

Cartography, Cherokees and a Deerskin Map

Abstract: Few maps by the indigenous population of the Americas dating to the early eighteenth century survive, either in original or copied form; this article will examine one such map. “A map describing the situation of the several Nations of Indians between South Carolina and the Massisipi” was given to the new governor of South Carolina Francis Nicholson around 1720 by an unknown native representative it has traditionally been attributed to the Catawba nation. This article will situate the map in its historical period, detail the claims for Catawba origin, refute these claims and supply evidence for Cherokee Origin.

Keyword: Cherokee, Catawba, deerskin map, early eighteenth century, South Carolina

The surveyor ‘fixed his compass on the staff’ and was ready to lead off, having ascertained the correct and ‘true’ course the party was to take on its next leg surveying the newly defined boundary. With the aid of modern technology, such as the compass, the surveyor was confident he could fix and define the extent of British space, his belief reinforced by an entourage that included multiple ‘surveyors, astronomers, artisans, chain carriers, markers, guides . . . besides a very respectable number of gentleman.’ However the group’s departure was delayed when one of the Native American leaders, accompanying the party, ‘spoke and said it was not right; but that the course was so and so, holding up his hand and pointing.’ Taken back by the Native American’s action, the surveyor replied:

That he himself was certainly right, adding, that that little instrument (pointing to the compass) told him so, which, he said, could not err. The Indian answered, he knew better, and that the little wicked instrument was a liar; and he would not acquiesce in its decisions.¹

The event above, described by horticulturist William Bartram, took place in the summer of 1773 at Buffalo Lick, a location about eighty miles from Augusta towards the Cherokee Mountains. The surveyor and the Native leader were there as part of a delegation sent out to ascertain the line of demarcation between British and Native American space following the Treaty of Augusta in the same year.² The incident details the contrasting British and Cherokee methods for traversing and more importantly defining and describing the space they inhabited.

The primary form used pictorially to describe space is, of course, the map. In *The History of Cartography*, a magisterial multi-volume analysis of the history and production of maps, editors J.B. Harley and David Woodward define maps as ‘graphic

representations that facilitate a spatial understanding of things, concepts, conditions, processes, or events in the human world.³ Harley and Woodward go on to remind us that as:

enduring works of graphic synthesis, they [maps] can play a more important role in history than do their makers. In this sense their significance transcends their artificial value. As images they evoke complex meanings and responses and thus record more than factual information on particular events and places.⁴

Spatialization,' has been described as probably the 'first and most primitive aspect of consciousness,' it is therefore inconceivable that Europeans brought the idea of pictorial representation of space to the Americas and reports from European colonists confirm that Native Americans of the southeast used numerous forms of cartographic-style images to represent the region in which they lived.⁵ In 1674, a group of 'Indians who were strangers to the people' appeared in Carolina 'for the purpose of trading.'⁶ Early explorer of the southeast and Carolina resident Henry Woodward accompanied the Indian, thought to be Westos, as they journeyed into what was for Woodward, if not a terra incognita, at least a terrae semicognita, beyond Carolina borders. In Woodward's journal of his travels we find an example of engraved spatial marking. Woodward left Charles Town on the afternoon of Saturday October 10, 1674:

the weather raw and drizzling, they being ten of them and my selfe in Company. We travelled the remaining part of that afternoon West and by North through y^r L^dships land towards the head of the Ashly River . . . As we travelled this day I saw (as divers other times likewise in my journey) w[h]ere these Indians had drawn uppon trees (the barke being hewed away) the effigies of a bever, a man, on horseback and guns. Intimating thereby as I suppose, their desire for friendship, and comerse wth us.⁷

Woodward offers one possible explanation for the images that dotted the landscape as he traveled towards an unknown Native village. However, it is also possible that Woodward's, and the colonies', desire for trade may well have influenced his

interpretation. It is impossible to know with any certainty the purpose of these glyphs, but, it is possible that rather than being an invitation to the English, they were a form of Native encliridion that defined pathways taken or delineated boundaries between Native and European.⁸

A second early traveler in the colonial southeast who attested to the accuracy of Native American cartographic knowledge was John Lawson. Lawson came to Carolina in 1700 and worked, among other positions, as a surveyor for the colonial government. It is not, however, for his work as a surveyor that Lawson is primarily remembered, but rather for his ethnographic descriptions of the southeastern region.⁹ Although Lawson did not interact directly with the Cherokee, his journal still offers an indication of the spatial understanding of the region's Native American population.

