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Likely the first European to navigate much of the river that now bears his name, Henry Hudson initiated ongoing European-Native American contact in the Hudson River Valley in 1609.[2] As a result of his voyage, Dutch traders came to the region, followed by colonial officials, soldiers, settlers, and others. As with encounters throughout North America, European and Native American contact in the Hudson Valley meant profound changes for the Indigenous peoples. The Hudson Valley was home to Munsees, Mahicans, and Mohawks.[3] Living in the lower Hudson Valley, the Algonquian-speaking Munsees stood on the front lines of this European exploration, trade, and settlement.[4]

Those Munsees living on the coast held a unique position among the Indians of the Hudson Valley as makers of shell beads that are now commonly known as *wampum*. Like many other coastal dwellers on the mid-Atlantic shores, the Munsees manufactured shell beads, which in turn followed trade networks that brought the beads into the hands of Iroquoian speakers of the interior. But while wampum originated among Native people, its later development owes much to the intersection of European and Indian worlds. After the arrival of Europeans to North American shores between the Delaware and Narragansett Bays, Native-produced shell beads went from occasional production in small numbers to mass production in the hundreds of thousands. Wampum's nature, use, and application also evolved. These revolutionary changes to wampum accompanied changes in Munsee society that paralleled transformations experienced by Native Americans throughout coastal North America. Furthermore, these changes took place not simply as

the result of intercultural contact, but also as a result of trans-Atlantic forces.

The Atlantic world comprised myriad relationships created by the intersection of peoples and economies from four continents tied together by transportation, communication, and commerce across the Atlantic Ocean, in which the wampum revolution can be understood, as historian David Armitage defines it. Indeed, Armitage's characterization of the study of "particular places as unique locations within an Atlantic world" that "seeks to define that uniqueness as the result of the interaction between local particularity and a wider web of connections (and comparisons)" ideally describes the context in which wampum evolved in the seventeenth century. Henry Hudson's voyage initiated sustained contact between the Dutch and the Munsees. It also brought together the Atlantic world exchange of goods and peoples and the Native wampum trade network, bringing profound changes to the Munsee people of the lower Hudson River Valley.[5]

The Munsees

Within a year or two of Hudson's voyage, the Dutch began exploiting trade opportunities in New York Bay, up the Hudson River, and along Long Island Sound. They soon expanded south to Delaware Bay and east to Narragansett Bay. Named "New Netherland" by the Dutch, this territory encompassed the lands of various Native Americans. These included those of the Algonquian language stock such as Unami speakers in the Delaware Bay region, the Munsee speakers of the lower Hudson River Valley including eastern New Jersey and western Long Island, and many others to the east including the Pequots and Narragansetts, to name two of the most well-known. Inland from the Unamis were the Susquehannocks of Iroquoian language stock and north of them the Mohawks, Onondagas, and other members of the Five Nations Iroquois. Neighbors to the east of the Mohawks and controlling the upper Hudson at the time of the English mariner's voyage were the Mahicans, another group of Algonquian-speaking Indians. The Hudson Valley, however, became the center of Dutch colonization, and thus to keep matters simple we can speak of three groups with whom the Dutch had primary and sustained contact—the Munsees, Mahicans, and Mohawks. Of these, the Munsees most profoundly experienced the impact of European colonization and played an important role in the wampum revolution. But the term Munsee should not be understood to mean a unified nation of Native people. Like most Native Americans, the Munsees functioned at various

levels of social organization including the clan, the village, and larger groups. Grouping them as Munsees reflects only that they shared a common language and culture and, on occasion, acted in broad concert with one another. Most Munsee people would have understood their most important political organization to center on the extended family and village.

The Munsees shared many cultural characteristics with other Native people of the eastern woodlands with some local and regional variations. Their subsistence consisted of hunting, gathering, and horticulture that was typically accomplished through a pattern of seasonal migration. During the winter, villages would disperse into small hunting parties that tracked game in territories recognized by themselves and neighboring groups. In the spring, they might gather at river or ocean shores to harvest the bounty of those waterways and bodies. In their summer villages they planted crops such as corn, squash, and beans while taking advantage of the natural bounty offered through wild berries, nuts, and so forth. Being tied so closely to the land, Native people felt beholden to the spirits of the woods, animals, and elements that they sought to appease through various ceremonies and religious practices consistent with animistic beliefs. With their coastal neighbors, the Munsees also manufactured wampum.

Wampum

Highly valued among the Munsees and other Native people of New Netherland and surrounding region was wampum. Wampum is the shortened term of the Algonquian word *wampumpeague*, which means "a string of white [shell beads]."[6] Among the Dutch and the Munsees, wampum was commonly referred to as *sewant*, from the Munsee term *séewan* meaning "it is scattered" or "it's all over [the place]."[7] Native people throughout North America used a variety of shell products for diverse purposes, but a very specific form of bead—cylindrical in shape and manufactured from the coastal whelk[8]—emerged in the Northeast, particularly among Iroquoian speakers. Using stone tools, Northeastern Woodland Indians had manufactured various beads for thousands of years, but several hundred years ago there emerged cylindrical or tubular beads that became smaller in size, more uniform in shape, and more refined over time. At the time of contact, the manufacturers of wampum included the coastal Munsees and other Algonquian speakers in the region such as the Shinnecocks of eastern Long Island and the Pequots and the Narragansetts of coastal Connecticut and Rhode Island. Accord-

ing to Dutch and English observers at the time, these other Indian groups represented the major producers of wampum. However, the Munsee people living on western Long Island, Manhattan Island, Staten Island, and on the nearby mainland shores also made wampum.[9] Long Island became such a prominent place for wampum production that it was known as *Sewanhacky*, the land of *sewan*.[10]

