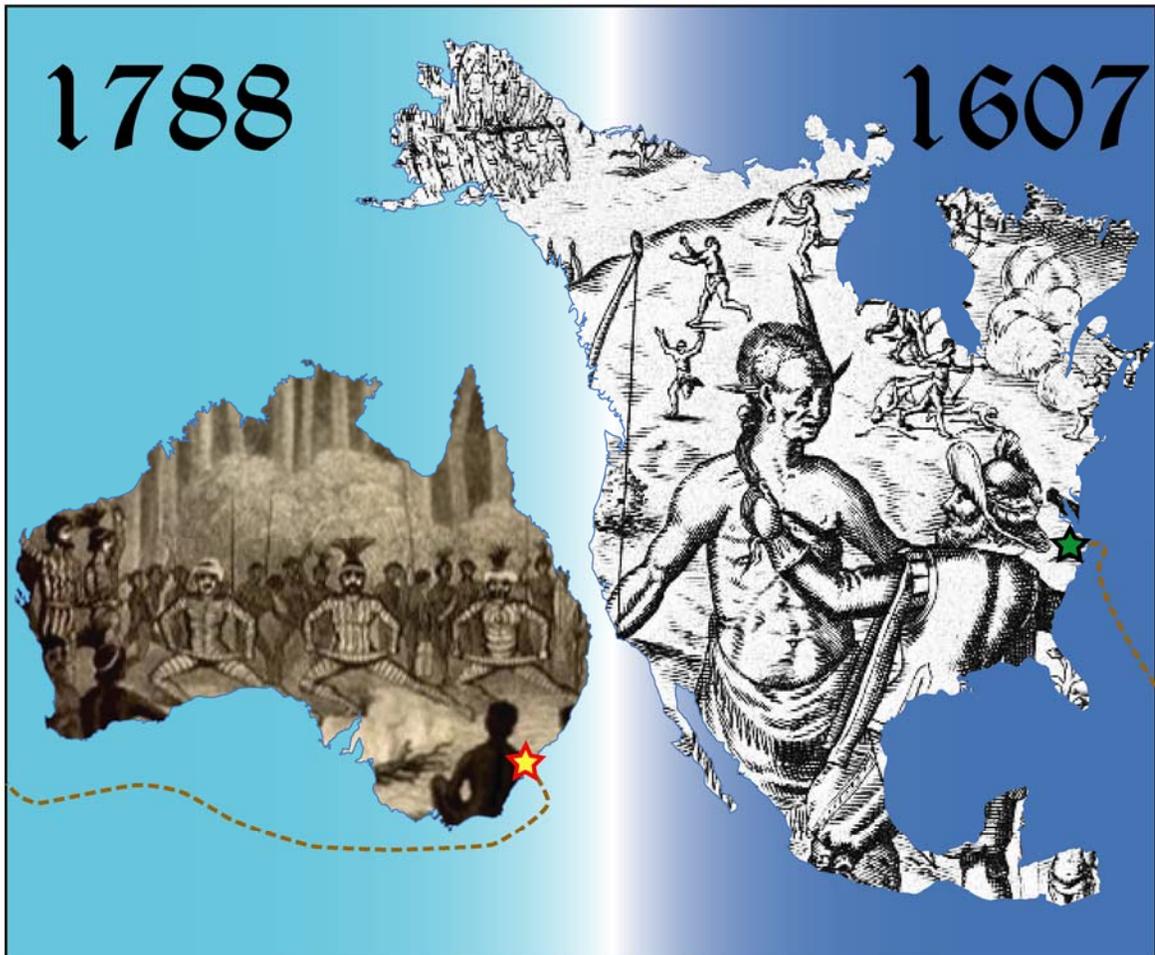


Cultural Theater:

*Indigenous experiences at
Jamestown (1607-1622) and Sydney (1788-1800)*

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The mornings of April 26, 1607 and January 18, 1788 were the opening acts of a strange new play for the indigenous people of North America and Australia. They unwillingly found themselves starring in yet another iteration of the British imperial play. For the indigenous people of both places, watching the cacophonous and cumbersome activities of these newcomers evoked a wide range of emotion and concerns that manifested over the next decade in similarly understandable and even predictable ways. The cultural theater that ensued showcased the agency of all of its players, yet here the focus will be on the indigenous actors and place the story from their point of view. The decades following 1607 and 1788 were watershed periods for the people of North America and Australia.

I. Introduction

The histories of Native Americans and Australian Aborigines could not seem more remote from each other geographically or temporally. The Powhatan of Virginia occupied the opposite side of globe from the Eora of New South Wales. In addition, their contacts with Europeans were nearly two hundred years apart. Nonetheless they are closely connected across this vast gulf of time and space by their experiences with Europeans. Each people's story of collaboration and conflict has been discussed in great detail by their respective historians yet each indigenous group is treated as a cultural and historical island only connected to larger historical processes by way of the Europeans. The colonial experiences of individual groups should be compared to each other to find the common threads of agency, action, reaction. By comparing indigenous experiences we find underlying layers of cultural resilience and strength that rise above the differences of technology, social complexity and identity.

So much has been written from the European perspective in both of the historiographies of North America and Australia. Despite the attempts to write indigenous people into the histories of the colonial experience, most of these works are successful only in explaining the formation of European identity in the colonies. The “native” is used as a mirror by which Europeans identified themselves. This, though, does not explain the formation of identity of indigenous people and still produces a Euro-centric analysis. Helen Rountree suggests in *Pocahontas, Powhatan, Opechancanough* that writing the work from an indigenous perspective requires an equally unbalanced Native-centric narrative. In this book, Rountree poses all views from her three Powhatan actors even to the point that she changes the names used for each group from English to the more appropriate Powhatan. Virginia becomes *Tsenacomoco*, colonists *Tassantassa* (strangers), and “people” only applies to the Indians themselves. In addition to Rountree’s list, we must include words more appropriate to the Eora, which itself means “people,” including *Balanda* for English settlers, and *Weerong* their name for Sydney Cove and the surrounding region.¹ Rountree justifies this, offering that her work “is about one side only, the side that happened to lose, and thus the side that it has been unpopular to try to study or talk about in much depth. This book is an attempt to tell “the other” side of the story, with native leaders who are not mere cardboard cutouts.”² This story must be a solidly indigenous story. As Helen Rountree suggests, “I have to do it in detail: just saying “those #\$\$%!! English” is not enough.”³ She is careful to note that the English are not “straw-men” to be beaten for their indiscretions but rather are reconstructed as the Powhatan viewed them. As Helen Rountree has accurately suggested, indigenous groups were as ethnocentric as the Tassantassa and Balanda, is

¹ Arthur Emerson, *Historical Dictionary of Sydney*, Lanham, MD: The Scarecrow Press, Inc., 2001: 373.

² Helen C. Rountree, *Pocahontas Powhatan Opechancanough: three Indian lives changed by Jamestown*, Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 2005: 6.

³ *Ibid*, 4.

part of her justification of the Powhatan-centric narrative. What follows here is similarly one-sided for the purpose of placing indigenous people in the center of their world as they surely viewed themselves. This will help remove the reader from some of the Euro-centric connotations found in the current historiography.⁴

Comparative ethnohistories have been relatively scarce due to the methodological difficulties of carrying out a strong analysis of any two peoples. As mentioned before these two peoples have been considered unlikely candidates for such a comparative study. Anthropology and history has shied from these comparative projects due to the fact that societies are products of their distinct environments, history and internal cultures.⁵ Thus groups have a tendency to be as different as snow flakes irrespective of distance. This makes comparative work immeasurably more difficult. Assuming that the variables of environment and social complexity are the same, anthropologists would then compare their histories to find similar processes. This is where social researchers have the wrong end of the imperial tiger. The strength of comparing indigenous responses to European intrusions is how people reacted in similar ways despite their cultural, geographic or temporal situations. This is not to say that the narrative should essentialize the indigenous experience or identity. The themes produced from comparative studies are fleshed out with the nuances produced from such differences. Lynette Russell suggests in the introduction to a collection of essays reassessing the “frontier” that any comparative work “is

⁴ Table 1: Translation of Terms

English	Powhatan	Eora
English intruders	Tasantassa	Balanda
Virginia	Tsenacomoco	
Powhatan (the person)	Wahunsenacawh	
Sydney		Weerong
Wolarawaree		Wolarawaree

⁵ Felix M. Keesing, *Cultural Anthropology: The Science of Custom* (New York: Holt, Rinehart, and Winston, 1965), 145-148; Francis Boas, “The Limitations of the Comparative Method of Anthropology,” *Science*, 4 (1896), 901-908; reprinted in Boas’ *Race, Language, and Culture*. 1940.

only of value once the range and scope of variables have been documented for each case study.”⁶ The choice of locales and people for this comparison was largely due to the wealth of historical and anthropological coverage of both the Powhatan and Eora and the historical circumstances surrounding their contacts with Europeans. Though Russell’s caveat about range and scope must be heeded carefully, this is has been misread to mean that peoples must be cultural twins for any analysis to be of value. While differences are important to discuss, they do not render any similarities meaningless. The following comparison of the Powhatan and Eora will hopefully open up the potential for more comparative projects.

