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## Trade (Chapter 2 of The Dutch-Munsee Encounter in America: The Struggle for Sovereignty in the Hudson Valley)

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– Chapter Two –

## TRADE, 1610-1623



"[The Indians'] trade consists mostly in peltries, which they measure by the hand or by the finger. ... In exchange for peltries they receive beads, with which they decorate their persons; knives, adzes, axes, chopping-knives, kettles and all sorts of iron work which they require for house-keeping."

Nicolaes van Wassenauer, *Historisch Verhael*<sup>1</sup>

Just as word of Hudson's arrival must have spread among the Indians, so too did news of his discovery spread in Europe. Motivated by the ideals of material acquisition and driven by economic forces in Europe, Dutch merchants in Amsterdam wasted no time in dispatching trade expeditions after learning of the newly discovered lands and the valuable supply of furs in the Hudson River region. The Munsees, already engaged in trade with other native peoples throughout northeastern North America, welcomed the new source and availability of goods and provided a nexus through which Europeans would have access to Indian markets in the interior. From 1610 to 1623, a new stage of the frontier developed in which the Indians of the Hudson River and the surrounding region met and traded with a variety of Dutch captains, sailors, and traders.<sup>2</sup> Contact was never extensive; the period was not marked by the immigration of European settlers, a demand for native land, or the imposition of Dutch rule. Nevertheless, contact through trade led to broad crosscultural interaction. What would happen when the two groups learned more of one another? Would violence again erupt as it had between the Munsees and Hudson's men?

The Indians may not have viewed the Dutch with the same sense of wonder which attended their first interaction, but neither did they rapidly transform their worldview. The Dutch and Munsees found common ground upon which to conduct regular trade by determining what goods the other group desired and by learning to communicate with one another. Even so, their own worldviews limited their ability to fully come

to terms with the cultural practices and values of their trade partners. While the Dutch discovered the value the Indians placed upon wampum, for example, they believed it to be currency and failed to fully appreciate the broader tribal networks in which wampum changed hands. Or, as the Dutch sought to understand native people and their cultural practices, they categorized them according to the medieval legends still prominent in their age. While the Indians continued to acquire goods such as beads and other trinkets which they used for traditional and ceremonial purposes, they also adopted the regular use of practical but European-manufactured items such as adzes and metal awls which previously had been unknown to them. While the Munsees began developing a dependency upon European economic structures, the Dutch, in order to trade, followed Indian practices of ceremonial exchange. Thus, the period was marked by a paradoxical learning process in which both Dutch and Indians increased their knowledge of the other group and made changes based on that knowledge while maintaining the basic features and motivations of their own worldviews. While both Europeans and Native Americans found ways to bridge the cultural gap, intercultural violence, either endemic to their cultural values or produced by cultural misunderstandings and conflict, also erupted.

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The year following Hudson's visit, the Munsees found their shores again visited by Europeans. Establishing claims to this territory against other comers, the Dutch reserved the right to trade here. True, they charted the waters and mapped the lands, first bestowing the name of *Nieu Nederlandt* or New Netherland as early as 1614 on the territory stretching between New England (also recently christened) and Virginia. But for most of the Dutch involved in New Netherland, they had little intention to do more than trade. While their maps included such unoriginal Dutch names as *de Zuyder Zee*, *Texel*, and *de Noord Zee*, they also noted Indian names of regions and peoples—Manhates, Aquamachukes, and Tappans. Clearly this was a land which Indians possessed and in which the Dutch claimed rights to trade. The maps reflect the perspective of both the Dutch and the Indians. While naming this region "New Netherland" may seem to imply the extension of Dutch sovereignty over this new territory, their claims to the territory lay in their defense against other Europeans; in actuality the Dutch remained visitors to a land occupied and controlled by the indigenous inhabitants. Certainly the Munsees never doubted at this time their own possession and rights to the lands which they occupied.<sup>3</sup>

The Europeans who came were primarily Dutch traders and they made recurring visits throughout the decade. Records of these voyages are scarce, so only some pieces of the story can be reconstructed. Dutch captains Adriaen Block and Hendrick Christiaensz. made several voyages to the region beginning around 1611. Within two years, rivals Thijs

Mossel and Hans Hontom also began commercial activities in the Hudson. At first they were the only traders on the river, but within another year, Cornelis May and Pieter Fransz. appeared. To avoid the crippling effect this increasing competition had on their profits, these traders and their employers pursued several options, including the operation beginning in 1615 of the New Netherland Company, a trading cartel which was chartered by the Dutch government. After three years, this charter expired and by the end of the decade, the Hudson River was filled with ships from several competitors hoping to enrich themselves in the fur trade.<sup>4</sup>

In fact, the geographic scope of Dutch-Native American trade stretched far beyond the Hudson River. Although it was the Mahicans living on the upper Hudson River who had offered pelts to Hudson's crew, many other native people had access to furs and were willing to trade. The various Munsee bands who lived along the lower Hudson soon learned of the Dutch interest in furs and began harvesting them in order to trade with the Dutch. Besides the Mahicans and Munsees on the Hudson, various Algonquian-speaking tribes all along Long Island Sound and the coast of what would become New England and up the Connecticut River, and the Unami-speaking Lenapes to the south of the Hudson River and in the Delaware Bay became trading partners to the Dutch. Eventually, Indians from the interior, such as various members of the Iroquois League, also traveled to the rivers and coast to trade with the Dutch.<sup>5</sup> The Munsees, then, were not unique in their contact with the Dutch, but they were centrally located in a broad region frequented by Dutch traders.

When trading with one another, the Dutch and native people each followed a fairly regular routine. After harvesting furs in the back country, the Munsees would travel to creek sides and river fronts accessible to European vessels to meet the Dutch. Ship captains anchored their vessels near the mouth of a major river while they or appointed crew members sailed upstream and along the coast in yachts and sloops, which had been carried from Europe on the larger vessels. Trade activities focused on the Hudson River, and particularly Manhattan Island. When European vessels arrived, the Indians came aboard to trade. Captains commanded the crew and vessel during the voyage, but once in New Netherland it was the responsibility of supercargoes, officers appointed by the merchant or company funding the expedition, to conduct or oversee the trade with the Indians. On small trading ventures like those which sailed to New Netherland, the captain also may have served as supercargo. While the Dutch gave their names to the features of the land and overall territory, in practice, their jurisdiction often did not extend beyond their own ships where they conducted trade.<sup>6</sup>

The presence and function of a supercargo appeared familiar to the Indians. Trade between the two groups was not conducted by free trading individuals, but by representatives from each group. Whereas Dutch

merchants employed their supercargoes, it was common among the Indians for a village or group leader to formally exchange goods to establish and reinforce relations between different bands and villages of Indians. Yet when trade with Europeans developed, a new figure in Indian society emerged—the middleman. One Dutch writer described individual native people who traveled about “constantly buying up peltries through the country.”<sup>7</sup> Anthropologist William Starna explains the role of these middlemen among the Iroquois, the Munsees’ culturally similar neighbors to the north. Pointing out that Iroquois society was hierarchical, where chiefs and headmen maintained their power through sharing and redistribution of wealth, he argues that an “additional type of subgroup affiliation” of individuals or groups within the tribe developed. These became the traders for the tribe, the ones who interacted with the Dutch and who wielded power and authority because of their new role in the redistribution of goods. This position naturally related to the Iroquois’ “ethic of sharing and generosity.”<sup>8</sup>

The significance of the middlemen among the Munsees and Iroquois was rooted in the Indian stress upon gift giving and the reciprocal exchange of goods. As Hudson and many other Europeans who became familiar with Native Americans soon learned, gift giving and the distribution of goods—food items, tobacco, strings of shell beads—played an important role in many Indian social exchanges. Agreements between individuals such as marriage rites, tribal decisions and ceremonies, the assertion of tribal authority by sachems and leaders, and intertribal agreements all involved the giving and receiving of presents. In the case of the Iroquois, notes historian Daniel Richter, gifts played an important role because “words alone were merely words. In Iroquois councils ... ‘true words’ were always accompanied by symbolically charged or economically valuable items. ... to Iroquois minds, the gift and the word seem to have been inseparable.”<sup>9</sup> The Munsees welcomed Dutch supercargoes as representatives of new groups and sought to establish new relationships based upon the exchange of goods. Thus trade functioned in two ways. First it served as an exchange which established their alliance, and second as the object of that alliance—the acquisition of new and useful items. In this regard, while both Dutch and native people exchanged goods through trade representatives, they each represented, especially at first, different cultural values and systems.