Networks of exchange and trade existed throughout North America in the centuries prior to the encounter,[11] but the wampum exchange was especially noteworthy. For centuries, shell product and shell bead precursors to wampum had made their way to the land occupied by the Five Nations Iroquois.[12] Along the coasts of what would become New Jersey, New York, Connecticut, and Rhode Island, Algonquian peoples labored over the shells of Channeled Whelk and Knobbed Whelk—breaking, grinding, cutting, drilling, and polishing—crafting the beads that they traded to the Indians of the interior.

These beads held great spiritual and ceremonial significance for the Native peoples of New Netherland. The Munsees adorned themselves with wampum, employed it in marriage proposals, used it as an indication of social rank, and buried their dead with it.[13] But while coastal peoples manufactured and used wampum, it was much more highly valued by inland peoples, especially the Iroquois who received the shell beads in trade from its coastal producers. Wampum figures prominently in the Iroquois legends of the origins of their League in which Hiawatha discovered wampum and used it to soothe the angry spirit of the Onondaga sachem Tadadaho. Indeed, Hiawatha taught the Five Nations how to employ wampum in rituals created to unify the League.[14] European observers noted the importance of wampum in Iroquois ceremonies and inter-tribal diplomacy. One early observation of this was provided by Harmen Meyndertsz van den Bogaert. Journeying among the Oneidas in the winter of 1634–1635, he observed inter-tribal diplomacy first hand:

> In the evening the Indians hung up a belt of [wampum] and some other strung [wampum] that the chief had brought back from the French Indians as a token of peace that the French Indians were free to come among them.[15]

Finally, wampum's white color was key to Native appreciation of this sacred substance. As anthropologist George Hamell has described, wampum's white color reinforced positive social states of being since, for Indian people, "light, white and bright things are good to think."[16]

Dutch Discovery of Wampum

The earliest recorded observation of wampum in the Hudson River Valley comes from Henry Hudson's voyage. On 21 September 1609 and anchored in the vicinity of present-day Albany, Hudson and his crew received on board a group of Mahicans who were returning to the ship to care for their countryman who, heavily intoxicated by the crew's *aqua vitae*, had passed out there. They "came again, and brought stropes of Beades: some had sixe, seven, eight, nine, ten; and gave him," intending to heal or restore him. The ill Mahican spent the night aboard the vessel and his comrades came the next day, this time apparently seeking to ransom or somehow recover him. This time they "brought Tabacco, and more Beades, and gave them to our Master, and made an Oration, and shewed him all the Countrey round about." After this the man returned to his village, and Hudson and his crew continued downstream until a few days later when this man and another caught up with the *Halve Maen*, again came aboard, and "brought more stropes of Beades, and gave them to" Hudson.[17]

There is no evidence, however, that Hudson or his crew drew any lasting significance regarding wampum from this encounter or that the Dutch traders who sailed in his wake immediately sought to exploit the value Indians placed upon wampum. But by the end of the following decade it is clear that the Dutch had come to appreciate wampum's significance and may have learned of its value to the Indians several years earlier. Dutch traders followed Hudson's path a year or two later in their pursuit of North American furs. By the middle of the 1610s, European traders had explored the waters of Long Island Sound and the southern New England coast including Narragansett Bay—the heart of the wampum producing region.[18] In this era, Captain Adriaen Block produced his Carte Figurative, a map detailing coastal features, the location of principle Indian groups, and the broader geographic context of these geographic and ethnological discoveries, implying that Block and his fellow traders were well familiar with this important Native product.[19]

If the Dutch had not learned the importance of wampum in these earliest years, it is certainly clear that they had by 1620. In this year, the ship of Captain Willem Jorisz Hontom with supercargo Jacob Eelkens was nearly taken over by a group of Munsees on the Hudson River,[20] until they regained control running most of the Natives off and capturing "four of the most principal." They interrogated these to determine "the cause as to why they had such intentions against them" and then released them after the Indians paid a ransom with "a few *coraelen*," likely wampum beads.[21] Two years later Jacob Eelkens put to use his appreciation of wampum's value when

he kidnapped a leader of the wampum-producing Sequins and held him in exchange for 140 fathoms of the shell beads.[22]

The other activities of Jacob Eelkens also indicate a growing appreciation by the Dutch for wampum's importance to Native people. Eelkens emerged at this time as a trader of some importance and had been among the first to establish contact with the Mohawks.[23] It appears that Eelkens learned of wampum production in the greater Long Island Sound region, discovered wampum's especial importance to the Mohawks and other Iroquois, and began to exploit this knowledge by initiating a two-stage trade process whereby the Dutch traded manufactured goods to coastal peoples for wampum and then exchanged the wampum to the Mahicans and Iroquois of the upper Hudson in exchange for furs.[24] This pattern was apparently repeated by Pieter Barentsz. Like Eelkens, he was active both on the upper Hudson and among the Pequots and other wampum producers. Employed by the West India Company, he served for a time overseeing trade at Fort Orange.[25] About the same time he negotiated an exclusive trade agreement with the "chief" of the "Sickenannes," apparently Tattobam of the Pequots, from whom he acquired wampum to trade to the Indians of the upper Hudson River.[26]

