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The Hybridization of Home: Establishing Place Between the Garrison and the Wilderness in Mary Rowlandson's (1682) Captivity Narrative

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Abstract

Scholarship surrounding captivity narratives long agrees that the psychological and philosophical beliefs of their authors lend insight into the contemporaneous hegemonic power structures through literary forms. Looking beyond these forms to the places they describe, however, illustrates the extent to which cultural perceptions infiltrate even the mere relationships that individuals have with their environment as well as the material structures surrounding them. I focus the role of *place* in Mary Rowlandson's narrative, *The Soveraignty and Goodness of God* (1682). I argue that Rowlandson forms an attachment with the wigwam on account of her traumatic experiences while in captivity. Her displacement from Puritan culture not only uproots her geographical positionality, but also psychologically destabilizes her. Without a community and other identificatory social and material markers that associate her with her Puritan upbringing, Rowlandson is forced to form her own residence and identity anew. Through the lens of place theory and affect theory, I shift the discourse surrounding this narrative from literary forms to spatial recognition. Effectively, this study's revisioning of Rowlandson's narrative through the function of place uveils the historical misrepresentation of *place* as a Puritan-based concept, one which contributed to the erasure of indigenous heritage and cultural practices through its repeated publication.

Introduction

Published in 1682, Mary Rowlandson's text, *The Soveraignty and Goodness of God*, recounts the firsthand experience of a young Puritan woman being captured by an Algonquian tribe.[1] Set in the winter of 1675, Rowlandson writes about the violent encounter that led to her captivity, her time among Algonquian people, and her experience post-restoration.[2] During her approximately eleven-week-long captivity, Rowlandson undergoes a steady destabilization centered around the trauma of her experiences. Despite being overlayed in Biblical sentiments and God-fearing language, Rowlandson's work centers on her own feelings—at times even working against Puritan standards of stoicism. Yet, upon publishing her text, Rowlandson's story would go on to accrue immense fame and she herself would become a pillar figure in the Puritan church (Davis 1992, 50). The format and nature of her text would go on to inspire an entire genre of literature, the captivity narrative. Unique in its prevalence throughout American history, the genre is often considered by academics to be the first official "American literary form" (Derounian-Stodola 1998, xi). Despite appearing in a patriarchal society where women lacked autonomy in many ways (e.g. the right to own property), this form prioritizes their voices and their experiences.

In what follows, I concentrate on Rowlandson's presentation of *place* in her narrative and compare her descriptions to historical information regarding events that transpired at the time of her

[1] While Rowlandson was captured by individuals from the Narragansett tribe, she spent the duration of her time among people from various Indigenous tribes, all of which spoke the common dialect, or language, that has since been categorized underneath the heading of Algonquian—not to be confused with the Algonquin tribe located in the Midwest region. Presumably ignorant on this subject, Rowlandson neglects to reference these diverse tribes and the specific people among them. So as to respect the individuals within her narrative and not presume their identities, I will henceforth use the term Algonquian to refer to the people with whom Rowlandson resides.

[2] Rowlandson was held captive for approximately eleven weeks (Davis 1992, 50).

captivity as well as the archaeological function of wigwams within Algonquian culture. To begin, this study focuses on the scholarship surrounding Rowlandson's work, particularly entering at an intersection, or crossroads, between Puritan and Algonquian geographical *place* formation in the text. The remainder of the study contains three distinct parts, each of which concentrates on specific events, or moments, within Rowlandson's text, all of which are instigated by an overwhelming feeling of grief. The first section pertains to Rowlandson's traumatic association with wigwams through the early death of her child. Here, I emphasize the traumatic nature of this event and its early correlation with the wigwam structure in an *affective* manner that draws on her sense of displacement. The second section concerns Rowlandson's relationship with the wigwam. This portion of my study investigates the role of 'home' for Rowlandson, particularly as it is attributed to the wigwam. In the third section, I describe Rowlandson's newfound sense of belonging while inside of the wigwam. I assert that these feelings (and actions) are akin to those she would have experienced within her own *home*. Thus, I claim that at this point in the text Rowlandson has officially formed a relationship with the wigwam. On account of this relationship, Rowlandson obscures the actual function of these dwellings in lieu of a more Puritan perception of *place*, therefore, actively obfuscating Algonquian culture and, in effect, contributing to erosive practices regarding Indigenous people and their history.

Broaching Spaces Through the Liminality of 'Home'

> I sate much alone with a poor wounded Child in my lap, which moaned night and day, having nothing to revive the body, or chear the Spirits of her… Thus nine days I sat upon my knees, with my babe in my lap, till my flesh was raw again: my child being even ready to depart this sorrowful world, they bad me carry it out, to another Wigwam: (I suppose because they would not be troubled with such spectacles.) Whither I went with a very heavy heart, and down I sate with the picture of death in my lap. About two hours in the Night, my sweet Babe like a Lamb departed this life, on *Feb.* 18. 1675
> -Rowlandson (17)

When reading Rowlandson's work, many scholars agree that she erects a dichotomy between Puritan structures and Indigenous landscapes. On one hand, Puritan architecture presents concepts of stability through their fortification and stationary location; on the other hand, however, Indigenous spaces prove mutable due to their mobile nature and dependence on environmental factors. Though these binary readings are valuable in understanding the cultural context of Rowlandson's narrative, they confine the story by erecting harsh boundaries between Puritan and Indigenous culture. In reviewing Rowlandson's lived experiences prior to her captivity as well as her later interactions with the Algonquian wigwam, a new understanding of the text appears. Complex and multi-faceted, this reading links Rowlandson's *placeless* position after her removal from Lancaster to feelings of displacement, dispossession, and depersonalization, all of which culminate in her subsequent attachment to the wigwam. In essence, grief acts as Rowlandson's puppeteer. This melancholy motivates Rowlandson's emotional and physical transition from utter instability to a semblance of stability. The trauma Rowlandson faces at the onset of her narrative lays the groundwork for her erection of a third geographical space. This locale occupies a liminal position between either dichotomizing cultural extremity; it is neither solely Puritan nor entirely Indigenous in nature.

The precise moment in which Rowlandson develops a sense of place, or lack thereof, remains contested within recent academic discourse. Lisa Brooks (2018), a renowned historian and Indigenous studies scholar, positions Rowlandson's initial displacement from her community as a psychological, or affective, turning point in the narrative. More precisely, she notes the visceral juxtaposition between "*the* Town" and "*the* wilderness," concluding that Rowlandson's terminology erects "two spaces, diametrically opposed" (254).[3] Essentially, Brooks assigns one scene as the catalyst that contributes to resulting feelings of melancholy and isolation throughout the rest of the narrative. For Brooks, this scene pertains to Rowlandson's initial captivity—the moment where her captors forcibly remove her from Lancaster and make her trek through the frontier: "But now (the next morning) I must turn my back upon the Town, and travel with them into the vast and desolate Wilderness, I know not whither" (15). Setting up this opposition, Brooks states that, "For Rowlandson, the "wilderness" also represented a place of inner "solitude" and danger, where she could potentially "lose" her "way" (254). Indeed, Rowlandson's presentation of "*the* Town" (as noted by Brooks) connotes an overarching representation of Puritanism, stationary construction, and a sense of organization both politically and economically. Conversely, the depiction of "*the* wilderness" evokes sentiments of paganism and nomadism, both of which provide equally *unstable* elements when compared to Puritan communal formations. Founded on the necessity for responsive and adaptive change to environmental circumstances, the constant mobility of nomadic cultures reforms individuals' relationships with place. Instead of tying oneself to a specific location, Algonquian people draft a

[3] It should be noted that Brooks alludes to a third place, the 'Indian Town'; however, in regard to Brooks's perception of Rowlandson's own self-imposed spatial dichotomies within her narrative, Brooks maintains that there are two main ones. The 'Indian Town' can then be viewed as a subliminal branch of 'the wilderness.' Thus, this study focuses on these overarching labels for the sake of coherency.

more expansive relationship to a region or vast area of land. This cultural discrepancy carries over into the pagan elements of "*the* wilderness," as a place that functions outside of the Christian and Puritan God's vision, a place where the Indigenous occupants often pray to multiple deities. Accordingly, Brooks argues that Rowlandson uses either of these terms to orient herself to each respective *space*, a geographic area that reduces a region to its basic components, altogether removing it from emotions derived from an individual or community's personal attachment with the land, structure, or peoples who inhabit these spaces. By navigating Rowlandson's work in terms of these spaces, correlates "inner 'solitude' and danger" to the wilderness. This relationship is in part due to Rowlandson's experience in it during her traumatic captivity.

Rather than concentrate on space configuration, I urge for a reconsidering of *place formation* in Rowlandson's narrative. Unique to an individual, place operates on both an individual and a communal (or rather a cultural) context and, as such, cannot be properly analyzed without direct reference to an individual's background. It is important to note that Rowlandson is not yet alone at this point in the narrative, she still has her small child and is undergoing the process of being separated from her other two children. After she loses her children, Rowlandson's experience changes in the sense that the change in her lived experience is reflected through the way that her writing communicates a sense of place. The act of retrospectively commenting on places as opposed to more expansive spaces in her narrative alludes to a psychological shift instigated by trauma that Rowlandson later factors into her writing (consciously or otherwise).

Throughout her life, Rowlandson underwent a series of displacements, making her familiar with the concept and perhaps less affected by her initial captivity than the grief she

experiences when separated from her children. While Rowlandson's past experiences undermine her perception of fixed stability (i.e. geographical position), her residence at Lancaster and position as a Puritan woman present a unique perception of home, one that positions this place within a community that in itself is susceptible to violent threats. Originally born in England, Rowlandson moved to the colonies as a young child. Although there is little documentation concerning Rowlandson's long journey, it may be assumed that she was accompanied by a few close relations, such as her mother and siblings. Upon landing in Massachusetts, she and her family took up residency in Salem, later moving to Wenham. Several years later, they would situate themselves in Lancaster, where Rowlandson would soon wed Joseph Rowlandson, a Puritan minister (Breitwieser 1990, 3). Situated along the frontier, Lancaster was one of several garrisons erected in the mid-colonial period.