As with many of his contemporaries, Lawson began his southern journey in Charles Town which Lawson informs us is 'scituate in 32, 45 *North* Latitude.'¹⁰ This comment indicates the specific, scientific world-view through which Lawson understands and explains his surroundings. Later in the text, when giving his 'Account of the Indians,' he accords the same degree of specificity to the local Indian population, writing that 'They are expert Travellers, and though they have not the Use of our artificial Compass, yet they understand the North-point exactly, let them be in ever so great a Wilderness.' He further notes that:

They will draw Maps, very exactly, off all the Rivers, Towns, Mountains, and Roads, or what you shall enquire of them, which you may draw by their Directions, and come to a small matter of Latitude, reckoning by their Days Journeys. These maps they will draw in the Ashes of the Fire, and sometimes upon a Mat or Piece of Bark. I have put a Pen and Ink into a Savage's Hand, and he has drawn me the Rivers, Bays, and other Parts of the Country, which afterwards I have found to agree with a great deal of Nicety.¹¹

This quotation shows that the Native Americans of the southeast had a very detailed knowledge of their space that could be translated into a cartographic knowledge that was both understood and used by the English. The English valued this knowledge as it could be taken and placed, not on the temporary maps sketched in a fire's ashes but, onto permanent European maps and charts where it would become fixed and controlled.¹² It is difficult to tell how many European maps of the era were based upon Native knowledge, although we are left hints that this happened. On one occasion however, we have evidence that such a transference of knowledge specifically involved the Cherokee. Thomas Kitchen's, 1760 *A New Map of the Cherokee Nation, with the names of the Towns and Rivers They are situated on N^o Lat. From 34 to 36^o* seen below, was created for the British Market, specifically the *London Magazine*. As the reference to specific latitudinal location within the title indicates Kitchen was operating from within the British spatial persona and was therefore concerned with both defining the space and also of fixing Cherokee Towns within that space. However, the insight and knowledge of the region upon which the maps authority is based relied explicitly on Cherokee knowledge.

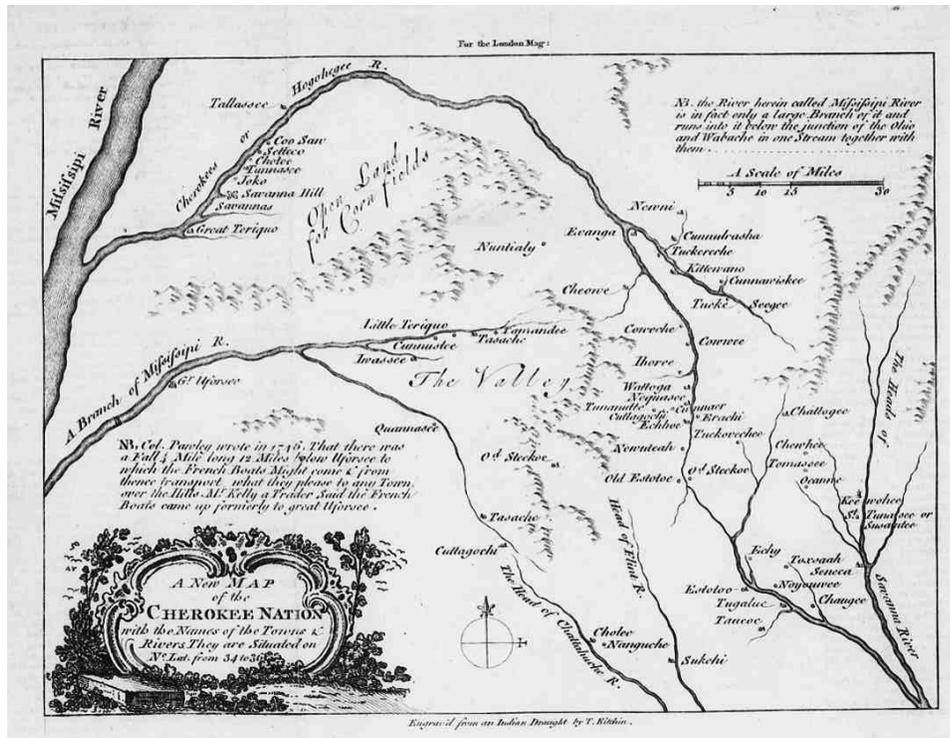


Figure 1: Thomas Kitchen, A New Map of the Cherokee Nation..., 1760 Courtesy of Hargrett Rare Book and Manuscript Library / University of Georgia Libraries

The inscription in the bottom border, enlarged below, details this transference.

