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Paul Otto

George Fox University, potto@georgefox.edu

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Common Practices and Mutual Misunderstandings: Henry Hudson, Native Americans, and the Birth of New Netherland

Paul Otto

1609 was a significant year.¹ Ten years from now, New Yorkers will doubtless celebrate the four hundredth anniversary of Henry Hudson's discovery of New York Bay and the Hudson River. Yes, others had come first. Verrazzano was the first to actually sail into New York Bay in 1524, and he was followed by Jehan Alphonse de Saintonge in 1541 or 1542 and later by Jehan Cossin sometime before 1570,² but it was Hudson's voyage that led to historic changes. After all, the Dutch consistently cited this voyage as the basis of their claim to the territory.³ Hudson's visit left such an impression upon the native people of (what became) the lower Hudson that their encounter with him became part of their oral tradition and was maintained into the nineteenth century.⁴ Today, the Holland Society of New York continues to recognize Hudson's significance. The society seal includes the date 1609 and a picture of Hudson's ship, the *Half Moon*, or *Halve Maen* in Dutch, while the society's magazine also takes the name *de Halve Maen*.

Clearly, then, few dispute Hudson's claim to fame in the region. And if others arrived there earlier in the sixteenth century, none of their explorations led to European colonization as did Hudson's. This, after all, is why we generally remember him. He sailed in 1609. In 1610, responding to reports brought back from Hudson's voyage, Dutch traders began activity along New York's coast, and by 1624, the Dutch West India Company began sending colonists. It was Hudson's voyage that led to trade

and colonization.

While we may rightly point to Hudson's voyage as a watershed, does the man and the ship bear importance by themselves? There is no doubt that he was a worthy mariner. Sailor and author Donald Johnson describes Hudson's significance in *Charting the Sea of Darkness*. In the space of four years, Hudson "made four momentous voyages in search of a passage to Asia, journeys that greatly enlarged the geographical knowledge of the world." Johnson goes on to speak of Hudson's great "courage." He also cites Hudson's contemporary and friend, (military) Captain John Smith who wrote, concerning him and his later discoveries, that "the bounds of *America* doth stretch many thousand miles: into the frozen partes whereof one Master *Hutson* an English Mariner did make the greatest discoverie of any Christian I knowe of, where he unfortunately died."⁵ But the significance of Hudson's voyage lay not just in his work as a mariner and explorer, nor just in the founding of the Dutch settlement and colony of New Netherland. The voyage was also significant in consideration of the role played by Native Americans in this discovery, and the effects upon them following Dutch colonization. Hudson encountered representatives of the Munsee linguistic branch of the Lenapes and the Mahicans.⁶ Without gracious native people who had furs to trade and seemed eager to offer them, Hudson's voyage of exploration may not have led to the founding of New Netherland. Furthermore, an investigation into the Indian reception of Hudson uncovers a great irony that lay at the heart of their exchange of goods. Because of that ironic twist, a European colony was founded and, as a result, the native people – those who first met Hudson as well as the Mohawks and others – found themselves in the

Paul Otto is Professor of History at George Fox University. His research focuses upon European-Native American relations in early America and he has published *The Dutch-Munsee Encounter in America: The Struggle for Sovereignty in the Hudson Valley*.

process of significant change.⁷ In fact, native people themselves identified the arrival of Hudson as a crucial event. European observers in the seventeenth, eighteenth, and nineteenth centuries recorded the Indians' oral account of this meeting. One of the most detailed was taken down in the mid-eighteenth century by Moravian missionary John Heckewelder.⁸ This tradition makes clear that in the minds of these Indians, their current situation as people removed from the Hudson Valley and united with other displaced bands in the Ohio Valley could be traced to that fateful event in 1609. Examining the accounts of Hudson's voyage, and in particular the Indians' oral tradition of their first encounter with Europeans, this essay explores the meaning and significance of Henry Hudson's voyage for the native people of New Netherland.