This work has a place among three very distinct historiographical genres: Native American, Australian Aboriginal, and Colonial-Imperial history. There has been a renaissance in the field of Jamestown and Powhatan Indian history surrounding the 400 year anniversary of the founding of Jamestown. Authors such as Helen Rountree, Benjamin Wooley, and Margaret Williamson have revised the story of *Tsenacomoco* to reflect the wealth of new archaeological materials and more sophisticated interpretations of the written record.⁷ This literature has developed the gradient of cooperation and conflict in Powhatan-Anglo relations based not on a frontier model but as a more complicated series of ever shifting political and social borderlands. Rountree, Williamson, and regional archaeologists have developed a much deeper understanding of the diversity of the Powhatan and surrounding Indian groups and how this affected their interactions with the Tassantassa.

A slightly less sophisticated discussion is occurring in the literature on Australian

⁶ Lynette Russell, “Introduction” in *Colonial Frontiers: Indigenous-European Encounters in Settler Societies* ed. Lynette Russell, New York: Manchester University Press, 2001: 1-16, 3.

⁷ Helen C. Rountree, *The Powhatan Indians of Virginia: their traditional culture*, 1st ed. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1989; Benjamin Woolley, *Savage Kingdom: the true story of Jamestown, 1607, and the settlement of America*, New York: Harper Collins, 2007; Margaret H. Williamson, *Powhatan Lords of Life and Death: Command and Consent in Seventeenth Century Virginia*, Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2003.

Aborigines. The discourse has been thwarted by a preoccupation with the evidence or lack thereof for genocide of the Eora and other Aboriginal groups. While the discussion has importance for modern reconciliation, it unfortunately has pigeon-holed Aborigines into a historical victim status and has largely ignored issues of agency. The activists among historians of Aboriginal issues admit their bias against the European treatment of the Aboriginal people of Australia.⁸ On the other end of the spectrum, Windshuttle's response to the "fabrication of Aboriginal history" unfortunately has some merit but he falls into his own traps by ignoring the biases of the historical record.⁹ Aboriginal history is still dominated by the questions of what makes European Identity, as in Robert Hughes' *The Fatal Shore*.¹⁰ Inga Clendinnen's *Dancing With Strangers* is one of the few authors moving towards the sophistication of social identity and indigenous perspective found in Rountree and the Native American historiography.

Lastly, this must also be placed within the context of the larger debate about imperialism and colonial societies. The predominant feature of this field, at least as it applies to the Powhatan and Eora, is that imperialism establishes a line of othering by which the center is defined. Two examples of the discussion of "othering" are Linda Colley's *Captives* and Neil Parsons' *King Khama, Emperor Joe and the Great White Queen*. Both historians have been criticized for using indigenous people as mirrors.¹¹ Colley in her discussion of the Native American practice of capturing Europeans does little explain the practice from the indigenous point of view. Parsons comes closer to viewing the Africans' point of view but succeeds only in coming to terms with

⁸ Two examples of this are Bruce Elder, *Blood on the wattle: massacres and maltreatment of Australian Aborigines since 1788*, Frenchs Forest, NSW: National Book Distributors, 1996, 1988; Jan Kociumbas, "Genocide and Modernity in Colonial Australia, 1788-1850" in *Genocide and Settler Society: Frontier Violence and Stolen Children in Australian History* ed. A. Dirk Moses, New York: Berghahn Books, 2004: 77-102.

⁹ Keith Windshuttle, *The Fabrication of Aboriginal History, Volume One: Van Diemen's Land 1803-1847*, Sydney: Macleay Press, 2002: 103-111.

¹⁰ Robert Hughes, *The Fatal Shore*, New York, N.Y.: Knopf, 1987.

¹¹ Linda Colley, *Captives: Britain, Empire, and the World, 1600-1850*, New York: Anchor Books, 2004; Neil Parsons, *King Khama, Emperor Joe and the Great White Queen: Victorian Britain through African Eyes*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1998.

how the English portrayed the Africans and what it said about the authors but not the subjects. Imperialism narratives have been incorporating a much more inclusive stance on the agency of indigenous people as in Lynette Russell's *Colonial Frontiers*, Alex Calder's collection *Voyages and Beaches* and Annie Coombes' collection *Rethinking Settler Colonialism*.¹² These shift the focus away from the European "center" and focus instead on the development of an indigenous people's perspective.

Beyond combining the three historiographies mentioned above, this comparison begins to develop a framework for examining the actions and interactions of indigenous people whose lands were being invaded. This framework has been structured as a three act play with a prologue and epilogue. This has dual meaning for the analysis. It is yet another way, in addition to the word play mentioned above, to divorce the reader from some of the basic assumptions of Euro-centric history. The play is much more similar to an indigenous mode of storytelling and history than the standard European mode of historical narrative. The structure is also one that non-indigenous readers will likely understand. The play also humanizes historical events with its focus on actors and action. The Powhatan and Eora individuals performed archetypal roles that can be identified among both indigenous groups. Many individuals played multiples roles in contact with intruders switching roles fluidly. This pattern and the constant role shifting followed a larger pattern of cultural contact within a series of identifiable acts.

II. Setting the Parameters

As Russell suggested it is imperative to establish the "range and scope of variables."

¹² Lynette Russell, ed. *Colonial Frontiers: Indigenous-European Encounters in Settler Societies*, New York: Manchester University Press, 2001; Alex Calder, Jonathan Lamb, and Bridget Orr, eds. *Voyages and Beaches: Pacific Encounters, 1769-1840*, Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1999; Annie E. Coombes, ed. *Rethinking Settler Colonialism: History and memory in Australia, Canada, Aotearoa New Zealand and South Africa*, New York: Manchester University Press, 2006.

Some major differences must be acknowledged immediately. Primary among these are the socio-cultural differences between the Powhatan and Eora. The Powhatan maintained a much complex system of social and political hierarchy compared to the relatively small-scale egalitarian Eora. A large part of this complexity was due to the agricultural lifestyle that the Powhatan practiced. Approximately 60% of their diet came from corn.¹³ The Eora did practice a form of clandestine cultivation but did not maintain large gardens and did not have access to high yield crops such as corn. This did not provide the opportunity to amass the surpluses of food that often accompany increasing social complexity.

Powhatan, known as Wahunsenacawh by his people, was high chief of not only his own village but also an empire of numerous villages.¹⁴ The highly centralized power structure of the Powhatan is starkly contrasted by the lack of any formalized political system among the Eora. The Eora have respected men among them based on military prowess or advanced age, but there are no “rulers” or positions of direct authority or superiority. In this case, the Powhatan much more closely resembled the Tassantassa. This also extended to their material desires. Most of North America contributed to the exotic goods trade that fueled their religious ceremonies and political relationships. Trade was integral to solidifying almost every transaction in society.¹⁵ The Eora did not have similar reliance on exotic goods for their cultural functioning. Thus Balanda trade goods were never as coveted. This also meant that the political relationships the Eora established with neighboring groups were based more on kinship through marriage than

¹³ Helen C. Rountree, *The Powhatan Indians of Virginia: their traditional culture*, 1st ed. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1989: 41-57.

¹⁴ Though originally termed a confederacy, Rountree suggests Powhatan had a great deal more political control. Rountree, 1989: 114. I have here chosen to call Powhatan by his more culturally appropriate name to provide a distinction between him and the cultural group he ruled over, who will remain the Powhatan.

¹⁵ Martin D.Gallivan, *James River Chiefdoms: The Rise of Social Inequality in the Chesapeake*, Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2003: 126-131; Helen C. Rountree, *The Powhatan Indians of Virginia: their traditional culture*, 1st ed. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1989: 144.

economic ties, a dominant force among the Powhatan.¹⁶

One last difference that must be noted is the composition and intentions of the intruding Europeans alluded to above. Jamestown was set up by volunteers largely hoping to find a way to make a profit in trade. They tended to be lower elites and all were white men. This was not originally meant to be a sustainable population, but rather an outpost of resource extraction. Sydney on the other hand was comprised of very few volunteers and a large number of convicts transported to this new land as punishment for almost any minor offense. This had many implications for the people of Tsenacomoco and Weerong. For the Tassantassa, keeping in the good graces of local native people was beneficial to business, as you did not have to defend yourself as much and it fueled the fledgling economy. Thus traders and business people tended to maintain their alliances for fear of both retaliation and business failure. The convicts of Australia were not as likely to reach out to the Eora for assistance or to maintain positive relations since the aboriginal people provided nothing of value for the newcomers.¹⁷

The issue of the historical distance between the invasion of Tsenacomoco and Weerong might seem to make analysis more complicated. The Tassantassa in Tsenacomoco knew very little of the Powhatan and other Indians in the region, and much of what was “known” from brief published accounts was highly inaccurate.¹⁸ Therefore, the intruders were still learning about what to expect from the local indigenous people. Though they were hardly the first people to reach each place, the English became the dominant force immediately.¹⁹ Almost two hundred years had passed since Jamestown, and the English were a very different people. They had a

¹⁶ John Hunter, John Bach, ed. *An Historical Journal of Events at Sydney and at Sea 1787-1792*, Sydney: Angus and Robertson, 1793, 1968: 39.

