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INTERCULTURAL RELATIONS BETWEEN NATIVE AMERICANS AND EUROPEANS IN NEW NETHERLAND AND NEW YORK

PAUL OTTO

Introduction

Interaction between the Dutch and their descendants in North America and Native Americans began in the 1610s. In the colonial period, this took place in the context of two successive colonies — New Netherland and New York. This essay explores Dutch relations with Native Americans during the whole colonial period.

Because of the placement of the Dutch colony in the geographical and cultural landscape of North America, Dutch-Native American relations were of importance not just to the colony's own history but to the broader history of the early American frontier. Several factors made it so — Dutch access to the fur trade, Dutch involvement in the manufacture and trade of wampum, and, most important, their trade partnership with Indian groups, particularly the Iroquois, who became quite significant in the late seventeenth- and eighteenth-century wars of empire between France and England. Dutch-Indian relations, however, have been frequently overlooked by historians, whose attention has focused on New England, New France, and the Iroquois. In fact, while certain aspects of Dutch-indigenous affairs are unique, many of the interaction patterns readily compare with New France and the New England colonies of northeastern North America.

Peoples and Boundaries

New Netherland was home to many different indigenous groups that were organized in a variety of ways including small kinship groups, villages, collections of villages, and larger maximal groupings. These different groups represented themselves by specific names by which the Dutch usually knew them and are classified under broader terms that represent linguistic similarities and shared cultural patterns, but none can successfully or accurately portray the complexities of native society before and after contact with Europeans. In the Delaware Bay region lived diverse groups of Unami speakers (of the Algonquian language stock) and in the New York Bay and lower Hudson Valley lived Munsee speakers. Both groups would later be known collectively as the Lenape or Delawares. Living further inland from the Unamis were the Susquehannocks, speaking an Iroquoian language, while native people up the Hudson River included the Mahicans, another Algonquian language group. Contending with the Mahicans for access to the upper Hudson River were the Mohawks, the easternmost tribe of the Five Nations Iroquois, which also included the Cayugas, Onondagas, Oneidas, and Senecas all living to the west of the Mohawks. To the east of the Munsees and Mahicans lived other Algonquian speakers including the Quiripi, Mohegans, Pequots, Nipmucks, Narragansetts, and many others. While the Dutch-Indian encounter encompassed all these groups, this essay focuses primarily on the Hudson Valley interaction with the Munsees, Mahicans, and Mohawks.¹

Historical Overview

While European-Native American contact occurred everywhere on the Atlantic coast throughout the sixteenth century, it was relatively limited in the New York Bay and Hudson River region. Hudson's 1609 voyage led to the most significant intercultural contact to date — meetings between the European mariners and many native people for the first time, the exchange of goods, and some hostile encounters as well — and to an active Dutch interest in the North American fur trade in that region.

Until 1624 trade was the main reason for interaction. Native residents regularly met and traded with private Dutch merchants who came to their coastlands and waterways. Representatives of each society ate together, found ways to communicate with one another, and shared information and ideas. As some traders stayed for longer periods, more intimate forms of contact took place.

