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the scholarly community, but Native peoples and citizens of all the nations concerned.

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John Josselyn, Colonial Traveler: A Critical Edition of *Two Voyages To New England*. Edited and introduced by Paul J. Linholdt. Hanover and London: University Press of New England, 1988. xi, 221 pages. \$27.95 Cloth.

The usefulness of literary texts produced by non-Indians in providing insights and information on the Native past is a persistent problem facing historians and other scholars. On one hand, such accounts are inherently biased; on the other, the most reliable yield a solid body of indisputable evidence that the researcher with the requisite background and care can disentangle from the author's prejudices. Among the most interesting of such texts are a group originating in colonial New England that, in contradistinction to the vast outpouring of Puritan writing, make some effort to present native history and culture on its own terms. Of the authors of these texts—John Josselyn, Thomas Morton, John Smith, Roger Williams, Edward Winslow, and William Wood—only Winslow was associated with the policies of the United Colonies of New England while Josselyn, Morton, and Williams were staunch opponents. The appearance of a new edition of Josselyn's *Account of Two Voyages to New-England* (first published in 1674), prompts a reconsideration of the value of such texts as sources for Native history.

A well educated but impoverished English gentleman, Josselyn first journeyed to New England in 1638 for a stay of fifteen months and again in 1663, this time remaining for eight years. Though based at the southern Maine home of his brother, he familiarized himself with coastal New England from the Penobscot to Plymouth. The principle result of his visits was two publications, *New-Englands Rarities Discovered* (1672) and *Two Voyages*. Josselyn devotes the first book largely to descriptions of the region's natural features; the principle references to Indians are notes on the plants they use as medical remedies. But he appends "A Description of an Indian Squa" and a poem which

idealize and celebrate native women for their physical appearance and sexual attractiveness. This sharp dichotomy between the scientific and the exotic is shrewdly synthesized in the more complex *Two Voyages*.

Josselyn organizes the second volume as a narrative, beginning with a brief account of his 1638 voyage in which he describes his journeys to and from New England in greater detail than the period on land. That of his second visit incorporates the scientific descriptions of *New-Englands Rarities*, now greatly embellished, plus discussions of the region's Indian and English inhabitants. It concludes with a chronicle of world-historical events leading up to and including the history of "America" (New England). Taken as a whole, the book constitutes an armchair adventure to a land at once exotic and abundant, and celebrates that land's colonial potential even while implicitly criticizing some aspects of Puritan rule.

Two Voyages describes everything about the region in terms of its compatibility with English "civilization." To such marketable commodities as lead in the ground, pine trees growing toward the sky, and beavers with thick pelts, Josselyn adds tall tales and fantastic descriptions that depict New England as a wild place inhabited by creatures whose potential for disorder and destruction was being contained by the colonists. During the first outward voyage he digresses to list the provisions—food, utensils, tools, armaments—required by a family of six intending to settle and tame the wilderness. Upon arrival, he successively describes his shooting a wolf that had eaten some domesticated goats, his stoning over eighty snakes to death, the killing by Indians of a "Lyon" and a "Sea-Serpent," and an Englishman's killing of a "Triton or Merman" that tried to enter his boat. Josselyn goes on to describe exotic mysteries—a group of unknown people seen wildly dancing about a fire on a dark seashore, and Antinomian Mary Dyer's giving birth to a deformed baby after being convicted of heresy in Boston. Whereas Puritan writers described such events as either divine Providence or Satanic malice, Josselyn regarded them as adding to the excitement of the adventure.

Josselyn's comments about Indians appear occasionally in discussions of natural phenomena, as when he describes a medicinal remedy or ingenious hunting practice. The section explicitly devoted to natives appears, in keeping with European views of the time, as a bridge between those on natural features and the

English colonies. Josselyn begins it by emphasizing difference. He asserts the Tartar origins of American Indians and then describes their "savage" temperament: "very inconstant, crafty, timorous, quick of apprehension, and very ingenious, soon angry, and so malicious that they seldom forget an injury, and barbarously cruel, . . ." (90). Josselyn explains this propensity not in terms of God or the devil but, according to current scientific convention, of dried blood and melancholy humors.

Having reassured his readers by classifying and explaining the underpinnings of such strange, threatening behavior, Joseelyn thereafter measures Indians against English. In every category—towns, marital practices, religion and theology, learning and arithmetic, merchandise and money—he finds the Natives wanting. Only when discussing the Natives' ability to live off the land does he not draw comparisons, but this account communicates, above all, the land's potential for supporting English as well as Indian inhabitants. Even the Indians' savagery finally emerges as benign. Identifying the intra-Indian rivalries prevalent during his second long visit, Josselyn declared that Massachusetts, Pawtuckets, and Abenakis fought, tortured, and ate Mohawks and vice versa, but indicated no threat posed to the English by these practices.

Indeed the presence of a viable colonial society has rendered the Indians less threatening and even helped "civilize" them. While condemning the sale of liquor to Indians, Josselyn notes that alcohol and epidemics have weakened them, that European trade has moved them from wearing animal skins to cloth, and concludes by celebrating missionary John Eliot's achievements in civilizing and Christianizing them.

Josselyn's representations of New England Natives, then, were framed above all by his interest in exotica and his confidence in the cultural superiority of the English. These interests produced not only his personal variation on the classic European colonialist attitude but a few perceptive comments about Native life. He notes the efficacy of certain Native medicines but also that traditional remedies and shamans had been undermined by the epidemics and that the Massachusetts had been reduced from 30,000 to 300 in just half a century. He records how the supernatural figure, "Abbamocho or Cheepie" (often rendered as "Hobbo-mock"), appears to Indians in forms that embody their deepest fears, so that in the 1660s these forms were often Mohawk or English. He describes the uses of European trading cloth and

manufactured wampum to create a costume as distinctly Indian as its predecessor. In this combination of depopulation, loss of subsistence base, and erosion of autonomy on one hand, and the persistence and adaptability of traditional cultural resources on the other, Josselyn depicts not simply a people being conquered but a culture in the throes of transformation. That very combination led many Natives, including the Wampanoags and Abenakis observed by Josselyn, to mount "King Philip's War" against the colonists in the year after *Two Voyages* was published. In so doing they belied the easy confidence his book exudes. As with many such texts, it renders more than its author ever knew.

Though it is more than this, a major dimension of *Two Voyages* is its portrayal of Native culture and European conquest. It is precisely this dimension that Paul J. Linholdt, and most other editors and scholars of colonial Anglo-American literature, fail to take sufficiently seriously. To be sure, Linholdt has produced the definitive edition of this important text, with his decisions regarding editions, spelling and punctuation, and textual and contextual references in both notes and introduction. But while he has consulted most of the recent work on New England Indian history, his Indians have even less context and specificity than Josselyn's. The significance of the intercultural moment Josselyn records, one that entailed the meeting of peoples with utterly distinct historical trajectories and value universes, does not strike him. One can only hope that literary scholars will soon recognize their potential for adding to our awareness of the complexity of Europe's encounter with America. In the meantime, students of New England Indian history and of literary representations of Native Americans will find Linholdt's Josselyn useful and rewarding.

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Bacavi: Journey to Reed Springs. By Peter Whiteley. Flagstaff, AZ: Northland Press. 1988. 182 pages. \$14.95 Paper.

Factionalism at the Third Mesa village of Oraibi led to the expulsion of one group of Hopis on September 6, 1906. The expelled faction, known as "Hostiles," in part returned to Oraibi, only