Naming and Mapping the Environments of Early Massachusetts, 1620–1776

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The maps and place-names of early Massachusetts offer an unusual perspective of the implicit design that newcomers to a land may impose on it. The organization of the terrain by those like the English settlers of the 1600s derives in good part from beliefs on how to make it serve the purposes of a particular society and culture. That the land may still appear, say, in a natural state, or that other, far different cultures such as the Algonquians may have long held it, clearly influences but does not necessarily govern a new pattern of settlement. Surely John Winthrop's views on English rights to the lands of Massachusetts exemplify one approach toward establishing a claim on supposedly open territory. For as he believed, the English settlers had warrant enough, as a matter of "civill right," to appropriate the land, to regard it as their share of "the Lordes garden," which they would not let "lye waste without any improvement."[1] This image of Massachusetts as a land awaiting development supported the belief of the English that it was a *vacuum domicilium*. And the idea of lands not yet settled invites the imagination and the will to impart form, to create civil order, to draw up maps, and to bestow place-names.

The enterprise of entering a land as the English of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries had done suggests for the study of maps and place-names a condition analogous to the work of a reader bent upon editing and annotating a text. Here is the land of Massachusetts, a text unfolded for the first time to eager congregations, ready to explore it and to indicate through local plans and place-names just what significance they find in it. Insofar as they examine and discover what it is they hoped the land would reveal or yield, the likelihood is that they will mark it off and name it. Thus maps and place-names constitute, as it were, an apparatus or a

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[1]Winthrop, John. *Papers*. Ed. Stewart Mitchell (Boston: The Massachusetts Historical Society, 1931), II, 115 and 120.

framework by which to read the land. But the assumptions and conceptual structures that underlie such a framework of maps and place-names are not entirely evident and need analysis.

In the instance of the colonial settlements in Massachusetts, even a brief glance at the early maps indicates the presence of both English and Algonquian place-names. But what is not altogether clear is the relation of these names to one another or to the practices of the Algonquians before the arrival of the settlers or to the practices of the English at home, before they set sail across the Atlantic. To determine how the settlers and their descendants before the American Revolution mapped the lands of Massachusetts encourages both a look to the past in England, and an assessment of the contact with the Algonquians. And this background, in turn, enables some sense of the conventions characteristic of early maps in Massachusetts and of the significance that these conventions have.

Although tenure maps and local plans in the England of the sixteenth century vary considerably, most of them presuppose an arrangement of lands about a village and its priory or manor. Thus a local plan like that of Holdenby, in Northamptonshire, was very likely familiar to settlers in Massachusetts.[2] The map of Holdenby (1580) is that of a small parish, a manor at the center, with fourteen houses for villagers near North Feelde. On all sides are surrounding villages and parishes: for example, Harleton to the west and Church Brampton to the south. Within the parish of Holdenby, the major contrasting features of terrain all have names: fields, meadows, woods, hills, the stream to the east. The only stretch of ground described instead of named (just west of Wood Feelde) is "the meadowe toward Harleton." Moreover none of the place-names identifies a property owner of the 1580s. Fowlham and Longlande are not the names of

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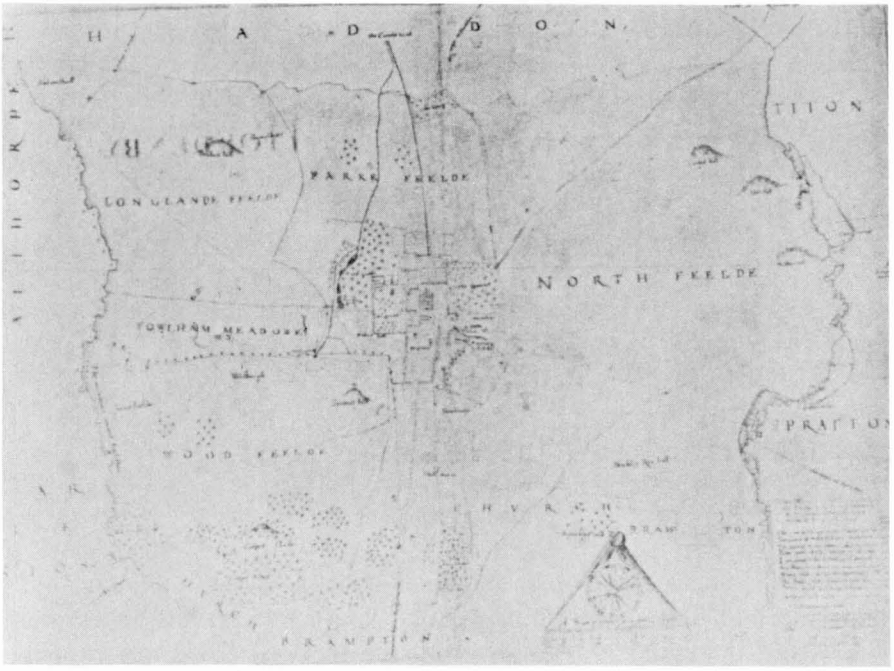
[2]Beresford, Maurice. *History on the Ground* (London: Lutterworth Press, 1957), facing page 214.