The Dutch soon learned that certain locations served well as trade and communication nexuses. At these locations, the Dutch established semipermanent forts where native people came to exchange their furs for European goods. As early as 1614, the Dutch established an outpost near the site of present-day Albany and named it Fort Nassau. With such an installation, the Dutch took a further step to establishing their presence in North America, and expanding their yet limited claims to sovereignty. Johannes de Laet, later a director of the West India Company, recorded that Fort Nassau “was built in the form of a redoubt,

surrounded by a moat eighteen feet wide; it was mounted with two pieces of cannon and eleven pedereros, and the garrison consisted of ten or twelve men." In 1617, however, the Dutch abandoned this fort because it was susceptible to spring floods. Another trading house was probably built at Manhattan Island at about the same time. The real value to these outposts lay in the fact that when garrisoned, these factories made it easier for both parties to trade. Indians traveling from a distance could be assured of meeting Europeans when they reached the trading locations along the rivers. They would also benefit by bypassing the native groups who emerged as middlemen between the Dutch and interior peoples as the fur trade developed. The construction of a fort directly benefited the Dutch. They could maintain a ready stock of goods and had a secure place to store the peltries until their ships returned. Although modest in size, the forts offered the Dutch safety against possibly hostile Indians and European competitors.<sup>10</sup>

The existence of forts meant the temporary residence of Europeans, but before any factory was established, the historical record reveals that one trader remained in New Netherland while his ship returned to Europe. Jan Rodrigues, a mulatto from Santo Domingo, either escaped or quit the service of Captain Thijs Mossel who was trading on the Hudson River in the spring of 1613. His employers settled accounts with him by leaving him with "eighty hatchets, some knives, a musket and a sword." Rodrigues spent the summer among the Indians, presumably trading and certainly learning more about the Indians and their language. In the autumn, when the trading vessels returned, Rodrigues was still there, but ready to leave. When he met with Captain Hendrick Christiaensz., he asked to serve with his crew.<sup>11</sup>

Rodrigues and other traders had to learn to communicate with the Indians in order to maintain a trading relationship. One way of accomplishing this was through the use of sign language. Dutch chronicler Nicolaes van Wassenauer recorded that when trading furs, the Indians would measure them "by the hand or by the finger," and "when they desire twenty of anything, they stick the ten fingers up and point with them to the feet on which are ten toes." Yet Europeans and Indians also learned to communicate with one another orally. Evidence on such communication is scant, so the nature of the communication can only be inferred. Van Wassenauer recorded a list of Mohawk words representing the numbers one through ten as well as the months of the year, indicating that the Dutch had some knowledge of these Indians' language, and thus likely attained some degree of proficiency in the languages of other groups as well. Indeed, by the 1620s, there were several references to individuals who could speak the Indian languages, as well as accounts of conversations with Indians on subjects that would seem to have required either the Dutch or the Indians to have a good understanding of the other's language. In one case, according to a European account, a Dutch captain and a Mahican chief named the Cat argued about the nature of

God and whether God or Satan was the cause of death. Furthermore, the extent to which the Dutch had become familiar with Indian culture at this time indicates their knowledge must have come through conversation with the Indians as well as observation of them.<sup>12</sup>

In the late 1620s, however, one Dutch observer failed to be impressed by the Dutch traders' abilities to communicate with the Indians. A few years after the West India Company established a settlement on Manhattan Island, Domine (a Dutch minister) Jonas Michaëlius, commenting on the practicality of evangelism among the Indians, stated that "it is true one can easily learn as much as is sufficient for the purposes of trading, but this is done almost as much by signs with the thumb and fingers as by speaking; and this cannot be done in religious matters." In fact, Michaëlius believed that the Indians purposely developed this truncated pidgin, stating that "it also seems to us that they rather design to conceal their language from us than to properly communicate it, except in things which happen in daily trade." He explained that by "speak[ing] only in half sentences" and "shortened words," the Indians successfully kept their language secret so that "even those who can best of all speak with the savages, and get along well in trade, are nevertheless wholly in the dark and bewildered when they hear the savages talking among themselves." Michaëlius may have observed what some linguists suggest was a trade jargon based upon the Unami language stock and utilized by both Unami and Munsee speakers.<sup>13</sup> Whatever the case, some Dutch understood a native-based language allowing them to communicate with the Munsees.

In addition, the Indians probably were beginning to learn Dutch and were incorporating Dutch phrases into the trade jargon. At least two Indians must have become semi-fluent in the Dutch language. Purportedly sons of a tribal leader, these two youths were kidnapped or somehow brought back to the Netherlands by Captains Block and Christiaensz. Renamed Orson and Valentine by the Dutch, these two were likely captured in order to learn the Netherlandic language and be returned to America as translators and trade mediators. This practice was not unusual for the Dutch or other Europeans. Dutch traders had been known to conduct such practices elsewhere in the world, and both French and English had also kidnapped Native Americans in order to train them as translators and guides.<sup>14</sup>

The trade over which this communication took place consisted primarily of beaver pelts, but also included the skins of otters, martens, and foxes. The furs had their greatest value if harvested in the winter and Dutch traders aimed at arriving in the New World in order to capitalize on this fact.<sup>15</sup> In addition, the value of the peltries increased if worn by the Indians for some time before they were sold. Indians typically covered themselves in bear grease, and the furs they wore absorbed this lubricant, treating and conditioning them. Most of these "treated" furs were destined to become felt for hats. "Untreated" furs were more likely

sold in Europe to garnish coats and clothing.<sup>16</sup> Both were marketed in the Netherlands and Germany where they competed with Russian furs.<sup>17</sup>

The Munsees exchanged furs for a variety of goods. They initially showed the greatest interest in “trifles,” beads, knives, and axes which the Dutch had to offer, but soon desired other items as well. At first, they were clearly attracted to European-made goods for their spiritual value. They bartered for beads and what the Dutch called “trifles”—such as mirrors and metal objects—which they valued as spiritually-charged goods. Even items manufactured by Europeans with clear utilitarian purposes were valued religiously by Indians who first perceived the Dutch as *manitou*. Such items corresponded to native copper and other articles of traditional value to which the Munsees attached religious significance.<sup>18</sup> These items might be worn to grant power, bestowed on others, or included in burial ceremonies. But Indians soon came to learn who the Dutch were and the practical value of the goods they brought. Native people also shared an interest in these goods, because while religious motivations continued to be important, they also had practical needs common to all people. Thus the Indians began to trade for and use items such as adzes or mattocks for agricultural work, metal drills and awls (which they used to produce wampum), knives, and copper kettles.<sup>19</sup>

In the Munsees’ oral tradition, recorded in the next century, they acknowledged this important transition in their appreciation for European goods. It was remembered that the first year the Dutch

distributed presents among them, to wit, beads, axes, hoes, stockings, &c. ... That the vessel arrived the season following, and they were much rejoiced at seeing each other; but that the whites laughed at them (the Indians,) seeing they knew not the use of the axes, hoes, &c., they had given them, they having had these hanging to their breasts as ornaments; and the stockings they had made use of as tobacco pouches. The whites now put handles (or helves) in the former, and cut trees down before their eyes, and dug the ground, and showed them the use of the stockings. Here (say they) a general laughter ensued among them (the Indians), that they had remained for so long a time ignorant of the use of so valuable implements; and had borne with the weight of such heavy metal hanging to their necks for such a length of time.<sup>20</sup>

However, even as the Indians sought such useful items, they often used them for different purposes than the manufacturers intended. They frequently purchased copper kettles which they used to carry the other items they purchased, and then they cut them in pieces to be later fashioned into arrowheads or ornaments.<sup>21</sup> Typical of the Indians’ unique utilization of European-manufactured goods was the case recorded by Van Wassenauer of a sick woman who had earlier “seen a skipper’s lace.” When she realized that death would soon be upon her, she “gave her husband three fine peltry skins to present to the skipper for the shirt, which he willingly gave her, for she wished to be buried in it; imitating the



Christians in the sumptuousness of their burials." In a similar fashion, the Munsees continued to desire and accept glass beads and other objects which were acquired primarily for their presumed metaphysical qualities. For example, for many years, the Dutch were beset with requests for iron and metal scraps, large numbers of glass beads, and other items which had little intrinsic value to them, but to which the Indians must have attached ceremonial significance.<sup>22</sup>

Thus the Indians quickly adopted European goods, but did so within a Native American framework. The goods they acquired did not immediately change their culture, nor did the Munsees have to drastically modify their beliefs to accept and begin to acquire these goods. In fact, trade with the Dutch naturally developed out of preexisting intertribal networks between the Munsees and surrounding tribes. Such networks provided for the regular and systemic exchange of goods—both ceremonial and utilitarian—between Indian tribes and also served to strengthen ties between tribes in the minds of the Indians who valued a system of reciprocity.

Wampum played a central role in the intertribal network of the Northeast. Dimly perceived by the Dutch at that time, this wampum network lay at the foundation of much of the major developments in the Northeastern tribes' histories. Wampum would also become the centerpiece of Dutch trade with the Munsees. While furs at first comprised the Munsees' major item of export to the Dutch, wampum soon supplemented their trade in furs and eventually took the place of peltries. Named *sewant* by the Munsees and called that by the Dutch throughout New Netherland's history,<sup>23</sup> wampum was strings or belts of marine shell beads manufactured by the Indians who lived on Long Island and around Long Island Sound.<sup>24</sup> Hudson and his crew were introduced to wampum when the Mahicans offered them "stropes of beads."<sup>25</sup> According to anthropologist Lynn Ceci, "True Wampum" was white and black (purple) beads made respectively from whelks and clams of the coastal New York region, finely crafted to uniform sizes and dimensions, and strung together in strings or belts.<sup>26</sup> Manufactured before the Dutch arrived,<sup>27</sup> wampum did not originate with the Long Island Indians. Rather, these Indians adopted its production in order to trade it to the Mahicans and Mohawks, who used it and also traded it to Indians farther north such as the Hurons, Algonquins, Montagnais, and probably others.<sup>28</sup> According to archeological evidence, the wampum manufactured by the Long Island Indians evolved from a proto-wampum already used by the Iroquois in order to maintain their League of Peace and Security. Proto-wampum had deep historical roots in Hopewellian and Mississippian cultures of the midwest and was adopted by legendary Deganawidah at the creation of the Iroquois League.<sup>29</sup> Although it served similar ritualistic roles among the other northern tribes, wampum's origin among these groups remains obscure.