Thus when the West India Company established a permanent presence in North America in the mid-1620s, they stepped into a middle-man status in the wampum trade already established by earlier Dutch traders—wampum produced on the coastal regions was acquired with European goods and then traded to the interior for peltries. As one source described it, wampum was "the currency of the country, with which the produce of the interior is paid for."[27] Indeed, in correspondence from the late 1620s, colonial secretary Isaac de Rasière repeatedly pointed out the importance of wampum in the trade at Fort Orange. With the proper goods, he wrote, "I shall know how to get wampum and to stock Fort Orange." Wampum attracted not just the Native people in the vicinity of the outpost, but those from Canada as well, who, according to the secretary, "come to us for no other reason than to get wampum."[28]

Contact and Changes

Dutch intrusion into the land of the Munsees, Mahicans, and Mohawks, and insertion into their trade networks was not a simple matter of adding a middleman to an existing trade network. Instead, Dutch commercial activities in New Netherland led to a revolution in wampum production and to profound changes among the Munsees and other wampum producers.

For centuries, shell product and shell bead precursors of wampum had made their way into Iroquoia. By the mid-seventeenth century, however, there was an explosion of wampum production. Two sites inhabited by the Seneca (Iroquois) and dated to 1640–1675 have yielded a huge number of beads—at one site 100,000 beads and fifteen wampum belts have been found and at the other 250,000 beads and eight belts. If these are representative of what was happening throughout Iroquoia at the time, then wampum beads were being produced in the millions. Indeed, anthropologist Lynn Ceci has estimated that at least seven million beads were produced in eastern Long Island and the mainland opposite between 1634 and 1663.[29]

Native producers using traditional methods could not have wrought such massive bead output; important changes had been taking place in wampum production to make such results possible. In the first place, wampum producers quickly adopted new methods for manufacturing wampum. Documentary evidence tells us little about how Indians originally produced wampum, but it is clear that lithic tools formed the main component of their wampum production tool kits. Roger Williams, the founder of Rhode Island, wrote that the Indians in his neighborhood "made shift to bore this their shell money with stone."[30] The Dutch and other Europeans offered nails, awls, and other metal tools as well as whet stones that greatly facilitated the fabrication of wampum.[31] Even if stone tools could accomplish the same drilling as metal tools, as at least one archaeologist has suggested, the latter could be applied in more effective ways such as bow drilling or drilling, as one European observed, by sticking a "Nail . . . in a Cane or Reed" which "they roll . . . continually on their Thighs, with their Right-hand, holding the Bit of Shell with their Left."[32]

Not only did such tools change how wampum was produced and how much was produced, but the nature of wampum also changed to include dark as well as white shells. In popular conceptions, wampum is comprised of both white and dark (actually purple) beads.[33] But at the time of contact, dark cylindrical shell beads were virtually nonexistent—hence the meaning of the term *wampumpeague*. Documentary sources, some of which offer very specific commentary upon wampum, say nothing about cylindrical dark-colored beads before the 1630s.[34] Dark beads are also absent from the pictorial record before this time. For example, both the seal and coat of arms, adopted around 1630 by the West India Company for New Netherland include wampum strings and belts, but not dark beads. And while dark-colored discoidal beads can be found in archaeological settings before the 1630s, cylindrical dark beads can only be found in archaeological sites dated after this period.[35] Metal tools made possible the manufacture of dark

beads because Native people could now craft cylindrical shell beads from the purple portions of the quahog clam shell,[36] which were harder and denser than the white whelk.[37]

Those familiar with wampum belts and popular images of wampum appreciate how significant this change was. Dark beads would now be employed to produce first geometric and then pictographic designs on belts and other wampum products. Picture, for instance, famous wampum belts such as the William Penn Great Treaty Belt that apparently depicts a colonist and Native American holding hands in friendship, the Great League Belt depicting the five Iroquois nations as white squares and a white tree on the a background of black beads, or the Washington Treaty Belt depicting thirteen men (the thirteen first states) holding hands with one another and with the Longhouse. Or, consider this description of a belt worn by Metacom, King Philip of the Wampanoags in the 1670s: it was "curiously wrought with wompom, being nine inches broad, wrought with black and white wompom in various figures and flowers, and pictures of many birds and beasts."[38] What is popularly assumed to be a unique Native product instead turns out to have resulted from the interaction of Native and Atlantic world economies.