Place-Names of Holdenby, Northamptonshire (1580)

Left side	Center	Right side
Holinesshall	the Cundit head	Corled Hill
Brakett Hill	the Spray	Oxe Hill
Longlande Feelde	Parke Feelde	Nether Hill
Fowlham Meadowe	the Spiney	North Feelde
Wisburgh	the Grove	Brickley Rye Hill
Wood Feelde	Baker Hill	Brickley Hill
The meadowe toward Harleton	the Greene	The Hayn
Colpitt Slade	Stainer Hill	
Colpitt Ashes	Stanbridge	
Colpitt Pond	Ayly Wood	

At the periphery: Althorpe Harlestone Haddon Church Brampton Spratton Titon

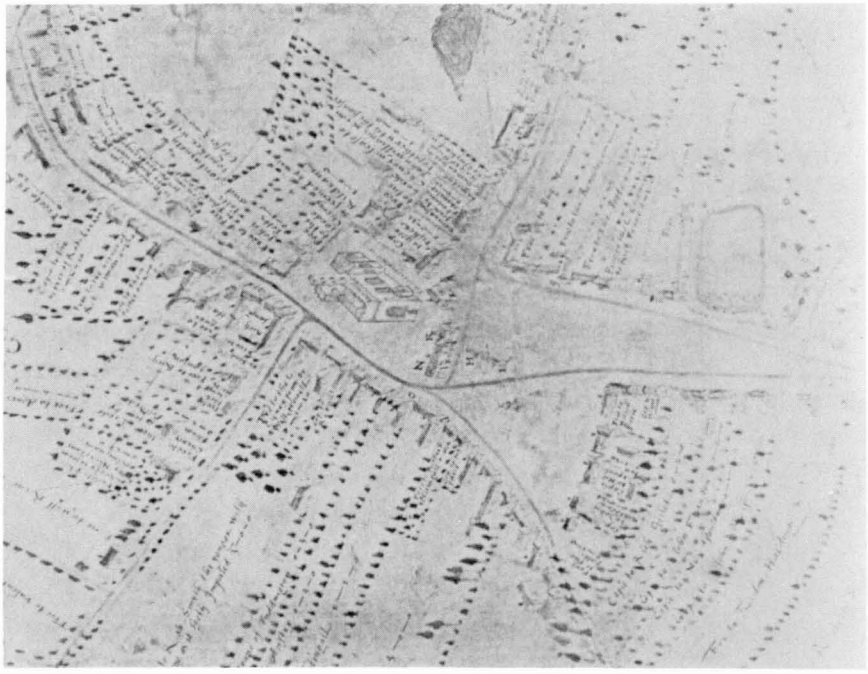
villagers, living side by side, in possession of their own fields and meadows as freehold. These names have historic interest; they take us back to the middle ages and to earlier villages and settlements. But by the end of the sixteenth century, their original significance was probably forgotten. Their principal value is to set off for the occupants of the parish the chief divisions of the land. This plan of Holdenby, then, designates through signs and place-names (none of them an indicator of a villager's property), the contrasting features of the landscape in the parish.



Tenure maps, no doubt also familiar to the English settlers in New England, describe property arrangements. The plan of Toddington, in Bedfordshire, drawn in 1581, illustrates for example, those portions of open fields that villagers had under copyhold (a lease they contracted with the lord of a manor) or by right of freehold (rights to work the land, held by right of inheritance).[3] In a tenure map, captions descriptive of a farmer's lease appear instead of place-names. The bottom left corner of the map, for example indicates that a large strip of land is a freehold tenured to Edmund Hardinge, whereas Richard Gillett has a copyhold. As

[3]Beresford, facing page 180.

a whole, then, local plans of a parish had a function in sixteenth century England different from that of tenure maps. One located and identified the characteristic features of a parish; the other described the leasing of property.



Complementary tenure maps and local plans, however, do not occur in Massachusetts. The apportioning of lands no longer depends on a system of tenuring but rather on grants from the General Court or from the proprietors of a town. Moreover, this system stems entirely from the settlers'-own civic and ecclesiastical conventions and owes nothing at all to any other society or culture, least of all to the Algonquians. And although the Algonquians had a detailed system for naming the features of the terrain within their hunting, fishing, and planting grounds, they had, of course, no traditions of writing or mapping. In fact, the one map of Algonquian lands in the seventeenth century, probably drawn by an Indian John Sassamon, is both derivative and incomprehensible.[4]

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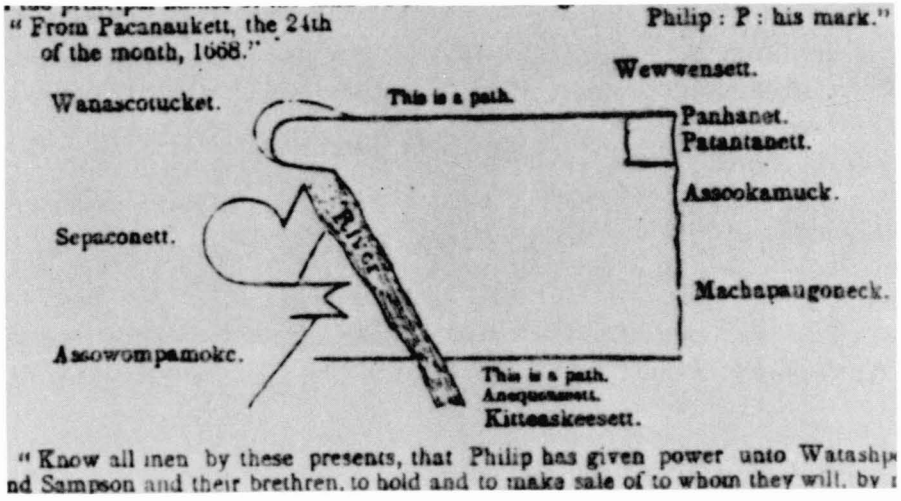
[4]The map was drawn in 1668 and appears in the records of the Plymouth Colony. It was probably drawn by John Sassamon. Here follow the names on the map and some possible derivations:



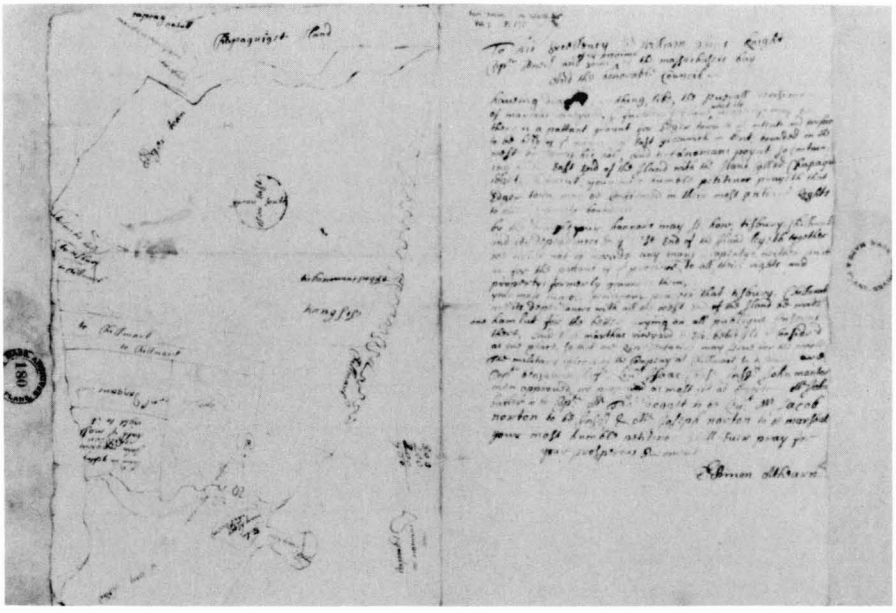
The configuration of the map is difficult to interpret. The river in it bears no name, and the curved lines to the left are as obscure as the straight lines on the right. Possibly the map describes lands in the area of Mattapoisett and Marion, Massachusetts, once known as the lands of Sippican. Perhaps the name Sepaconett is an early spelling of Sippican and has the gloss "where there are plenty of ground nuts." The glosses for the other Indian names are in good part guesses based on James Hammond Trumbull's analyses of Algonquian dialects in Connecticut and Massachusetts.[5] And if the gloss of Assowompamoke as "fork at the fishing place" approximates accuracy, the name, as placed on the map, is some distance from the river. Finally, the two columns of Indian names on the left and right are probably an arbitrary arrangement unrelated to the usual conventions of map making.

Wanascotucket = *wanasque* 'at the end of' + *tuck* 'tidal river' + *et* at: "at the end of the tidal river."
Sepaconett = *sepan* 'ground nuts' + *kontu* 'place of abundance': "where there are plenty of ground nuts."
Assowompamoke = *assawog* 'the fork' + *amuck* 'fishing place': "fork at the fishing place."
Kitteaskeesett = *keht* 'great' + ashkiki 'marsh' + *set* 'near' = "near the great marsh."
Wowwensett = *wohweyeu* 'winds about' + *set* 'near': "near where (the brook?) winds about."
Panhanet = ??
Patantanett = *puttuckakuan* 'round place or sweating place' + *et* 'at' = "at the sweat house."
Assookamuck = *nashaue-komuk* "half-way place"
Machapaugoneck = *matche* 'bad' + *paug* 'pond' + *oneck*?: "----at the bad pond"
Anequoassett = ??
River

[5]Trumbull, James H. "The Composition of Indian Geographical Names, Illustrated from the Algonkin Languages," *Connecticut Historical Society*, 2 (1870), pp 1–50., and Indian Names in Connecticut (Hartford: Lockwood & Brainard, 1881); rpt. (Hamden, Conn.: Archon, 1974).

As for the English settlers, most had little, if any, knowledge of the Algonquian languages. And of those who did, the Mayhews on Martha's Vineyard, John Eliot and Daniel Gookin in the Massachusetts Bay Colony, and Roger Williams in Rhode Island, none ever considered drawing a detailed map of Algonquian lands. The bulk of Algonquian place-names still available appears instead in the records and maps of settlers who most often transcribed them imperfectly and inconsistently, who hardly cared that they had no proper sense of how to parse or gloss them. Yet that these Indian names appear frequently enough in early maps and deeds suggests that they had some function in the settlers' perception of the land in Massachusetts, a function that apparently none of the traditional, English terms satisfied.