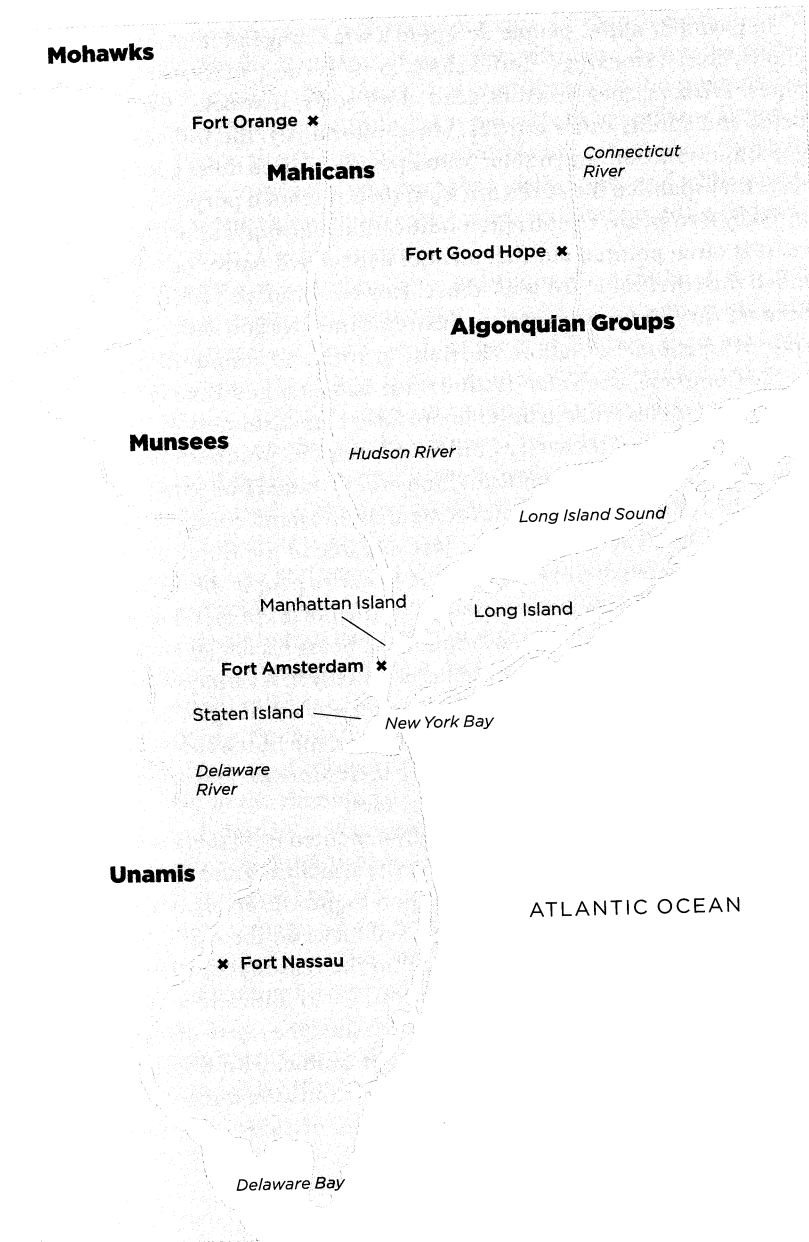
The focus on the exchange of goods changed over time as native people's interest in European goods changed and grew. The Dutch, who like most Europeans had many naïve and false ideas about indigenous peoples, grew in their knowledge and understanding of them.

The Dutch-indigenous encounter expanded and evolved when the first European settlers arrived. Their permanent presence created a whole array of new encounters and challenges. New opportunities for and patterns of interaction emerged, as well as deadly diseases and increased conflict, especially in areas where European settlement was most intense. While no formal hostilities between the Dutch and the Mohawks took place, three wars with the Munsee occurred. The Munsee, who became marginalized in their trade with Europeans and increasingly lost control of their tribal territories, largely lost out on the encounter.²

Patterns of Interaction

It was in the economic realm that the Dutch and Indians made their most significant impact upon one another. Furs of beavers, otters, and other animals formed the principal element of trade. These were exported as well as used as a local medium of exchange. Another item used as currency was sewant as it was known to the Dutch and Indians of the Hudson Valley, or wampum, another Indian term, by which it is readily known today as it then was in New England. These strings of white and dark shell beads were products of the Long Island Sound and were greatly valued by the Indians of the north, particularly the Iroquois. The Dutch also traded for Indian products such as wild game and services (transportation in canoes, guidance in the woods, and labor in their fields and orchards).³

The exchange of goods took place wherever Dutch and Indian met, but the most economically important trade involved beaver furs and eventually centered on Fort Orange. It was regulated by the West India Company throughout the colony's history. At first, all furs to be exported had to be sold to the WIC through its officials. Eventually the fur trade was opened to all settlers but a duty on each fur had to be paid before export. The fur trade season lasted from June to August. Indians came to the settlement where they found eager traders among the Dutch (men and women, poor and rich). Many acted justly toward the Indians, but others were prone to unethical practices that included threatening, detaining, and striking Indians to discourage them from seeking better trade opportunities elsewhere. Some would meet Mohawks in the woods before they arrived at the settlement, seeking to monopolize their trade. Abuses also included the use of alcohol to cheat the Indians out of a fair price for their furs.