We are told that the map was ‘Engraved from an Indian Draught:

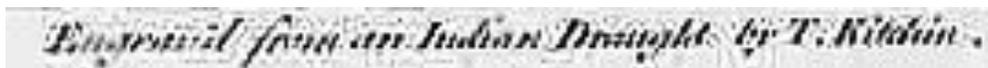


Figure 2: ‘Engraved From an Indian Draught by T. Kitchen’ Detail from Thomas Kitchen, A New map of the Cherokee Nation..., 1760

Five years later, Kitchen was to produce a second map for the *London Magazine* with the title ‘A New Map of North & South Carolina & Georgia.’ The second half of the title to this second map reads ‘Drawn from the best Authorities.’¹³ We can only speculate that Kitchen was again referring to the ‘Indian draught’ that he had utilized earlier.

The expert Native knowledge used by English cartographers was not always easy to procure. Lawson earlier quotation concludes with Lawson’s following cautionary comments regarding acquiring cartographic knowledge: ‘you must be very much in their

Favour, otherwise they will never make their Discoveries to you; especially, if it be in their own Quarters.’¹⁴ Long-time trader among the southeastern nations, James Adair, though writing sixty-six years after Lawson’s visit, provides an indication of the reason for this caution. Adair writes that the Native Americans he came into contact with were ‘timorous, and, consequently, cautious’ and ‘very jealous of encroachments from their christian neighbours.’¹⁵

So far, I have discussed the manner in which Native knowledge was observed by Europeans and transmitted through the pens and engraving tools of European map making culture. On occasion however, during the colonial period, we have details of Native Americans from the southeast being cartographers in their own right.¹⁶ The temporary nature of most early Native maps ensured that unlike the numerous cartographic representations created by the English, there exist very few representations of Native southeastern space created by Native Americans. There are no extant Cherokee maps from the era. However, Cherokees are nevertheless represented in three maps: a Catawba deerskin map, circa 1721; a Chickasaw Deerskin Map, circa 1723; and a Chickasaw/Alabama Map, 1737. Of these three maps I wish to turn my attention for the remainder of this article to the circa 1721 Deerskin map. A copy of which is seen below. This map is one of many maps collected by Francis Nicholson during his tenure in various colonial offices during the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries. This particular map, “A map describing the situation of the several Nations of Indians between South Carolina and the Massisipi” was given to the new governor of South Carolina Francis Nicholson around 1720 by an unknown native representative



The original map may have been sent to London with a number of other items by Nicholson although it is now lost. Fortunately Nicholson had detailed copies made and these still survive to the present day. This particular image comes from the National Archives in London.¹⁷

While working on my doctoral dissertation, which looked at understandings of space and the role that these understandings played during colonial contact between the British and Cherokee in the early eighteenth century, I ran in to the map on several occasions. The more I looked, the more intrigued and interested I became. I want to reexamine the map and offer my understandings of this map and its origins based upon an analysis of both written evidence from the British records along with an ethnohistorical analysis of the images upon the map itself. Before offering my own analysis I want to take a brief moment to discuss what has been noted and stated about this map in the past.

It is commonly known as the Catawba deerskin map, as Greg Waselkov states “the ethnicity of the mapmaker is not specified. . .but it can be inferred with reasonable certainty from the map’s content”¹⁸ Probably the fullest development of the concept of identity from content comes from Mark Warhus in his monograph *Another America: Native American Maps and the History of Our Land*. Warhus offers two justifications for the Catawba appellation. The first, the endorsement in the lower left hand corner to the right of the stylized boat and secondly the positioning of the various native nations on the map.¹⁹

Firstly, I want to turn my attention to the endorsement which reads in part “copied from a Draught Dawn & Paintd upon a Deer skin by an Indian Cacique; and presented to Francis Nicholson Esqr. Governour of Carolina”. The Catawba were indeed among the native nations who Nicholson sent out an invite to come to Charles Town to meet with him shortly after his arrival, suggesting that it is possible that it was one of the Nassaw headmen who made the map. The central location within the map of the Nassaw, Causie, Waterie, Nustie, Charra, Youchine, Wiapie, Suttirie, Succa, and Saxippaha, those

nations who were in the process of coalescing to form what would come to be known as the Catawba Nation, is the second strand of the Catawba claim put forward by Warhus. For Warhus the location of the proto-Catawbian group, places them in a situation that has a central “position in the networks of trade and politics that occupied the colonists” during the early eighteenth century thereby allowing the mapmaker to detail the “intricacies of the local network’ that linked the Catawba to Virginia and Charleston and other native nations notably the Chickasaw and the Cherokee.²⁰ Warhaus and others have noted that by doing so a Catawba cartographer potentially highlighted his own important position in relation to the developing British colonies

So by a combination of these two facts, the possible visit by a Catawba headman and the positioning of the nations, the claim has been made. and generally accepted, that this map is Catawba. I want to put forward a series of arguments to refute this claim and suggest instead that the cartographer of this map was in fact Cherokee. My analysis, as earlier noted, is based upon both an analysis of British documentation from the era and also an ethnohistorical analysis of the images of the map based upon Cherokee stories.