Simon Athearn's map of Martha's Vineyard (1692) is a good instance of how settlers used English conventions and imperfectly mastered Algonquian names to "edit" and to "annotate" the terrain of the *vacuum domicilium*.



The chief purpose of the map, as Athearn's letter to Governor Phips suggests, is to support his argument for a division of Martha's Vineyard into two towns or "hamlets." The question of tenure is important, for as he implies, he intends no disturbance to anyone's property. But clearly the English distinction of freehold and copyhold no longer obtains. Although Mayhew had for ten years (1670–1680) called his property on the island

Tisbury Manor, before changing its name to Chilmark, he was a lord in name only (so designated by Governor Dongan of New York) and had no fief to divide into rentals. Instead, distinctions in names for property had to do with whether or not one lived on the land. If so, Athearn found it sufficient to list a man's name (Thomas Mayhew) or his kin (John Mayhew's children). If the property was held in absentia, then the generic *land* or *purchase* apparently indicated a difference between one's initial and one's additional holdings.

Secondly, the map emphasizes borders rather than centers. In the map of Holdenby, fields and meadows enclose the manor and village. In Athearn's map, Tikanomans poynt appears because it is at the southwest corner of Edgartown, and Holms his hole is at the northwest corner. Divisions within the proposed town of Tisbury, furthermore, have no descriptive names at all, but simply indicate that some parcels belong "to Chilmark" or "to Tisbury." In effect, Athearn's map concerns itself very little with the lay of the land. It is primarily a political map, designed to advocate the allocation of lands to separate townships.[6]

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[6]Whether a genre had developed in England of mapping disputed lands between towns, parishes, and boroughs in England is for me still an open question Names on Simon Athearn's Map:

East
kapoag = *kuppaug* "place shut in or harbor"
natuk = *naïag* 'corner' + *auk* 'land': "land at the corner."
Chapaquiget Iland = *chappa* 'separated' + *aquidne* 'island': "separated island."
marthas vineyard harbor
Edgar town

Center
holms his hole
to tisbury
to chillmark
tikanomans poynt : Tikanoman was an Indian sachem
Tisbury
to Chillmark
to Chillmark
Chillmark

West
Gov. Dongans land
Gov. Dongans purchas
land in question John Mayhews children hath the most right to it.
Thomas mayhew
John Mayhews children
Capookit or nomans land Capookit has the same gloss as Chappaquiddick

Legend on the map:

To his excellency Sir William Phips Knight, Captain General, and Governor of the Province of Massachusetts Bay And the Honorable Council: Having drawn something like the several divisions of

Lastly, the Indian names on Athearn's map are primarily on the east side of Martha's vineyard, at Chappaquidick to which neither the Mayhews nor any other English settler had yet laid claim. That Athearn adds to Chappaquidick the tautological generic *Island* suggests that he did not know its meaning. Gay Head at the west end of the Vineyard, also an Indian settlement, was probably given its descriptive name by sailors, because the many colored clays of its cliffs stood out as a landmark.

In short, Athearn's sketch of Martha's Vineyard has elements of a tenure map, although the meaning of tenure in England and in Massachusetts, as his names and labels suggest, is hardly the same. His sketch also has a few descriptive names, mostly of harbors and inlets. And his placing of Indian names at the extremities, although accurate, excludes other possibilities closer to the center of the island, such as Menemsha, take Tashmoo, or his own farm at Tississa near Tisbury Great Pond. The likelihood is that Athearn's reserving Indian names for the outer edges of Martha's Vineyard expresses a sense of Algonquians as outsiders, who are to have no part in his proposal for two separate towns.

Athearn's map has to do with a political division of land in Massachusetts, but plans like David Haynes's for Shrewsbury (1717) also help to explain how and why the conventional English arrangement and naming of the land underwent change.

For one thing, the difference in acreage of the lands in Holdenby and those in Shrewsbury is a contrast between Lilliput and Brobdingnag. Whereas farmers in Holdenby worked meadows and fields, all of them about 1700 acres, Haynes's map covers 9096 acres of farm land. The sheer difference in scale between the two maps helps to explain the presence on Haynes's map of a single name for a meadow. Moreover, the map locates the proprietors' farms within Shrewsbury. Haynes hardly