The Dutch discovered the value of the wampum trade soon after regular barter with the Indians was established. In Adriaen Block's pre-1616

map of the coastal New York and New England region, he included the names of four tribes who lived along the coast of the Long Island Sound and who were later identified with the manufacture of wampum—the Sequins, Pequots, Wampanoags, and Nahicans. His map also showed several anchorages in that region, suggesting familiarity with the wampum-producing areas. That the Dutch understood the value of wampum is clear from two events in the 1620s. In 1620, Captain Hans Hontom with Jacob Eelkens as supercargo found their ship overwhelmed by a group of Munsees who seemed intent on taking the traders' goods by force. Recalling several of the crewmen to the ship, Hontom and Eelkens succeeded in regaining control of the hold and its cargo. Running most of the Indians from the vessel, the Dutch kept aboard "four of the most principal to understand from the same the cause as to why they had such intentions against them." After interrogating them, the captain "obtained from them a few *coraelen* with which a peace was made and concluded." These "*coraelen*" were doubtless strings of wampum. Since they accepted these as a peace offering and found it necessary to reach a legal agreement with the ship owners back in Amsterdam regarding the beads, it is clear what value the beads held on the Dutch-Munsee frontier. Two years later, Jacob Eelkens put this knowledge to more exploitive use when he captured a Sequin chief and held him in return for a bounty of wampum, which the Indians "prize as jewels."<sup>30</sup>

Wampum became central to the Dutch trade in furs. Dutch traders discovered how wampum was exchanged among many of the tribes of the Northeast and inserted themselves into that network. The Dutch exchanged European goods to the Munsees and others in the wampum producing areas. Transporting wampum to the north, they traded it to the Mahicans and Mohawks. By the beginning of the West India Company period in the mid-1620s, Dutch traders endeavored to procure from the Munsees and other Long Island Indians as much wampum as possible to ship to Fort Orange where it was traded to Mahicans, Mohawks, and other northern tribes for furs.<sup>31</sup> But while the Dutch believed themselves involved in a branch of the European fur trade, in reality they had become middlemen in a native system of reciprocity and exchange which had significance beyond the apparently straightforward economic transactions understood by Europeans. In the same way, native people had little concept of the meaning of the trade for Europeans. Just as the Northeastern native trade network, driven by social reciprocity and a high ceremonial value placed upon wampum, made little sense to the Dutch, the increasingly urban, capitalistic, and materialist world of the Europeans remained a mystery to the Indians. But in spite of it all, they continued to trade, although not without important consequences.

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Maintaining a trade relationship meant ongoing contact. In so doing, both sides discovered important details about each other which facilitated

their trade, while at the same time increasing their general knowledge about the other's character and culture. Undoubtedly, the Indians soon began to change their perceptions of Europeans as manitou-like beings to be respected and feared. At the same time, the Dutch observed Munsee culture and tried to place those observations into a familiar framework. The historical and cultural background of both prevented them from fully coming to terms with the depths of the other's culture and society, just as they did not fully appreciate the significance of the trade in which they both participated.

While the Indians apparently first received Hudson and his crew as other-than-human beings, they should have quickly reevaluated their assumptions about these visitors once conflict erupted between them and they observed mortalities. During trade contact with the Dutch, the Indians had continued opportunity to make similar observations. One of the earliest conflicts arose from a disagreement among the Dutch traders themselves. In 1613, captains Block and Christiaensz., working for the same Amsterdam trading cartel, were joined in the Hudson River region by Captain Thijs Mossel and supercargo Hans Jorisz. Hontom. Seeking to secure trade with the Indians, these new traders offered the natives double the price usually paid for furs. Disagreement arose between the Block and Mossel trading groups until an agreement could be reached regarding what share of the fur trade each should control. The following year they again competed for the Indians' trade resulting in an inexplicable attack on the Indians. In 1614, the sloops of Christiaensz. and Mossel were both anchored near Hastings-on-Hudson when a canoe of Indians approached Christiaensz.'s ship. To prevent their trade, Mossel's crew fired at the canoe and then rowed one of their boats at top speed toward it and Christiaensz.'s vessel. Mossel's men rammed the Munsees' canoe and "smashed it to pieces." They then began to chop up what was left of the Indians' vessel while its native occupants fled onto Christiaensz.'s sloop.<sup>32</sup> As noted before, another hostile encounter occurred in 1620 when Jacob Eelkens opened a chest of trade goods for a group of Munsees who had come on board. When the Indians became dangerously aggressive, Eelkens quickly shut the chest and the crew forced them off the ship except for four hostages later released in exchange for a gift of wampum.<sup>33</sup>

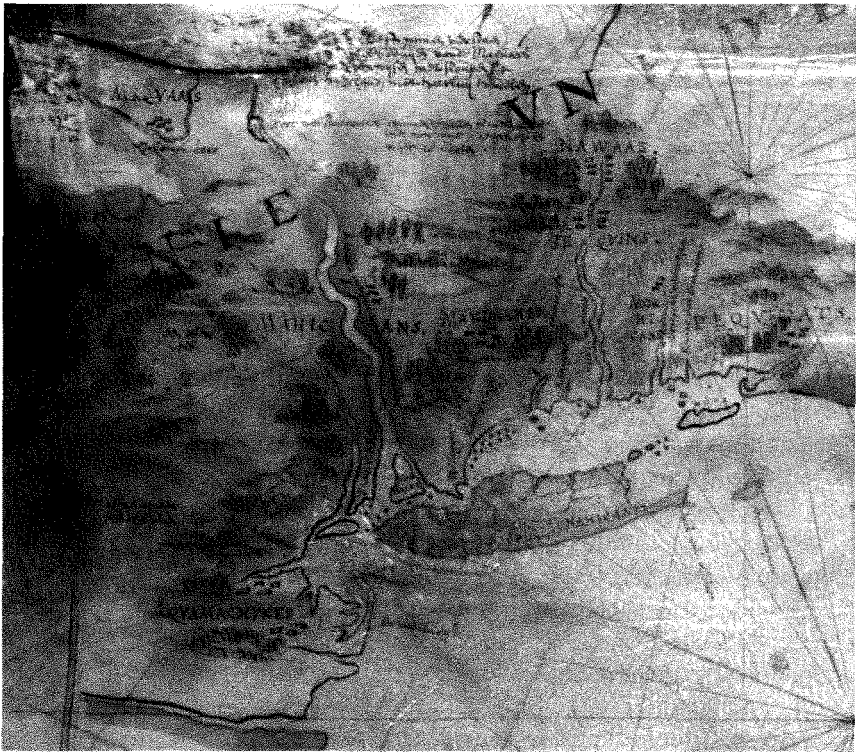
Undoubtedly, European behavior which included open violence among themselves as well as theft and hostilities directed at the Indians indicated to the native peoples that they needed to approach Europeans differently than they had previously. At first welcoming them and desiring to establish social bonds with the Dutch, they also feared them and their power. As one Dutch writer reported, for example, "at the first coming [of the whites] they were accustomed to fall prostrate on the report of the gun." The Indians began to realize, however, that Dutchmen were humans like themselves, but with strange customs. After becoming familiar with these newcomers, their response to musket fire was entirely

different, for “now they stand still from habit.”<sup>34</sup> In fact, as the native people of the Hudson River grew in their understanding of the Dutch, they also became more bold. When Orson, one of the two Indian youths kidnapped by Christiaensz. and Block, eventually returned to New Netherland, he apparently avenged himself on one of his captors. Members of his tribe, offering to trade, came aboard Christiaensz.’s ship and killed the captain and most of the crew. Squelching the Indians’ attack with gunfire, the remainder of the crew secured their own safety by making an offering of knives to the native assailants.<sup>35</sup> This was not the only case of such an attack. Frequent secondhand descriptions of the Indians as “revengeful” indicate that they no longer assigned special status to the Dutch and, in fact, treated them as they would their fellow native inhabitants.<sup>36</sup>

But even if the Indians accepted the Dutch for the human beings that they were, they still expected them to fulfill certain roles in accordance with Munsee cultural practice. Perceiving Dutch captains and supercargoes to be sachems or other tribal leaders, the Indians anticipated certain conduct from them and saw their trade with them as a step towards building intertribal alliances. Dutch competition in the fur trade may have confused such a situation. Having established a reciprocal relationship with Adriaen Block, for example, the Indians may have been confused when Mossel and Hontom appeared and presented a second “tribe” with whom to build an alliance. Because they offered more goods in exchange for furs, Mossel and Hontom would have appeared more generous than Block and Christiaensz. Also culturally confusing for the Munsees would be the absence of European women which made Dutch trading expeditions appear more like Indian war parties than the usual companies of native families that traveled together when visiting other tribes to trade.<sup>37</sup> The situation would become more complex when greater numbers of rival traders from Europe arrived on the Hudson. The Indians probably received some comfort from the establishment of factories and trading monopolies which more clearly defined who the “proper” representatives of the Dutch were and where they could be found. In short, the Indians may have viewed the Europeans as men, and they may have soon learned that these foreigners had practical goods to offer. But the exchange itself still signified to the Indians important social consequences. As later evidence will show, the Munsees would continue to meet the Dutch as they would other Indian people, exchanging gifts and reinforcing social bonds.

