"FOR THE BENEFIT OF THE AFFLICTED?": AMERICAN CAPTIVITY NARRATIVES FROM MARY ROWLANDSON TO JESSICA LYNCH*

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Since Mary Rowlandson's book was published in 1682, captivity narratives have been extremely popular and successful, becoming a distinctively all-American genre. Over time, captivity narratives have fulfilled different goals, evolving and adapting themselves to the emergence of new formats and new media. Since the apparition of motion pictures, movies dealing with the topic of captivity are numerous, from *The Searchers* (1956) to the most recent, *Captivity* (2007). This essay examines the main characteristics of the genre and its evolution from colonial times to present-day America, in order to show how captivity narratives have changed to adjust to contemporary sensibilities. This essay also considers what uses captivity narratives have been put to and how they have changed and been modified to convey ends other than those envisaged by the authors of Puritan captivity narratives.

Keywords: *Captivity narratives, Mary Rowlandson, horror movies, 9/11.*

Desde la publicación del relato de Mary Rowlandson en 1682, las narrativas de cautiverio han gozado de una gran popularidad y ha llegado a considerárselas el género americano por antonomasia. Con el paso del tiempo, las narrativas de cautiverio han sido escritas con distintos propósitos a la vez que han evolucionado para adaptarse a nuevos formatos y medios. Son numerosas las películas que tratan el tema del cautiverio, desde *Centauros del desierto* (*The Searchers*,

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1956) a la más reciente, *Captivity*, estrenada en España bajo el título de *Captivity: Cautivos* (2007). Este artículo examina las principales características del género desde el periodo colonial hasta la época actual con el objeto de mostrar como las narrativas de cautiverio han cambiado para adaptarse a la sensibilidad contemporánea.

Palabras clave: *Narrativas de cautiverio, Mary Rowlandson, películas de terror, 11 de septiembre.*

Since Mary Rowlandson published the famous record of her captivity experience in 1682, captivity narratives have become an extremely popular and successful genre. Maybe more than any other literary genre, captivity narratives have been considered a distinctively all-American genre. Over time, they have fulfilled different goals, evolving and adapting to the emergence of new formats and new media. Since the apparition of motion pictures, movies dealing with the topic of captivity are numerous, from *The Searchers* (1956) to the most recent, *Captivity* (2007). This essay examines the main characteristics of the genre and its evolution from colonial times to present-day America, in order to show how captivity narratives have changed to adjust to contemporary sensibilities. A number of captivity narratives are analyzed, ranging from Mary Rowlandson's to the second *The X-Files* movie, *The X-Files: I Want to Believe* (2008), with the release of *Captivity* and stories about female American soldiers in Iraq in between. This essay also examines what uses captivity narratives have been put to and how they have changed and been modified to convey ends not envisaged by the authors of the first captivity narratives.

Mary Rowlandson was an Englishwoman who migrated to America with her family as a child. Married to a minister, her life seemed dull and unlikely to make it into historical records, were it not because she and her three children were taken captive in the course of a Native American attack to her home in Lancaster in February 1675. Rowlandson spent the following eleven weeks and five days among the Native Americans and underwent several removals, being separated from her children (one of whom died during captivity). Once "restored" to civilization after payment of a ransom, Rowlandson was encouraged to write an account recording her experience. Her

captivity narrative had obvious propagandistic overtones – to call for the reform of the ways of New Englanders at a moment when ministers considered that they were going morally astray from the utopian vision of the "city upon a hill."

Rowlandson's reason for attempting publication was to testify to God's sovereignty and goodness, as is stated in the original title of her account: *The sovereignty and goodness of GOD, together with the faithfulness of his promises displayed, being a narrative of the captivity and restoration of Mrs. Mary Rowlandson, commended by her, to all that desires to know the Lord's doings to, and dealings with her. Especially to her dear children and relations*. The Puritans endorsed universal literacy so that all believers could read the Bible, but, considering writing as a separate activity from reading, they deemed it unnecessary to teach women to write. That a woman should be able to write, and, moreover, should attempt entrance into the public sphere by getting published, was certainly a bold move. In the title of her account Rowlandson asserted that she had composed her work for her own private use and was later encouraged to make it available to a larger audience.