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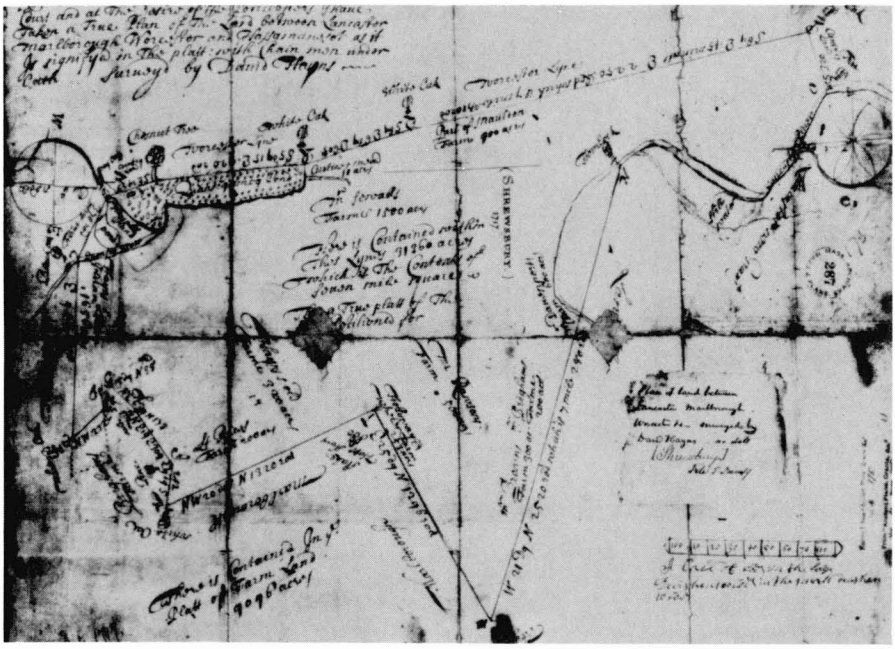
Martha's Vineyard, I further declared what its properties may be. There is a patent grant for Edgar town to all intents and purposes to be held of the manner of East Greenwich in Kent, bounded on the west by Holms his hole, and tikanomans point, so containing all the east end of the iland with the iland called Chapaquidget & natuk. Your most humble petitioner prayeth that Edgar town may be continued in their most antient rights to their outmost boundaries.

By the draught, your honor may see how Tisbury, Chillmark and its dependencies & the west end of the Iland lieth together. With desire not to invade any mans propertys, neither can it be, for the patent of said province saveth to all their rights and properties formerly granted them. Your most humble petitioner prayeth that Tisbury, Chillmark and its dependencies with all the west end of the Iland be made one hamlet for the better carrying on all public concerns there and that marthas vineyard & Elizabeths Ile be considered as one place, so that one Representative may serve for the whole. The military officers of the Company at Chillmark & Tisbury are Capt. Benjamin Skiffe, Lieut. Isaac Chase, Ensign John Manter, men approved, we propound as most fitt. At Edgartown Mr. John Butler to be Captain, Mr. Thomas Dogget to be Lieut., Mr. Jacob Norton to be Ensign & Mr. Joseph Norton to be marshal.

Your most humble petitioner shall ever pray for your prosperous government.

Simon Athearn



concerns himself with the nature of the terrain. He does not distinguish between hill and meadow, although Shrewsbury had early on such names as Wild Cat Meadow, Great Bummit Meadow, and Ashans Hill.[7] The allocation of grants, not the quality of the land, is the chief consideration.

To be sure, Haynes includes some descriptive terms in his proprietors'

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[7]Haynes's map has the following legend:

> Pursuant to the Order of great and Generall Court and at the Desire of the Petitioners I have taken a True Plan of the Land between Lancaster Marlborough Worcester and Hassanameset as it is signified in the platt Chain men under oath. Surveyed by David Hayns

Disposition of names:

Outside the leftmost line:
Cuntry land
Worcester Lyne
Below the bottom line:
Flint farm
Hassannameset: Daniel Gookin glosses it as "a place of small stones"
Brighams Farme

Outside the rightmost line:
Marlborough

Above the line toward the right:
Lancaster
Still Water
Lancaster River
Lancaster New Grant

map, most of them, however, at the periphery of the Shrewsbury bounds. So Lancaster River, Quinsigamog River and Pond, and Haynes Island, all help to define the boundaries with Worcester and Lancaster. Other features of the terrain—pond, still water—are not place-names at all, but labels. And the term *country land* is a toponym that had no currency in England at all, but refers to land held by the Provincial government, still unassigned. The consequence is that just as in Athearn's sketch of Martha's Vineyard, so in Haynes's map, descriptive place-names have as their chief purpose the delimiting of boundaries.

Indian names in Athearn's map were reserved for the periphery, lands not yet occupied by settlers. In Haynes's map, they have two other purposes: to identify parts of the terrain, such as large ponds and rivers, that could not properly belong to anyone; and, also, to designate a praying town. Hassananeset, one of the last, is an early form of Indian reservation that first appeared in Massachusetts. The name *Haynes's Indian Farm*, near Hassananeset, implies too, that Haynes had purchased 3200 acres from the Algonquians, a transaction typical of settlement history. By and large, Indian names on settlers' maps identified what was either not yet claimed or not at all marketable.

Unfortunately, detailed maps of Hassananeset or of other Indian praying towns, if they were ever drawn, do not survive. What does remain is a

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Within the leftmost line:
Part of Mauldon Farm 900 acres
Curtises meadow 10 acres
Quinsigamog Pond = *qunnosuog* 'pickerels' + *amaug* 'fishing place': "fishing place for pickerels."
Mr Sewalls Farme 1500 acres

Above the bottom line:
Hayns's Indian Farm 1686 acres
Hayns's old Farme 3200 acres