On September 19, 1609, the *Half Moon* anchored near the current site of Albany, New York. As recorded by crewmember Robert Juet, "the people of the Countrie came flocking aboard, and brought us Grapes and Pumpions, which wee bought for trifles. And many brought us Bevers skinned, and Otters skinned, which wee bought for Beades, Knives, and Hatchets."⁹ Juet's description of the event seems relatively straightforward, but the Indians described their first encounter with Europeans in entirely different terms. One of the earliest written records of the Indians' account, published in 1655, noted that when they first saw Hudson's ship, "they did not know what to think about her, but stood in deep and solemn amazement, wondering whether it were a ghost or apparition, coming down from heaven, or from hell. Others of them supposed her to be a strange fish or sea monster."¹⁰ How could two groups of people describe their encounter so differently? How could they perceive one another so differently? Their interpretations of these common experiences were deeply rooted in their respective cultural outlooks. Consider again the Indians' description. They placed the meeting in a religious or spiritual context – interpreting the ship and its crew in supernatural terms, at least as the Europeans understood them. In contrast, an extract from Hudson's journal describing the new territory again reveals the European perspective on the encounter:

It is as pleasant a land as one can tread upon, very abundant in all kinds of timber suitable for shipbuilding, and for making large casks. The people had copper tobacco pipes, from which I inferred that copper must exist there; and iron likewise according to the testimony of the natives, who, however, do not understand prepar-

ing it for use.¹¹

Hudson was clearly concerned with material and economic aspects – quality of land, the availability of timber for manufacture, and the presence of mineral resources such as copper and iron. The meeting of Europeans and Native Americans during Henry Hudson's voyage, and their respective interpretations of that meeting, make clear the radically different worldviews and experiences which shaped the lives of the two groups. What made Europeans and Indians so different in their cultural outlook? On the European side, Henry Hudson represented an important aspect of European society. Working for the (Dutch) East India Company, Hudson and his employers were motivated by an ideal of expansion. In part this meant geographic expansion, but more importantly it meant economic expansion. By 1609, Dutch culture and society had recently undergone dramatic changes. One of the most significant turning points in the nation's history had taken place in the 1590s with the emergence of the "rich trades." This new trade paralleled an outburst of economic activity which led to the rapid expansion of the Dutch economy and to an astounding growth of cities such as Amsterdam, Leiden, and Middelburg.¹² The East India Company (VOC), capitalizing on the new spice trades, founded by men who sought the expansion of their personal wealth, employed Hudson in order that he should uncover a northeast passage to the East Indies. Such a discovery might shorten the route to the East and increase their profits. When Hudson's attempt to fulfill his task met with ice-filled waters and an uncooperative crew, he turned his ship west to seek a northwest passage. Whether traveling east or west, Hudson was driven by broad economic forces that sought better access to the "rich trades" of the East at better prices. The ultimate goal was to turn a profit. So the society Hudson represented was expanding and seeking economic gain. Their outlook meant viewing the products of nature as commodities.¹³

Some might say that these aspects just typified more advanced societies and the real difference between Indians and Europeans was their position on the scale of cultural evolution and development. However that may be, both Europeans and Indians had clearly contrasting societies and cultural outlooks. Whereas Europeans were concerned more with the economic – expansion of trade, acquisition of capital, expansion of territory – native people were driven by much different concerns. In contrast to Europeans, native society was marked by their

animistic outlook and their emphasis on social reciprocity. The two were closely related. Native people lived in a world which was alive with creatures, both natural and supernatural. Yet in the minds of native people, there was no distinction between the two. Not just humans and animals, but rocks, trees, and creatures which can best be described as other-than-humans, inhabited the world of Native Americans. As anthropologist Herbert Kraft has described the Indians of Delaware, New Jersey, and southern New York, "the Lenape were a deeply religious people who felt the presence of the supernatural everywhere...[like most Indians, the Lenapes] saw themselves as an integral part of a natural world filled with almost infinite varieties of plants, animals, insects, clouds, and stones, each of which possessed spirits no less important than those of human beings."¹⁴

The Indians' religious outlook is captured in their use of the term "manitou." Not really equated with God or the devil, as some European writers tended to think, "manitou" referred, instead, not necessarily to a single individual, but to anything which the Indians found strange or wonderful. The Dutch who later came in contact with these native people recorded the word *Menutto* or *Menetto* and stated that it referred to the being the Indians worshiped or was used to describe "whatever is wonderful and seems to exceed human capacity."¹⁵

