

Another America

Native American Maps and
the History of Our Land

Mark Warhus



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American Indian Maps of the Colonial Era

WITHIN ONE HUNDRED AND FIFTY years of the European encounter, the North American continent was the site of an international scramble. Spain, France, England, the Netherlands, and Sweden all established colonies on the continent, each one dubbing its enterprise “New” in the ethnocentric belief that the continent, as a discovered land, could be claimed. Native Americans were largely ignored in this conception of the Americas. Their centuries of inhabitation were scarcely recognized and their land use patterns deemed insufficient to constitute a claim to the territory. The official policies towards Native Americans seldom recognized their rights or dealt with them as sovereign peoples, and the colonial traders, adminis-

trators, and farmers usually looked upon Native Americans as a resource to be exploited or as competitors for colonial land.

European societies were in the midst of building great empires; spreading their beliefs, technologies, and ways of life to distant lands they believed themselves justified in exploiting. In their western ideology kings, rulers, and explorers had exclusive rights to lands they could claim to have discovered. European technologies transformed these foreign landscapes, dividing them into individually owned parcels that could be mapped and recorded. The western social and legal systems, with their dependence upon written records, used these maps and deeds to organize and control the land and its resources. And the Europeans' military weapons and armed traditions enabled the imperial powers to take the land and enforce their claims. In these societies the deed, the map, and the official record were the means of determining ownership. Paper was the medium through which one's perception of the landscape was organized and expressed.

The western system stands in marked contrast to the oral traditions of Native American societies. Indigenous traditions did not perceive land as a commodity to be owned. Hunting and fishing grounds, fields for planting, and areas where food could be gathered were often held in common. The oral traditions assigned certain areas to one group or band, who could in turn invite others to plant or take game. This concept of land fit the indigenous settlement patterns. Unlike European villages most Native settlements were mobile, moving between semi-permanent sites to plant, hunt, fish, and gather as the seasons or tradition required. Tribal animosities and the native traditions of warfare also changed the landscape. One tribe would take over the hunting grounds of another or usurp their fields and resources. Use of the land changed according to season, tradition, and military fortunes; the idea that a paper gave one exclusive ownership of the land was a foreign concept.

The Native American maps made in exchanges with the European colonists were, therefore, usually made in response to some need or request by the invaders. The circumstances of these maps and the history of the peoples and events they reflect, are a microcosm of the experience of colonization. They tell the story of invasions; first by foreign diseases and trade goods; and then by foreign peoples bent on taking all the land they could acquire. They reflect the European's ethnocentric belief in their own superiority, justifying the displacement of native societies for the higher civilization of self-righteous Christians. And they record the human costs of enslavement, land thefts, indiscriminate murder, outright genocide, and extinction that was exacted in the name of establishing this civilization.

The maps are also a record of the Native American response to this invasion. They give insights into the strategies Native Americans used to stave off the colonists' thirst for land, and record their attempts to resist the colonists or to accommodate and survive in the face of western society's overwhelming power.

The maps reveal the Native Americans' lack of preparedness when faced with an encounter they did not invite. The social and cultural systems that had evolved in North America provided no means of making the united effort needed to stop the monolithic advance of the Europeans. The structure of Native American societies, in which traditional enemies would raid one another's territories, where the warrior ethic resulted in a cycle of vengeance raids and counter raids, worked to the disadvantage of Native Americans in their conflicts with the Europeans. Early on the colonial powers took advantage of traditional Native enmities, forming alliances with one



FIGURE 22. "Plan of the Pequot Country," 1662. *Massachusetts Archives, Vol. 30, p. 113 (Maps and Plans #3033), Archives of the Commonwealth, Boston.*

group against the other and favoring them with weapons and access to trade goods that upset the existing balances of power. Those Indian groups who had a tradition of confederation, like the League of the Iroquois in the Northeast or the Cherokees and Creeks in the Southeast, profited in this system and strengthened their positions. The smaller, less centralized tribes found themselves stuck between well-armed land-hungry colonists on the one hand and well-armed Indian Nations demanding tribute and subservience on the other. The consequences of the Native American inability to unite against a common enemy are reflected in maps that record the colonists' reliance upon their Indian allies. They would enlist the Native Americans to capture slaves or defeat hostile Indians, only to later turn upon these same allies when the need for land or the pressures of coexistence became too much.

The establishment of European colonies in North America set in motion a conflict over land and resources that continues to characterize the relationships between Native Americans and the western cultures. Regardless of the ideological beliefs, misguided policies, or simple ignorance that can be explained as products of the times, the process of colonization established the pattern of persecuting Native Americans. They were driven from their lands, and their traditions were systematically destroyed to make way for the expansion of western society.