With this didactic and moral purpose in mind, Rowlandson's narrative followed the conventions of the Jeremiad – a religiously inspired text calling forth people's moral reform. The Jeremiad took its name from the biblical quotation in the book of Jeremiah – "for whom the Lord loveth he chasteneth, and scourgeth every son whom he receiveth." The Puritans believed that divine punishment was a warning from God to indicate to His people that He was displeased with their behavior. Still, the fact that He chastised them meant that He still cared for their salvation and the state of their souls.

The success of Rowlandson's captivity narrative, which went into several reprintings, prompted other former captives to follow her example and recount their experiences. Some of the most popular captivity narratives to follow Rowlandson's were those of Hannah Dunston, or Eunice and John Williams, to give but two examples.[1] In captivity narratives, "the details of the captivity itself are found to figure forth a larger, essentially religious experience; the captivity has symbolic value; and the record is made minute, direct, and concrete in order to squeeze the last bit of meaning out of the experience"

(Pearce, 1947: 2). Ministers endorsed the didactic value of captivity narratives, like the Puritan divine Increase Mather, who commented in his *Essay for the Recording of Illustrious Providences* (1684) that "several of those that were taken Captive by the *Indians* are able to relate affecting Stories concerning the gracious Providence of God, in carrying them through many Dangers and Deaths, and at last setting their feet in a large place again" (quoted in Pearce, 1947: 2). Apart from this moral purpose, captivity narratives also had an equally important function – their readers found in them a source of knowledge on Native Americans' behavior and ways (Derounian-Stodola and Levernier, 1993: 51-52); had they the misfortune of falling into Native Americans' hands, at least they would know what was to be expected.

As more and more captivity narratives were published (some of them fraudulent, fictional stories), substantial changes took place in them – more emphasis was placed on the gory details (scenes of Native Americans scalping, burning alive and raping young women were particularly favored by writers and audiences alike) and references to Divine Providence disappeared or appeared for reasons of convention rather than religious conviction. Consequently,

> the lesson – and popularity – of the 'Captivity Narratives' did not escape the attention of novelists. Sadistic tortures were as appealing to readers as the romantic musings of Noble Savages. That they learned this lesson well was amply demonstrated in the dozens of books circulated in the late eighteenth century. The red men who ravaged the frontiers in these lurid accounts were reincarnations of the Wild Men of medievalism: their faces hideously painted, their greasy hair flecked with red dust, their ears barbarously decorated with bits of tin or shell, their appetites gluttonous, their taste for drink insatiable. All were masters of the most sophisticated techniques for torturing their victims. These were described with obvious delight: the Indian woman who cut off a captive's arm and gave her children the streaming blood to drink; the victim whose body was seared with a hundred charges of gunshot then made to walk on live

> coals until he collapsed, the captive whose open wounds were filled with gunpowder which was then exploded, blowing him to bits. The savages guilty of such tortures were far from noble. (Billington, 1981: 26-27)

From being historical records and "simple, direct religious documents" (Pearce, 1947: 2), captivity narratives thus became strikingly similar to sensationalist literature. This was, in a way, the closest to Stephen King's novels seventeenth-century Americans could find, since the "Puritans could not publicly relish stories of debauchery and sin unless they were clothed in a moral objective or a spiritual lesson" (Plourde, 2007). Thus, captivity narratives were no longer being written for the moral enlightenment of the community but for sheer entertainment.

In time, captivity tales became "used in the Euro-American world in diverse ways as vehicles for reflection on larger social, religious, and ideological issues" (Ebersole, 1995: 1-2). In some cases, they were also used to praise and glorify popular American heroes; in other instances, these narratives were written to denounce Native Americans' savagery and thus counteract other, positive portrayals of Native Americans as "noble savages." In turn, the religious content and the moral purpose (and also, frequently, the element of truth) disappeared and captivity narratives became more and more formulaic, repeating and reworking the conventions of the genre (sudden Indian attack, murders and kidnappings, scalping, rapes, torture…). The fact that, after King Philip's War, the Native Americans were eventually subdued and no longer posed much of a real threat to the survival of New England colonists did not imply the end of the genre. The West, the new frontier for Americans after the Revolution, was still peopled by savage Native Americans, and thus became the new setting for captivity narratives. Captivity narratives did not disappear, they were just progressively located further westwards.