It is not enough to understand that the Indians' world was filled with manitous and spirits. It is also necessary to understand their relationship with these beings and the other creatures with whom they interacted. Typical of animistic societies, native people felt a strong need to appease or accommodate the various beings who inhabited their world. Not to do so would lead to imbalance and chaos. Furthermore, proper intercourse with such beings might mean the acquisition of spiritual power. Thus, native people constructed a world that was socially oriented in the sense that relationships and the proper maintenance of those relationships was one of the primary aspects of their cultural outlook. Historian Neal Salisbury, writing of the culturally similar New England tribes, explains that the Indians believed that "a balanced dependency relationship existed between humans and non-humans that neither could afford to break except at their peril." To maintain this relationship, native people practiced "a complex sequence of rituals" which included the exchange of goods. In fact, Salisbury points out, the exchange played such an important role that it "led to the diffusion of items over long distances

via both exchange networks and direct contact. Even utterly alien strangers, like the Europeans who appeared with increasing frequency over the sixteenth and early seventeenth century, might be approached – unless or until experience deemed otherwise."¹⁶

In the Indians' oral tradition of their first encounter with Europeans, these various elements of Native American worldview become apparent. As the earlier reference to this account makes clear, the Indians first perceived Europeans as otherworldly. The tradition as it existed in the eighteenth century elaborated on this theme: the Indians concluded that the "large canoe or house" which they saw coming over the water must contain "the great Mannitto (great or Supreme Being) *himself*," as they understood manitou at that time, "and that he probably was coming to visit them."¹⁷ Seeking to properly greet him according to the demands of social reciprocity, the Indian leaders made sure that "every step had been taken to be well provided with plenty of meat for a sacrifice; the women were required to prepare the best of victuals; idols or images were examined and put in order; and a grand dance was supposed not only to be an agreeable entertainment for the Mannitto, but might, with the addition of a sacrifice, contribute towards appeasing him, in case he was angry with them...Between hope and fear, and in confusion, a dance commenced."

When the newcomers arrived on shore, the native hosts formed a large circle in which to receive them. The Europeans then produced a bottle and glasses and the ship's captain drank, in turn offering some to his hosts. Here the Indians seemed confused, torn between their fear of the newcomers and their responsibility to partake in this obvious offer. As the Indians recounted, the first "chief receives the glass, but only smelleth at it, and passed it on to the next chief, who does the same. The glass thus passes through the circle without the contents being tasted by any one." Just as the glass was about to return to the ship's captain, one of their number, a spirited man and great warrior jumps up – harangues the assembly on the impropriety of returning the glass with the contents in it; that the same was handed them by the Mannitto in order that they should drink it, as he himself had done before them; that this would please him; but to return what he had given to them might provoke him, and be the cause of their being destroyed by him. And that, since he believed it for the good of the nation that the contents offered them *should* be drunk, and as no one was willing to drink it *he would*, let the consequence be

what it would; and that it was better for one man to die, than a whole nation to be destroyed. He then took the glass and bidding the assembly farewell, *drank it off*.

Such concerns of social reciprocity and acquisition of spiritual power through the exchange of goods were also demonstrated later in their meeting: "The man with red clothes [the ship's captain] returned again to them," they recounted, "and distributed presents among them, to wit, beads, axes, hoes, stockings, &c." But "they knew not the [European] use of the axes, hoes, &c., they had given them, [for they hung these] to their breasts as ornaments; and the stockings they had made use of as tobacco pouches," thus demonstrating their belief in and respect for the spiritual power of these things and of those who brought them.