As wampum evolved, so too did its use among Native Americans and Europeans. The Iroquois had traditionally used it in ceremonial giving and social exchange. The Dutch and other Europeans who sought to do business with the Five Nations learned the role of wampum in Native gift-giving exercises. Eventually, wampum became more prominent in negotiations with Native people while European envoys became more accommodating to Native ways. Thus, by the beginning of the eighteenth century, mutually accepted patterns of intercultural diplomacy emerged. In these, wampum functioned in several ways. First, it served ceremonial functions such as the Edge of the Woods rite. Second, it accompanied messengers and envoys as individual strings and beads were thought to carry specific messages. Third, and closely related to the previous reasons, wampum was used to "punctuate" the speeches each side made in their meetings. Finally, Europeans and Indians produced elaborate wampum belts employing alternating white and dark beads to create designs or pictographs memorializing the results of their agreements with each other.

Increased use of wampum in intercultural diplomacy and elsewhere depended not only upon the introduction of metal tools. The wampum producing labor force also increased. In particular, Native people became full-time producers of wampum, representing a major shift from traditional lifeways. Traditionally, wampum production had been a seasonal pastime, undertaken by coastal peoples during the winter months. But as the seven-

teenth century wore on it appears that wampum producers dedicated greater amounts of time to its manufacture. In the 1670s, for example, one Munsee man begged off from a request to guide a Dutch traveler explaining, "I will lose so much time in making *zeewant* [wampum]."[39]

This development was part of a larger shift in Munsee society that paralleled similar transformations among other Native Americans. These included the transition from subsistence-based economies and social exchange to market-based economies. Along with this economic transformation came a shrinking land base and economic dependency upon the Dutch. Where many small Munsee settlements had once existed, soon there would be fewer, more densely populated villages. In these communities, social stratification increased as evidenced by the more elaborate array of goods accompanying some Munsees (presumably leaders) in their graves. Such leaders may also have attained greater and more centralized authority over their people.[40]

One case serves to demonstrate the important shifts taking place—the experience of Long Island Munsee leader, Tackapousha.[41] Hemmed in by the English and the Dutch, experiencing defeats during the First Dutch-Munsee War, suffering losses from European-borne diseases, and possibly falling into some tributary status to the Indians of eastern Long Island and the Narragansetts, Tackapousha and his people drew increasingly close to the Dutch in the 1650s and 1660s. Among the Dutch they sought both economic and military security. Believing the best hope for survival lay in building alliances with Europeans, Tackapousha pledged to support the Dutch in the Second Dutch-Munsee War and committed Native auxiliaries to aid the Dutch in the Third Dutch-Munsee War.

Significantly, in 1656, Tackapousha accepted Dutch Director-General Petrus Stuyvesant's offer to "build a house or fort upon such place as they shall show." This structure would not just provide for the Long Island Indians' military defense, but would also be "furnished with Indian trade goods or commodities." Although not identified with absolute certainty, this structure was likely Fort Massapeag whose remains are buried in a park in the town of Massapequa in southern Long Island, which archaeological evidence has demonstrated to have been a center for wampum manufacture and exchange to the Dutch for European goods. Diminished in numbers, alienated from much of their original lands, and largely dependent upon European goods, Tackapousha's people clung to traditional activities such as wampum production, but these were increasingly structured and shaped by the economic forces that accompanied Dutch colonization of their lands. Tackapousha and his people became full-time wampum producers, supplying not just the local economy, but becoming integrated into the larger Atlantic world.

Ongoing demand created by these forces led to increased production in other ways as well. Not only did many Native people turn to year-round production, they also increased their number of producers. Archaeological evidence from Narragansett Bay, for example, indicates that while wampum production had once been restricted to men, women had joined the craft by the mid-seventeenth century.[42]

The demand for wampum that drove the coastal Algonquians and others to increase their production did not come just from Iroquoian interest. Wampum had soon become the currency of New Netherland and New England. Both colonies were cash poor and naturally sought some means to complete financial transactions as they would in Europe. Both beaver skins and wampum emerged in New Netherland as currency. While both had been commodities in inter-Indian trade before European contact, they were now transformed into currency—items of universal exchange value. "No gold or silver circulates here," wrote Dutch resident Nicasius de Sille, "but beads, which the Indians make and call seawant. . . . We can buy everything with it and gladly take it in payment."[43] Throughout the records we see evidence of wampum being paid to purchase goods and services, to satisfy fines, and to fulfill debt obligations.[44] From the 1620s until the 1670s, the English and Dutch relied heavily upon wampum as their colonial currency.

With the European discovery of wampum and its growing importance in the fur trade and as a local currency already in the 1630s, Europeans began to vie for control of the rich resource. Although wampum was produced throughout coastal New Netherland, the wampum mother lode, as it were, could be found on the mainland between the Connecticut Valley and Narragansett Bay and on eastern Long Island. This was territory in which the Dutch had originally explored and trafficked for wampum and furs. However, within a few short years of Plymouth's discovery of wampum (after being introduced to it by the Dutch) and after the founding of Massachusetts Bay, the English went to war against the Pequots, the Native tribe at the center of power in this wampum-rich region. Whatever else may have been the cause of the war, control of the wampum trade doubtless played a role.[45] By the war's end, the Pequots were vanquished and the English became the masters of the central source of wampum. This had important implications for the Dutch and their wampum-producing neighbors, the Munsees. These implications have not been fully explored, but at the very least it seems that the loss of richer wampum resources increased Dutch demand for wampum output among the Munsees.[46] This in turn led to an expansion of the Dutch into coastal Munsee territories seeking greater access to wampum through trade or control of its production.[47]

