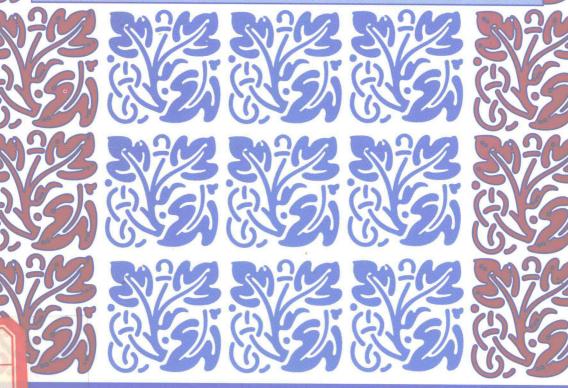
# WOMENAND THEAMERICAN THEAMERICAN EXPERIENCE SECOND EDITION



NANCY WOLOCH

### SECOND EDITION



# WOMEN and the AMERICAN EXPERIENCE



Nancy Woloch
Barnard College

McGRAW-HILL, INC.

New York St. Louis San Francisco Auckland Bogotá Caracas Lisbon London Madrid Mexico City Milan Montreal New Delhi San Juan Singapore Sydney Tokyo Toronto

### WOMEN AND THE AMERICAN EXPERIENCE

Copyright © 1994, 1984 by McGraw-Hill, Inc. All rights reserved. Printed in the United States of America. Except as permitted under the United States Copyright Act of 1976, no part of this publication may be reproduced or distributed in any form or by any means, or stored in a data base or retrieval system, without the prior written permission of the publisher.

This book is printed on acid-free paper.

7 8 9 0 DOC DOC 9 0 9 8

ISBN 0-07-071541-6

This book was set in Palatino by ComCom, Inc.
The editors were Peter Labella and Elaine Rosenberg;
the designer was Leon Bolognese;
the production supervisor was Paula Keller.
The photo editor was Fran Antman.
R. R. Donnelley & Sons Company was printer and binder.

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data

Woloch, Nancy, 1940--

Women and the American experience / Nancy Woloch. — 2nd ed.

p. cm

Includes bibliographical references and index.

ISBN 0-07-071541-6:

1. Women—United States—History. I. Title.

HQ1410.W64 1994

305.4'0973-dc20

93-11850

Excerpts, pp. 478—482: From COMING OF AGE IN MISSISSIPPI by Anne Moody. Copyright © 1968 by Anne Moody. A Dial Press Book reprinted by permission of Doubleday & Company, Inc. Excerpts, pp. 482—486: From THE FEMININE MYSTIQUE by Betty Friedan by permission of W. W. Norton & Company, Inc. Copyright © 1983, 1974, 1973, 1963 by Betty Friedan. Excerpts, pp. 486–487. From IT CHANGED MY LIFE: WRITINGS ON THE WOMEN'S MOVEMENT by Betty Friedan. Copyright © 1976 by Betty Friedan, Random House, Inc.



# WOMEN and the AMERICAN EXPERIENCE



### **ABOUT THE AUTHOR**

Nancy Woloch is the editor of Early American Women: A Documentary History, 1600–1900 (1992); coauthor of The American Century: A History of the United States Since the 1890s (4th ed., 1992), with Walter Lafeber and Richard Polenberg; and coauthor of The Enduring Vision: A History of the American People (2d ed., 1993). She teaches history and American Studies at Barnard College, Columbia University.

## **PREFACE**



Over the past quarter-century, the study of women's history has surged from a cottage industry, ignored by most professional historians, into a thriving academic enterprise. Spurred by feminist revival and the zeal of a new generation of scholars, courses in women's history have multiplied and publication has mushroomed. Scholarship within the field has been both bolstered and challenged by research on adjacent terrains, such as family history and social history. Collectively, since the late 1960s, historians of women have pursued a major revisionist mission. Not only have they made women historically visible but, by focusing on women's experience, they have uncovered a lost dimension—a distinctive world—of women's work, values, relationships, and politics. To re-create this world, historians have developed new types of data, new sets of concepts, and above all a new perspective.

