chastity (77). In Francesco Barbaro’s 1513 essay on “The Duties of a Wife,” Barbaro clearly forbids public speech by women when he says, “It is proper that the speech of women never be made public, for the speech of a noblewoman can be no less dangerous than the nakedness of her limbs” (qtd. in Jones 77). Jones points out that comments made in the early seventeenth century on women’s speech imply that there was actually an intensification of prohibitions against women’s speech, especially in England where

Protestantism focused on the marital responsibilities of the wife. For instance, Richard Brathwaite in 1631 in *The English Gentlewoman* says that women “should be seen and not heard” (qtd. in Jones 78). As a Puritan wife in the early seventeenth century, Dorothy Dudley, and her daughter Anne Bradstreet, would have been among those women who felt tremendous pressure within a patriarchal societal structure to conform to the male sanctioned norm both in England and the New World colony.

Dorothy Dudley accomplished this task of fulfilling the traditional role of wife and mother so well that there is little commentary in contemporary accounts about her life, except concerning her worth to the estate of her husband, Thomas Dudley. Cotton Mather’s *Magnalia Christi Americana* mentions Dorothy in the section on her husband Thomas. Mather tells us that Dudley married a “Gentlewoman whose Extract and Estate were Considerable” (Bk. II, 16). We can hardly expect less from the extremely practical Thomas Dudley. Dorothy married Thomas Dudley at the church of St. Edmund on April 25, 1603. She “was the daughter of Edmonde Yorke, a substantial yeoman of Cotton End in the parish of Hardingstone, two miles south of Northampton.”³ In fact, it is in Edmonde Yorke’s will of 1614 that the first evidence of Anne’s existence is documented:

Item. I do geve to my three grandchildren, that is to say to Samuell Dudley and Abygaill Greene forty shillings apeec and one silver spoon a peec and to Anne Dudley twentie shillings and one silver spone to be

delivered unto them at their severall ages of one and twentye yeares or before if my wif shall thincke fytt.⁴

Anne Bradstreet, too, probably would have only been remembered for her estate worth, had she been content to join her mother and the majority of anonymous women of the period who silently fulfilled their duties as wives and mothers, but Anne dared to have a voice, as well. Speaking to her predominantly male audience in her “Prologue” to *The Tenth Muse*, she states, “Preeminence in all and each in yours,” but then she goes on to request their consideration of her own verse (and that of other women poets as well): “Yet grant some small acknowledgement of ours” (43-44). Her need to have a voice, however, apparently in no way diminished her desire to be a good mother. Anne’s desperate desire to be a mother may, in part, be interpreted as a reflection of Dorothy Dudley’s success at mothering. But Elaine Tyler May in her book, *Barren in the Promised Land*, asserts that for colonists, having a large family was not just insurance that one’s estate would be passed down in the family line intact. Having children in the colonies meant survival. May notes that the “demographic imperative to procreate” was so urgent that reproduction became “both a religious and an economic necessity” (23).

In New England, religious beliefs and material needs intersected so that religious motivations for having children intensified (May 23). May cites Anne

Bradstreet “as one of the few early Americans who left a record of her feelings as a barren woman She understood barrenness to be a test for her faith” (21). In her autobiographical letter to her children (written later in her life), Anne Bradstreet admitted that “It pleased God to keep me a long time without a child, which was a great grief to me and cost me many prayers and tears before I obtained one, and after him gave me many more of whom I now take the care” (*Works* 241). No doubt, as May also observes, Anne Bradstreet saw her time of barrenness as the test of her faith and the children she so desired as a reward for her piety.⁵ The gift of children would have been regarded as another example of God’s providence, which everyday was so evident in the life of the colony.⁶ Her poem, “In Reference To Her Children, 23 June, 1659,” clearly evidences the mother-poet’s love for the “eight birds hatched in one nest,/ Four cocks there were, and hens the rest” (*Works* 232). She seems to want her children to know what an important part of her life they have been as she looks back at this mid point in her life time (“My age I will not once lament”), asking that they always remember “You had a dam that loved you well,/ That did what could be done for young,/ And nursed you up till you were strong,/ And ’fore she once would let you fly,/ She showed you joy and misery” (*Works* 234).

Aside from the satisfaction that she felt at fulfilling the calling of motherhood in the colony, Anne Bradstreet apparently would have gained other advantages, as

well. Historian Laurel Thatcher Ulrich notes that for women in colonial New England society, fruitfulness in child bearing became equated with status (152). Cheryl Walker points out that “For women motherhood had to substitute for political influence the mother remained the archetype of female power” (258). Of course, from the perspective of the Puritan fathers, female power had to remain within the parameters of the domestic realm.

Although the strictures under which Puritan woman lived should not be minimized, there is considerable evidence that the patriarchal belief system that was so much at the center of Puritan culture depended upon the support of women for its survival. And, while the Puritan ideal of Christ-like humility and subservience to patriarchal authority limited the direct authority of women, it allowed women to exert indirect influence over others (Porterfield 80). Anne Bradstreet’s “Meditations Divine and Moral,” her words of wisdom for her children, demonstrate her sense of maternal responsibility (and sense of authority) in guiding her children. Her meditative prose also validates her commitment to the Puritan society in which she lived. In a letter to her son Simon which accompanied the meditations, Bradstreet wrote: “You once desired me to leave something for you in writing that you might look upon, when you should see me no more” (*Works* 271). Her voice in the meditations is authoritative, as she shares her wisdom with her children, as in

meditation 2: “Many can speak well, but few can do well. We are better scholars in the theory than the practice part, but he is a true Christian that is a proficient in both” (Works 272).

The Puritan fathers may not have wanted to acknowledge the full importance of its women in the survival of the colony, but the whole theocratic system on which the Massachusetts colony was based relied on what was said in courts and churches, and this, to a large extent, depended upon the women of the colony. Historian David D. Hall points out that even early on in 1642 the “civil government in Massachusetts urged town officials to make sure that ‘parents and masters’ were fulfilling their obligation to instruct children and servants ‘to read and understand the principles of religion and capital lawes of the country’” (34). To this end, Hall notes that literacy was accomplished within the home, “with mothers as the key instructors.” Young children learned how to read and received instruction in the catechism in the home. Each household in the New World was impacted by the premise that originated with the Reformation that godly people should be literate so that they might read the written words of the Bible. In England, towns dominated by Puritan thought established statutes requiring each household to, in effect, “become a little school.” In New England also, the religious system put into effect by the Puritans depended upon the households for education of the people so that it

“ensured a near-universal literacy.”⁷ Hall stresses that literacy involved various combinations of skills. For instance, some people were able to read printed books, but not handwriting. Others could read everything and write (32). Historian Gloria L. Main asserts, however, that although there were “far fewer women during the seventeenth century [who] could sign their names compared to men on either side of the water,” the women of New England who could write greatly outnumbered those in England (580). Main alleges that less than one in ten could write in England, whereas a third of the wills by women in New England were signed, “reflecting with their higher class origins or their Puritan idealism, or possibly both” (580). As the primary teachers of the catechism and reading skills to the young within the households of the Puritan colony women performed an important function in the early life of their theocratic society, whose survival depended on obedience to the rules laid down by both ministers and magistrates.

Also integral to the power of women within the domestic realm was the importance placed on marriage by the Puritans. William and Maleville Haller have argued that Puritans also elevated the social position of women by supporting affectionate marriage as the center of Christian life. The Puritans turned to Miles Coverdale’s translation, first published in 1541, of Bullinger’s *Der Chrislich Eestand*, or as its known in English, *The Christen State of Matrimony* to uphold

their view that the state of marriage was strongly associated with holy scripture (Haller 239-40). Hence, Puritan preachers promoted an ideal pattern of love and marriage based upon traditional Christian morality (Haller 242). Certainly a submissive quality was still desired in women by the Puritans. A strong influence on Puritan attitudes toward women was William Gouge's *Of Domesticall Duties* which maintained that "The child is subject to its mother, she to her husband, he to the magistrate, he to the king, the king to God" (Haller 248). But Gouge's tract also empowered Puritan women, for Gouge also said, "Though the man be as the head, yet is the woman as the heart (as quoted in Haller 250). Gouge not only defined how close a woman might come in authority to the man over her, he also explained under what conditions a woman might be released from obedience to her husband (Haller 251). And, Margaret George, in a recent study of seventeenth-century England, actually suggests that the Puritan concept of ideal marital love served as a basis for maintaining domestic equilibrium and social order (Porterfield 83). Hence, the Puritan woman seems to have been the "heart" of the family, and as such occupied a position of power in the family unit's function in Puritan society. Anne Bradstreet's poetry written out of concern for her adult children supports her position as the "heart" of the Bradstreet family. In "Upon My Daughter Hannah Wiggin Her Recovery From A Dangerous Fever," the woman-poet publicly

celebrates her daughter's recovery: "Blest be Thy name who didst restore/ To health my daughter dear" (4-5). In "On My Son's Return Out Of England, July 17, 1661," Bradstreet rejoices openly over her son's safe return after several years in England studying medicine (White 297):

All praise to Him who hath now turned
My Fears to joys, my sighs to song,
My tears to smiles, my sad to glad;
He's come for whom I waited long. (3-6)

There seems to be little doubt that Anne Bradstreet occupied a position of importance and power, albeit indirect power, within her family and her New England Puritan society. Evidence suggests that the poet utilized the basis of her Puritan marriage, wherein love and Christian doctrine were united, as a way to mediate her vocation as a writer. Anne Bradstreet's poetry reflects the woman-poet's attempt at some control within the Puritan concept of marriage, which was based on the mutual love and responsibility of both partners. For instance, she makes a bid for control over her husband Simon in "Before The Birth Of One Of Her Children" when she entreats him to protect their children from "step-dame's injury if she should die: "And when thou feel'st no grief, as I no harms,/ Yet love thy dead, who long lay in thine arms" (*Works* 224). In all likelihood, too, the love reflected in the verse of Anne Bradstreet for her husband Simon would have served

as a source of strength for their Puritan community carved out of an untamed wilderness. It is interesting to speculate on the freedoms allowed Anne Bradstreet as a result of what William and Malleville Haller call in their essay of the same name, “The Puritan Art of Love.”

Although we recognize that women exercised a certain amount of power within the domestic sphere, they usually did not venture into the public realm for fear of censure for not acting in a way regarded as appropriate to their sex. So how did Anne Bradstreet manage to trespass into the public sphere (populated by men) with the publication in 1650 of *The Tenth Muse, Lately Sprung Up In America*, the very first volume of poetry by a single author to come from the New World,⁸ and still retain her exemplary reputation as a wife and mother? Did she dare to tread into the public domain of the patriarchs with a literary strategy in mind or just with a prayer? Ann Rosalind Jones points out that for most women writers of the Renaissance, the male-imposed constrictions did not silence their literary voices. Most of the time, however, women were very wary of publication, and when they did write for publication, they were forced to employ “complex forms of negotiation and compromise” (Jones 92). Ann Rosalind Jones aptly refers to women who utilized techniques of compromise as “subversive conformists,” for as Jones puts it, “Good girls sometimes get away with surprisingly gross disobedience” (92).

Ann Rosalind Jones' observation that women were reluctant to write for publication is evidenced by the fact that Anne Bradstreet chose to acknowledge her vocation as a poet publicly, only after the somewhat serendipitous publication of her book in 1650. Bradstreet's public writing seem to have had a serendipitous start, for it was the action taken by her brother-in-law John Woodbridge who spirited the manuscript away from the Massachusetts Bay Colony that gave her public writing its debut. Obvious from the first publication of *The Tenth Muse* is the effort to which friends and relatives went to protect Anne Bradstreet's reputation, despite her new public role as woman-poet. These prefatory poems in the volume by friends and relatives, as well as Anne Bradstreet's own introduction to her work, "The Prologue," reflect the techniques employed during the Renaissance, which helped women writers to escape scorn and derision. The first of the prefatory poems, for instance, was signed "N. Ward," undoubtedly Nathaniel Ward, a respected clergyman and neighbor of Anne Bradstreet's in Ipswich. Ward's poem is both affectionate and humorous in tone as he pokes at the competition between the sexes to excel: "The best brains he had in 's old pudding-pan,/ Sex weigh'd, which best, The Woman, or the Man?" (*Works* 4). John Woodbridge wrote the second prefatory poem, the longest of the group. He also tried to mediate a place for the woman-poet with this sardonic compliment: "If women, I with women, may

compare,/ Your Works are solid, others weake as aire” (Works 4-6). Humor and wit are powerful tools of compromise utilized in all of the prefatory poems of *The Tenth Muse*. Historian Ruth Kelso points out that our most substantial evidence on such strategies during the period comes from France and Italy (4). Since women knew that their primary audience would be masculine, they worked hard at giving the approval of male readers and critics (Jones 79-80).

One example of strategies employed during the period comes from French writer Catherine Des Roches, the daughter of a mother-daughter pair of poets who published collections of poems in 1578 and 1583. Catherine’s tactic was to align herself with the growing number of male writers of the middle class who praised the practical domestic activities of women of that class against the frivolous pastimes of the aristocratic lady. Des Roches’s “La femme forte descritte par Salomon” provides a modernized idealistic portrait of the Hebrew concept of the hard working, nurturing wife and mother. Des Roches’s lines, “The housewifely woman is a hundred times lovlier/ Than these mere Echos who have only a voice”⁹ place Des Roches’s verse independently outside the realm of the aristocratic perceptions of female beauty and negative attitudes on female discourse (Jones 84-85). Instead, Des Roches cleaves to an idealized view of the conventional household which acts as a shield against infamy and derision. Des Roches succeeds in maintaining a

delicate balance by upholding the ideal of feminine industry as defined by men and at the same time upholding her vocation as a woman writer. In a sonnet entitled “*A ma quenaille*” (To my distaff), Des Roches’s ability to bring together the two concepts is apparent:

But distaff, my love, it’s surely not the case
That because I admire you and love you so much,
I must leave off entirely my virtuous habit
Of writing at times; for when I do write,
I write of your value, distaff, my care,
With the spindle and the pen together in my hand.
(qtd. in Jones 86)

Another technique employed by Renaissance women to escape derision was self depreciation of one’s own ability as a writer. Italian writer Tullia d’Aragona was also a courtesan. Hence, her reputation depended upon her upper-class clientele made up of Venetian and Florentine literati and courtiers whom she charged the high fees that differentiated her from a common prostitute. Her collection of *Rime* (Venice 1547) clearly delineates the negotiations which enabled Renaissance writers to construct their reputations (Jones 87). Tullia frequently depreciated her own literary ability. For instance, Tullia’s sixth sonnet is written to Cosimo de’Medici, who had saved her from prosecution for breaking the sumptuary laws of Florence when she declined to wear the yellow-bordered veil required for courtesans. In her sonnet, Tullia at first claims that Cosimo’s virtues are too

superior for her limited ability to praise him, and so she implores the Muses to praise him instead. But from her final line we see that she, after all, is the author of Cosimo's praise when she says "Thus spake Tullia, on the banks of the Arno" (qtd. in Jones 88). Of course, what distinguished Tullia as a public figure from other women writers of the Renaissance such as Des Roches, was that Tullia profited from the popular assumption that sexual forwardness accompanied any public display of verbal expression.

I offer one last example of techniques employed by women writers of the Renaissance to avoid male criticism. Women writers often adopted a pose of total discipleship to a male writer of renown. Pernette du Guillet's relationship to writer Maurice Sceve is representative of this technique, wherein the female writer denies any desire for personal fame. As a matter of fact, Pernette in her fifth epigram promises the poet Sceve that she will try to become better so that she actually may become the other (Sceve) through her selflessness and emulation of his craft (Jones 81).

Friends of female writers during the Renaissance also often tried to mollify male audiences. The use of prefatory poems to a work by friends of the writer was another strategic technique employed to help to mediate a position for the writer. Though verses in praise of a writer by the writer's friends may have been common

during the period in published works, it appears that special pains were taken to this effect with the publication of Anne Bradstreet's *The Tenth Muse*. Of course, the rationale may have been that since Bradstreet did not know beforehand about the publication, she could not adequately defend herself. In his foreword to the book, her brother-in-law John Woodbridge admits to the reader that as a result of his action, "I fear the displeasure of no person in the publishing of these poems but the author, without whose knowledge, and contrary to her expectation, I have presumed to bring to public view, what she resolved should (in such a manner) never see the sun" (*Works* 3). Woodbridge goes on in his introduction to assure the reader of Bradstreet's status foremost as proper Puritan wife and mother:

it is the work of a woman, honoured, and esteemed where she lives, for her gracious demeanor, her eminent parts, her pious conversation, her courteous disposition, her exact diligence in her place, and discrete managing of her family occasions, and more than so, these poems, are the fruit but of some few hours, curtailed from her sleep and other refreshments. (*Works* 3)

Woodbridge's words bring to mind Catherine Des Roches's technique of utilizing the ideal of feminine domestic industry as a means of protecting her public image.

Another poem included in the volume in honor of the poet was by a relative, Nathaniel Ward, who praised her by calling her "a right Du Bartas girl" (*Works* 4).

The reference to the French male poet, Du Bartas, so highly esteemed by the

Puritans, is reminiscent of Pernette Du Guillet's ploy of discipleship to poet Maurice Sceve wherein there is an implied transformation of female poet to the glorified male poetic master. "An Anagram," an anonymous poem included with the poems of dedication to Anne Bradstreet, also suggests that poet's worthiness through the similarities in her verse to that of Du Bartas:

Anna Bradstreate Dear neat An Bartas.
So Bartas like they fine spun poems been,
That Bartas' name will prove an epicene. (*Works* 9)

The word "epicene," according to *Webster's Dictionary*, refers to "characteristics of, or adapted to, both sexes" (276). *Webster's* definition furthers the concept of Bradstreet and Du Bartas as one. And of course, the word calls to mind Ben Jonson's play *Epicoene* (1609), in which the female character of Epicoene is eventually found to be a male in disguise.

The literary techniques that Anne Bradstreet herself employed to protect her reputation demonstrate her awareness of the necessity of utilizing strategies employed by other women writers during the Renaissance. Anne Bradstreet no doubt would have been scandalized to be compared in the same sentence with courtesan Tullia d'Aragona, but both adopt self-depreciation as a means to enlist the support of their male audience. As such, Anne Bradstreet's first stanza of "The Prologue" in *The Tenth Muse* is a fine example:

To sing of wars, of captains, and of kings ...

For my mean pen are too superior things:
Or how they all, or each their dates have run
Let poets and historians set these forth,
My obscure lines shall not so dim their worth. (*Works* 15)

And, though Bradstreet shows a bit of impatience with male attitudes toward women writers, such as in stanza five when she takes a feminist stance, “If what I do prove well, it won’t advance,/ They’ll say it’s stol’n, or else it was by chance,” she tempers such comments with apology, as in stanza seven:

Let Greeks be Greeks, and women what they are
Men have precendency and still excel,
It is but vain unjustly to wage war;
Men can do best, and women know it well.
Preeminence in all and each in yours;
Yet grant some small acknowledgement of ours. (*Works* 16)

Self-depreciation and wit serve as her weapons of defense in “The Prologue.” Yet, since Anne Bradstreet’s brother-in-law, John Woodbridge, alleged that he submitted the poet’s manuscript without her knowledge, the presence of her “Prologue” in *The Tenth Muse* is sometimes regarded as a curiosity. However, it was quite common to circulate manuscripts privately among family and friends; this may well be how the “Prologue” originated.

Anne Bradstreet as an artist in process who is at the same time conscious of the restraints upon that vocation is no where more obvious than in her poem “The Author To Her Book,” included in the second edition of *The Tenth Muse*. The

poem clearly shows that while Bradstreet is conscious of her flaws as an artist, she is also conscious that she is an artist in process, striving to develop in that capacity. The importance that Bradstreet places on her role as poet is masked by the imagery that Bradstreet employs to hide her true feelings. Bradstreet calls her book “Thou ill-formed offspring of my feeble brain” (*Works* 221). She continues the mother and child metaphor throughout the poem, calling to mind the image of a mother caring diligently for an “unfit” child. In this poem, Anne Bradstreet utilizes a number of literary techniques typically used by women writers of the Renaissance. Again the self-depreciation of a Tullia d’Aragona is present in such lines as:

The visage was so irksome in my sight;
Yet being mine own, at length affection would
Thy blemishes amend, if so I could:
I washed thy face, but more defects I saw,
And rubbing off a spot still made a flaw. (*Works* 221)

Bradstreet utilizes wit for maximum effect as she attempts to humor her male audience. But along with wit and self-depreciation, Bradstreet employs the artful technique used by Catherine Des Roches, aligning herself and her art with the domestic industry of the middle class wife and mother.

Examining the foundation for gender ideology during the Renaissance is essential to a full understanding of the psycho-social framework in which Bradstreet found herself as a female writer. Anne Bradstreet, the woman–poet and mother,

epitomizes the “subversive conformist” described by Ann Rosalind Jones. By employing writing strategies of compromise, she was able to have a voice, unlike her mother, Dorothy Dudley, who chose the safer, traditional domestic role. Like Dorothy Dudley, however, Anne Bradstreet also must have been perceived as fulfilling the duties of wife and mother in an exemplary manner, for she garnered the support of male family members and friends who rallied around her with protective writing strategies in the prefatory poems to *The Tenth Muse*. Considering all of the political posturing that accompanied the publication of Anne Bradstreet’s book, we might look to the example set by Queen Elizabeth I (although not a mother)—regarded as matriarch of matriarchs by the people of England. Evidence suggests that Anne Bradstreet viewed Elizabeth as a role model in stylizing her own public persona as a woman-poet as she progressed toward her own individuation and away from the standard ideal of Puritan womanhood exemplified by her own mother, Dorothy Dudley.

II - My Queen, Elizabeth

“She hath wiped off th’ aspersion of her sex,
That women wisdom lack to play the rex.”
—Anne Bradstreet

When Elizabeth I died in March of 1603, she was in her forty-fourth year as England’s beloved Queen (Neale 405). Elizabeth had become such a national monument, that long after her death she was regarded as *Gloriana*, a legend very much alive in the minds of the English people. As the Queen’s memory lived on, so did her reputation as a politician. Elizabethan scholar J. E. Neale notes that in 1601, in her “last wooing of her faithful, troublesome [members of the House of] Commons Her touch was as sure as ever it had been, and the inimitable perfection of her art was heightened by the thought, which must have been in every mind, that she was practicing it for the last time. In effect, if not in strict fact, these were her last words to the Realm that she had loved and served with her whole being”.¹⁰

Anne Bradstreet’s choice of a title for her elegy honoring Queen Elizabeth suggests the mindset of the English people for their revered matriarch: “In Honour Of That High And Mighty Princess Queen Elizabeth Of Happy Memory” (*Works* 195). The tone and content of the elegy for Elizabeth, however, are far different from those elements in the elegy written for Dorothy Dudley. The elegy for the poet’s mother, Dorothy, fits the usual pattern of the funeral elegy customary in the

Bay Colony, an accurate depiction of the life and virtues of the departed,” which will help the living to become reconciled with their loss (Stanford 109). The elegy for Elizabeth expresses the poet’s admiration for the departed Queen, but also serves as a venue for the poet’s personal feelings about feminine potential and accomplishment.

Since Bradstreet’s public poetry typically conforms to the literary conventions of her day, some apparent deviation in the elegy from the standard formulae has prompted an array of critical interpretations over the years—many of which have misconstrued the poet’s intentions in the elegy. In 1862, James Anderson’s praise of the poem missed the mark when he commended Bradstreet for her portrayal of the “masculine vigour of her [Elizabeth’s] government” (21). But also off target are contemporary critics who perceive Bradstreet’s technique in the elegy as an example of complicated Foucauldian sidestepping or as an elaborate attempt to portray Elizabeth as would-be prince rather than princess. Rather, Bradstreet unabashedly presents a glowing tribute by one woman for the accomplishments of another that is remarkable for its unfettered exuberance. And, though it is somewhat surprising to find Bradstreet straying from the literary conventions of her day, she never allows her enthusiasm for her subject to lead her very far from society’s norms.

Timothy Sweet's Foucauldian interpretation of the elegy in honor of Elizabeth I does raise several interesting points, but it also attempts to place the proverbial "square peg in the round hole" by purporting that Bradstreet's technique in the poem is a conscious effort to address Foucauldian concerns. Sweet correctly points out some inherent problems for Bradstreet in writing the poem. For example, typically an elegy would have specified the "author" as a masculine subject. Also, the poet would announce "his" presence in the poem by invoking a muse. Sweet establishes the connection between Bradstreet's elegy and Foucault's theory by pointing out that Foucault's work suggests the necessity of identifying the "particular set of discursive strategies that creates 'the author' within a particular discourse" (153). In the elegiac discourse of Bradstreet's time, the feminine could only be attributed to the muse and to the object of the poem (Sweet 155). Thus, Sweet theorizes that Bradstreet's probable dilemma over the treatment of poet/muse/object in the poem necessitated a conscious attempt to utilize certain discursive strategies to penetrate through the boundaries of a gender system that identified the poet or "the subject" of an elegy only with masculinity (158). Sweet identifies Elizabeth as the muse in Bradstreet's elegy, wherein the poet strives to present "a specifically feminine subjectivity in poetic discourse" (166). However, Sweet's hypothesis that Bradstreet "manipulates the subject-object relation to

expose the way the gender system controls the written subject” is not consistent with the primary spirit of the poem as it extols Elizabeth’s accomplishments as woman and as monarch. In fact, Bradstreet’s desire to offer up Elizabeth’s virtues controls the poem. The end product, celebrating such accomplishments as “Her [Elizabeth’s] victories in foreign coasts” (*Works* 196), reflects an unrestrained zeal.