Firstly I want to turn to the historical documentation that emanated from London and South Carolina, prior to Nicholson’s arrival as governor. South Carolina had been going through a series of struggles since the Yammsee conflict in 1717 and by the end of the decade the local population was pushing for an end of propriety control. One area of priority for the colonists was the relationships with the local native population and the Indian trade in general. In late 1717 the colonists had gone outside the propriety channels to send a letter directly to the Board of Trade relating the state of Indian affairs and the late troubles. Suggesting that the state of Indian affairs was on the mind of the writers of

the instructions and probably Nicholson's as well. When eventually the British Government moved to remove control of South Carolina from the proprietors and turn the colony into a Royal possession it was to Francis Nicholson, veteran colonial administrator and avid collector of maps both native and European, they turned.²¹

On August 16th the Nicholson's commission was dispatched to Whitehall and on the 30th the draft of instructions was laid before their Excellencies the Lords Justices. Included in these instructions was the suggestion that a number of forts were necessary 'toward the inland frontiers' to protect against encroachment by the French. Forts were "likewise recommended among the Cherokee Indians" and further instructing that "a good understanding. . . be cultivated with the Indians inculcated".²² This is only one of many examples of the priority given by the British government at this time in official correspondence to the Cherokee. In his final instructions, comprised of 96 sections, Nicholson was instructed to ensure that a map with the "exact description of the whole province, with the several plantations, and the fortifications, to be forwarded by the first opportunity" along with an instruction that the "Indian Borders were to be secured."²³

The importance of the Cherokee was a subject that was carried with Nicholson to the colony. One of Nicholson's first acts was to plan for his introduction to those native nations who bordered the colony and sat between the British settlements and those of the French. Accordingly on June 3, 1721 the new governor and his council convened and ordered:

that the Charikees may be down on the beginning of September as also the Catawba: A Head man out of each Town of each Nation to come down. To get some of the Creek Indians to carry the Broad Seal of the Province with an assurance in Writing to the Yamasee Indians that if they will come and make their peace and submission to this Government that they shall be kindly received.²⁴

On July 13, in a letter to the Council of Trade and Plantations, Nicholson noted that the instructions to settle treaties with the local Indian population had begun stating that we have in “some measure affected [treaties] with the two chief nations the Creek and Cherokee”²⁵ And on September 8 1721 in a description of the state of the colony Nicholson listed the Indian nations between Carolina and the French settlements. Noting that there were about 9200 fighting men in total including; 3400 Choctaw who were “intirely debauched to the French interests”: 2000 more that at “trade at present indifferently with both” the French and the English and finally stating that

“The remaining 3800 Indians are the Cherekees, a warlike nation inhabiting the Apalatché mountains; these being still at enmity with the French, might with less difficulty be secured; and it certainly is of ye Highest consequence, that they should be engaged in your Majesty’s intrest, for should they once take another party, not only Carolina, but Virginia likewise would be exposed to their excursions.”²⁶

Later in the same document Nicholson also noted that the Cherokee were the only “Indians of consequence in those parts”

This is also reinforced by details of the meeting between Nicholson and the Cherokees reported in Alexander Hewatt’s 1779 *An Historical Account of the Rise and Progress of the Colonies of South Carolina and Georgia*. Hewat reports that

They [the Cherokee] rejoiced at a proposal [of a meeting] . . . and immediately the chiefs of thirty seven different towns set out to meet him. At this congress the governor having made them several presents, and smoked the pipe of piece with them, marked the boundaries of the lands between them and the English settlers.²⁷

What I have stressed here that the unknown Indian cacique, named on the map, was just as likely, in fact it could be argued that it was more likely, to have been a Cherokee, the only Indians of consequence in those parts, as any other native group.

I now want to turn my attention to the central location of the Catawba and the claim that this makes the possibility of a Catawba cartographer more likely. Although the concept of centering a map is a wide-spread and easily understood concept, one needs only to think of the centrality of the British Isles on a world atlas to confirm this however I believe that a different interpretation can be used on this occasion.