Traditionally, women have been somewhere in the background of history, if not literally behind the scenes. In women's history, the stage revolves. As women move into the spotlight, the conventional stuff of texts and tests—battles and treaties, elections and tariffs—recedes to the wings. Familiar phenomena do reappear, but invariably in a new light. Westward expansion and religious revivals, depressions and wars, urbanization and immigration, turn out to have had a different impact on women than on men. The pace of history shifts as well. Since most of the changes with which women are involved are long-term, incremental changes, a new time frame is needed; old divisions into political eras no longer suffice. Most important, a new cast of characters appears. The stage now fills with daughters and widows, housewives and midwives, congregants and missionaries, domestic servants and garment workers, clubwomen, settlement workers, and suffragists. Exploring their experience reveals a new spectrum of concerns: courtship customs and marriage options, fertility patterns and child-rearing practices, dower rights and property rights, female friendship and women's networks, gender consciousness and feminist consciousness.

This book is an introduction to the history of American women, based primarily on recent scholarship. It suggests the scope of the field, the types of questions that historians have asked, and the most important themes and issues that have emerged. The focus is on women's experience in family life, economic life, and public life, with attention to the pervasive impact of class and race. Of special concern are topics that recur throughout and give women's history its distinctive character. I am interested, for instance, in women's movement into relatively empty or new areas of vocational space; in the development of female association and the significance of women's institutions; and in women's strategies, individual and collective, for acting as agents of change. I am also interested

xii Preface

in the ways in which women's experience illuminates more general phenomena and thereby alters our interpretation of history as a whole.

The chapters in this book come in pairs, each devoted to a broadly defined historical era. The first chapter of the pair is a narrative episode that concentrates on a particular individual or event, a segment of experience, that is discussed in some detail. The second chapter is a general historical survey of larger scope, a synthesis, concerning the era in which the event or experience occurred. The process of reading each pair should be something like examining a small section of a large painting or tapestry and then stepping back for a more panoramic view.

The alternation of episode and survey is not intended to separate the personal and political, which are commonly intertwined, nor to consider the experience of exceptional women apart from that of the aggregate. Rather, the goal is to illustrate the main themes of women's history in a given era by reference to the concrete and particular. My assumption is that close attention to a specific experience, even an exceptional one—whether Mary Rowlandson's captivity in 1676 or Jane Addams's invention of a career in 1889—reveals patterns and designs that pervade the larger picture as well and that these patterns are worth inspecting from different vantage points. Obviously, all the episodes also involve events or experiences that are significant in themselves. They provide an opportunity to examine women's efforts to gain leverage, exert influence, or assume control—to shape their own destinies and those of others, whether as family members or union members, institution founders or reformers.

My scheme of periodization is geared both to the long-term changes that affect women's lives and to the work that has been done in the field. The pairs of chapters in this book are divided into four large segments: colonial and revolutionary America (chapters 1–4); 1800–1860 (chapters 5–8); 1860–1920 (chapters 9–14); and America since the 1920s (chapters 15–22). Within each era, I have focused on those areas of women's history in which research and publication have been concentrated. In the period from 1860 to 1920, for instance, pairs of chapters are devoted to working-class women, to middle-class women, and to the suffrage movement; all three pairs cover the same chronological ground but each pair of chapters approaches women's experience from a different angle. On no topic is the story complete. Women's history is currently a lively area of exploration and new scholarship continually extends its terrain.

An unannotated synthesis of women's history is something like a stroll through a mine field. Since the whole subject is relatively recent and much of the research extremely recent (that is, published since the mid-1970s), there is little that can be considered "common knowledge." On the contrary, most of women's history is still uncommon knowledge. Moreover, it is very much the property of those researchers who have uncovered it. Each chapter of this book, in short, is informed by the work of many historians. In some cases, I mention my benefactors in the text. In general, I rely on the "Suggested Readings and Sources" that follow each pair of chapters and serve in lieu of footnotes. A word, therefore, about "Suggested Readings."

For each episode (the odd-numbered chapters), I cite major secondary sources and published primary sources. For each general chapter of synthesis

Preface Xiii

(the even-numbered ones), I suggest, first, a survey or surveys of the topic at hand, if any exist; and second, the major books and articles that I have used, in more or less the same order in which the chapter is organized. Additional reading suggestions are included, along with some suggestions about published primary sources. When citing articles, I give the original publication data, that is, the book or journal in which the article first appeared; many articles cited have also been republished in anthologies. For suggestions about journals, reference books, surveys, anthologies, and sources of vital statistics, see the bibliographical note at the end of the book.