Bradstreet does not become entangled in the complex set of literary maneuvers described by Sweet, but she does give a nod toward convention by employing rather conventional format for the elegy. Generally following in the classical tradition of her mentors, Sylvester and DuBartas, Bradstreet incorporates wit into her elegy, which contains a proem, the poem itself, and two epitaphs (Stanford, *Worldly Puritan* II). The elegy in honor of Elizabeth conforms to standard format since the proem pays tribute to the dead, the poem reiterates the accomplishments of the dead, and the epitaph, especially the second in this case, celebrates Elizabeth’s fame through eternity (Piercy 67). Yet, even in the poem, Bradstreet does not seem concerned with elaborate literary strategies to mask the fact that the poet is she. In her introductory lines, Bradstreet offers up her own intellect as she asks Elizabeth to “accept the tribute of a loyal brain,” but at the same time she expresses her hope that her “rudeness is no wrong” since she will “resound thy praises ’mongst the throng,” a reference to the conventional male

literary society of her day. Though Bradstreet emerges front and center as the poet, eager to recount Elizabeth's grandeur as female and monarch, she also acknowledges the standard contemporary attitude of male literary superiority in the closing lines of "The Poem." She employs a technique of compromise by declaring that the writer capable of telling of Elizabeth's "personal perfections" would have to "dip his pen in th' Heleconian well." Bradstreet further maintains that *she* is not capable of such a feat, and so may only aspire "To read what others bite and so admire."

Despite such a declaration of inadequacy, Bradstreet immediately shifts her rhetorical strategy in the lines that follow by reverting to her original stance as empowered female, and in doing so diminishes any acknowledgment of male superiority with these lines:

Now say, have women worth? or have they none?
Or had they some, but with our Queen is 't gone?
Nay masculines, you have thus taxed us long,
But she, though dead, will vindicate our wrong.
Let such as say our sex is void of reason,
Know 'tis a slander now but once was treason. (Works 198)

Bradstreet's bravado in exalting the virtues of her sex is certainly not typical of the poet. In fact, as Wendy Martin points out, the elegy for Elizabeth I is the only poem in *The Tenth Muse* that contains no real apology by Bradstreet for being

a woman writer (16). Was Bradstreet so overwhelmed with admiration for Elizabeth's accomplishments as a powerful female that she relaxed her usual compliance with the patriarchal mindset of her Puritan world? It would seem so, for the absence of an overt apology is notable. Apologies in Bradstreet's work typically reflect the ambivalence she felt toward the male authorities in her life. For example, Bradstreet concludes her poem, "The Four Seasons Of The Year" from *The Tenth Muse* with the following lines:

My subject's bare, my brain is bad,
Or better lines you should have had ...
Accept therefore of what is penned,
And all the faults that you shall spy
Shall at your feet for pardon cry. (*Works* 72)

The poet's omission of an apology in her elegy for Elizabeth is inconsistent with the models depicting Renaissance gender ideology writing strategies, embraced by Bradstreet, that have already been discussed. As Gilbert and Gubar also point out in *The Madwoman in the Attic*, seventeenth and eighteenth-century women writers, as well as even some nineteenth-century writers, felt an apology was necessary for such a "presumptuous pastime" (61). Hence, the absence of the typical apology in the elegy in honor of Elizabeth I is another reason why the poem is unique in her body of work for its unadulterated proclamation of female power.

The elegy in honor of Elizabeth I is also of special interest in that Bradstreet's portrayal of Elizabeth is somewhat unusual for the time period. In general, Elizabeth was eulogized by Protestant writers after she won back the throne from Mary Queen of Scots. Elizabeth came to be regarded as the protectress of Protestantism, not just in England, but throughout all of Europe. Some historians speculate that if Mary had succeeded in taking over the English throne, she would have joined with Spain and France in an attempt to extirpate Protestantism throughout Europe (Anderson 20). John Foxe in his *Book of Martyrs*, and even Sidney and Spenser, praise Elizabeth's courage. The Puritans typically described Elizabeth as another Judith or Deborah (Martin 42). But Wendy Martin goes so far as to call Bradstreet's tribute to Elizabeth I "daring." Even though poetry written in praise of God was regarded as the best art in Bradstreet's Puritan society, Bradstreet does not even emphasize Elizabeth's role as God's representative on earth and keeper of universal order—the role so often highlighted in earlier Puritan works on Elizabeth. Instead, Bradstreet focuses on Elizabeth's personal attributes as a woman that served to establish her as a powerful queen (Martin 41). Surprisingly, rather than using biblical "queens," Bradstreet compares Elizabeth to such grand feminine monarchs as Zenobya, Cleopatra, and Tomris. But, none are "parallel" to "great Eliza."

Bradstreet's elegy honoring Elizabeth provides a contrast to her personal elegies which often end with a line honoring God's power and glory. Witness Bradstreet's praise of God in "He knows it is the best for thee and me" which closes the elegy for daughter-in-law Mercy Bradstreet (*Works* 238) or "Is by His hand alone that guides nature and fate" which ends the elegy for grandchild Elizabeth (*Works* 235).

Not only does Bradstreet not refer to God or "The Prince of Peace" in her elegy for Elizabeth I, but she actually creates irony through her total emphasis on Elizabeth, her "unparalleled prince," a secular prince "whose living virtues speak (though dead long since)" (*Works* 198). Ivy Schweitzer argues that in the elegy Bradstreet actually attempts to establish Elizabeth as "acting the part of a prince" by offering a recitation of Elizabeth's "princely conquests" that reflect Bradstreet's longing for a gynocentric universe (305). Yet, the references to Elizabeth as "prince" are more likely suggestive of the Anne Bradstreet usually revealed through her writing—a woman quite conscious of the conventions of her day. Renaissance queens and princesses were typically recognized in writing as honorary kings and princes since female rulership was regarded as somehow unnatural. Hence, in July 1524, the writer Vives, for example, dedicated his *Satellitum* to the young princess Mary, the half-sister of Elizabeth I, with an epistle which began "To Mary, Prince of

Wales: Princeps Cambriae.”¹¹ Similarly, Mary’s powerful grandmother, the Spanish queen Isabella, had been called a “Catholic King” (Fraser 109)

As such, historian J. E. Neale describes the admiration felt for Elizabeth in France after the uprising led by the Duke of Essex: “Would that their King Henry III had had but a part of her spirit to quell the insolency of the duke of Guise on the Day of Barricades! ‘She only is a king!’ exclaimed Henry IV. ‘She only knows how to rule!’” (393). The widespread use of masculine word forms for feminine rulers was an Elizabethan linguistic phenomenon that calls into question Ivy Schweitzer’s contention that Bradstreet’s elegy focuses on Elizabeth “acting the part of a prince” (305) in order to “subvert” her society’s tradition of male domination (307).

Further proof that Bradstreet wrote with a strategy in mind in deference to society’s norms is that nowhere does the elegy mention that one of Elizabeth’s great accomplishments was the recognition she, herself, received as scholar and writer. Elizabeth I was a scholar and writer before she was a queen. That Elizabeth reveled in her own intellectual achievement is reflected in the following, written to her brother, Edward VI, in 1551: “For the face, I grant I may well blush to offer, but the mind I shall never be ashamed to present” (Neale 27). Two of her works were published in 1548, one a translation from Margaret of Angouleme. And, during her

reign Elizabeth continued to write and translate. Though most of her work was in prose, one of her poems, "Daughter of Debate," appeared in *The Arte of English Poesie* in 1598 (White 71). Elizabeth's strength and fortitude are reflected in the lines of the poem:

The daughter of debate, that eke discord doth sow,
Shall reap no gain where former rule hath taught still peace to grow.
No foreign banished wight shall anchor in this port;
Our realm it brooks no stranger's force, let them elsewhere resort.
(Chambers 159)

Why didn't Bradstreet allude to Elizabeth as a writer in the elegy? In all probability Bradstreet would have been aware of Elizabeth's achievements as writer and scholar, and accordingly, would have admired her for those endeavors. But Bradstreet also desired that the society of her day would embrace Elizabeth as that "Phoenix" who "shall rule Albion once again." Of course Bradstreet is speaking figuratively, but in doing so she looks to the future possibility of another grand female monarch leading England to glory. It was widely accepted that women monarchs were empowered to act in ways that male monarchs would. But, it may have been Bradstreet's own wariness over society's negative attitude toward women writers that prompted her to exclude any mention of the topic in her elegy honoring Elizabeth. Anne Bradstreet once again was acting as Ann Rosalind Jones' "subversive conformist." In fact, Elizabeth herself was no "slacker" when it came

to political maneuvers. As a consummate politician, Elizabeth knew that she needed to maintain control over the male noblemen in her realm. Evidence suggests that the Queen, too, was heedful of the strictures related to gender ideology and consequently also sometimes felt pressured into acting as a “subversive conformist” in order to keep up the appearance of compliance with Parliament’s bidding. One example is the Homily on Matrimony that Elizabeth requested to be composed. Often read in church on Sundays, the homily quoted St. Peter and mandated, “Ye wives, be in subjection to obey your own husbands” (Bell 219). Historian David Underdown notes that there were complaints that women were becoming immodestly assertive and inclined to rebel against the submissive role that their patriarchal society had ordained for them (12). Elizabeth I knew that in order to retain her power, she had to work within the framework of that existing patriarchal social order.

Anne Bradstreet’s elegy for Elizabeth I does not celebrate maleness by paying tribute to a woman who could act like a man. Rather, the elegy revels in Elizabeth’s femaleness by portraying the personal traits that she possessed as a woman which empowered her with the ability to attain glory as a monarch. It is in this spirit that the poem is conceived, which leads to what almost seems to be a spontaneous overflow of praise for the Queen. Bradstreet’s unbridled enthusiasm

for praising Elizabeth's attributes prompts her to deviate somewhat in the poem from conventional Puritan norms. But, in writing her elegy honoring Elizabeth I, Anne Bradstreet never entirely forgets that if a woman wants to influence society as a writer she must follow society's conventions, or at least appear to, by artfully employing techniques of compromise. For only then, will the woman-poet be allowed to continue to write.

Anne Bradstreet's elegy for Elizabeth I provides a jarring contrast to her elegy for her mother. Rather than regarding the elegy for Dorothy Dudley as "faint praise," however, we may view it as a tribute to a beloved mother who performed her role totally within the boundaries mandated by a patriarchal society. Anne Bradstreet held the role of mothering in high esteem, but she pushed past the boundaries of traditional motherhood toward individuation in the full glory of womanhood. Nini Herman's comments on a woman's progress toward individuation provide an appropriate description of the intersection of the personalities of Dorothy Dudley, Anne Bradstreet, and Elizabeth I:

Whatever else the girl becomes once she is set on a path of differentiation, it has to be envisaged first, as a separating out from the maternal role as exercised by her mother, only later to become its

creative reconstruction on her individual terms. For this project to succeed she must first identify, she must know herself as someone, even in phantasy, before becoming someone different with sufficient confidence. (xv)

Perhaps (as Nini Herman describes the process of individuation), it was with Elizabeth I that Anne Bradstreet identified, “even in phantasy, before becoming someone different with sufficient confidence.” For Anne Bradstreet, Elizabeth I successfully acted out the role of empowered woman in a patriarchal world as Anne Bradstreet would have liked.

Chapter Five

Sisters

I - Anne Hutchinson

“One Mrs. Hutchinson, a member of the church
of Boston, a woman of a ready wit and bold spirit”
—John Winthrop

Anne Hutchinson and Sarah Dudley Keayne (Anne Bradstreet's younger sister) were two women of similar backgrounds—both independent in mind and spirit. Their speaking out in public, regarded as so bold and unnatural by the Puritan theocracy, resulted in the ostracism of the two women in their Boston community, Anne Hutchinson in 1638, and almost ten years later, Sarah Dudley Keayne. Both women emigrated to New England from Lincolnshire, England, where at one time they were both members of the same congregation, just as one day they both joined the same church in the Massachusetts Bay Colony.¹ Anne Hutchinson, the daughter of a Puritan minister from Lincolnshire and an educated mother who was related to John Dryden, was herself a well-educated woman (Martin 59). Similarly, Sarah Dudley Keayne, with Thomas Dudley as her father, probably received an elite education (as did her sister Anne), beginning early on as a member of the household at the Earl of Lincoln's Sempringham estate where Thomas Dudley served as steward.

Sarah's life story has slipped into obscurity, however, mostly because we have no record of the actual language used by Sarah in her alleged "Irregular Phophecyng"² in church in the New England colony. Nor have we any real evidence to support the charge of immoral behavior that was also lodged against her. There also is no written transcript of Sarah's words in defense of these charges. Yet despite the lack of detailed records concerning Sarah's life, her story must be told (as best as we may reconstruct it), for evidence suggests that the events of her life had a major impact on her older sister, Anne Bradstreet, and on her sister's poetry.

The life of Sarah's sister in spirit, Anne Hutchinson, is another matter. Gender issues and questions on the separation of church and state, particularly with regard to the rise of fundamentalism in America, have augmented widespread interest in the subject of Anne Hutchinson and the Antinomian controversy surrounding her. As evidence in the Hutchinson case, we have voluminous records of testimony, including a transcript of Hutchinson's own words to the colonial court. Her case is so relevant to events in our world today, for the lines of religious text utilized by members of the Puritan theocracy against Hutchinson are some of the very arguments used by contemporary religious fundamentalists to wage war against rights for women (Wills 341). Anne Bradstreet, though publicly silent on the topic

of Anne Hutchinson, must have felt tremendous sympathy for this woman who spoke so eloquently for the rights of the individual, much to the chagrin of the Puritan fathers. The Puritan social order was predicated upon the subordination of the individual to the community. And, while the Puritan leaders of New England proclaimed that salvation was possible equally for both men and women, in reality women who achieved individual salvation were not granted equal rights with men who achieved salvation or “sainthood” as it was officially called (Berkin 36). As historian Carol Berkin notes, “neither the clergy nor the magistrates ... were able to resolve the tensions between the moral and social autonomy that sainthood encouraged” and the conformity demanded of all the inhabitants (37).

Anne Bradstreet knew that statements by women involving the rights of the individual (particularly a woman’s rights and abilities) must be made with a large measure of wit and humor. Bradstreet, for instance, in her elegy for Queen Elizabeth was able to say, “Let such as say our sex is void of reason,/ Know ’tis a slander now but once was treason” (*Works* 198). Bradstreet used wit and humor as her tools to mediate a position to speak publicly, and so was able to trespass into the public sphere without censure. Anne Hutchinson trespassed into the public sphere armed with her courage and honesty. Obviously, Anne Bradstreet was much more self-conscious about how she was perceived by the Puritan fathers than was Anne

Hutchinson. For a woman in the colony, self-consciousness in using one's voice in public was a necessity to avoid denunciation by the patriarchs.

The controversy surrounding Anne Hutchinson began soon after she was admitted to the church in Boston. She formed a women's group, which met in her home each week to discuss the sermon preached the previous Sunday. As a mystic and an accomplished student of scripture, she began to veer away from the preaching of Puritan minister John Wilson (*Winthrop's Journal* v. I: n 195).

Hutchinson believed in a "radical dualism" between the body and spirit; in fact, she insisted that she had a mystical union with the Spirit of God (Porterfield 80). The Puritan fathers viewed her as a source of dissension, and the General Court of the colony summoned her to trial. Since Hutchinson emphasized the covenant of grace, her questioners at her trial were quick to accuse her of criticizing the ministers in the colony for emphasizing a covenant of works. Thomas Dudley's attack on Hutchinson during the trial clearly reflects the threat the patriarchs felt that Hutchinson posed: "now it appears by this woman's meeting that Mrs. Hutchinson hath so forestalled the minds of many by their resort to her meeting that now she hath a potent party in the country. Now if all these things have endangered us as from that foundation and if she in particular hath disparaged all our ministers in the land that they have preached a covenant of works ... why we must take away the

foundation and the building will fall” (Hutchinson *History I*: Appendix II, 370).

The vehemence of Dudley’s attack leaves no question as to why Anne Bradstreet was silent publicly concerning Anne Hutchinson.

Anne Hutchinson, wife, mother, and respected midwife in the Boston community, apparently had intended nothing more than to create a community of women who would come together for religious discussion. While serving as a midwife, she already had experienced the fulfillment of support from the community of women who typically took part in the events of childbirth for women in the colony. Laurel Thatcher Ulrich has noted that the midwives’ experience was shared by all women in the community; therefore their authority was not just personal, but also communal (134). Hutchinson’s preaching soon created a sensation in the community—so much so that she came to be regarded as an authority on religious doctrine, not just by women, but by many important men in the community as well. Governor Winthrop accused her during her trial of holding mixed meetings: “I will say that there was no meeting of women alone, but your meeting is of another sort for there are sometimes men among you.” Anne Hutchinson defended herself by noting: “I conceive there lyes a clear rule in Titus, that the elder women should instruct the younger and then I must have a time wherein I must do it” (Hutchinson *History I*: Appendix II, 368). She had done the unforgiveable in the eyes of the

Puritan fathers. Hutchinson had attracted some of the most elite and influential in Boston, including (early on) the young Henry Vane, newly elected governor of Massachusetts (Morgan 141). Anne Hutchinson's marvelous ability as a speaker is documented by her contemporary in the Bay Colony, Edward Johnson, who reported in his *Wonder-Working Providence of Sion's Saviour in New England* the impression that she make as a speaker on one of her followers:

Come along with me I'll bring you to a Woman that preaches better Gospell than any of your black-coates that have been at the Ninneversity, a Woman of another kinde of Spirit, who hath had many Revelations of things to come, and for my part, ... I had rather hear such a one that speakes from the meere notion of the Spirit without any study at all, than any of your learned Scollers. (127)

Hutchinson's popularity as a speaker also was recorded by John Winthrop in his journal in 1637: "The court also sent for Mrs. Hutchinson, and charged her with divers matters, as her keeping two public lectures every week in her house, whereto sixty to eighty persons did usually resort (*Winthrop's Journal* VI: 240).

Although Hutchinson's offense appears to have been theological, it was also political, as evidenced by her two separate trials, one as a heretic by her church, and one as a disturber of the peace in the colony (Wills 344). As support for Hutchinson's religious ideas grew, so did the attack against her by influential Puritan ministers such as Thomas Shepard. Shepard's biographer (and obvious advocate), John Albro, alleges that Hutchinson and the Antinomians "labored to

destroy the reputation of all those ministers who held the commonly-received doctrines, stigmatizing them as legal preachers who were under a covenant of works, who never knew Christ themselves” (Albro cxvii). Interestingly enough, the political side of the controversy even extended to the issue of how Native Americans should be treated by the colonists. Albro complains that Hutchinson and her followers “opposed the marching of the troops that had been raised to assist the people of Connecticut against the Pequods, upon the ground that the officers and soldiers were too much under a covenant of works” (cxviii). The implication, of course, is that the soldiers would be tempted to take some unnecessary, severe action against the natives, in an effort to distinguish themselves in the Puritan community.

By the beginning of 1637, the colony was divided by the controversy surrounding Anne Hutchinson, so much so, that the election of officers for the colony that May reflected the impact of the conflict. Henry Vane, Anne Hutchinson’s staunch supporter, failed to be re-elected as governor. Instead, John Winthrop once again was elected as governor and Thomas Dudley as deputy governor. John Winthrop and Thomas Dudley, along with the Congregational ministers and other political leaders, perceived the threat from Anne Hutchinson and her followers as so dangerous that they mounted a relentless assault against her in

the courtroom through their interrogation, which was gauged to trick her into self-condemnation. Thomas Dudley appears to have been particularly able at this task, for as Hutchinson testified concerning how she had come to formulate her religious beliefs, Dudley pressed her into a dangerous line of questioning. A transcript of the trial records Hutchinson's words: "I bless the Lord, he hath let me see which was the clear ministry and which the wrong. Since that time I confess I have been more choice and he hath left me to distinguish between the voice of my beloved and the voice of Moses, the voice of John Baptist and the voice of antichrist, for all those voices are spoken of in scripture. Now if you do condemn me for speaking what in my conscience I know to be truth I must commit myself unto the Lord" (Hutchinson *History I: Appendix II*, 383). When one of the ministers interrogating her asked, "How do you know that that was the spirit?," Anne Hutchinson again demonstrated her knowledge of scripture by asking in return, "How did Abraham know that it was God that bid him offer his son, being a breach of the sixth commandment?" No doubt Deputy Governor Dudley inwardly rejoiced at this point in the questioning, for Dudley's own expertise with scripture would have served him well. He knew where the argument was headed as he led Hutchinson toward self-incrimination by answering, "By an immediate voice." Thus he prompted Hutchinson's response, "So to me by an immediate revelation" (Hutchinson *History I: Appendix II*, 384).

The courtroom was in an uproar (384). Hutchinson's belief that salvation depended upon one's emotional conviction or grace meant rejection of one of the theocracy's basic tenets, which it depended upon for success—emphasis on discipline in accordance with the precepts of church and state and on signification of regeneration through good works. Also, Hutchinson's belief in the freedom of a group to gather under the covenant of grace and select its own minister countered the established practice of allowing the formation of new congregations only upon the approval of the magistrates and ministers in power.

Another troubling aspect of Hutchinsonian theology for the patriarchs was her “belief in the annihilation of the body at death,” a tenet held by the Familist strand of radical Puritanism. Ministers and politicians understood Anne Hutchinson's beliefs to be connected with English Familism, whose believers were “devoted to experiences of mystical illumination that united believers with God.” Familists saw the “physical world as only serving as a vehicle for the Spirit.” Hence, at the time of election, the souls of the elect became dissolved in god, and at death their bodies were annihilated (Porterfield 97). The fear of the threat of the spread of Familism in the colony is recorded in Mather's *Magnalia Christi Americana*, where he applauds Thomas Dudley's part in the Hutchinson affair, noting that Dudley's “Orthodox

Piety had no little Influence into the Deliverance of the Country, from the Contagion of the Famaliftical [Famelist] Errors” (Book II: 16).

Also compounding the problem for Anne Hutchinson was Governor Winthrop’s concern that the socio-religious tenets on which the colony depended would be further threatened if “like-minded friends from England” emigrated to the colony and joined the Hutchinsonians. Winthrop knew that just as Anne Hutchinson’s doctrines had gained popularity in the New England colony, so had similar doctrines preached by the Reverend Roger Brierly of Grindleton Chapel in England. Winthrop took strong action to help prevent the emigration of any Grindletonians (as followers of Brierly’s doctrines were called) to Massachusetts; he sponsored an order “forbidding anyone to entertain strangers for more than three weeks without permission of the magistrates.” Henry Vane denounced the order as “unchristian,” but Winthrop stood firm (Morgan 146).

Anne Hutchinson’s spiritism not only threatened the Puritan social order, which subjugated the individual to the community, but her beliefs also implied that men and women were equal in the eyes of God. Gender was always a primary issue in the Hutchinson case. The Puritan fathers even used Anne Hutchinson’s gender to prove that she was in league with Satan. To support her excommunication and banishment, leaders of the theocracy utilized details from her miscarriage (later in

1638, after she departed Massachusetts Bay and settled in the Narragansett Bay area) to prove that her fetus was the devil's work. Governor Winthrop even interrogated the physician who attended her. The doctor's report, under questioning, evolved into an elaborate description: "The lumps were twenty-six to twenty-seven distinct and not joined together; there came no secundine after them; six of them were as great as his fist, and one as great as two fists, the rest each less than the other, and the smallest about the bigness of the top of his thumb" (Winthrop's *Journal* I: 277). Government officials and ministers in the Massachusetts Bay alleged that the malformed fetus was a reflection of Anne Hutchinson's theological errors and the miscarriage God's punishment for her sins (Hall 101).

Anne Bradstreet personally witnessed the power of one woman's public voice in the figure of Anne Hutchinson. Bradstreet also witnessed the desperate measures the ministers and magistrates of the Bay Colony felt driven to take to silence Hutchinson. Not only did they examine Hutchinson's miscarried fetus for proof that she was evil, but they proclaimed that all of her followers, men and women, must turn in any weapons of protection in their homes. James Hosmer, the editor of *Winthrop's Journal*, noted that on that list of Hutchinson's followers in the colony were "many of the best" (VI: n241). Anne Hutchinson was banished from the

Massachusetts Bay Colony, but historians, literary scholars, and political analysts still place importance on her case today, proving that she was never really silenced. As for Anne Bradstreet, no doubt the punishment exacted on Hutchinson influenced the poet and her work for years to come.