For their part, the Dutch had to contend with a myriad of Indian groups and languages. From 1610 to 1623, European traders not only encountered Munsees and Unamis, but also Mahicans, Susquehannocks, Mohawks, and other Algonquian and Iroquoian speakers. While records from the traders themselves who visited New Netherland do not exist, their observations of these various bands and tribes found their way into accounts by Johannes de Laet and Nicolaes van Wassenaeer, Dutch authors

who never personally visited Munsee territory. Information about the Indian tribes was also recorded around 1614 on two maps which list terms associated with the many different groups whom the Dutch had encountered. For example, the maps included names such as “Maquaas” (Mohawks), “Minquaas” (Susquehannocks), “Mahicans,” “Sangicans,” “Manhates,” “Tappans,” “Esopus,” and “Pachami.”<sup>38</sup> What the Dutch did not make clear, and probably did not understand, is that each of these names did not refer to individual nations or nationalities, but was a specific designation which may have referred to locality, sublineage, leadership, or some other identifying feature of the local village, district, or maximal group. When the Dutch asked the Indians who they were, the answers did not correspond to the equivalent of the more nationalistic-oriented “the Dutch” or “the French.” Instead, native people offered more descriptive appellations such as “the people of Manhattan Island” or perhaps the name of their most respected headman.<sup>39</sup> The Europeans’ confusion was borne out by the perception that each of these groups spoke fairly distinct languages. Van Wassenauer recorded that “with so



**Figure 2: Detail from Adriaen Block's "Carte Figurative," 1614.**

Detail from Adriaen Block's map highlighting the Hudson and Connecticut River valleys and Long Island Sound. Courtesy Nationaal Archief, Den Haag, Verzameling Buitenlandse Kaarten Leuwe, number 4. VEL, inventory number 520.

many tribes, there is so great a diversity of language. They vary frequently not over five or six leagues; forthwith comes another language; if they meet they can hardly understand one another." In fact, he announced, "there are some who come sixty leagues from the interior, and cannot at all understand those on the river."<sup>40</sup>

Despite recognition that the various "nations" spoke different languages or dialects, the Dutch writers did not distinguish between the various groups when they described the Indians' culture and society. Part of this was due to the fact that many cultural traits and practices were shared, particularly between the Munsees, Mahicans, and Mohawks.<sup>41</sup> While Europeans may have been confused on the details or lacked understanding of the facts which they uncovered, they did discover much new information about the Native Americans. Dutch traders reported on the Indians' style of dress, their seasonal migration, their subsistence, their weapons, as well as their hospitality and inclination to trade. Over time, they discovered that the Munsees had some knowledge of the heavens and used that knowledge to determine the time to sow and harvest their crops. They noted that the Indians lived in houses which were "commonly circular, with a vent hole above to let out the smoke, closed with four doors, and made mostly of the bark of trees which are very abundant there." Within these houses, observed the traders, the Indians "sleep on the ground covered with leaves and skins. At meals, they sit on the ground." Concerning marriage customs, they recorded that "when a lad desires a wife, he buys her generally in a neighboring village, and she, being a maiden, is then delivered to him by two or three other women, carrying on the head meal, roots, corn or other articles, to the young man's hut and he receives her." The Dutch noted that when Munsee couples became parents, "each highly esteems his own children, bringing them up very much spoiled."<sup>42</sup>

Besides recording the names and locations of the tribes and the basics of their daily life, the Dutch traders observed aspects of the Indians' political order, doing the best they could to explain a system very foreign to them. For example, De Laet wrote that they had no "political government, except that they have their chiefs, whom they call Sackmos, or Sagimos."<sup>43</sup> And when Van Wassenauer explained the Indians' lack of central government and the changing status of individuals identified as chiefs, he wrote:

There is little authority among these nations. They live almost all equally free. In each village, indeed, is found a person who is somewhat above the others and commands absolutely when there is war and when they are gathered from all the villages to go to war. But the fight once ended, his authority ceases.<sup>44</sup>

To Dutch observers, Munsee political organization certainly seemed to lack essential features of a properly-run government. Unlike European societies in which government was expected to exert strong influence on

the lives of citizens in matters of justice and law, Indian society was structured with little such centralization and control. Munsee leaders lacked coercive authority and ruled by consensus. Furthermore, as the Dutch noted, these leaders changed depending upon the need. In times of peace certain men would rule, generally based on a hereditary claim. In times of war, others would lead, usually based on experience and ability in warfare.<sup>45</sup>

But Dutch observations must be understood in terms of their overall perception of the Indians. Dutch attitudes were reflected in the terminology they used to describe the Indians. While occasionally the term *Indianen* was employed, and more rarely *barbaren* or barbarian, by far the most common term was *wilden*. Literally “wild men,” this term was part of the medieval European folk tradition and mythology which was still common among the English, French, Germans, Dutch, and others. The concept of the wild man ran deep in the medieval worldview. Even in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, this concept continued to shape European anthropological assumptions, especially as they regarded Native Americans. What was the wild man? According to Richard Bernheimer, in *Wild Men in the Middle Ages*, wild men were neither clearly men nor beasts, but individuals who held “a curiously ambiguous and ill-defined position in god’s creation.” But wild men were not subhuman. They were humans who became wild due to a separation from civilized society. They lived in the forest and subsisted without benefit of tools or horticultural know-how. According to wild man lore, these individuals had lost the power of “human speech” since their animal-like existence amounted to little more than following basic instincts or impulses which did not require its use.<sup>46</sup>

It is clear that the Dutch associated Indians with medieval wild men. The earliest descriptions of Native Americans referred to them as *wilden*. According to one source, “this name was given them ... at the first discovery of the country.”<sup>47</sup> Traders of the 1610s used the term as did West India Company official Isaack de Rasière, Dutch authors Johannes de Laet and Nicolaes van Wassenauer, and Domine Jonas Michaëlius. The term continued to be used throughout the Dutch period.<sup>48</sup>

The naming of their Indian captives Orson and Valentine by Dutch traders also demonstrates the connection in Dutch minds between the Indians of America and the wild men of Europe. Like the term *wilden*, these names were immediately recognizable in their connection to the wild man mythology. Available and popular throughout Europe at the time were the related tales of *Valentine und Nameloos* and *Valentine and Orson*. Both told of noble-born brothers, separated at birth, one raised in civilization, and the other raised by wild animals in the woods. As adults they became reunited and Orson, the brother turned wild man, was tamed. According to one scholar, the name “‘Orson’ to the seventeenth century, was almost synonymous with ‘wild man.’”<sup>49</sup> There can be little doubt that the Dutch associated the two sons of a “wild” Indian chief

with the princes Orson and Valentine on the basis of the wild man tradition. The Dutch probably believed that, like Orson, these two young men could be redeemed from their savage lifestyle and civilized.<sup>50</sup>

Furthermore, in the mid-1650s, Dutch colonist and author Adriaen van der Donck made a clear exposition upon the matter. "The original natives in that land," he wrote, "are ... with a general name called Wilden and this name ... was given to them in the first place because of religion, because they have none, or so little that they are easily wild in this." He also noted that "they are, as far as marriage and recognition of landownership are concerned so different from the general laws that they may be called Wilden because in this they act almost wildly." As another later Dutch observer put it, the Indians "have no knowledge at all of God, no divine worship, no law, no justice."<sup>51</sup>

Lack of religion formed a key aspect of the wild man's identity in European lore. Richard Bernheimer wrote that "the wild man [was] devoid—perhaps incapable—of any knowledge of God."<sup>52</sup> Many Dutch writers were quick to make similar, but inaccurate, observations about the Indians. Johannes de Laet noted that "they have no sense of religion, no worship of God,"<sup>53</sup> and Nicolaes van Wassenauer offered similar observations when he wrote "respecting religion we as yet cannot learn that they have any knowledge of God."<sup>54</sup> Domine Jonas Michaëlius, the first Dutch minister in America, who did not arrive in New Netherland until the late 1620s, explained to the church fathers in Amsterdam that the Indians "have no certain knowledge of Him, or scarcely any. If we speak to them of God, it appears to them like a dream."<sup>55</sup>

But if the Dutch considered them wild men, this did not mean that they considered them animals. Rather, they were men with animal-like attributes, learned, according to wild man lore, from a lifetime away from civilization. One particular case is telling. Van Wassenauer related an interesting story about the Indians' encounter with a large European dog which the Indians called "a sachem of dogs," since it was far larger than any dog living among them. "The dog," wrote Van Wassenauer, "tied with a rope on board, was very furious against [the Indians], they being clad like beasts with skins, for he thought they were wild animals." However, Van Wassenauer pointed out, when "they gave him some of their bread made of Indian corn ... he learned to distinguish them, that they were men." For a writer so disposed, this would have been an opportune place to compare the Indians to wild animals. Instead, Van Wassenauer acknowledged the Indians' humanity noting simply that the dog "learned ... that they were men."<sup>56</sup>