Since the first edition of this book appeared in 1984, women's history has held fast as the most rapidly growing sector of American history; the rate of productivity continues to accelerate. For the revised edition, I have sought, first, to keep pace with the past decade's torrent of research and publication. Second, the revised edition reflects increased attention to diversity and ethnicity; new or enlarged segments concern, for instance, the impact of colonization on Indian women, women's roles in southwestern Hispanic communities, black women's lives in the twentieth century, and women's recent experiences as immigrants. Third, a new pair of chapters at the end of the book covers contemporary women's history. Chapter 21, the episode, discusses the immediate response to Anita Hill in the few weeks during and after the Thomas/Hill hearings in 1991, and the issue of sexual harassment. Chapter 22, the synthesis, explores major themes of women's history since 1975—feminist debates, the workplace, the family, the new immigration, and women in political life. These chapters reflect what I construe as a mainstreaming of women's history; that is, many women's concerns have recently become national concerns. Chapters 21 and 22, therefore, focus on legal issues and public policy. Finally, the revised edition appears in both a single volume and a split edition. Volume I includes chapters 1-14 (1600–1920); Volume II includes chapters 9–22 (1860 to the present). The shorter volumes, we hope, are appropriate for courses devoted, respectively, to early or modern American history.

During the years this book was in progress, I collected many debts. For their comments on the book proposal, I thank W. Elliot Brownlee, Nancy F. Cott, Anne Firor Scott, and Susan M. Hartmann. For the first edition, I am grateful to Catherine Clinton for her generous comments; to Linda S. Auwers and Patricia Cline Cohen for their perceptive advice on the manuscript; to Mari Jo Buhle, Joan Hoff, Louise Kerr, and Judith Modell for their comments on part or all of the book; and to Debra Herman, who prepared the charts and graphs. I am especially indebted to my editors at Alfred A. Knopf, Dorchen Leidholdt, Jack Wilson, and David Follmer. It was a privilege to work with them.

For the second edition, I am most grateful to Nancy A. Hewitt, Duke University, for reading the manuscript and for her helpful suggestions. For their advice on revision, I am indebted to Sharon Z. Alter, William Rainey Harper College; Patricia Cline Cohen and Mario T. Garcia, University of California, Santa Barbara; Nancy A. Hewitt, Duke University; June Sochen, Northeastern Illinois University; Jane Turner Censer, George Mason University; and Pamela Neal Warford, University of Maine at Orono. I am also indebted to Allen F. Davis and

Preface

J. Stanley Lemons for their comments and corrections. My colleagues at Barnard have been a fount of assistance. I owe special thanks to Rosalind Rosenberg and Herb Sloan, as well as to Beth Bailey, Mark Carnes, Ellen Chesler, David Farber, Eileen Glickstein, Caroline Niemczyk, and Deborah Valenze. I am grateful to my editors at McGraw-Hill—Chris Rogers, David Follmer, and Peter Labella—for their support of this book. Many thanks to my outstanding supervising editor Elaine Rosenberg and to my copy editor Norma Frankel for their wonderful work. Finally, I would like to thank my husband Isser Woloch and my sons David Woloch and Alexander Woloch. To all of the above, my immense appreciation.

Nancy Woloch

## **CONTENTS**



### Preface xi

### 1 MARY ROWLANDSON'S CAPTIVITY 1

### 2 THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY: A FRONTIER SOCIETY 15

A Necessary Good 17
Housewifery and Trade 24
Servants and Slaves 28
Indian Women and Colonizers 32
Prophets and Saints 37
Invisible Furies 42
Suggested Readings and Sources 46



### 3 ELIZA PINCKNEY AND REPUBLICAN MOTHERHOOD 50

### 4 THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY: THE EVE OF MODERNITY 63

Wives and Widows 65
Character and Capacity 70
Legal Institutions 74
Diversity of Cultures 76
The Cradle of the Revolution 80
The Pursuit of Happiness 84
Fathers and Daughters, Mothers and Sons 88
Suggested Readings and Sources 94



### 5 SARAH HALE AND THE LADIES MAGAZINE 98

### 6 PROMOTING WOMAN'S SPHERE, 1800-1860 114

The Home and the World 115
Piety and Purity 120
Academy and Common School 126
Readers and Authors 131
Factory and Mill 135
City and Frontier 142
White Women in the Antebellum South 146
Suggested Readings and Sources 149