So Europeans and Indians met, exchanged goods, and separated again. And yet, it was not as simple as that. Both sides came to the meeting with radically different worldviews in fact, worldviews that could be described as being in conflict with one another. The one emphasized community and social relations, the other individual advancement. One emphasized the distribution of property, the other, its acquisition. And yet, ironically, the two found a common meeting ground in the exchange of goods. Both sides hoped to gain something, but neither side agreed on the goals of this exchange. Ironically they found common practice, but due to their different cultural outlooks, they mutually misunderstood the encounter. Furthermore, both left the meeting receptive to further contact. Europeans determined that the Indians of the newly discovered (present-day) Hudson River would be advantageous trading partners offering them a variety of good quality furs and at good prices. Native people discussed the strange manitous who came to them with powerfully charged beads, knives, and other goods, not to mention a strange intoxicating liquid which opened up the spirit world for them. Both would be willing to meet again and would be prepared to exchange goods. On the Dutch side, the immediate result was annual trade voyages beginning as early as 1610. Within a few years, traders would establish semipermanent outposts while the Dutch extended a sense of territorial command over a region they began to call New Netherland. In 1624, the first permanent settlers arrived while changes in the structure and regulations of the colony in 1629, and again in 1639, would encourage greater settlement, as the fur trade with the Indians attracted additional colonists. In the 1650s, the rate of immigration and settlement would

significantly increase as the population took on a more permanent and sedentary nature, developing an economy based not just on the fur trade, but on commerce and agriculture within the colony and between New Netherland and other colonies and nations. In short, the initial interaction between Henry Hudson and the native people of this region led to the establishment and growth of New Netherland.

But what about the effects upon the Native Americans whose warm reception made colonization so possible? As the Munsees themselves acknowledged more than one hundred fifty years later, first contact with Hudson quickly led to European trade and settlement, two developments which made a significant impact upon them and their society. Trade with Europeans led to economic dependency upon them and a shift in the balance of power between the various tribes of the northeast. Along with trade dependency came the use and abuse of alcohol among the Indians. As the number of Europeans coming to the region increased, so did the potential for native people to contract European diseases. As a result, epidemics spread throughout the northeast with dramatic results. Over time, New Netherland shifted from an outpost of trade to a settlement colony, and native peoples and Europeans came into conflict over differing land use practices and divergent concepts of land ownership. Eventually, many Indians found themselves drawn into the economic sphere of Dutch society with important implications for their diplomatic relations to them. Finally, for most native people of the region, the coming of Europeans meant the loss of their land as they chose to migrate westward. Through it all, Native Americans maintained many aspects of their cultural outlook; their oral tradition concerning their first contact with Europeans formed a touchstone by which they interpreted these important changes. The remainder of this essay examines this process of change.

While the exchange of goods had mostly social implications for native people, it played an economic role as well. Through trade, native people had long acquired goods and products unavailable to them locally. Trading with Europeans, they quickly learned to appreciate the value of the foreign-made products. The purpose of exchanges increasingly focused upon the economic. The Indians' oral tradition demonstrates this transition. While they first attached religious significance to axeheads, hoes, and stockings, the Europeans soon instructed them in the proper use of those goods. The

newcomers, "put handles...in [the axeheads], 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..."¹⁸ Quickly discovering the economic and practical advantages of the commodities the Dutch had to offer, but also maintaining their demand for goods which served a ceremonial function, Indians traded furs and wampum for beads, knives, axes, and cloth. Yet the beneficial trade with the Dutch soon had unexpected results. Eager to acquire Dutch goods, either for their spiritual properties or their obvious utilitarian advantages, native people increased their production of wampum and their harvest of furs, spending more time on these activities and less on traditional forms of subsistence and manufacture. Indians soon came to rely on European-manufactured goods, particularly guns, in order to survive. Such an economic relationship may not have had a negative impact had the Indians access to unlimited quantity of furs. However, native people soon hunted the beaver to local extinction or were outbid by other Indians with access to better-quality furs, highlighting their dependency upon Dutch goods. Native people turned to several solutions. Many of those living along the coast were able to focus upon the production of wampum, strings of shell beads which served the Dutch as valuable trade goods to the Indians of the north and which became common currency throughout New Netherland and New England. Others, without such access, were either forced further into the European economic structures, or they left the region altogether, seeking to regain their traditional cultural practices. In either case, many sold or lost their land in the process. In the case of the Mohawks, dependency and depletion of fur supplies led to an aggressive response as they sought access to furs through military means. The Mohawks and their fellow Iroquois became renowned for their military empire, but such an expansion came largely as a result of their desperate need to gain access to additional furs.¹⁹