Dutch opinions about the Munsees were not limited to questions concerning their humanity and civility, but also included other types of classifications. Common among the Europeans during the trade contacts with the Indians and the earliest stages of colonization was the division of Indians as either "good" or "bad." For example, the early Spanish experience had taught English colonizers to make alliances with good or



helpful Indians against the bad or hostile ones when founding colonies.<sup>57</sup> Dutch authors made similar distinctions when they observed that the “[people] are well disposed, if they are only well treated; although they are very changeable, and of the same general character as all the [native people] in the north.” Although they noted that there were instances of hostility between the Dutch and Indians and that the Indians could be “revengeful and very suspicious,” they also saw potential for improvement: “But with mild and proper treatment, and especially by intercourse with Christians, this people might be civilized and brought under better regulation.” After all, “they are ... very serviceable, and allow themselves to be employed in many things for a small compensation, even to performing a long day’s journey, in which they discover greater fidelity than could be expected of such a people.” One author summed up the Indians’ nature and conduct by stating that they “sometimes manifest themselves with arrows, like enemies, sometimes like friends; but when they have seen the ships once or twice, or traded with our people, they become altogether friendly.”<sup>58</sup>

Traders and sailors who came in contact with the Munsees undoubtedly held opinions similar to those recorded by these Dutch authors. Dutch settlers and colonial administrators echoed such attitudes in the 1630s and after. They commented on the Indians’ “revengefulness,” their usefulness versus uselessness, and divisions into friendly and unfriendly tribes. Such attitudes could lead to serious consequences. In the 1640s, West India Company officials and some colonists in New Netherland perceived the Munsees, especially those closest to Manhattan Island, as useless (or bad Indians) because they could no longer offer the Dutch furs, agricultural products, or other utilitarian items. Dutch attitudes towards native people were important to their later relations. Perceiving the Indians as unredeemable wild men, as well as useless when they had little to offer Europeans, some Dutchmen found little reason not to destroy and eradicate them in 1643, leading to full-scale war.<sup>59</sup>

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In the meantime, however, relations between the two, despite their failure to fully come to terms with the real identity of the other and despite occasional eruptions of violence, remained generally peaceful. Yet the presence of the Dutch and their goods began to affect Munsee society. The introduction of foreign trade goods directly influenced Munsee economy. Stronger and more efficient than those of native manufacture, European tools made agricultural work easier to accomplish than labors performed with traditional Native American tools. The use of European tools became so popular and widespread that the earliest descriptions of Indian agricultural practices referred to their use of iron adzes and hoes and made no mention of the traditional wood and stone tools.<sup>60</sup> But such adoptions did not necessarily imply deep-seated changes in Indian

society. As long as Native Americans used the tools as a means to accomplish traditional ends, the effects on their society would be minimal. But as the Munsees began to use such goods exclusively and stop producing their own tools, they became dependent upon them just as the Iroquois did in the same era. As Daniel Richter has demonstrated, the Iroquois adopted Dutch and French wares in order to accomplish traditional Indian practices. However, after one generation, they had become accustomed to using European-manufactured goods. When "the last people passed away who came of age before the Europeans arrived, many native skills died with them." Within a few decades, "the Five Nations literally were dependent for their survival on commerce with the Dutch."<sup>61</sup>

Dependence upon European products could prove disastrous for the Indians, especially if they no longer could harvest sufficient furs to trade to the Dutch. Over time, the locus of the fur trade would shift from the lower Hudson to the upper Hudson as the Munsees' beaver supply became depleted. This situation did not exclude the Munsee people from trade with the Dutch, however. First, because of their proximity to the rivers and waterways, it is quite possible that for a time they were able to maintain the status of Indian middlemen who would facilitate trade between the Dutch and the Susquehannocks and other interior tribes. More importantly, those Munsees who manufactured wampum were able to guarantee themselves a place within the newly developed European trade network.

Although wampum was already highly valued by the surrounding tribes, Dutch intrusion into this network probably enhanced the trade. Before the Dutch arrived in New Netherland, European trade goods had reached the Iroquois indirectly from other directions. After Dutch traders began making regular visits to the upper Hudson, the Indians of that region, as well as tribes from Canada, had new access to goods and could benefit from competitive prices. The Dutch traders' opportunity and ability to tap the wampum resource during this decade meant that they could attract northern Indians who, accustomed to European goods and dependent on wampum for the proper functioning of their tribe, chose to trade with the Dutch instead of the French, who offered them no wampum and whose goods were more expensive. This in turn affected the Munsee people, especially those on Long Island who manufactured the wampum, because the Dutch now facilitated the traffic by offering a steady market while providing the tools necessary to efficiently manufacture the goods it demanded.<sup>62</sup>

Increased production of wampum altered native American residency patterns. Anthropologist Lynn Ceci argued that the increased production of wampum caused coastal Indians, including the Munsees, to create permanent year-round settlements so that they could devote a greater amount of time to its manufacture. This also included important native groups in New England—the Narragansetts and Pequots. Many other

tribes in the eastern woodland region also began to reside in one place for longer periods. These tribes, however, focused on full-time corn production, not the manufacture of wampum.<sup>63</sup> In effect, those Indians who established permanent settlements in order to grow corn were strengthening their independence while those Indians who focused primarily upon manufacturing wampum grew more dependent on their trading partners for food and other goods. Since wampum production began before the advent of European trade and colonization, Indians who manufactured it had already begun to become dependent on their fellow tribes. As the Dutch penetrated the trade network however, the Indians' dependency shifted to them.

Tension between traditional trade alliances and the desire of various tribes to benefit from competitive prices seems to have developed during this time and probably affected the Munsees along with many other tribes. One Dutch writer observed that "as those inland find that furs sold too cheap among them, they come down themselves to the rivers and trade with the nations as best they can."<sup>64</sup> The identity of these native people remains obscure, but they were probably those tribes of the St. Lawrence River valley who had been at the receiving end of the wampum trade and who now came to the upper Hudson to trade. The role of middlemen was probably played by the Mahicans as well as the Mohawks, who with the Mahicans were links in a chain along which wampum and other goods were exchanged between the Canadians and Munsees. Many tribes apparently did not tolerate such circumvention of the traditional networks, and reports regarding conflict between them appeared in the early Dutch records. For example, De Laet recorded that the Sanhikans were "deadly enemies" of the Mannhattans and "almost all those who live on the west side [of the Hudson River] are enemies of those on the east."<sup>65</sup> A Dutch mapmaker illustrated the Susquehannocks' territory with fortified villages on one map, while on another the cartographer noted that they were "called by the Mohawks *Ogehage* [enemies]."<sup>66</sup> Furthermore, Van Wassenaer observed that the Munsees, who did not live in fortified villages before the arrival of the Dutch, "fortify their tribe or nation with palisades, serving them for a fort, and sally out the one against the other."<sup>67</sup>

The effects of trade with the Dutch touched other areas of Munsee society as well. Epidemics caused by Dutch-introduced diseases struck the Indians of the lower Hudson during the trade frontier. Although the first documented epidemic attacking the Iroquois did not occur until 1633,<sup>68</sup> it is likely that some disease spread among the Munsees earlier since they had had longer and more extensive contact with the Europeans.<sup>69</sup> In Van Wassenaer's 1624 description of the Mohawks' health and medicine, he stated that they were healthy and without disabilities or malformities," and that "there is not an ailment they have not a remedy for." Yet he commented that "in other localities they are altogether devoid of succor, leaving the people to perish like cattle."<sup>70</sup> Those "other localities"

likely included the region inhabited by the Munsees. Such an interpretation is reinforced by a West India Company official who commented in the mid-1620s on the declining Indian population:

up the river [from the southern tip of Manhattan Island] the east side is high, full of trees and in some places there is a little good land, where formerly many people have dwelt, but who for the most part have died or have been driven away by the Wappenos.<sup>71</sup>

In addition, Isaac Jogues, a French priest who visited New Amsterdam in 1643, observed that "the first comers [settlers arriving in the late 1620s] found lands fit for use, deserted by the savages, who formerly had fields here."<sup>72</sup> An even more detailed description was offered in the 1650s. As Adriaen van der Donck recorded:

The Indians also affirm, that before the arrival of the Christians, and before the small pox broke out amongst them, they were ten times as numerous as they now are, and that their population had been melted down by this disease, whereof nine-tenths of them have died.<sup>73</sup>

If Van der Donck's figures were accurate, then epidemics made a severe impact on Munsee society.<sup>74</sup> Precontact population figures for the Indians living along the lower Hudson River range from fifteen to thirty-two thousand. After the population loss described above, these people could have numbered anywhere from 1,500 to 3,200.<sup>75</sup> Dutch writers offered no description of the effects from such a drastic and sudden population decrease, but they may have been similar to those suffered by other Indians. James Merrell, for example, demonstrates that when disease struck the Indians of the southern Piedmont, killing a majority of the population, the role of kinship, the place of elders, tribal authority, and Indian spiritual advisors all suffered the consequences. Often, there no longer were enough people to maintain a particular band or village and the survivors often merged to form new communities. Yet some evidence suggests that population loss did not impede Munsee commitment to their traditional cultural ideals. Robert Grumet has argued that the Munsees, when faced with population loss, pursued a program of village concentration. These mergers allowed them to maintain their traditional beliefs and culture, even when the majority of their population had succumbed to disease.<sup>76</sup>