### 

### 7 FRANCES WRIGHT AT NASHOBA 154

### 8 BENEVOLENCE, REFORM, AND SLAVERY, 1800-1860 170

Origins of Association 171

Moral Reform 175

Women in Slavery 178

Abolition and the Woman Question 185

Communitarian Alternatives and Legal Rights 190

The Women's Rights Movement 195

Suggested Readings and Sources 200



### 9 THE SHIRTWAIST STRIKE OF 1909 204 10 WOMEN AT WORK, 1860-1920 220

Civil War and Women's Work 222
The Black Experience 226
Immigrants, Cities, and Working Girls 231
Women in Industry 235
The Union Experience 240
Office, Store, and Classroom 245
Suggested Readings and Sources 248



### 11 THE FOUNDING OF HULL-HOUSE 253

### 12 THE RISE OF THE NEW WOMAN, 1860-1920 269

Shrinking Families 271
The College Woman 276
The Professional Woman 282
Clubwomen and Crusaders 287
Educated Homemakers 292
Social Housekeepers 298
Suggested Readings and Sources 302



### 13 THE CRISIS OF THE NWSA 308

### 14 FEMINISM AND SUFFRAGE, 1860-1920 326

An Independent Suffrage Movement 328
Finding a Constituency 333
The Argument over Suffrage 338
Voices on the Left 344
Peace, War, and the Woman's Party 350
Women and the Vote 355
Suggested Readings and Sources 360

### 9

### 15 DIRECT ACTION: MARGARET SANGER'S CRUSADE 364

### 16 CROSS-CURRENTS: THE 1920s 382

Feminists in Conflict 383
Aspiration and Career 389
The New Morality 396
"Pals" and "Partners" 403
Companions and Consumers 408
Contraceptive Politics 412
Suggested Readings and Sources 416

### 

### 17 HUMANIZING THE NEW DEAL, 1933 420 18 EMERGENCIES: THE 1930s AND 1940s 438

Depression Families 439
Working Women 445
Women's New Deal 450
"Front Page Woman" 456
The Impact of World War II 459
Postwar Prospects 468
Suggested Readings and Sources 473



### 19 TURNING POINTS: THE EARLY 1960s 478 20 HIGH EXPECTATIONS: 1950-1975 493

Suburban Housewives 493
Working Mothers 500
Mixed Signals 505
Black Women in Postwar America 509
Civil Rights and Women's Liberation 515
Legitimizing Feminism 523
Suggested Readings and Sources 530



### 21 THE THOMAS HEARINGS: RESPONSES TO ANITA HILL, 1991 535 22 IN SEARCH OF EQUALITY: SINCE 1975 552

Feminism at Stalemate 552 Women in the Workplace 558 Families in Transition 564 Immigration, Ethnicity, and Diversity 568 The Gender Gap 572

Contents

The Year of the Woman 576 Suggested Readings and Sources 579

Appendix 585 Bibliographical Note 595 Index 597

# CHAPTER 1 Mary Rowlandson's Captivity

"It was the dolefullest day that ever mine eyes saw," wrote Mary Rowlandson, wife of the Puritan minister at Lancaster. At daybreak on February 20, 1676, 500 Narragansetts, armed with hatchets, knives, and English guns, descended on the tiny village that lay on the edge of English settlement, thirty-five miles from Boston. Braced for attack, Lancaster's fifty or sixty families had abandoned their homes the night before and barricaded themselves in six "garrison" houses—those that were fortified with stockades. Their preparation, however, did not deter the Narragansetts. After burning the deserted homes, the Indians turned on the garrisons, climbing on roofs, shooting at the walls, bludgeoning villagers who ventured outside, and taking some prisoners. Amazingly, the first five strongholds were relatively unharmed. But the last of the garrisons, the Rowlandson house, was surrounded and besieged for two hours. And forty-two people were inside, among them forty-year-old Mary Rowlandson, her three children, two sisters, a brother-in-law, and eleven nieces and nephews.

"The house stood upon the edge of a hill," as Mary described the fateful scene. "Some of the Indians got behind the hill; others into the Barn, and others behind anything that would shelter them; from all of which places they shot against the House, so that the Bullets seemed to fly like hail." At last, the Indians set fire to the house, with flax and hemp dragged out of the barn, and the villagers inside knew their time was short. "Now is the dreadful hour come, that I have often heard of," Mary Rowlandson remembered thinking to herself. "Now mine eyes see it. Some in our house were fighting for their lives, others wallowing in their blood, the House in fire over our heads, and the Bloody Heathen ready to knock us on the head, if we stirred out." With one of her sisters, Hannah Divoll, and a group of the children, Mary tried to unlatch the heavy front door, "but the Indians shot so thick that bullets rattled against the House," and they were forced inside. The garrison's defenses seemed to have collapsed. Even six large dogs

2 Chapter 1

that were supposed to protect it turned out to be useless. "None of them would stir," said Mary, "though another time, if any Indian had come to the door, they were ready to fly upon him and tear him down."