¹⁷ Robert Hughes, *The Fatal Shore*, New York, N.Y.: Knopf, 1987: 1-18.

¹⁸ Sir Walter Raleigh’s writings on the Roanoke colony and the nearby Indians described a wholly different area and group of people. Earlier Spanish documents, and Richard Hakylut’s *Traffiques and Discoveries of the English Nation* have glaring inaccuracies as well. Rountree, 1989: 1-18.

¹⁹ See Table 1 on page 34.

good deal more collective experience in working with indigenous people by the late eighteenth century. The knowledge accrued through two centuries of contact with a wide assortment of indigenous people was certainly ingrained into the Balanda elites of Weerong. While it is true that the leaders of “Sydney” were influenced by this literature and the “scientific” revolution raging in Europe, the largest portion of the Balanda were only loosely aware of stories of indigenous people. Thus were pretty much in a similar position as the middling volunteers in Tsenacomoco. They were unprepared for the contact with indigenous people.

Even more enlightening are the traits that each group shared across such a vast geographic and temporal distance. Though the climates are mildly different the geography and environment are almost identical.²⁰ Both groups are settled along a major bay and tributary on the eastern side of the continent close to their respective oceans. (Maps 1 & 2) They are also at the foot of a major series of continental mountain ranges, the Appalachians and the Blue Mountains. These two factors produce similar weather patterns overall in comparison to the rest of the continent. The landscape is focused heavily on the marine-estuarine resources. There is easy access to both salt and fresh water, in rivers, bays and the ocean, and the dominant mode of transportation was the canoe in both cases. The diet of both people was heavily supplemented by fish and bivalves. The land was only slightly less suited to agriculture in Weerong than Tsenacomoco, though agriculture was not practiced until the Balanda arrived as the environment provided more than enough for the populations living there.²¹

Much like the landscape, the cultural patterns of each people have much in common, despite the complexity issue mentioned above. The primary social mechanism among almost all indigenous people was kinship. Though the manifestation of kinship varies, the principle sets

²⁰ Jamestown is about 3° farther from the equator, yet the climate is 20°F lower and tends to have much more snow and rain in a year than Sydney.

²¹ Rountree, 1989: 17-31; Emerson, 2001: 373.

indigenous people apart from Europeans in many ways. For both the Powhatan and Eora, the only way to deal with any individual was to establish kinship. Historians and anthropologists, all outsiders, have struggled with how to describe these principles and account for them with only mild success. Kinship does two basic things for society. First, it places individuals into a social matrix of relationships and obligations. Second, it defines who is and is not human, or who is and is-not “us.” Kinship was internally complex and rich, giving a person a history and purpose.²²

Historically, the people of North America and Australia were in similar positions at their respective settlements. Tsenacomoco had been visited forty years before 1607 by the Spanish and Jesuit missionaries. A little further down the coast, off of current day North Carolina, the Tassantassa had unsuccessfully attempted settlement three times in the mid-sixteenth century. Tassantassa were sailing up and down the coast of North America throughout the late sixteenth and early seventeenth century. Therefore, the arrival of the Tassantassa at Jamestown was not the first time the Powhatan had met these intruders from across the sea.²³ There are no reliable accounts of contacts with the Powhatan, though, before the arrival of the Jamestown intruders. Weerong had also been visited at least once and possibly more times by Balanda during the eighteenth century. The Dutch had found northern “New Holland” in 1623 but only explored the western coast. The only known exploration of eastern coast was Captain James Cook’s expedition in 1770. He visited Weerong in the middle of the southern winter, April and May, when few Eora were around as the fish had headed out to sea. He saw very few people and was unable to win the confidence of the few he did witness. This led Cook to suggest that the eastern coastline was sparsely populated and laid the foundation for the legal fiction of *terra nullius*.

²² The issue of time here is significant but not wholly appropriate for this paper. The conception of past and present in indigenous societies is poorly understood by non-indigenous people. Thus the language used here is placed much more in a western concept of time.

²³ Margaret H. Williamson, *Powhatan Lords of Life and Death: Command and Consent in Seventeenth Century Virginia*, Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2003: 18.

Therefore we can characterize the previous experiences of each with Europeans as brief and poorly recorded. Yet, these events served as foreshadowing of the outsider's future appearance.²⁴

The Tassantassa and Balanda invading each place were more alike than they were different. For the Powhatan, the Tassantassa looked alike wearing strange and functionally ridiculous clothes. There was a hierarchy but this may have been relatively invisible to the Powhatan. The motivations and avarice of these Tassantassa though was quickly realized by Wahunsenacawh's people. Trade, resource extraction and land were especially desired, sometimes even if it cost human lives. Freed from many of the restrictive social mechanisms of England, many Tassantassa acted without any restraint or concern for their obligations to others.²⁵ The Eora were contacted by an equally dangerous bunch of foreigners. The Balanda were comprised of mostly convicts and a few elite officers controlling the masses. After the American colonies had declared independence, the English had to find new places to transport their burdensome convicts. After Cook's expedition in 1770, the empty southern land became an appealing option. Balanda convicts ranged from simple thievery to more serious and violent crimes. The crews of the First Fleet found their ability to restrain the convicts impeded. These Balanda, unwatched, instigated much of the violence that occurred between themselves and the Eora. Much as the unrestrained Tassantassa were troublesome for the Powhatan, the Balanda convicts proved a complication for the Eora.²⁶

As has become apparent from almost all ethnohistorical research, the indigenous people that were contacted by Europeans were never as homogenous as they have been portrayed.

Tsenacomoco and Weerong were both occupied by many levels of social complexity. The

²⁴ Hughes, 1987: 43-55.

²⁵ David A. Price, *Love and Hate in Jamestown: John Smith, Pocahontas, and the Start of a New Nation*, New York: Knopf, 2003: 70-78.

²⁶ Thomas Keneally, *Commonwealth of thieves: the improbable birth of Australia*, 1st ed. New York: Nan A. Talese/Doubleday, 2005.

Powhatan was composed of roughly twenty solidly controlled villages with ten additional villages loosely controlled by the chief village of Werowocomoco. The region was also occupied by at least four other groups not under Powhatan control. Even among and within the Powhatan villages there was a great deal of diversity of economic, political, and even spiritual behavior. The dialects of Powhatan Algonquian varied somewhat between villages but were mutually intelligible. Closely surrounding Tsenacomoco were Siouan speakers to the northwest, and mortal enemies of the Powhatan; Iroquoians to the north; and other Algonquian speakers to the south. This was imminently confusing for the Tassantassa who found it difficult to distinguish between peoples. Weerong was similarly home to a variety of peoples. The Eora were comprised of kin groups with similar languages that traveled in well established seasonal patterns through the region around Weerong. Cammeraygal were the most significant of these groups due to their proximity to the Sydney settlement. The diversity of personalities among the Eora was especially difficult for the Balanda to figure out.

III. Archetype Characters

If we think of the interaction between the indigenous people and the European outsiders as a play narrated from an indigenous point of view, there would be a similar list of actors for each. These archetypal characters have to be as flexible as their real life counterparts. Individuals often played multiple parts, changed roles, and reacted in sometimes contradictory manners. The loose categories include collaborators, go-betweens, resisters, and women. These categories were neither mutually exclusive nor static. As circumstances developed, indigenous individuals reacted according to a complicated series of guidelines including personality, family obligations, and cultural traditions.

Collaborators were individuals that accommodated the behaviors of the outsiders; this was often motivated by a desire to gain political or economic advantage. Wahunsenacawh (Figure 1) initially collaborated and facilitated negotiations with the Tassantassa in 1607. When Captain Christopher Newport traveled up the James River and feasted with the chief in May of 1607, Wahunsenacawh allowed the party to travel freely to visit him and various other villages along the way. John Smith's ritual capture and release can be read as Wahunsenacawh's attempt to move the Tassantassa into his kinship circle.²⁷ This ultimate form of collaboration, though, was soon met with treachery from the Tassantassa, which soon turned Wahunsenacawh away from his role as a collaborator towards one as a resister. A collaborator in Weerong was Bennelong, more appropriately named Wolarawaree, though admittedly his relationship with the Balanda was much more uneven. (Figure 2) Wolarawaree was captured, taught to speak English, and acquired a taste for wine and bread. He escaped after a few months much to the dismay of his captors. His relationship with Governor Phillip was often fraught with cross-cultural misunderstandings but Wolarawaree worked with the Balanda often from 1789 until his death in 1813. The defining moment of collaboration for Wolarawaree was when he joined Phillip in 1792 in travelling to England where he stayed until 1795. Wolarawaree was a complicated personality, much like Wahunsenacawh, in that he collaborated often but frequently resisted the Balandas, especially Phillip's attempts to alter his behavior.²⁸

Indigenous people have been identified in recent literature by their resistance to the encroachments of outsiders. The complexity of this resistance has been over-generalized and signs of apparent collaboration ignored to fit the resistance into a neat description. It was never

²⁷ Frederic W. Gleach, *Powhatan's world and Colonial Virginia: a conflict of cultures*. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1997:109-122; David A. Price, *Love and Hate in Jamestown: John Smith, Pocahontas, and the Start of a New Nation*, New York: Knopf, 2003: 61-69.