Native American tribes in the New Netherland region.

In payment native people accepted a wide range of items including baked goods, shirts, stockings, duffel cloth, awls, kettles, adzes, axes, knives, shoes, pipes, scissors, files, mirrors, lead cloth seals, mattocks, thimbles, buttons, bells, and sundry other articles. Most notoriously, the Indians also acquired guns, ammunition, and liquor. Native people utilized these goods in a variety of ways that spanned the spectrum from their intended purposes when manufactured by Europeans to outright modification and application to Indian purposes. It is often pointed out that alcohol debauched native people, and, indeed, much mischief came from its abuse. However, Indian people drank to excess because they associated affects of extreme intoxication with the much desired state of "spiritual" elevation. The trade in arms and ammunition was outlawed by the Company, but a clandestine trade had emerged already in the 1630s. It soon became clear that in order not to lose their customers to the English who were offering guns, the WIC would have to relax its prohibitions.⁴

While the Mohawks, Mahicans, and others traded furs to the Dutch at Beverwijck, the Indians in the vicinity of Manhattan Island continued to bring wampum for trade. Wampum was not just valuable to the Dutch as currency. Very early on the Dutch discovered its value to native people throughout the region and particularly to their fur suppliers in the north. In fact, before Europeans arrived in the Hudson Valley, wampum was being exchanged upriver to the Iroquois and others and was utilized ceremonially in a variety of particular functions including social, political, and diplomatic exchanges. After discovering that it significantly facilitated the trade in furs, the Dutch soon became middlemen in the trade in wampum, providing their Munsee- and Algonquian-speaking suppliers the same goods offered for furs.⁵

Suppliers of furs and wampum greatly benefited from these goods. However, as native people became accustomed to the availability and utility of European goods, many slid into a dependency upon them. Observers noted Munsee dependency on such goods and an increased focus on the manufacture of wampum. Iroquois dependence contributed to the reasons for their ongoing warfare with their neighbors. But the Iroquois, geographically removed from the territorial demands of European settlers, avoided the worst effects. Many of the Munsees, however, lost their lands through conflict with Europeans, became incorporated into the Dutch market economy, and were forced to abandon subsistence farming and social-based trade in favor of wage labor and industry for economic survival and material gain.⁶

The Dutch who first encountered Native Americans quickly formed opinions of them and made special designations for them, including *heiden* (heathen), *inwoner* (inhabitant), *natie* (nation), and *Indiaan* (Indian). The most commonly used term was *wilden*, unsatisfactorily translated into English as "wild men."

language ability and cultural sensitivity. Conversion to Protestant Christianity also required significant instruction before indigenous people could be baptized and admitted to the Lord's Table. Native Americans themselves did not understand the attraction of Christianity, saw the inconsistency between the colonists' behavior and the tenets of the faith, and connected the religion with the culture of those who invaded their territory, introduced brandy, and made war on them. By 1664, virtually no credible conversions had taken place among the Indians.

Since the Dutch soon established a permanent presence among the indigenous peoples, contests necessarily arose over everything from unfair trading to major conflicts over land use, ownership, and occupation. Due to the colony's bifurcated nature — European settlement among decentralized coastal peoples in the lower Hudson Valley and a trade outpost on the fringes of a powerful Indian confederacy in the north — diplomatic relations in each area sharply contrasted with one another. Except for an early conflict in the 1620s, warfare between Europeans and Indians never existed in the north while three significant conflicts took place in the south.