II - Sister Sarah

"My she Cosin [Sarah Dudley] Keane is growne a great preacher"
—Stephen Winthrop

Evidence suggests that Anne Bradstreet's sister, Sarah, also was victimized by the Puritan Fathers as they wielded church discipline to silence her public voice. Biographers of Anne Bradstreet who have misinterpreted the events of Sarah's life and their impact on the poet do Sarah an injustice. Elizabeth Wade White writes that the poet's "mood of melancholy and world-weariness ... during the early years of her life in Andover" resulted from what Sarah did to the family: "the honor of the Dudley family was seriously blemished" by her sister Sarah's divorce during the summer of 1647, and her excommunication from the church in Boston which followed later that year (242). White also comments that Anne Bradstreet was probably pregnant with her seventh child, Dudley, during this time, contributing to a difficult period when "her sister's degradation must have been a shocking blow to her loyal heart and upright character" (242). While White's scholarship on Anne Bradstreet's life is impressive, her authorial comments imply that Sarah was guilty, when in reality women who dared to have a public voice during that time in the Puritan community were often falsely accused of moral turpitude. The memory of that other more infamous woman in the colony who dared to speak out, Anne

Hutchinson, still would have been very much in everyone's mind. The Puritan fathers also had accused Anne Hutchinson of being in league with Satan.

We have nothing in Anne Bradstreet's writings which comments directly on Sarah's misfortune. The role acted out by the public persona that was Anne Bradstreet would have demanded silence on the subject, for Sarah's alleged wrongdoing categorized her as profane, an unspeakable subject. Of note is that Anne Bradstreet had named her own daughter, born in 1638, Sarah. White agrees that Bradstreet's decision to use her sister's name implies that the poet was "fond" of her younger sister (177). Given Anne Bradstreet's sensibility, it is doubtful that she would have emotionally abandoned her sister Sarah, despite the allegations against her. Anne Bradstreet's "mood of melancholy" was more likely the result of the harsh treatment that Sarah received in the Puritan community rather than the result of the poet's perception that Sarah "blemished" the Dudley family name.

There is no question that Sarah incurred the derision of her husband, Benjamin Keayne, and his family. Sarah and Benjamin's daughter, Hannah, was given over to Benjamin to be raised upon the couple's divorce. Hannah's paternal grandfather, the fantastically wealthy Boston merchant, Robert Keayne, even stipulated in his will that Hannah "have no relation to her mother in respect of her education and training up or any abode with her" (Keayne 66). Robert Keayne was

so incensed with his daughter-in-law's behavior that he called Sarah "unnatural," "unhappy," "proud," and "disobedient" (65).

Many questions surround the questionable allegations against Sarah by the colony's patriarchs, allegations which resulted in the incredible circumstance of a divorce in the Puritan colony where Sarah's father, Thomas Dudley, was serving again as deputy governor (White 175). Of note is that Robert Keayne's description of his daughter-in-law Sarah as "proud and disobedient" echoes the language used by John Winthrop in 1636 to describe Anne Hutchinson, for Winthrop called Hutchinson "a woman of a ready wit and bold spirit" (*Winthrop's Journal* I: 195). Sarah Keayne's case resembles Anne Hutchinson's in that both women showed an independent mind and spirit by speaking out on public issues that mattered to them. Since we have no clear account of Sarah's case with a record of her testimony in her own defense, as we do with Anne Hutchinson (though even the transcript of her trial is handed down to us by the Puritan fathers), we must rely on the unquestionably biased descriptions of Sarah's behavior by men in the Puritan community. A letter in March of 1646 from Steven Winthrop in London to his brother John Winthrop, Jr., in the Massachusetts colony, records the high drama of the English Civil War as he describes the intense conflicts brewing:

Only there is other difference begin to arise out of the Dust the
Parliament and the Scotts doe not well accord; they are to del[iver] vp
all their strong hold of the english which they refuse to doe Sir

Jackob Ashly is taken with his whole army the King hath noe forces
Left considerable but stands out demands great things (*Winthrop
Papers* V: 70)

Steven Winthrop chose to conclude his letter telling of the momentous events of the Civil War with a rather dry statement presaging trouble for Anne Bradstreet's sister, Sarah: "My she Cosin [Sarah] Keane is growne a great preacher."³

Sarah Dudley had married Major Benjamin Keayne in 1638 and apparently lived a quiet life until the questionable events of 1646. Elizabeth Wade White alleges that Benjamin Keayne went to London on business, apparently taking Sarah with him (174). Ivy Schweitzer, however, cites research on Benjamin Keayne that calls into question White's assumption by asserting that Benjamin went to England without Sarah, possibly to avoid his creditors in America. Schweitzer indicates that Sarah followed but arrived in England penniless after an unexplained loss of property during her sea voyage. Schweitzer cites one of Thomas Dudley's biographers, Augustine Jones, who alleges that Sarah's changed straits led her husband to repudiate her (n. 28, 265). Although there are conflicting accounts of the events surrounding Sarah's trip to England, there is no question that in November of 1646, Sarah was back in Boston without Benjamin. Manuscript Records of the First Church in Boston record that Sarah was "in open Assembly

Admonished of hir Irregular Prophesying in mixt Assemblies and for Refusing ordinarily to heare in ye Churches of Christ.”⁴

The gossip surrounding what must have been regarded as a sensational scandal in the colony is recorded in somewhat guarded language by men of the Puritan community, as reflected in the following letter written in June of 1649 from Brampton Gurdon, Sr., in London, to John Winthrop:

My Worthy Good Old Friend Heere goes some speech of a N.E. couple [Benjamin and Sarah Keayne] that lately came from thence the husband first, And then the wife followed after with what goods shee could gett together but wee heare all her goods miscarried, and shee escaped only with her life. the man was Canes [Keaynes] sonne ... the woman is returned to N.E. and resolves there to take another Husband. I hope your lawes will not tollerate such wicked actions. (*Winthrop Papers* V: 351)

Ironically, Gurdon’s letter, written as a criticism of Sarah, provides evidence which disputes White’s assertion that Sarah accompanied Benjamin to London and began to act in an “unstable” manner. The letter supports a more sympathetic explanation of the events prior to Sarah’s divorce.

Though the events leading to Benjamin’s denouncement of Sarah’s behavior are somewhat ambiguous, his language concerning Sarah’s alleged transgressions is very clear. By the spring of 1647, Benjamin was writing a series of letters to his father-in-law, Thomas Dudley, accusing Sarah of a lack of restraint in religious matters and of immorality, the basis for his request to end the marriage:

Honoured Sir, That you, and my selfe, are made sorrie by your Daughters inormous, and continued Crimes, is the greatest Cause of grieffe that ever befell mee, and the moare because her obstinate continuance in them ... I neaver gave her the least just Cause or occasion to provoake her to them ... And theirfoare as you desier, I so plainly declare my resolution, never againe to live with her as a Husband: What maintenance your selfe expects I know not. this I know (to my cost, and danger,) shee has unwived her selfe
(*Winthrop Papers* V, 144)

Clouding an interpretation of Benjamin Keayne's letter in relation to Sarah's alleged misdeeds is Benjamin's probable personal agenda. Benjamin crafted his language in the letter to convince Thomas Dudley that his son-in-law was the innocent victim of Sarah's wrong-doing, and as such, should not have to support Sarah in the future. The language that Benjamin used to address Thomas Dudley in the closing of the letter offers an effective example of writing with a purpose: "And lastly the breech not being on my parte I shall take it as an honour to be known by the Name of Sir Your Affectionate Sonne and Sarvent" (*Winthrop Papers* V: 144). Thomas Dudley's position of power and prestige (serving again as deputy governor) is clear from Benjamin's choice of language. Also evidenced in the letter is Benjamin's concern with his own financial situation: "What maintenance your selfe expects I know not." Benjamin could be alluding to the money ("maintenance") he would be expected to pay Thomas Dudley if Sarah were living with her father in her

husband's absence. Benjamin's concern also supports the premise put forward by Schweitzer and Jones that Benjamin Keayne fled to England to avoid his creditors.

More scandal followed Sarah after her summer divorce. When Ezekiel Rogers wrote to John Winthrop in September of 1647, concerning specifics about the business of the colony, he concluded with this telling postscript on the highly unusual divorce granted by the court of the Massachusetts colony to Sarah and Benjamin Keayne:

Sir, Since the writing of this, I thought myselfe bounde to acquaint you that there is not a little discourse raised, and by some, offense taken, at the late Diuorce granted by the Court. How waighty a buisnesse that is, as I neede not tell you, so I would humbly desire, that some course may be taken so as to cleare the Courts proceeding, as that rumors might be stopped, and letters of mistake into Engl. prevented.
(*Winthrop Papers* V: 189)

Rogers' concern with preventing letters into England about Sarah's case underscores the complex blend of the personal with the political in the Puritan theocracy. Rogers implies that the scandal threatened the stability of the colony, and its continued support from England. It should come as no surprise, then, that in October of 1647, the church in Boston excommunicated Sarah for her "Irregular Prophecyng," and for the questionable crime of having fallen into "odious, lewd, and scandalous uncleane behavior with ... an Excommunicate person."⁵

Elizabeth Wade White argues that Thomas Dudley's position as deputy governor in the colony determined Sarah's relatively lenient fate at the hands of the Puritan fathers, for typically the penalty for adultery that was proven was death.⁶ White argues that given the strict laws in the Massachusetts colony concerning sexual offenses, Thomas Dudley must have intervened to convince the court that Sarah "was mentally irresponsible rather than deliberately profligate, and that what she needed was a strong man to watch over her and control her actions" (176). No doubt White is correct in her assumption that the colony's patriarchs would have demanded that Sarah not be "masterless." Historian David Underdown utilizes the term "masterless" in his description of a primary concern in Puritan communities with the zealous pursuit of drunkards, fornicators, breakers of the sabbath, and generally any other "masterless" people who had eluded control in society (108). Preachers reminded their congregations that stability in the state depended upon stability in the family. Those who were not under the control of a father or master were regarded as "masterless" persons, feared as a threat to society as a whole (Underdown 12). The very survival of the Puritan colony depended on order. White theorizes that a marriage was arranged for Sarah after her divorce from Benjamin Keayne (a distinct possibility, given the absolute power of the Puritan patriarchs): "The man who was chosen for this honor was one Thomas Pacey of

Boston, about whom nothing is known save that he was of lower social station than his wife” (176). It is difficult, however, to accurately assess Thomas Dudley’s part in the events of Sarah’s life. Based on information which supports Thomas Dudley as typically having a rigid, intolerant attitude, I propose a less sympathetic account of his role in Sarah’s case than White’s interpretation. Dudley would have been very willing to support the divorce and subsequent marriage of his daughter to Thomas Pacey in order to fix the problem for the Dudley family name. It also is likely that less rigid family members such as Anne and Simon Bradstreet, pleading leniency for Sarah, influenced Dudley to offer some support for his daughter.

Of course, the real issue is whether Sarah acted in immoral ways at all. White’s sympathy is limited for Sarah: “Although Sarah undoubtedly lacked both intelligence and stability of character, her history might not have been so melancholy if she had lived in a more tolerant world” (177). Perhaps the twenty-eight year old Sarah lacked neither intelligence nor stability of character, but only a sense of the necessity of employing the techniques of compromise so necessary for women who dared to have a public voice. We are reminded again of the fate of Anne Hutchinson when she defied the male hegemony in the colony. When we also consider Francesco Barbaro’s words (“It is proper that the speech of a woman never be made public, for the speech of a noblewoman can be no less dangerous than the

nakedness of her limbs”), we may imagine the “body-speech link” of Renaissance gender ideology at work in Sarah’s case as well.⁷ After all, a variation of the “body-speech link” was employed in Anne Hutchinson’s case, where the Puritan fathers apparently could not gather enough circumstantial evidence to support an allegation of adultery against Hutchinson, so they used her miscarriage as evidence of evil (Ulrich 132). The patriarchs parlayed everyday occurrences into signs of God’s providence in order to support their political agenda and maintain absolute control in the colony. Anne Bradstreet would have viewed the scandal surrounding her sister Sarah as one more reminder (only ten years after the Hutchinson controversy) that a woman needed to be extremely self-conscious about what she said publicly. A woman must remain silent about certain subjects, no matter how strong her opinions and her feelings. Otherwise, she might be viewed by the patriarchs as unnatural or out of control.

Scholars frequently cite the case of another woman in colonial New England during the same time period whose mental stability also was questioned after she had, as John Winthrop put it, “fallen into a sad infirmity, the loss of her understanding and reason ... by occasion of her giving herself wholly to reading and writing, and had written many books” (*Winthrop’s Journal* II: 225). She was the wife of Governor Edward Hopkins of Connecticut—Anne Yale Hopkins. On the

subject of Anne Hopkins, John Winthrop further noted: “if she had attended her household affairs, and such things as belong to women, and not gone out of her way and calling to meddle in such things as are proper for men, whose minds are stronger, etc., she had kept her wits.”⁸ No charges of immoral behavior were made against the prominent Anne Hopkins, but the charge of insanity is questionable, given the narrow mindset of the New England patriarchs. Anne Hopkins’ “illness” occurred simultaneously as Sarah Keayne’s case exploded. A letter from her husband, Edward Hopkins, to John Winthrop, Jr., in 1647, suggests the lengths to which the Puritan fathers would go to silence the public voice of a woman. The letter mostly concerns an upcoming meeting of the Commissioners of the United Colonies in Boston, but concludes with comments that undoubtedly apply to Anne Hopkins’ condition: “I thanke you for the water you sent. It hath beene taken one turne already, according to your direction ... she receaves it willingly as is desired. As yett I perceave nott any alteracion in her butt wayt vppon him who can only give a blessing” (*Winthrop Papers* V: 156). As discussed previously, the Puritan fathers were quick to rally to the aid of one another when a woman showed signs of being out of control. The “water” sent by John Winthrop, Jr., to Edward Hopkins for his wife Anne’s perceived malady calls to mind the unicorn’s horn sent by John Endecott to John Winthrop when Winthrop’s wife was perceived as having “the fit

of a mother.”⁹ Anne Hopkins apparently never was cured of her malady in the eyes of the Puritan fathers, for history records that she lived until 1698, never having recovered her reason (White 173). The “many books” she supposedly wrote have never been found (173). No doubt caught up in the emotional turmoil of her sister Sarah’s case, Anne Bradstreet also would have been painfully aware of Anne Hopkins’ plight. Anne Bradstreet and Anne Hopkins held much in common as wives of prominent men in the New England colonies—two women who pursued their intellectual passion in very different ways with far different results.

Anne Hopkins’ case brings to mind Charlotte Perkins Gilman’s heroine in “The Yellow Wallpaper,” who was locked away with the mandate not to write—the prescribed cure for her “illness.”¹⁰ Sarah Dudley did not fare any better than Anne Hopkins. Sarah obviously was effectively silenced, for nothing else is known of her, except that she lived until the age of forty, dying in poverty in 1659. Thomas Dudley’s will of 1653 indicated that his other heirs should give Sarah £6 per year, and if deemed necessary, “diett & lodgeing.”¹¹ Thomas Dudley’s provisions for Sarah in his will imply that she lived in relative poverty for years before her death. On one hand, his provisions for her welfare may be viewed sympathetically, but on the other, they raise intriguing questions about his own sense of guilt over the life his daughter Sarah must have led, sentenced to ostracism by church and state,

considered an outlaw by family and friends. Anne Bradstreet would have been prohibited from seeing her sister long before Sarah died in 1659, though given the poet's sensibility, we have to speculate that she may have aided her sister in some way during that time.

The will of Sarah's outrageously wealthy father-in-law (prior to her divorce), Robert Keayne, gives evidence of the tremendous effort put forth to destroy Sarah's ties to her family.¹² Sarah's daughter by Benjamin Keayne, Hannah, was one of the country's first heiresses as a result of Robert Keayne's will. Hannah's legacy was to be paid to her on the day of her marriage or at the age of twenty years, whichever came first, as long as she did not marry before her eighteenth birthday. Sarah's former husband Benjamin was named executor of his daughter's money until the time arrived for the inheritance to be Hannah's (Keayne 32). Robert Keayne actually records in his will that Hannah's "unworthy mother (sometimes the unnatural and unhappy wife of my son, that proud and disobedient daughter-in-law to myself and wife) Mrs. Sarah Dudley, now Sarah Pacey, may have no part nor benefit in or by what I have thus bestowed upon her daughter" (65). Robert Keayne repeatedly insists throughout his lengthy will that Hannah not be drawn in by her mother, but obey her father, for if "Hannah refuse to hearken to the counsel of her father and my overseers herein but follows her own or mother's mind ... then my

will is that all my legacies from first to last ... become utterly void” (66). Robert Keayne effectively shuts Sarah out of her daughter’s life further when he mandates that Hannah “have no relation to her mother in respect of her education and training up or any abode with her” (66). Of interest is Simon Bradstreet’s name as the first of those listed as overseers of the will, one of Robert Keayne’s “honored and loving friends” (89). Despite Keayne’s avowal of friendship with Simon, we might speculate on Simon’s personal feelings toward Sarah’s forced separation from her daughter Hannah. We might also speculate on Anne Bradstreet’s silent mourning for her sister’s loss of her child, when Anne, herself, so clearly recorded her despair over her own childless state at one time.¹³ There is no evidence of Sarah ever having had another child besides Hannah. Robert Keayne’s will written in 1653, six years after Sarah’s excommunication by the church in Boston, gives evidence of Sarah’s continued defiance of the Puritan fathers, for Keayne insists that none of Hannah’s estate go to Sarah, “(I yet seeing no change or unfeigned repentance in her mother)” (65). The fact that Hannah did inherit Robert Keayne’s legacy upon her marriage implies that she abided by the terms of Keayne’s will, including the restrictions on any real relationship with her mother Sarah.

I offer the sensational events surrounding Hannah’s marriage as a rather appropriate conclusion to this chapter on Anne Hutchinson and Sarah Dudley

Keayne Pacey, two Puritan woman who suffered at the hands of the Puritan fathers because they dared to have a public voice. For all of the strictures placed on Hannah Keayne to insure that she was brought up “in the fear of God,”¹⁴ she still was the source of a scandal which must have rocked the Massachusetts Bay Colony while her aunt, Anne Bradstreet, was still alive. Although Bradstreet biographer Elizabeth Wade White makes no mention of Hannah’s destiny and Ivy Schweitzer alleges that Hannah’s fate is not clear, my research has revealed an apparently rather obscure account of Hannah’s life (henceforth Anna as she was called as an adult).¹⁵ Anna apparently abided by the terms of her grandfather’s will until her marriage in 1657 to wealthy London merchant Edward Lane, a new arrival in the colony.

Although the marriage appeared proper in all ways, with Governor John Endecott presiding, scandal soon shook Boston. After only fifteen months, Anna presented a petition to the Court of Assistants alleging that “she gave her selfe as a wife, and hath not bin wanting in the duty of that relation, expecting the performance of an husband on his part, wherein he hath been from first to last altogether deficient.”¹⁶ Anna’s petition reflects both the bold spirit demonstrated by her mother, Sarah, and the political expertise demonstrated by her aunt, Anne Bradstreet. In part, Anna asks that the court order Lane “to repaire the damage and

wronge to my person and estate as your justice shall judg meet.” She concludes with this artful plea:

My patient silence in this condition cannot prejudice my cause with your wisdomes which will not think it meet or tolerable, for a woman after just complaint in such case made, to remaine under the power of a pretended husband ... to the dishonour of her name, danger of her person and estate which cannot bee prevented but by a present release declared by this honoured Court which is the humble and earnest petition of your handmaid” (Morgan 503)

When the court sent for Lane and asked if Anna’s charges were true, he admitted that “he could not say he had performed the office of a husband.” After deliberating, the magistrates dissolved the marriage.¹⁷ Lane, however, protested that he had worked as executor of Robert Keayne’s estate since his marriage to Anna and was entitled to a great sum of money from her dowry which was still entangled in the complex details of the estate. Morgan points out that Lane was taking treatments for his “infirmity” and “became convinced that his weakness had ceased” (504). When friends then tried to bring Anna and Edward Lane back together, she was willing to consider it. Anna and Edward Lane went to the Governor and indicated that “they were both sattisfied that the Cause was remoued That would the Court to Declare their Marriage a Nullity” (505). The Governor ruled that the “Nullity was voyde” (505).

Anna's petition for the nullity to her marriage and eventual reconciliation were not nearly as scandalous as the events that followed. During the next four years the couple seemed to be living a normal marriage. Edward Lane became a respected merchant in the Boston community, and Anna gave birth to a boy and a girl. In 1664, however, events took an unusual turn after Anna went to England. Morgan indicates that it was understood in Boston that her husband would soon follow, but before Lane could do so, he died. Two years later when Anna returned to Boston, she was accompanied by a new husband, Nicholas Paige, another Bostonian who had been visiting England. Rumors about Anna's marriage began to circulate throughout Boston.¹⁸ The grand jury in Boston acted on the rumors by conducting an investigation which resulted in an indictment against Anna for adultery. Anna responded to the indictment with this rather bold question put to the Court of Assistants to be resolved by the magistrates: "whether a woman may not have children by a man that is not in the eye of the world accounted her husband and yet not be accounted an adulteresse."¹⁹ Anna knew when she admitted that her children were by other than her lawful husband that she had support for her behavior. A document prepared by Edward Lane, dated Dec. 6, 1663, was presented to the Court, in which he admitted that "the same weaknes and insuffitiency continuing to this day I thinke it not convenient for her any longer to

bare the name of my wife who in truth before God is none Therefore I utterly disown her and disseize her never more to maintain her a looke at her as any relation to me more then a friend from the date hereof ... As witnes my hand And in part of requitall for that great wrong I have done her I freely give her the pasture which was her Grandfathers which lys behind the house of Goodman Pells.²⁰ Presented with such a conundrum, the magistrates could not agree on whether to punish Anna for adultery and so sent the case to the General Court of the colony (Morgan 507).

Anna apparently requested and was granted the opportunity to address the Court, for although the “Court found hir guilty of much wickedness,” it also declared that it “hath seene the fruits of her repentance, so it may be declared to others also.”²¹ Anna had been accused of “much wickedness” by the Court, but still the Court would not call her an adultress. Rather remarkably, Anna’s only punishment was to pay the charges for the witnesses in the trial (Morgan 507).

The years following Anna’s trial took a more positive turn for Anna and her new husband, Nicholas Paige. Paige became a leading merchant in Boston. The couple managed to gain friendship and respect in their Boston community. When King Philip’s War broke out in 1674 (just a few years after Anne Bradstreet’s death), Paige won further esteem serving as captain of a cavalry troop.

Two boarders at the Paiges' home in Boston (long after Sarah's ostracism from the community and death in 1659) demonstrate existing ties between Anna Paige and her mother's family. That chronicler of early Boston, Samuel Sewall, provides evidence that Anne Bradstreet's husband, Simon, boarded with the Paiges for a time after Anne's death in 1672. In a letter telling of his own marriage on February 28, 1676, Sewall records the following: "Gov^r Bradstreet married in that we now call the Old Hall As I remember, Madam Thacher and Madam [Anna] Paige with whom Gov. Bradstreet boarded visited us the next day."²² Also, years later, when the colony's charter was revoked in 1686, Anne Bradstreet's stepbrother, Joseph Dudley, for a time served as President of the Council for New England.²³ Because Dudley's own house was in Roxbury, Nicholas Paige invited him to live in the Paiges' Boston Home, an invitation which Joseph Dudley accepted (Morgan 510). The fact that these important men boarded with the Paiges reflects the esteem in which the Paiges were held by members of their Boston community, despite their sensational past.

Anna's place among those most respected in Boston society mirrors the attitudinal changes that gradually took place in the minds of New England colonists, during the years from the beginning of the vast European migration in 1630, until the later years in the life of the colony.²⁴ Certainly during the first three decades of the

Massachusetts Bay colony, the clergy had created a type of Puritanism that kept the individualizing aspects of Reformation thought in check by instituting what Sacvan Bercovitch has referred to as “powerful counter-subjectivist” moves (*Puritan Origins* 10). Particularly during those early years, the Puritan theocracy, under its organized Congregational religion, accomplished this by utilizing language, peer pressure, and ritual to shape and maintain the identities of its constituents.²⁵ Anne Hutchinson and Anne Bradstreet’s sister, Sarah Keayne Pacey, were among its victims. Undoubtedly Anne Bradstreet struggled to maintain her own “spiritual energy in the face of dogma.”²⁶ She, too, could have been a victim had she been less self-conscious as a writer, and less insightful about the need to employ “complex forms of negotiation and compromise”²⁷ in self-expression, joining Anne Hutchinson and her sister Sarah as one more woman whose voice was silenced during the early life of our country.

Chapter Six

“Possessed” By This New Land

“In the wilderness, I find something more dear and connate than in streets or villages.
In the tranquil landscape, and especially in the distant line of the horizon, man beholds
somewhat as beautiful as his own nature.”—Ralph Waldo Emerson

Robert Frost attempted to characterize the relationship between the early colonists and the land that they came to inhabit in his poem, “The Gift Outright”:

The land was ours before we were the land’s
She was our land more than a hundred years
Before we were her people. She was ours
In Massachusetts, in Virginia;
But we were England’s, still colonials,
Possessing what we still were unpossessed by,
Possessed by what we now no more possessed. (467)

Evidence inherent in Anne Bradstreet’s work suggests that this impression offered by Frost should be challenged. D. W. Meinig asserts that “if we want to understand ourselves, we would do well to take a searching look at our landscapes” (qtd, in Yamin and Metheny, xiii). We might ask how different was the eighteen-year-old Anne Bradstreet who disembarked from the *Arbella* in 1630 from the poet who had lived in New England frontier towns for probably at least another eighteen years before she wrote her celebration of America’s natural landscape, the poem “Contemplations.” Evidence suggests that for Anne Bradstreet not to have been

influenced by her New World environment, she would have to have existed in a setting similar to that twentieth-century media/medical phenomenon, the “boy in the bubble,” isolated and protected from the natural world.