²⁸ Inga Clendinnen, *Dancing with strangers: Europeans and Australians at first contact*, Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press, 2005: 101-109.

quite that basic, as in the case of Opechancanough, the brother of Wahunsenacawh. (Figure 4) He was known for his systematic, deadly but ultimately unsuccessful raids on the Tassantassa in 1622. The largest role that Opechancanough plays truly is as a resister to the pressures of the invaders, but his initial response more closely aligned with his eldest brother. The reasons for identifying Opechancanough as a resister was his role in the capture of John Smith, the Powhatan-Tassantassa wars of 1609 and his leadership against the intruders in 1622.²⁹ Opechancanough's Eora counterpart is a Pemulwuy, a Bedigal man from the Botany Bay area to the south of Weerong. (Figure 5) This is one of the few characters of either region that seems to remain in the same part for his entire presence on the historical stage. He begins his attempts to resist the encroachments of the Balanda by spearing a reviled Balanda named John McEntire, the "game-keeper" for Governor Phillip. McEntire had earned the loathing of the Eora for his disrespect of the local people and their hunting rights. Afterwards, Pemulwuy and his son begin a guerilla war against the Balanda that lasts until 1810, called the Black Wars. As there was no larger political framework among the Eora, his actions were not sanctioned by all, but the message was clear to the encroaching Balanda: beware.³⁰

Cultural go-betweens filled a very different societal role than either collaborators or resisters. These were individuals that lived for long periods among the outsiders and were taught their languages and customs. These individuals were often stolen from indigenous communities and held captive. The most effective of these were people taken as young children or infants and reared by the outsiders and sent out as emissaries. This was detrimental to the go-betweens, especially in the earliest periods, as they were never fully accepted by their brethren or the outsiders. William Strachey describes one of the earliest recorded cases among the people

²⁹ Rountree, 2005: 237.

³⁰ Emerson, 2001: 284.

Chesapeake in his use of an Indian informant named Kemps who lived permanently at the fort at Jamestown. He died at the fort in 1611.³¹ The practice of abducting and raising local indigenous people was more frequently practiced in Weerong because many children were adopted by Balanda families after smallpox left them orphans. Nanbaree was orphaned in the 1789 when he was around nine years old and was adopted by Surgeon-General John White. (Figure 3) Nanbaree was taught the Balanda ways but was also allowed to visit his kin freely. He provided a link between the Eora and the Balanda which produced both cooperation and conflict.³² The go-between does not carry with it an outright removal from their traditional practices, as in the case of both Kemps and Nanbaree, their utility to both sides was in their maintaining a connection with their indigeneity.

Many women fulfilled similar roles as the go-betweens among the Powhatan and Eora, though in both societies the separate spheres-of-influence did not traditionally include such overt political behavior. The new position of women in these contacts was both delicate and volatile for the women involved. Among the Powhatan, women were most concerned with the domestic sphere, especially the fields, but Pocahontas appears as a stark contrast to this tradition. (Figure 6) In 1608, Pocahontas was part of the ceremonies of John Smith's capture and release following an age old custom of incorporation and adoption. Five years later, the Tassantassa led by Samuel Argall captured her and attempted to create peace through her marriage to John Rolfe. Shortly after giving birth to their son, Pocahontas, now called Rebecca, travelled with Rolfe to England. Her identification with the Tassantassa was a product of her souring relationship with her father and brother, but it ended badly as she died in 1617 of an unknown disease contracted on the

³¹ Rountree, 1989: 4.

³² Clendinnen, 2005: 99, 102.

passage to England.³³ Her Eora counterpart would be Nanbaree's older sister, Boorong, often incorrectly referred to as Abaroo. (Figure 7) She was saved by John White and sent to live with Rev. Richard Johnson and his wife. Boorong, like her brother, maintained close relations with her kin, and often accompanied Nanbaree and Phillip on travels around Weerong to meet with other Eora. After reaching adulthood she diverged from Pocahontas' story by moving back with the Cadigal and removing herself from contact with the Balanda. She also differed from her brother as he spent the rest of his life sailing with the Balanda.³⁴

IV. A Decade of Contact

Much like the many indigenous actors, the play itself has many twists and turns, yet the trajectory is strikingly similar for the Powhatan and Eora. The stage opens with the native people exhibiting a judicious mixture of hospitality and hostility towards the newcomers. The initial contacts and the cultural scramble to cope with the arrival of a wildly "new" group could be considered the prologue. The Powhatan tested the Tassantassa with attacks and face-to-face negotiations to see how they would react and from this place them within their cosmology. As the Tassantassa landed for the first time on April 26, 1607, the party was greeted by a hail of arrows from the safety of the forest line. (Figure 8) Meant as a definite warning, this aggressive stance was tempered by Kecoughtan villagers who received and feasted with the Tassantassa exploration party under Captain Newport a few days later.³⁵ The response from the Eora was similar in many ways, except that the arrival of the great ships of the Balanda was openly and anxiously watched by the Eora from canoes and the shore. Instead of threatening the Balanda with physical violence, they called out "wara wara" meaning "go away." The threatening nature

³³ Rountree, 2005: 166-167.

³⁴ Clendinnen, 2005: 99, 102.

³⁵ Gleach, 1997: 103-104. Williamson, 2003: 34-35.

of this call by the spear-carrying men was noted by John Hunter.³⁶ Governor Phillip decided to contact a party of Eora after setting anchor on January 18, 1788. (Figure 9) The men had been onshore fishing as their wives and daughters were in the harbor in canoes netting fish. As Phillip and his heavily armed guard landed the men gathered together wary of the strange occurrence. Beside the Eora were the ever present stash of spears and woomera as Phillip's marines brought their guns ashore. Phillip reasonably suggested that his marines put their weapons down in order to gain the trust of the Eora. As Phillip met with the males of the Cameraygal Eora he offered many exotic materials to them which they accepted eagerly. Despite their nudity, Phillip notes that they "seemed fond of ornaments, putting the beads and red blaize that were given them, on their heads and necks, and appearing pleased to wear them."³⁷ Both of these encounters tested the waters for the Powhatan and Eora and established a shaky relationship. Though first impressions are lasting, they were hardly overwhelming signs of friendship. The body of the indigenous play begins when the initial newness wears off and the traditional occupants of the land begin to realize the extent of the intruders' intent.³⁸

Act One: Exchange of Information, Materials and People

Act One begins as the Powhatan and Eora become accustomed to, though not approving of, the constant presence of the intruders. As the intruders made rudimentary attempts to

³⁶ John Hunter, John Bach, ed. *An Historical Journal of Events at Sydney and at Sea 1787-1792*, Sydney: Angus and Robertson, 1793, 1968: 28.

³⁷ Arthur Phillip, John Stockdale, ed. *The voyage of Governor Phillip to Botany Bay; with an account of the establishment of the colonies of Port Jackson & Norfolk Island*, London, Printed for John Stockdale, 1789: 44.

³⁸ Sharman Nance Stone, *Aborigines in white Australia: a documentary history of the attitudes affecting official policy and the Australian Aborigine, 1697-1973*, South Yarra, Vic: Heinemann Educ., 1974: 19-20. George B. Worgan, *Journal of a First Fleet surgeon*, Sydney: Library Council of New South Wales in association with the Library of Australian History, 1978: 2-4, 28-29. Hunter, Bach, 1793, 1968: 28. John Cobley, *Sydney Cove: 1788-1790*, Sydney: Angus and Robertson, 1963: 21-27. Clendinnen, 2005: 67-93. Watkin Tench, *Sydney's first four years, being a reprint of A narrative of the expedition to Botany Bay, and A complete account of the settlement at Port Jackson*, Sydney: Angus and Robertson, 1961: 135. Arthur Phillip, John Stockdale, ed. *The voyage of Governor Phillip to Botany Bay; with an account of the establishment of the colonies of Port Jackson & Norfolk Island*, London, Printed for John Stockdale, 1789: 43-48. John White, Alec H. Chisholm, ed. *Journal of a Voyage to New South Wales*, Sydney: Angus and Robertson, 1962: 109-111.

understand the Powhatan and Eora, the relations between the two normalized somewhat. Each indigenous people came to quickly understand the technological differences. The presence of two especially powerful items made relationships with the intruders valuable.