The treachery of the dogs, in retrospect, was significant. Devout Puritans had to rely on God alone, not on dogs or muskets—or men, for that matter. "The Lord hereby would make us the more to acknowledge his hand," Mary concluded, "and to see that our help is always in him." But for the villagers crowded into the Rowlandson garrison, God seemed far away from Lancaster. It was unbearable to remain in the flames and equally unbearable to abandon the house and be surely massacred. Finally, "Out we must go, the fire increasing, and coming along behind us, roaring, and the Indians before us, their Guns, Spears, and hatchets to devour us."

As soon as Mary went out the door, she was shot in the side, and her youngest child, Sarah, whom she was carrying, in the stomach and hand. Her brother-in-law, John Divoll, who had commanded the garrison, was shot in the throat and dropped dead at once, whereupon the Indians ripped off his clothes. Her nephew William Kerley broke his leg, "which the Indians perceiving, they knockt him on the head." Her older sister, Elizabeth Kerley, came running out of the house after William and Mary, and was killed at once. "I hope she is reaping the fruit of her good labours," wrote Mary, "being faithfull to the services of God in her Place." Soon Mary was surrounded by the bodies of neighbors and relatives who had been stabbed, hacked, and shot by the Indians. One townsman who had been hit on the head with a hatchet was still crawling up and down. "There were we butchered by those merciless Heathen, standing amazed, with the blood running down to our heels. . . . It is a solemn sight to see so many Christians lying in their blood, some here, and some there, like a company of sheep torn by wolves. All of them stript naked by a company of hell hounds, roaring, singing, ranting, and insulting, as they would have torn our hearts out. Yet the Lord almighty preserved a number of us from death."

Almost all of the men in the Rowlandson garrison had been killed on the spot. But twenty-four miserable Puritans, mainly women and children, were taken prisoner by the victorious Narragansetts, and Mary Rowlandson was among them, as were her three children, her sister Hannah, and six nieces and nephews. Still clutching her younger daughter, Sarah, Mary Rowlandson was pulled off in one direction by the "barbarous creatures," while her son, Joseph, was dragged away in another, her daughter Mary in another, and Hannah in yet another. "I had often before this said, that if the Indians should come, I should chuse rather to be killed by them then taken alive," Mary wrote, "but when it came to the tryal my mind changed; their glittering weapons so daunted my spirit, that I chose rather to go along with those (as I may say) ravenous Beasts, then that moment to end my days." Leaving Lancaster behind in cinders, Mary Rowlandson began eleven weeks as captive, slave, and hostage during King Philip's War.

Mary Rowlandson's captivity, like the war itself, was an outcome of decades of English expansion, a process in which she had long been involved. Her parents, John and Joane White, were part of the great Puritan migration that

brought 10,000 people to Massachusetts Bay in the 1630s. By 1638, they had settled at Salem, the most populous town north of Boston. Mary had been born in Somersetshire, England, probably around 1635, and in Salem the family grew much larger. The Whites had nine children, six daughters and three sons, all of whom lived to be married—an astonishing survival rate. In 1653, the family left Salem for the frontier township of Lancaster, which had just been incorporated. John White, in fact, was its wealthiest founder. By moving to Lancaster, the Whites no doubt hoped to find land for their sons. The daughters found husbands.

Joseph Rowlandson, who came from Ipswich, was Lancaster's first ordained minister. Mary married him in 1656, and between 1657 and 1669, they had four children, the first of whom died in infancy. At the time of the raid, the Rowlandson's son, Joseph, was thirteen, Mary was ten, and Sarah was six. (Providentially, when the Narragansetts attacked, Joseph Rowlandson was in Boston, pleading for military protection for Lancaster, and thereby escaping almost certain death.) Other White daughters also married local men, forming a tight-knit clan. Mary's older sister Elizabeth married Henry Kerley, the town's chief military officer, who was in Boston with Joseph Rowlandson when Elizabeth was killed. Between 1657 and 1672, the Kerleys had seven children. Mary's younger sister Hannah married John Divoll, who defended the Rowlandson garrison until he was shot, and they had four children. Through their offspring, the White sisters imposed their genealogical imprint on the Massachusetts frontier. Weaving a tapestry of family names, often using those of their siblings, they populated Lancaster with Marys, Elizabeths, Hannahs, Sarahs, Johns, Henrys, Josephs, and Williams. When a child died, as had the Rowlandsons' first daughter, Mary, her name was given to a new arrival, perpetuating the ties of kinship.