I base my claim on information found both on the map itself and also in a 1717 document by Indian trader William Hatton. Hatton was appointed to the position of assistant factor to the Cherokees on December 17 1716. After a couple of hiccups due to a lame horse and other misdemeanors Hatton was in place among the Cherokee by March 1717. It was from there that Hatton wrote of the problems involved with the trade between South Carolina and the Cherokee. Several items from the report interest me with regard to the map and the events that may have surrounded its production.²⁸

The first is the Hatton notes the presence of Virginia traders in the Cherokee towns. This was of course of concern to the authorities in Charleston who saw potential profit bleeding away in to Virginia however by the 1720s this trade was beginning to thin, indeed a Cherokee delegation appeared in Williamsburg in October 1721 where

The Chirokees by one of their Great Men, acquainting the governor that their Nation observing ye Factors of the late Indian Compny had totally withdrawn their Effects out of their Country, by wch they were apprehensive they shou'd have no further Trade wth this Colony.²⁹

This suggests that by 1721 the Cherokees were actively looking for trading partners to ensure a steady flow of goods into the villages, this fact will become more

important after I discuss the second factor from Hatton's document, the problems encountered in securing Burdeners to carry skins to Charleston. The problems come upon two fronts one the initial troubles that Hatton had in securing the requisite number and secondly, and more importantly for this paper the trouble the burdeners had during the journey.

Hatton was finally able to secure approximately 75 burdeners, but only after the Cherokee headman of the village had promised that they would in the future "they would make a new path."³⁰ With this promise the convoy set off for Charleston along a path that traveled by the Congaree fort. After the Indians burdeners arrived at the Congree fort with the skins the commander of the fort

ordered them [the Cherokee] to deliver their skins without the Trench and would not suffer the Old King nor any of the Headmen to set their foot so much as within the outward gate. (And further Hattom reported), while they were there came severall of the Cattawbas as great Rogues as any upon the Main before the Charikees Faces the Cattawbas was admitted into the Fort and had Regress and Freegress when they pleas'd as their own familiar, and at their coming in orders were given to get them some victuals to eat, while the Charikees was almost starv'd for want of it."³¹

Adding all these factors together the discussion of a new path, the problems encountered with the Catawba at Congaree fort and the Cherokees need to set up a stronger trade with South Carolina after the removal of the Virginia traders we can look again at the map and suggest that the positioning of the Catawba in the center was to highlight the problems associated with the Catawba trading with South Carolina, thereby hindering Cherokee access.

This would also explain the presence of a direct path from the Cherokee to South Carolina that by passed the Catawba group altogether, seen running along the top of the

map, suggesting the new path mentioned by the Cherokee headman in 1717. We must also ask why if the Catawba had placed themselves in the centre of the map to highlight the importance and domination of the trade networks in the region, as suggested by Warhaus and others, they would have drawn a path way that totally bypassed all the Catawba towns.³²

Finally I want to turn to the image of the two figures of the map which have never been seriously discussed with regards to assessing the maps origin. I want to begin this story with a retelling on the Cherokee story of Kanati and Selu.

After the world had been brought up from under the water, "They then made a man and a woman and led them around the edge of the island. On arriving at the starting place they planted some corn, and then told the man and woman to go around the way they had been led. This they did, and on returning they found the corn up and growing nicely. They were then told to continue the circuit. Each trip consumed more time. At last the corn was ripe and ready for use.

Another story is told of how sin came into the world. A man and a woman reared a large family of children in comfort and plenty, with very little trouble about providing food for them. Every morning the father went forth and very soon returned bringing with him a deer, or a turkey, or some other animal or fowl. At the same time the mother went out and soon returned with a large basket filled with ears of corn which she shelled and pounded in a mortar, thus making meal for bread.

When the children grew up, seeing with what apparent ease food was provided for them, they talked to each other about it, wondering that they never saw such things as their parents brought in. At last one proposed to watch when their parents went out and to follow them.

Accordingly next morning the plan was carried out. Those who followed the father saw him stop at a short distance from the cabin and turn over a large stone that appeared to be carelessly leaned against another. On looking closely they saw an entrance to a large cave, and in it were many different kinds of animals and birds, such as their father had sometimes brought in for food. The man standing at the entrance called a deer, which was lying at some distance and back of some other animals. It rose immediately as it heard the call and came close up to him. He picked it up, closed the mouth of the cave, and returned, not once seeming to suspect what his sons had done.