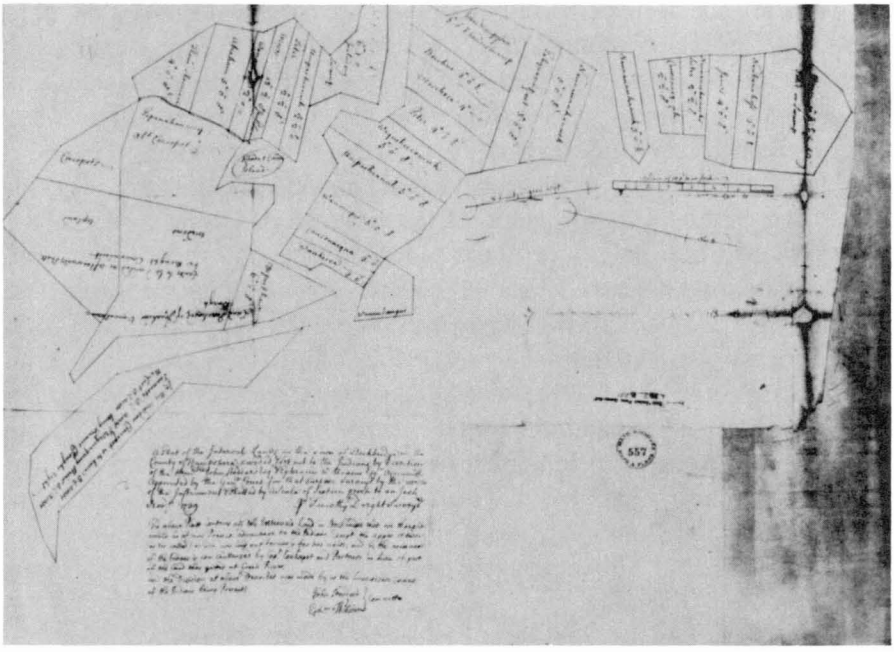
Inside rightmost line:
Lieut. Rieds Farm 200 acres
Holloway & Wheeler Farm 253 acres
Mr. Rawsons Farm 500 acres

Below top line at the right:
Mr. Browns Farm 300 acres
Mr. Brighams Farm 200 acres
Mr. Davenports Farm 600 acres

Additional notes: There is Contained in the Platt of Farm Land 9096 acres.
There is Contained within these lines 31360 acres which is the contents of a town mile square.

The examples of early place names not appearing on Haynes's map are to be found in Ward, Andrew H. *History of the Town of Shrewsbury* (Boston: Drake, 1847), 16 and 18.

map of lands "let out" to the Stockbridge Indians in 1736.[8] In some ways, Dwight's map resembles quite directly the tenure map of Todding-



ton. As in the Toddington map, the acreage leased to each Stockbridge Indian appears after his name. Some of the leased acres contain swamps and ponds, but neither the committee of Stoddard and Williams nor the

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[8]The legend of the Stockbridge map is as follows:

A plat of the Interval Lands in the Town of Stockbridge in the County of Hampshire divided & let out to the Indians by Direction of the Honorable John Stoddard Esq. and Ephraim Williams Esq., a Committee Appointed by the General Court for the Purpose. Surveyed by the needle of the Instrument & Platted by a Scale of Sixteen perch to an Inch.
November, 1739 By Timothy Dwight, Surveyor

The above Platt contains all the Intervale Land in Stockbridge that we thought would be of any Present Advantage to the Indians. Except the Upper Meadow (as 'tis called) which was laid out formerly for two rights, and by the agreement of the Indians is now challenged by Capt. Conkapot and Partners in Lieu of Part of the land they quitted at Green River. And the Division as above described was made by us the Subscribers (many of the Indians being Present).

JohnStoddard Ephraim Williams: Commitee

In this meddow Concopot is to have 5½ acres, Pauneota 5½ acres & Wequaquns Heirs 5½ acres. The last 5½ acres being Francis Clough's right
Land Purchase of Joachim Vanvalkemburgh
Lands to be divided as afterwards shall be thought convenient meddow
upland
Rhoda Island 1½ acres
Yocun 10^{a}; 8^{r} : O^{p} including Pond or Swamp

surveyor Dwight speaks of farms or even of lots. The word they use to describe the land let out is *intervals*, a localism in Massachusetts for bottom land, but it is a word not customarily associated with property rights. The little acreage leased at Stockbridge (it is as small as the lands allotted in the Toddington map) and the choice of a descriptive rather than a proprietary term both indicate that for the settlers of Massachusetts, Indians had no genuine place in the hierarchy of ownership. Just as Indian place-names generally designated the periphery of settlements, some of the larger waterways, or waste lands (the exceptions are Massachusetts itself, and Scituate, as the name of a town), so the Indians themselves were either to be outcasts or under public charge.

The plans of Shrewsbury and Stockbridge are among the earliest for both towns: they were drawn some years before the incorporation of each. The emphasis on proprietors' lands or lands let to Indians is maybe not surprising. Yet by the 1730s and 1740s, some of the towns in Massachusetts were already one hundred years old, time enough certainly for three generations of settlers to achieve a strong sense of identity with the land. The plan of the first parish of Gloucester (1741) for example, describes a town incorporated a hundred years before, in 1642, containing more than eighty households.[9] The increased density of the town and its need for two

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[9]Legend for the First Parish of Gloucester is as follows:

This Plann of the first parrish in Gloucester wherein is Represented the old and new meeting houses therein and the distance between them and the high ways and the petitioners houses as they stand as exact as I could Plann them: and the outside lines of the Sea Shore Rivers Creek and millpond by Judgment: protracted by a scale of 100 pole in an inch by Josiah Batchelder Surveyor, Captain Aaron Bonnet, Stephen Allen and Jospeh Gidings Chain Men upon oath - - -as witness my hand Josiah Batcheleder.