"Plan of the Pequot Country" (Figure 22). When European society began its colonization of North America the Pequot Indians were one of the major powers in southern New England. They occupied the land between the Connecticut and Pawcatuck rivers in what is now the state of Connecticut, and held dominion over Indians living throughout the Connecticut valley and across the Sound on Long Island.

There is evidence that Pequot culture had developed along the northeast Atlantic coast for many generations. About eight thousand years ago the ancestors of the Pequots adapted to a life of hunting and gathering. Approximately one thousand years ago the warming of the climate led to their widespread adaptation of maize agriculture. In the area around Narragansett Bay, in what is now Rhode Island, Pequot, Narragansett, Niantic, and Mohegan Indians practiced the cultivation of corn, beans, squash, artichokes and tobacco. They supplemented their crops with hunting, fishing, and gathering foodstuffs from the environment. Around 1615, at the same time that English explorers were planning the establishment of colonies in New England, the Pequots numbered approximately thirteen thousand individuals.

Less than fifty years later this map was made to help determine the extent of land formerly occupied by the Pequots. In the Pequot War of 1637 the English and their Indian allies had nearly wiped out the Pequot Indians and condemned the survivors to live as wards of the state. The New England colonies were now the dominant force in this part of North America, and the Indians' lands were the objective of colonial machinations. The Pequot's western boundary was to serve as the boundary between the new colonial entities of Connecticut and Rhode Island. The map is focused on the area that begins just west of the modern border of Connecticut, the Pawcatuck River—"paquatuck Riur" on the map—and extends east along the seashore to "naraganset pond," now known as Quonochontaug pond on the Rhode Island coast. Three Indian informants were called in to help make the map; their "marks" can be seen below the drawing. According to their statement, prior to the war the Pequot territory extended to the brook called "wekapag," represented as emptying into the Narragansett pond. While colonial politics eventually moved the Connecticut/Rhode Island border west to the Pawcatuck River, the map documents the transformation that European colonization brought to the region and the lives of the Indians.

The history of the Pequots' encounter with the European invaders parallels the experience of many Native Americans. Prior to the arrival of the colonists, diseases brought by early explorers swept through the region. Between 1617 and 1619 epidemics of smallpox and bubonic plague devastated the Indians living along the Atlantic coast. A further epidemic struck in 1633. Without natural immunities to these imported diseases, the mortality rate among Indian societies was extremely high. By the time the English began the colonization of Connecticut in 1635, the Pequot had been reduced to about three thousand people, a 77 percent drop in the tribe's population.

Conflicts over land began as soon as the colonists arrived. Early European traders had participated in the established Native American trade networks. They required only a minimal amount of space in which to conduct the exchange of goods. Colonists, on the other hand, wanted land to farm and build villages. In their view the continent was an object to be owned and used for their benefit. The colonial policy was based in the belief of ownership by right of discovery. The king or his appointees possessed the land and they could grant, charter, or sell it as they saw

fit. In this system Indians were viewed as non-persons, as temporary occupants who held no title to the land. In the opinion of the Puritans, the godless, lazy, unproductive, and unworthy savages could be rightfully dispossessed for the "higher use" of the colonists' farms and towns.

Obtaining the Indians' land involved the creation of documents that satisfied the needs of the English legal system; treaties, deeds, or records of land sales could be used to displace the Indians and bar them from occupying or using their land in the future. This entire process was contrary to most Native American traditions. In the Native American view a piece of paper or a "writing" did not establish title to land for which there was an oral tradition that told of the Indians' historic relationship with the land. As the colonial appetite for land increased, friction with the Indians grew. Treaties and land cessions were sometimes successfully used to obtain Indian lands, but the really big acquisitions of Native American land were made in wars against the Indians. In New England the Pequot War was the first major conflict of this type, and it set the tone for much of what was to come.

The Pequots lived between the colonies of Connecticut and Massachusetts, and the English immediately perceived them as a threat. In 1635 the English established Fort Saybrooke at the mouth of the Connecticut River. The following year colonists from Massachusetts Bay founded several settlements in the Connecticut valley and established the outpost of Springfield on the Connecticut River. As these settlements grew, the need for land and the desire to secure the settlements from Indian attack increased tension with the Pequots. At the same time inter-tribal hostilities contributed to the level of tension. The Pequots struggled with the Narragansett Indians for control of the fur trade with the English. When the Pequots triumphed, the Narragansetts allied themselves with the colonists. The Mohegans, who had been the subjects of the Pequots, broke out of their subservient role. Under the leadership of Uncas, whose "mark" appears on this map, the Mohegans joined the Narragansett-English alliance.