Historically, garrisons functioned as physical barriers between Indigenous land and colonialized settlements. Here, Brooks's *spatial* analysis of Rowlandson's narrative gains credibility, as Lancaster forms a tangible boundary between the Puritan settlement and Indigenous regions. The position and function of these stations are a manifestation of omnipresent fear and violence. In their recent work, Emily Romeo and Elaine Crane (2020) dissect the role of English Puritan women in Massachusetts during the mid-colonial period. In contrast with current sentimental perceptions of the 'home,' garrisons were heavily fortified establishments that practiced self-sustainment through various means (e.g. presence of agriculture, religion, and militia). While garrisons could consist of multiple structures, many were limited to one house. Bridget Bennett (2014), an expert on American literature and culture at the University of Leeds in England, defines these structures, noting that:

> In the case of Lancaster certain houses (including that of Rowlandson) were given the status of garrisons or garrison houses, which meant that they would protect more people

> than their usual occupants. They were structurally reinforced to assist this. The function of Rowlandson's house exceeded that of a simple dwelling place and merged with that of a fortress. (340)

Despite providing a semblance of security for its residence and any nearby settlers, these shelters were fit for war, something which did not go unnoticed by the settlers who inhabited them (92).[4] Due to their placement along the frontier, garrisons were consequently the first line of defense (and casualty) in any conflict.[5] At the time of her captivity, Rowlandson had lived in Lancaster for approximately twenty years. Whereas her life before Lancaster consisted of a series of geographical relocations, Rowlandson's approximate twenty years living within the garrison's fortified walls brought about a newfound stability—albeit one orbiting violence.[6] In this respect, garrisons were not stable, at least insofar as the fact that they did not protect their populace from the ever-present looming threat of violence both inside and outside of their architectural confines.[7] Romeo and Crane highlight the experiences of settler women during the seventeenth

[4] For the purpose of this work, I will refer to all immigrating trans-Atlantic colonists as settlers. While most of the individuals migrating to New England and the colonies were from Europe and followed Puritan ideologies, there may be some exceptions to this. To eliminate potential confusion, the term settlers will act as a blanketed label throughout this work.

[5] It should be noted that the raid on Lancaster was the first of a series of raids by Indigenous people that historians often accredit with having begun King Phillip's War (Richter 2011, 284-285) (Richter 2001, 91). Outlining this event, Richter (2011) writes that, "In late 1675, as fall turned to winter, Philip and his allies seemed nearly invincible. Fifty of the roughly ninety English towns of New England were attacked and thirteen destroyed" (284). Although these raids underscore the ever-present danger of garrisons and frontier life, Indigenous parties did not conduct them without valid reason. Leading up to these attacks, several Wampanoags had been murdered in a form of retribution, or retaliation, for the death of Sassamon, an Indigenous person whom the settlers had formed alliance with. (Richter 2011, 283-284). Upset at these murders, various Indigenous tribes retaliated. For more information on Sassamon's death, see Jill Lepore (1994). Despite maintaining a cordial relationship prior to this conflict with the Wampanoag tribe, settlers' relations with Indigenous groups were often related to trade (Richter 2011, 159). This exchange of material goods positioned settlers in an advantageous position that not only antagonized Indigenous groups, but also ignored cultural differences, which would lead to further conflicts.

[6] Breitwieser (1990) notes that Rowlandson's family relocated to Lancaster around 1653, prefacing her marriage to Joseph Rowlandson in 1656 (3).

[7] Settlers who live in garrisons found themselves in a peculiar situation, where they would have been involved in both trans-Atlantic disputes concerning trade to the New World as well as rising concerns pertaining to sovereignty and cis-Atlantic conflict, since the garrisons reside on land that infringes on Indigenous lands. For more information on garrisons, see Romeo and Crane (2020), "Chapter 3: Almost Inconceivable Foes: Anglo-American Women and Indian War," pp. 77-105. Jasmine Lellock also elucidates on the commonplace nature of violence

century in Massachusetts. The authors claim that, "While the Puritan leadership of seventeenth-century Massachusetts condemned violence between spouses and against children, servants, or neighbors, authorities were reluctant to actually intervene in household or inter-household affairs in response to violent actions alone" (16). Facing threats both inside and outside of their homes, settlers (particularly women) would have been accustomed to the looming danger of violence. They did, however, create a stable social structure filled with community members, most of whom were Puritan.

Just as Rowlandson's narrative fixates on specific instances of physical removal via captivity, so too does her entire life. At the time of her account's publication in 1682, she had already faced two rather monumental environmental displacements. Yet, several academics, including Brooks, address Rowlandson's potential confusion, disorientation, and intrapersonal crises stemming primarily from her initial captivity.[8] Unparalleled at the time of their publication, these views deployed principles of psychoanalysis as well as place formation in relation to Rowlandson's narrative. In expanding on their work, I open up the parameters for displacement—taking into account Rowlandson's lived experiences as well as her cultural background. For instance, Brooks asserts that "Rowlandson's captivity was not marked by confinement, but rather forced movement through unfamiliar space … [H]er lack of geographic knowledge made the forested landscape a prison" (255). This is true; however, Rowlandson's lack of geospatial knowledge transcends her own captivity. Since her entire life hinged on a series of removals, her constant movement within the narrative does not appear so drastic. Unlike

within garrisons in her work, emphasizing Rowlandson's use of similes in her narrative as rationalization of the "natural occurrence" of such violent actions (2009, 196).

[8] See Kathryn Zabelle Derounian (1987), Margaret H. Davis (1992), Lisa Logan (1993), and Michelle Burnham (1993).

her past experiences, however, she is not accompanied by older family members; rather it is just her and her small child. Thus, when her young daughter, Sarah, dies, Rowlandson is forced the watch the last vestige of her life pass before her eyes. She clings onto her young child, unable to cope with the oppressive feeling of abandonment that she now faces.

The grief Rowlandson endures after Sarah's death introduces a personal attachment, or connection, with her surroundings, thus, defining the wigwam as a *place* rather than a more emotionally detached or disinterested *space*. The new development of grief in her narrative is a literary turning point; it introduces an element of complexity that presents various psychological and emotional problems for Rowlandson throughout the rest of her story. Her ability to mourn, and the extent to which she is able to express her lamentation, becomes a focal point in her work. Rowlandson's efforts to function, let alone grieve, culminate in an overwhelming sense of instability—psychological, emotional, and physical. In a desperate attempt to cope with this feeling, she transforms the wigwam into a *place*.

Superficially, Rowlandson prioritizes *place* in her narrative by structuring her entire work around her 'removes,' these are instances in which Rowlandson undergoes a change in her environment. In a way, the twenty removes found in her narrative act as chapter headings, in that they supply an unofficial break in her narrative. These breaks come at seemingly random moments in her writing since they do not follow a similar pattern concerning the passage of time. Whereas Rowlandson begins her third remove with daybreak, "The morning being come," she positions her fourth remove in the same day as that described in the former section, "And now must I part with that little company that I had" (16 and 20). The lack of precise formatting among these narrational breaks is ultimately intentional, as Rowlandson relates them to "the several Removes we had up and down the Wilderness" (14). In other words, Rowlandson herself

categorizes these removes as moments of her own geographical displacement. Each time that Rowlandson finds herself traveling a significant amount or undergoing a change in her environment, she adds a break in her writing. By doing this, she intentionally draws attention to her positionality, or *placement*, throughout her time in captivity. It is worth noting how the sectionalization of removes ends upon her restoration to her husband and her Puritan community. In drawing attention to each *space* she encounters, Rowlandson highlights the unique nature of her venture as well as her surroundings. She notes the regional geography, even occasionally labeling it with its colonized titles. For instance, when beginning her eighth remove, she writes that, "On the morrow morning we must go over the River, i.e. *Connecticot*, to meet with King *Philip*" (23). Whether she gives regionally names and keystone markers, she always remarks on the diverse scenery. Rather than an unknown expanse, her characterizations of each *space* in each remove form a personal connection with the locale. One might say that her attention to detail even on the most expansive level as her narrational format highlights the value of *place*. In labeling each geographical displacement and creating personal attachment with her surrounding through cognitive recognition of visual, auditory, and sensory elements, Rowlandson forms a relationship with each *space*, therefore, forming these locations into *places.*

Lisa Brooks and Lisa Logan (1993), a specialist on early American literature at the University of Central Florida, contest the geographical and psychological significance of these removes in understanding Rowlandson's perception of place. In her work on King Philip's War, Brooks writes that, "Ironically, Rowlandson's captivity was not marked by confinement, but rather forced movement through unfamiliar space. Her description of the 'several Removes we had up and down the Wilderness' reflects a discomforting disorientation…Her lack of geographic knowledge made the forested landscape a prison" (255). Quite simply, Brooks claims

that these removes highlight Rowlandson's own instability on a literal and figurative level on account of her physically moving through the Wilderness and her "discomforting disorientation" (255). This concept entirely disregards the role of place formation for Rowlandson, in fact, Brooks actively argues against this idea. Working off this idea, Lisa Logan relates Rowlandson's removes to spatial alignment and personal identification. Logan establishes that Rowlandson "relates physical space closely to her sense of identity and value" (256). With this in mind, Logan concludes that "the daily removes she makes over rivers and mountains and through swamps and forests, mirrors the emotional, spiritual, and cultural displacements which captivity imposes on her" (257). Essentially, Logan argues for a similar "disorientation" as Brooks. It should be noted that both authors believe that the removes are significant not only on account of their geographic displacement, but also their relationship to Rowlandson's own sense of instability.

Rather than irreconcilable *spaces,* Rowlandson's narrative pivots on the incomprehensible grief she endures. Grief's role as the driving force behind Rowlandson's narrative is not an unprecedented thought. Mitchell Breitwieser (1990), a specialist on Puritan literature throughout the colonial period, emphasizes this line of thought, declaring that Rowlandson's series of removes are better understood as fluctuations of her own grieving processes. He asserts that:

> Hence the symbolic power of her decision to segment experience into successive "removes" or marches, which is not merely an organizational or heuristic convenience but instead an emblem of grief's jolting and uneven meter—pauses for gathering or collecting a spare coherence, but never long enough, precipitations back into velocity. (75)

According to Breitwieser, Rowlandson's grief can be seen as a derivative of the initial violent encounter that led to her captivity. More expansively, however, her lamentation and process of

mourning arises with (and is exacerbated by) the myriad losses that she confronts throughout her experience of captivity, as expressed in the narrative (i.e. being separated from her children). As a result, these losses directly impact Rowlandson's perception of her own captivity as well as her sense of imprisonment.