One may only speculate upon the conflicted nature of any emotional attachment for the land that Puritan socio-religious doctrine may have fostered in early colonists such as Anne Bradstreet. But, even comments by some Puritan clergy during Anne Bradstreet’s lifetime suggest that a profound shift in attitude toward the New England landscape occurred during that period. For instance, when John Cotton, the most famous Puritan minister in England at the time of the Winthrop fleet’s departure in 1630, travelled to Southampton to deliver a farewell sermon to eighteen-year-old Anne Bradstreet and the others who would travel to the New World with her, he selected II Samuel 7:10 as the basis of his sermon: “Moreover I will appoint a place for my people Israel, and I will plant them that they may dwell in a place of their own and move no more.” Accompanying Cotton’s charge to view New England as a new Israel was his mandate to “Forget not the wombe that bore you and the brest that gave you sucke” (Wharton 263). During the early years of the Massachusetts Bay Colony, the revered Puritan minister Richard Mather preached to his congregation that those living in the American “wilderness” should be content with “playn and wholesome dyett though

we have but a few daintyes” (Middlekauff 62). By 1650, though, Mather was worried enough by his congregation’s increasing attachment to their new country to remind them that men should not confuse holiness with geography. By 1657 when he gave his farewell sermon, even Richard Mather feared that the people did not value the holiness of the land so much as the land itself. Mather warned his flock that if one valued the land too much, one would lose the “power of religion” (Middlekauff 62).

Was Anne Bradstreet so encased in a protective Puritan “bubble” of such strict socio-religious tenets that she remained uninfluenced by her New England environment? The weight of cultural expectations, particularly gender expectations, shouldered by Anne Bradstreet may have impacted her expression of self in obvious ways, but it is improbable that all that she absorbed from her surroundings led to a formation of self that did not reflect an experiential synthesis with the landscape surrounding her home. Bradstreet’s poetry demonstrates that during her more than forty years living in a new land, she moved away from her close identification with the landscape of old England where the “shepard lads” of her early poetry bathed in the “coole streames” of the English countryside (“The Four Seasons Of The Year” 107).

The work of contemporary cultural geographers helps us to better understand the influence of Anne Bradstreet's New World landscape on her work. In an important new scholarly work edited by Rebecca Yamin and Karen Bescherer Metheny, entitled *Landscape Archaeology, Reading and Interpreting the American Historical Landscape*, the editors point out in the preface that archaeologists for years "avoided studying what a distinguished colleague calls 'contingent and mental phenomena'" because such evidence could not be observed or measured.¹ Yamin and Metheny vow that their book is for a new breed of archaeologists who are now working in a post-processualist framework in order to generate the most profound questions in archaeology, those having to do with meaning. For many years archaeologists were caught up in the process of considering only landscape phenomena that could be directly observed, measured, and placed "on a laboratory shelf" (xiii). Now, as their tools in this "dig" for truth, Yamin and Metheny utilize a hermeneutics that they describe as moving "back and forth between past and present, between different categories of data—archaeological evidence, oral history, written sources, ethnographic data, anthropological theory, human experience—until the part and the whole begin to make sense, the post-processualist constructs a story about people in the past" (xiv). The two editors distinguish between traditional cultural geography whose focus was mostly the "visible, material landscape and the

study of form and space” and the work of contemporary cultural geographers whose focus is “to explore issues of symbolism and meaning; human perception and the experience of landscape, and the interaction of individuals, culture, and society with the landscape” (xv).

Certainly Anne Bradstreet’s work viewed from the perspective of contemporary cultural geographers directs us back to the question, how long would it have taken for the raw beauty of the primordial forests of the New England frontier to have influenced Anne Bradstreet and her writing. In the asking, other relevant questions leap forward—at what point did Anne Bradstreet begin to define herself against a New World landscape inhabited not only by Puritans, but by Native Americans as well; was her sense of place significantly different from those who emigrated to New England after her (and the others who came in the vanguard of the Great Migration); and most important, did Anne Bradstreet’s New England regional/cultural identity include an association between the natural world and the spiritual world wherein the two realms overlapped, and if so, to what extent.

In a chapter in *Landscape Archaeology, Reading and Interpreting the American Historical Landscape*, entitled “Social Relations and the Cultural Landscape,” J. Edward Hood asserts that “landscape is ‘cultural’ in that it physically embodies the history, structure, and contexts of human behavior in such a

way that they are not readily separable from each other” (121). Hood further points out that culture “is not a static thing but dynamic and changing” (121). In his discussion, Hood utilizes the term “cultural landscape” for the bond that grows between the individual and environment as a result of human use of and perception of the landscape. Hood cites an impressive list of research studies to support his view that “Learned understandings of the world (what is here defined as culture) are in part created through experiencing the material world in which one grows up and carries out the mundane activities of life.”² Hood’s theory of “cultural landscape” helps to establish fascinating implications for New England colonists such as Anne Bradstreet, for Hood, too, points out that since the English created villages on land once occupied by Native Americans, they “interacted intensely” with a people who had no direct cultural continuity” with their English past (133). Hood also maintains that the lack of English cultural continuity in New England “created a substantially different physical and social context in which English social relations were carried out (125).

The tools of the cultural geographer support our search for truth and meaning in Anne Bradstreet’s work. For instance, in speculating on how long it may have been before a distinct change occurred in Anne Bradstreet’s concept of self set against her place in the New World, we might consider the conflicted feelings of the

poet as expressed in her poem “Upon the Burning Of Our House, July 10th, 1666.”

This intensely personal poem assists in setting a point in time wherein we see an Anne Bradstreet whose concept of self is set squarely in the center of her home in her Andover community. Hence, despite the fundamental Puritan precept that one must always look to the spiritual realm, Anne Bradstreet clearly grapples with this tenet as she views the charred remains of her “place” in the community:

When by the ruins oft I past
My sorrowing eyes aside did cast,
And here and there the places spy
Where oft I sat and long did lie (25-28)

Restraints, both Puritan and gender-based in origin, prompted Anne Bradstreet to finally relinquish her hold, at least in writing, on this earthly “place” in favor of a place in paradise. But the decision does not come easily, and the date is 1666—thirty-six years for Anne Bradstreet in her New England home.

Undeniably, the mindset of the Puritan fathers in 1630 constituted a view of the wooded landscape of New England as the negation of civilization, the oft quoted “howling wilderness.” We might ask how the attitudes of both Puritan men and women toward their new homeland evolved over, say, the next thirty-six years. Can we make the leap between Anne Bradstreet’s affinity for her New World home in Andover in her later years and an affinity for her wooded landscape—evidence suggests that we may. The poet’s sense of identity later in her life with her house in

Andover mirrors the way in which her concept of self also had merged with the New England landscape around her during her years in the new land, as evidenced in her finest poem, “Contemplations” (as I shall discuss in the next chapter). In considering the poet’s identification with her New World landscape, I shall also address in the next chapter whether Anne Bradstreet’s attitude toward her woodland landscape in any way parallels attitudes held by her Native American neighbors.

Chapter Seven

In the “Garden of New England”: Individuation and Mythogenesis

“You and I, what the earth is, we are.”—Walt Whitman

An Indian word for the life force or energy that works upon the deified presence of a mother earth is *Kickeron*.¹ There is a sense of life-essence astir in Anne Bradstreet’s garden-world of her poem “Contemplations” that bids the reader to enter and to understand. But while readers through the years seem to have reached consensus that “Contemplations” is Anne Bradstreet’s finest poem, controversy continues to swirl about the poem with regard to how to read it. Alvin H. Rosenfeld’s astutely observed in 1970 that perhaps Anne Bradstreet’s “feminine sensibility...will provide certain details of life in early America missing in the writings of her Puritan brothers” after they came to this “strange land where they were met by a new geography and a totally new set of experiences.” He followed this speculative comment on the tremendous “impact” this would have had upon the New World settlers, with his query, “Does she tell us?”² Rosenfeld never answered his query, but his comparisons between “Contemplations” and Wordsworth’s “Ode: Intimations of Immortality” and Keats’ “Ode to a Nightingale” are a significant reminder of Anne Bradstreet’s intimate discourse with nature in her poem.

More than twenty-five years later, Alvin Rosenfeld's query, "Does she tell us?" still resounds for want of an answer as critics continue to seek a full understanding "Contemplations." More recently, Frank Shuffelton's essay on "Contemplations" again targets the problem of the lack of consensus on how to read the poem. Shuffelton cites the work of a number of eminent Bradstreet scholars during the last twenty-five years, and he separates scholarship on "Contemplations" into two main camps—"rhetorical readers" and "romantic" readers. According to Shuffelton, both camps agree with a "third major strain of interpretations" which focuses on the importance of Anne Bradstreet's Puritan spiritual experience.³ As for a reading of "Contemplations," Shuffelton's sympathies lie with the "rhetorical readers," whose "focus on emblems and allegories respects the *mentalité* of the world she [Bradstreet] shared with other Renaissance artists" (26). It is important to note that while Shuffelton pays homage to the invaluable contribution to Bradstreet scholarship by Ann Stanford (he refers to her essay, "Anne Bradstreet's Emblematic Garden," as "provocative"), he at the same time accuses Stanford of losing sight of the "*mentalité*" of Anne Bradstreet's real world in England, where there had been an "explosion in garden making in the Jacobean and Caroline periods" (27). In his essay, Shuffelton denies that Bradstreet had any "unpuritan-like attachment to nature" in "Contemplations," grounding his argument in her

supposed attachment to “real gardens” that she may have experienced at the Earl of Lincoln’s Sempringham estate. But as Shuffelton drags us back to the English gardens of Anne Bradstreet’s youth to consider the source of the poet’s inspiration for “Contemplations,” a poem she probably wrote after almost thirty years of living in the New World, we must ask, isn’t there something missing from this picture?

Kickeron—what is the nature of the life-essence astir in Bradstreet’s “Contemplations”? In answer to Alvin Rosenfeld’s query posed so many years ago (“Does she tell us?”) evidence suggests that the answer is yes: Anne Bradstreet speaks to us if we listen in terms of the mindset that she developed in the New World, a pattern of thinking woven both from the European Renaissance of her youth and from the fresh experience of her present as a settler in a frontier town with a significant population of Indians as neighbors. Undoubtedly, the Renaissance *mentalité* cited by Shuffelton and other Bradstreet critics is invaluable to understanding her work, for the conditions which served as the source of the intellectual and cultural milieu in which she found herself for the first eighteen years of her life are essential to an understanding of her world and must be examined. But for Anne Bradstreet, the glittering world of Renaissance castles and gardens ceased as her real world on that blustery day in 1630 when she stepped on board the *Arbella*, bound for the life of a settler in a land of new frontiers.

Although Anne Bradstreet probably did not write “Contemplations” until the 1650’s or 60’s, about a quarter of a century after leaving Renaissance England behind, there is no question that the intellectual and emotional baggage of a youth spent in Renaissance England arrived with her; however, by the time she wrote “Contemplations,” it had been unpacked and sorted. Readers of “Contemplations” may have long disagreed over how to read the poem, but for just as long they have agreed on the tension inherent in the work. While the tension in the poem is intriguing, I believe that the emotionally and spiritually mature Anne Bradstreet who wrote “Contemplations” discloses a sense of resolve which implies that she not only recognized, but also accepted the self whose complex identity served as the source of that tension.

And a complex identity it was. Grounded in English Renaissance culture, Anne Bradstreet was a woman whose Puritan religion placed a totally different “spin” on Renaissance gender ideology for women in that subset. We understand her silence, for she was bound by the conventions of a patriarchal Puritan society which prohibited a woman from speaking about subjects deemed to be controversial and hence profane. Anne Bradstreet entered a garden-world, an unspoiled land, but the Puritan fathers denied its existence—how could they possibly construct a covenant community honoring their Lord in an unregenerate environment? As

evidence has suggested, however, both Puritan and Native American women shared a common reality—some of the most essential responsibilities of their respective domestic worlds such as childbirthing, caring for the children, the elderly, and the ill, and providing their families with flavorful meals. Consequently, both groups of women depended upon the American landscape as they conscientiously sought out plants and herbs as the source of “meate or medicine” to enhance the quality of life for themselves and their families.

I do not suggest the direct influence of Native American culture on Anne Bradstreet and her work, although opportunities for interaction between Anne Bradstreet and her Native American neighbors, particularly the women of that culture, existed. I do suggest, however, that the mature poet who wrote “Contemplations” manifests intriguing parallels in consciousness, and perhaps the unconscious, with her Native American neighbors. In answer to Alvin Rosenfeld’s query as to whether Anne Bradstreet provides us with answers about the impact of a new landscape and a new set of experiences on settlers such as she, the answer is yes. Although even the mature poet of the 1650’s or 1660’s cannot answer as openly as she would like, she manages to reveal elements of a regional and cultural identity bound up with her New England landscape that serves as the well-spring of her mythic vision in the poem.

Scholarship on Anne Bradstreet's work has overlooked the impact of the New England landscape and its native peoples upon the poet as her forty-two years in her new environment unfolded. Critical to a reading of "Contemplations" is the work of contemporary landscape archeologists such as J. Edward Hood, who has described the dynamics of the bond that grows between the individual and the environment which results from human use of and perception of the landscape.⁴ Also, Richard Slotkin, in his monumental work, *Regeneration Through Violence*, tracks the evolution of a national character in America, concomitant with the evolution of a distinctly American mythology. While Slotkin does not cite Anne Bradstreet's work in his catalogue of writers who illustrate the process of mythogenesis in America, his thoughts are critical to an understanding of the mythic vision revealed by the poet in "Contemplations," for Bradstreet's work is founded upon a triangulation linking the poet, the land, and its native peoples, and the result is a silent symbiosis of those elements.

Since the seeds of an American mythogenesis are apparent in "Contemplations," Richard Slotkin's work on the process of American mythogenesis is an appropriate starting point for consideration of the influence of the American landscape and its natives on Bradstreet's poem. Richard Slotkin asserts unequivocally that the "story of the evolution of an American mythology is,

in large measure, the story of our too-slow awakening to the significance of the American Indian in the universal scheme of things generally and in our (or his) American world in particular” (17). For Slotkin, the national character and its mythology are inextricably joined, for mythology “is the intelligible mask of that enigma called the ‘national character’” (3). As Slotkin traces what he believes to be the roots of a distinctly American mythology, he looks back to the first settlers and points out that the only non-European native cultures were those of the Indians and that like the colonists they based their myths on their experience in the world, which in the Indians’ case was the American “wilderness.” Slotkin’s work is extremely relevant to that question asked by generations of Bradstreet scholars (how do we read Anne Bradstreet’s “Contemplations”?), as he poses this series of penetrating queries:

“Did those same conditions, operating on European immigrants, impose on or induce in the colonial mind a similarly “American” mythology? We know that the colonists adopted their ways of living, farming, hunting, and fighting in order to survive in the Indians’ world. Did they also (to some degree) acquire an Indian-like vision of the New World, an Indian-American mythology? Since the Indian is, from out point of view, the only one who can claim to be indigenously American, it seems important to question whether our national experience has ‘Americanized’ or ‘Indianized’ us, or whether we are simply an idiosyncratic offshoot of English civilization.” (6)

As Slotkin examines the roots of an American mythology and its direct correlation to the birth of a distinctly American literature, he cites Native American

culture as a primary influence on early writers in America such as John Filson, in Filson's 1784 study of Daniel Boone, as well as its influence on later American writers such as Cooper, Hawthorne, and Thoreau. Primary to Slotkin's theory on the evolution of an American mythology is the Native American hunting ritual, regarded as an initiation into a symbolic marriage with the spirits of this world, the source of procreative power. Slotkin establishes parallels between the hunter and the poet, both free souls whose purpose in life is neither to sow nor to reap, but to perceive and respond to all of life. Certainly, he illustrates how the "divergence of the European and American myths was a function of the difference in the psychological needs and environmental conditions under which the two cultures labored" (369). Of the failure of a distinctly American mythology to form in the early years of the American republic, Slotkin cites as the primary obstacle the misconception held by the majority of its leaders that myth could be constructed "on the ground, like the governments of frontier communities or the national Constitution," an antimythological state of mind derived "from the utopian ideals of certain of the original colonists and of the revolutionary generation, which asserts that this New World is to be liberated from the dead hand of the past and become the scene of a new departure in human affairs" (3). Hence, the Puritans were obsessed with factoring out any individual or group that threatened their paramount

goal of establishing a utopia, and this attitude was an obstacle in what we might call the organic growth of a uniquely American mythology from the time of the first European settlers forward through the period of the American Revolution. Thus, Slotkin discounts attempts by America's founding fathers (who "composed a nation at Philadelphia") to influence the "process of "American mythogenesis" (4). He notes that true myth cannot be consciously manufactured piece by piece since a real mythology is "generated on a sub-literary level by the historical experience of a people and thus constitutes part of that inner reality which the work of the artist draws on, illuminates and explains" (4). The magnificent writing by American masters in the nineteenth century reflects their ability to reach past the artificial attempts at mythmaking spawned by "antimythological state of mind" by the founding fathers; instead, these writers captured the essence of the uniquely American experience. According to Slotkin, then, American writers such as Cooper and Hawthorne are distinctive for the manner in which they present the wilderness experience "as a search for values and identity, not merely as an occasion for exhibiting the superiority of certain cultural assumptions and class types" (515). As a result, both writers took an approach to characterization that explored the "central metaphor in the myths of America since precolonization times—the association of the New World wilderness with the terrors and delights of the hidden mind" (515).

Anne Bradstreet's poems similarly situate her narrator within the natural world of her New England landscape, and this act frees her to linger over thoughts and associations springing from both the conscious and unconscious realms. The example of Thoreau is instructive. Just as Thoreau uses the microcosmic "wilderness" of Walden to test a system of values and truths (Slotkin 518), Anne Bradstreet's does the same in "Contemplations." Thoreau is caught in a struggle between two modes of perception which are the sources for his vision. Thoreau perceives himself to be both a "man of solitude" (whose purpose is neither to reap nor sow, but to perceive and respond to all of life), and a "man of society," a farmer (Slotkin 526). Thoreau's his narration in *Walden*, depicts his emergent identification with the Indian spirit of the hunter whose spirit is superior to the traditional image of the farmer since the hunter remains "free and spontaneous with nature" so that "flashes of communion with nature come to him" (Slotkin 525). Unlike the farmer, who attempts to "break nature's spirit" through domination, the hunter is concerned with perception. In *A Week on the Concord and Merrimack Rivers*, Thoreau articulates this view of the natural world:

If [the Indian] is somewhat of a stranger in [Nature's] midst, the gardener is too much of a familiar. There is something vulgar and foul in the latter's closeness to his mistress, something noble and cleanly in the former's distance.... If we could listen but for an instant to the chant of the Indian muse, we should understand why he will not exchange his savageness for civilization. (46-47)

The original title of Thoreau's masterpiece, *Walden, or a Life in the Woods*, also reveals a conflict between Thoreau's two modes of perception, the hunter and the farmer, but the hunter-poet triumphs. He situates himself "on the frontier between society and solitude, art and nature, civilized and primitive, written record and live observation," and he submits "absolutely to the natural necessities imposed on man by unmediated nature" (Slotkin 526). Thoreau's work, undoubtedly, portrays the uniquely American experience, incorporating a natural, organic American mythology.

Anne Bradstreet's reflections in "Contemplations" also reveal the interplay of the two modes of perception so evident in *Walden*. If a distinctly American character flowered in the nineteenth century, we might look to early works such as Anne Bradstreet's "Contemplations," for its seeds. Anne Bradstreet's "Contemplations" may not be illustrative of the fully developed myth embodied in later narrative literature, but it is definitely illustrative of the remarkable mythopoeic state of consciousness of its creator.

Clearly, the early settlers in this country such as Anne Bradstreet brought with them a mythology dependent on the cultural history of their homeland, a mythology which responded to the psychological and social needs of their culture. It is just as clear that the lifestyle of these settlers in the New World environment

and the influence of its native peoples would have contributed to a whole new set of self-concepts and world-concepts, enabling the colonists to view their cultural heritage from a transformed perspective that their European counterparts would not have understood (Slotkin 15). The Puritans encountered native cultures whose vision of the American landscape was mythopoeic, based on values and mores extracted from their environment (Slotkin 25). Slotkin maintains that the Europeans and the natives mutually recognized a “brotherhood of consciousness (or perhaps of the unconscious)” (26).

The mythic vision revealed by Anne Bradstreet in “Contemplations” reflects what Slotkin calls a “brotherhood of consciousness” between the poet and her Native American neighbors. His starting point is his explanation of the myth-making artist that “transforms experience, perception, and narration into the material of a myth.”⁵ According to Slotkin, this “mode of consciousness comprehends the world through a process of thought—and perception—association, a process of reasoning-by-metaphor in which direct statement and logical analysis are replaced by figurative or poetic statement” (7). The mythopoeic mode of perception, then, relies on the unconscious, pulling from the “deepest levels of the psyche, defining relationships between human and divine things, between temporalities and ultimates” (7). Since myth originates as a state of mind or mode of perception, we

might assume that myths are universal in that humanity shares certain psychological states and conditions in life (Slotkin 10).

In order to explain the psychological tension arising from the interplay between the unconscious and the conscious that is common among myth-makers, Slotkin looks to J. L. Henderson's Jungian analysis of the psychological pull between the unconscious (or "Moira") and the conscious (or "Themis").⁶ Moira's maternal nature is one of dreams, desires and impulses associated with the unconscious, and as such, she represents the mythopoeic pole of the myth-making process" (Slotkin 11). The paternal figure of Themis represents the opposite pole, associated with reason and the laws of a community (11). The source of the mythic tension stems from the individual's need to reconcile "mother and father, the male and female sexual principles, the unconscious and conscious realms of the mind."⁷

Henderson's paradigm finds a perfect illustration in Bradstreet's work. The tension between Moira and Themis drives her work. Anne Bradstreet's "Contemplations" draws on both conscious and unconscious memory, on both old and on new, on a strict Puritan ethos which discouraged her love for her earthly environment and on a desire to reveal a synthesis which existed between God and his creation.

Richard Slotkin points out that the metaphors originally used by America's early settlers Europeans were taken from a totally European context, such as literature of the classical age, medieval and Renaissance romances, and Reformation religious and political thought, but as American literature evolved these metaphors metamorphosed so that they took on "some of the shape and coloration of the colonists' experience of America and her landscape" (19). Anne Bradstreet's method in "Contemplations" correlates with Richard Slotkin's description of the mythogenic process wherein the myth maker's mythopoeic mode of consciousness draws on myth-images and structures derived from cultural heritage and also re-envisions cultural archetypes in terms of the nature of experience in the New World. Literary theorist Phillip Wheelwright describes the classic pattern of expression of the mythmaker, and in so doing, I believe also summarizes Anne Bradstreet's art in "Contemplations":

There is a strong tendency of the different experiential elements to blend and fuse in a non-logical way. And not only that, but the selfhood of the observer tends to blend with them; that is to say [s]he becomes a full participant and not a mere observer. Finally, there is a blending, or partial blending, of the worshipper and sacred objects and ceremonial acts with certain transcendent Presences. (159)

In her poem, Anne Bradstreet interweaves imagery drawn from her past and her present, sometimes in a way which seems, on one level, to be illogical. And she is not just a perceiver of her natural landscape; as in the religious ceremonies of her

Native American neighbors, she takes center stage as a full participant, finally blending in union with God and his creation.

In “Contemplations,” a central question emerges from the poet’s musings which seems to direct much of her discourse in the poem: What is the nature of my relationship with God and his creation? This same question is addressed late in Anne Bradstreet’s life in an autobiographical letter to her children:

That there is a God my reason would soon tell me by the wondrous works that I see, the vast frame of the heaven and the earth, the order of all things, night and day, summer and winter, spring and autumn, the daily providing for this great household upon the earth, the preserving and directing of all to its proper end. The consideration of these things would with amazement certainly resolve me that there is an Eternal Being.... That there is a God, I see. If ever this God hath revealed himself, it must be in His word, and this must be it or none. (*Works* 244)

Here, Bradstreet establishes a basic construct from which we might consider the poet’s mythopoeic position in “Contemplations.” This autobiographical missive to her children is meant to guide them when she, “being gone,” would have them remember “your living mother’s mind” (240). The self that she constructs for her children to remember her by evidences her awe and appreciation for the natural world, the world of Moira, bound up with desires associated with place (and perhaps with the Native Americans who dwelled as one with nature), and with the unconscious. Yet in her autobiography, Bradstreet displaces this impulse (as she

assures her children) by crafting a self-identity sure to measure up to Puritan standards: that for God truly to reveal himself, “it must be in His word.” In order to craft this self for her children’s eyes, Anne Bradstreet surrenders to the conscious realm, the world of laws and reasons, the realm of Themis. But while the tension resulting from the pull between Moira and Themis is still apparent in “Contemplations” and while Themis sometimes takes control, the poet’s work reflects a fusion of the two worlds, of Moira and Themis. In fact, the poet negotiates a position in “Contemplations” that often permits Moira to prevail, revealed through Anne Bradstreet’s imagery, structure, and dramatic persona, which the poet adopts to interact with her natural world. As a result, Bradstreet constructs a self-identity in “Contemplations” that differs from the controlled identity providing guidance in her autobiographical letter to her children, evidence that she has achieved her own *individuation*.