Guns, though of varying accuracy and quality between the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, were frighteningly dangerous to the Powhatan and Eora. The initial response to the guns by the Powhatan was more due to the loud noise emitted from the weapon. At close range, the Powhatan warriors learned of the destructive capabilities of guns and metal shot but also quickly learned that inaccuracy and the difficulty in reloading made the weapon vulnerable. In the time it took for a Tassantassa to fire and reload, a warrior could fire at least five arrows and get in close to an opponent. The Powhatan tested the capabilities of these new weapons over the following months by instigating small skirmishes testing the range and effectiveness of these new weapons.³⁹ The Eora were faced with a much more sophisticated and accurate rifle in the late eighteenth century. As with the Powhatan initial fear was as much from the explosion of the gunpowder as the destruction of the bullets. Whereas most Tassantassa carried a rifle in the seventeenth century, only a select few Balanda carried rifles in the eighteenth. Eora were quick to realize this distinction and came to correlate the coats of the marines with their armament and would not approach anyone bearing either. As was show during the first meetings in January, the Eora were aware that the guns were weapons even before they had experience of their potential and would not lay down their spears until the guns were at a distance from their owners. The historical irony is that, despite the guns, woomera and spears were often much more effective a deterrent to the Balanda, than guns were to savvy Eora men. The men could stand nearly outside of range and fire spears from the protection of the woods with much greater accuracy and effect than the marines and elites standing in the open. Additionally, the convicts' lack of access to

³⁹ Rountree, 2005: 50-51.

guns made them easy targets for the Eora seeking to vent their frustrations with the Balanda. Convicts, though, often instigated conflicts with the local people. Since Eora men knew that convicts vulnerable, they could be dealt with in a traditional manner, spearing or clubbing. Troublesome Balanda leaders and marines were rarely without their firearms and thus posed a much more serious challenge.

The second item of supreme interest to both Powhatan and Eora was the steel hatchet. Above all other tools brought by the Tassantassa and Balanda, the hatchet proved the most useful in the traditional lifestyles of the Powhatan and Eora. Both had been reliant on worked stone and bone to create edges capable of cutting plant matter. The Powhatan were introduced to steel swords and hatchets as early as Newport's meeting with the Kecoughtan in April of 1607 during which he gave a few hatchets as a sign of goodwill. Not only did they work better for cutting down trees and other plant materials, they were much more useful in battle. These everyday tools became the most requested items in Indian-European trade, at least until the use of liquor in trade later in the seventeenth century. Even after a short period of contact with the Tassantassa, the Powhatan came to control the trade with the outsiders. They possessed something even more powerful in the initial stages of contact, large amounts of food, to negotiate a good bargain. In 1790, marine Watkin Tench attempted to buy a spear from an elderly Eora man but the man insisted that he would only accept a hatchet not Tench's offer of the only goods he had with him: a knife, kerchief and hat. Not only does this exchange suggest the value of hatchet, but also shows the Eora as savvy negotiators, despite lacking the large store of bargaining materials that the Powhatan possessed.

Scene One: Werowocomoco, Tsenacomoco: December 29, 1607

Word that Tassantassa had been ranging ever farther into Powhatan territory,

Opechancanough finds an opportunity to find out more information about these people. His capture of a party of intruders became a major Powhatan initiative to forge an alliance with the Tassantassa. The cultural depth of the experience that John Smith went through has been examined from a multitude of perspectives. Helen Rountree found in the incident the Powhatan version of the story and it did not appear to include the full adoption of the braggart, John Smith. After being captured, all of his party were tortured and burnt. (Figure 10) Smith, the ranking officer, was kept in a hut and fed well. Though treated roughly, he was not tortured to the extent that his companions were suggesting that he had been slated for a different fate. The two paths of a prisoner of war were torture and death or torture and ritual adoption. Both Opechancanough and Wahunsenacawh were attempting to establish relations with the Tassantassa for various reasons already mentioned, so the survival and treatment of Smith was not a coincidence. After a time being questioned in Opechancanough's home village along the Potomac River, Smith was brought to Wahunsenacawh's village, Werowocomoco. Wahunsenacawh, aware of the potential of the Tassantassa guns and anger, decided to talk with Smith and attempt to find out some much needed information. This process proved both informative and politically advantageous. From Smith he learned of the Tassantassa capacity for lying. Wahunsenacawh saw through Smith's suggestion that his people were only there waiting to go back home with Newport and that his expedition was seeking the people who had killed a child of the "father" Newport. Wahunsenacawh also saw was the potential for a trade and military alliance with the Tassantassa to solidify their power among the Chesapeake tribes. Wahunsenacawh acted prudently choosing to wait and see what the intruders could offer.

Scene Two: Gayimai, Weerong: December 1789

The Eora were also wary of the Balanda incursions and sought to meet with them, but the

relationship took a decidedly sinister turn late in 1788 when Phillip realized that peaceful enticements would not bring the Eora to live in close proximity to Sydney. Phillip ordered the abduction of a local man who could be shown the friendliness of the Balanda and thus become an advocate for them among the Eora. The first man abducted was Arabanoo and he responded positively to his captivity learning some English and teaching some Eora to the Balanda. He died in the wave of smallpox that hit Weerong in 1789. This, of course, prompted Phillip to order the capture of more Eora. By now a pattern was emerging for the people around Weerong. The go-betweens of Nanbaree and Boorong unwittingly assisted the Balanda in the capture of two esteemed men of their Cadigal family when they recognized two men and called out their names on an outing in the harbor. The Balanda used the kinship relationship of the two Cadigal children to get close enough to snare the two men. (Figure 11) A few kinsmen ran into the woods after they witnessed this and through them word of the abduction spread quickly around Weerong. The older of the two men, a man called Colebee, promptly escaped from Phillip's house compound in a moment of opportunity leaving Wolarawaree behind. Wolarawaree remained with Phillip for a little over a year and then escaped back to his family late in 1790. The experiences of Wolarawaree began his long rocky friendship with Phillip and the Balanda. He never became the emissary of the Balanda among the Eora quite the way Phillip envisioned. In fact, Phillip's efforts seem to have had the opposite effect on the people of Weerong, making them even more wary of the Balanda.⁴⁰

Act Two: Unwelcome Guests

After being fully introduced to the outsiders and their ways, the Powhatan and Eora

⁴⁰ George Barrington, Suzanne Rickard, ed. *George Barrington's Voyage to Botany Bay: retelling a convict's travel narrative of the 1790s*, London; New York: Leicester University Press, 2001, 1793: 89. John Hunter, John Bach, ed. *An Historical Journal of Events at Sydney and at Sea 1787-1792*, Sydney: Angus and Robertson, 1793, 1968: 114-117, 268-270, 305-307. John Copley, *Sydney Cove: 1788-1790*, Sydney: Angus and Robertson, 1963: 263-264. Emerson, 2001: 37-38. Clendinnen, 2005: 102-109. Tench, 1961: 159-167.

establish a larger relationship with the Tassantassa and Balanda, whether through willing alliance or by begrudging negotiation. The social situation of their world was unbalanced with the increasing number of intruders. Tension was building between the native peoples as the outsiders over stayed their welcome and become unwelcome guests. The response to this realization and the ensuing social instabilities produced the earliest cross-cultural skirmishes followed by a period of tentative peace between the indigenous people and the intruders.

Scene One: Werowocomoco, Tsenacomoco: November 1609

John Smith stumbled back into Werowocomoco a year after he was released by Wahunsenacawh promoting a mutually advantageous exchange. He suggested that Henry Spelman, only recently arrived from across the sea, stay with Wahunsenacawh's family in exchange for one of Wahunsenacawh's younger male villagers, who would come stay at Jamestown. Both were to become go-betweens to establish better relations. Smith presented beads and metal goods to Wahunsenacawh to solidify the deal. Spelman was quite incredulous to the deal, but we know little about the nameless Powhatan.⁴¹ This did little though make relations with the Tassantassa any better as their new Tassantassa allies didn't act much like allies. The newcomers continued to attack Powhatan villages without any provocation. The Tassantassa, De La Warre, led one such attack on August 9, 1610 against the Paspahegh in retaliation for attacks against the Tassantassa at Jamestown. The identity of the original indigenous attackers was unknown, but the Paspahegh lived in the closest village and thus were assumed to be the attackers. When they attacked, the Tassantassa soldiers committed a double sin of killing not just warriors but also elites in the village some of whom were women and

⁴¹ Helen C. Rountree, "Introduction," in *Powhatan Foreign Relations 1500-1722* ed. Helen C. Rountree, Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1993: 1-12, 4. Williamson, 2003: 76-78. J. A. Leo Lemay, *Did Pocahontas Save Captain John Smith?* Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1992: 62-63. Rountree, 1989: 4-5. Henry Spelman, *Relation of Virginia*, 1613, http://www.virtualjamestown.org/fhaccounts_date.html, November 17, 2008.