The Dutch soon learned that Indian people throughout New Netherland engaged in a variety of practices that could be described as "social reciprocity," which was most immediately identifiable in the giving and receiving of "gifts." Wampum often played a central role in these exchanges. Not always fully embraced by the Dutch, social reciprocity nevertheless continued to be important and could not be ignored when seeking diplomatic goals with native people. Colonial administrators who failed to engage in such Indian protocols often exacerbated the problems of the frontier, whereas individuals who successfully engaged in Indian social exchanges wielded significant influence. Among the Mohawk, Arent van Curler, employee of Kiliaen van Rensselaer from 1637 and his chief agent in the fur trade from 1641, rose to such prominence. Known by the Indians as "Corlaer," he frequently mediated between the two societies building upon the relations he developed as a trader. After his death, the Iroquois applied the name to successive governors of New York indicating his profound significance.¹⁰

Van Curler and other Dutch traders and negotiators established an important relationship first with the Mahicans and then with the Mohawks that formed the foundation for later colonial-Iroquoian alliances. These were metaphorically understood by the Indians, first as a "rope" that firmly secured the Dutch to the shores of the Mahican lands, and later as an "iron chain" that bound together the Dutch and the Mohawks, and later the English and the Iroquois. No mediator of the same prominence emerged to help negotiate conflicts between the Dutch and the Munsees. Furthermore, the strains of intercultural contact were

This term did not necessarily have racist connotations. Instead, it characterized their state with regard to the standards of Western civilization. Assessing native people as *wilden* buttressed other forces that contributed to the marginalization of native people. While theoretically it was possible to see Indians as potentially “civilizable,” in practice Dutch colonial efforts did not include significant attempts to introduce Christianity and European civilization, and while native behavior was legislated for those who lived in or near settlements, little evidence exists to demonstrate that the Indians were embraced.⁷

As regular trading partners and indigenous occupants of the land, the Indians had an ongoing presence among the Dutch, which raises important questions about social interaction. In the earliest years of contact, there was miscegenation between Dutch men and Indian women, but no evidence of intermarriage. In a couple of recorded cases, the children of these liaisons received Christian baptism and married Dutch spouses, but most often, it appears, these offspring joined Indian society. Further, there are no recorded cases of adults “going native.” During the Second Dutch-Munsee War, several Dutch captives were taken and while most were returned within a short time, two years later a few Dutch children still resided among the Indians and likely never returned to European society. Several individuals throughout New Netherland’s history learned to speak Indian languages or at least trade jargons, and some gained a sympathetic understanding of Indian culture. These “cultural mediators” played important roles as translators and diplomats. On a broader scale, many Dutch adopted certain native agricultural practices such as fall brush-burning and the planning of corn and pumpkins.⁸ As for the Indians, much of the changes related to the economic impact and to their struggle to maintain their territories and political sovereignty. But as native people, particularly the Munsees, lost territory and political and economic independence, some chose greater degrees of acculturation.

While missionary activity was not prominent and produced few results, it is inaccurate to say that the Dutch did not have an interest. Yet, several obstacles stood in the way of successful evangelism. In early discussions about the creation of the West India Company and then in WIC instructions to early New Netherland administrators, particular concern was voiced about conversion of the natives. Over the years the Amsterdam Classis repeated this concern and Kiliaen van Rensselaer expressed it in his appointment of spiritual guides to his patroonship. Ministers such as Jonas Michaëlius, Johannes Megapolensis, and Samuel Drisius declared their interest or made explicit efforts to evangelize.⁹ The Dutch never sent ministers to New Netherland with the express purpose of missionary work. Those, like Megapolensis, who worked with the Indians, had many other duties to attend to. Furthermore, successful evangelism required