Alcohol was one of the many European products which Indians came to depend upon. Hudson himself introduced the substance to the Indians for the first time. Robert Juet recorded on September 21, while they were still anchored near present-day Albany, that Hudson and his first officer invited some Mahican chiefs or headmen to come into the Captain's cabin, and they "gave them so much Wine and *Aqua Vitae*, that they were all merrie." "In

the end," he wrote, "one of them was drunke [and passed out]...and that was strange to them; for they could not tell how to take it." This man's fellow tribespeople went ashore, but soon returned with a gift of wampum for the crew of the *Half Moon*. Nevertheless, the intoxicated Indian slept all night on the ship, but when the tribesmen returned the next day, they found him well.²⁰ The Indians' oral account indicates that they saw Hudson's coming as the source of their later troubles with alcohol. After the brave individual drank the cup offered by the ship's captain, they reported, "he soon began to stagger about, and at last dropping to the ground, they bemoan him. He falls into a sleep, and they view him as expiring. He awakes again, jumps up, and declares that he never felt himself before so happy as after he drank the cup. Wishes for more. His wish is granted; and the whole assembly soon join him, and become intoxicated."²¹

As this account suggests, alcohol held broad appeal among native people. One of the reasons Native Americans found alcohol attractive is because they associated the euphoric affect of intoxication with a means to access the spirit world. Indians also believed that under the influence of alcohol, they were absolved of their actions since they considered themselves to be in a trance-like state when intoxicated. Furthermore, Indians probably incorporated alcoholic consumption into their mourning rituals. As David de Vries noted, "They hold a solemn feast upon the death of their cassique chiefs, or other great friends...making the best provision of their strongest liquor."²²

Native people had good reason to point to the troubles from the intoxicating beverages of the Dutch. Throughout New Netherland's history, alcohol could be identified as the source of many troubles. Indians frequently complained that traders used alcohol to coerce them and cheat them in trade.²³ Tribal leaders complained that much of the violence between Europeans and Indians was due to the trade in alcohol and they frequently requested Dutch officials to curtail or stop the sale of liquor to their young men.²⁴ Colonial administrators were all too glad to comply and the council and New Amsterdam city government passed numerous prohibitions against the alcohol trade.²⁵ Many Indians, though, succumbed to alcoholism, becoming impoverished by their habit. For example, when reporting to the Church Classis of Amsterdam in August, 1657, Dominies Megapolensis and Drisius noted that their Indian catechumen had taken "to drinking brandy [whereupon] he pawned [his] Bible, and

turned into a regular beast, doing more harm than good among the Indians."²⁶

Alcoholism was not the only disease to plague Indian society. With European traders and settlers came European disease. Because of Indians' lack of resistance, they quickly succumbed in large numbers to diseases which in Europe had far less impact.²⁷ Scholars estimate that Indian villages lost 50-90 percent of their population in epidemics which raged through their communities. The first epidemics to affect the Indians of New Netherland probably hit by the early 1620s, and by 1633 small pox first arrived among the Mohawks. Disease left Indian communities crippled. Loss of the elderly meant loss of traditions and rituals so necessary to the survival of animistic societies. Loss of children meant decreased hope for the future. Disease also meant contraction of groups from their lands and consolidation into fewer bands and villages. This in turn left additional land available for Europeans, encouraging increased settlement and agriculture. Loss of population also led the native people, especially the Mohawks and their fellow Iroquois, into a cycle of mourning wars designed to replenish their population.²⁸

When settlers arrived in numbers in New Netherland, native people found themselves challenged in yet another manner. Europeans and Indians soon began to compete for land. This competition took two forms. On the one hand, differences in land use led to conflict between the two groups. Native people who relied upon horticulture quickly found their fields of corn, beans, and squash damaged by foraging Dutch livestock. Apart from obvious damage to their food supply, such incidents led to hostilities when native growers took it upon themselves to shoot animals trampling their crops. Furthermore, Indians on the hunt did not distinguish between wild game and free roaming domesticated animals.²⁹

The other area of conflict was over land ownership. From the beginning of Dutch settlement, Europeans, first the Company and later individuals, bought land from the various Indian bands. However, both sides understood the purchase differently. To Europeans, land was a commodity, an item which could be bought and sold and assigned to an individual owner. Native Americans, while they understood the notion of sovereignty over a particular territory, did not appreciate the notion of land as a commodity, especially not in terms of individual ownership. As a result, Indian groups would sell land, but in their minds had only sold the rights to use the land.