As those colonies and their economies matured, and as specie began to flow more freely through European hands, wampum's importance to Europeans as currency in the late-seventeenth century diminished. Nevertheless, it continued to play an important role in the fur trade and in frontier diplomacy, continuing a demand that would be satisfied, in part, through the Atlantic world market. In the first place, European men and women took up the craft. For example, court records in New Amsterdam from the 1660s reveal that Dutch women were actively involved in the making and stringing of wampum beads.[48] Furthermore, after the Pequot War, when the English dominated the main source of domestic shells on eastern Long Island, the Dutch were forced to look elsewhere for raw materials, and they began to import shell from the West Indies.[49] By the eighteenth century, virtually all wampum production was undertaken by Europeans, using both local clam and imported conch shells. Some of this manufacture took place in the shops of artisans, some by orphans and widows, but eventually most of it would be produced in small-scale factories such as the Campbell operations in New Jersey.[50]

Atlantic World

In several ways, the history of Dutch-Munsee interaction and the evolution of wampum, while unique to the American geographic context, also owes something to the broader Atlantic world context in which these developments took place. The most obvious is the extension of European trade that brought demand for American furs and European-manufactured goods to pay for them. Of course, in the case of wampum, the fur trade stimulated wampum production that was in turn facilitated by the European goods that paid for and made the wampum. In other ways, too, the wampum revolution was a product of its Atlantic context. It has been argued, for example, that the Dutch, who learned so quickly to exploit the trade in wampum were primed to do so by their experience with the trade in cowry shells in west Africa. It is even suggested that the Dutch proactively turned wampum into a local currency.[51] Whether or not the Dutch intentionally transformed wampum into currency, its economic transformation was necessarily a result of the Atlantic connection of European and Native American worlds. Furthermore, as demand for wampum continued and after the Dutch lost access to the major source of wampum in New England and eastern Long Island, they turned to other sources of shells—the West Indies. Wampum production, then, came to depend in various ways on Atlantic exchanges—first the metal

tools and whet stones that facilitated its manufacture, then the introduction of Dutch and other European labor, and finally the importation of raw materials from elsewhere in the Atlantic world.

The Atlantic world context of many colonial developments is often taken for granted, but connections across the sea and between the lands on the Atlantic's multiple shores significantly shaped events in New Netherland. Had a handful of Europeans come to the lands of the Munsees simply to establish themselves in permanent agricultural communities without any economic and commercial connections to Europe, Africa, and the Caribbean, it is hardly conceivable that wampum would have evolved in the explosive way it did. But instead, Dutch and other Europeans came as traders, adventurers, entrepreneurs, and settlers—many with connections beyond the limits of the Hudson Valley and across the waters of the Atlantic. Their connections—commercial, religious, social, political, cultural—to the Dutch Fatherland, to the West Indies, and to Africa helped connect North America with peoples, structures, and lands across the Atlantic. Not all of these contributed to the evolution of wampum in the seventeenth century, but it was in the context of these connections that wampum did evolve. Adjusting our perspective as we consider intercultural relations in North America in light of the Atlantic world helps us see qualities of the encounter made unique by these Atlantic connections and which would not have existed apart from them.

This Atlantic context meant a change in perspective for the Munsees themselves. While wampum continued to flow from the coast to the interior, the Munsees, who were once oriented toward the interior, had become reoriented to the Atlantic from whence came the goods that they valued so highly and needed so much to continue their production of wampum.[52] Whether or not they fully appreciated this change, it nonetheless took place. Wampum, once a product of Native North America, became a product of intercultural, Atlantic-world forces, and the traditional wampum producers—including the Munsees—became participants of this broader Atlantic world.

Notes

1. Part of the research for this essay was conducted at the Henry E. Huntington Library in San Marino, California, with the support of an Andrew Mellon fellowship. My thanks to the Pacific Northwest Early Americanist Workshop, hosted by Richard Johnson, for their constructive feedback on my wampum research. Finally, anthropologist George Hamell continues to provide me with gracious encouragement and support for which I am very grateful.

2. Paul Otto, *The Dutch-Munsee Encounter in America: The Struggle for Sovereignty in the Hudson Valley* (New York: Berghahn Books, 2006), pp. 34–46, 49n.

3. The Munsees were not a tribe in the traditional sense of the word. The term refers linguistically to the people of the lower Hudson Valley who also shared much culturally and, at times, acted with a degree of political cohesion. The latest work on the Munsees is Robert Grumet, *The Munsee Indians: A History* (Norman, OK: University of Oklahoma Press, 2009).

4. In *The Dutch-Munsee Encounter in America*, I survey the history of Dutch-Munsee interaction in three frontier stages—first contact, trade, settlement.

5. Armitage, "Three Concepts of Atlantic History," in idem and Michael J. Braddick (eds.), *The British Atlantic World, 1500–1800,* pp. 15, 21–25 (London: Palgrave, 2002). Or, as he puts it elsewhere, it is "the history of any particular place—a nation, a state, a region, even a specific institution—in relation to the wider Atlantic world."