greater on the lower Hudson. Here the Dutch began purchasing land from the Indians at least as early as 1626 with the transfer of Manhattan Island. Indian land cessations were likely seen by themselves more as short-term leases than anything else, but such territorial alienation meant the increase of European influence. Growing settlement increased opportunities for conflict and drew Indians further into the European economy. Such broader pressures were accompanied by smaller-scale conflicts such as stolen cattle or hogs, trampled crops, abuses in trade, exchanged blows, and even murder. Over time, the Dutch in the lower Hudson settlements found themselves surrounded by native people who had less and less to offer them as their own supply of furs diminished and the settlers' appetite for farmland grew. The particular reasons for each of the conflicts were unique, but as the intensity of colonization and settlement grew and expanded outward from the Manhattan Island epicenter, warfare followed. The First Dutch-Munsee War (1643–45) has traditionally been known as Kieft's War, which unfairly lays too much blame at the feet of one individual. The Second Dutch-Munsee War (1655) was called the Peach War because of the Dutch murder of one Indian taking peaches from a settler's orchard on Manhattan, but is better understood as resulting from the overreaction of the militia to the presence of a sizeable number of Munsee warriors on Manhattan Island. Finally, further to the north (modern-day Kingston) occurred the Third Dutch-Munsee War (1659–60, 1663–64) or First and Second Esopus Wars named after the Munsee band that was primarily involved. This war represented the classic conflict between an expanding settler population and an indigenous population whose territorial sovereignty is being threatened. While the Dutch suffered important losses in each of these wars, the impact upon native people was far more profound, significantly contributing to the loss of Munsee population, land, and political sovereignty.¹¹

Post-1664 Relations

Despite the 1664 English conquest of New Netherland, contact between Dutch settlers and the native inhabitants continued and the Dutch ethnic presence remained significant, especially in Albany but also in Schenectady and other villages. No major wars or conflicts took place either on the lower Hudson or upper, but misunderstandings, beatings, murders could still occur. At the same time, more intimate and positive contact such as intermarriage and miscegenation, while never common, continued. Albany and the other northern settlements were still frontier settlements and stood in Indian country—the homelands of northern Munsees, Mahicans, and Mohawks. Much of the contact that

must have occurred in these areas has gone undocumented, but in missions, trade, and diplomacy the evidence reveals the continuing and prominent role of the Dutch.

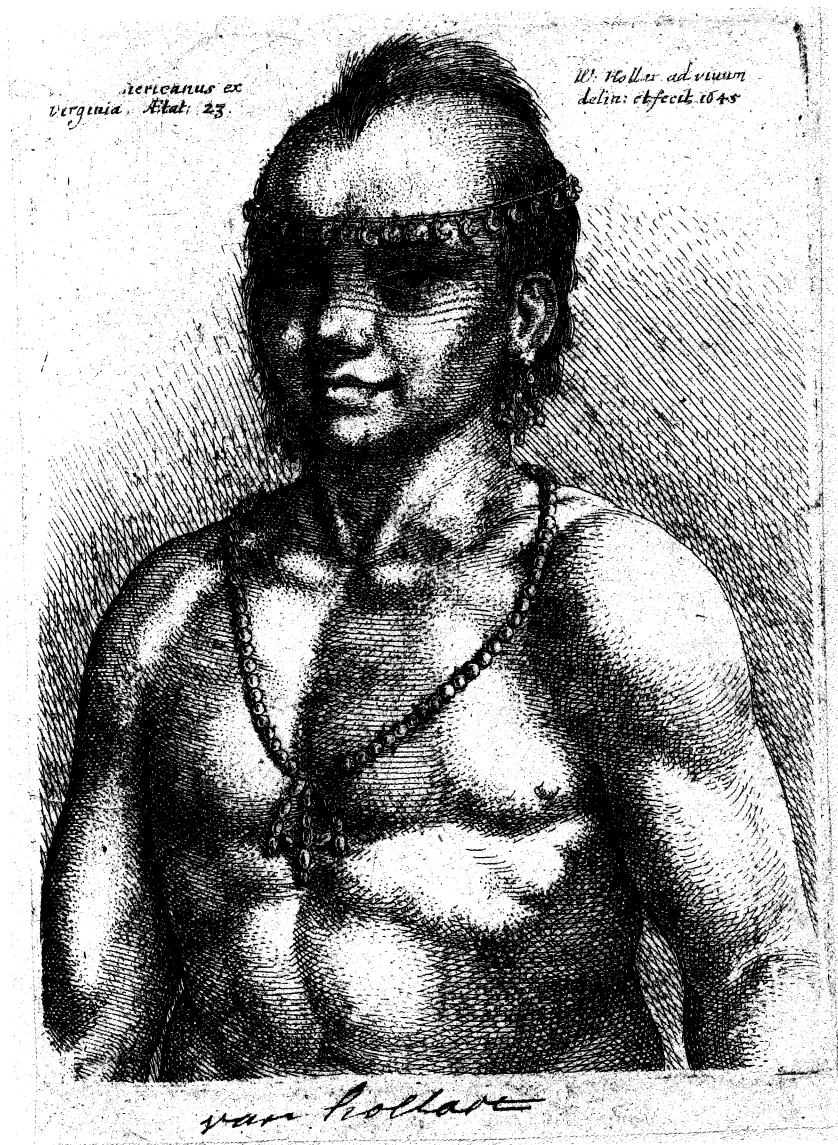
Under English control Dutch communities continued to grow and expand, supporting the work of their Dutch Reformed ministers, some of whom added evangelization of the Indians to their responsibilities. Although by the end of the 1670s there is no concrete evidence of Christian conversions among the Munsees, traveler Jasper Danckaerts's observations reveal that some Indians had begun to adopt Christian concepts of a transcendent creator God.