children. This precipitated a series of major raids led by various Powhatan villages. The “intestine war” as witness Richard Hamor termed it is often overlooked because of its lack of official response by the Tassantassa, in fact the Tassantassa were only aware of the “war” after it had ceased in 1613. Finally, learning the lay of the intertribal landscape in 1610, Argall established a connection with the Patawomecks, a powerful people not under Powhatan control. The Patawomecks placed themselves in opposition to the Powhatan by protecting Henry Spelman after he fell out of favor with Wahunsenacawh. Argall was able to collaborate with the Patawomeck to retrieve Spelman establishing closer trade connections. This was strong enough in 1613 that when the Patawomecks learned the whereabouts of Wahunsenacawh’s daughter, Pocahontas, they informed Argall. (Figure 12) This led to her capture and through some political maneuvering the marriage of Pocahontas to John Rolfe and a tenuous truce. By March 1614, the relations with the Tassantassa had returned to a tense peace.⁴²

Scene Two: Gayimai, Weerong: September 7, 1790

A similar exchange led to an equally volatile conflict in Weerong in 1790. After Wolarawaree escaped in early 1790, he rejoined the Cadigals and for most of the year there were few contacts with the Eora. The threat of being abducted and the threats on their fishing had soured the Eora views of these disrespectful intruders. This tense period boiled over on September 7, 1790 when some marines were traveling around the harbor by Gayimai (Manly Cove) on the North Shore. They found a large group of men and women gathered around a dead whale on the beach in preparation for eating the decaying animal. Among their number were both Wolarawaree and Colebee which prompted excitement among those who knew him, such as

⁴² Helen C. Rountree, “The Powhatans and the English: A Case of Multiple Conflicting Agendas,” in *Powhatan Foreign Relations 1500-1722* ed. Helen C. Rountree, Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1993: 173-205, 183-184. Rountree, 1989: 114-125. Spelman, 1613. George Percy, *A True Relation*, 1612. http://www.virtualjamestown.org/fhaccounts_date.html, November 17, 2008.

John White and his kin Nanbaree. They landed and were received well by Wolarawaree and Colebee who gave them some putrefied whale meat to give to Phillip. The Balanda boat departed shortly after only to be replaced soon after with Phillip's boat. He had come much sooner than expected to find Wolarawaree rather cool to Phillip's advances. Inga Clendinnen suggests that the governor had stumbled upon a highly ritualized play in which he was the intended target of a punitive spearing. Wolarawaree having established increasing clout among the Cadigal, angered by his abduction, and lastly frustrated by the persisting antagonism of the Balanda, slated the leader Phillip for ritualized spearing. Wolarawaree baited Phillip, knowing his desire for Eora artifacts, with a highly ornamental wood-tipped spear unlike anything Phillip had seen before. When Phillip sought to obtain the spear, Wolarawaree placed it at the feet of a warrior who soon afterwards threw it at Phillip. (Figure 13) Clendinnen supports her interpretation of this with two details. First, though Phillip's spear was lodged deep in his collar bone, the shot was not fatal. In fact, the warrior was probably confused when Phillip did not attempt to ward off the attack as any Eora man was trained to do. Second, neither of Phillip's companions were seriously harmed by the two other spears thrown at the party. The Eora were excellent marksmen and the Balanda were in close range making it hard to believe that they were accidentally missing their targets. This brief culturally significant skirmish evened score between Wolarawaree and Phillip, and by extension the Cadigal with the Balanda. Phillip for his part showed remarkable restraint in this instance when he came to the wrong-headed conclusion that the spearman had been afraid prompting Phillip to decide against punitive action. In this he was unwittingly accommodating the Eora idea of balance and allowing it to be maintained.⁴³

As both small scale conflicts show, each indigenous group was still attempting to

⁴³ Barrington, Rickard, 2001, 1793: 89-98. Worgan, 1978: 39-41. Hunter, Bach, 1793, 1968: 140-142, 306-309. Clendinnen, 2005: 110-132. Tench, 1961: 176-182.

establish a semblance of balance in their world: Powhatans with reprisal attacks against the marauding Tassantassa; the Eora, at least the Cadigal and Wolarawaree, with a ritual spearing. Both series attacks ended in manners which were typical of proper indigenous encounters. The Powhatan used intermarriage to conquer and control other groups much the same way the Tassantassa used Pocahontas' marriage to enact a tense peace. The Eora used ritual spearing as a way to balance interpersonal and intergroup relationships. The key to this was the perceived acceptance of Phillip of this part through his lack of reprisal. Despite the relative peace following both incidents, the simmering cultural conflicts with the intruders were far from resolved.

Act Three: Resistance

The tension built up from ever worsening relationships and misunderstandings of the indigenous way of the world climaxed in the third act of the play. They attempted to adjust the balance of their contacts with the Tassantassa and Balanda, the Powhatan and Eora used the more subtle cultural methods of incorporation, balancing rituals and small scale conflict. Around this time, the Powhatan and Eora developed a growing sense of the outsiders' intent to wipeout their culture and acculturate them to Tassantassa and Balanda ways. Act three produced an escalation of the tensions between the indigenous people and the intruders into full-scale war.

Scene One: Tsenacomoco: March 22, 1622

The power vacuum left by Wahunsenacawh's death in 1613 was officially filled by Opechancanough's two brothers, despite this he had gained a strong following among many fringe Powhatan villages. After fifteen years of contact with the Tassantassa and their unpredictable treachery, Opechancanough finally gained enough support from the outer reaches of the Powhatan Empire to plan a major attack against the Tassantassa. The support of the exterior region of Powhatan territory is no coincidence. Opechancanough's brothers were more

sympathetic to the Tassantassa as they had benefited greatly from the material wealth they gained through contacts with the Tassantassa. The central villages were also closer to the Tassantassa and were more threatened by reprisals attacks. Opechancanough's highly coordinated attack occurred on March 22, 1622 along the edges of all the Tassantassa towns. (Figure 14) The raids were very successful, killing at least a quarter of the Tassantassa in a matter of hours. The following spring months were pivotal for the Tassantassa in order to plant enough food for the coming winter. Powhatan snipers maintained a constant presence along the fringes of the Tassantassa fields and made it impossible for them to plant thus creating a food shortage during the winter of 1622-1623, a situation that some native local people exploited. Many villages sold the Tassantassa food for trade goods and weapons. Thus undercut the long-term power of Opechancanough's large scale attacks against the Tassantassa yet the guerilla war raged off-and-on until 1632 when drought broke most of the villages. This opening of systematic conflict highlights two major issues with the analysis of indigenous actions. First, the Powhatan idea of warfare was neither as prolonged or nor as systematic as the Tassantassa. Second, the people of Tsenacomoco acted often out of an adherence to custom tempered with the group's immediate and best interest.⁴⁴

Scene Two: Weerong: December 10, 1790

Similar to the Powhatan in 1622, the Eora answered the persistence of the Balanda with open warfare. The Powhatan had a greater number of warriors and a more complex political structure than the Eora, but the overall themes of the wars of the late eighteenth century mirror closely the Powhatan efforts in the seventeenth century. The initiation of open war in Weerong

⁴⁴ Gleach, 1997: 146-148. Charles E.Hatch, Jr. *The First Seventeen Years Virginia: 1607-1624*, Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1957: 28-29. Rountree, 1993: 173-205, 190-192. Rountree, 2005: 208-215. Anthony Chester, *Two Tragic Events: 1. The Seafight of Capt. Anthony Chester, 1621 2. The Indian Massacre, 1622, 1622*. http://www.virtualjamestown.org/fhaccounts_date.html, November 17, 2008.

came from a brewing conflict between the Eora and Governor Phillip's game-keeper, John McEntire. The term "game-keeper" is misleading as McEntire was not much more than a paid poacher. As such, he was a direct threat to the Eora's male hunting prerogative. His use of a gun not only made him deadlier than any single Eora male, but it also scared the game away for other hunters. The revile of McIntyre is also evident in Wolarawaree's reaction to the man just a few months before Phillip was speared. He recoiled from McEntire as he had attempted to give Wolarawaree a shirt. His contempt was equally evident when showing off Phillip's house to a few kinsmen a few weeks later. The Eora responded violently. A warrior, Pemulwuy, from the Botany Bay area to the south along with three others ambushed McEntire while he was out on a hunting expedition with a few other Balanda. (Figure 15) This single act of violence prompted Phillip to send out the sympathetic Watkin Tench on a mission to capture and kill Pemulwuy and make an example of any aboriginal people they might find in the bush. The party of marines came back having not seen a single Eora man other than their friend, Colebee. Inga Clendinnen suggests that this expedition was an "histrionic performance of the terror of British law" meant more to placate his officers and instill fear among the convicts he watched over.⁴⁵ This is a moot point though for the Eora, the expedition and its deadly intent was obvious to all who happened to witness it floundering in the bush south of Weerong. This and the previous frustrations caused by the Balanda caused Pemulwuy to move further towards open aggression. He and his son, Tedbury, two years later attacked the Balanda settlement at Parramatta and quickly disappeared into the bush. At least three unsuccessful military campaigns aimed at capturing Pemulwuy and his men occurred over the next decade. This guerilla warfare very closely matched in scale and effect that of the Powhatan from the previous century, catching the Balanda off-guard and disrupting the morale of the intruders. The open warfare continued even after Pemulwuy's death

⁴⁵ Clendinnen, 2005: 180.

in 1802 at the hands of opportunistic Balanda living on the outskirts of Parramatta.⁴⁶

Pemulwuy's wars, now called the "Black Wars," were continued by his son until 1810 when Tedbury was shot. Unfortunately, their resistance did little to change the behavior of Balanda around Weerong.⁴⁷

The people of Tsenacomoco and Weerong resisted the encroachments of the outsiders in progressively more violent ways. The end of this act though is hardly the end of traditional ownership of either the Powhatan or the Eora. The significance of the Great Assault of 1622 and the Black Wars is that the balance of power begins to shift in favor of the outsiders after these conflicts. After this balanced was tipped, each indigenous group began the slide toward a more marginal role in their homelands.