6. For this survey of wampum I generally draw on many secondary sources including George Hamell, "Wampum: Light, White, and Bright Things Are Good to Think," in Alexandra van Dongen (ed.), *One Man's Trash is Another Man's Treasure* (Rotterdam, Neth.: Museum Boymans-van Beuningen, 1995), pp. 41–51; and Lynn Ceci, "Native Wampum as a Peripheral Resource in the Seventeenth-Century World-System," in Laurence M. Hauptman and James D. Wherry (eds.), *The Pequots in Southern New England: The Fall and Rise of an American Indian Nation* (Norman, OK: University of Oklahoma Press, 1990), pp. 48–64.

7. Ives Goddard, e-mail correspondence with author, 18 May 2010.

8. Busycon c. (Channeled Whelk) and other species.

9. Isaac de Rasière to Samuel Blommaert, in *NNN*, p. 103; Alanson Skinner, "Exploration of Aboriginal Sites at Throgs Neck and Classon's Point, New York City," *Contributions from the Museum of the American Indian*, Heye Foundation 5, no. 4 (1919), pp. 65–66; Jerome Jacobson, *Burial Ridge: Archaeology at New York City's Largest Prehistoric Cemetery* (St. George, NY: Staten Island Institute of Arts and Sciences, 1980), p. 64; John H. Morice, "Long Island's Indian Deeds," *Long Island Forum* 12, no. 7 (1949), p. 123. Native people in the mid-Hudson valley also manufactured wampum, see Joseph E. Diamond, "Terminal late Woodland/early Contact period in the Mid-Hudson Valley" (PhD diss., State University of New York at Albany, 1999), pp. 169–173. Lynn Ceci argues that wampum was originally made by the Senecas using shell or semi-processed shells imported from the coastal regions, "Tracing Wampum's Origins: Shell Bead Evidence from Archaeological Sites in Western and Coastal New York," in Charles F. Hayes III and Lynn Ceci (eds.), *Proceedings of the 1986 Shell Bead Conference, Selected Papers,* pp. 63–80 (Rochester, NY: Rochester Museum and Science Center, 1989).

10. Robert S. Grumet, *Native American Place Names in New York City* (New York: Museum of the City of New York, 1981), p. 55.

11. William A. Turnbaugh, "Wide-Area Connections in Native North America," *American Indian Culture and Research Journal* 1, no. 4 (1976), pp. 22–28.

12. Ceci, "Tracing Wampum's Origins," pp. 63–80. That wampum or something similar that preceded it had a long history among Iroquoian speakers is attested to by Gunther Michelson in "Iroquoian Terms for Wampum," *International Journal of American Linguistics* 57, no. 1 (1991), pp. 108–131.

13. This claim is based on documentary evidence, De Rasière to Blommaert, in *NNN*, pp. 106, 109; David de Vries, "Korte Historiael," in *NNN*, p. 224. It may be that archaeological evidence does not support extensive use among the Munsees, but this needs to be looked into further.

14. Daniel K. Richter, *The Ordeal of the Longhouse: The Peoples of the Iroquois League in the Era of European Colonization* (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 1992), pp. 38–48.

15. Harmen Meyndertsz van den Bogaert, *A Journey into Mohawk and Oneida Country, 1634–1635: The Journal of Harmen Meyndertsz van den Bogaert*, Charles Gehring and William Starna (eds. and trans.) (Syracuse, NY: Syracuse University Press, 1988), p. 14.

16. Hamell, "Wampum," pp. 41, 47, 51. Similar color symbolism was important among the Munsees, Lynn Marie Pietak, "Body Symbolism and Cultural Aesthetics: The Use of Shell Beads and Ornaments by Delaware and Munsee Groups," *North American Archaeologist* 19, no. 2 (1998), pp. 135–161, and "Bead Color Symbolism among Post-Contact Delaware and Munsee Groups," *Journal of Middle Atlantic Archaeology* 15 (1999), pp. 3–20.

17. Robert Juet, "The Third Voyage of Master Henry Hudson," in *NNN*, pp. 23–24.

18. Reports by these merchant seafarers became the basis for the earliest extant descriptions of New Netherland and its inhabitants. While not specifically mentioning wampum, these descriptions provided detailed information about the geography and inhabitants of the territories that we now know were rich wampum production regions.

19. Johannes de Laet, "New World," in *NNN*, pp. 41–44; Nicolaes van Wassenaer, "Historisch Verhael," February 1624, in *NNN*, pp. 61–96; Adriaen Block, Carte Figurative, 1614, Nationaal Archief, Den Haag, Verzameling Buitenlandse Kaarten Leupe, number 4, VEL, inventory number 520.

20. Or so the crew reported.

21. We know of this account because the crew, having risked their lives in this voyage, made a claim against the ship owners for the value of the *coraelen*. While this term was used by the Dutch to refer to various kinds of beads, the context here invites the interpretation that these were wampum beads and that the Dutch sailors recognized their value to the Indians. Stadsarchief Amsterdam, Notarial Archives 200, 14 August 1620, fol. 625–626v.

22. Van Wassenaer, "Historisch Verhael," November 1626, p. 86. Later scholars have identified this kidnapped sachem as Tattobam, leader of the Pequots, Kevin A. McBride, "The Source and Mother of the Fur Trade: Native-Dutch Relations in Eastern New Netherland," in Laurie Weinstein (ed.), *Enduring Traditions: The Native*

Peoples of New England (Westport, CT: Bergin and Garvey, 1994), p. 36; Alfred A. Cave, *The Pequot War* (Amherst, MA: University of Massachusetts Press, 1996), p. 50.