Direct contact with the Dutch also affected the Indians' society, and ample opportunities for such direct contact between the Dutch and the Indians occurred. Besides those who formed the small forts' garrisons, other Dutchmen resided for a time in New Netherland. One such extended visit occurred when Captain Block's ship accidentally burned in January or February of 1614. Block and his crew retrieved as much hardware as they could during the conflagration and immediately began to build a replacement yacht. Deprived of the protection of their ship,

these men must have stayed on one of the islands, perhaps Manhattan, near where their ship had been anchored.<sup>77</sup> When the new yacht was finished in the spring, Block and his crew explored and traded along the coast of Long Island and New England until they met with Captain Christiaensz. After loading the yacht's furs onto Christiaensz.'s ship and transferring most of the crew as well, Block instructed crew member Cornelis Hendricksz. to select a small crew and use the yacht to continue exploration of the region. Over the next two years, this small expedition investigated the various rivers flowing into the Atlantic coast, including Delaware Bay and environs. While doing so, they traded with the Susquehannocks and discovered that they held three other Dutchmen as captives. These men had earlier been trading among the Mohawks and Mahicans and somehow were captured and passed to the Susquehannocks, who held them until they were ransomed by Hendricksz.<sup>78</sup>

These and other Dutch traders and settlers eventually interacted with the Indians in the most intimate fashion. Comments by at least one observer in the 1640s indicate that Dutchmen in the New World took Indian women as permanent or temporary wives, and produced mixed-blood children.<sup>79</sup> Although Nicolaes van Wassenauer wrote that "chastity appears to be of some repute among them, for the women are not all equally loose," there were opportunities for Dutch-Indian liaisons. Van Wassenauer reported that "others hold [chastity] in small esteem; especially as they are free, living without law." Regardless of whether or not one accepts the moral judgements of these opinions, they nevertheless indicate that opportunities for miscegenation existed.<sup>80</sup>

Finally, there is evidence to suggest that the arrival of the newcomers and their attractive goods had consequences for native family life and structure. Although Indian parents almost never coerced their children or forced their will upon them, Munsee parents felt new pressure after the Dutch arrived to exert greater influence over them. Van Wassenauer noted that "when the children in great numbers follow after this nation, [the parents] forbid it as not befitting; yea, they command them to turn back."<sup>81</sup> Besides the obvious change in parenting customs, this passage indicates that deep tensions were growing within the tribal communities as a result of the Dutch presence. Van Wassenauer's report indicates that the young people were attracted to Dutch ways. This could simply have been a matter of an older generation fearing the use of European goods by the younger generation. For example, Roger Williams noted in Rhode Island that some of the older Indian women refused to use the metal awls provided by the Europeans in order to make wampum because they were "fearful to leave the old tradition."<sup>82</sup> Munsee parents also may have been concerned with the recurring miscegenation and the confusion wrought by transient European husbands. They may have also feared that the younger generation was losing its identity by forsaking traditional ways. Whatever the exact meaning of Van Wassenauer's report, it is clear that the Munsees and Dutch entered a

new phase in their relationship. It is also clear that in this phase, the Munsee people faced new cultural and societal challenges.

While contact between the Munsees and Dutch increased during the trade frontier, and various degrees of intimacy were reached, there were limits to their interaction. Because the exchange of goods formed the object of their interaction, the kinds of conflict and other features often associated with the frontier in the traditional sense did not occur. The Dutch made no significant claims to sovereignty and the Munsees seemed willing to welcome new groups with which to trade. Indeed, Dutch traders and sailors remained profoundly dependent upon their Indian hosts as especially demonstrated by the three Dutchmen held captive in the American hinterlands until rescued by Hendricksz.

Similar patterns of indigenous-European relations developed in New England and New France. The era of trade in these regions lasted much longer than in New Netherland, and also with greater variation. Along the St. Lawrence, for example, France attempted a variety of trade and colonization efforts throughout the sixteenth century. Over that time, the Indian populations shifted significantly as Iroquoian speakers who first met Samuel de Champlain were later replaced by Algonquian speakers. In New England, many French and English ships visited the lands of the Algonquian speakers there over the same time period. Clearly there had been times of conflict and hostility, but when the nature of contact had been mostly shaped by trade, conflict did not develop into open warfare.<sup>83</sup>

European-Native American contact throughout the period did have many of the same results. Both sides developed great knowledge about one another while maintaining important stereotypes and misconceptions about their relationship. Native people suffered the effects of disease, especially towards the end of the era of trade. Probably most significantly, the Indians of New France and New England developed a dependency upon European goods while the Europeans capitalized on the Indian trade networks preexisting in northeastern North America. In this way, New France, New England, and New Netherland, as trade outposts, all sat on the fringe of a bounteous land of fur-bearing animals, inhabited by people who were more than competent, and willing, to harvest and prepare those furs for trade. The commercial outposts of these three nations benefited from the unique environment, landscape, and inhabitants of North America. While those inhabitants benefited too, they also began to feel the effects of contact with people holding to a radically different cultural outlook and its corresponding societal structures.

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The degree to which change came about in New Netherland, as well as in New England and New France, and the nature of the changes was largely determined by the extent of contact. The Dutch were represented by a handful of traders who approached the fur trade simply from the standpoint of making the most profit from their voyages. Accompanying these

traders and captains were motley crews of European and mulatto seamen. Besides trading with the Indians, these first representatives of European society began to gather knowledge about them, the relationships between the tribes, and the use and importance of wampum. In addition, they formed opinions about the Indians and created stereotypes as well. However, as individual traders or members of small companies, these Europeans were not able to monopolize the trade, or extend political authority over the Munsees. They were entrepreneurs, eager to make a quick profit and investing only what time and energy were necessary to make the trade relationship work.

During this period, the Indians certainly learned enough about the Dutch to know that they were not the other-than-human beings for which they had first taken Hudson and his men. They were strange individuals who possessed useful and practical goods which they would exchange for beaver pelts and wampum. The Indians gladly traded what they had for the new items offered by the Dutch. These goods were then incorporated into Munsee society. The effects of trade with Europeans and the changes in native society as a result of that trade took place within the framework of traditional Native American culture. The introduction and rise of disease, the decreasing supply of the beaver, and the increased time spent on manufacturing wampum did not destroy their way of life, although these changes affected them. The Indians continued to trade with other groups (although increasingly these were Europeans) and they continued to follow their religious and political practices. Perhaps most importantly, there is little indication native people changed or modified their worldview in any significant way.

In fact, although the Dutch had their own reasons for coming to New Netherland, and they dictated the nature of the trade to a certain degree, they did not completely monopolize the trade relationship. Dutch trade with the Indians followed preexisting tribal networks. Furthermore, once the Indians accepted the Dutch as men and not as other-than-human beings, they were more likely to treat the Dutch in the same manner as they would treat other native people. On the one hand, this meant following Indian diplomatic protocol. But there were also drawbacks. As Van Wassenauer recorded, the Indians "would frequently kill the traders for the sake of plunder."<sup>84</sup> Lacking the structure and support of a local colonial administration, these early traders were vulnerable to Indian aggression whether it was due to native greed or "revengefulness" in response to Dutch theft or fraud. Personal administration of justice by the Indians was something the Dutch traders could neither entirely understand nor control. When the Dutch government granted the West India Company exclusive trading rights to the Hudson River region in 1621, allowing it to set up a local administration which might control such problems, the company inherited not only a commercial enterprise but also a legacy of tensions growing out of the trade frontier.