When the Pequots attacked the settlement of Wethersfield, killing several settlers and taking others prisoner, it provided the excuse for a war of extermination. Connecticut and Massachusetts colonists joined forces with the Narragansetts and Mohegans to plan an attack upon the Pequots' fort on the Mystic River.

In preparing the attack Roger Williams, the future founder of Rhode Island, met with the Narragansett Indians to seek their support and council. The Indians advised him in preparing the campaign:

"That the assault would be at night, when they (the Pequot) are commonly secure and at home, by which advantage the English, being armed, may enter the houses and do what execution they please."

"That before the assault be given, an ambush be laid behind them, between them and the swamp, to prevent their flight, etc."

"That it would be pleasing to all natives, that women and children be spared, "

The Pequot fort on the Mystic River was much as it is pictured in John Underhill's 1638 description of the battle (Figure 23). A palisade stockade with two narrow entrances, there were as many as seventy dwellings lined up along the settlement's streets. It is estimated that seven hun-

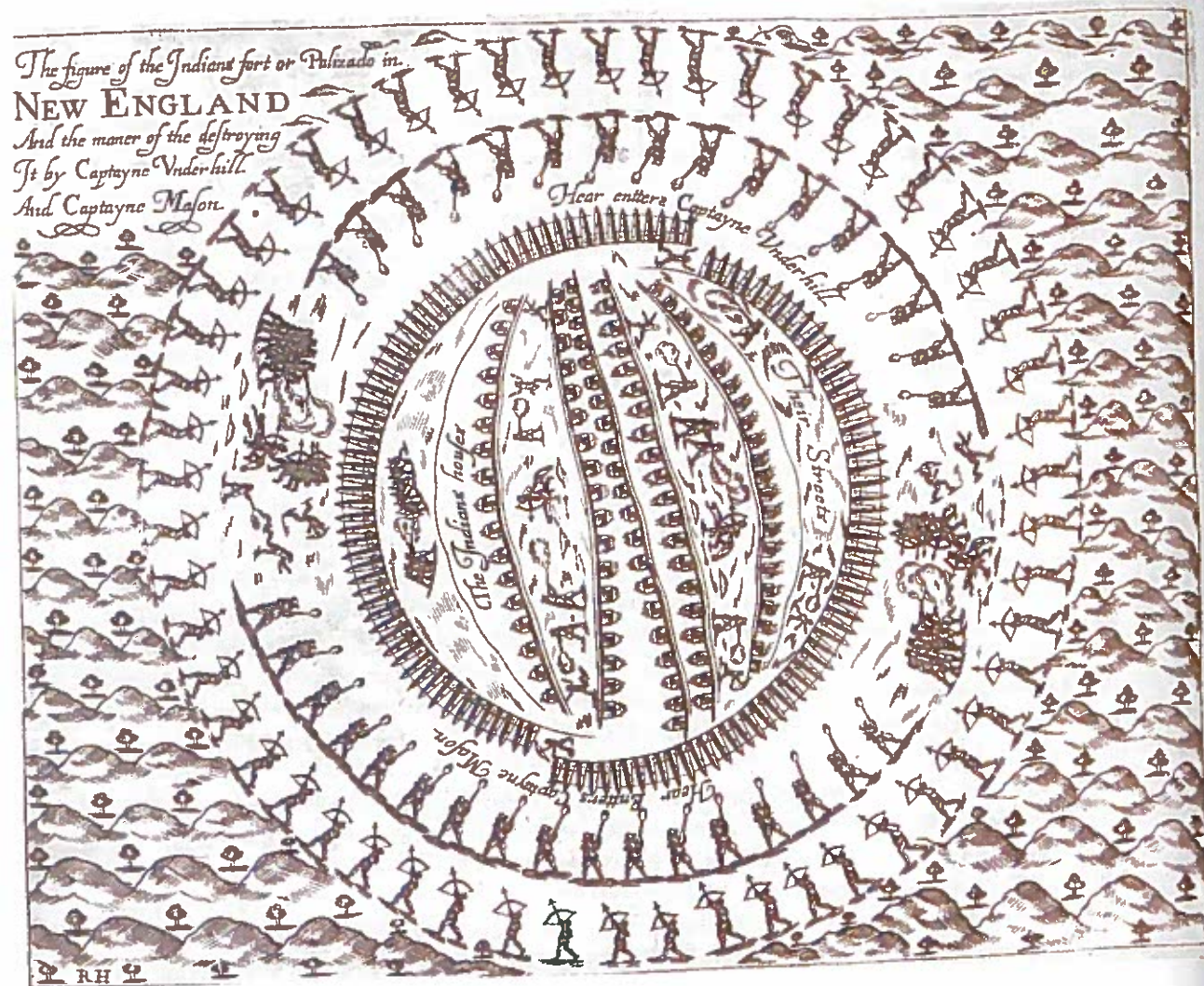


FIGURE 23. "The figure of the Indians' fort . . ." from *Newes From America*, by John Underhill, 1638. Courtesy of the Edward E. Ayer Collection, The Newberry Library, Chicago.