In addition to this understanding of grief in a literary context, Rowlandson's description of her lament upon losing her child presents a rather remarkable contradiction to Puritan ideologies, in that her exaggerated language concerning grief entails a loss of permanence—something which Puritans condemn. For example, Rowlandson remarks, "my heart was even overwhelmed with the thoughts of my condition…For *I* was going up and down mourning and lamenting my condition" (18). Although her statements do not appear excessive, especially considering that she just lost her youngest daughter, they do provide a glimmer of isolated passion and sorrow—emotions that Rowlandson is internalizing, as she does not describe herself in a hysterical manner. In this manner, Rowlandson is still presenting herself as a devoted Puritan—she is not outwardly indicating her grief, yet, she still confesses her emotions, which goes against Puritan customs. Breitwieser (1990) implores a rereading of Rowlandson's text through a Puritan lens, urging that this practice reveals the discrepancies between her own feelings and the mannerisms (or demeanor) enforced by the religion.[9] Where she notes her emotional experiences, Puritans urge for a suppression of these feelings. According to Puritanism, death should not be grieved—at least not for any long duration—as the deceased individuals are closer to God and their Judgement than the living and, for that reason, should be envied rather than mourned. Nonetheless, Rowlandson does grieve and for just cause. Unable to display or enact Puritan mourning practices because she is removed from her social and religious

[9] For a critical discussion on Breitwieser's book, see Julia Stern (1993).

community, Rowlandson once again relays a sense of instability. This time the instability relates to her own emotions on account of her displacement and dislodgement from Puritan cultural formations.

Rowlandson undergoes a process of spatial and psychological dissociation brought on by her trauma following the loss of Sarah, that then contributes to her sense of disidentification on account of the loss of her youngest child and her community. Kathryn Zabelle Derounian (1987) remarks on the potential psychological disassociation Rowlandson may have experienced at the loss of her child. When citing the aforementioned scene as well as Rowlandson's religious pleas thereafter, Derounian advocates for the traumatic nature of this event. She observes that, "Rowlandson underwent a deeply traumatic experience that wrought profound changes in her character" (84). This experience upholds Richard Slotkin's claims regarding Rowlandson's mental state both during and after her captivity: "Mrs. Rowlandson's experiences have marked her and left her spiritually alienated from her family … [S]he has seen through the veil that covers the face of God and cannot lose the sorrowful, necessary knowledge in the bosom of her restored family and church" (2000, 111). While these reductive views problematize the situation by limiting other factors involved in Rowlandson's captivity as well as psychoanalyzing her, the sentiments are still profound and reaffirm the immense impact of this scene on Rowlandson. Not only does Rowlandson lose her child, but in experiencing this loss, she also appears to lose a sense of self by no longer fulfilling the role of a caretaker that she had long since upheld. Though these explanations have their merits, acknowledging the role of the wigwam as well as Rowlandson's relationship with it within her narrative showcases the psychological power of grief and its outward manifestation. Ultimately, Sarah's death incited a disassociation, or absence of *self,* in Rowlandson. This traumatic event forced Rowlandson to develop an attachment with

place in the form of wigwams, so as to provide a source of stability for herself. Consequently, this newly formed relationship produces a liminal place wherein Rowlandson reasserts her identity, incorporating Indigenous concepts with Puritan ideologies. Functioning as a hybridization between these cultures, this reading of *place* as it appears within the wigwam showcases the process of assimilation and fortitude by Rowlandson—a process that provides insight into the extent of a woman's grief as well as the power of her perseverance.

Grief and Affect: Dislocation and Disidentification

Triggered by trauma and its collateral grief, Rowlandson's Puritan conception of place in addition to her own lived experiences contribute to her attachment formation towards the 'wigwam.' The connection within this structure occurs after Rowlandson loses her daughter. Here, Sarah's death both emotionally and physically severs Rowlandson's tie to her youngest child as well as her symbolic isolation from her community. Thus, her death mirrors the aforementioned detachment and displacement that Rowlandson experienced during her initial abduction. Nevertheless, her relationship with the wigwam proves paradoxical, as this architectural structure does not yield the same qualities of 'home' that Rowlandson imposes onto it. Said another way, Rowlandson's ignorance concerning Algonquian culture and practices leads her to presume the wigwam's purpose—essentially erasing its intended position in lieu of a Puritan one that functions as a form of emotional and psychological stability in response to her grief.

Prior to Sarah's death, Rowlandson remarks on the emotional trauma surrounding her initial captivity and removal from Lancaster. According to Rowlandson, her captivity was the result of an Indigenous raid on the garrison—a relatively normal occurrence for frontier life during the early colonial period.[10] The surprise attack on Lancaster by Indigenous people leads to an exchange of fire between the different parties. Caught in the middle of this scene, both Rowlandson and her daughter were wounded. Rowlandson recollects, "the bullets flying thick, one went thorow my Side, and the same (as would seem) thorow the Bowels and Hand of my

[10] See Lellock (2009, 196).

dear Child in my Arms" (13). The wounds sustained by her child during this initial moment of violence resulted in Sarah's death roughly a week later. During the proceeding days spent caring for her failing child, Rowlandson translates her feelings of inconsolable grief and guilt. She employs sorrowful language that underscores her feelings of ineptitude and worthlessness in being able to care for her increasingly deteriorating child. For example, when reflecting on a moment during her initial captivity where she cares for Sarah, Rowlandson remarks on her own powerlessness and inability to provide comfort for her daughter. She confides that, "I sate much alone with a poor wounded Child in my lap, which moaned night and day, having nothing to revive the body, or chear the Spirits of her" (17). Rowlandson quite literally has "nothing" to provide solace for her daughter. She neither possesses food, nor water, nor even bandages. At a baser level, Rowlandson cannot even comfort Sarah with toys or blankets. Later, after being evicted from the dwelling she previously inhabited alongside others, she takes up temporary residence in another wigwam. Here, she confesses to staying for two days beside her deceased child: "I cannot but take notice, how at another time I could not bear to be in the room where any dead person was, but now the case is changed: I must and could lye down by my dead Babe, side by side, all the night after" (17). The following day, however, she is pulled away to attend a meeting with her master, Quinnapin, and upon returning to the wigwam she finds her child missing. Several Indigenous people lead her to her daughter's location, to which Rowlandson states that, "I left that child in the Wilderness, and must commit it, and my self also in this Wilderness condition" (18). This passage is noteworthy because Rowlandson now places herself within the 'Wilderness' rather than outside or separate from it. She is now aligning herself with this space, a "condition" that connotes a sense of psychological, social, and environmental set of circumstances all at once. Rowlandson's association with the Wilderness (as a complex position)

cannot be captured by a spatial analysis, but must be positioned within the expansive and multi-faceted process of place formation (as previously discussed). The increased complexity involved in the later position suggests a change in her environmental perception—one brought on by the death of Sarah and the removal of her other two children. After making this announcement, Rowlandson then turns away, never looking back on Sarah's small grave.

Death itself, particularly infant mortality, was neither uncommon in the late seventeenth century nor was its association with domestic structures; however, the violent manner of Sarah's death was uncommon and partly due to this fact, natural imagery underpins Rowlandson's grief in this text.[11] During this period, both Euro-settlers and Indigenous people underwent rapid population decreases on account of several factors, disease being the frontrunner.[12] Since Puritan women traditionally occupied the domestic sphere, they were often the ones caring for their ailing relatives and loved ones.[13] So, the association of death, precisely that of infant or child death, with a domestic space for a Puritan woman would not have been altogether unfamiliar. Nonetheless, this death occurred in the "Wilderness," a location that was entirely unattached to Rowlandson's experience of Puritan community. As opposed to Lancaster, Salem, or even the individual garrison in which she inhabited, the Wilderness is not conceptualized in distinct named places. This is important because Rowlandson's entire acquaintance with the New World revolves around settlements and their precise physical locations as well as their familiar organization and appearance (i.e. architectural forms and functions). In the Wilderness, she is

[11] See Newton (2015) and (2014).

[12] Epidemics, consisting of smallpox, malaria, and yellow fever did not discriminate between either group (Richter 2001, 2011) (Kunitz 1984). Likewise, infant death was commonplace and average lifespans rounded out around thirty years old (Kunitz 1984, 562-563). For more information on the role of death during the colonial period, see Erik R. Seeman (2010).

[13] Stephanie Coontz (2006) discusses the role of seventeenth-century Puritan women, emphasizing their relationship to the household (e.g. their husband, family, and material goods) (137-142).

feeling detached from these accustomed features and designs. Thus, this area, or region, becomes a *space*—an area that lacks relationship and familiarity. Here, Lisa Brooks's understanding of 'the Wilderness' and 'the Town' is useful. Nevertheless, Brooks neither discusses what this means for Rowlandson nor how she confronts this instability. Admittedly, recognizing the association of 'the Wilderness' with the *unknown* and its inherent instability creates a mirrored representation of Rowlandson's own emotional and psychological state at this moment. She is mentally, emotionally, and geographically destabilized. Her displacement and disassociation from her community are then amplified by the trauma surrounding her daughter's death. Forced to draft a new identity for herself, Rowlandson transplants her Puritan understandings of *home* onto the wigwam. In turn, this architectural, or locale-based, stabilization constructs the foundation upon which she perceives wigwams throughout the rest of her narrative; thus, she misrepresents their cultural significance due to her recently affirmed personal connection with these dwellings via the loss of her child.