## Notes

1. Van Wassenauer, "Historisch Verhael," February 1624, in NNN, 71.
2. No log or journal of these voyages remains. This important stage in Dutch-Indian relations is not completely obscured by the lack of sources, however, and several interesting facts were recorded in the notarial records which grew out of the business and financial disagreements between the Dutch merchants. These are now lodged in the Gemeentearchief van Amsterdam. Furthermore, valuable contemporary secondary sources, such as Johannes de Laet's *Nieuwe Wereldt* and Nicolaes van Wassenauer's *Historisch Verhael*, record the impressions and reports of first-hand observers.
3. Resolution of the States General, 11 October 1614, in *DRCHNY*, vol. 1, 10; Carte Figurative, 1616, and Carte Figurative, 1614, in *DRCHNY*, vol. 1, facing pages 11 and 13 respectively. Patricia Seed argues that by making such maps and naming geographic features, the Dutch implied a very strong claim to sovereignty. Patricia Seed, *Ceremonies of Possession in Europe's Conquest of the New World, 1492-1640* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1995), 162-165.
4. Gemeentearchief van Amsterdam, Notarial Archieven (hereafter GAA NA), no. 198, 13 March 1615, 269v, in Hart, *Prehistory*, 97-98; De Laet, "New World," in NNN, 36-39; Deduction, no date, in *DRCHNY*, vol. 2, 133; Stokes, *Iconography*, vol. 2, 59-60. The chronology of trade voyages is drawn primarily from Hart, *Prehistory*, and the notarial records which he cites. These voyages are also discussed in Bachman, *Peltries or Plantations*, 3-23.
5. Carte Figurative, 1616, and Carte Figurative, 1614, in *DRCHNY*, vol. 1, facing pages 11 and 13 respectively; Van Wassenauer, "Historisch Verhael," February 1624, in NNN, 67-68, 70, 72-73. The presence of Mohawk words in Van Wassenauer's account demonstrates that the Dutch had had contact with them during this early period.
6. Hart, *Prehistory*, 36-37; GAA NA, no. 20, 14 August 1620, 625-626v; De Laet, "New World," in NNN, 44. Interestingly, the ships averaged 80 tons, and were small compared to Dutch ships used in the Baltic trade which averaged 200 to 220 tons. For a discussion of the various sized vessels used in New Netherland, see Hart, *Prehistory*, 36 n. 4; Bachman, *Peltries or Plantations*, 18-19, 18 n. 55, and 19 n. 57; and Jean E. Murray, "The Early Fur Trade in New France and New Netherland," *Canadian Historical Review* 19 (1938): 367-368.
7. Van Wassenauer, "Historisch Verhael," February 1624, in NNN, 70.
8. Starna "Seventeenth Century Dutch-Indian Trade," 6.
9. Richter, *Ordeal of the Longhouse*, 47.
10. Deduction, no date, in *DRCHNY*, vol. 2, 133; Carte Figurative, 1614, in *DRCHNY*, vol. 1, facing page 13; Van Wassenauer, "Historisch Verhael," February 1624, in NNN, 67-68; De Laet, "New World," in NNN, 38-39, 47-48; Hart, *Prehistory*, 26-27; Edmund B. O'Callaghan, *History of New Netherland; or, New York under the Dutch* (New York: Appleton, 1846 and 1848), vol. 1, 76-77; Bachman, *Peltries or Plantations*, 11 n. 31.
11. GAA NA, no. 197, 20 August 1613, 614v-615, in Hart, *Prehistory*, 74-74; GAA NA, no. 198, 23 July 1614, 97-98, in Hart, *Prehistory*, 80; Hart, *Prehistory*, 21-22, 26-27. See Bachman, *Peltries or Plantations*, 6-7, 7 n. 18, for an alternative interpretation.
12. Van Wassenauer, "Historisch Verhael," February 1624 and November 1626, in NNN, 71, 73, 86-87, and passim.
13. Jonas Michaëlius to Adrianus Smoutius, 11 August 1628, in NNN, 128; Lois M. Feister, "Linguistic Communication Between the Dutch and Indians in New Netherland," in *Neighbors and Intruders*, ed. Hauptman and Campisi, 185-190; Sarah Grey Thomason, "On Interpreting 'The Indian Interpreter,'" *Language in Society* 9 (1980): 182-186; Ives Goddard, "The Use of Pidgins and Jargons on the East Coast of North America," in *The Language Encounter in the Americas, 1492-1800*, ed. Edward G. Gray and Norman Fiering, *European Expansion & Global Interaction, Volume 1* (New York: Berghahn Books, 2000), 63-64; Goddard, "Pidgin Delaware," in *Contact Languages: A Wider Perspective*,



- ed. Sarah G. Thomason (Amsterdam and Philadelphia: John Benjamins Publishing 1997), 81-84; Goddard, "The Delaware Jargon," in *New Sweden in America*, ed. Carol E. Hoffeecker, et al. (Newark: University of Delaware Press, 1995), 137-145. Thomason and Goddard agree on the existence of the trade jargon, but disagree on whether its origins are precontact (Thomason) or postcontact (Goddard).
14. Van Wassenaer, "Historisch Verhael," December 1624, and April 1625 in *NNN*, 78, 81; James Axtell, "Imagining the Other: First Encounters in North America," in *Beyond 1492: Encounters in Colonial North America* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1992) 71-72.
  15. Bachman, *Peltries or Plantations*, 17-18, 17 n. 51.
  16. Van der Donck, *Description*, 113; Van Wassenaer, "Historisch Verhael," December 1624, in *NNN*, 77.
  17. Bachman, *Peltries or Plantations*, 22-23.
  18. Hamell, "Strawberries," 72-90; Miller and Hamell, "A New Perspective," 311-328; Alexandra van Dongen, "The Inexhaustible Kettle: The Metamorphosis of a European Utensil in the World of the North American Indians," in *One Man's Trash*, 139-143.
  19. GAA NA, no. 645, 5 November 1619, 21-21v; GAA NA, no. 645, 9 September 1619, 43-43v; GAA NA, no. 198, 25 July 1614, 116-116v, in Hart, *Prehistory*, 90-91.
  20. Heckewelder, "Indian Tradition," in *Collections*, 2nd ser., vol. 1, 73-74.
  21. Van der Donck, *Description*, 77-78; Isaack de Rasière to Samuel Blommaert, 1628(?), in *NNN*, 106; Van Dongen, "The Inexhaustible Kettle," 139-156. Few references to alcohol exist in any of the early records with the exception of Hudson's voyage and a later reference by Van Wassenaer. Although it appears not to have been used as a regular item of exchange at the time, it may have been used "to create good will" according to Bachman, *Peltries or Plantations*, 21; Van Wassenaer, "Historisch Verhael," December 1624, in *NNN*, 77.
  22. Van Wassenaer, "Historisch Verhael," February 1624, in *NNN*, 71; Isaack de Rasière to the Directors of the Amsterdam chamber, 23 September 1626, in *Documents Relating to New Netherland, 1624-1626, in the Henry E. Huntington Library* (hereafter *DRNN*), ed. and trans. A.J.F. van Laer, (San Marino: Henry E. Huntington Library and Art Gallery, 1924), 232; Condition and Agreement entered into between Commissary Jacob van Curler and the Chiefs of Sickenames, 8 June 1633, in *DRCHNY*, vol. 2, 139-140.
  23. Van Wassenaer, "Historisch Verhael," November 1626, in *NNN*, 86; Jacobs, *New Netherland*, 192-197.
  24. Isaack de Rasière to Samuel Blommaert, 1628(?), in *NNN*, 103; Information relative to taking up land in New Netherland, 4 March 1650, in *DRCHNY*, vol. 1, 365.
  25. "Juet on Hudson's Voyage," in *NNN*, 22-23.
  26. Lynn Ceci, "Tracing Wampum's Origins," 63; Ceci, "The First Fiscal Crisis in New York," *Economic Development and Cultural Change* 28 (1980): 839-840. See also George R. Hamell, "Wampum: White, Bright, and Light Things are Good to Think," in *One Man's Trash*, ed. Van Dongen, 41-51.
  27. Although Ceci argues that wampum was made only in the postcontact period, she bases this argument almost exclusively on the fact that "True Wampum" was made with European-manufactured metal awls. As chapter 1 demonstrates, however, the presence of European goods, even in large quantities, among the Indians does not imply direct contact with Europeans. Taking into account Ceci's recognition that a coastal-inland trade in shell bead blanks (and later beads) existed, it is likely that the impetus for the production of wampum came from other Indians and not the Dutch themselves. The Mahicans and various members of the Iroquois League traded corn and perhaps other agricultural products to the coastal Indians in exchange for wampum. They also could have supplied the coastal Indians with metal awls which they had indirectly received from Europeans trading in the St. Lawrence and Chesapeake region. The Mahicans and the Iroquois could also have simply coerced the coastal Indians to manufacture wampum for them. Both possibilities correspond with the creation of the Iroquois League and their increased demand for wampum. Other evidence also suggests that "True Wampum" was being produced before contact with

- Europeans. Roger Williams noted that “before ever they had Awle Blades from Europe, they made shift to bore this their shell money with stone.” Evidence from Dutch sources similarly indicates it was manufactured and used by the Indians before contact. Finally, x-ray analysis of tubular shell beads found in precontact sites has shown that they were drilled by stone. Ceci, “Tracing Wampum’s Origins,” 72-74; Ceci, “Fiscal Crisis,” 839-840; Roger Williams, *Key into the Language of the America*, 176; Cave, *Pequot War*, 52, 197 n. 13.
28. Murray, “Fur Trade,” 368; Ceci, “Tracing Wampum’s Origins,” 72-73; De Rasière to the Directors, 23 September 1626, in *DRNN*, 223-228; Van Wassenaer, “Historisch Verhael,” November 1626, in *NNN*, 86; Trigger, “The Mohawk-Mahican War,” 278-280; De Laet, “New World,” in *NNN*, 47.
  29. Ceci, “Tracing Wampum’s Origins,” 72, 73, and *passim*.
  30. Van Wassenaer, “Historisch Verhael,” November 1626, in *NNN*, 86; Carte Figurative, 1614, in *DRCHNY*, vol. 1, facing page 13; Ceci, “Fiscal Crisis,” 842-843; GAA NA 200, 14 August 1620, fol. 625-626v.
  31. Richter, *Ordeal of the Longhouse*, 84; Ceci, “Tracing Wampum’s Origins,” 72-74; De Rasière to the Directors, 23 September 1626, in *DRNN*, 223-228.
  32. GAA NA, no. 197, 20 August 1613, 614v-615, and GAA NA, no. 198, 23 July 1614, 97-98, in Hart, *Prehistory*, 75 and 81.
  33. Hart, *Prehistory*, 37; GAA NA, no. 200, 14 August 1620, 626-626v; GAA NA, no. 463, fol. 493-493v, 13 September 1621.
  34. Van Wassenaer, “Historisch Verhael,” February 1624, in *NNN*, 73.
  35. Hart, *Prehistory*, 17-18, 36-37; Van Wassenaer, “Historisch Verhael,” April 1625, in *NNN*, 81; GAA NA, no. 645, 9 September 1619, 36v-37 and 43-43v (820-821 and 833-834); GAA NA, no. 645, 5 November 1619, 21-21v (587-588). Van Wassenaer noted that the youth held responsible for this attack was later shot by the Dutch.
  36. Van Wassenaer, “Historisch Verhael,” February 1624 and April 1625, in *NNN*, 67, 73, 80, 81.
  37. Van Wassenaer, “Historisch Verhael,” November 1626, in *NNN*, 86.
  38. Cartes Figurative, 1616 and 1614, in *DRCHNY*, vol. 1, facing pages 11 and 13. These maps are reproduced in *Documents Relative to the Colonial History of New York* with these dates but the original Carte Figurative which was once dated as 1616 is now catalogued at the Nationaal Archief in den Haag with a creation date of 1614 (VEL 520); personal correspondence, V. van den Bergh, 24 November 2003.
  39. Campisi, “Hudson Valley Indians,” 170-171; Robert S. Grumet, *Native American Place Names in New York City* (New York: Museum of the City of New York, 1981), 24-25.
  40. Van Wassenaer, “Historisch Verhael,” February 1624, in *NNN*, 72.
  41. De Laet later came to the conclusion, apparently based on his sources, that there was little difference in culture between the Munsees, Mahicans, and Mohawks. In the 1633 edition of his work, he recorded that “the barbarians being divided into many nations and people, differ much from one another in language though very little in manners.” De Laet, “New World,” in *NNN*, 57; Robert Grumet, personal communication, 6 November, 1994; Grumet, *Historic Contact*, 211, 212; Marshall Becker, “Lenape Bands,” 20-21.
  42. Van Wassenaer, “Historisch Verhael,” February 1624, in *NNN*, 68-70.
  43. De Laet, “New World,” in *NNN*, 50.
  44. Van Wassenaer, “Historisch Verhael,” February 1624, in *NNN*, 69-70.
  45. *Ibid.*; Grumet, “Sunksquaws,” 47-49.
  46. Paul Otto, “The Dutch and the Wilden: Dutch Constructions of Native Americans,” unpublished essay; Richard Bernheimer, *Wild Man in the Middle Ages: A Study in Art, Sentiment, and Demonology* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1952), 6, 7, 9, 11. Englishmen also believed the wild man tradition and applied it to Native Americans. Bernard Sheehan, *Savagism and Civility: Indians and Englishmen in Colonial Virginia* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1980), 73-76.
  47. Van der Donck, *Description*, 73.