We might begin by deciphering the poet’s response to the question, What is the nature of my relationship with God and his creation? We can do this through a discussion of primary imagery in “Contemplations.” Essential to the poem is the spirit of place revealed by the poet, not through the landscape of a traditional garden, but rather through what I call a garden-world. It is significant that despite numerous discussions through the years by critics who cite garden imagery in

conjunction with the poets's thoughts on nature, and in Frank Shuffelton's case, specific Renaissance gardens, Anne Bradstreet never once uses the term "garden" in her poem. Although Ann Stanford is no doubt correct in her assumption that Anne Bradstreet was influenced by garden imagery prevalent in English poetry of the seventeenth century as evidenced by writers such as Andrew Marvell, William Prynne, and Francis Quarles (239), the extent to which these writers actually influenced Bradstreet's nature imagery in "Contemplations" is questionable. Andrew Marvell, for instance, leaves no doubt in his reader's mind that he is discussing a formal English garden in his famous poem, "The Garden," in which (aside from the obvious title) he alludes to the formal pattern of the sundial in the garden plot so carefully planned out by the "skillful gardener" (*Seventeenth-Century Works* 970). And Ann Stanford, armed with the possibility of an influence on Bradstreet from the garden imagery of seventeenth-century poetry and from emblem books "which often contained pictures of garden elements," still admits that in "Contemplations" the poet walks through a landscape, partly real, partly imaginary" where there seem to be no walls (252-53). As previously discussed, Frank Shuffelton faults Stanford for failing to "align" her discussion of Bradstreet's nature imagery in "Contemplations" with the experience of real gardens in England during the period. Shuffelton links such gardens to the memory arts in that gardens were

“connected to notions of rhetorical places that could both bring order to ‘wild’ knowledge and, by offering the writer a pattern of topics or *topoi*, could become a source of poetic invention” (30). Be that as it may as a rhetorical strategy, for there is no doubt that the content and structure of Bradstreet’s poem were carefully thought out, the garden-world that the poet bids us to enter is her natural New England woodland landscape “Of green, of red, of yellow, mixed hue,” lit up dramatically by the sun’s rays, radiating a glow behind the trees as “Phoebus wanted one hour to bed” (*Works* 204). Beginning with this first spectacular glimpse of the natural world in the poem, key *topoi* emerge in the imagery of the very first stanza. The poet takes us to a “time now past in the autumnal tide,” where the cyclical pattern of the natural world is evoked in the very first line of the poem, a pattern fundamental to Native American mythology and to the world of Moira. Bradstreet’s sense of being joyfully immersed in nature, at first as perceiver, and then as participant, is immediately established in the poem as she describes her senses as “Rapt...at this delectable view” (204). Yet, the word “Rapt” very quickly would have also alerted Bradstreet’s predominantly male audience that perhaps she was a woman not in control of her emotions, a dangerous quality in a community where anyone, but especially women, suspected of not being under control were labeled “masterless” and a threat.⁸

Bradstreet's free expression of delight with her natural New England setting was antithetical to the Puritan imperative to view their society as joined in a special covenant with God, classically described by critics such as Perry Miller and Larzer Ziff. This Puritan pact with God mandated that the colony's inhabitants domesticate the land by their labors to ready it for the Christian Millennium.⁹ Hence, the Edenic landscape implied in the opening lines of Bradstreet's "Contemplations" would have been in danger of being labeled profane by the Puritan fathers, for as a descendent of Adam and Eve, Anne Bradstreet had lost her right to enjoy paradise on Earth. Yet evidence suggests that Anne Bradstreet was certainly not alone in her appreciation of her New World landscape. The sermons delivered by some Puritan ministers during the period bear witness to the fact that they suspected that some of their flock were straying in their attraction to the land.¹⁰ Few Puritans, male or female, dared openly to voice their appreciation for the natural landscape of New England.

The case of one Puritan who did openly express his enthusiasm for the land, John Underhill, is of interest in relation to the way in which Bradstreet framed her love for the land in "Contemplations." Underhill emigrated to Massachusetts in 1630, the same year as Anne Bradstreet. Just as Anne Bradstreet was regarded as a woman of prominence in the New England community, so was Underhill a

prominent citizen, at least until he brazenly dared to voice his appreciation for the “wilderness,” actually referring to it in a pamphlet as “the garden of New England.”¹¹ Underhill had become a magistrate and a soldier in the colony after his arrival, an apparent devotee of the Puritan way. Returning from duty in the Pequot War in 1637 (the only notable conflict between the natives and settlers during Bradstreet’s lifetime), Underhill expected a hero’s welcome; instead, he was disenfranchised and humiliated by the General Court, on which he had once served as the first deputy from Boston. The action against Underhill was most notably based on his signing a petition requesting toleration for dissident Anne Hutchinson and the Antinomians. But beneath the formal charges lay what was regarded by the Puritan orthodoxy as subversive—his concept of a Calvinist Garden of Eden. Underhill’s writings and speeches joined a pietistic desire for moral freedom with a desire for settling new independent communities deep within the “wilderness.” Returning to England for a time in 1637, Underhill wrote a religious and legal defense of his actions entitled *Newes from America: or, A New and Experimentall Discovery of New England*, published in London in 1638 (Slotkin 69-70). Underhill’s enthusiasm for his New England landscape is reflected in his advertisement included in the book for frontier lands available beyond the immediate control of the Bay magistrates. Intriguing in relation to the profound

impact the garden-world of New England must have had upon Underhill is that the word “Experimentall” in the title of his book was used during that period as an equivalent term to “experiential.” The word “experiential” was often used by the Puritans, particularly later revival preachers such as Jonathan Edwards, to express a deep sense of the power of religion (Slotkin 71). In part, Underhill’s book explained his military actions during the Pequot War. Implicit in his work, though, is the profound effect that his experience in the New England frontier, and perhaps the natives themselves, had upon him. In his narrative, Underhill does not deny the trials of frontier life in his “garden of New England.” He does, however, deny the need for strict theocratic control over the frontier communities that he hoped would be established (Slotkin 70). Underhill apparently did not believe that the personal and religious freedom that he envisioned in the frontier landscape of New England and his Calvinist religion were mutually exclusive.

As Anne Bradstreet had to have been profoundly aware of the details of Anne Hutchinson’s case, she also would have been very much aware of the community’s disenfranchisement of John Underhill for his thoughts on the “excellence of the whole country” in the “garden of New England.”¹² After Underhill returned to New England, he was denied reenfranchisement to “the company of Saints,” eventually making his way to settle in Rhode Island (Slotkin 71). Although “Contemplations”

suggests that Anne Bradstreet, like John Underhill, did not envision her Calvinist faith and her love for the natural landscape as mutually exclusive, she certainly would not have wanted to chance being labeled as subversive or being driven as an outcast from her community. It is no surprise, then, that Anne Bradstreet quickly moves in “Contemplations” from the “Rapt ... senses” of stanza one to the image of the sun as power supreme in stanza two. Whether operating at the conscious or unconscious level, she moves from masterless to mastered, from freedom to control, from Moira to Themis.

Bradstreet’s associations with the image of the sun operate at several levels. Obviously, the sun is a natural emblem of God’s power and love, but it also imposes trials in life, the “glistening sun” of stanza four. Significant is the poet’s association of God as life-force with the sun: “Soul of this world, this universe’s eye.” In almost Miltonian manner, the poet correlates the sun’s presence with God’s presence, and its absence with hell, since “More heaven than earth was here, no winter and no night.” Bradstreet reinforces this concept in stanza six when she states, “Thy presence makes it day, thy absence night.” Her words here are expressed in prose form later in life in her autobiographical letter to her children, where she states, “for in truth it is the absence and presence of God that makes heaven and hell” (*Works* 243). In Bradstreet’s dialogue with the sun, she says, “No

wonder some made thee a deity;/ Had I not better known, alas, the same had I.”

This not only again references her association of the sun with God, but it also includes the possibility of the poet’s knowledge of worship of the sun by some ancient cultures, as well as native cultures in the New World.

As Anne Bradstreet contemplates her relationship to God and his creation, she chooses to establish an intriguing framework for the poem that bears striking parallels in consciousness with Native American attitudes toward nature and the supreme being. Early in the fifth stanza, she notes that “Birds, insects, animals with vegative,/ Thy heat from death and dullness doth revive,” and in the sixth, she admits that “Quaternal seasons [are] caused by thy might.” Both references to nature’s cycles may be linked to stanza four’s “No wonder some made thee a deity.” The importance of the cyclic quality of the sun is implicit in the fundamental tenet of eastern-Indian mythology, which was based on the Big House or longhouse, an emblem of the universe. The floor of the Big House was the earth and its roof “was the ‘visible sky vault ... atop which resides the Creator in his indefinable supremacy’.” The cyclic power of the sun is typified through the door on the east side of the Big House, signifying both sunrise and the beginning of all things—the life of all things created on earth. Similarly, the western door signifies both sunset and the termination of all living things. To the natives, the movement of the sun

from east to west also symbolized the “‘transit of life’ of men and tribes and of the seasonal growth and decay of living things. The earthly path corresponded to the Milky Way, the white path of man in the world of afterdeath, where the ‘dance’ and the white path persist forever.”¹³

Of course, the cyclical aspects inherent in the poem have received attention before from critics, but not in connection with the attitudes held by Native Americans with whom Anne Bradstreet shared her garden-world. Even Ann Stanford, who claims that Bradstreet abandons the natural landscape in her poem for the world of emblems featured in popular seventeenth-century books such as Quarles’ *Emblemes*, admits that Bradstreet’s sun images emphasize the sun’s positive power over the earth, particularly the cycling of the seasons.¹⁴ Alvin H. Rosenfeld, pursuing his stance that Anne Bradstreet was a precursor to Romantics such as Shelley and Keats, cites the poet’s focus on seasonal change in the poem in the context of a shared consciousness with those Romantic poets who looked to the seasons as “both physical and spiritual” and reflective of the “rejuvenescence of life, of the chance to recover from the old” (126-127). And Frank Shuffelton, who focuses on the “rhetorical and mnemonic structure” of “Contemplations,” which he asserts leads the poet to a “recollection of her own memory of God’s presence with her,” admits, at least, that the poem has a circular quality in that Bradstreet’s images

in the poem “or memory places, lead her in a circle back to her beginning” (36).

While other critics such as Robert Richardson and Rosamond Rosenmier have also noted the cyclical elements in the poem, Birgit Meany most clearly identifies “the cyclical pattern of the sun” with the recursive qualities of the poem and the poet’s concern for “activities and life cycles; of man, the earth, the trees, the stones, the fish, and the birds.”¹⁵ That Bradstreet begins her poem with a celebration of nature, initiating its cyclic quality through the topos of the sun, is unquestionably significant. In considering the extent to which Bradstreet’s use of cyclical images was directly influenced by Native American culture, we might look to Kenneth Rexroth, who said, “Our memory of the Indians connects us with the soil and the waters and the nonhuman life about us. They take for us the place of nymphs and satyrs and dryads—the spirits of the places.”¹⁶ Unless more documentary evidence concerning Bradstreet’s life surfaces, a direct influence of native culture on Bradstreet’s art may be difficult to prove, but Anne Bradstreet’s cyclic allusions in the opening stanzas of “Contemplations” do reflect a commonality with native mythmakers, each looking to the natural life rhythms of their environment as fundamental images in their art.

As “Contemplations” proceeds, Bradstreet most notably accomplishes a shift in emphasis from the cyclic world of natural impulse, Moira, to the ordered world of

laws, Themis, through connections with the concept of the sun as a supreme power, “this universe’s eye.” God is associated with the sun as a positive force since he “is goodness, wisdom, glory, light,” but he is also identified with qualities of the beneficent patriarch. An intriguing thought is that associations between the sun and supreme authority may have led the poet to the image of the “stately oak” in stanza three which may be a reference to the English king who, however stately and even god-like, can only “aspire” to the heights of the deity. The patriarchal image is further developed through association with the sun in stanza five where, “Thou as a bridegroom from thy chamber rushes, and the Earth reflects her glances in thy face.” Now the poet also is at the earthly level, perhaps remembering carnal associations with her own husband Simon and the “darksome womb” of the reproductive process.

Possible sources for Bradstreet’s connection between the Heavenly Father, Christ, and the husband and father that was Simon Bradstreet are many and complex. The poet’s own Judeo-Christian heritage would have supplied images of the biblical patriarchs such as Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob. Puritan ministers looked to Canticles for guidance on the love of the husband for the wife, and of course, there was the oft-utilized image of Christ as bridegroom, the subject of the Psalmist and numerous biblical verses such as in Matthew, where it is written, “Behold, the

bridegroom cometh; go ye out to meet him” (251:6). The writer of the Psalms also links images of God, the Heavenly Father, and the womb: “But thou *art* he that took me out of the womb: thou didst make me hope when I was upon my mother’s breasts” (22:9). Noting the perspective of Bradstreet’s Judeo-Christian heritage, Robert Boschman has pointed to Leo Marx’s study of the pastoral ideal and the impress of Judeo-Christian mythology upon it, citing a machine in the poet’s garden “associated with crude, masculine aggressiveness in contrast with the tender, feminine, and submissive attitudes traditionally attached to the landscape.”¹⁷ These are sources of myths and images from Bradstreet’s ordered world of Themis, but we may also look to the world of Moira expressed in Native American mythology as an influence. The poet’s association between the sun and the “darksome womb” of nature also calls to mind the religion of the natives, who regarded *Kickeron* as the father-god and life force. *Kickeron* mingled his powers with those of the passive earth, who as goddess and mother, joins with him to populate the land (Slotkin 46). *Kickeron* as a life force was not viewed as the crude, aggressive masculine presence so often found in Judeo-Christian mythology, but rather as a kindred spirit who worked upon welcoming earth. Thus, the Native American myth which more closely captures the positive idea expressed by Bradstreet when she says, “Thy heat from death and dullness doth revive,/ And in the darksome womb of fruitful nature

dive.” We might remember also, for Anne Bradstreet, the patriarch of their family, Simon, who fathered her eight children, was a much-loved figure, of whom she said in very earthy tones in “A letter To Her Husband, Absent Upon Public Employment”:

“Return, return, sweet Sol, from Capricorn;
In this dead time, alas, what can I more
Than view those fruits which through thy heat I bore?
Which sweet contentment yield me for a space,
True living pictures of their father’s face
O strange effect! now thou art southward gone ...
But when thou northward to me shalt return,
I wish my Sun may never set, but burn
Within the Cancer of my glowing breast,
The welcome house of him my dearest guest ... (12-22).

This movement from the Heavenly Father down to the level of her own family’s patriarch would have been natural for Anne Bradstreet since a very systematic statement of the Puritan view of marriage and the family was often put forward by contemporaries of Bradstreet’s. For example, in his *Of Domestical Duties*, William Gouge, notes that the “child is subject to its mother, she to her husband, he to the magistrate, he to the king, the king to God.”¹⁸

Once having engaged the concept of patriarch at the earthly level, Bradstreet moves through time back to that patriarch Adam in stanza eleven who in “Eden fair” was “made lord of all.” We might almost imagine Anne Bradstreet’s shudder, as she thinks on the patriarchs in her own life, such as her father and husband, whom

she loves, but also regards as sources of power and control, and then identifies with Eve, cast out of her own garden-world to a “retired place.” The realistic birthing imagery of Eve holding “in her lap her bloody Cain new-born” attests to the merge of the mother-poet with Eve, the Matriarch, who now “sighs to think of Paradise,/ And how she lost her bliss to be more wise.”

Bradstreet’s movement in the poem from thoughts of that supreme patriarch, God, to the image of patriarch in the form of husband Simon, and then on to mythology surrounding Adam and Eve, illustrates the mythmaking process at work, where “elements blend and fuse.”¹⁹ Typifying a true mythopoeic mode, Bradstreet has worked through various associations with the sun, sometimes drawing on myth-images from her collective European, Judeo-Christian heritage, and at other times acting on images generated from her New World experience connected with the land and perhaps her Native American neighbors; often, the two merge so that the poet re-envisions the cultural archetypes of her heritage.

Stanzas eight and nine offer examples of this fusion of experiential elements, old and new. Stanzas eight and nine also provide transition from associations between God as creator of this garden-world on earth and God as creator of that first garden-world, Eden. For instance, the narrator notes that she is “Silent alone, where none or saw, or heard,/ In pathless paths I lend my wand ’ring feet.” As

noted previously, these lines traditionally have been interpreted by critics such as Stanford and Shuffelton to allude to the conventional, formal garden mazes of the seventeenth-century gardens with which Bradstreet was familiar in England. Given the poet's years of experience in her New England woodland landscape, however, we might ask, if instead she might be standing in a primordial New World forest, in which, as Bradstreet contemporary Edward Johnson described, "are the Indian paths being not above one foot broad, so that a man may travall many days and never find one" (113). Gazing past the towering first-growth trees to the "lofty skies" above would have been a sufficiently emotional experience to cause the poet to wish "To sing some song, my mazed Muse thought meet." Here Bradstreet invites comparisons with Thoreau, the solitary and the hunter at *Walden*, much like the Indian that Thoreau, himself, describes in *A Week on the Concord and Merrimack Rivers*, whose "flashes of communion with nature come to him because his relation to nature has remained free and spontaneous; he neither breaks his spirit to nature nor seeks to break nature's spirit to his own desires. Perception, rather than domination or calculation, is his forte" (Slotkin 56). Like Thoreau and the Indian, Bradstreet is the passionate, uninhibited observer of nature. This impulse comes to an abrupt halt in the last line of stanza eight, "But Ah, and Ah, again my imbecility," when the poet is brought back into the stream of thought of her reality, a reality in

which she laments her “imbecility,” for unlike the “merry grasshopper” or the “black-clad cricket” of stanza nine, she is unable to sing her “Maker’s praise” as she would like.

The images of the “merry grasshopper” and the “black-clad cricket” also raise an intriguing question concerning their source. Was Anne Bradstreet just drawing on her present experience as a solitary observer of her natural landscape, or was she also drawing on the image of the “merry grasshopper” extolled by her contemporary in England, Cavalier poet Richard Lovelace? For in “The Grasshopper,” Lovelace says of the little creature, “The joys of earth and air are thine entire” (*Seventeenth Century Works* 947). But beyond extolling such earthly joys, Lovelace’s poem also may be read as a philosophical statement on the Civil War in England, “the sickle” in his poem. Although the war might end in defeat for Lovelace and his Cavalier comrades, there will always remain the idea of a “paradise within,”²⁰ clearly expressed by the lines, “Thou best of men and friends! we will create/ A genuine summer in each other’s breast,/ And spite of this cold time and frozen fate,/ Thaw us a warm seat to our rest” (*Seventeenth Century Works* 947). A devoted royalist, Richard Lovelace was imprisoned twice for his efforts on behalf of the King. His poems were published in England in 1649 in the volume *Lucasta*,²¹ just a year before Anne Bradstreet’s *The Tenth Muse* was published in

London. It would not be surprising if the widely read Bradstreet were familiar with Lovelace's poetry, for evidence suggests she was familiar with other literature not in favor with the Puritan hierarchy of the period, such as Shakespeare's work. In this light, stanza nine of "Contemplations" takes on a whole new meaning. First, the celebration of nature through implementation of the image of the grasshopper used by Lovelace is significant. Equally important is that unlike the poet's infirmity ("my imbecility"), neither the grasshopper nor the cricket is crippled in its desire for self expression as they "their voices raise." We might then also wonder if Anne Bradstreet, either at the conscious or unconscious level, drew on the image of the grasshopper in relation to Native Americans, since evidence indicates that the Puritan fathers associated the uninhibited natives whose long hair linked them with the merry "Cavaliers" of old England whose long hair and powdered wigs made such a visible impress on English society. For those who held the Puritan "roundhead" philosophy, the principle sin in wearing long hair for an Englishman or an Indian was that it reflected the pride present in the wearer. Regarded as the "'badge' of those who refused to cover themselves with Christian 'humility, sobriety, modesty, [and] shamefastness,'" ²² long hair and the pride it implied was linked with the original sin of pride in Adam and Eve. Puritan missionaries such as John Eliot strove to wean the natives from their sense of pride and sinful sense of

freedom to a sense of subjection to the Lord. Only then could a native be regarded as “civilized” (Axtell, *European and Indian* 61). If we consider the connection of the grasshopper with the “Cavalier,” a connection that was very much a part of the socio-political fabric of Bradstreet’s world, it is also easy to consider then the “black-clad cricket” as a Protestant “praying Indian,” acculturated by John Eliot to appear English in his working-class suit, cobbled shoes, and short hair (Axtell, *European and Indian* 59). Of note is that Thomas Hutchinson’s history of the colony cites several towns of “Praying Indians” in the area of the Merrimack River in 1660, not far from Anne Bradstreet’s home. One of them, Natick, was regarded as the “chief town, where most of the Indian rulers dwelt, and where their courts were held” (n 142). At another praying town in the area, Wamesut, located where the Merrimack and Concord rivers meet, the Indians “were not in general much noted for their esteem for religion” (n 143). And, at the falls of the Merrimack was Pantucket, another established town of praying Indians (n 143). As evidence has suggested, however, despite their outward signs of conversion, even the praying Indians looked to their shamans and native religious powwows for spiritual support in time of trial. It is such “creatures abject” as the “merry grasshopper” and “black-clad cricket” who “in their kind resound their Maker’s praise” while the poet, “as mute, can warble forth no higher lays.”

In deference to her male audience, the patriarchs of her community, Anne Bradstreet laments her inability to “warble forth ... higher lays,” but in her typical fashion, while she mediates a position to have a voice as a poet, she goes on to offer a tribute to the Creator of her natural landscape in which she finds such joy. Yet, as we shall see in the next chapter, she simultaneously offers, through her mythic images, a sense of the restraints placed upon her song as tribute.

Chapter Eight

Keys to “Contemplations”

“Developing a relationship with the wildish nature is an essential part of women’s individuation. In order to accomplish this, a woman must go into the dark, but at the same time she must not be irreparably trapped, captured, or killed on her way there or back.”

—Clarissa Pinkola Estés

Anne Bradstreet introduces key topoi in her poem “Contemplations,” beginning in stanza twelve when she conjures up the sight of Eve, “who lost her bliss to be more wise.” Engaged in a mythopoeic mode, the poet reminds us through the image of Eve that women are viewed as transgressors for inappropriately seeking or demonstrating knowledge. Puritan doctrine would have made Anne Bradstreet, mother-poet, well aware of the association of the post-lapsarian world with the legacy of death wrought upon one’s progeny from the prideful pursuit of knowledge. This association would have had a chastening effect on her desire to voice her feelings about the natural world as she would have liked. Frank Shuffelton has noted in this stanza the “ironic balancing” of Bradstreet’s “nurturing love for her child against memories of the transgression that lost Paradise” (34). As Shuffelton points out, these middle stanzas of “Contemplations” link the temporal glory of God’s natural creation with man’s immortality expressed in the conclusion of the poem (35), but Shuffelton’s concern focuses more on the

connection between the gardens of old England and the first garden rather than on the import of Eve's transgression "to be more wise" and certainly not on Bradstreet as mother-poet. As Ulrich has pointed out, Puritan women were regularly reminded by preachers and patriarchs that the burden of guilt for Eve's transgression largely rested on their shoulders, reflected in the travails of childbirth (129).

Shuffelton, Stanford, and Hildegard depend almost totally upon Bradstreet's English heritage for their reading of the poet's use of the Cain and Abel myth in stanzas twelve through sixteen.¹ If we look to the daily reality of the socio-political climate of the poet's New England patriarchal world, however, we again see the mythopoeic mode at work as Bradstreet focuses more on transgression than on garden, for both the cause and the result of Eve's transgression merge in the imagery of the Cain and Abel myth. Robert Boschman is perceptive in arguing that the Cain and Abel mythology is connected to the "pattern of self versus community ... constantly being played out in Anne Bradstreet's community" (252), particularly in light of a central image developed by the poet later in the poem. There the image suggests the sense of intimidation that the poet must have felt at the thought of being ostracized by her patriarchal community. Boschman cites Ricardo Quinones' study of the Cain myth and its "dream of the human family, the pastoralism of the heart, a vision of unity and concord and cooperation so basic that it can only be summarized

in the unconscious innocence of siblings,” so that the original fraternity of Cain and Abel might be regarded as subversive to the ideals of community (252). Boschman interpretes Bradstreet’s use of the Cain and Abel myth squarely within the context of a world structured by a theocratic society, rather than in Shuffelton’s “world defined by the dead” (34), or in the past (stanza ten). Bradstreet may be drawing on the Cain and Abel myth from memory, but her primary concern in her contemplation is not the past, but rather on the present and the future—on the regenerative power of earth’s elements, on her place in this cyclic natural world created by God, and on the poet’s ability to link God’s paradise on earth, the poet, and God’s paradise above.