Names on the map:

Southeast
Sea Shore
Eastern Point
Highway to the Eastern Point
Captain Robinsons Neck
Ten Pound Island
Five Pound Island
Head of the Harbour
Harbour
Stage Point

Northeast
Parting Path
The Bridge
Beach

South Central
Parsonage Field
Parting Way
On the way leading to
Manchester

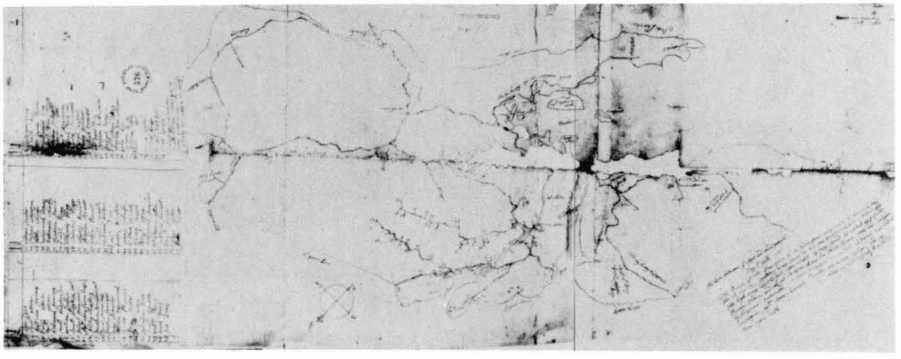
North Central
Cape
Highway to the Cape
Pigeon Cove
Sandy Bay
Pigeon Hill

Southwest
The line between
the first and second
parish
Little River
Little River bridge
The way leading to
Ipswich
ferry
Mill Pond
Saw Mill
Grist Mill
Squam River
Mill River

Northwest
Squam Line

Squam = possibly from *Wanashqui* 'the point' + *ompsk* 'rock' + *ut* 'at': "the point of the rock"

meeting houses suggest that its surveyor Josiah Batchelder might offer considerably greater detail, fuller annotation, than David Haynes in Shrewsbury or Timothy Dwight in Stockbridge would. And Batchelder, in fact, does draw up a scheme to indicate where most of his neighbors' houses are. On the other hand, his perception of the Gloucester parish is, in principle, no different from that of the early map makers. The interior of the parish marks primarily the location of households and the roads connecting them. And the roads have only directional names, not yet any of those apparently associated with later Gloucester. On the other hand, the outer borders of the parish, both on the sea and toward Manchester and Ipswich present a cluster of descriptive labels. Some of them, like SeaShore, Harbour, and Beach are generic terms; others, like Eastern Point, Ten Pound Island (there were ten pounds for livestock on it), and Parsonage Field are full place-names, identifying and denoting a particular area in Gloucester. Squam River and Squam line are the only instances of Indian names. What is new, however, are signs of local industry as suggested by Mill Pond and Mill River.



These early maps are representative in design of many others like them in the archives of the Commonwealth.[10] Many of them contain few, if any, place names. Most of them combine the genres of the tenure map and the local plot that apparently were characteristic of English cartographers in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. The ethos in Massachusetts, as suggested by the surveyors' maps, was to identify oneself closely with one's town, to mark its boundaries with recognizable features of the terrain, and to determine the location of property near the center. This

[10]The maps of early Massachusetts presented in this study typify and in no essential manner differ from a collection of 570 maps for the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries located in the archives of Massachusetts State Library.

mode of perceiving the land stems primarily from a desire to claim it, to occupy it, and to exclude outsiders, especially Indians.

In contrast, the Algonquian perception of these same lands emphasized the terrain itself or its characteristic fauna and flora. The idea of land tenure was not foreign to the Algonquians. Edward Winslow in *Good Newes from New England* noted that a sachem knew "how far the bounds and limits of his own country extendeth; and that is his own proper inheritance."[11] The difference between Indians and settlers, however, was that the land contributed to their ideas of society in different ways. For the settler, to own land was to claim substance for oneself and thereby to enable, in good part, full standing as a member of one's town. For the Indian, the land and its rhythms governed the activities of the tribe: there was a time to hunt, a time to fish, a time to plant. And such a cyclical rhythm, as Francis Jennings argues, required of Indians that they know their "place on the land and . . . (that they keep) in it by enforced custom."[12] Indian place-names contributed to this cycle, for they helped to identify and describe the immediate world of tribal lands, the recurrent features of the landscape which the Algonquians were to recognize as they followed the cyclical rhythms of the year.

At the beginning of the American Revolution, however, after a hundred fifty years of English settlement, the developments in local industry and trade began to stimulate other perceptions of the land. Although Massachusetts was still to incorporate many new towns, the desire to improve routes for commerce encouraged such undertakings as the construction of canals. Surveys of the land, therefore, began to satisfy the new purpose of attending to the physical features of the terrain, of serving the needs of the engineer. Machin's map of Cape Cod Canal diagrams the difference in perspective quite plainly.[13]

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[11]In Young, Alexander, ed. *Chronicles of the Pilgrim Fathers of the Colony of Plymouth. from 1602 to 1625* (Boston, 1841), 361.