Dutch evangelistic efforts especially among the Mohawk redoubled after Jesuit missionaries from New France began making headway throughout Iroquoia but especially in the Mohawk villages near Schenectady. Dutch ministers from Albany and Schenectady—Petrus Tesschenmaeker, Godfridus Dellijs, and Johannes Petrus Nucella—evangelized among the Iroquois in the late seventeenth century. Bernardus Freeman arrived in Schenectady in 1700. Following the path paved by Dutch Calvinists, Anglican ministers later established churches among the Iroquois as well. Conversion to Christianity, whether Protestantism or Catholicism, was partly shaped by political considerations within Indian communities becoming divided in their sympathies between New France and New York, but without the efforts of these Dutch ministers, Protestant Christian influence among the Iroquois would have remained limited.¹²

Albany was not just the center of the fur trade in the north, but served as the official site for all commercial exchanges with the Indians. At first trade was open to diverse itinerant Europeans, but over the last third of the seventeenth century greater restrictions were introduced and such traders were ultimately prohibited from trading there altogether. As long as Albany was largely Dutch in its composition, it was they who made up the European traders.

The takeover by the English did lead to a cessation of the flow of goods from the Netherlands, but the shift from Dutch- to English-manufactured goods did not seem to disrupt the Indian trade as some had feared. The Iroquois continued to bring their furs to Albany, now in exchange for "English woolens" and "West Indian rum" among other English products. From 1664 to 1700, beaver exports declined overall, in part due to western warfare among the Indians, and exported pelts numbered from five to fifteen thousand annually compared to an estimated forty to fifty thousand in the 1650s. Demand for pelts also decreased during this time with the decline in popularity of the beaver hats in Europe. Nevertheless, the fur trade remained the core of Albany's economy.¹³

The goods the Dutch and other Europeans traded to native people largely remained the same ranging from smaller and less frequent items such as knives, awls, and tobacco, to larger and more common items such as cloth, blankets, wampum, alcohol, and arms. The trade and gifting of alcohol continued, with



"An American from Virginia," W. Hollar, 1645. This etching by Wenceslaus Hollar, a Bohemian artist living in Antwerp for much of the period 1644-1652, was based on a sketch done from life of an Indian he called a Virginian. Since the term Virginia often served the Dutch as a synonym for North America, including New Netherland, it is not impossible that this man was a Munsee and likely the native man sold to a pair of Dutch soldiers by Director Kieft for return to and exhibition in the Netherlands.

the same attendant problems. The trade in arms grew after 1664, especially as conflict between England and France and frontier warfare expanded. While Albany Dutchmen continued to take the lead as traders, it was a younger, more flexible group of "Anglicizers" who did so, while more traditionalist Dutch, some investing in Schenectady with hopes of gaining an edge on the fur trade, lost out.¹⁴

Dutch residents of Albany contributed in significant ways to frontier diplomacy in Anglo-Indian relations after 1664, and this role stemmed from the relationships created through missions and trade. In the late eighteenth century, these included individuals such as Peter Schuyler, Dirck Wessels ten Broeck, Evert Bancker, and Dominie Dellijs. Also of importance was Robert Livingston, who was not Dutch himself but was raised in the Netherlands and later took a Dutch bride in the New World. Much like "Corlaer," they stood out because of their ability with native languages and cultures. But unlike the older Dutch traders with such expertise, these men were the new generation of "Anglicizers." Thus they brokered between three ethnic worlds—Dutch, English, and Indian, particularly Iroquois. Furthermore, Albany, as the official center of the fur trade, became the center of European-Indian diplomacy in the north.