We might ask how sensitive to the issue of public censure the poet would have been. We do know that her father had been the chief examiner at Anne Hutchinson’s trial and that even a prominent male citizen of the Puritan community such as John Underhill was ostracized, in part, for his admiration of the New England landscape. In particular, we might speculate on the profound impact that Anne Hutchinson’s ostracism might have had upon the poet Bradstreet and upon her free expression of joy in her response to the natural landscape. Employing a Jungian model, Richard Slotkin identifies the world of Moira (or impulse) with native culture and the world of Themis (or law and control) with Puritan culture (11-

13). Certainly, one's association of Anne Hutchinson and spiritist thought with the world of Moira/impulse comes easily. Both Anne Hutchinson's ideals and Native American ideals were anathema to the Puritan fathers.

Stanza seventeen serves as a connector in "Contemplations" between imagery centered on transgression and mortality and imagery centered on nature and eternity. The poet laments that we live "so little while we are alive," because we waste time on such mundane daily tasks as "eating, drinking, sleeping." Shuffelton argues that the poet, as Augustine suggested, "has discovered a way to lengthen her days through the rhetoric of memory images" so that even "It makes things gone perpetually to last" (35). So, says Shuffelton, even the poet's garden may then be transformed by memories so that it remains "clad in green" (36). However, if we look to what follows in stanza eighteen, we might rather read stanza seventeen as a lament concerning time spent on "eating, drinking, sleeping," rather than on glorifying God's presence in nature.

Anne Bradstreet's impulsive exclamation in stanza eighteen concerning nature in its cyclical glory hints at the essence of Anne Hutchinson's spiritism and also at the Native American's uninhibited celebration of nature's cycles:

When I behold the heavens as in their prime,
And then the earth (though old) still clad in green,
The stones and trees, insensible of time,
Nor age nor wrinkle on their front are seen;
If winter come and greenness then do fade,

A spring returns, and they more youthful made; ...

Ann Stanford even remarks that the lines embody a “freeing of the spirit, an opening into spaciousness” (250). Stanford’s description captures the almost mystical quality of the lines as the inner self of the poet/observer seems to open up and merge with her natural landscape. But, as Alvin Rosenfeld noted almost thirty years ago, Bradstreet’s ebullience about the rejuvenescence of life—so reminiscent of Romantics like Shelley and Keats—comes to a halt in the last line of stanza eighteen with a “pessimistic note about man’s ability to participate in the seasonal cycle,” a departure from later Romantic poets who often affirmed seasonal death and rebirth (127). The end of the stanza marks the poet’s return to the world of Themis, to Judeo-Christian tradition, to man’s mortal nature.

This intrusion of man’s mortality in the last line of stanza eighteen creates a jarring contrast. In tone, the poet has moved from lyrical eloquence in her celebration of nature’s renewal to the flat pronouncement that “man grows old, lies down, remains where once he’s laid.” Yet Bradstreet’s shift in this stanza is even more complex than it first appears. Although she then redirects her reader to the link between paradise and man’s fall from grace in stanza nineteen, she again rhetorically employs a circling technique as she revisits this recurring topos of man’s mortality and his immortality, compared with the eternal cycles of nature. Birgit

Meany, too, comments upon Bradstreet's progress in the poem from immortality through cyclical renewal in the world of nature to the reminder that "man was made for endless immortality" by means of the Spirit of God (88). The poet establishes this connection between "immortality" in nature and humanity's immortality through the symbol of the river in stanza twenty-one. Stubbornly linear in its course, neither "rocks or shoals" obstruct its "pace" to man's immortal dwelling place, "that vast mansion, ever blest." William J. Irvin views the river as symbolic of teleological progress toward the goal of the ocean. For Irvin, the river's course signifies the poet's new movement toward a reliance on grace which is actually "a more perfect perception" of old ideas. Rather than looking to nature to symbolize God, Bradstreet sees "that the relationship between nature and God is properly one of effect to cause and only tangentially that of symbol to thing signified" (Irvin 184). I suggest that the poet's new reliance on grace suggests a displacement of the patriarchal symbol of the sun for God, in favor of a more fluid, gynocratic depiction of the soul's journey toward and jointure with God, through grace, in immortality. As for Bradstreet's early participation in the process of an American mythogenesis, her imagery in the poem surrounding the flow of the river, as associated with movement of the soul toward God, is somewhat evocative of Walt Whitman's

imagery connected with water and the soul's journey in stanza eight of "Passage to India":

O soul thou pleasest me, I thee,
Sailing these seas or on the hills, or waking in the night,
Thoughts, silent thoughts, of Time and Space and Death, like
 waters flowing
Bear me indeed as through the regions infinite,
Whose air I breathe, whose ripples hear, lave me all over,
Bathe me O God in thee, mounting to thee,
I and my soul to range in range of thee. (*Leaves of Grass* 326)

As Bradstreet moves to stanza twenty-four, we again see the mythopoeic mode at work. Here, she circles back to the idea of the cyclical quality of the natural world where thoughts of the river and ocean lead to those natural inhabitants of the watery world: “Ye fish, which in this liquid region ’bide,” part of the natural food chain, “Who forage o’er the spacious sea green field,/ And take the trembling prey before it yield.” God’s grace, man’s immortality, and nature’s eternity intersect at this point so that nature and man are linked with God—both entities of divine creation. The poet seems to find divine presence in nature and in herself. God regenerates both nature and man in separate ways.

This intersection of man and nature with God is crucial, for it calls up religious principles associated with outcasts from the Puritan community such as Anne Hutchinson, who relied on God's grace, on spirit within, rather than on the

written word. She seems to ask, “What is the nature of my relationship with God and his creation?” as she attempts to answer the central question of her poem. In considering Bradstreet’s line of reasoning, one cannot ignore these similarities between the poet’s thoughts and associations and those of dissidents of her time. One also cannot ignore the parallels between some separatist philosophy and attitudes held by Bradstreet’s Native American neighbors who embraced a symbiotic relationship with the natural world. For Native Americans, there is the concept of *Kickeron*, the divine life force working upon and renewing nature. As Slotkin notes, the “powers of divinity, for the Indian, were resident in the trees, animals people, and tribes about him The gods, nature, and man were of one essence, not of three distinct characters” (152). But, whether from direct influence or synergistic effect, parallels are evident between the poet’s views and those of both her “antinomian” and her Native American “neighbors.” That Bradstreet recognizes these impulses in herself is probable, for she abruptly rescues herself as she simultaneously reveals her fear of reprisal for her expression of religious truth by moving on to the image of “sweet tongued Philomel” in stanza twenty-six.

The poet’s decision to use the “merry Bird” Philomel in the final section of the poem is critical to any reading of the work, yet scholars have neglected, treated deferentially, or totally misinterpreted Bradstreet’s image of the bird. One critic

who does mention the mythological basis for “Philomel,” Kenneth A. Requa, cites the possible influence of the poet DuBartas on stanza twenty-six, since DuBartas also compares his poetry to the bird’s song, that of a “nightingale” in his poem. Requa, however, points out that had Bradstreet “used other sources,” she probably would have “avoided” the “sensational connotation” of the name Philomel (146). The sensational connotation that Requa alludes to is, of course, the Greek myth that is the source of the image. According to the myth, King Pandion marries his daughter Prokne to Tereus, who carries her off to Thrace where she bears his son, Itys. Prokne misses her sister, Philomela, and requests that Tereus go to Athens to fetch her for a visit. But in Athens, Tereus falls in love with Philomela, rapes her, and then cuts out her tongue to ensure her silence. Philomela communicates her fate to her sister by weaving her story into a robe, which Philomela sends to Prokne who understands “the voice of the shuttle.”² In most accounts, it is Prokne who frees Philomela and carries out revenge on Tereus by killing his son Itys and serving him to Tereus. When Tereus learns the truth about his son, he pursues Prokne and Philomela in order to slay them. Just as Tereus is about to kill Prokne and Philomela, through divine intervention some rather dramatic changes occur: Prokne becomes a nightingale, Philomela (with her tongue cut) a swallow, and Tereus a hoopoe or hawk. Of some importance to an understanding of the myth in relation to

Bradstreet's use of Philomela in "Contemplations" is that while early sources of the myth portray Philomela as transformed into a swallow, in some later, more popular sources (such as Ovid), Prokne is depicted as transformed into the swallow and Philomela into the nightingale. This variation of the myth produces the anomaly that the nightingale Philomela has the cut tongue. And, Prokne, the swallow, mourns for her child.³

Anne Bradstreet's allusions to Greek mythology throughout the body of her work demonstrate her considerable knowledge in this area. Even the first two lines of "The Prologue" to *The Tenth Muse* ("To sing of wars, of captains, and of kings,/ Of cities founded, commonwealths begun") echo the opening lines of Virgil's *Aeneid*. There is no question that the poet uses the myth of Philomel deliberately, and in doing so, thereby communicates a complex set of associations central to a reading of the work. The poet alludes to a myth in which the divine intervention implies understanding and forgiveness, perhaps associated with the grace of God. This is not the angry, wrathful Jehovah so often depicted in Puritan literature. As with several of Bradstreet's other images in the poem, her religious heritage no doubt influenced meaning. Yet, when William J. Irvin notes that the "merry Bird" Philomel finds its meaning in the biblical allusion to Luke 12:24, his assertion is based on the concept that the biblical reference "restricts the significance of the bird

to the human level, and prohibits any transference of symbolism to God” (185).

Additional evidence from seventeenth-century culture also associates the soul with the bird. In medieval English church wall paintings, the dove represented the Holy Ghost, and even though iconoclasts destroyed these images, the metaphor remained.⁴ Cotton Mather, for instance, when writing about death, compared the soul to a bird, which when death arrives does “Fly Away.” Carvings of wings on New England gravestones also depict this metaphor (*Seventeenth-Century New England* 156). Irvin, however, does not explore fully the biblical allusion to Luke 12:24, which takes on an entirely different meaning when placed within the context of Anne Bradstreet’s life in New England—a new Israel founded on a mandate to subdue and cultivate the “wilderness.” How contrary, then, would these lines from Luke be to the Puritan patriarchs who strove to clear the land, rather than to love the land in its natural state: “Consider the ravens: for they neither sow nor reap; which neither have storehouse nor barn; and God feedeth them; how much more are ye better than the fowls?” (12:24). The poet of “Contemplations” has entered her woodland landscape neither to sow nor to reap, but rather as a solitary figure to observe God’s natural creation, where Philomel’s song celebrates a garden-world.

Helen Saltman has noted another religious association in the poem between Philomel and David the Psalmist in that the “melodious songs of David are thus

Anne Bradstreet's inspiration (234). Implying a link between David the Psalmist and herself as poet demonstrates Bradstreet's apt use of a gender-based technique of compromise; during the seventeenth century such celebrated male devotional poets as George Herbert and Henry Vaughan established this connection. At this level of meaning, the poet may be drawing on her English heritage, but she also may have again been mediating a position, one ostensibly resting on religious connotation, so that she might have a voice without being censured for doing so.

But what are the implications for a woman poet in Puritan New England whose lyricism soars over the song of "sweet-tongued Philomel," which she admits "rapt me so with wonder and delight"? As noted earlier, the word "rapt" implies a lack of control and order, a dangerous notion in the Puritan theocracy, where outspoken women such as Anne Hutchinson were labeled as "masterless," out of control, and ostracized from the community. A most telling connection to the group dynamics of Bradstreet's Puritan world occurs in stanza twenty-seven, when the poet openly envies the ability of the "merry Bird" to sing, yet not to fear "snares." In fact, the bird need not even remember memories (sad, perhaps) of "what is past, nor what's to come dost fear." Boschman, too, connects the identity of the poet in her male-dominated New England world with "sweet-tongue'd Philomel" (253). Living within the aggressive Puritan theocracy, the woman-poet cannot express her

true feelings about God, nature, or perhaps even her Native American neighbors as she would like, as do the “black-clad cricket” and “merry grasshopper” who “in their kind resound their Maker’s praise.”

The image of Philomel, the nightingale with her tongue cut out, is powerful. No doubt in using the image, Bradstreet was at her creative peak, drawing on both her cultural past and on her present. She again circles back in the poem to touch tangentially upon the Edenic garden-world of God’s creation in its natural state, the link between man and nature, and the danger of alienation from one’s community as expressed in the Cain and Abel myth.

But the most telling association of all with Philomel in the poem is through Anne Bradstreet’s own family history: her younger sister Sarah Dudley Keayne spoke out publicly about her religious beliefs and was formally “shunned” by the Puritan community in 1647. Anne Bradstreet’s reality was that her own sister Sarah’s fate embodied the alienation from the community portrayed in the Cain myth. For Bradstreet, earthly authority, as embodied in the myth of Philomel in the character of Tereus, is not nearly so understanding as the divine authority in the myth. Sarah’s husband Benjamin divorced her, and she was excommunicated from the church in Boston (White 176).

Anne Bradstreet was likely very fond of her younger sister Sarah, for the poet named her second daughter, born about 1638, Sarah (White 177). Two sisters, Philomel and Prokne—one is remembered because her tongue is cut so that she may not speak and one because she dared to act. Utilizing a Jungian model in the interpretation of the poet's use of this myth is instructive. For perhaps through the myth of Philomel and Prokne the woman-poet is, in a sense, finally whole since speech and action merge and blend through the two sisters, just as variations on the myth historically reflect a cross-over or fusion of characteristics between the two. Sarah may have been very much on Anne Bradstreet's mind when she wrote "Contemplations," for Sarah died in poverty in 1659, at the age of forty (White 176). The mature woman-poet in her middle years who writes "Contemplations" may wish that she not remember "what is past," nor fear "what's to come," but regardless, she has realized her own *individuation*. Anne Bradstreet's use of the myth of Philomel and Prokne permits her a gynocratic expression of self-identity embedded in the lines of her poem. Anne Bradstreet must have known that if she were going to be subversive, she must be a subversive conformist in order to continue to have a voice. That she worked to that end in "Contemplations" is certain, for it was one of the poems that Anne Bradstreet personally selected to be added to the second edition of *The Tenth Muse*. Presumably this volume was

intended to have been published during the poet's lifetime, though the second edition was not published until 1678, six years after her death (Stanford 121).

The image of Philomel is linked inextricably with the final stanzas of the poem. Frank Shuffelton reminds us that the nightingale "is an Ovidian emblem of divinely caused metamorphosis."⁵ But the nightingale implies more than the assertion that the "freeing of speech," typified by the bird, prepares the poet for the "divine translation" from this world to "heav'n's bower." Although Shuffelton imagines the poet's garden to be fashioned after Renaissance gardens of old England, he recognizes that the concluding stanzas of the poem point to a garden (I would argue this to be a garden-world) that is a "landscape of grace" (36). Birgit Meany also supports the poet's confidence in God's grace, pointing out that Bradstreet is not bothered by "doubts or fears concerning her salvation," nor does the poet imply that she will make changes in her life in order to develop a closer relationship with God. Rather, the poet demonstrates that she is pleased with God's love. Meany notes that "Contemplations" is composed of thirty-three stanzas, a highly symbolic number in Christian terms, for Christ died at age thirty-three (93). Anne Bradstreet's mythopoeic associations may have predisposed her to make this connection. For example, Christ's words spoken before his death, "It is finished," as Meany points out, pervade Bradstreet's poem, in the sense that the poet seems

content with the “necessary resolutions” that she has made (93). Christ’s words take on additional meaning if we consider the revelation of the poet’s own *individuation* in the poem, largely through her use of Philomel mythology. Amidst her exploration of emblems employed by Bradstreet in the poem, Ann Stanford comments that the inspiration for Philomel may well have been the poet’s natural woodland landscape of Massachusetts, where an “American Songster” such as a mockingbird or a wood thrush was wont to make its home (251). The spiritually mature Anne Bradstreet of “Contemplations” accepts a union with God and his creation—the very real garden-world of the primordial forests of New England.

Anne Bradstreet’s “Contemplations” is a watermark in the process of mythogenesis in America. Like the Native American hunter characterized by Richard Slotkin, who enters the woodland landscape to “perceive and respond to all of life,” the poet Bradstreet achieves a synthesis with nature. This synthesis is evidenced in the cyclical quality of the form and substance of “Contemplations.” The poem serves as a harbinger of later works in the process of an American mythogenesis, particularly *Walden*, in which Thoreau similarly employs a cyclical construct to reveal his own synthesis, as a poet, with nature. Anne Bradstreet’s identification with her New England landscape is mirrored in her persona’s dramatic interaction with the natural world of her poem, so typical of Indian literature which

also celebrates a spiritual synthesis between man and nature rather than a domination of the landscape, as mandated by Puritan doctrine.

In “Contemplations,” Anne Bradstreet repeatedly circles back in the poem to the core of Puritan ideology embodied in the mythology of Adam and Eve, with which she had been indoctrinated by Puritan preachers and patriarchs throughout her life. Yet, as the poet progresses through the stanzas of the poem, she also moves forward past the burden of man’s fall (and Eve’s guilt). Anne Bradstreet, the solitary poet and observer of her New England garden-world, perceives a divine presence in nature and in herself. Situated by the side of the unspoiled, crystal waters of the Merrimack River, she realizes that God’s grace is manifested in all of creation, the source of all renewal. It is the grace of God that brings about cyclical regeneration in nature and eternal life in man. Nature and mankind are distinct, yet inextricably linked.

“Contemplations” marks Anne Bradstreet’s spiritual progress, just as it marks her own *individuation* and assimilation into her American environment. Fully engaged in a mythopoeic mode, the poet reveals her emergent self-identity and her emergent regional/cultural identity through an integration of images from her past and her present, often reenvisioning these images in light of her own New World

experience, a lifetime in a new land still significantly populated by Native American peoples.

Philomel and Prokne—the poem is speech and action, and as such, the poet is speech and action. Disclosing her spiritual growth in the lines of “Contemplations,” Anne Bradstreet is at once complete. As such, her allusion in the last stanza of her poem to Revelation 2:17 is fitting. She has searched her soul and found truth—it is through God’s grace that “he whose name is graved in the white stone/ Shall last and shine”

Epilogue

Bitter sister, victim! I miss you./—I miss you Anne” calls out Anne Bradstreet to Anne Hutchinson in John Berryman’s “Homage to Mistress Bradstreet (25:1-3). While there is no historical basis for these words, certainly Bradstreet’s finest poem, “Contemplations,” suggests a sense of the mystical union with God that she shared with Anne Hutchinson. The lines of “Contemplations” are the product of a poet at her creative peak, a woman-poet who also has realized her own individuation. Despite the ultra-Puritan teachings of her father, Anne Bradstreet reveals herself in her poetry as a complex personality who often resists conservative Puritan doctrine. She was often caught up in her own internal struggle between rejecting the world as vanity and embracing her life on earth as paradise itself. Self-conscious of the war within her between Puritan doctrine and personal feelings, Anne Bradstreet often utilized gender-based techniques of compromise in her writing to protect her voice as a woman-poet.

In tracking the evolution of Anne Bradstreet’s nature aesthetic, we must consider the influence of her Native American neighbors and also the influence of other Bay colonists, such as Anne Hutchinson, upon her work. In reading “Contemplations,” we witness the poet’s emphasis on the cyclical quality of nature. The woman-poet reflects upon the link between man and nature as she celebrates

the experience of the individual in nature—concepts integral to the Native American belief system. Anne Bradstreet never speaks openly in her writing about her Native American neighbors, of course, for they generally were regarded as profane by the Puritan fathers. But Anne Bradstreet never comments in her writing upon the case of Anne Hutchinson either—another profane topic. The woman-poet often chose silence as an instrument of protection for herself and those about whom she cared. Yet, in sifting through the possible influences on Anne Bradstreet and her poetry, we can not ignore the intriguing commonality between religious tenets focusing on nature that were held by members of some sectarian groups in New England (and England) and by native peoples in the region of the Massachusetts Bay. Although some in the Massachusetts Bay accused Anne Hutchinson of Quakerism, John Winthrop labeled Hutchinson a Grindletonian Familist.¹ But historian Christopher Hill contends that Bradstreet's contemporaries often "tended to lump together" such sects (163). For instance, Quakers were often identified with Ranters.² Ranters perceived that God was "in everyone and every living thing" (Hill 165), or as Ranter Jacob Bauthumley put it, in "man and beast, fish and fowl, and every green thing, from the highest cedar to the ivy on the wall" (qtd. in Hill, 165). Ranters obviously held some pantheistic precepts that are surprisingly similar to Native American ideology. Ranters also believed that at death the spirit was "returned to God, and so

became one with God” so that God became “a synonym for the nature world” (Hill 166). Thus Ranters saw themselves as “dissolved” into God at death (Hill 166), whereas Familists saw their bodies as “dissolved in god” from the moment of their election and then “annihilated at death” (Porterfield 97). The lines between such Puritan sects often blur; even the lines between pantheistic ideas held by Ranters and pantheistic notions held by the natives blur and almost disappear. We must always wonder, how much (if at all) such groups influenced the woman-poet Anne Bradstreet. During the spring and summer of 1656, she wrote her prose work, “Meditations When My Soul Hath Been Refreshed With The Consolations Which The World Knows Not” (Works 250) and her poem, “My soul” (253). In both works, she first engages in self-deprecation as she desperately asserts her preparedness to leave this world, when she will be “dissolved” and with God. Certainly I do not suggest that Anne Bradstreet consciously held Native American tenets, nor even those of a particular Puritan sect, but she was a woman-poet whose ethos was tempered by a complicated blend of Old World and New World influences. I do suggest, however, that given the reality of Anne Bradstreet’s daily experience in her New World landscape, we must recognize as a primary influence on the evolution of the poet’s nature aesthetic a symbiosis between the woman-poet and her woodland setting of New England.

That Anne Bradstreet continued to evolve as a woman-poet in the years after she wrote “Contemplations” should come as no surprise. As psychologist Carol Gilligan notes in relation to women’s development, “the events of mid-life ... can alter a woman’s activities of care in ways that affect her sense of herself. If mid-life brings an end to relationships, to the sense of connection on which she relies ... then the mourning that accompanies all life transitions can give way to the melancholia of self-deprecation and despair” (171). These qualities appear in the image of the Anne Bradstreet revealed in her writing during her final years. Her house in Andover had burned to the ground in 1666, and she grieved over the deaths of loved ones—her own daughter Dorothy, several of her little grandchildren, and daughter-in-law Mercy, about which she comments in her final elegy in 1670, “And live I still to see Relations gone,/ And yet survive to sound this wailing tone” (1-2). On the day of Anne Bradstreet’s death, September 16, 1672, her son Simon attested to his mother’s long physical suffering: “Her death was occasioned by a consumption being wasted to skin & bone” (qtd. in White, 359). Anne Bradstreet was in reality as she described herself in her poem, a “weary pilgrim, now at rest” (*Works* 294). Although in her final years Bradstreet struggles to accept God’s will as she prepares for death and eternal life, it is the Anne Bradstreet who expresses boundless joy as she explores the garden-world of her New England landscape who remains most alive for us.

Notes - Introduction

¹ See Donald P. Wharton's essay, "Anne Bradstreet and the *Arbella*," in Cowell and Stanford, ed. *Critical Essays on Anne Bradstreet* (Boston: G. K. Hall, 1983), p. 264 for a detailed description of the likely structure of the *Arbella*. Wharton's sources include: John Winthrop's *Journal* in two volumes, ed. James K. Hosmer (1908; New York: Barnes and Noble, 1946); Charles Edward Banks, *The Winthrop Fleet of 1630* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1930); Horace E. Ward, "Winthrop's Course Across the Atlantic," *Publications of the Colonial Society of Massachusetts*, 12 (1900-09), 191-203; Samuel Eliot Morison, "The Course of the *Arbella* From Cape Sable to Salem," *Publications of the Colonial Society of Massachusetts*, 27 (1927-1930), 285-306; and Elizabeth Wade White, *Anne Bradstreet: "The Tenth Muse"* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1971).

² Annette Kolodny cites Joan White's Testimony in *The Land Before Her* (Chapel Hill and London: U of North Carolina P, 1984), as recorded in *The Notebook of the Reverend John Fiske, 1644-1675*, ed. Robert G. Pope, *Publications of the Colonial Society of Massachusetts*, vol. 47 (Boston: The Society, 1974), p. 30.

³ Gilligan, p. 16, cites Virginia Woolf's words in *A Room of One's Own* (New York, 1929) p.76.

⁴ See Perry Miller and T. H. Johnson, *The Puritans* (New York, 1963) p. 287 and also Perry Miller, *The New England Mind: The Seventeenth Century* (Cambridge, Mass., 1953) Chapt. II.

⁵ See Mirra Bank's *Anonymous Was A Woman* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1979) for examples of art by women folk artists of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Banks discusses the ways in which the largely anonymous body of work by women artists during this period helps us to reconstruct their daily experience and inner lives.