dred Pequots, including women and children, occupied the fort. Just before dawn on the morning of May 26, 1637, an army of English soldiers led by captains Mason and Underhill, together with their Mohegan and Narragansett allies, attacked the fort. The two English captains entered the fort from either side while the Indians waited outside to catch those trying to flee. The element of surprise worked in favor of the English and they were able to attack several houses before the general alarm was sounded and the Pequot began to respond. At this point Captain Mason ordered that the dwellings in the fort be set ablaze. The reeds, grass mats, and wood of the Pequot structures quickly ignited into a fire that consumed the fort and incinerated several hundred

Pequots. Those who escaped the blaze were cut down by the English soldiers and their Indian allies. It is reported that no more than seven of the Pequot Indians in the fort survived.

Hearing of the massacre, those Pequot who were not in the Mystic Fort either rushed to attack the English or fled into the countryside. In the three months following the attack, the English carried out a systematic campaign to exterminate the Pequot. Hundreds were hunted down and killed, or captured and enslaved. The vindictive view of the English and their desire to eliminate the Pequots is reflected in the letter from Israel Stoughton, the leader of an English military expedition, to the Connecticut governor. In his letter Stoughton describes how he had given many of the captured Pequot slaves to the Narragansett, and that he was sending forty-eight or fifty women and children to the governor. But, the letter continues:

“there is one, that is the fairest and the largest that I saw amongst them, to whom I have given a coat to cloathe her. It is my desire to have her for a servant, if it may stand to your liking.... There is a little squaw that Stewart Calacot desires, to whom hea has given a coat. Lieutenant Davenport desires one, to wit, a small one that hath stroaks upon her stomach, thus !!!”

The war ended when the leader of the Pequots made his way to Mohawk territory, where he hoped to enlist the Iroquois in an alliance that would drive out the English. But the Mohawks were already deeply involved in their own trading alliances with the European nations. To elevate their position and prove their worth as preferred trading partners, the Mohawks executed the Pequot leader and his followers, sending their scalps back to Boston.

To the English, their triumph in the Pequot War marked the true beginnings of their hegemony on the continent. The Pequots' destruction was proof of the colonists' righteousness, and the savagery with which the genocide was accomplished became abstracted as the will of god. The few remaining Pequots were legally terminated—no longer recognized as a people in 1638, stripping them of the status needed to make any future land claims. A 1643 Puritan account of the war credited the victory to divine intervention rather than the colonists' savagery:

“God's hand from heaven was so manifested that a very few of our men in a short time pursued through the wilderness, slew, and took prisoner about 1,400 of them, . . . so that the name of the Pequots (as of Amalech) is blotted out from the under heaven, there being not one that is, or (at least) dare call himself a Pequot.”

The Pequots' extinction became so fixed in colonial history that it was to serve as the metaphorical name for the ill-fated vessel in Herman Melville's *Moby Dick*. In 1851, he described the “Pequot” as “a celebrated tribe of Massachusetts Indians, now extinct as the ancient Medes.”

But the Pequots did survive. Though legislated out of existence, the Pequots continued as wards of the colonists. Some lived with the Mohegans, who, under the leadership of Uncas, had continued their alliance with the English. In 1667 a Pequot reservation was set up at Mashantucket with Casasinomon, whose signature is also on this map, as the leader. For the next three hundred years the Pequots lived under state supervision suffering population loss and the