Sarah's manner of burial acts as physical evidence supporting Rowlandson's sense of alienation from community. Unable to conduct funerary sermons or grieve alongside her peers, Rowlandson was barred from participating in proper Puritan mourning practices. Literally, however, the archaeology behind Sarah's burial indicates an explicit absence of identifying information that often connects someone to a larger community or environment. At the time of Rowlandson's captivity in 1675, Puritans frequently employed stone markers in burial practices. Mitchell Breitwieser (1990) discusses this phenomenon at length, highlighting the unique nature of these quasi-gravestones. In his research, Breitwieser refers to the studies conducted by David H. Watters on stone-markers in colonial period Puritan funerary and burial practices. According to Breitwieser, Watters argues that these markers were commemorative artifacts and, as such,

they may have been an honorific for "the deaths of the members of the first generation" among several other potential reasonings for these place-markers (57). Breitwieser upholds this sentiment in his work. Whatever their rationale, their use is quite obvious; they were unobstructive and simplistic markers for the deceased. Without such a marker, a body's placement would be lost—untraceable and utterly unlocatable. Such is the situation of Sarah. Yet, Sarah's burial is worsened by the fact that she is placed outside of her community. She herself is displaced and, as a result, unidentifiable as a Puritan. In her autoethnographic discussion of teaching American culture and literature of the mid-colonial period, Suzanne O. Mitoraj (2001) analyzes the role of gravestones and grave-markers, typifying them as *community artifacts*. According to Mitoraj, these types of features and objects are a specific form of "historical artifacts," in that they represent the nation, or group, from which they were a part of (82). The uniformity of gravestones within a cemetery functions in itself as a sort of community, just as the emblems upon the gravestones present defining characteristics that further associate an individual to a larger organization. These relationships can appear in biblical quotes or artistic representations on grave-markers that tie an individual to a religion (and, thus, a community) or more simply the inscription of a family name acts as a genealogical tool that then relates that person to a more expansive group.

Without a stone marker, Sarah becomes unidentifiable and, as a result, Rowlandson will never be able to locate her daughter's body. Rowlandson has unequivocally been severed from Sarah—her daughter is no longer identifiably hers. There is no evidence relating Sarah to her mother, no physical markers or geographical proximity. This at its most literal level symbolizes Rowlandson's removal from her own familial and religious community. As mentioned in the previous section, Puritan women's identities in the seventeenth century were deeply entrenched

in family structures: the role of a wife, a mother, and a community member. Lisa Logan (1993) expands on this in great detail in her inquisitive work regarding the function of place and social positional roles in Rowlandson's narrative.[14] With this in mind, Rowlandson's loss of motherhood via the death of Sarah and removal of her two other children deprives her of visible and tangible evidence that relates her to her status as a mother—something which also connects her to her identity as a Puritan.

The emphasized seclusion presented by Rowlandson within this scene acts in a dyadic manner: it illuminates the traumatic nature of her captivity and inadvertently correlates the site of domesticity to feelings of imprisonment and lamentation. When describing her final moments with Sarah while inside the wigwam, Rowlandson never mentions the presence of other individuals. Instead, she casts a spotlight on herself and her daughter:

> Thus nine days I sat upon my knees, with my babe in my lap, till my flesh was raw again: my child being even ready to depart this sorrowful world, they bad me carry it out, to another Wigwam…Whither I went with a very heavy heart, and down I sate with the picture of death in my lap. About two hours in the Night, my sweet Babe like a Lamb departed this life…I cannot but take notice, how at another time I could not bear to be in the room where any dead person was, but now the case is changed: I must and could lye down by my dead Babe, side by side, all the night after…I did not use wicked and violent means to end my own miserable life. In the morning, when they understood that my child was dead, they sent for me home to my Masters Wigwam. (17)

[14] Lisa Logan evaluates the role of positionality in Rowlandson's text, drawing from the narrative itself as well as other primary works published during the mid-colonial period. In analyzing Rowlandson's relationship to various positions (e.g. "physical, ideological, social, discursive—that she occupies: Puritan, woman, captive, writer, wife, mother, neighbor"), Logan argues that her "captivity operates as a metaphor to reveal the position(s) she inhabits as a woman author and a gendered political subject (256). Logan claims in part that Rowlandson's lack of stability concerning both her social positionality as well as her geographical location leads to her attempt "to stabilize the meaning of her experience" (258). According to Logan, this occurs through a religious "pattern" that aligns with Puritan ideologies (258). By replicating this pattern, Logan asserts that Rowlandson "anticipates the potential for hostility toward the woman writer" and, in effect, attempts to "recuperate her former reputation and position" through her renouncement of sins (262). Nevertheless, Logan proposes that Rowlandson still assimilates to certain Wampanoag, or Algonquian customs that, in correlation with her use of religious language, present the potential for a *place* within Rowlandson's "ever-shifting "removes"" (274).

The two figures become the sole essence of the wigwam; they are all that the structure houses. Even after her daughter's death, Rowlandson fixates on their two bodies. She recollects that she lay "side by side" next to her deceased child for the entire night (17). They are perceived as intertwined, curling against one another, Rowlandson holding her daughter as though she represents the last vestige of her life. Notice the absence of other figures in Rowlandson's remarks. She only mentions the presence of other individuals at the beginning and end of her description, when she is evicted and removed from the structure both of which are symbols of rejection and connote a sense of isolation or solitude. Historically, however, this would not have been the case. Archaeological, ethnographic, and historical information all supports the fact that wigwams were communal structures. This means that wigwams would have housed at least one family unit if not more. M. Gabriel Hrynick and Matthew W. Betts (2017) emphasize this point in their publication on an archaeological excavation of a Maritime Woodland Period wigwam in Port Joli Harbour, Nova Scotia. Hrynick and Betts write that these structures, "typically housed a nuclear family and sometimes 1 or 2 grandparents or guests" (5).[15] Rowlandson's omission of other figures within this particular wigwam indicates her own psychological and emotional state at the time of Sarah's death; either Rowlandson was too consumed with her child to acknowledge the presence of others around her, or she retroactively chooses to depict her daughter and herself in an isolated manner at the time of her writing this narrative. Consciously or unconsciously, Rowlandson depicts the solitary nature of the wigwam in a sublime manner that correlates to her own mental and emotional state.

[15] For more specific information regarding wigwams and their dual function as a communal and domestic place see Hrynick, Betts, and Black (2012).

Yet, the sheltered place defined in the wigwam is quick to pass, as Rowlandson's captors quickly separate her from Sarah's lifeless body. In their burial of her child, Rowlandson becomes detached from the last tangible piece of her life. Her final memories with her daughter now solely reside inside the wigwam. Without her child's body, Rowlandson portrays herself as lost, caught in a "Wilderness," an environment that lacks both a named Puritan location and personal attachment (18). Not only does Rowlandson lack access to Algonquian language at this point in the narrative, but she also lacks knowledge from her Puritan background regarding the Wilderness and the Algonquian people located therein. Lisa Logan (1993) best summarizes this predicament when she writes that "Rowlandson is lost "in the midst" of another people and another world view, a place without recognizable markers, boundaries, or rules" (257). In other words, Rowlandson lacks various forms of access that would enable her to conceptualize the Wilderness as a geographical location.

Rowlandson's simplistic understanding of the 'Wilderness'—an understanding that works in tandem with Brooks's perception of this region is further complicated by Rowlandson's emotional intervention in the narrative. Her persona changes, becoming reserved and altogether disassociated from her surroundings. This shift occurs at the precise moment that she witnesses the freshly overturned earth, remarking that "the ground was newly digged, and there they told me they had buried it" (18).[16] All language referring to her daughter becomes depersonalized. No

[16] Although Sarah's burial appears at odds with Puritan customs on account of the absent funerary sermon, her treatment post-mortem is in congruence with Christian burial practices at this time. Not only was Sarah presumably buried without grave goods or other adornments, but she was also placed "upon the hill" (18). In analyzing a post-contact Wampanoag cemetery in Massachusetts from the early-eighteenth century, Christina J. Hodge (2005), an accredited archaeologist and researcher for Stanford University, identifies two features that indicate Christian burial practices: lack of grave goods and positioning of the body (78 and 80). Hodge notes that Christian burials tend to position bodies in alignment wit the "rising sun" on account of sentiments pertaining to "Judgement Day" (80). While it is uncertain whether the Indigenous people who buried Sarah intentionally placed her on top of a hill, it may be inferred that they were attempting to honor Sarah. It could be that this higher elevation symbolized a closer proximity to Heaven and God. Nevertheless, Rowlandson's lack of description leaves their

longer does her child possess the animation of life, but she now purely resides as an object, or "it."[17] This detachment underscores Rowlandson's grief, the potential denial of her child's loss as well as her own displacement (Derounian 1987). Foregrounded in the wigwam, Rowlandson's personal loss of both her child and her freedom culminate into an overwhelming sense of trauma and grief. At the onset of her captivity, Rowlandson remarks on her initial experience, declaring that, "to add to my grief…my Children gone, my Relations and Friends gone, our house and home, and all our comforts within door, and without, all was gone (except my life) and I knew not but the next moment that might go too" (15). Comparatively, Rowlandson is now met with the reality that one of her children is dead. The permanent quality of death opposes her earlier complaints on materiality and positionality, such as her "house and home" and the "comforts" within these places (15). Now, Rowlandson is alone and without these positions. Limiting her perspective to the wigwam allows the previous expansiveness of the 'Wilderness' to become more tangible and manageable for her. The remainder of her narrative takes shape around this structure, becoming emblematic of her captivity as well as her now solitary position within the Indigenous community. Said another way, Rowlandson (the captive) is an outsider who has now been brought inside this collective Algonquian community, but her own sense of how to occupy this "insider" position is deeply inflected with her Puritan assumptions about home, domesticity,

intentions ambiguous, but it is possible and likely that they buried Sarah out of a sign of respect for Rowlandson, since she had just lost her child.