It seems, in fact, that when they sold land to the Dutch they did not give up the right to occupy it either.³⁰ The famous purchase of Manhattan Island for sixty guilders loses some of its impact as a great real estate deal when one considers that the Indians probably never intended to give it up, but rather to "lease" it for Dutch use while they maintained sovereignty over it and continued to occupy it. Staten Island was "sold" and "resold" several times during the Dutch period, but again, the Indians understood these more like rental agreements than the permanent transfer of land.

Obviously, however, Europeans and Indians could become frustrated by what they would perceive as the other side not fulfilling their end of the bargain. When the Dutch insisted on using the land they purchased as they saw fit and imposed upon Indian residents and their property, or when Indians refused to leave land which the Dutch believed they had purchased, the two sides would be left deeply frustrated with the situation. In some cases this frustration led to bloodshed. In the history of New Netherland, three wars broke out between the Munsee people and the Dutch – Kieft's War, the Peach War, and the Esopus War. In each case, conflicts over land use and land ownership played a role in their outbreak. Ultimately Europeans won such conflicts over land and the Indians had to come to terms with their loss here as well.

Again, in their oral tradition, they sought to explain this important change in their lives. When the first European visitors indicated that they had to return home, but would come back the following year, the account goes, they promised that "they would bring them more presents, and stay with them [the Indians] awhile; but that, as they could not live without eating, they should then want a little land of them to sow some seeds in order raise herbs to put in their broth." After continued visits, the Indians remembered.

Familiarity daily increas[ed] between them and the whites [and] the latter now proposed to stay with them, asking them only for so much land as the hide of a bullock would cover (or encompass,) which hide was brought forward and spread on the ground before them. [T]hey readily granted this request; whereupon the whites took a knife, and beginning at one place on this hide, cut it up into a rope not thicker than the finger of a little child, so that by the time this hide was cut up there was a great heap. [T]his rope was drawn out to a great distance, and then brought round again, so that both ends might meet. [T]hey carefully avoided it breaking, and...upon the whole

it encompassed a large piece of ground. [T]hey (the Indians) were surprised at the superior wit of the whites, but did not wish to contend with them about a little land, as they had enough.³¹

In the earliest years of the colony, the Indian loss of land was minimal, but as the colony developed and the Dutch population grew, European pressures on Indian land increased. Such pressures were also accompanied by important economic, diplomatic, and political changes for the Indians, especially those of the (present-day) lower Hudson River region. Dutch population began to increase especially after 1647. The earlier part of the decade had seen violent warfare on the lower Hudson Valley frontier the First Dutch-Munsee War (traditionally, Kieft's War), but the war ended in 1645 and the colony began to rebuild. A new director general, Peter Stuyvesant, arrived in 1647 and enlivened the administration of the colony with a positive outlook and active policy of developing the colony. 1648 marked the end of the Thirty Years' War and the Eighty Years' War, bringing peace to Europe and an end to the conflict between Spain and the Netherlands. Moreover, in 1654, Dutch Brazil fell to the Portuguese. All of these events contributed in one way or another to the growth of the European population in Netherland. Europeans soon repopulated the recently nearly deserted Manhattan Island, and the surrounding region, while new towns were formed throughout the colony. With this increased population came a developing economic system increasingly founded upon internal commerce in addition to the fur trade.