⁶ In her study of American Needlework, *Anonymous Was A Woman*, Mirra Bank (63) alludes to this quotation from Stowe's novel. See Jane Tompkins in *Sensational Designs* (New York and Oxford 1985) 142-146 for her discussion of the "subversive diversion" of Stowe *Uncle Tom's Cabin* through its vision of an American society controlled by women where the center of power is the home. Stowe and her sister, Catherine Beecher, published *The American Woman's Home: or, Principles of Domestic Science; Being a Guide to the Formation and Maintenance of Economical, Healthful, Beautiful and Christian Homes* (New York 1869). The work was an enlarged version of Catherine's 1841 *Treatise on Domestic Economy*, listing sewing (433) as one of the skills women needed to know to maintain the proper home environment where the family "is the aptest earthly illustration of the heavenly kingdom, and ... woman is its chief minister" 19. Tompkins (123) affirms the value of the female novelistic tradition and responds to detractors of sentimental fiction, alleging that twentieth-century writers have devalued the writing of women novelists by teaching "generations of students to equate popularity with debasement, emotionality with effectiveness, religiosity with fakery, domesticity with triviality, and all of these, implicitly, with womanly inferiority."

Notes - Chapter One

¹ Jennings points out in his book, *The Invasion of America* (Chapel Hill: U North Carolina P) 16-17, that the standard figure of approximately one million natives in pre-Columbian North America, excluding Mexico, was taken from a posthumous article by James M. Mooney, published in 1928, Jennings alleges that when Mooney's work was interrupted in 1921 by his death, his editor noted later that the published article was based on "provisional detailed estimates." These estimates were apparently listed in tabular form by region and tribe, but without any specific documentation. Jennings asserts that Mooney's authority was based on "a rather sketchy bibliography" cited in J. M. Mooney, *The Aboriginal Population of America North of Mexico*, ed. John R. Swanton, Smithsonian Miscellaneous Collections, LXXX, no. 7 (Washington, D.C., 1928). Jennings further asserts that Mooney's method was not viable since he discounted the estimate of his predecessor, John Gorham Palfrey, by cutting it by about half. Jennings alleges that previous scholars estimating native populations had done the same, including Palfrey. Jennings specifically cites Mooney's estimate of 150,000 native population for the Ohio Valley, which might be contrasted to evidence from archaeologist H. J. Spinden who estimated from the vast number of burial mounds in the region that just the eastern agricultural region of the Ohio Valley must have

"supported several millions," as cited in Jennings from H. J. Spinden, "Population of Ancient America," Smithsonian Institution, *Annual Report* (Washington, D.C., 1929).

² See Thomas Hariot, *A briefe and true report of the new found land of Virginia* (1588), in David Beers Quinn, ed., *The Roanoke Voyages, 1584-1590*, as qtd in Jennings 23.

³ Neal Salisbury points out on 176 that "some hundreds" of natives is doubtful because of population demographics for post-epidemic Massachusetts Bay. For the contemporary commentary, see Roger Clap, "Memoirs of Captain Roger Clap," in Alexander Young, ed., *Chronicles of the First Planters of Massachusetts Bay* (1846; reprint ed., New York, 1970), 350.

⁴ Jennings cites John Winthrop, *The History of New England from 1630 to 1649* (1690), ed. James Savage, 2nd ed. (Boston, 1853), entry of Nov. 5, 1634, I, 146 (starred paging). See Jennings 28 where he also maintains that the Savage edition is more valuable than the edition by James K. Hosmer, which is more often cited and more accessible since it is still in print. Jennings alleges that Hosmer reproduces Savage's text but "suppresses his revealing commentary." For Hosmer, see James Kendall Hosmer, ed., *Winthrop's Journal, "History of New England," 1630-1649*, Original Narratives of Early American History, (New York, 1908).

⁵ Jennings 26 maintains that Gookin's figures should be considered in terms of margin of error on the conservative side. For instance, Gookin estimated 1,000 Narragansett warriors in 1674, which might be compared to contemporary William Hubbard's estimate of 2,000 "fighting men" among the Narragansetts during the same period. Gookin used interpreters Thomas and Robert Staunton. For Hubbard, see Hubbard, *The Present State of New-England. Being a Narrative of the Troubles with the Indians in New England*, 2nd ed. (London, 1677), "Postscript," 138.

⁶ Of interest is that Thomas Dudley's account of the Richard Garrad incident differs significantly from John Winthrop's version in his journal. Winthrop maintains that the two squaws went for their husbands, who aided the colonists. Dudley's letter, on the other hand, alleges that the "two Indian women" sent unto the colonists "an Indian man" who brought the stranded group "three men from Plymouth" to help them. For Dudley's letter, see Emerson 77.

⁷ See Charles M. Segal and David C. Stineback, *Puritans, Indians and Manifest Destiny* (New York, 1977) 204, for a contemporary account of the 1637 assault on the Pequots at Mystic Fort, as related in the will of Connecticut settler John Underhill. The fury of the "terrible swift sword" used by the Puritans on the Pequots at Mystic is captured in Eduardo Galeano's version of Underhill's description of the event in Galeano's *Memory of Fire/Genesis* (New York, 1985) 221, which adds to the explanation of why the assault on Mystic might be regarded as a defining moment in Euro-American relations with the natives for almost the next forty years.

⁸ William Hubbard's account was originally published in 1677. See Hubbard, *A Narrative of the Indian Wars* (Norwich, 1777) 46.

⁹ J. Franklin Jameson, editor of *Johnson's Wonder-Working Providence* (New York: Barnes and Noble, Inc., 1910), 5-7 points out that when the book was first published in London in 1653, under the date of 1654, it was entitled, *A History of New England, from the English planting in the Yeare 1628 until the Yeare 1652, etc.*, a title apparently affixed by Nathaniel Brooke, the publisher. Jameson maintains that the author's title for the book, however, is documented by reiterations in the text itself and by the running headlines of the printed book, on which appear *The Wonder-working Providence of Sion's Saviour in New England*. In the first printing, the author's name appeared nowhere in the book. Five years later the publisher included the text in a book entitled *America Painted to the Life*. Of this book, parts I and IV were apparently written by Ferdinando Gorges, Esquire, grandson of Sir Ferdinando Gorges, a famous potentee. Part II of the book was written by Sir Ferdinando Gorges, himself. The younger Gorges publicly denied in a newspaper called *Mercurius Politicus* on September 13, 1660, that the part of the book titled "Sion's Saviour in New England" was written by his grandfather. Jameson insists that it had been known in New England for more than two hundred years that the actual author of the text was Captain Edward Johnson of Woburn, Massachusetts. Jameson points out that Thomas Prince, in his preface to his *Chronological History of New England* (Boston, 1736), alludes to the error in authorship by saying, "But the true Author was Mr. Johnson of Woburn in New England, as the late Judge Sewall assur'd me, as of a Thing familiarly [sic] known among the Fathers of the Massachusetts Colony."

¹⁰ See Karen Ordahl Kupperman 25 for a more fullsome description of the weather patterns. She indicates that the 1650's and 1660's were more temperate. Also, Kupperman 21 asserts that much of the 1670's was more moderate as well. Kupperman 25 concludes that these more moderate weather conditions changed

dramatically in the 1680's and 1690's when New England, along with northern Europe, felt the most intense weather of the Little Ice Age.

¹¹ Historian Alden T. Vaughan asserts that despite Winthrop's adoption of "vacuum domicilium," the Puritans did not actually seize the land outright, which has been a "persistent myth" (104). Vaughan also maintains that a second theory has gained popularity, which is just as false. The second theory alleges that the Puritans secured the land in a more subtle way by setting up agreements for sale of the land which the natives did not understand. Vaughan alleges that the second theory's assertion that the "unique concept of land tenure" held by the natives caused them to regard the sale of land as "a share in the use of the land," rather than parting with the land forever, is untrue (105). To support his view, Vaughan cites both social scientists and historians. Vaughan even maintains that there was little disparity between the colonists and natives in their views held on land tenure (105). In considering Vaughan's views on "vacuum domicilium," however, it should be noted that a guiding principle for his book, as he indicates in his preface, is to show that "the New England Puritans followed a remarkably humane, considerate, and just policy in their dealings with the Indians" (vii). In contrast, noted historians such as Francis Jennings 135-142 and Neal Salisbury 176-181 assert without any qualification that Winthrop totally embraced the philosophy of "vacuum domicilium." Some of the numerous citations made by Vaughan were Melvin R. Gilmore, "Some Indian Ideas of Property," in *Museum of the American Indian*, Heye Foundation, *Indian Notes* V (1928) 137-138; L. F. Hallett, "The Colonial Invasion of Hereditary Lands," in *Bulletin of the Massachusetts Archeological Society*, xx (1959), 34; George F. Willison, *Saints and Strangers* (New York, 1945), 319. For others cited in support, see Vaughan 105.

¹² For a discussion of the dates and materials included in Andover records, see Philip J. Greven, Jr., *Four Generations* (Ithaca and London, 1970) 10-11.

¹³ See Greven's full discussion of the difference between open-field villages in England, where inhabitants lived side by side along the streets of the village, with outlying large open fields owned by the residents as well, in contrast to enclosed-farm areas where residents on consolidated farms typically lived at a distance from one another, 42-43. Greven also notes that the fact that Andover was originally patterned upon the model of English open-field villages "eluded earlier historians of Andover," 42.

¹⁴ In particular, Francis Jennings insists that the record must be set straight concerning the invasion of Indian society and attack upon its culture by Europeans during this period. See Francis Jennings, *The Invasion of America* (Chapel Hill, 1975) for a full discussion of the various ways in which Europeans attempted to transform Native American culture. See also James Axtell, *The European And The Indian* (Oxford, 1981) specifically Chapter Three, "The Invasion Within: The Contest of Cultures in Colonial North America," 39-86.

¹⁵ Contemporary historians sometimes view Hutchinson's history, written in the eighteenth century, with the proverbial "grain of salt." The editor, Lawrence Shaw Mayo, notes that *The History of the Colony and Province of Massachusetts-Bay* (Cambridge, Massachusetts 1936) vii has as its "chief handicap" the fact that names of persons often have full names omitted (or any other identification). Mayo assures his readers, however, that to "identify these individuals and to give them background and life has been my chief purpose." With this information in mind, I found Hutchinson's history to be a rich source of contemporary detail.

Notes - Chapter Two

¹ From the Latin verb, *plango*, *plangere* - to beat; to lament, bewail; "to wring the hands," as characterized in Traupman, *The New College Latin and English Dictionary* (New York, 1966) 230.

² M. Halsey Thomas, the editor of *The Diary of Samuel Sewall*, vol. I, 1674-1708 (New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 1973) notes on page 14 that Sewall wrote this complaint in a letter dated August 5, 1712 (*L. B.* II, 5).

³ See Ann Leighton, *Early American Gardens*, "For Meate or Medicine" (Boston, 1970) 120. Leighton points out that Madam Winthrop's ailment was characterized as "a fit of the mother" derived from the Saxon word for "mother-fit." Mrs. Winthrop was herself characterized as typically ministering to the ailments of other in the colony.

⁴ See Ann Stanford 29-40 for an excellent discussion of Renaissance views which influenced Bradstreet's "The Four Elements" and "Of The Four Humours In Man's Constitution." Background for the poet's reference to the four Humours and to remedies concocted by Galenist physicians probably came from a volume printed in 1615 by Dr. Helkiah Croke, titled *Microcosmographia or a Description of the Body of Man*.

⁵ Ann Leighton, *Early American Gardens, "For Meate or Medicine"* (Boston, 1970) 191. Leighton suggests that botanists have never completely agreed upon what plants were growing in America from the beginning and what plants were brought in by the colonists. She points out that Professor Edward Tuckerman, the editor of Josselyn's 1865 edition of *New Englands Rarities Discovered*, did not agree with Josselyn, nor did one of America's earliest medical botanists, Dr. Jacob Bigelow, who apparently wrote his *Flora Bostoniensis*, published in 1814, while riding around the countryside on housecalls. However, Leighton also points out that Asa Gray's *Manual of Botany*, as expanded by M. L. Fernald and published in 1950, does not always agree with previous botanists, nor do the most modern of wildflower identification handbooks.

⁶ Ann Leighton notes that Josselyn's books offended the Puritans since he openly declared non-royalists to be "perverse spirits." Leighton, however, also notes that since Josselyn's family was known to have had Puritan inclinations, it is possible he was "merely playing it safe" politically. See pp. 45-46 for discussion on the publication of Josselyn's two books and his family background.

Notes - Chapter Three

¹ Elizabeth Wade White discusses Thomas Dudley's education in her book, *Anne Bradstreet* (New York, 1971) 30, citing the *Athenae Oxonienses*, Vol. I, 414 (1691). White indicates that "There was a 'Free School' for the teaching of Latin in Northampton, to which there came as Master, about 1585, an able young Oxford graduate named Simon Wastell, whom Anthony Wood called 'a great proficient in classical learning and Poetry'." White indicates that it is probable that Thomas Dudley would have attended this school during the time that Wastell served as "Master."

² This version of Dudley's lines from Cotton Mather's life of Dudley in the *Magnalia Christi Americana* (London, 1702; reprint ed., New York, 1972) Bk. II, 17 is the version most often cited. Another version of the poem appears in George Adlard's study of *The Sutton-Dudleys of England and the Dudleys of Massachusetts* (New York: 1862) 24 and in Harrison T. Meserole, ed. *Seventeenth-Century American Poetry* (New York: 1968) 367, which show the last line of Dudley's poem as: "Mine epitaph's—I did no hurt to thine."

³ Elizabeth Wade White 11 cites the source for the will as the Probate Court of Suffolk County, Massachusetts, Case 129.

⁴ White 13-16 points out that other theories so far put forward as to the identity of Roger Dudley's father do not provide a "credible connection with the noble Dudleys"; nor do they explain Thomas Dudley's unwillingness to make his ancestry public. Some of those other theories on Roger's father appear in *Burke's Landed Gentry* (1952) 700 and in George Adlard, *The Sutton-Dudleys of England and the Dudleys of Massachusetts* (New York: 1862) xiv, 47-50, 136-40, and Pedigrees A and D.

⁵ *The New College Latin & English Dictionary* (New York: 1966) 258 defines the Latin adverb "quondam" as "once, at one time, formerly; at times, sometimes, once in a while; some day, one day (in the future)."

⁶ White 24 cites as her source J. L. Chester and G. J. Armytage, eds. *Allegations for Marriage Liscenses issued by the Bishop of London, 1520-1610*, (1887, Harleian Society) Vol. I, 15.

⁷ White 27 cites *Arch. Ord. Malta*, Vol. 89 f^o 127. She indicates that this record also appears in a translation from the Latin, in Whitworth Porter, *History of the Knights of Malta* (1858) Vol. II, 330.

⁸ See White 37 for further details on Dudley's marriage to Dorothy Yorke in 1603, daughter of a "substantial yeoman."

⁹ See the illustration of Simon Bradstreet's portrait in Samuel Eliot Morison's *The Builders of the Bay Colony* (Boston, 1930) 323; Morison points out that the portrait was painted about 1685 and is owned by the Boston Athenaeum. Bradstreet biographer Helen Campbell *Anne Bradstreet and her time* (Boston, 1891) 25 also alludes to the Cavalier representation of Simon from the portrait in the Senate Chamber of the Massachusetts State House.

¹⁰ In his introduction to the 1867 edition, *The Works of Anne Bradstreet, In Prose and Verse* (Gloucester, Mass.) lxx John Harvard Ellis offers some intriguing historic details on Simon Bradstreet's role as a leader in the colony from the 1670's until his death in 1697. Simon was elected Governor in 1679 (at the age of seventy-six), and served in that position until the Charter was dissolved in 1686, and the Provisional Government established. When Sir Edmund Andros arrived in Boston in that year, Andros took control as Governor in Chief of all the New England territory, serving for two years of what Ellis describes as "oppression under his administration." Finally,

when the colony received news of the landing of the Prince of Orange in England, in April of 1698, there was an uprising by the colonists in Boston. Governor Andros and his followers were made prisoners. Those colonial leaders who were elected under the charter in 1686 were asked to act as a "Council of Safety." Simon Bradstreet again served as Governor during the temporary re-establishment of the old charter government until May 14, 1692, when Sir William Phipps arrived in Boston with the new charter and a commission as Governor of the Province. Even when Sir William took over as Governor, Simon Bradstreet was named first on a list of Counsellors for the New Charter.

¹¹ See the Bible, "The Book of Esther," for the story of the venerable, old Mordecai, who raised Esther (his uncle's daughter) after her parents died. Mordecai counsels Esther not to reveal that she is a Jew to King Ahasuerus (who reigned from India to Ethiopia) until she gains his favor. After Esther becomes the Queen to Ahasuerus, it is Mordecai's wise advice to Esther that helps to save the exiled Jews from destruction.

¹² While Helen Campbell's nineteenth-century biography on Anne Bradstreet, *Anne Bradstreet and her time* (Boston, 1891), includes a great many colorful details on the Bradstreets which are consistent with data from primary sources, her story of the Bradstreets sometimes takes enough liberty in the telling to be considered semi-fictional.

¹³ Morison's comments on the historic role of colonial women herbalists again underscores the close relationship of women such as Anne Bradstreet with their New World landscape.

¹⁴ Cited in *Winthrop's Journal "History of New England"*, ed. James K. Hosmer, vol. I (New York, 1908) 304. As for the value of the fine on the petitioners, the amount levied would have had quite an effect on those persons fined and on other colonists as well. Roy W. Jastram indicates in his book on the history of the pound sterling, *Silver: The Restless Metal* (New York, 1981) that the years 1623-1658 were economically troubled ones in England; it was an inflationary period with rapidly rising prices, and the purchasing power of silver was down thirty-four percent (30). England's economic situation would have been felt in its colonies.

¹⁵ The advice given to the remonstrants was taken from the Bible, I Thessalonians, IV, 11.

¹⁶ See Philip J. Greven, Jr. for a discussion of this event in the life of the Bradstreet family. Greven's book, *Four Generations* (Ithaca, 1970) 78 cites the following: Simon's deposition is recorded in the Verbatim Transcriptions of the Records of the Quarterly Courts of Essex County, Massachusetts, compiled by the W.P.A., vol. 43, 60. Simon's son, Dudley, gave a deposition concerning the matter on August 31, 1683, which is on file in the Essex County Court Papers, vol. 41, 59. These collections are located in the Clerk of the County Courts Office, County Court House, Salem, Mass.

¹⁷ Bradstreet biographer Elizabeth Wade White notes, page 357, that the Bradstreets' daughter Dorothy (wife of the Reverend Seaborn Cotton and mother of nine children) died in February of 1672. Since Dorothy was the only child of Anne Bradstreet's not to survive her and since no other elegiac poem for Dorothy has been found, it is possible that Anne was too ill to write a poem or perhaps too ill to know of Dorothy's death.

¹⁸ Elizabeth Wade White, 357, cites her source for discussion of these incidents as: *Records and Files of Quarterly Courts of Essex County*, vol. v., (Salem, 1916) 31. White points out that both young men went on to lead productive lives as good citizens. John became a farmer in Topsfield, and Dudley became a town leader in Andover, serving as "town clerk, selectman, magistrate, and deputy to the General Court, and holding the rank of colonel of militia at his death in 1702."

¹⁹ Josephine K. Piercy's *Anne Bradstreet* (New York, 1965) 92 notes that the years 1669-70 were tragic for Samuel. He was away from home when Mercy died. Although he and Mercy had five children together, only their daughter, Mercy, born in 1667, survived.

Notes-Chapter Four

¹ See Wright Chapter VII, "Instruction in Domestic Relations," and Chapter XIII, "The Popular Controversy Over Woman," both of which provide an overview of prevailing attitudes of the time.

² Discussion of "Hic Mulier" and *The Roaring Girl* is based on readings, lecture and discussion during the fall 1993 seminar with Barbara Traister at Lehigh University, Bethlehem, PA, entitled "City and Court Under Elizabeth and James."

³ See White 41; she cites as her sources: *Cal. Northants. and Rutland Wills, 1510-1652; Northants. Registry of Wills, Series I, Book VIII, 137.*

⁴ Elizabeth Wade White's extensive research on Anne Bradstreet's life turned up only the briefest of details on Dorothy Dudley such as this on 37. More typical is Josephine Piercy's comment 17 (*Anne Bradstreet*, New York: 1965) that "Nothing is known about her mother's life or character except as Anne suggests it in her epitaph for her."

⁵ See May, Chapter 1, "Barren to Infertile: Childlessness Before the Twentieth Century," 21 for further discussion on the psychological burden of infertility for early American women.

⁶ David D. Hall in *Worlds of Wonder, Days of Judgment* (New York: 1989) 77-78 discusses how crucial the doctrine of God's providence was to the Puritan way of life. Calvin had given providence "a position of prominence in the *Institutes* In the wake of Calvin, Thomas Beard assured his readers that god was immediately and actively present in the world, the ultimate force behind everything that happened."

⁷ Hall 34 cites as a source, Thomas W. Laqueur, "Toward a Cultural Ecology of Literacy in England, 1600-1850," in Daniel P. Resnick, ed., *Literacy in Historical Perspective* (Washington, D.C. 1983).

⁸ White 251 notes that *The Tenth Muse* was entered in *The Stationer's Register* for Master Stephen Bowtell, a publisher and bookseller in London, on "1st July, 1650."

⁹ Since Anne Bradstreet is the primary subject of this study, examples of verse by other women writers of the Renaissance are given only in translation. See Ann Rosalind Jones, "Surprising Fame: Renaissance Gender Ideologies and Women's Lyric" in *The Poetics of Gender* (New York: 1986) Ed. Nancy K. Miller, for original language of the these verse excerpts.

¹⁰ See Neale 400. Though first published in 1934, his biography, *Elizabeth I* (New York: 1957) is still generally regarded as a definitive study of the life of Elizabeth.

¹¹ See Antonia Fraser's discussion in *The Wives of Henry VIII* (New York: 1992) 109; she cites as sources on Vives' epistle: *Calendar of State Papers, Venetian*, III, 454; *Inventories of the Wardrobes, Plate, Chapel Stuff etc. of Henry Fitzroy, Duke of Richmond and the Wardrobe Stuff at Baynard's Castle of Katharine, Princess Dowager*, ed. J. G. Nichols. (Camden Society, 1855) xv; *Vives and the Renaissance Education of Women*, ed. Foster Watson (1912) 151.

Notes - Chapter Five

¹ See Ann Stanford's discussion of the early years of the Thomas Dudley family in *Anne Bradstreet: The Worldly Puritan* (New York, 1974) ix-xi. Stanford notes that in 1624, Thomas Dudley moved his family to Boston in Lincolnshire, where they attended church. The well-known Puritan minister, John Cotton served as minister at the church in Boston, Lincolnshire, during this time, also drawing Anne Hutchinson from twenty miles away to hear his sermons (xi).

² White (174) cites as her source the Transcript of MS. Records of First Church in Boston, 1630-87 (at the Massachusetts Historical Society, Boston) 24.

³ Elizabeth Wade white explains Stephen Winthrop's reference to "My she Cosin" in his letter, 174. Stephen's sister Mary had married Samuel Dudley, the oldest son of Dorothy and Thomas Dudley and hence, Anne Bradstreet's oldest brother.

⁴ White (174) cites the Transcript of MS. Records of First Church in Boston, 1630-87 (24).

⁵ White (176) cites the MS. Records of First Church in Boston, 25, as her source.

⁶ White (176) references the *Massachusetts Colony Records*, Vol. I, 225, as the source on the penalty for adultery.

⁷ I discuss the Renaissance gender ideology still in place at the time of Sarah's trial in chapter four of this dissertation, "Matriarchs," 6. For more background on my discussion of gender ideology see Ann Rosalind Jones, 77.

⁸ See *Winthrop's Journal* 225. Among contemporary scholars who have also cited the case of Anne Hopkins are Ivy Schweitzer, *The Work of Self-Representation* (Chapel Hill, 1991) 128, 150, 153; Wendy Martin, *An American Triptych, Anne Bradstreet, Emily Dickinson, Adrienne Rich* (Chapel Hill, 1984) 58.

⁹ I discuss Governor Endecott's unicorn's horn as a recommended cure for Margaret Winthrop's supposedly gender-related illness in chapter two of this dissertation, "Anne Bradstreet and Native American Culture," 10.

¹⁰ Gilman's story, "The Yellow Wallpaper," was written around 1890, not long after her own nervous breakdown. The story is included in Ann Charters' anthology, *The Story and Its Writer*, 4th ed. (New York, 1995)

531, with introductory comments, 530; Charlotte Perkins Gilman's personal account of her nervous breakdown, "Undergoing the Cure for Nervous Prostration, 1423; and Sandra M. Gilbert and Susan Gubar's commentary, "A Feminist Reading of Gilman's 'The Yellow Wallpaper'." 1420. Gilman's personal account of her breakdown describes the prescribed cure by the "greatest nerve specialist in the country," Dr. S. W. Mitchell of Philadelphia, who included the following in his prescription: "And never touch pen, brush, or pencil as long as you live," 1423.

¹¹ White (176) cites as her source: Will of Thomas Dudley, *Suffolk County, Massachusetts, Probate Court Records*, Vol. I, 90.

¹² Robert Keayne became fabulously wealthy as a merchant in Boston. Bernard Bailyn, the editor of *The Apologia of Robert Keayne* (which includes a detailed account of his estate, the terms of his will, and testimonies about the worthiness of his life), alleges that "jealous hypocrites" in the Boston community accused Keayne of acquiring money in corrupt ways (usury). Bailyn points out that although Keayne was hauled into court on usury charges before the whole community, he still eventually donated one third of his wealth to the town and commonwealth, vii.