As time went by, instead of a genre with certain specific characteristics, the captivity narrative became rather a mode that could be explored by means of different genres such as eighteenth-century sentimental fiction, adventure stories, sermons, doctrinal texts… as well as different textual modes – fiction, autobiography, and, more

recently, movies too. The first cinematographic captivity narratives were westerns posing the struggle between American colonists and savage Native Americans. One of the best known examples is *The Searchers*, directed by John Ford (1956). Starring John Wayne and Natalie Wood, the movie depicts how Comanche Native Americans kill a family and kidnap the two daughters, one of whom is killed whereas the other assimilates and eventually marries a Native American. Invariably, "from seventeenth-century Massachusetts to twentieth-century Hollywood, Indian captivity has been regarded as a fate worse than death" (Calloway, quoted in Derounian-Stodola and Levernier, 1993: 2), and so it is in *The Searchers*. Because of the affront constituted by the surviving girl's assimilation to Native American life, the uncle who searches for her would rather she were dead.

Hollywood found a gold mine in the captivity narrative genre because contemporary audiences proved to be as fascinated by captivity narratives as seventeenth-century Puritan readers had been. That westerns fell out of fashion was far from causing the end of cinematographic captivity narratives. Lately, the predominant film genre used to explore captivity narratives is the horror movie. Horror movies have also contributed their share towards reinterpreting and popularizing the captivity narrative, capitalizing on the conventions of the genre. Characteristics of captivity narratives such as isolation from society, captivity at the hands of an evil being, ritual mutilation, sexual abuse, helplessness and impotence, etc., can all be easily borrowed into a horror story. The horror movie *Saw* (2004) and its six sequels[2] can be interpreted as a particular case of captivity narrative in which the captor puts his captives into a very peculiar game for their survival, in which they have to win if they want to be freed. The captives are impotent in the hands of an all-knowing and all-powerful captor (he knows what their deepest fears are, a circumstance he exploits for his own ends) who keeps them captive for unknown reasons.[3]

Closer to conventional captivity narratives than *Saw*, the most recent movie dealing with the topic of captivity up to date was very appropriately titled *Captivity*. *Captivity* plays upon the same feelings Rowlandson experienced during her captivity – the instinct for self-preservation, the impulse to run away, the thirst for freedom, the impotence of being subject to your captor, the threat to your beloved

ones (although in this case it is the protagonist's dog, not her children), etc. All these themes appear constantly in captivity narratives both then and now, be it in seventeenth-century Puritan captivity narratives or twenty-first-century Hollywood horror movies.

In traditional captivity narratives, "a single individual, usually a woman, stands passively under the strokes of evil, awaiting rescue by the grace of God" (Slotkin quoted in Castiglia, 1996: 23). Not awaiting rescue by the grace of God, but rather by the ineffectual New York Police Department, *Captivity*, as the tagline of the movie went, portrays the process of "abduction, confinement, torture, termination" of a young woman, supermodel Jennifer Tree. The aggressive publicity campaign used to advertise the movie included giant billboards featuring actress Eliza Cuthbert in these four instances of the process of captivity. The over explicit billboards caused a huge controversy, especially among pro-feminist groups. Especially outrageous in their eyes was the fact that, apparently, the whole campaign had been designed with the only aim of causing uproar and generating talk of the movie, which had received harsh reviews prior to its release (Soloway, 2007). The movie was accused of presenting "violence against women as appealing and titillating" (Cupaiuolo, 2007) and public protests managed to get the billboard campaign withdrawn. The new billboard image, featuring Cuthbert behind bars, nevertheless, also generated complaints for "marketing both sex and violence against women" (Valenti, 2007).

All in all, despite its aggressive marketing campaign, *Captivity* is not so far away from eighteenth-century captivity narratives that revelled in young maidens being tortured, scalped, burned alive or raped by Native Americans. The New York society of supermodels and nightclubs of the protagonist of *Captivity* could not be more remote Puritan New England but, at the core, captivity remains largely the same experience. Rowlandson's complacency with her own life is mirrored by Jennifer's comfortable life: she is a top model, surrounded by luxury, vanity, nightclubs and with the suggestion of sexual promiscuity. Jennifer wakes up to find herself confined to an alien environment where she becomes both a victim of rituals she cannot fully understand and a witness to the torture of other captives. Like a Puritan goodwife,[4] she is totally in the hands of a stranger. Body

mutilation, so pervasive in captivity narratives, features prominently in this horror movie, since it is a convention to be found in both genres.