[17] Rowlandson does refer to Sarah as 'it' in the beginning of her narrative, however, these references are in accompaniment with endearing titles and terms, such as "Babe" (15). Without this title, Rowlandson severs her personal relationship with Sarah. Sarah is no longer her 'Babe', she is the "dear Child" that is "taken away" and "left" in the Wilderness (18). Historically and religiously, Rowlandson's referral to her deceased daughter as 'it' also follows the Puritan ideology pertaining to death. For more information on the role of the soul in Puritanism, see Breitwieser (1990, 28-31).

and femininity. As a result, Rowlandson conveys her knowledge as well as her experience regarding Algonquian practices in a biased manner.[18]

Rowlandson's account of her disassociation, or detachment, from her daughter within this scene creates an affectual sense of pain that indicates the culminating moment in her sense of displacement and disidentification. According to Sara Ahmed (2014), a feminist cultural theorist, pain forms innate binaries within both the receiving individual and those witnessing the event. These binaries pertain to "internal or external" factors, essentially displacing the 'self' from its environment (24). Ahmed coins this process as *intensification* and places it in discussion with Judith Butler's concept of *materialization*. Ahmed argues for "an intimate relationship" between these two principles, in which, she announces that "it is through the intensification of pain sensations… that the effect of boundary, surface and fixity is produced" (24). Overlaying Ahmed's supposed argument onto Rowlandson's work illuminates the complexity of *place* formation within the text. Essentially, when Sarah's life ends, Rowlandson's boundaries and

[18] It is worth noting that Rowlandson did not write her narrative within a social, cultural, and political vacuum. As I argue in this work, Rowlandson's lived experiences and religious background contribute to her perception of *place* and *space*. Nevertheless, whether intentional or unintentional, these inherent biases were repeatedly published in the New World, thus, generating and perpetuating certain visions of Indigenous people. The popularity of her text and its open reception among Puritans would inaugurate a genre of literature (the captivity narrative) that shared similar political and social interpretations of Indigenous people. For instance, Hannah Dustan's 1702 narrative (as told in a Puritan sermon by Cotton Mather) positions the Abenaki people as barbaric after their violent attack on the Puritan settlement and latter demand that the captives undergo an Indigenous ceremony, or ritual, upon their arrival to "Town." Mathers states that, "they still told these poor Women, that when they came to this Town they must be Stript, and Scourg'd, and Run the *Gauntlet* through the whole Army of Indians. They said this was the *Fashion* when the Captives first came to a Town" (59-60). Mather uses their perceived violent actions (and threat to Puritan women's bodies) to justify Dustan's murder of her captors, stating that "she thought she was not forbidden by any *Law* to take away the *Life* of the *Murderers*, by whom her *Child* had been Butchered" (60). In a similar manner, Abraham Panther's late eighteenth century work describes the murder of an unnamed Indigenous person by Lady, a captive woman settler. Once again the captive's acts are justified through a detailed account of the Indigenous man's threat of bodily harm to the woman: "He then motioned to me that I must either accept of his bed or expect death for my obstinacy" (89). In both instances, the author's position affronts to Puritan women's bodies (and the subsequent unmooring of their modesty through sexual assault and violation) as a justification for an Indigenous person or persons immediate death. Said another way, the strong Puritan cultural beliefs surrounding women provides a heightened emotional response towards the Indigenous people within either story. The misrepresentation of Indigenous people within Dustan's work appears most prominently, in that Mather's portrays the cultural tradition of captive presentation into "Town" as a violent act worthy of death.

positioning of her 'self' and the space surrounding her must begin to crystallize. At first, Rowlandson describes her uncertainty and lack of wherewithal upon losing her child. She confessionally writes, "I could not sit still in this condition, but kept walking from one place to another. And as I was going along, my heart was even overwhelmed with the thoughts of my condition, and that I should have Children, and a Nation which I knew not ruled over them" (18). This precise moment marks Rowlandson's psychological torment regarding her sense of alienation. Note Rowlandson's use of the term "place" within her writing. Her previous presentation of the Wilderness focused on it as a *space*, yet, here, Rowlandson marks a precise geographical location within it.[19] The *intensification* and *affect* of her own grief incite this change in spatial awareness.

Culminating in a moment of utter despair, Rowlandson's feelings of grief soon undergo a process of *intensification* following Sarah's death. After having turned away from the fresh earth in which her captors buried Sarah, Rowlandson compares her situation to that of the biblical Jacob: "*Me* (as he said) *have ye bereaved of my Children, Joseph is not, and Simeon is not, and ye will take Benjamin also, all these things are against me*" (18).[20] Just as Jacob fears losing the rest of his children after already having lost (or perceived to have lost) Joseph, Rowlandson foresees the deaths of her two oldest children—not knowing whether they are safe or where they

[19] In fact, Rowlandson only uses the word 'place' on two separate occasions before Sarah's death both of which are in reference to a Biblical binary position of Heaven or Hell. The first usage of this term occurs at the beginning of her narrative, where upon her sister's death, Rowlandson prays for her sister's happiness in the afterlife: "I hope she is reaping the Fruit of her good Labours, being faithful to the Service of God in her Place" (13). The other use of the term place occurs after her captivity and removal. At witnessing her captor's celebration after their raid on Lancaster, Rowlandson notes that their actions, "made the place a lively resemblance of hell" (14). It is important to note that Rowlandson only imagines, or creates, a relationship between her surroundings and these Biblical places—she does not state that the area she resides in is in fact a geographical place rather it resembles her pre-conceived perception of one.

[20] Genesis 42:36 (Derounian-Stodola 1998, 341).

might be. She laments over her circumstances, reflecting that "*I* had one child dead, another in the wilderness, *I* knew not where, the third they would not let me come near to" (18). Lacking traditional Puritan marks of identity, especially as a woman, such as her 'children' and 'nation' (or rather the rule of patriarchal Puritan ministers), literally and symbolically displaces Rowlandson.[21] She altogether lacks direction and reason—she acknowledges her own aimlessness and *placeless* nature. Indeed, the word "aimless" functions in a twofold manner for Rowlandson: its literal and spatial significance as well as its psychological and emotional value. Rowlandson remarks on the former, describing herself as pacing and geographically disoriented—she neither knows "where" her son, Joseph, is located, nor where she herself is located (18). In terms of the latter, "aimless" takes on a more figurative meaning that connotes Rowlandson's own emotional state. At this moment, Rowlandson finds herself dislocated from her community and identity as a Puritan woman. Unmoored from her past comforts, she is bereft, irreconcilable, and utterly aimless.

Motivated by her grief, Rowlandson undergoes a series of events surrounding her own physical displacement as well as her emotional destabilization that consequently arouse sentiments of disassociation and disidentification. Rather than simple removes within a vast Wilderness, as Brooks alludes to, Rowlandson's journey more aptly resembles the process of mourning, as argued by Mitchell Breitwieser (1990). With this in mind, Rowlandson goes from being captive within the foreboding Wilderness to becoming aligned with it. Her view of the Wilderness as a 'condition' gives it substance and animation, the same animation that her daughter Sarah now lacks. By labeling it as such, Rowlandson also empowers it. Rowlandson

[21] Though Rowlandson later finds her son and her daughter, her children are no longer readily accessible to her and, as such, neither provide a stable sense of community nor act as ingrained, or embedded, traditional Puritan markers of identity (via motherhood).

must conduct a process of *intensification* in order to seek stability amid her turbulent grief. In other words, Rowlandson's acknowledgment of her own position and alignment within the Wilderness (due to her geographic and psychological state) exacerbates her fear and grief to the extent in which she then personally creates her own sense of *place* within the area surrounding the wigwam.

Forming an Attachment with the Wigwam

Preceding Rowlandson's attachment to the wigwam, grief incites states of displacement, destabilization, disassociation, and disidentification (also referred to as depersonalization), all of which she associates with her relocation into the wilderness and, in accordance, her loss of community. Attempting to reground herself, Rowlandson forms a relationship with the wigwam. Her desire for security roots itself in both her past experiences of displacement and her recent trauma brought on by her captivity as well as her child's death. In order for Rowlandson to develop a foundation for herself, she first undergoes tremendous loss thereby allowing her to redraft her own identity anew.

The grievous nature of this unimaginable loss of her daughter taints the inside of the wigwam—casting a macabre air over the structure and, in doing so, affects her perception of later events that take place within its confines. It is important to note that the above scene not only recalls Rowlandson's last moments with her beloved daughter, but it also relays her first acknowledgment and entrance into a physical Algonquian dwelling. On account of both these reasons, this scene provides crucial details to identify the author's traumatic association with wigwams. For, at this moment, the embodied *place* takes on the association of a burial chamber, a prison, an area of lamentation and aimlessness that consumes Rowlandson's entire being and so too persists within the room she inhabits. Tim Cresswell (2014), a leading theorist on spatial dynamics, analyzes the psychological importance of place formation through his conceptualization of *sedentarist metaphysics*: "a set of beliefs that sees place and belonging-to-place as morally worthy. Being out-of-pace is seen as weak and disruptive (Malkki 1992,

Cresswell 2006)" (26-27). In transplanting this theoretical lens onto Rowlandson's narrative, it becomes clear that Rowlandson must form a relationship with the wigwam—*ergo* situating it as a *place* within her narrative, in order for her to assuage her sense of vulnerability and, in doing so, gain stability. Said another way, Rowlandson casts her bereavement onto the wigwam due to the death of her child; this immense sense of grief contributes to her overwhelming sense that she is a pariah—both as an outcast and in occupying a low social position as a captive individual. This feeling of aimlessness contributes to her moralistic sense of self-worth and value, thus, Rowlandson forms an attachment with the wigwam itself. While her formation of place with this structure provides her with a sense of stability, it also reinvents her relationship with herself, her environment, and the people she confronts.

Aside from the morality entailed by sedentarist metaphysics, Rowlandson's aforementioned lack of community further propels her to develop her own sense of belonging through physical attachment and affiliation with the wigwam. As referenced in the previous section, Rowlandson's captivity not only removes her from the garrison and those residing within it, but it also transplants her to a position where she lacks the essential identity marker of a Puritan woman: her family. Cast into a new role and social position, Rowlandson's social network becomes barren after Sarah's loss. Tim Cresswell defines this psychological, social, and geographical upheaval through his concept of *anachorism*. Essentially, he proposes that individuals mediate their own feelings and consequently create their own identity through their formation and relationship with *place*. In effect, Cresswell claims that there are resulting psychological effects of being "'out-of-place'" in an environment (166). Overlaying this theoretical framework on Rowlandson's narrative illuminates the extent of her grief as well as the rationale behind her later misconceptions of the wigwam's function in her text on account of

her own befuddled cognition. Since Rowlandson uses the wigwam for the sole purpose of stability—reclaiming her identity, forming a community, and processing her own grief—she does have the tools or accessibility to fully comprehend Algonquian culture or actively engage within it. It is important to understand that Rowlandson's relationship with the Algonquian people is a complex one. While she is a captive individual—a person of low social and political status, she has economic value on account of her husband's willingness to negotiate a trading price for her restoration. Still, the Algonquian people do not perceive her as an individual with any particular authority. With this in mind, Rowlandson both personally lacks the knowledge about Algonquian material culture and sufficient understanding of Algonquian language that would enable her to communicate freely with all the Indigenous people around her. Thus, her relationship with the wigwam is one that is unique to her alone and neither representative of Algonquian people nor her fellow captives.