When the old man was fairly out of sight, his sons, rejoicing how they had outwitted him, left their hiding place and went to the cave, saying they would show the old folks that they, too, could bring in something. They moved

the stone away, though it was very heavy and they were obliged to use all their united strength. When the cave was opened, the animals, instead of waiting to be picked up, all made a rush for the entrance, and leaping past the frightened and bewildered boys, scattered in all directions and disappeared in the wilderness, while the guilty offenders could do nothing but gaze in stupified amazement as they saw them escape. There were animals of all kinds, large and small—buffalo, deer, elk, antelope, raccoons, and squirrels; even catamounts and panthers, wolves and foxes, and many others, all fleeing together. At the same time birds of every kind were seen emerging from the opening, all in the same wild confusion as the quadrupeds—turkeys, geese, swans, ducks, quails, eagles, hawks, and owls.

Those who followed the mother saw her enter a small cabin, which they had never seen before, and close the door. The culprits found a small crack through which they could peer. They saw the woman place a basket on the ground and standing over it shake herself vigorously, jumping up and down, when lo and behold! large ears of corn began to fall into the basket. When it was well filled she took it up and, placing it on her head, came out, fastened the door, and prepared their breakfast as usual. When the meal had been finished in silence the man spoke to his children, telling them that he was aware of what they had done; that now he must die and they would be obliged to provide for themselves. He made bows and arrows for them, then sent them to hunt for the animals which they had turned loose.

Then the mother told them that as they had found out her secret she could do nothing more for them; that she would die, and they must drag her body around over the ground; that wherever her body was dragged corn would come up. Of this they were to make their bread. She told them that they must always save some for seed and plant every year.³³

If we then turn back to the map with this story in mind two factors spring to mind firstly is the positioning of the two figures. The female figure is situated near the Cherokee home land, commensurate with her position in the story as the person who remained in the village at all times and also representative of female control of the home in Cherokee society. In comparison to this the hunting Indian is away from the village and more specifically is hunting a deer next to South Carolina, and Governor Nicholson, rather than Virginia

Finally I would like to look in closer detail at the figures themselves. The male figure is as noted obviously a hunter and can therefore be related to Kanati. The female

figure would therefore be, as stated, Selu. If we examine the image in relation to the story we can clearly see an object of some sort coming out of the woman's body. In the past this has been referred to as a tail, if at all. I would like to suggest that when examined in relation to the story this represents the corn produced by Selu which both helped to support the Cherokee and also gave her her name, Selu the corn mother.

Taking all these factors together, the need for a new path and the trouble with the Catawba, the priority given by the British government and the South Carolina officials to the Cherokee, along with the analysis based upon Cherokee story analysis lead me to the conclusion that cartographer for this particular map was not Catawba but rather Cherokee

¹ Bartram, William, *Travels through North and South Carolina, Georgia, East and West Florida*, pp. 33-35 & 39-40; In 1736 Cadwallader Colden wrote to Governor of New York George Clarke that ‘several large Tracts of Land’ the boundaries of which were ‘said to be so purchased are in several cases expressed by points or Degrees of the Compass & by the English Measure which are absolutely unknown to the Indians.’ This suggests that debates between Native Americans and British colonists over the accuracy of British tools of spatial definition were widespread. ‘The Memorial of Cadwallader Colden Esqr Surveyor General of Land of the s^d Province’, November 3, 1736, *The Letters and Papers of Cadwallader Colden*, Vol. II, 1730-1742, *Collections of the New-York Historical Society for the Year 1918*, (New York, 1918), pp. 158-60.

² A similar confrontation between European reliance on the compass and Native American local knowledge occurred during John Lederer’s journey in Cumming, William P. (ed.), *The Discoveries of John Lederer with unpublished Letters by and About Lederer to Governor John Winthrop, Jr. and an Essay on the Indians of Lederer’s Discoveries*, (Winston-Salem, North Carolina, 1858), pp. 1920.

³ Harley, J.B., and Woodward, David, (eds.), *The History of Cartography: Volume One – Cartography in Prehistoric, Ancient, and Medieval Europe and the Mediterranean*, (Chicago, 1987), p. xvi.

⁴ Harley, J.B., and Woodward, David, (eds.), *The History of Cartography*, p. xv.

⁵ Julian Jaynes, *The Origin of Consciousness in the Breakdown of the Bicameral Mind*, (Boston, 1976) pp. 59–61 quoted in G. Malcolm Lewis, ‘The Origins of Cartography’ in Harley, J.B., and Woodward, David, (eds.), *The History of Cartography*, p. 51.