The proliferation of Whites, Rowlandsons, Kerleys, and Divolls, and the incorporation of such towns as Lancaster, were part of the cause of King Philip's War. Since Mary's parents had arrived in Salem, the Puritan population had exploded. New villages had steadily been set up in rings extending westward from Boston, township adjacent to township, pushing the local tribes—Wampanoags, Narragansetts, Nipmucks—farther and farther into the interior. Lancaster, on the edge of Indian country, was a veritable symbol of English expansion. Before 1650, it had been just a fur trading post; by the 1670s, it was full of Puritan families. The Indians of southern New England, in fact, were now outnumbered. In 1676, when the Narragansetts invaded Lancaster, there were about 20,000 Indians in the region and twice as many English settlers.

While Mary White was growing up in Salem, there was relative peace with the local Indians, at least nothing like the fierce conflicts familiar to seventeenth-century Virginians. But during the summer of 1675, the tribes of New England suddenly turned hostile. Mobilized by Metacom (called Philip by the English), chief of the Wampanoags, they had started to raid Massachusetts towns, burning Swansea, besieging Brookfield, demolishing Deerfield. Although the precise cause of the war is still unclear, Philip and the English had long harbored mutual suspicions. Driven off their former land by four decades of settlement and threatened by still further expansion, the Indians had ample cause for attack.

Despite a successful English reprisal in the fall, the colonists had reason to fear new trouble, especially on the perimeter of settlement. Only a week or so before the Lancaster raid, Joseph Rowlandson and his brother-in-law Henry Kerley had embarked on their trek to Boston to warn the authorities, though to no avail. By the time companies from Marlborough and Concord reached the town, the Narragansetts had attacked and vanished. When Joseph Rowlandson finally confronted the remnants of his house and the rubble of Lancaster, he assumed that his wife and family had been slaughtered. But Mary Rowlandson had been carried off by the Indians on a perilous series of "removes" into the wilderness.

The first "remove" was barely a mile from Lancaster, where the Indians set up camp for the night and celebrated their victory. But the distance, for Mary, was far greater: She had entered an inferno and was surrounded by fiends. "The roaring, and singing, and danceing, and yelling of those black creatures in the night . . . made the place a lively resemblance of hell." Watching her captors stuff themselves with roast cattle, horses, sheep, hogs, and chickens, although all food was denied to the prisoners, Mary was overcome by a sense of loss, despair, and impending doom. "All was gone, my Husband gone (at least separated from me . . . and to my grief, the indians told me they would kill him as he came homeward), my Children gone, my relatives and Friends gone, our House . . . and home and all our comforts, within and without, all was gone (except my life) and [I] knew not but at the moment that might go too."

During the next few days her misery increased. Still starving, the ten English captives in Mary's group were forced to march westward through the snow. Wounded six-year-old Sarah, carried by a warrior, was weakening rapidly and kept moaning "I shall die, I shall die." At one point the Indians placed Mary and the child on a horse, which they promptly fell off, to the merriment of their captors. The prisoners were not fed until the third day out, when they reached Menameset, an Indian town on the Ware River. Here Mary was sold, by the Indian who had captured her, to Quinnapin, a Narragansett chief who had participated in the Lancaster raid. Quinnapin had three squaws, Mary observed, "living sometimes with one, sometimes with another." The oldest of the three offered Mary some food and a blanket and treated her with some compassion. But Mary's services were at once appropriated by Quinnapin's most recent wife, Weetamoo, a more aggressive personality and soon to become the special villain of Mary's captivity.

For the moment, however, Quinnapin and Weetamoo permitted Mary to care for Sarah, who, too weak to move, lay in her lap, moaning day and night. After a week, when it was clear that Sarah was dying, she and Mary were moved by their captors to a separate wigwam, "I suppose because they would not be troubled with such spectacles." Mary's wound was now healing, although her side had grown stiff and was difficult to move. But within a few hours Sarah was dead, of fever and starvation. Buried by the Indians, she was left behind. "I have thought since of the wonderful goodness of God to me," Mary said, "in preserving me in the use of my reason and senses, in that distressed time, that I did not use wicked and violent means to end my own miserable life."

Mary had cause to marvel at her own survival. Among her small group of