Though Rowlandson put a special emphasis on the fact that she was not raped during her captivity, rape soon became a fixture in later captivity narratives in order to advance the idea that Native Americans were viciously cruel and a threat to white purity. The Puritans abhorred miscegenation and thought that having been sexually abused by Native Americans was a most hideous crime. Rape victims were further criminalized by the conservative Puritan society as being tainted and rotten. As a consequence of this, female captives were careful to assert in their captivity narratives that they had not been raped, despite the Native Americans' brutal behavior in almost all other aspects. At most, they admitted that other women had been raped, but never themselves. Fictional accounts, in particular, did relish rapes, which proved Native Americans' savagery and justify their annihilation. In a reversal of the rape motif in captivity narratives, in *Captivity* Jennifer willingly engages in a sexual encounter with a "captive" who turns out to be another captor. Though it is consented (and seemingly pleasurable), the act reads as rape retrospectively once we realize that her captive lover is actually one of the captors, the brother of the other captor.

Captivity transforms and subverts the conventions of the captivity narrative genre in order to adapt it to yet another format – the serial killer story. "Other scholars hold that the captivity narrative includes not just the Indian captivity narrative but also the slave narrative, the spiritual autobiography, and many other cognate forms that provide its genealogy (for example, the hostage account and the UFO abduction story)" (Derounian-Stodola, 1999: 243) and in *Captivity* the serial killer genre is also a valid one. The serial killer addition is not so much a novelty as a coherent development of the genre. *Captivity* is a secular rewriting of the captivity narrative genre in which God's hands are replaced by the serial killer's. Consequently, the moral purpose and the religious message, as well as God's hints about His being pleased or displeased with His chosen people, are no longer important for captivity is not intended as a warning that God's chosen people should amend their ways. In *Captivity* There is no moral

lesson to be obtained from Jennifer's trials, as the only purpose of the movie seems to be just to entertain.

"In the discourse of martyrdom, the suffering Christian achieves moral status through physical trial" (Toulouse, 1992: 658) and Rowlandson found a larger meaning in her sufferings. Religious meanings that figured prominently in Rowlandson's text are absent in *Captivity*, which lacks the religious background of Rowlandson's captivity narrative. The experience of captivity here is a matter of survival, far away from the reassuring moral lesson provided by the Puritan Jeremiad genre. From the theocratic seventeenth-century Puritan society to the twenty-first-century American society, and with the death of God as reported by Nietzsche in between, values have greatly changed. God, His prominent role in everyday life lost, does not appear in *Captivity* at all. In *Captivity*, we have an all-knowing being controlling the captives' fate and even their feelings and sentiments but it is not a supernatural being at all. The controller of all events is more in line with a bad imitator of the Orwellian Big Brother – a pervert with a video camera and a way of living his sexual fantasies in a surrogate manner through his younger brother. If the Native Americans sought the acculturation of captives into their society so as to replace dead family members, adopting them into Native American society and making them undergo a psychological transformation, in *Captivity* the idea is to make women fall in love with the male so as to get the control of both their minds and their bodies. This is an even more terrible form of kidnapping, for they become prisoners in both body and soul. Still, this is no Jeremiad; the "punishers" are sick, evil people, and there is no moral teaching to be extracted.

Rowlandson had no qualms about criticizing the ineffectual English army, which failed to prevent the attack of the Native Americans in the first place and then did not rescue her: "I cannot but remember how the Indians derided the slowness and dullness of the English army" (Rowlandson, 1997).[5] Yet, Rowlandson, given the possibility of running away, chose to stay and not leave by her own means. Instead, she chose to leave the timing of her return to civilization entirely in God's hands. For Rowlandson, "the Lord hereby would make us the more acknowledge His hand, and to see that our help is always in Him" (1997). Her passivity brought her closer to

God's designs, with which she dared not interfere. Rescue was to come by means of the army (soon proved ineffectual, however) or after the payment of rescue, but by God's will, not by Rowlandson's own willful actions. Similarly, twenty-first-century New York Police Department officers prove to be as ineffectual as their seventeenth-century counterparts were. However, Jennifer, contrary to Rowlandson, takes her fate in her hands to free herself, and deliverance comes by her own means. After her captor kills two police officers who come asking questions, Jennifer manages to escape without any external help.