⁶ Woodward, Henry, ‘Woodward’s Westo Discovery’, p. 457

⁷ Woodward’s first appearance in southeastern history is as a member of Robert Sanford’s 1666 exploration of the coast below Charles Town. On July 7,) In 1666, Robert Sanford’s expedition was preparing to leave the Port Royal area, the Cassique of Port Royal’ suggested an exchange of ambassadors. Woodward had, as the expedition began, announced his desire to remain with the local Native population and was accordingly selected to stay. Over the next few years, Woodward was captured by the Spanish and taken to St Augustine, from where he was rescued by English buccaneer Robert Searle, only to be shipwrecked and again rescued, on this occasion by a fleet under the command of the future Governor of Carolina, Joseph West. Accompanying West back to Carolina, Woodward’s knowledge of the local Native American population made him a useful figure in the burgeoning colony. Woodward, Henry, ‘Woodward’s Westo Discovery’, p. 457

⁸ On 3 October 1733, William Byrd would report finding the following carved into a beech tree on the banks of Hatcher’s Creek in upper North Carolina ‘J.H, H.H., B.B., Lay here the 24TH OF May 1673,’ which he attributed to Joseph and Henry Hatcher along with Benjamin Bullington three traders who had lodged there ‘sixty years before,’ indicating that both Native and Europeans utilized trees as markers. Byrd, William, *A Journey to the Land of Eden and Other Papers* (ed. Mark Van Doren), (1928) p. 292.

⁹ The year 1709 saw the publication of Lawson’s journal, ‘A New Voyage to Carolina; Containing the Exact Description and Natural History of the Country: Together with the Present State Thereof. And a Journal of a Thousand Miles, Travel’d thro’ several Nations of Indians. Giving a particular Account of their Customs, Manners, etc.,’ which gave an extended depiction of his time in the colony.. Lawson, John, *A New Voyage to Carolina*, (University Microfilms, 1966; orig. 1709).

¹⁰ Lawson, John, *A New Voyage*, p. 2.

¹¹ Lawson, John, *A New Voyage*, p. 205; for an additional comments on the accuracy of Native American cartography see Baron De Lahontan ‘Quoique les Sauvages n’ayent aucune connoissance de la Geografie non plus que des autres Sciences, ils font les Cartes du Monde les plus correctes des Pais qu’ils connoissent auxquelles il ne manque que les Latitudes & les Longitudes’ (Though the Savages do not comprehend Geography either that or other Sciences, they make the Charts of the World they know which it lack only the Latitudes & Longitudes, author’s translation) *Dialogues Curieux Entre L’Auteur et un Sauvage de bon sens qui a voyage et Mémoires de l’ Amérique Septentrionale* (Baltimore, 1931), p. 100, and also South Carolina Governor James Glen who in a discussion of the space between the ‘Atlantick Ocean and the Mississippi River’ noted that he had often had the Cherokee and other nations ‘trace the Rivers on the floor wth Chalk, and also on Paper, and it is surprising how near they approach to our best Maps.’ Letter dated 15 August 1754 BRRO-SC.

¹² April Hatfield in her discussion of Virginia and its place in the broader Atlantic world details the manner by which during the seventeenth century English colonists in Virginia gradually began to rely less and less

on Native American informants for cartographic details of the American interior. Hatfield, April Lee, *Atlantic Virginia: Intercolonial Relations in the Seventeenth Century*, (Philadelphia, 2004), passim, esp chapter one. See also G. Malcolm Lewis 'Native North American's Cosmological ideas and Geographical Awareness: Their Representation and Influence on Early European Exploration and Geographical Knowledge', Allen, John Logan, (ed.), *North American Exploration*, p. 105.

¹³ 'A New Map of North and South Carolina and Georgia, engraved by Kitchen', *The London Magazine: Or, Gentleman's Monthly Intelligencer for April, 1765*, opposite p.168.

¹⁴ Lawson, John, *A New Voyage*, p. 205.

¹⁵ Williams, Samuel Cole, (ed.) *Adair's History of the American Indian*, p.5; For a discussion of Adair's value as a resource see Hudson, Charles, 'James Adair as Anthropologist', *Ethnohistory*, Vol. 24, No.4 (Autumn, 1977). In Lawson's earlier quotation we were informed that the information European mapmakers sought was available only as long as the mapmaker had the favor of the local Native population. Lawson was to discover what occurred when this favor was lost in 1711 while on another trip. On this occasion Lawson was taken captive by the Tuscarora 'who suspected him of having designs on their land' and eventually put him to death.