23. Daniel K. Richter, "Rediscovered Links in the Covenant Chain: Previously Unpublished Transcripts of New York Indian Treaty Minutes, 1677–1691," *Proceedings of the American Antiquarian Society* 92 (1982), pp. 49–55, idem, *The Ordeal of the Longhouse*, pp. 87–89, William A. Starna, "Retrospecting the Origins of the League of the Iroquois," *American Philosophical Society* 152, no. 3 (Sept 2008), pp. 279–321 at 301–305, 307–308. Starna goes so far as to suggest that Eelkens was somehow tied to the formation of the Iroquois League of the Longhouse.

24. Although no documentary evidence is yet known that supports this claim, it is a reasonable hypothesis.

25. After Daniel van Krieckenbeeck's death and before Bastiaen Jansz Krol became superintendent.

26. Van Wassenaer, pp. 85–86; McBride, "Source and Mother," p. 38. While the sources do not say what goods the Pequots offered, corollary evidence would indicate that the Pequots were becoming a major source of wampum to the Dutch.

27. "Patroon's Claim, 1634," in John B. Linn and William H. Egle (eds.), *Papers Relating to the Colonies on the Delaware, 1614–1682* (Harrisburg, PA, 1890), p. 42.

28. Isaac de Rasière to the Directors of the Amsterdam chamber, 23 September 1626, in A. J. F. van Laer (ed. and trans.), *Documents Relating to New Netherland, 1624–1626, in the Henry E. Huntington Library* (San Marino, CA, 1924), pp. 223–228.

29. Ceci, "Wampum as a Peripheral Resource," pp. 50, 61.

30. Roger Williams, *A Key into the Language of America*, John J. Teunissen and Evelyn J. Hinz (eds.) (Detroit. MI: Wayne State University Press, 1973), p. 213.

31. Evidence for the first or earliest arrival of awls is unfortunately hard to come by. A survey of the earliest records noting trade goods do not identify awls among the products exchanged for native products. This is based upon research in the Notarial Archives of the Stadsarchief Amsterdam. These records are one of the few sources covering the 1610s, but do not provide comprehensive coverage of the events of the period since they were produced in the context of lawsuits, business agreements, etc. Margriet de Roever used these sources (but perhaps not exhaustively) for her essay "Merchandises for New Netherland: A Look at Dutch Articles for Barter with the Native American Population," in idem, *One Man's Trash*. She itemizes the "goods destined for North America and listed in the records prior to the found of the WIC" in 1621. These included "linen, broadcloth and yarn, leather and velvet, axes, buttons, beads, bread and cheese, kettles, adzes and knives." She does not identify awls. I have looked at several of these sources myself but my own notes, taken when I was not particularly focusing on the manufacture of wampum, do not include any references to wampum. A thorough examination of the notarial records is necessary to gain a clearer picture of when tools for wampum production were first exported to New Netherland. However, even such research will not lead to firm conclusions since the records themselves do not provide a complete picture of the trade goods exported at the time. Awls are eventually recorded in the documentary sources such as

records of land transactions: Charles T. Gehring (trans. and ed.), *New York Historical Manuscripts: Dutch, Volumes GG, HH, & II. Land Papers* (Baltimore. MD: Genealogical Publishing Co., 1980), pp. 8, 63; Morice, "Long Island's Indian Deeds," pp. 124, 136; Morice, "Indian Deeds of Oyster Bay Town," *Long Island Forum* 13, no. 1 (1950), p. 4; Morice, "Some Old Indian Deeds," *Long Island Forum* 10, no. 11 (1947), p. 215; John Cox, Jr., *Oyster Bay Town Records, vol. 1—1653–1690* (New York, 1916), p. 334, and *Oyster Bay Town Records, vol. 2—1691–1704* (New York, 1924), p. 354. Archaeological evidence also records the appearance of European tools in some manufacturing sites, at least in Narragansett territory, William S. Simmons, *Cautantowit's House: An Indian Burial Ground on the Island of Conanicut in Narragansett Bay* (Providence, RI; Brown University Press, 1970), pp. 44–46, 138; Paul A. Robinson, "The Struggle Within: The Indian Debate in Seventeenth Century Narragansett Country" (Ph.D. diss., State University of New York at Binghamton, 1990), pp. 281–290.

32. Personal Communication, Kevin McBride to author, 12 August 2009; John Lawson, *A New Voyage to Carolina*, Hugh Talmage Lefler (ed.) (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1973), p. 204.

33. For example, a graphic representation of Van den Bogaert's journal cited above portrays the wampum belt brought by the "French Indians" as uncommonly large—it appears to be at least two feet by eight feet—it including connected black diamonds as wide as the belt. Such large belts never existed and the black beads, which made such belts possible, were only just coming into use in the 1630s, George O'Connor, *Journey into Mohawk Country* (New York: First Second, 2006), p. 92.

34. The solid documentary reference to dark beads comes from 1633 when John Winthrop noted the return of a Puritan vessel from Long Island where "they had store of the best wamponp[ea]k bothe white & blewe," Richard S. Dunn, James Savage, and Laetitia Yeandle (eds.), *Journal of John Winthrop* (Cambridge: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1996), p. 98.