Another recent movie dealing with captive females whose bodies are tortured is the second movie based on the nineties TV show *The X-Files*. Released in the summer of 2008, *The X-Files: I Want to Believe*, departed from the alien/government conspiracy of world domination that had characterized the show's run (1993-2002), and, instead, focused on a paranormal case involving the mysterious kidnappings of several women.[6] The movie features scenes of women being tortured and kept in cages before revealing a pit full of dismembered body parts. *Captivity* and *The X-Files: I Want to Believe* can be seen as both the repository of captivity narratives' tradition of having women's bodies tortured and a current trend in Hollywood movies in the same direction. Whereas violent women are presented as monsters (for example, Charlize Theron's role in *Monster*), the role appropriate to women is seemingly that of putting up with evil.

It is not only movies that exploit the conventions of captivity narratives, though. With its serial form and its almost infinitely potential storylines, the popular TV show *Lost* (2004-2010) may well be considered a captivity narrative, since its characters certainly are captive in an island. The way in which they got there is irrelevant, the important thing is that in their captivity, the protagonists cannot be themselves and have to learn to re-negotiate new identities in an environment where the parameters that usually define who we are (social status, profession, our possessions…) do not apply, just like in a captivity tale.

Apart from TV shows and movies, there still exist nowadays real life captivity narratives. Just recently, U.S. soldier Jessica Lynch's

experience in Iraq has been deemed a twenty-first-century rewriting of captivity narratives. That Lynch, following her release, denied the accuracy of official reports about her captivity and claimed that the U.S. government had spread them to promote their own agenda and make her a heroine for a cause she did not endorse, further illustrates that female captives are often denied a voice, even when they only want to tell their own story. Lynch, very much like many Puritan female captives, had her story written by a male author, a reputed voice apparently more qualified than herself to tell *her* own story. Lynch's experience (though she recalled nothing between the moment when a grenade fell upon her until she woke up in an Iraqi hospital) was turned into a book, *I am a Soldier, Too: The Jessica Lynch Story*, by Rick Bragg, a Pulitzer Price winner and a former *The New York Times* journalist who resigned after a two-week suspension because one of his articles was largely based on the research carried out by a freelancer. Especially controversial was Bragg's insistence upon stating that Lynch had been raped, though she herself had no recollection of such a thing and opposed it being included in the book.

It is remarkable and it tells us worlds about the U.S. media coverage that Lynch's best friend, a Native American female soldier, Lori Piestewa, who was killed in the course of the attack, did not receive the same coverage by the media, or the same treatment. Moreover, another female soldier captured in the same attack and rescued later than Lynch, Shoshana Johnson, the first African-American prisoner of war, hardly made it to the news, her being African-American being considered by many analysts a decisive factor. Although Johnson also got a book contract, it was later cancelled because it did not match the publishers' expectations. Also largely ignored was the captivity experience of Patrick Miller, whom Lynch called the true hero of the mission. Lynch, female, tiny, blonde, blue-eyed, engaged to an Army sergeant, from a middle-class family, born and raised in West Virginia, fitted the image of the all-American girl fighting for her country's values at a time when America was in urgent need of heroes (Mulrine, 2008).

The intense media treatment of Lynch's captivity, which bedazzled Lynch herself,[7] shows that captivity *per se* does not count; it does not sell newspapers or make it to the headlines. The goals

captivity is put to are as important (or even more) as the experience of captivity itself. No longer "for the benefit of the afflicted," captivity narratives still continue to perform an important cultural and social role in the twenty-first century. In an article published in *The New York Times*, writer Susan Faludi highlighted the connections existing between seventeenth-century Puritan captivity narratives and the post-9/11 world. Faludi argued that

> Sept. 11 cracked the plaster on that master narrative of American prowess because it so exactly duplicated the terms of the early Indian wars, right down to the fecklessness of our leaders and the failures of our military strategies. … Also restored was the defense of helpless femininity. Witness the Bush administration's much-trumpeted claims to be saving Afghan women from their burqas and Iraqi women from Saddam Hussein's "rape rooms." Or the military's much-ballyhooed "rescue" of Pvt. Jessica Lynch (albeit from a hospital whose caregivers had tried to return her to American forces, but had been driven back by American gunfire). (2007)

Some went even further than Faludi and interpreted 9/11 as a Jeremiad; thus, "Jerry Falwell pronounced that September 11 was likely a punishment for Americans' sins – particularly the sins of lesbians, gays, and the ACLU[8]" (Jones, 2009: 146).