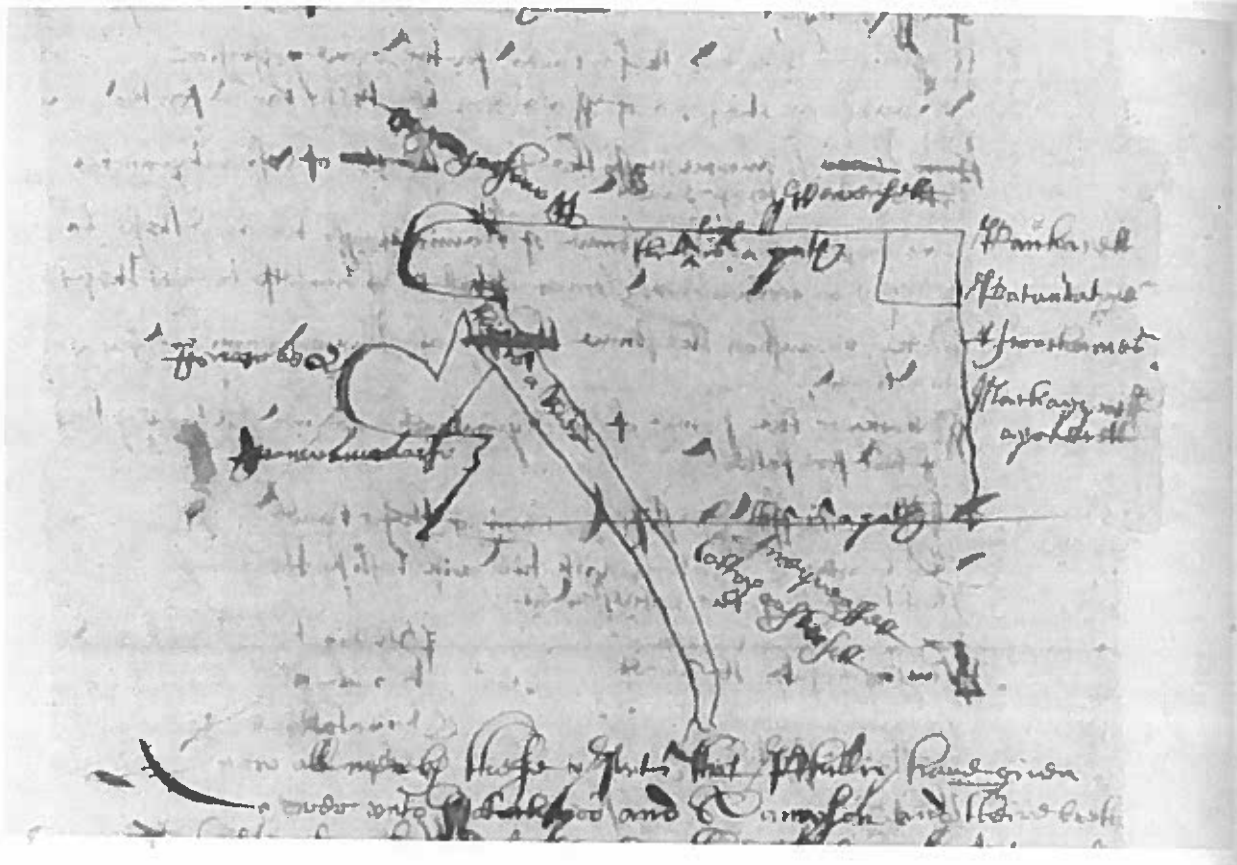


FIGURE 24. Untitled map by King Philip and John Sassamon, 1666. Records of the Plymouth Colony [MPLms I(1): 21]. Size of the original 1 1/2 x 4 inches (3 x 10 cm). By permission of the Plymouth County Commissioners

division of their territory. By 1983 the Mashantucket Pequots had reorganized themselves. They were awarded Federal recognition and a trust fund was created to allow them to purchase land. The Pequots' near extinction remains a central event in the tribe's history, both a source of pain and a mark of pride in their continuance and survival. Today the Mashantucket Pequots are a thriving community, with a growing population and land base.

King Philip's map (Figure 24) is a record of a land sale made by the Wampanoag sachem, King Philip, to the Plymouth Colony in 1666. Following the sale, the map was copied into the Plymouth Colony's *Book of Indian Records For Their Land*. This is the book of deeds that the colonists made to document their purchases of Indian land. Over time the ink has bled through the page, obscuring some of the map, but the double-lined diagonal labeled "this is a River" can be clearly seen.

The map is best read by turning it over with the "River" flowing down towards the right between the two semicircular necks of land that embrace it. This represents the area known as

Sippican Neck in Buzzards Bay south of Cape Cod. The area behind it includes the land on which modern day Rochester, Massachusetts is located. Philip, whose mark appears above the map, is quoted in the endorsement as saying he was "willing to sell the Land within this draught; . . . [and] I have set downe all the principall names of the land wee are not willing should be sold." Philip's desire not to sell all the land and retain a home for the Wampanoags reflects the growing tensions between the Native Americans and the land-hungry English. Forty-six years earlier, in 1620, Philip's father, Massasoit, had welcomed the Pilgrims to Plymouth. Now the English farms and villages were swiftly displacing the Wampanoags. In a little over a decade, these frustrations would erupt into the largest Indian war in New England colonial history, King Philip's War.