¹⁶ It appears that Native maps on the whole were not intended to be permanent records of space. Peter Nabokov, discussing fixed demarcations of space, writes that the 'creation of cadastral boundaries between actual land areas' was illogical and confusing for Native Americans, 'especially when it was done not on foot or for obvious purposes of remembering how to teach favored hunting and foraging spots, but through imaginary lines and for highly suspicious reasons.' Peter Nabokov, 'Orientations from Their Side: Dimensions of Native American Discourse', in Lewis, G. Malcolm *Cartographic Encounters: Perspectives on Native American Mapmaking and Map Use*, (Chicago, 1998), p. 247.

¹⁷ Nicholson had an interest in cartography both commissioning maps whilst in the colonies see???? As well as being a subscriber to John Senex's 1721 *A New General Atlas: Containing a Geographical and Historical account of all the Empires, Kingdoms, and other Dominions of the World*. Interestingly the 'Map of Louisiana and the River Mississippi' details the edge of the British colonies of Virginia and Carolina stopping before reaching the "Cheraquai". p. 248-9

¹⁸ Waselkov Gregory A., 'Indian Maps of the Colonial SouthEast', in Wood Peter H., Waselkov Gregory A., Hatley M. Thomas (eds.) *Powhatan's Mantle: Indians in the Colonial Southeast* (University of Nebraska Press, Lincoln) p.325

¹⁹ Warhus, Mark, *Another America: Native American Maps and the History of Our Land*, (St Martins Press, New York)

²⁰ Warhus, *Another America*, p. 79

²¹ '1717, Sept. 25. Copy of a letter from South Carolina to Mr. Boon, relating to the Indian War &c.' Papers of the Board of Trade, South Carolina Vol.XXV Entry book' *Records of the South Carolina Historical Society Vol. 2*. p. 144; This is paper number 20 in a group of 24 which comprise a collection titled 'Complaints against the Lord Proprietors of Carolina' collected in a bundle and entered into the records on August 23, 1720.

²² '1720, Aug 30. Whitehall' *Records of the South Carolina Historical Society Vol. 2*. p.144

²³ '1720 Whitehall Instructions for Francis Nicholson esq.' *Records of the South Carolina Historical Society Vol. 2*. pp.145-7

²⁴ *Calendar of State Papers, Colonial Series, America and West Indies, March, 1720 to December, 1721*. Preserved in the Public Record Office (London,1933). 336

²⁵ C.O.5, 358 ff 91-105 5 406 *Calendar of State Papers, Colonial Series, America and West Indies, March, 1720 to December, 1721*. Preserved in the Public Record Office (London,1933)

²⁶ 'September 8,1721 Council of Trade and Plantations to the King. In obedience to your Majesty's command we have prepared the following state of your Majesty's Plantation on the Continent of America' HM221 pp. 71-2 The Huntington Library, Art Collections, and Botanical Gardens

²⁷ Hewatt, Alexander, *An Historical Account of the Rise and Progress of the Colonies of South Carolina and Georgia, in Two Volumes* (London, 1779) Vol. 1 pp. 297-8

²⁸ Colonial Records of South Carolina, Journals of the Commissioners of the Indian Trade September 20, 1710 – August 29, 1718 (South Carolina Department of Archives and History Columbia 1992, pp. 140-304)

²⁹ McIlwaine, H.R. (ed.) *Executive Journals of the Council of Colonial Virginia Vol. IV (October 25, 1721 – October 28, 1739)* (Virginia, 1930), pp. 1-2.

³⁰ Vassar, Rena, (ed.), 'Some Short Remarks on the Indian Trade in the Charikees and in Management thereof since the Year 1717', *Ethnohistory*, Vol. 8 No.4 (Fall, 1961) p. 412

³¹ 'Some Short Remarks on the Indian Trade' pp. 415-6

³² A possible route for new path, would follow the path on Hunters map staying to the left of the Santee river and then follow the Congaree river to the fort at the Congarees however, then rather than follow the path shown on Herberts 1725 map up through the wateries, it would/could carry on along the Congaree river passing Saludee on the Herbert map before hitting the dividing paths on Hunter's map. This would agree with the layout on the deerskin which shows a split in the path below the Catawba group that then loops around the waterie etc. (Hunters Map, Hunter, George. "Map of the Cherokee Country and the Path Thereto, 1730." South Carolina Department of Archives and History. Columbia, South Carolina; Herbert Map, Huntington BR473)

³³ This is the Wahnenuhi version. Taken from Mooney, James, *History, Myths and the Sacred formulas of the Cherokees* (Historical Images Ashville, 1992)