[12]Jennings, Francis. *The Invasion of America* (Chapel Hill: Univ. of North Carolina Press, 1975), 71.

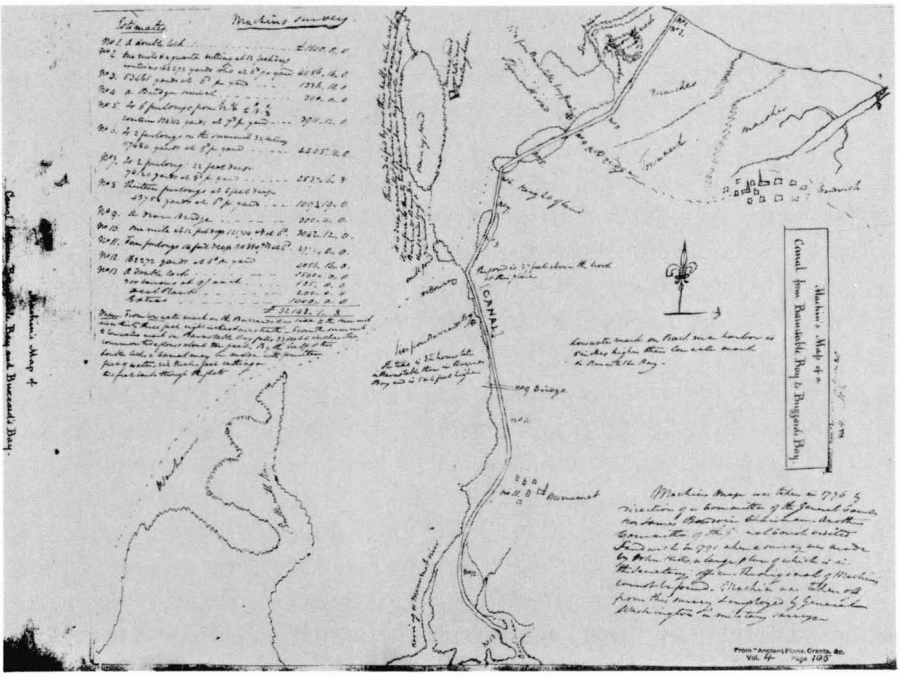
[13]Notes on Machin's map: Machins Map was taken in 1776 by direction of a Committee of the General Court Hon. James Bowdoin Chairman. Another Committee of the General Court visited Sandwich in 1791, when a survey was made by John Hill, a large plan of which is in the Secretary's office. The original of Machin's cannot be found. Machin was taken off from this survey and employed by General Washington in military surveys.

Place-names on the map:

West
Wareham
Buttermilk Bay
Northwest

Along the proposed route of the canal, south to north

Back River



Only one place-name in his map has to do with the ownership of property: Dr. Bourne's property at the center of the route. The bulk of the names

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Herring Pond
Herring Pond Indians Meeting House
East
Sandwich
Marshes
Town neck

Herring or Monument River
line from Buzzards Bay
Mill Pond
The pond is 27 feet above the brook
at this place
Height of land
Plymouth Road
a Bridge
Tide from Barnstable Bay flows here
Marshes
Sagamore Hill
Plymouth Neck
Scusset River

Note on Herring Pond:

> This pond is fed by another half a mile west. It is deep generally and furnishes a constant, copious mill stream. Its surface is thirty-two feet above high water mark on Buzzards Bay. It is about two miles long in circuit.

Other notes:

The tide is 3½ hours later in Barnstable than in Buzzards Bay and is 5 or 6 feet higher.

> Mem. From low water mark on the Buzzards Bay side to the summit rises thirty three feet, eight inches and nine tenths. From the summit to low water mark on Barnstable Bay falls 33 feet 4 inches. The double locks in Canal may be made with fourteen feet of water - viz. twelve feet cutting and two feet banks through the flats.

listed, however, identifies landmarks that lie near the proposed route of the canal and pertinent waterways. What one sees then is pragmatic purpose and design, which includes whatever Machin considered essential for arguing the feasibility of the canal.

The maps of Massachusetts as "annotation" on the land reveal a perspective that is essentially proprietory and exploitative. The settlers' interest were to establish their own towns and to stake out their own holdings. Such an interest expresses the strength, for a long time in the history of Massachusetts, of the town meeting and meeting house, and of the rights and privileges that full membership in the community brought. The example of the Stockbridge map, on the other hand, suggests a system of tenantry that harkens back to the patterns of tenure in England. The contrast in the apportioning of lands in Haynes's map and Dwight's plan underscores a hierarchical sense of society that depressed or excluded Indians or those who had no title to the land. Finally, Machin's map of the proposed canal on Cape Cod opens a developing concern in Massachusetts in exploiting the land for the advantage of industry and commerce. The need to build a waterway brings into focus a view of the terrain different from that related to political and social purposes. Commerce and industry began to require views of the land more extensive than those limited to the town, and in support of these exploitative views, the design of maps became transformed.