Still, though captivity might happen to anyone, Hollywood and the media continue to give us the image of a female captive subject to a ruthless and cruel captor. Read by millions of women worldwide, "romance novels mass-marketed for women frequently feature captivity plots, while the dynamics of the captivity story, especially its exploration of the relationships between race and gender, confinement and community, inscription and collective action, continue to animate American feminist discourse" (Castiglia, 1996: 2). All in all, it seems that by and large, captivity continues to be a male business, even when suffered by women. Men are the captors and other men are also the ones who are entitled to convey in writing the females' experiences during their captivity, feeling themselves entitled to make changes

that fit their own agendas, even if these changes are in outright opposition to the females' first-hand testimony.

Why do we continue to find captivity narratives appealing? In captivity narratives, be it in the seventeenth century or in the twenty-first, we have normal people, people like us, with whom we can easily identify, put into unusual, strange contexts. The characters in *Lost* are in a sort of limbo where they cannot behave normally. Instead of living their normal lives, captives face extreme situations with no safety net, their psychological and physical integrity threatened, and their freedom suspended. As viewers, by identifying ourselves with captives, we live a surrogate experience that allows us to reflect on life, on what is really important, what one might do in such an extreme situation. The fact that, contrary to more traditional captivity narratives, modern ones lack an identifiable captor, only contributes to enhance our angst.

Thousands of people disappear daily worldwide. Only in the United States, 850,000 people disappear every year, and many are never heard of again. Captivity narratives and statistics alike tell us that we might be one of them and force us to think about what we would do. The fear of captivity has not changed much from the time Rowlandson was a captive and though the captors are no longer savage Native Americans, the same dichotomy between the captive's moral superiority and the captor's evil that inspired Puritan captivity narratives is still very much present. Despite so many rewritings and rewordings, following more or less the same conventions and patterns, people continue to find captivity narratives appealing, as the high ratings of *Lost* testify. The popularity of *Lost* and the recent release of *Captivity* make us feel almost certain that more captivity narratives are to come. Those threatening the captives are not savage Native Americans anymore, but the fear of being taken captive still exists in the popular imagination.

NOTES

[1] In this essay I will leave out captivity narratives written by non-Americans in the U.S. because of space constraints. For instance Spanish conquistador Cabeza de Vaca's *Account* could well be

described as a captivity narrative. See Gomez-Galisteo, M. Carmen. "The Conquistador Who Wrote a Captivity Narrative: Cabeza de Vaca's *Naufragios* as a Captivity Narrative." *Americana: E-Journal of American Studies in Hungary*. Vol. IV, no. 2 (2008). Available at: http://americanaejournal.hu/vol4no2/gomez-galisteo. Date of access: 9 February 2009.

[2] *Saw II* (2005), *Saw III* (2006), *Saw IV* (2007), *Saw V* (2008), *Saw VI* (2009) and *Saw VII 3D* (2010).

[3] Captivity narratives can also be found in non-American settings – *The Hole* (2001), about four British public school students who are held captive in an underground hole, is a captivity narrative too. That the students willingly decide to get into the hole at first does not prevent the story from turning into a captivity narrative once they realize they have been locked inside and cannot possibly escape.

[4] All in all, Rowlandson always played the role of a Puritan goodwife submitting to (Native American) male authority (Davis, 1992: 54).

[5] "Logan states that Rowlandson's 'wonder' at the incompetence of the English in pursuing their enemies is certainly a criticism" (MacNeil, 2005: 644).

[6] *The X-Files*, portraying the adventures of FBI Special Agents Fox Mulder and Dana Scully, who try to combine the rigidity of official procedures with the bizarre cases they investigate, soon became a worldwide phenomenon. The development and increasing popularity of the Internet, which occurred simultaneously with the original running of this TV show, all favored that the show was well-liked by people all around the world, who baptized themselves as x-philes. It is unusual that movies based on TV shows should come out when the show is still on the air – *Star Trek, The Avengers, Mission: Impossible*… and many other movies based on TV shows were filmed decades after the original TV show was cancelled. Different from other movies based on TV shows, the first *The X-Files* movie, *Fight the Future* (1998), was not only filmed while the show was still airing, but, actually, serves as a unifying device between seasons five and six (Gómez Galisteo, 2009).

[7] Lynch claimed that "I'm still confused as to why they chose to lie

and try to make me a legend when the real heroics of my fellow soldiers that day were legendary" (quoted in Mulrine, 2008).

[8] American Civil Liberties Union.

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