At the beginning of the seventeenth century the Wampanoag Indians, also known as the Pokanokets, occupied the area of southeastern Massachusetts east of Narragansett Bay including Cape Cod, Martha's Vineyard, and Nantucket Island. With an estimated population of over six thousand they lived in small villages, practiced slash-and-burn agriculture, and hunted and gathered in the surrounding countryside. Like most of the Algonquian Indian groups in the region they lived in small semi-permanent settlements with each village having a sachem or leader. They would sometimes work together with the other Wampanoag villages to farm, hunt, make war, and provide for the common defense.

Prior to the arrival of the Pilgrims, epidemics of European disease had diminished the power and security of the Wampanoags. Some of their villages had suffered considerable population loss and became prey to their traditional enemies, the Narragansett Indians. Massasoit, the chief Wampanoag sachem at the time of the English arrival, is believed to have embraced the newcomers and forged an alliance with them partially out of the desire to protect his people. Whatever his reasoning, Massasoit entered into a formal treaty of friendship with the Plymouth colonists, establishing a peace that was maintained until his death in 1662.

During that time a considerable amount of the Wampanoags' land was sold or taken by the English. English trade goods and tools were of particular interest to the Wampanoags, and they "sold" parts of their land to obtain the goods they wanted. But the Wampanoags' concept of land ownership and sale differed dramatically from that of the English, and this difference helped to set up the conflicts that would result in King Philip's War. To the Wampanoags, "selling" their land meant giving a neighbor or potential kinsman the right to participate in the use of the available land. This practice of shared use is reflected in the words Philip used to describe this map, saying that although he was willing to sell the land, "the Indians that are upon it may live upon it still. . ."

The English, on the other hand, firmly believed in private property and sole possession. When land was purchased, the Indians were to vacate to make room for the sedentary English farmers and the use to which they would put the land. In this way, the "sales" the Wampanoags made whittled away their territories at the same time that Wampanoag culture demanded that they retain a large number of acres to accommodate their slash-and-burn agriculture and their hunting and gathering traditions.

Massasoit's friendship with the colonists may have brought the Wampanoags peace and trade goods, but the practice of accommodating the English eventually resulted in a period of decline. By the time Philip became chief sachem the mutual respect and benefits that had marked the Wampanoags' earlier relations with the English had deteriorated to the point of forced agree-

ments and exploitation. At the same time, Philip and his fellow sachems were well aware of the price of resistance. They had seen how the English dealt with the Pequot when they stood in their way. The colonists' powerful weapons and their military might had been used to slaughter women and children. It was a lesson not lost on Philip and the Wampanoags.

Upon his ascendancy, Philip, who was also known as Metacomet, was given the title of king by the English. He continued his father's policy of selling land while recognizing the need to maintain a homeland for his people. Samuel Drake, in his history of the American Indians, lists over twenty deeds of sale on which Philip's signature and that of other Wampanoag sachems are found. Many of these deeds were witnessed by John Sassamon, a christianized Indian who served as Philip's interpreter and scribe.

Sassamon, the first American Indian to attend Harvard, personifies the difficulties faced by the Wampanoags and other Indians when dealing with the English invaders. While Sassamon benefited from the education and religion of the English, he was still an Indian and often intimately tied to the fate of his people. As a christianized Indian, Sassamon had accepted English domination as the best alternative, a view that made him an anathema to his own people. On the other hand, Sassamon's familiarity with the English made his services essential in many cross-cultural dealings. Philip evidently relied upon Sassamon to negotiate several of the Wampanoags' land deals, a position Sassamon is believed to have taken advantage of by claiming some of the land for himself. Philip eventually dismissed Sassamon from the Wampanoag court, and Sassamon went to the English with accusations that Philip was preparing to make war on one of their settlements. The colonists were not able to verify these charges, but not long afterwards Sassamon was found murdered. The deed was commonly attributed to Philip, and Sassamon's murder became one of the excuses for the coming war.

The English either found or fabricated a witness to Sassamon's murder, and they quickly tried and hung three of the Wampanoags. This English justice was just one more injustice to the Wampanoags. Their oral testimony was not considered legitimate by the courts, just as the Indians' oral records were not regarded as legal documents in disputes over land. The English practice left the Wampanoags with no access to justice and no recourse to a higher authority.

As tension between the Wampanoags and the colonists grew, John Easton of the Rhode Island Colony asked Philip and the Wampanoags to Providence to see if he could work out the difficulties. There, Philip listed some of the Wampanoags' grievances. He complained how "if 20 Indians testified that an Englishman had done them wrong, it was nothing, but if one of the worst Indians [serving his own interests] testified against any Indian or their king [Philip], when it pleased the English, that was sufficient." Another grievance noted that when the Wampanoag sachems sold land, the English would take more than they had agreed to, and a "writing [a map or document]" would be used as proof against the Wampanoags. This English duplicity resulted in the Wampanoags having "no hopes left to keep any land." In his complaint Philip summarized the Wampanoags' history with the English:

The English who came first to this country were but an handful of people, forlorn, poor and distressed. My father was then sachem, he relieved their distresses in the most kind and hospitable manner. He gave them land to plant and build upon. . . they flourished and increased. By various means they got possession of a great part of his

territory. But he still remained their friend till he died. . . . Soon after I became sachem they disarmed all my people . . . their land was taken. But a small part of the dominion of my ancestors remains. I am determined not to live until I have no country.