The Indians living closest to Dutch population centers increasingly became incorporated into that colonial economy. For example, Munsees patronized New Amsterdam tavern keepers and tapsters. They used the Dutch ferry from Manhattan Island. In addition, an ordinance enforcing payment of wages indicates that many Indians worked as laborers for the Dutch, at least on a part-time basis. Native people also became dependent on Dutch bakers for part of their subsistence, since records indicate that they were willing to pay higher prices than the Europeans for bread. Furthermore, Indians took a more active role in the courts. The wage ordinance mentioned above indicates that the Indians appeared before the Dutch court or council to complain, and that Dutch officials sometimes responded favorably to such petitions. In order to curb the illegal alcohol trade, the council also ruled that Indians could testify against Europeans.³² Clearly, many Munsees were becoming extensively inte-

grated into the new Dutch society and had been forced to acknowledge the permanent presence of the Dutch in the Hudson Valley. Complete resistance to the Dutch would have meant separating themselves from access to European goods and food. Even if the Indians were not economically tied to the Dutch, they knew that the European population was increasing and hence they acquiesced to Dutch control over the region. At the same time, native people found themselves increasingly subject to the political authority of the Dutch. This process began as early as 1625, but became especially significant as Dutch population levels increased.³³

Thus, the Indians of the lower Hudson found themselves in competition for land and integrated into a new economic and political system. These developments contributed to important changes in internal Indian politics and external diplomatic relations. In the three conflicts between the Dutch and Indians of the lower Hudson Valley, one can see these important changes taking place in Indian society due to the growing influence of Dutch culture. Only in the First Dutch-Munsee War did all the Munsee bands fight the Dutch. In later wars, those closest to the Europeans geographically, and economically as well, were least likely to engage in hostilities, while those furthest away were more likely to. For example, in the Second Dutch-Munsee War (traditionally the Peach War), those Munsee bands living on Long Island amidst Dutch and English settlements maintained their peace with the Dutch. During the Third Dutch-Munsee War (traditionally the Esopus Wars), several bands of Munsees who held captives during the second war did not take an anti-Dutch stance and other Munsee bands who lived closer to the Dutch sought to strengthen their relationship with them by exerting pressure on the Esopus to agree to an armistice, while the Long Island groups even chose to fight on the side of the Dutch. Internally, Indian leadership also seemed to be changing. Traditionally native people organized themselves into small bands or villages. Within those bands, various individuals would play important roles as headmen. Some of these may have been hereditary leaders while others led on the basis of their qualifications in times of warfare. Still others served as representatives of the band. Decision-making focused upon building consensus among the leaders and members of the band. Throughout the period of Dutch colonization, however, these various villages and bands tended to join together and consolidate, reducing the number of leaders. Meanwhile certain village leaders

gained prominence while Indian decision-making shifted away from a consensus model.³⁴

Despite Indian accommodation to the European presence, many native people found the pressures of European settlement and colonization too great. While the Mohawks on the upper Hudson would be able to remain in their land for years to come, many of the other Indians of the Hudson Valley, the Munsees and Mahicans in particular, found it expedient to leave and seek their fortunes elsewhere. After 1664, these groups began to head westward, first settling in the upper Susquehanna Valley, and by the mid-eighteenth century moving all the way to the Ohio Valley.³⁵ When the Moravian missionary John Heckewelder recorded the Indians' tradition of the first encounter with Europeans, the Indians he spoke to lived in the Ohio Valley. Joining together with Delawares, Mahicans, and other Algonquian speakers, the Munsees had migrated west, away from the Europeans who had invaded their land. There they sought to rebuild their lives in a new territory, becoming newcomers themselves.

During these migrations, complex reformulations of their political and other social structures took place. Many of them had even accepted Christianity in some form. Yet, in many ways their cultural outlook remained similar to that of their Hudson River Valley forbears. At the very least, they continued to rely on their oral traditions to give meaning to their current experience. To make sense of the changes in their recent history, they looked back to the event which seemed to them most pivotal in their history. Today we recognize the significance of Hudson's voyage in opening up the New World to Dutch settlement. In the eighteenth century, the descendants of those native people who had first welcomed Hudson as a manitou had already begun to commemorate his coming. As they remembered it in the 1760s, after Hudson's coming, "they and the whites lived for a long time contentedly together, although these asked from time to time more land of them; and proceeding higher up the [Hudson River], they believed they would soon want all their country, and which at this time was already the case."³⁶