Epilogue: To London

The Powhatan and Eora quickly found themselves hemmed in by their respective intruders. As traditional stewards of the land and its many beings, it was hard to rationalize how such a small group had gained the upper hand in such a seemingly short time. The Epilogue shows further the dramatic steps taken by indigenous people in attempting to come to terms with the presence of the Tassantassa and Balanda. They journeyed to the land of these intruders. Though the circumstances are slightly different, the fact that Powhatan and Eora individuals decided to make the trip to London away from their home and family suggests how important this must have been. In many ways, the individuals on the trip were attempting to forge new identities for themselves as go-betweens.

⁴⁶ Pemulwuy's head was subsequently chopped off and sent to England where it was lost among the collections of Joseph Banks in England. It has not yet been found.

⁴⁷ Stone, 1974: 24-25. Hunter, Bach, 1793, 1968: 327-330. Emerson, 2001: 4, 284-285. Clendinnen, 2005: 171-181. Tench, 1961: 205-215; Wolarawaree hating McEntire 189.

Scene One: London: June 3, 1616

After the temporary and tense peace between the Powhatan and Tassantassa had been established by the 1613 marriage of Pocahontas to John Rolfe, the couple set off for England. (Figure 16) They were accompanied by Uttamatomakkin, Wahunsenacawh's highest priest, who was on a mission to count the Tassantassa in London. (Figure 17) They arrived in London on June 3rd, 1616, but very little about their trip is known. Pocahontas' journey is notable for her conversion to Christianity, the taking of a Christian name, Rebecca, bearing a son, and her death. Her presence stirred little interest as she was mostly a propaganda piece for the effect of "civilization" on the Powhatan. Pocahontas was thoroughly enamored with her experiences in London and was reluctant to leave. Rolfe's writings suggest that she had begun to identify herself as Tassantassa. Just as the return trip was beginning, on March 21, 1617, Pocahontas had to be removed from the ship and died soon after in southern England. Uttamatomakkin returned to Tsenacomoco to inform the aged and ailing Wahunsenacawh about the arrogant and innumerable Tassantassa in England. He had been angered by his treatment while in England, in particular, he told John Smith, the slight King James had paid him and by extension Wahunsenacawh. "You gave Powhatan a white dog, which Powhatan fed as himself, but your King gave me nothing, and I am better than your white dog."⁴⁸ The Tassantassa had disrespected the emissary of a sovereign at least King James' equal. The experiences of both Powhatan foreshadowed the coming conflicts not only with the Tassantassa but also within the Powhatan.⁴⁹

Scene Two: London: May 21, 1793

⁴⁸ John Smith, *General History*, 261.

⁴⁹ Gleach, 1997:135. Rountree, 1993: 173-205, 183-186, 202. Charlotte M. Gradie, "The Powhatans in the Context of the Spanish Empire," in *Powhatan Foreign Relations 1500-1722* ed. Helen C. Rountree, Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1993: 154-172, 166. Rountree, 2005: 176-186.

As if to strengthen his alliance with Governor Phillip, Wolarawaree agreed to travel to England. (Figure 18) Phillip and Wolarawaree were accompanied by Yemmarrawanie, a younger Cammeraygal man who had also been taught Balanda customs and language. They left Weerong on December 11, 1792. There are also few details about the journey to England. The most notable record of Wolarawaree and Yemmarrawanie's time in London is their clothing bill which was extraordinarily high. Phillip had a great deal of clothing made for these two men over the year and a half they spent in England, this may partly be due to the much colder climate. They visited theaters, museums, and the houses of many of Phillip's friends. By October, though Yemmarrawanie had declined from an unknown illness which led to his death in May 1794. (Figure 19) While Yemmarrawanie was declining, Wolarawaree was steadily becoming disenchanted and homesick. In July 1794, Wolarawaree made the journey from Phillip's home in Eltham to Chatham to catch his ride back to Weerong. Despite his anxiety to return, Wolarawaree was not able to board the ship until January 1795 when Robert Hunter, the new Balanda Governor of Weerong, finally received his instructions to set sail. They landed in Weerong on September 7th, 1795 after nearly three years away. The effects of this journey were not recorded but probably left Wolarawaree in a greatly different social position among the Eora. Later accounts suggest that he declined into alcoholism, becoming the first aboriginal drunk.⁵⁰

The epilogue leaves the Powhatan and Eora with very conflicted concerns about the intruders. This epilogue played out similarly with most of the indigenous people the British colonized. Here are two instances where two go but one dies and is interred on foreign land, in effect these individuals are lost to in body and spirit to their kin back home. Death of this sort is even sadder as the spirits of these individuals were unable to find peace in the ground of a

⁵⁰ Jack Brook, "The forlorn hope: Wolarawaree and Yemmerrawannie go to England." *Australian Aboriginal Studies* Spring 2001, Read at <http://findarticles.com>, November 17, 2008. Emerson, 2001: 38. Clendinnen, 2005: 238-242, 264-272. Hughes, 1987: 108. Tench, 1961: 185.

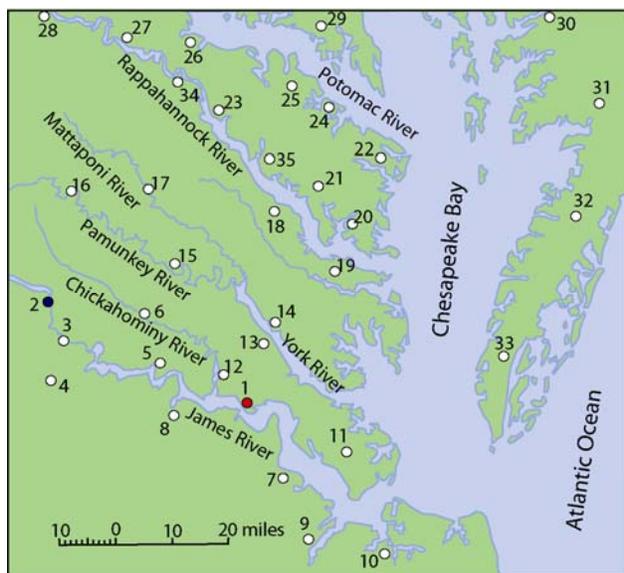
foreign land.

V. Conclusions: Indigenous Collaboration and Conflict

Much like Pocahontas and Yemmarrawanie buried in the distant homes of the Tassantassa and Balanda, the history of indigenous people is almost a novelty hidden within the larger story of British Imperialism. The graves of these two indigenous people prompt barely a footnote in most accounts of the colonial efforts of Britain. Though indigenous people have become major historical actors, the focus always returns to what the story says about the invaders. The play discussed above begins the process of moving the story into an indigenous perspective by looking at the connective themes of their responses, their attitudes and their motivations. The Powhatan and the Eora were the “people” of their respective worlds, the natural center of their own existence and this influenced the way they viewed the new additions to their environment. All of the acts of the play, prologue and epilogue included, show a complexity within the themes and motivations. The indigenous people were both excited and suspicious of the newcomers and acted in conflicting ways towards them. The framework posed above, the play with its acts, can be applied in a variety of ways across all imperial experiences of non-Europeans. The application of this model to indigenous people at the extremes of social, chronological and geographic difference has produced a coherent narrative that opens the door for future comparative work on less extreme examples. For instance, similar comparisons of Eora to Koori (Northern Territory Aboriginal people) or Powhatan to Iroquois (New York Native American Indian group) would be closer socially, temporally and geographically and could be used to highlight themes among each regions indigenous people. By comparing the Powhatan and Eora this paper has shown the analytical value of comparative methods in discussing the themes of indigenous history despite cultural, historical and geographic differences. Eventually

application of comparative methods will develop a complementary Indigenous-centric narrative of contact and imperialism that can run along side the current European-centric imperial historiography. Until we have these two balancing narratives, the story of imperialism will remain as one-sided as mirrors.