In effect, Rowlandson's formation of *place* grants her a semblance of stability as well as power in a *space* where she has lost all tethers to her previous identity and authority. Cresswell (2014) defines the "basic level" of place, as a "space invested with meaning in the context of power" (19). When applied to actual experiences, a space becomes a space when it is given a name that expresses personal attachment *via* sentimentality or normalcy, such as the name of a particular store or, more generally, the labeling of a structure or location as 'home.' Mere sentences after this scene, Rowlandson twice refers to the wigwam as a "home" (19).[22]

> The next day…the *Indians* returned from *Medfield*… By their noise and hooping they signified how many they had destroyed…Those that were with us as home, were gathered together as soon as they heard the hooping, and every time that the other went over their number, these at home gave a shout, that the very Earth rang again. And thus they

[22] "By their noise and hooping they signified how many they had destroyed: (which was at that time twenty three) Those that were with us at home, were gathered together as soon as they heard the hooping, and every time that the other went over their number, these at home gave a shout, that the very Earth rang upon" (19).

> continued till those that had been upon the expedition were come up to the Saggamores Wigwam. (19)

The distinction of 'home' and 'wigwam' directly opposes her continuous reference to their encampments as "this place" and the surrounding environment outside of the established communal quarters as "the Wilderness." Positioning the wigwam as a *place* introduces a third geographical space that dismantles the frequently cited dichotomy erected between "the Town" and "the Wilderness."[23] This allows for more complexity within Rowlandson's narrative on two counts: it underscores the omnipresence of grief by citing its inception with Sarah's death as well as the trauma that Rowlandson endures at the beginning of her captivity, and it shows an alignment between Rowlandson and her Indigenous captors. The latter affect casts a palpable layer of bias over her future descriptions of the wigwam on account of her own self-imposed relationship with the structure (see section two). Rowlandson now positions herself in a matriarchal role, one that directly opposes the position of Weetamoo, her mistress, within the wigwam as well as among the Indigenous people (I will turn to this point in the following section).

Bridget Bennett (2014) upholds the importance of Rowlandson's descriptive 'home,' arguing for its central role within the narrative as well as its mediatory value for Rowlandson as she attempts to cope with her trauma. In one striking sentence, Bennett declares that, "Home is what is lost to Rowlandson at the start of the narrative and is what she aims textually, affectively, and materially to rebuild…The reestablishment of home is of key significance to the larger process charted in her work" (328). Despite primarily focusing on Rowlandson's restoration into Puritan society after she is released from her captivity, Bennett spends a fair amount of her article discussing the role of the wigwam within Rowlandson's period of captivity. She

[23] See Brooks 2018 and Logan 1993.

particularly concentrates on the third remove (e.g. when Sarah passes away), closely analyzing Rowlandson's use of the word 'home' throughout this section. Exploring this terminology, Bennett cites several distinct scenarios in which Rowlandson employs the term 'home': at times referring "to the homeplace of another person or group of people," "to the environs of the wigwam," to specifically refer to "her master's wigwam," or to refer to Lancaster (346-347). Bennett coopts these *interchangeable* meanings of 'home' with the term "affective resonances" (347). She explains this theoretical principle through several contextual examples:

> When she returns "unsatisfied" from her son she does not sue the word *home*, but when she is treated kindly, she does. Throughout the rest of the narrative a similar pattern of alternate uses recurs…This changes regularly as her captors move frequently from place to place. The word *homeward* is used within a changing register too, reflecting her geographical location at a particular point in the narration. (347)

Understood through emotional, or *affective,* shifts, Bennett excludes the importance of place as a form of psychological stability for Rowlandson. As a geographical *place*, the wigwam becomes an intermediary *place* positioned quite literally between the Town and the Wilderness. Yet, this is not all. The wigwam is certainly a form of hybridization between two cultures and their reflective environments, but it is better understood as a physically particular space (a liminal one to be sure), though one that moves in tandem with Rowlandson. Its nomadic quality is in itself novel, as it allows for Rowlandson to seek solace within it wheresoever she may find herself, consequently allowing for her to reconceptualize herself amidst her captivity.

It is important to note that the association of 'home' to a secure structure was not a part of the Puritan cultural framework in the New World. Instead, the term 'home' evokes an intimate relationship and personal connection to a *place* as well as the individuals within or surrounding it. Widely versed in gendered spaces and place theory, Doreen Massey (1994) contends that the invocation of 'home' connotes a concept of "nostalgia and aestheticism" (10). By relating the

wigwam to 'home,' Rowlandson casts a hybridization of Puritan and Indigenous concepts onto the structure, thus, fulfilling her need for community. Insofar as her concepts of 'home' and place are inherently Puritan, Rowlandson positions them within an Indigenous context, thus relating the wigwam to her perception of 'home' (a familial location that serves as women's primary domain). Where Rowlandson may first use the word 'home' to address someone or achieve some communication with an individual or a group of individuals, the second use has a more subtle meaning that situates 'home' as a *place*. The individuals shouting in response to the warriors' tallied deaths are "at home" as opposed to those 'from home' (19). This indicates that the 'home' Rowlandson now refers to is no longer Lancaster, but rather her precise location or even the exact framework and physical architecture of the wigwam itself. This reference is not geographic; it is not a mere label or named and fixated point on a map, rather it is a more precise orientation and presence within and surrounding the wigwam.[24] Her 'home' is now geographically unstable due to its nomadism, yet its appearance is reliable and constant.

In this manner, Sarah's death functions as a catalyst that launches Rowlandson into a process of re-identification and place-building, both of which are dependent on the wigwam. Aligning herself with this structure presents a third *place* separate from the binary presented in her narrative between "the Town" and "the Wilderness." The wigwam then upholds a sort of

[24] William Hubbard's map of New England perfectly represents the psychological and compressive understanding of geography by Puritans during the late seventeenth century. First circulated alongside his work, "Narrative of the Troubles with the Indians in New-England," Hubbard's woodcut map reached the public in 1677 (Schulten 2018, 54). Most noteworthy of this map, however, would be its presentation of Puritan *place* in relation to Indigenous *spaces*. In her historical analysis of maps documenting the New World and later configuration of America, Susan Schulten (2018) underscores the socio-political underpinning of Hubbard's map. She writes that, "English villages are identified by churches or houses, icons that signify civilization. By contrast, native settlements are represented by trees, reflecting an assumption that they were an extension of nature and the landscape itself" (54). In addition to Hubbard's use of symbols to convey biased perceptions concerning the "Wilderness" (as termed by Rowlandson), he also assigns names to Puritan settlements and outposts, leaving the trees as solitary representations of Indigenous land. The fact that Hubbard not only removed the names from these Indigenous communities but altogether ignored them further reaffirms that Rowlandson herself would have neither been aware of the geography outside of Puritan communities nor the Algonquian specific terms referring to certain *places.*

amalgamation of these two locales, melding Puritan concepts of place formation with Indigenous architecture, all the while excluding Algonquian cultural practices as well as the wigwam's function within these Indigenous tribes. In forming this relationship, Rowlandson also grants herself an occasional status of authority over the Indigenous women surrounding her. Where she occasionally acquiesces to her lower social position among the Wampanoag people, she also presses back against this position through her obstinate actions and demanding language. Though she is a captive and, at times, recognizes this, she also perceives herself as a reigning figure within the wigwam. Effectively, by perceiving herself as the creator of this *place* (the wigwam), she then grants herself power that extends beyond her lowly social status and mere economic value (e.g. trade and the production of material goods).

Ascendancy and Residency as a Matriarchal Figure

Brought on by trauma, Rowlandson's attachment with the wigwam enables her the means to cope with her grief and undergo the reformative process of self-discovery. Without a Puritan community and the identification markers tying her to it, such as her husband, children, and 'House,' Rowlandson must build her identity anew, while psychologically stabilizing herself after the loss of her daughter, Sarah. This close attachment with the wigwam brings with it a newfound sense of power for Rowlandson. Viewed in another way, by claiming a relationship with the structure, Rowlandson simultaneously claims ownership over it. Thus, she readorns herself in the identity of a matriarchal figure. Since the wigwam resides in a liminal *place* separate from the Town and the Wilderness, Rowlandson is able to form her identity outside of the constraints of Puritan ideologies—allowing herself leniency and autonomy that would not have been commonplace for women in colonial settlements. Despite the freedom allowed by this in-betweenness, Rowlandson still abides in a position and environment that maintains cultural traditions and expectations. Even so, she ignores, or maintains her ignorance over, Algonquian customs. Thus, her sense of power in relation to the wigwam often broaches a display of entitlement over the surrounding Indigenous people. These instances are upheld through affectual scenes of aggression towards Rowlandson as well as her geographical placement at the time of these events.

These instances of violence steadily increase throughout her time in captivity, growing along with her own identity and sense of assurance and security. The first several instances of aggression towards Rowlandson occur when several of her Mistress's house members ask her to

find another abode for several nights, since "they had company (they said) come in more than their own" (28). Instead of leaving, Rowlandson argues with her captors and attempts to justify her position within this particular wigwam. She recounts her obstinance in a defiant manner, asserting that:

> I told them I could not tell where to go, they bade me go look: I told them, if I went to another *Wigwam* they would be angry, and send me home again. Then one of the Company drew his Sword, and told me he round run me through if I did not go presently. Then was I fain to stoop to this rude fellow, and to go out in the Night, I knew not whither. (28)

It is important to critically evaluate Rowlandson's language here. At this point in the narrative, she has spent several weeks among the Algonquian people and has even formed relationships with various families outside of Quinnapin's (her Master's) household. Just two removes earlier, Rowlandson describes venturing to another wigwam in search of extra food for herself: "being hungry, *I* went again back to the place we were before at, to get something to eat" (27). Prior to this instance, she describes herself going amongst the wigwams searching for sustenance yet again, she remarks, "But I was fain to go and look after something to satisfie my hunger: and going among the Wigwams, I went into one" (27). But in the above quotation she writes about a sense of aimlessness. She does not know "where to go" or "whither" she should go, something which she has never before feared (28). Later in her narrative, Rowlandson once again demonstrates her attachment with this structure by exhibiting frustration at being made to leave it. She writes that after Weetamoo's child fell ill, she was again asked to sleep in another wigwam, at which she recounts, "That night they bade me go out of the Wigwam again: my Mistresses *Papoos* was sick, and it died that night; and there was one benefit in it, that there was more room" (32). Rowlandson only appears to care about her own comfort and convenience. She admits that she "could not much condole" with the family's loss, since she spent "Many

sorrowful days…often getting alone" (33). Once again, reaffirming her orientation and relationship with the wigwam. When losing Sarah, Rowlandson was left with her child's body for the entire night (17). She faced a sense of abandonment and lacked a community with which she could mourn. In consequence of this, she has become defensive and built a wall around herself, a structure, if you will, in the form of the wigwam. Thus, when the presumably Indigenous house members ask her to leave the structure, she becomes defensive and reverts to a feeling of displacement because she is disconnected from her the very structure that provides stabilization for her.