¹³ In an autobiographical letter, "To My Dear Children," Anne Bradstreet comments that "It pleased God to keep me a long time without a child, which was a great grief to me and cost me many prayers and tears" (*Works*, Hensley, ed., 241). See also chapter four of this dissertation, "Matriarchs," for further discussion on the poet's feelings about motherhood.

¹⁴ In *The Apologia of Robert Keayne* (33), Anna's grandfather lays out the conditions of her inheritance upon her marriage, stipulating that she "be bestowed of some man truly fearing God and of good esteem and report of such as do fear Him. And my special charge to her is (and it should and will be of weight to her if the fear of God be placed in her heart) that she would not dare to set her affections upon any in that kind without their advice, counsel and help, viz., her father, grandmother, etc., in such a choice."

¹⁵ For a detailed account of Anna Keayne's life, beginning in 1656 when she was sixteen years old, see Edmund S. Morgan, "A Boston Heiress and Her Husbands, A True Story," *Publications of the Massachusetts Historical Society XXXIV* (1942), 499-513. Morgan presented his account of Anna's life at a meeting of the Massachusetts Historical Society, February 26, 1942.

¹⁶ Morgan (502-503) cites as his source the Massachusetts Archives, IX, 32.

¹⁷ Morgan (503) references the *Records of the Court of Assistants of the Colony of the Massachusetts Bay*, III (Boston, 1928) 67-68.

¹⁸ See Morgan (506) for additional details on these rumors, one of which asserted that Anna married Paige before Lane died. Morgan indicates that some persons in Boston alleged that they had received letters from Paige mentioning his wife, before Lane ever died.

¹⁹ Morgan (506) cites the Suffolk Files, No. 2233, paper 33.

²⁰ Morgan (507) cites the Suffolk Files, No. 2233, paper 17.

²¹ Morgan (507) references the *Massachusetts Colony Records*, IV, Part II, 309.

²² Sewall, Samuel, *Diary*, vol. I. ed. M. Halsey Thomas (New York, 1973) xxxii. Thomas' note to the text gives the following information: "Anna (Keayne) Lane Paige. Her father had married Sarah Dudley, sister of Anne, the first Mrs. Simon Bradstreet. We will encounter the gay and worldly Madam Paige later in the Diary."

²³ White (219-220) indicates that Joseph was the son of Thomas Dudley by his second wife (he remarried less than four months after Dorothy Dudley's death). Joseph lived from 1647 to 1720, was active in politics throughout his life and commissioned by King James II in 1685 as president of the colonies of Maine, New Hampshire, Massachusetts, and Rhode Island. White notes that Dudley's position was short-lived, for the "independent-minded New Englanders greatly resented having one of their own sons placed in the position of royal authority over them." Sir Edmund Andros replaced Dudley in less than a year.

²⁴ See David Hachett Fischer's overview of changes in New England during the seventeenth century in his excellent study of American cultural history, *Albion's Seed* (New York, 1989) 819-820. Fischer describes a "cultural devolution" which occurred in New England in the half-century from 1650-1700. For more on the "complex transformation" which took place in New England during the period, Fischer points to Richard L. Bushman, *From Puritan to Yankee: Character and the Social Order in Connecticut, 1690 -1765* (Cambridge, 1967) and Robert G. Pope, *The Half-Way Covenant* (Princeton, 1969).

²⁵ Darrett B. Rutman discusses these aspects of Puritanism in *American Puritanism: Faith and Practice* (Philadelphia, 1970) 114-20.

²⁶ Ann Stanford cites this commentary from D. H. Lawrence's *Studies in Classic American Literature* (Garden City, New York, 1951) in her perceptive comments on the disparity between feeling and dogma in Anne Bradstreet's poetry in her essay, "Anne Bradstreet: Dogmatist and Rebel," *Critical Essays on Anne Bradstreet*, ed. Cowell and Stanford (Boston, 1983) 76.

²⁷ Ann Rosalind Jones (92) as cited in my discussion in chapter four of this dissertation, "Matriarchs," 14.

Notes - Chapter Six

¹ Bruce G. Trigger, "Constraint and Freedom—A New Synthesis for Archeological Explanation" in *American Anthropologist* 93 (3): 551-69, qtd. in Yamin and Metheny, *Landscape Archaeology, Reading and Interpreting the American Historical Landscape* (Knoxville: University of Tennessee, 1996) xiii.

² J. Edward Hood's list of studies include: Roland Fletcher, *Social Organization and Settlement*, edited by David Green, Colin Haselgrove, and Matthew Spriggs in *British Archeological Reports, International Series No. 47ii* (Oxford, 1978) 225-40; David Harvey, *Social Justice and the City* (Baltimore, 1973) and *The Conditions of Postmodernity* (Oxford, 1989); Ian Hodder, "Postprocessual Archaeology," in *Advances in Archaeological Method and Theory*, vol. 8, edited by Michael Schiffer (Orlando 1985) 1-26 and "The Contextual Analysis of Symbolic Meanings" in *The Archeology of Contextual Meanings* (Cambridge 1987) 1-10; Susan Kus, "Matters Material and Ideal" in *Symbolic and Structured Archaeology*, edited by Ian Hodder (Cambridge, 1982) 47-62; Paul Lane, "Reordering Residues of the Past" in *Archaeology as Long Term History*, edited by Ian Hodder (Cambridge, 1987) 335-56; Daniel Miller, *Material Culture and Mass Consumption* (Oxford, 1987); Henrietta Moore, *Space, Text and Gender: An Anthropological Study of the Marakwet of Kenya* (Cambridge, 1986); Amos Rapoport, *The Meaning of the Built Environment: A Nonverbal Communication Approach* (Beverly Hills, 1982).

Notes - Chapter Seven

¹ See Richard Slotkin, *Regeneration Through Violence, The Mythology of the American Frontier, 1600-1860* (Hanover, NH, 1983) pp. 45-46 for an explanation of the Native American concept of the paternal aspect of divinity, called by the Delaware Indians, "Kickeron."

² See Alvin H. Rosenfeld, "Anne Bradstreet's 'Contemplations': Patterns of Form and Meaning," in *The New England Quarterly*, 43 (1970), 79.

³ See Frank Shuffelton, "Anne Bradstreet's 'Contemplations,' Gardens, And the Art of Memory" in *Studies In Puritan American Spirituality*, Vol. IV, Dec. 1993, pp. 25-26, for his "take" on the various camps in Bradstreet criticism. Shuffelton indicated that the following cite romantic elements in Bradstreet's work: Josephine K. Piercy, *Anne Bradstreet* (New York: Twayne, 1965), 96-101; Alvin H. Rosenfeld, "Anne Bradstreet's 'Contemplations': Patterns of Form and Meaning," *New England Quarterly*, 43 (1970), 79-96; Wendy Martin, *An American Triptych: Anne Bradstreet, Emily Dickinson, Adrienne Rich* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1984), 46, 72; Rob Wilson, *The American Sublime* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1991), 74.

Shuffelton's "rhetorical readers" are: Ann Stanford, "Anne Bradstreet as a Meditative Writer," *California English Journal*, 2 (Winter, 1966), 24-31; Stanford, "Anne Bradstreet's Emblematic Garden," in Cowell and Stanford, ed. *Critical Essays on Anne Bradstreet* (Boston: G. K. Hall, 1983), 238-253; Anne Hildebrand, "Anne Bradstreet's Quaternions and 'Contemplations,'" *Early American Literature*, 8 (1973), 125; Kenneth Requa, "Anne Bradstreet's Use of Du Bartas in 'Contemplations,'" *Essex Institute Historical Collections*, 110 (1974), 68; William J. Irvin, "Allegory and Typology 'Embrace and Greet': Anne Bradstreet's 'Contemplations,'" *Early American Literature* 10 (1975), 30-46; William J. Scheick, "The Theme, Structure, and Symbolism of Anne Bradstreet's 'Contemplations,'" *Americana*, 4 (1989), 147-55.

Shuffelton notes that all of these readers to some extent agree that Bradstreet's Puritan spiritual experience is central to "Contemplations." Specifically, Shuffelton cites Michael Clark's discussion of worldly signs and their spiritual significance in "The Honeyed Knot of Puritan Aesthetics" in *Puritan Poets and Poetics*, ed. Peter White (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1985), 70.

⁴ See J. Edward Hood, "Social Relations and the Cultural Landscape," in Yamin and Metheny, *Landscape Archaeology, Reading and Interpreting the American Historical Landscape* (Knoxville, 1996) 121-146.

⁵ Philip Wheelwright, "Semantic Approach to Myth," in Sebeok, *Myth: A Symposium* (Bloomington, 1965) 154, as referenced in Richard Slotkin, *Regeneration Through Violence*, p. 7.

⁶ Slotkin looks to Joseph L. Henderson's *Thresholds of Initiation* (Middletown, Conn., 1967) as a source for his discussion of the worlds of Moira and Themis, on pp. 11-13 of *Regeneration Through Violence*.

⁷ Here, besides J. L. Henderson's *Thresholds of Initiation* as a source for his discussion, Slotkin looks also to Joseph Campbell's *The Hero with a Thousand Faces* (New York, 1949) as referenced on, p. 12 of *Regeneration Through Violence*.

⁸ See David Underdown, *Fire From Heaven* (New Haven and London: Yale UP, 1992) for his discussion of concern over "masterless" people in strict Puritan communities during this period. Underdown maintains that this concern particularly affected women in Puritan communities since there were complaints that women were becoming immodestly assertive and inclined to rebel against the submissive role that their patriarchal society had ordained for them. On p. 263, Underdown posits that a main concern within the Puritan community throughout the seventeenth century was to keep women in their proper place.

⁹ See Perry Miller, *Errand Into the Wilderness* (Cambridge, 1956); Larzer Ziff, *Puritanism in America* (New York, 1973). See also Cecelia Tichi, *New World, New Earth* (New Haven and London, 1979) for her treatment of the Puritan mandate to improve upon the natural landscape, with its subsequent impact upon the environment.

¹⁰ For concern expressed by famous Puritan preacher Richard Mather over his "flock's" increasing appreciation of the New England landscape, see Robert Middlekauff, *The Mathers* (New York, 1971) p. 62.

¹¹ John Underhill, "Newes from America: Or, A New and Experimentall Discoverie of New England; Containing, a True Relation of Their War-like Proceedings These Two Years Past, with a Figure of the Indian Fort, or Palizado; Also a Discovery of These Places, that as Yet Have Very Few or No Inhabitants which Would Yeeld Speciall Accomodation to Such as Will Plant There" Reprinted from the London, 1638, edition. Collections of the Massachusetts Historical Society, 3rd ser. 6 (1837) 25, as quoted in Slotkin, *Regeneration Through Violence*, p. 72.

¹² Underhill, as quoted in Slotkin, p. 72.

¹³ Slotkin, p. 48, discusses the mythology of the Indian "Big House," citing Frank G. Speck, *A Study of the Delaware Indian Big House Ceremony: In Native Text Dictated by Witapanóxwe* (Harrisburg, PA, 1931) 22-24, as a source.

¹⁴ See Ann Stanford's essay, "Anne Bradstreet's Emblematic Garden," in Cowell and Stanford, ed. *Critical Essays on Anne Bradstreet* (Boston: G. K. Hall, 1983), pp. 238-240 for her discussion of the sun emblem appearing as frontispiece in Raleigh's *History of the World*, supposedly a source for Bradstreet's "The Four Monarcheys," on which the poet worked until 1666, when her Andover home was destroyed by fire. The frontispiece of the Raleigh work features the emblem of an eye surrounded by flames, labeled "Providentia." The eye hovers over a globe of the earth.

¹⁵ For commentary of "circling" aspects of Bradstreet's "Contemplations," see Robert D. Richardson, Jr., "The Puritan Poetry of Anne Bradstreet," *Texas Studies in Literature and Language* 9 (1967): 317-331, reprinted in *Critical Essays on Anne Bradstreet*. Eds. Pattie Cowell and Ann Stanford. (Boston: Twayne, 1983) 107; Rosamond Rosenmeier, *Anne Bradstreet Revisited*. (Boston: G. K. Hall, 1991) 147; Birgit Meany, "The Contemplative Art of Anne Bradstreet's 'Contemplations,'" *Studies In Puritan American Spirituality*, Vol. IV (1993) 88.

¹⁶ Kenneth Rexroth, "Classics Revisited LXI: Parkman's History," *Saturday Review of Literature*, 24 (1968) 35, as quoted in Slotkin, *Regeneration Through Violence*, 17.

¹⁷ Leo Marx, *The Machine in the Garden: Technology and the Pastoral Ideal in America* (London, 1964) 25, 29, as cited in Robert Boschman, "Anne Bradstreet and Elizabeth Bishop: Nature, Culture and Gender in 'Contemplations' and 'At the Fishhouses,'" *Journal of American Studies*. 26:2 (1992) 250.

¹⁸ Gouge's *Of Domesticall Duties*, first published in 1622, and again in 1626 and 1634, is a seven hundred page treatise on duties and pieties of marital affection, as cited in William and Malleville Haller's "The Puritan Art of Love," *Huntingdon Library Quarterly*, V (1941-42) 248.

¹⁹ Philip Wheelwright's theory on the mythmaking process is from Sebeok, *Myth: A Symposium* (Bloomington, 1965) 159.

²⁰ "Paradise within" here should be distinguished from Milton's well-known concept of a paradise within, as put forward in *Paradise Lost*. Milton, with his Puritan sympathies, put forward in *Paradise Lost* the idea that

a "paradise within" might be won after the external visible Paradise had been lost by Adam and Eve, through the process of man's internalizing God's will.

²¹ Information on publication of *Lucasta* from *Seventeenth-Century Prose and Poetry*, 2nd ed. Eds. Witherspoon and Warnke (New York, 1929) 944. Basis for commentary on relationship between the Civil War in England and Lovelace's "The Grasshopper" primarily from readings, lecture and discussion during my attendance of classes in the course, "Literature of the English Revolution" taught by Professor David Hawkes at Lehigh University during the fall of 1994. For further information on Richard Lovelace and his poetry, see also C. H. Hartmann, *The Cavalier Spirit and Its Influence on the Life and Work of Richard Lovelace* (London, 1925) and George Parfitt, *English Poetry of the Seventeenth Century* (New York 1985).

²² From *The Notebook of the Reverend John Fiske, 1644-1675*, Robert G. Pope, ed., *Publications of the Colonial Society of Massachusetts*, 47 (1974) 133; *Proceedings of the Massachusetts Historical Society*, 2nd ser. 29 (1895) 99, as quoted in Axtell's *The European And The Indian*, p.60.

Notes - Chapter Eight

¹ From *The Notebook of the Reverend John Fiske, 1644-1675*, Robert G. Pope, ed., *Publications of the Colonial Society of Massachusetts*, 47 (1974) 133; *Proceedings of the Massachusetts Historical Society*, 2nd ser. 29 (1895) 99, as quoted in Axtell's *The European And The Indian*, p.60.

² Quoted from a fragment from Sophocles' last play, *Tereus*, cited according to S. Radt's *Tragicorum Graecorum Fragmenta* editions, 595 R, (Göttinger 1985, 1977) by Timothy Gantz in *Early Greek Myth*, (Baltimore 1993) p. 241.

³ See Gantz, *Early Greek Myth*, pp. 240-41 for variations and original sources of the Philomel and Prokne mythology.

⁴ From discussion of this symbol in *Seventeenth-Century New England*, The Colonial Society of Massachusetts, (Boston, 1984) p. 156, which cites John Philips, *The Reformation of Images: Destruction of Art in England, 1535-1660*, (Berkeley, California, 1973) 27, 152, 186, 190.

⁵ Shuffelton "'Contemplations,' Gardens, And The Art Of Memory," p. 36, cites John Dixon Hunt, "Ovid in the Garden," in *Garden and Grove*, 42-58, as a source for discussion of Ovidian themes in Renaissance gardens.

Notes - Epilogue

¹ See Hill 67. Hill also notes that "Grindletonianism is the only English sect which take its name from a place rather than a person or a set of beliefs" (65). Hill contends that although Roger Brearley, the curate at Grindleton from 1615 to 1622, was important in the movement, beliefs held by the group probably antedated Brearley (66). In brief, beliefs held by the group included: "Belief in the priority of the spirit over the letter of the Bible, denial of the significance of ordination, and the possibility of living without sin, and attaining heaven in this life" (67). Also, see Hill (22-23) for an instructive discussion of Familists, members of the Family of Love who were "followers of Henry Niclaes, born in Münzer in 1502, who taught that heaven and hell were to be found in this world." They also "believed that men and women might recapture on earth the state of innocence which existed before the Fall" (22).

² Hill (163-165) notes that there "is no recognized leader or theoretician of the Ranters, and it is extremely doubtful whether there ever was a Ranter organization. As so often in the history of radical movements, the name came into existence as a term of abuse." However, between 1649 and 1651 a group existed which contemporaries called Ranters, about which certain generalizations were made. They believed that God did not regard the "actions of the outward man, but of the heart." They were often accused of wanton behavior. The one name that they did accept, "My one flesh," was intended to underscore the unity between man and all of creation.

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Ziff, Larzer. *The Career of John Cotton: Puritanism and the American Experience*. Princeton: Princeton UP, 1962.

Vita

Sandra Craig Gamble

PERSONAL BACKGROUND

Born: Chester, Pa.: February 18, 1946

Parents: Claire Delaney Craig and Walter Z. Craig; Husband: John W. Gamble IV; Daughter: Christie L. Gamble; Son: Jonathan Craig Gamble

EDUCATION

- Ph.D. American Literature; Lehigh University, May 1998
Areas of Concentration: Early American to 1899, Modern American, Seventeenth-Century British
Dissertation Director: Rose Marie Arbur
- M.A. English and American Literature; West Chester University, 1978
- B.S. Secondary Education with specialization in English; West Chester University, 1968
- Additional coursework 1985-87 - Graduate seminars and workshops sponsored by the Pennsylvania Writing Project at West Chester University
Advanced Institute on Use of Computers to Teach Writing, The Writing Process, Writing and Thinking, Holistic Assessment of Writing, and Directed Studies in Writing

PROFESSIONAL EXPERIENCE

- 1988 - present Widener University (Chester, PA). Visiting Senior Lecturer in English and then Instructor in English.
- Courses taught: American Literature of the Colonial and Early Federal Period; Freshman Honors English; Advanced Exposition And Literature; Composition And Critical Thought; Fundamentals of English.
- Also: Writing Center Faculty, 1988-1992
- Assistant Provost for the Main Campus, Widener University, 1992-present.
Director of Exploratory Studies Program (for undecided students in freshman and sophomore years), 1990- present
- 1983 - 91 University College of Widener University. Courses taught: Contemporary Literature, Writing for Business.

- 1978 - 88 Brandywine College of Widener University (Wilmington, Delaware).
- 1973 - 74 Penncrest High School, Rose Tree-Media School District.
Participated in a new writing program for students, both teaching
in the classroom and giving individualized and small group instruction.
- 1968 - 73 Indian Lane Junior High School, Rose Tree-Media School District. Taught
classes of all ability levels, from academically talented to classes with
special developmental needs.

CONFERENCE PAPERS AND PRESENTATIONS

“Silent Symbiosis: Anne Bradstreet and Native American.” Paper, the annual convention of the Northeast Modern Language Association, Philadelphia, PA, March 1997.

“William Byrd II: Sometimes “Roger” Is the Only Way to Cope with Paradise.” Paper, the annual convention of the Northeast Modern Language Association, Boston, MA, March 1995.

“Myth-Making and the Aztec Paradox.” Paper, International Conference in Literature and the Visual Arts, Atlanta, November 1994.

“Anne Bradstreet: A Tapestry of Joy and Sorrow,” Presentation for the Widener University community, Art Museum, Chester, PA, November 1993.

“Anne Bradstreet and Benjamin Franklin: One Puritan’s Conflict Translated Into an American Ethic.” Paper, the annual convention of the Northeast Modern Language Association, Philadelphia, PA, March 1993.

“‘I’m OK, You’re OK’: Collaborative Learning in Classroom and Center.” Paper, the annual Mid-Atlantic Writing Centers Association Conference, Philadelphia, PA, April 1991.

“Collaborative Learning in the Freshman Composition Class.” Paper, the annual Interstate Developmental Educators Association Conference, University of Delaware, April 1991.

“Professor, I Can’t Read Your Writing: Responding to Student Writing on Cassette.” Paper, the Eighth Annual Colloquium Sponsored by Goldey-Beacom College, Delaware, October 1991.

PUBLICATIONS

“Myth-Making and the Aztec Paradox.” *JAISA: The Journal of the Association of the Interdisciplinary Study of the Arts*, Spring 1996, pages 1-9.

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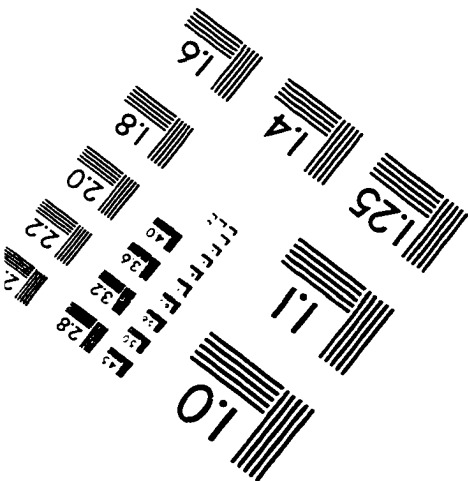
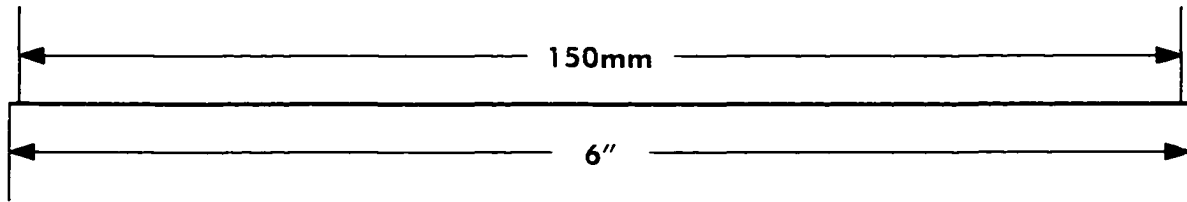
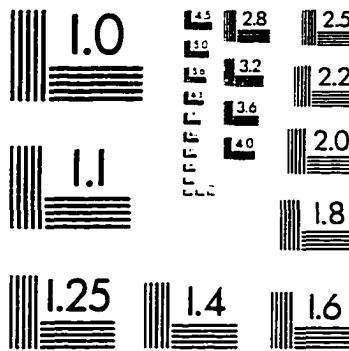
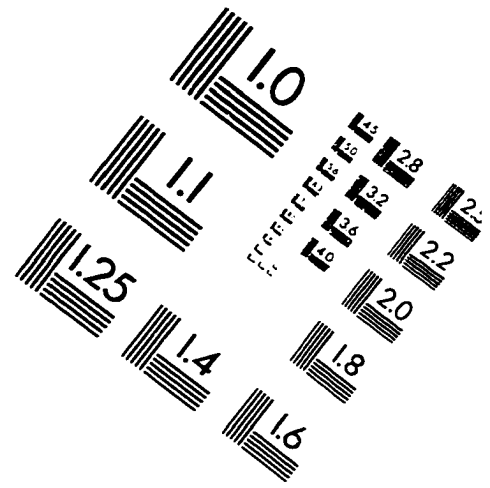
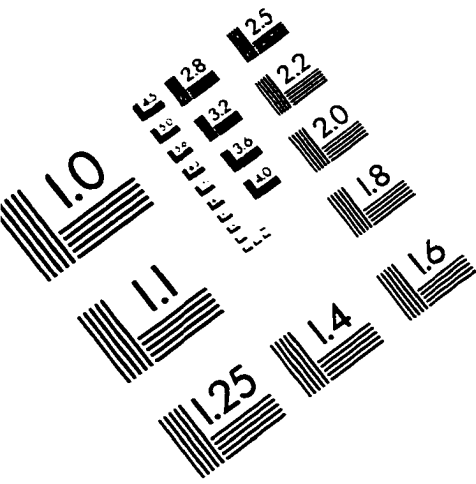
Widener University (Chester, PA)

- Admissions and Financial Aid, 1992 - present
- Student Services Committee, 1992 - present
- President's Ad Hoc Committee on Academic Calendar, 1997
- President's Task Force on Student Retention, present
- President's Ad Hoc Committee on Academic Process, present
- President's Drug and Alcohol Usage Task Force, present
- President's Task Force on Academic Advising, 1991-92.
- College of Arts and Sciences Ad Hoc Committee on Undergraduate Writing, 1990-92.
- College of Arts and Sciences Committee on Academic Honesty, 1990-91.
- English Certification Standards Committee, 1990.
- Academic Skills Program Faculty Sponsor, 1988-1991.
- Writing Faculty Committee to select best article for *The Innkeeper* (publication of the School of Hospitality Management), 1988.

Brandywine College of Widener (Delaware), 1978-88

- Academic Standards Committee (Chair for 4 years): responsible for decisions on student dismissals and suspensions in relation to academic progress
- Library, Lectures and Events Committee
- Student Life Committee
- Committee on Developmental Education
- Faculty Mentor, BC 180 Program (student retention initiative)

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