These were the origins of what was later formalized as the "Albany commissioners"—a group of Europeans, mostly Dutch, who served as diplomats and mediators between English colonial governors and native leaders from the late seventeenth until the mid-eighteenth century. Continuing the alliance with the Mohawk metaphorically referred to as an "iron chain," the Albany commissioners helped forge the Covenant Chain alliance between the English and Iroquois, who referred to their connection as a "silver chain." In the minds of the Iroquois, Albany became the only legitimate place to renew the chain and undertake Euro-Indian diplomacy. Important agreements and congresses took place there throughout the late seventeenth and eighteenth centuries while the Albany commissioners were responsible for enlisting Mohawk and Iroquois warriors in several imperial conflicts.

This is not to say that the commissioners controlled the Iroquois or had unequal influence among them. The Iroquois themselves were divided into "anglophone" (courted by the Dutch commissioners), "francophone," and "neutralist" factions. Furthermore, as the Iroquois suffered increased pressures of European colonization and were no longer courted by the Albany commissioners as they had been in earlier decades, the commissioners received the brunt of their criticism. The Mohawks "were become the property of Albany people," complained the Mohawk sachem Hendrick, "they were their dogs."¹⁵

Dutch diplomats continued to predominate among the commissioners until 1757, during the Seven Years' War, when Irishman Sir William Johnson, who himself served for a while as one of the commissioners, became sole superintendent for Indian affairs of the northern colonies. This was not the end of of

Dutch negotiators on the Indian frontier, however. After the American Revolution broke out, the new United States created both a commission for Indian affairs and a continental army. Notably, it was Philip John Schuyler, of Albany-Dutch descent, who represented the United States to the Six Nations and thereby reestablished the role of Dutch Albany commissioners in Indian affairs and renewed the Covenant Chain first established between the Dutch and the Iroquois. In August 1776, Mohawk leader Abraham said “You informed us that the Council Fire which you had kindled at this place was kindled from a Spark brought from the great Council Fire antiently [sic] kindled by our ancestors at Albany.”¹⁶

Conclusion

On the surface, there are obvious differences between Dutch-Indian relations as compared with French and English encounters in the colonial northeast. These stemmed from the unique nature and scale of the respective colonies. The New England colonies were heavily populated and necessarily made a major impact on the indigenous peoples through land acquisition, trade, environmental changes, missionary activity, and conflict and war. In New France, colonial efforts entailed far fewer colonists and relations with the Indians were shaped by France’s *coureurs de bois* approach to the fur trade and its parallel “flying missions” approach to evangelism. In this regard, New Netherland might be seen as a hybrid of the two. In the lower Hudson River valley, where Dutch settlement was most intense, relations closely paralleled those of New England. At Fort Orange, the fur trade remained the focus of engagement with the Indians and, like New France (even though the approach to trade and missions differed for each colony), the area was spared the kinds of conflicts that engulfed New England and Manhattan Island.

But at least two additional observations should be made. All three colonies were similar in their general interaction with the Indians. What differed was not primarily something culturally distinct about the French, Dutch, or English, but the scope of their colonial efforts. In each colony one period of its history emphasized trade with the Indians, and those developments closely paralleled one another, while each also engaged in settlement efforts that were usually accompanied by conflict and violence even if the scale of such conflicts was much smaller in New France than in New England.