Rowlandson's sense of attachment and authority in the wigwam results in actual bouts of violence for her both inside of her Mistress's (Weetamoo's) household and outside, among other Indigenous structures. In terms of the former position, Rowlandson repeatedly describes her own ardent refusal to obey her Mistress's instructions while in captivity. For instance, during her time among the Algonquian people, Rowlandson notes that she took up sewing as an occupation. She remarks on her various projects as well as the popularity that they brought her. According to Rowlandson, she was paid for these projects by her captors; however, on one specific occasion, she refuses to repurpose her apron into a "flap" for an Algonquian woman's child (31). She writes that:

> The Maid told me, if *I* would not give her a piece, she would tear a piece off it: I told her I would tear her Coat then: with that my Mistress rises up: and takes up a stick big enough to have killed me, and struck at me with it, but *I* stept out, and she struck the stick into the Mat of the Wigwam. But while she was pulling of it out, *I* ran to the Maid and gave her all my Apron, and so that storm went over. (31)

Just as she refused to leave to wigwam in the previous quotation, Rowlandson refuses to obey the maid's request even ignoring Weetamoo's insistence that she forsakes part of her apron, only succumbing to their demands after being threatened with violence (e.g. the sword and the stick).

Upon witnessing this threatening power, Rowlandson cows to the individual's demands—presumably being 'put back in her place' both literally and figuratively. Since Rowlandson appears to be acting in an autonomous manner by rejecting their orders and asserting her own opinion— "I told her I would tear her Coat then"—it can be assumed that she finds herself to have some power of her own, an authority with which she asserts her own opinions. Nevertheless, this authority is quickly overturned at the introduction of these violent objects. Thus, her position as a woman with matriarchal stances seems to be overridden by the establishment of a patriarchal figure. Notice too how, prior to this scene, Rowlandson calls Quinnapin, her Master, her best friend: "My Master being gone, who seemed to me the best Friend that I had of an *Indian*" (28). In this manner, Rowlandson drafts a relationship with the patriarchal figure and yet disavows herself from the primary matriarchal figure of Weetamoo—challenging her Mistress's power in lieu of her own. The act of Rowlandson positioning herself alongside Quinnapin while also antagonizing Weetamoo further indicates that she viewed herself as an equal or superior to that of Weetamoo, ultimately making her a rival as the matriarch within the wigwam.

It is important to understand that Rowlandson's concept of a matriarchal figure is entirely Puritan and, in effect, disjointed from the Algonquian, or Wampanoag, sentiments surrounding matriarchy. As mentioned in the previous sections, Rowlandson frames her identity around several social and positional markers: motherhood, family, and religion. Through these Puritan identificatory markers, Rowlandson (as a woman) is granted a certain amount of social power. Lisa Logan (1993) describes some of these political and social limitations of women in Puritan communities during the late seventeenth century. According to Logan, Puritan ideologies presented a strong gendering of women. She asserts that, "Not only were women discouraged

from coming forward to speak or write, this kind of forwardness was connected with their persons and their sexuality" (260). Said another way, Puritans upheld women's virtuousness and modesty above all else.[25] Under this ideology, Rowlandson would not have desired a political social status for herself. Indeed, she most likely would have not been able to even contemplate such a position for a woman—as is made apparent by her perception of Weetamoo. In effect, Rowlandson does not accredit Weetamoo with any respect or authority. This is partially due to her lack of access and, as a result, comprehension of Weetamoo's political position and power within the extended Algonquian communities.[26] With this in mind, Rowlandson's understanding of matriarchy is a rather limited one that deals with the 'home' rather than a political concept.[27] Thus, her disputes with Weetamoo typically center around or within the confines of the wigwam, as it functions as Rowlandson's pseudo-domestic *place.*

In extension to this conversation, the rivalry between Rowlandson and Weetamoo occurs at an important cultural intersection pertaining to women's roles within Puritan and Indigenous

[25] Stephanie Coontz (2006) notes that the end of the seventeenth century saw a rise in Puritan sentiments relating to women's functions within the household. In part, she emphasizes the subordinate position of women concerning their husbands, stating that:

> The wife was legally required to worship her husband with her body. He could force sex upon her, beat her, and imprison her in the family home, while it was she who endowed him with all her worldly goods. The minute he placed that ring upon her finger he controlled any land she brought to the marriage and he owned outright all her movable property as well as any income she later earned. (142)

[26] At one point in her narrative, Rowlandson remarks on Weetamoo's work, claiming that "her Work was to make Girdles of Wampom and Beads" (37). In reference to this scene, Lisa Brooks (2018) asserts that:

> Rowlandson portrayed the crafting of wampum belts as "work," suggesting that she was more like a servant than a leader. In truth, given the ceremonial role of wampum in alliance building, this "work" signaled the highest status in Algonquian society…Weetamoo was entwining the bonds between nations, weaving a multifaceted tapestry of northeastern political networks. Yet Rowlandson downplayed wampum's significance, portraying the belts Weetamoo wore as an accessory she adorned to enhance her beauty, rather than symbols of leadership. (264)

[27] Even if Rowlandson perceived matriarchy in this manner, she lacks the resources to adequately fulfill such a role. In terms of matriarchal societies, women often yield power and status that is distributed to their familial relations in a matrilineal manner. As a captive individual, Rowlandson neither has possession over her two living children nor has a form of steady communication with her relatives and other relations. Thus, Rowlandson lacks all potential matriarchal power that would potentially grant her status among the Algonquian people.

communities during this period. Unlike Puritan social structures, the concept of matriarchal and matrilinear formations was fairly common among Indigenous communities. Valerie Shirer Mathes (1975), an expert on Indigenous history in America, proposes a revisioning of women in Indigenous societies. She analyzes the complexity of women's positions inside of both Puritan and Indigenous communities. In developing this overview, Mathes asserts that "Approximately one-quarter of the American Indian tribes were matrilineal" (5). Despite not specifically noting the matriarchal or matrilineal order among the Pocasset Wampanoag tribe, Lisa Brooks (2018) emphasizes the primary role of women amongst Algonquian people. She describes the prominence of their powerful positions in comparison to the subservient role of settler women. In her text, the role of women in Algonquian society gains transparency when she analyzes the title *saunkskwa*. Brooks cites that this honorific "was commonly applied to women leaders like Warrabitta and Weetamoo, as equals to their male relations. They were the "rock women" on whom entire communities relied…Rather than singular authorities, they formed part of a leadership network" (34). As a *saunkskwa,* Weetamoo would have had to oversee "the bonds with their Wampanoag kin and the more delicate strands that connected them to their new neighbors would be cultivated and upheld" (35). For Puritans, Weetamoo's status was unprecedented and, for lack of a better word, taboo. Not only were women not deemed intelligent enough to take part in men's affairs, but their intervention into these political spaces was often seen as offensive.[28] Whereas women would have only possessed power over the

[28] Brooks highlights the discrepancy between the rights of women in Wampanoag country to Puritan women existing in Plymouth, particularly emphasizing Puritan women's lack of agency. She writes that unlike Wampanoag women, Puritan women were neither allowed access to resources nor were they able to own property: "Under colonial law, the husband owned all the property and divorce had to be authorized by the court, with the burden of proof on the party who claimed just cause…such as permanent desertion, adultery, or impotence…Yet, in doing so, she risked losing the means to sustain herself and her children." Alternatively, Brooks asserts that, "Wampanoag women planters held greater economic power, providing more than half of the food to their communities-as long as they continued to hold the land." Furthermore, Brooks points out that, "Under Indigenous law, if she divorced, Weetamoo would retain her position as saunkskwa and the governance of Pocasset" (49). Due

domestic sphere in Puritan communities, Indigenous women (particularly in Algonquian communities) would have controlled a much more expansive area that extended outside of the wigwam. Thus, when Weetamoo asserts dominance over Rowlandson, she is reaffirming her power on two levels: within the domestic space and as a powerful leader amongst the Pocasset Wampanoag tribe. Said another way, Weetamoo positions Rowlandson as a subject by ordering her to physically conduct certain actions, such as leaving the wigwam or giving away a piece of her apron. Since Rowlandson would have been accustomed to organizing her own domestic affairs and the individuals within her household, this exchange of power (or rather the removal of it) presents an affront to Rowlandson.

This perceived insult increases upon consideration of the fact that at this point in her narrative Rowlandson now views the wigwam as her 'home.' With this in mind, Rowlandson's pre-existing perception of *place* as outlined in section one of this study transposes Puritan characteristics onto an Indigenous architectural form.[29] Her attachment to the wigwam, however, makes her more defensive over the structure and, in turn, leads to violent interactions. At one point in the text, she admits her close relationship with the structure, conceding that she would often mistake it for her own home back in Lancaster. She remarks that:

> I cannot but remember how many times sitting in their Wigwams, and musing on things past, I should suddenly leap up and run out, as if I had been at home, forgetting where I was, and what my condition was: But when I was without, and saw nothing but Wilderness, and Woods, and a company of barbarous Heathen; my mind quickly returned to me. (29-30)

to this drastic opposition, Brooks states that "Weetamoo's role as a leader was erased" in Puritan ministers' narratives (52). As a woman, Weetamoo's role as saunkskwa was utterly disregarded and, if acknowledged, was compared to a queen rather than a powerful leader (Brooks 2018, 34).