Philip's desire to keep a homeland was shared by other Indians in the region. In June of 1675, Philip's frustration with the English erupted in raids upon colonial settlements. This marked the beginning of King Philip's War, and the Wampanoags were soon joined by the Nipmucks, Norwottocks, and Narragansett Indians. In time Philip's insurrection even spread to the Algonquian tribes of Maine.

This rising up of Indians throughout the region is indicative of the growing Native American anger with the English colonists. But it was not a united effort. Others, like the Mohegans who had gained from their alliance with the English, or the Pequot, who had suffered the consequences of an English military campaign, stayed out of the conflict.

The battles of King Philip's War started as a series of raids upon English settlements and skirmishes between Indian groups and colonial militias. The Indians' attacks on frontier settlements in the Connecticut River Valley created an atmosphere of alarm among the colonists. It is not known if Philip and his allies dreamed of driving the invaders out of New England. But once the conflict began it became, for the colonists, a holy war. Puritan preachers denounced Philip as the seed of the devil himself, and the violence that accompanied the war only confirmed the growing Puritan conviction that sharing their soil with the savages was not what god intended. With the human and military resources of the United Colonies, the English gathered a superior force, and before the winter of 1675 they began burning Indian villages and crops, cutting Philip and his allies off from the supplies they needed to continue the war.

Philip planned to spend the winter of 1675-76 in the relative safety of the western frontier above New York. But the governor of New York had no desire to let the trouble-making Wampanoags find succor in his colony. He enlisted the help of the Mohawks who, in their zeal to maintain their prominent position in the fur trade, had no qualms about attacking their Algonquian brethren. They surprised Philip and dealt his warriors a mortal blow. The demoralizing effects of this battle may have prevented Philip from widening the alliance he hoped to form against the English. By the summer of 1676 Philip and his allies were weakened by hunger and the losses in battle. In August, as Philip was making his way towards his home at Mount Hope on the Pokanoket peninsula, his camp was surrounded by the English and Philip was shot.

As the mortal enemy of the Puritans, Philip was not to be given a proper burial. His death was to serve as an example for others. Philip's wife and child were sent into slavery, and Philip's body was beheaded and quartered. His quarters were hung in separate trees and a hand was cut off as a reward for the man who had betrayed him. Philip's head was given to the Plymouth colonists, who placed it upon a spike and exhibited it to passersby for decades. The Wampanoags suffered in defeat as well. The war had greatly reduced their numbers. Like the Pequot, the surviving Wampanoags were handed over into servitude or became the wards of the state. Under the care of the colonists they suffered several generations of neglect, only to reemerge as a presence in New England in the twentieth century.

Following King Philip's War the remaining Wampanoag lands were confiscated by the vic-

torious colonists. Among the lands taken was the Sippican Neck pictured on Philip's map of 1666. Only ten years earlier this had been part of the "land wee are not willing should be sold."

This map (Figure 27) endorsed as a "Discription . . . given from an Indian called Jackanapes . . ." is an example of a map solicited from an Indian informant but actually made for use by the European colonists. In this case the map provides information on the number of Susquehannock Indians living with the members of the Iroquois League. It was solicited by Rando Brandt, an official of the Maryland Colony. Brandt either redrew the map from the Indian original or composed it from the information provided by Jackanapes before sending it to the council. Brandt's explanation of the map is written above his signature in the lower right. The Indian informant, identified only as "Jackanapes"—a derogatory name that is in itself a comment upon the English view of the Indians—described as a Mattawoma ("Mattawoman") Indian who recently escaped from a period of captivity among the Cayugas ("Quiaquos" on the map). Brandt evidently interrogated Jackanapes shortly after his escape, obtaining the information that is represented on the map.