Second, we need to consider the cultural and natural landscape of America itself. Maps of the era show neatly drawn territorial claims by each of the nations with the names of native groups dotted throughout. Had native people made their own maps of similar scale, Europeans would have realized that the

peoples who lived there and the land they lived in had certain characteristics and a dynamic history that affected colonial efforts. In the case of New Netherland, a major facet of its unique position in the New World came from the dynamic presence of the Iroquois with their access to a huge bounty of furs and the river access—the Hudson and Mohawk—which brought together those Indians and their furs with the Dutch and their goods. The role of the Munsees at the mouth of the Hudson was an additional factor. They produced the strings of wampum beads so valued by the Iroquois and thus helped open the lucrative fur trade to the Dutch. In this way, the Dutch in New Netherland had unique access to the peltry bounty of America and formed the vanguard of Europeans who would, through the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, seek out and form alliances with the Five Nations Iroquois.

- 1 Paul Otto, *The Dutch-Munsee Encounter: The Struggle for Sovereignty in the Hudson Valley* (New York: Berghahn Books, 2006), 2-6; See also 27-77.
- 2 Ibid., 78-162; Daniel K. Richter, *The Ordeal of the Longhouse: The Peoples of the Iroquois League in the Era of European Colonization* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1992), 75-104.
- 3 Jaap Jacobs and Martha Dickinson Shattuck, "Beavers for Drink, Land for Arms: Some Aspects of the Dutch-Indian Trade in New Netherland," in Alexandra van Dongen, ed., *One Man's Trash is Another Man's Treasure* (Rotterdam: Museum Boymans Van Beuningen, 1995), 95-113.
- 4 Ibid., Otto, *The Dutch-Munsee Encounter*, 111.
- 5 Ibid., 58-59, 67-68.
- 6 Ibid., 66-68, 90, 169-170; Richter, *The Ordeal*, 86-87.
- 7 Otto, *The Dutch-Munsee Encounter*, 64-66; James Homer Williams, "Dutch Attitudes toward Indians, Africans, and Other Europeans in New Netherland, 1624-1664," in Rosemarijn Hoeffte and Johanna C. Kardux, eds., *Connecting Cultures: The Netherlands in Five Centuries of Transatlantic Exchange* (Amsterdam: VU University Press, 1994), 23-50.
- 8 "Representation of New Netherland," in J. Franklin Jameson, ed., *Narratives of New Netherland* (New York: Scribners, 1909), 340; Otto, *The Dutch-Munsee Encounter*, 70, 121, 139, 146, 175; Thomas E. Burke, *Mohawk Frontier: The Dutch Community of Schenectady, New York, 1661-1710* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1991), 147-150.
- 9 Otto, *The Dutch-Munsee Encounter*, 56, 85-85, 140-141; F.J. Zwierlein, *Religion in New Netherland: A History of the Development of the Religious Conditions in the Province of New Netherland, 1623-1664* (Rochester, NY: John P. Smith Printing Company, 1910), 266-275.
- 10 Daniel K. Richter, "Cultural Brokers and Intercultural Politics: New York-Iroquois Relations, 1664-1701," *Journal of American History* 75 (June 1988): 45-56.
- 11 Otto, *The Dutch-Munsee Encounter*, 106-162.
- 12 Richter, "Cultural Brokers," 52-53; Burke, *Mohawk Frontier*, 151-154; Mark Meuwese, "Dutch Calvinism and Native Americans: A Comparative Study of the Motivations for Protestant Conversion among the Tupis in Northeastern Brazil (1630-1654) and the Mohawks in

- Central New York (1690–1710),” in James Muldoon, ed., *The Spiritual Conversion of the Americas* (Gainesville: University of Florida Press, 2004), 118–141.
- 13 Jaap Jacobs, *New Netherland: A Dutch Colony in Seventeenth-Century America* (Leiden: Brill, 2005), 197–201.
 - 14 Allen Trelease, *Indian Affairs in Colonial New York: The Seventeenth Century* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1960), 215–227; Richter, “Cultural Brokers,” 49–52.
 - 15 “Conference between Commissioners of the Colonies and the Indians, 5–14 October 1745,” in E. B. O’Callaghan, ed., *Documents Relative to the Colonial History of State of New York* (Albany, NY: Weed, Parsons and Company, 1855), 6:294.
 - 16 Six Nations Reply to Schuyler’s German Flatts Treaty Speech, August 9, 1776, Huntington Manuscripts 14187, Henry E. Huntington Library, San Marino, CA.