[29] See section one, "Broaching Spaces Through the Liminality of 'Home.'"

Rowlandson's admission of this feeling and these experiences blurs the line between Puritan and Indigenous *places*. Indeed, Rowlandson solidifies the wigwam as a central *place* that exists within a liminal *space* between either of these locales. Within the wigwam, she is apart from the Wilderness; she is sheltered and feels at home. This in itself reaffirms her own perception of the *place* as well as her role within it. Keeping in mind her previous defensive nature concerning this structure and her callous remarks and actions when threatened to be removed from it or concede to a higher matriarchal power, Rowlandson not only perceives the wigwam as a liminal place—a home—but she *places* herself as the matriarch of it. In this manner, her perception of the wigwam as a geographical locale and architectural unit seems to mirror that of her own lived experiences within Puritan communities. Rowlandson is the matriarch over domestic tasks, meaning that she controls household functions. As a result, when Weetamoo's household asks her to leave, she is offended because she frames this *place* as her own and to be removed from one's home is altogether frightening and can also be seen as an affront to her power—the power that she perceives to have on account of her formation of place. Furthermore, the demand by Weetamoo to forsake her own garment for the maid would be viewed as both demeaning and a method of controlling her domestic functions.

Potentially unbeknownst to Rowlandson, her position within the wigwam defined her status as a captive individual, denoting her as powerless in prioritizing Weetamoo as the matriarchal figure within this *place*. In their expansive work on hunter-gatherer societies in the Late Maritime Woodland period, M. Gabriel Hrynick, Matthew W. Betts and David W. Black (2012) highlight the influential role of the wigwam in Algonquian life, celebrating its complex social and political nature. Collectively, Hrynick, Betts, and Black detail the particular features of a domestic space found in Nova Scotia. Within this excavational write-up, they overview

several key ethnographic accounts relating to the overt gendering and social significance within wigwam structures. While they acknowledge "the ambiguity of these ethnographic accounts," they claim that, "it is clear that traditional Wabanaki dwellings were organized spatially based on gender, and probably age, criteria" (15). In relation to individual architectural features found in the excavated dwelling, they note that, "The door appears to have functioned as an organizational landmark to define the approximate centre-line of the dwelling, thus bisecting male and female space on either side of the dwelling as viewed from the door" (15). Hrynick, Betts, and Black form this position on account of their extensive work with archaeological excavations—primarily their rigorous documentation, registration, and analysis of objects found in their site. Employing an "artifact patterning" technique, Hrynick, Betts, and Black noted all object and feature finds inside (and outside of) the studied dwelling (15). Through this close analysis, they were able to confirm a "clearly patterned use of intra-dwelling space" corresponding to a "gender-differentiated use of space" (21). To put it another way, Hrynick, Betts, and Black propose a re-envisioning of the wigwam in which the structure would have been organized in two halves: one for men and one for women. The sectioned division was centered around the doorway, or opening, to the wigwam.

In correlation with historical ethnographic studies, Hrynick, Betts, and Black's discovery provide credence for older diagrams that demonstrate the placement of individuals, or figures, within the wigwam. Throughout their work, the authors cite prior studies conducted by both Father Chrestien Le Clercq in the mid-late seventeenth century and Frank Speck in the early twentieth century on the Algonquian wigwam. While the two men's architectural plans slightly differ in their positioning of guests and women, they maintain a clear division between either sex and indicate a form of social hierarchy in their placement of men and women as well as guests in

comparison to the positioning of the husband in the dwelling.[30] Verified by Hrynick, Betts, and Black's work on the Nova Scotia archaeological site, all evidence points to a division between sexes within the wigwam as well as a hierarchical ordering of individuals within in accordance with their perceived social status. Due to the recent presence of physical evidence, Le Clercq and Speck's respective diagrams can be viewed as more credible source material.[31] For the means of this study, Le Clercq's diagram acts as primary source material on account of its seventeenth-century origin.

Through the lens of Le Clercq's diagram, Rowlandson's position as a captive, an individual of significantly lower social status than the surrounding Algonquian people, becomes readily visible.[32] Being a woman, Rowlandson would have been positioned on either side of the door, a fact that proves accurate in relation to Rowlandson's own accounts. As mentioned previously, Rowlandson notes that she would frequently experience hallucinations of or hallucinatory events, while inside of the wigwam. When she is caught up in this imaginative state, she neither appears cognizant of her geographical or surroundings nor her current position as a captive individual. Effectively, Rowlandson's portrayal of these experiences presents a distortion of time as well as environmental factors. Thus, these experiences most closely align

[30] For visuals, please see Hrynick, Betts, and Black (2012, 14-15).

[31] For visuals, please see Hrynick, Betts, and Black (2012, 17).

[32] This is not to say that Rowlandson herself was without monetary and personal value. Indeed, as a pastor's wife, Rowlandson was seen as a valuable commodity. Her value is highlighted multiple times throughout the narrative. At one point, Rowlandson recollects a council meeting among the Saggamores (the Indigenous tribe in which Quinnapin, her Master, was a part of). During this meeting, she was called "to them to enquire how much my Husband would give to redeem me" to which she estimates "*Twenty pounds*" (38). Ultimately, she was sold back to her husband for "two Coats, and twenty shillings in Money, and half a bushel of Seed=Corn, and some Tobacco" (42). Aside from trade purposes, Rowlandson also exhibits a personal economic value due to her sewing ventures while in captivity.

with a form of trauma-induced hallucinations.[33] When remarking on visions, Rowlandson states that they made her feel as though she "had been at home" and would make her "suddenly leap up and run out" only to realize that she was surrounded by "Wilderness, and Woods" (29-30). To be able to immediately run outside, Rowlandson would have had to be unobstructed in her position within the wigwam—keeping in mind that it was winter and there would have been a central fireplace inside of the circular structure. Furthermore, she does not note any difficulty in leaving the structure when recounting these hallucinatory episodes: she does not describe having to maneuver around rugs, blankets, or even other people around her. She just gets up and exits the structure. Such an easy departure would have been made possible if Rowlandson was located next to the entrance, as Le Clercq depicts in his top plan drawing where he positions 'women' next to the entrance to the wigwam (Hrynick, Betts, and Black 2012, 15). According to Hrynick, Betts, and Black, this placement would have been given to lower-class individuals; thus, making it fit for guests, or rather captives of the household.

Indeed, although Rowlandson views herself as a matriarchal figure in opposition to Weetamoo, her cultural *placement* within the wigwam diminishes, or even destabilizes, her reminted identity. To maintain her position within the wigwam, she confronts any figures who attempt to remove her from the structure. Her defiance at these actions hints at a potential recurring fear of instability post-capture as well as a feeling of offense at being told to sleep

[33] In contemporary parlance, someone experiencing these intense hallucinations, or visions, would likely be assessed as having Post-Traumatic Stress Disorder (PTSD). This terminology is fitting considering the array of traumatic events imposed on Rowlandson both leading up to her capture and during her time in captivity. Kathryn Zabelle Derounian (1987) relates Rowlandson's hallucinatory experiences to the modern concept of "Survivor Syndrome." She argues that Rowlandson's account of these psychological events exemplifies a "state of shock that helped to numb her against the physical, emotional, and spiritual dislocation" brought on by her captivity (87). According to research compiled by Hannah Murray, Yasmin Pethania, and Evelina Medin (2021), "survivor syndrome" or more commonly known as "survivor guilt" was "removed in the most recent diagnostic criteria" for PTSD. Murray, Pethania, and Medin believe that survivor guilt can exist both "with or without PTSD" diagnoses. Nevertheless, "survivor guilt" is not primarily accredited with causing visions or hallucinations—PTSD and effectual flashbacks are instead associated with these experiences.

elsewhere since she has already formed a relationship with the wigwam at this point in the narrative. Though Rowlandson may be experiencing these feelings, her overwhelming belief that she is in authority and has agency over herself—at least insofar as within the confines of the wigwam—should not go unnoticed. Whereas, she perceives Quinnapin as her "best Friend," she describes Weetamoo as, "A severe and proud Dame" (28 37). Lisa Brooks (2018) analyzes this scene in her work, emphasizing Rowlandson's feelings of disgust or even potentially animosity towards Weetamoo. Since Puritan customs position vanity and pride to be one of the utmost sins for women, Brooks argues that, "Rowlandson appeared most troubled by Weetamoo's failure to adhere to the bounds of English frames of race and gender" (263). Upon deeper inspection, however, Rowlandson actively positions herself above Weetamoo, therefore allotting herself with the more desirable Puritan characteristics of a woman as well as a wife. Consequently, she formulates a just reasoning for her own status and power as a matriarch over that of Weetamoo. Yet, (conscious or unconscious of the fact) Rowlandson is physically *placed* in a position that altogether lacks power. As a result, all her suppositions as a matriarch and remarks concerning her worthiness in such a role rest on top of a broken foundation consisting of cultural misunderstanding.

Conclusion

In this thesis, I have argued that Rowlandson's text can be better understood through affect theory and place theory. These theoretical frameworks provide additional evidence that supports the traumatic nature of Rowlandson's experience and offer explanations regarding her accounted actions as well as her psychological state both at the time of her captivity and upon her later restoration. It is my hope that this study encourages other scholars to engage with Rowlandson's text in a similar manner. Furthermore, I believe that there is an opening for future research concerning Rowlandson's influence on subsequent literature *via* place-formation. Understanding how Puritans conceptualized space in the seventeenth century not only illuminates their cultural practices and beliefs, but it also presents opportunities for researching the role of settler-women in relation to sites of domesticity. While the presence of these beliefs often goes unnoticed in literature, it is crucial to understand their pervasive nature. By forming a relationship with the wigwam, Rowlandson garners stability and power for herself that is expressed through her actions as well as her recounted words and thoughts. She heavily concentrates on the appearance of domestic work in relation to wigwams, providing a gendered account of the actions that took place within this structure—ones which are overlayed by her own Puritan concepts of 'home' and the activities that she herself is accustomed to witnessing or participating in. Due to this misrepresentation of wigwams and their functions within Algonquian communities, Rowlandson's narrative perpetuates falsehoods that in turn contribute to practices of erasure for Indigenous cultures.

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