48. GAA NA 198, 23 July 1614, 97-98; GAA NA 198, 23 July 1614, 113v-115v; GAA NA 200, fol. 625-626v, 14 August 1620; GAA NA 645, 9 September 1619, fol. 36v-37; GAA NA 645, 5 November 1619, fol. 21-21v; GAA NA 345, 9 September 1619, 43-43v; Jonas Michaëlius to Joannes van Foreest, 8 August 1628, in A. Eekhof, *Jonas Michaëlius: Founder of the Church in New Netherland* (Leiden: A.W. Sijthoff's Publishing Company, 1926), 103; Isaac de Rasière to the Amsterdam Chamber, 23 September 1626, in *DRNN*, 223; De Laet, *Nieuwe Wereldt* (1625), 83-90; Van Wassenauer, *Historisch Verhael*, vol. 12, 40v and 39r (erroneously numbered in the original).
49. Arthur Dickson, *Valentine and Orson: A Study in Late Medieval Romance* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1929), 1.
50. On the other hand, there seemed little surprise on the part of one Dutch author that they failed to accomplish this task for he noted that these two were "very dull men, ... [but] expert enough in knavery." In fact, the writer noted later, "this Orson was a thoroughly wicked fellow, and after his return to his own country was the cause of Hendrick Christiaensz.'s death." Van Wassenauer, "Historisch Verhael," December 1624, and April 1625 in *NNN*, 78, 81.
51. "Journal of New Netherland," in *NNN*, 271; Van der Donck, *Beschrijvinge*, 54; translation assistance from J.A. Jacobs. Van der Donck also noted that "they can be called Wilden as they are quite wild and strange of the Christian faith."
52. Bernheimer, *Wild Men*, 11-12.
53. De Laet, "New World," in *NNN*, 57.
54. Van Wassenauer, "Historisch Verhael," Feb. 1624, in *NNN*, 68.
55. Michaëlius, 11 August 1628, in *NNN*, 127.
56. Van Wassenauer, "Historisch Verhael," April 1625, in *NNN*, 80-81. Another aspect of the Dutchmen's ambiguous attitude towards the Indians was manifest in their willingness to cohabit, or at least to miscegenate, with Indian women, which is discussed later in this chapter.
57. The reason for this is that the Spanish and English assumed that the bad Indians were the natural enemies of the good Indians. Once Europeans helped the good against the bad (generally typified by cannibalism) they would have secured long-term allies. The Spanish based this program on Columbus's earliest experiences with the supposedly friendly Arawaks on Hispaniola and the cannibalistic Caribs of the many other islands he visited. In *American Slavery, American Freedom: The Ordeal of Colonial Virginia* (New York: W.W. Norton and Co., 1975), 18-19, Edmund S. Morgan carefully described the process by which would-be English colonizers of the late sixteenth century developed plans and strategies for handling the native peoples with whom they expected to meet.
58. De Laet, "New World," in *NNN*, 49-50, 57; Van Wassenauer, "Historisch Verhael," February 1624, in *NNN*, 67.
59. See chapter 4.
60. Van Wassenauer, "Historisch Verhael," February 1624, in *NNN*, 72.
61. Richter, *Ordeal of the Longhouse*, 86-87.
62. Cave, *Pequot War*, 53.
63. *Ibid.*, Ceci, "Effect of European Contact," 1-2, 86-87.
64. Van Wassenauer, "Historisch Verhael," February 1624, in *NNN*, 70.
65. De Laet, "New World," in *NNN*, 45, 47. De Laet's description of Indian conflict across the Hudson may have referred to the Mohawk-Mahican conflict that developed as a result of trade with Europeans.
66. Cartes Figurative, 1616 and 1614, in *DRCHNY*, vol. 1, facing pages 11 and 13.
67. Van Wassenauer, "Historisch Verhael," April 1625, in *NNN*, 80; Starna and Gehring, "Dutch and Indians in the Hudson Valley," 10.
68. Starna, "Seventeenth-Century Dutch-Indian Trade," 7.
69. In 1616, an unidentified disease infected many of the tribes in the New England area, but did not reach the interior. Evidence indicates that it did not spread beyond the boundary of the Narragansetts' territory, but perhaps it had been carried to the Hudson River valley as well. Dean R. Snow and Kim M. Lanphear, "European Contact and

Indian Depopulation in the Northeast: The Timing of the First Epidemics," *Ethnohistory* 35, no. 1 (Winter 1988): 21-23.

70. Van Wassenaer, "Historisch Verhael," February 1624, in *NNN*, 72-73.
71. De Rasière to Blommaert, 1628(?), in *NNN*, 105.
72. Jogues, "Novum Belgium," in *NNN*, 261.
73. Van der Donck, *Description*, 64; see also 72-73.
74. Note that a study of smallpox epidemics in Mexico in 1520-1521 asserts that the figures of population loss were probably inflated by observers whose memories, recorded some time after the event, reflected the trauma of the disease and the Spanish siege simultaneously occurring. The author questions the accuracy of the survivors' memories with regard to the effects of the epidemic. Francis J. Brooks, "Revising the Conquest of Mexico: Smallpox, Sources, and Populations," *Journal of Interdisciplinary History* 24, no. 2 (Summer 1993): 28-29.
75. Starna and Gehring, "Dutch and Indians in the Hudson Valley," 8.
76. James H. Merrell, *The Indians' New World: Catawbas and Their Neighbors from European Contact through the Era of Removal* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press for the Institute of Early American History and Culture, 1989), 18-27; Grumet, "'We Are Not So Great Fools,'" 264.
77. De Laet, "New World," in *NNN*, 50-51; Hart, *Prehistory*, 28-29; "Broad Advice," in "Ver-toogh" and "Breedten Raedt", trans. Murphy, 145-146. W.M. Williamson, former marine curator at the Marine Museum of the City of New York speculated (I have found no documents to support his assertions) that Block and his men were aided by the Indians of Manhattan Island who helped them "build four rude huts and supplied them with dried meat, fish, and corn meal to winter over the cold months." *Adriaen Block: Navigator, Fur Trader, Explorer, New York's First Shipbuilder, 1611-1614* (New York: Marine Museum of the City of New York and Museum of the City of New York, 1959), 4.
78. Resolution of the States General, 18 August 1616, in *DRCHNY*, vol. 1, 12-14; Lenig, "Of Dutchmen," 78; O'Callaghan, *New Netherland*, vol. 1, 73-74, 77-78, 78 n. 1.
79. De Laet, "New World," in *NNN*, 39; De Vries, "Korte Historiae," in *NNN*, 231; Van der Donck, *Description*, 72-73; Danckaerts in Gehring and Grumet, "Observations," 113-114, 117.
80. Van Wassenaer, "Historisch Verhael," February 1624, in *NNN*, 72.
81. *Ibid.*, 72-73.
82. Roger Williams, *A Key into the Language of America*, ed. John J. Teunissen and Evelyn J. Hinz (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1973), 213.
83. See, for example, a discussion of the trade "era" in New England and New France in Salisbury, *Manitou and Providence*, 56-84; and Trigger, *Natives and Newcomers*, 164-198.
84. Van Wassenaer, "Historisch Verhael," February 1624, in *NNN*, 73.