The area represented on the map includes the upper portion of the Susquehanna River and its tributaries, encompassing central New York State and part of Pennsylvania. The diagonal from upper left to lower right labeled "A great River that comes into the Bay" represents the Susquehanna River from right below the present Pennsylvania–New York border, and the Chemung and Cohoctan rivers continuing northwest into the territory of the Seneca Indians in western New York. The intersecting diagonal to the upper right labeled "Branch of said River" is the north branch of the Susquehanna continuing into northeastern New York State. Across the top of this area the five nations of the Iroquois League are pictured as circles and named with seventeenth-century synonyms—From left to right: the Senecas ("Sinniquos"), the Cayugas ("Quiaquos"), the Onondagas ("Annodoguns"), the Oneidas ("Wittassons"), and the Mohawks ("Cannagains"). Further to the east the trading center of Albany is noted as the "Scituation of English and French." From the three tribes represented in the middle, routes pictured as dotted lines lead to a circle labeled "A place of genrall Rendesvous from the Nations . . ."

By 1681 this geographic information was readily available to the governor and council of the Maryland Colony. The information of most interest is that which Brandt obtained from Jackanapes concerning the number and locations of Susquehannock Indians living with the Iroquois. Among the Wittassons (Oneidas) he notes, "not good with them 17 Susquahs." It is the same with the Annodoguns (Onondagas) where there are "14 Susquehannahs," and the Quiaquos (Cayugas), "our supposed friends 8 Susquehannohs with them. . ." The colonists' concern stems from the history of their treatment of the Susquehannock Indians.

In 1675, the colonists and their Indian allies had ruthlessly attacked the Susquehannocks, driving them from Maryland territory and on to the frontier. When the Susquehannocks retaliated with raids on the outlying settlements, the peace of the region was threatened. To quell the violence the governor of New York offered sanctuary to the Susquehannocks and protection from their enemies. Most of the Susquehannocks moved up into the area represented on this map where they lived among and received the protection of the Iroquois.

Shortly after this the Susquehannocks lost their tribal identity in the series of treaties that came to be known as the Covenant Chain. These treaties brought peace to the colonies by putting



PHILLIP alias METACOMBERT of Pokanoket
Engraved from the original as published by Church.

FIGURE 25. Portrait of Philip alias Metacombert of Pokanoket, from Samuel G. Drake, *Biography and History of the Indians of North America*. Boston: C. L. Perkins. 1834.

BOOK OF INDIAN RECORDS FOR THEIR LANDS.

THIS may informe the honor^d Court that I Phillip am willing to sell the Land within this draught; but the Indians that are vpon it may live vpon it still but the land that is [waste] may be sold and Watachpoo is of the same mind; I haue set downe all the principall names of the land wee are not willing should be sold.

ffrom Pacanaukett
the 24th of the 12th month 1668.

PHILLIP: *P*: his mark.

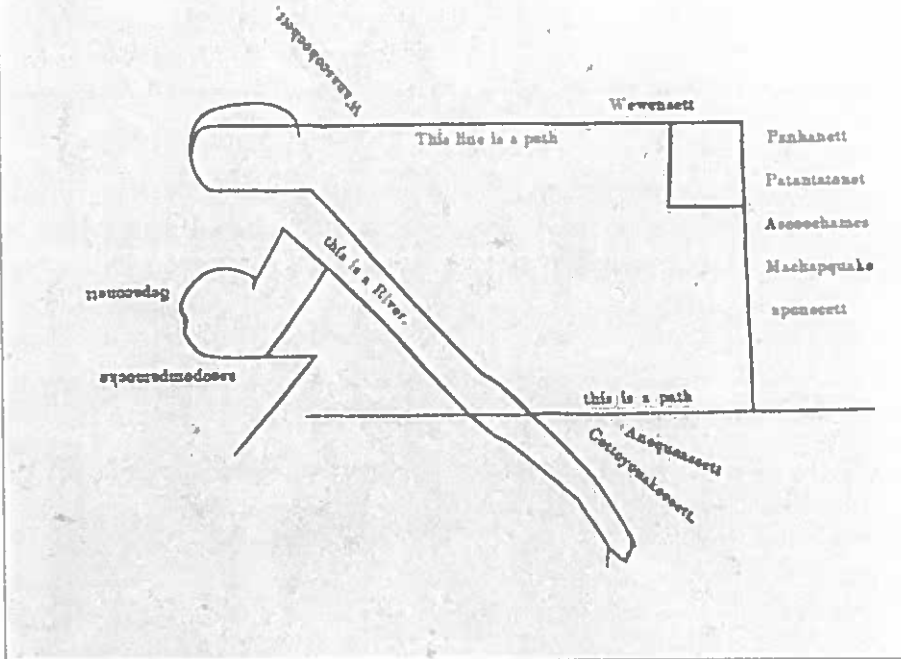


FIGURE 26. Printed version of King Philip's map, from Records of the Colony of New Plymouth in New England, vol 12, Deeds & c, vol. 5, 1620-1651, Book of Indian Records For Their Land, 1861. Courtesy of the Newberry Library, Chicago.