35. As James W. Bradley points out, however, non-white cylindrical beads could be created from whelk shells depending upon the conditions in which the sea snails lived. "Re-Visiting Wampum and Other Seventeenth-Century Shell Games," *Archaeology of Eastern North America* 39 (2011), pp. 25–26.

36. *Mercenaria mercenaria.*

37. George Hamell, e-mail correspondence, 5 November 2008, 12 July 2009. The quahog clam is also known as the hard clam or hard-shell clam, among many other names.

38. Mary Simpson (ed.), *Benjamin Church, Diary of King Philip's War 1675–1676* (Chester, CT: Pequot, 1975), p. 170.

39. Bartlett Burleigh James and J. Franklin Jameson (eds.), *Journal of Jasper Danckaerts, 1679–1680* (New York: Barnes and Noble, 1969 [1913]), p. 57.

40. Lynn Ceci, "The Effect of European Contact and Trade on the Settlement Patterns of the Coastal Indians of New York, 1524–1665: The Archaeological and Documentary Evidence" (PhD diss., Queens College, City University of New York: 1977), pp. 226–276, Otto, *The Dutch-Munsee Encounter in America*, passim.

41. Information for this and the following paragraph comes from Ralph S. Solecki and Robert S. Grumet, "The Fort Massapeag Archaeological Site National Historic Landmark," *The Bulletin, Journal of the New York Archaeological Association* 108 (1994), pp. 18–28; Solecki, "Recent Field Inspections of Two Seventeenth-Century Indian Forts on Long Island, Forts Massapeag and Corchaug," *Bulletin and Journal of Archaeology for New York State* 91 (1985), pp. 26–31; Solecki, "The Rescue of Fort Massapeag," *Cultural Resource Management* 18, no. 7 (1995), pp. 30–34.

42. Simmons, *Cautantowit's House*, p. 46; Michael S. Nassaney, "Native American Gender Politics and Material Culture in Seventeenth-Century Southeastern New England," *Journal of Social Archaeology* 4 (2004), pp. 334–367 at 349; Robinson, "The Struggle Within," pp. 281–286. There is some ambiguity in the sources regarding women's role. For example, in seeming contrast to this interpretation, Roger Williams reported the reluctance of "old & poore women" to use European tools for wampum production since they were "fearfull to leave the old tradition," possibly suggesting that women had always been involved in its manufacture. It is not clear, however, whether his comments indicate that women had always made wampum beads or if, having begun to put their hand to its manufacture, they were afraid of also adopting new techniques, Williams, *A Key*, p. 213.

43. A. J. F. van Laer (ed.), "Letters of Nicasius de Sille, 1654," *Quarterly Journal of the New York State Historical Association* 1, no. 3 (1920), pp. 98–108 at 102.

44. Otto, *Dutch-Munsee Encounter*, pp. 91–92, 110, 139–140, 169.

45. Ceci, "Wampum as a Peripheral Resource," pp. 60–61.

46. It is easy to imagine, although not readily supportable, that the Dutch initiated the First Dutch-Munsee War (Kieft's War) as a means to acquire greater control over local wampum resources by turning the Munsees into wampum-paying tributaries as the English had to the Pequots, Narragansetts, and others.

47. Ceci, "Effect of European Contact," pp. 226–234.

48. *RNA*, 5:176.

49. Ibid.; Charles T. Gehring (trans. and ed.), *Curaçao Papers, 1640–1665* (Interlaken. MI: Heart of the Lakes Publishing, 1987), pp. 138, 139, 169, 201, 214, 218.

50. Elizabeth S. Peña, "The Role of Wampum Production at the Albany Almshouse," *International Journal of Historical Archaeology* 5 (2001), pp. 155–174; Adolph B. Benson (ed.), *Peter Kalm, Travels in North America*, 2 vols. (New York: Dover Publications, 1966 [1937]), 1:129; Charles E. Hanson, Jr., "Campbell Wampum," *Museum of the Fur Trade Quarterly* 21, no. 4 (1985), pp. 2–6. German immigrants worked in the Campbell factory in the nineteenth century; Johann Georg Kohl, *Kitchi-Gami: Life among the Lake Superior Ojibway*, Lascelle Wraxall (trans.), with introduction by Robert E. Bieder and additional translation Ralf Neufang and Urike Bocker (St. Paul. MN: Minnesota Historical Society Press, 1985 [London, 1860]), p. 135.

51. Elizabeth Shapiro Peña, "Wampum Production in New Netherland and Colonial New York: The Historical and Archaeological Context" (PhD diss., Boston University, 1990), p. 50; Peña, "Role of Wampum Production," p. 159.

52. In fact, throughout New Netherland's history, several Munsee people were forcibly transported into various quarters of the Atlantic world. An Indian named Jacques, for example, was transported to Amsterdam during the First Dutch-Munsee War while Indian captives taken during the Third Dutch-Munsee War were exiled to Curaçao, Otto, *Dutch-Munsee Encounter*, pp. 119, 152; Alden T. Vaughan, *Transatlantic Encounters: American Indians in Britain, 1500–1776* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2006), pp. 102–104.