Map 1: Powhatan Confederacy, 1607⁵¹

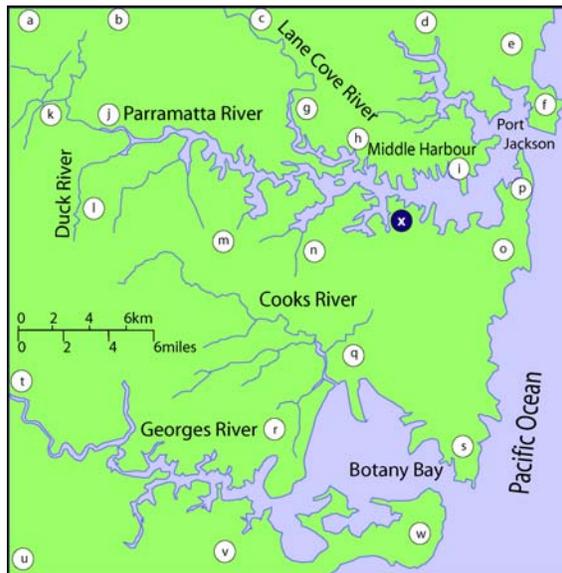


Each point indicates a major village settlement. Each village, as part of the Powhatan Confederacy was required to pay homage to Powhatan (2).

Key:

- | | |
|----------------------|---------------------|
| 1. Jamestown | 19. Piankatank |
| 2. Powhatan | 20. Cuttatawomem |
| 3. Arrohatock | 21. Moraughtacund |
| 4. Appamattuck | 22. Wiccocomico |
| 5. Weyanock | 23. Rappahannock |
| 6. Chickahominy | 24. Sekakawon |
| 7. Warraskoyack | 25. Onawmanient |
| 8. Quiyoughcohannock | 26. Pissaseck |
| 9. Nansemond | 27. Nandtaughtacund |
| 10. Chesapeake | 28. Cuttatawomem |
| 11. Kecoughtan | 29. Yoacomaco |
| 12. Paspahagh | 30. Nause |
| 13. Chiskiack | 31. Wighcocomoco |
| 14. Werowocomoco | 32. Accohannock |
| 15. Pamunkey | 33. Accowmack |
| 16. Youghthanund | 34. Nandtaughtacund |
| 17. Mattaponi | 35. Moraughtacund |
| 18. Opiscopank | |

Map 2: Sydney Aboriginal Groups, 1788⁵²



Each point indicates clan/dialect group names these do not correlate to their village locations.

Key:

- | | |
|-------------------|------------------|
| a. Toogagal | m. Buramattagal |
| b. Bidjigal | n. Wangai |
| c. Tjerramerragal | o. Cadigal |
| d. Kayimai | p. Birrabirragal |
| e. Cannalgal | q. Kameygal |
| f. Boroogegal | r. Bediagal |
| g. Wallumattagal | s. Muru-ora-dial |
| h. Cammeraygal | t. Cabrogal |
| i. Gorualgal | u. Muringong |
| j. Parramatta | v. Norongerragal |
| k. Cannemegal | w. Gweagal |
| l. Bool-bain-ora | x. Sydney |

Table 1: Translation of Terms

English	Powhatan	Eora
English intruders	Tassantassa	Balanda
Virginia	Tsenacomoco	
Powhatan (the person)	Wahunsenacawh	
Sydney		Weerong
Wolarawaree		Wolarawaree

⁵¹ Map designed by Isaac Emrick from information in Rountree, *Powhatan Foreign Relations*, 1993: 77, 114, 138.

⁵² Map designed by Isaac Emrick from information from A. W. Howitt. "Aboriginal Clans of Sydney Area, 1788." 1904.



Figure 1: Powhatan⁵³



Figure 2: Wolarawaree⁵⁴



Figure 3: Nanbarree⁵⁵

Kemps No Picture available

⁵³ “King Powhatan commands C. Smith to be slayne...” John Smith, *Generall Historie*, London, 1624.

⁵⁴ Bernard Smith, and Alwyne C Wheeler, eds. *The Art of the First Fleet & other early Australian drawings*, New Haven, 1988: 25.

⁵⁵ Smith and Wheeler, 1988: 64.



Figure 4: Opechancanough⁵⁶



Figure 5: Pemulwuy⁵⁷



Figure 6: Pocahontas⁵⁸

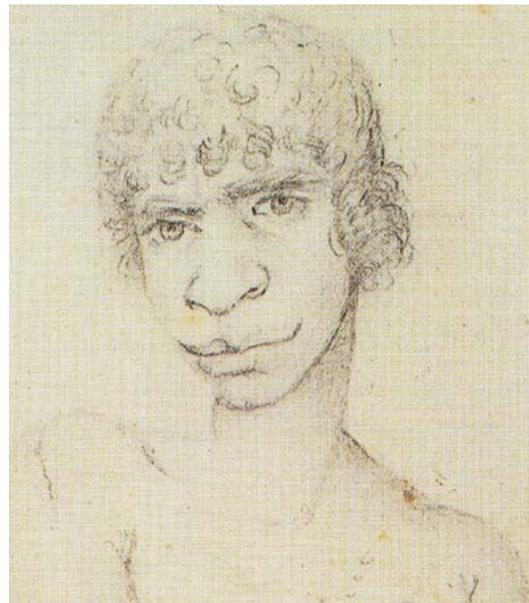


Figure 7: Boorong⁵⁹

⁵⁶ "C. Smith taketh the King of Pamavneke prisoner, 1608." John Smith, *Generall Historie*, London, 1624.

⁵⁷ "Pemulwuy" <http://www.marrickville.nsw.gov.au/cadigalwagal/people/conflict7.htm>

⁵⁸ "Pocahontas" <http://www.lib.utexas.edu/photodraw/portraits/>

⁵⁹ Smith and Wheeler, 1988: 64.



Figure 8: Prologue – Scene One: Landing at Jamestown ⁶⁰



Figure 9: Prologue – Scene Two: Landing in Port Jackson ⁶¹

⁶⁰ Theodore de Bry, *Thomas Hariot's Virginia*, Ann Arbor: University Microfilms, Inc., 1966, 1590.

⁶¹ Smith and Wheeler, 1988: 130.

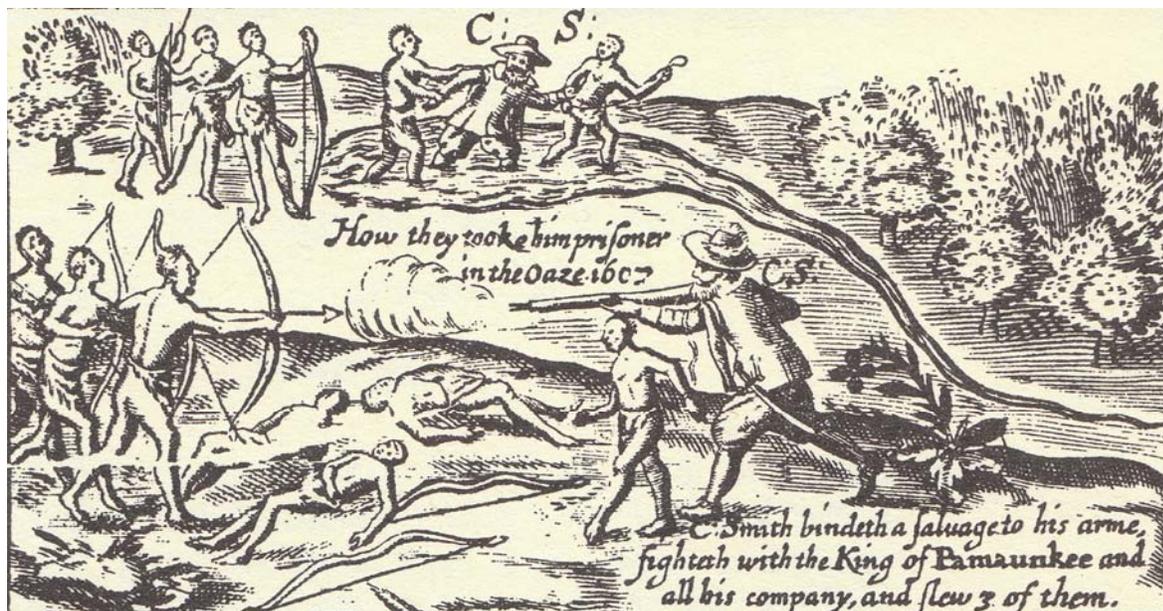


Figure 10: Act One – Scene One: Werowocomoco, Tsenacomoco: December 29, 1607⁶²



Figure 11: Act One – Scene Two: Gayimai, Weerong: December 1789⁶³

⁶² “How they tooke him prisoner in the Oaze 1607.” John Smith, *Generall Historie*, London, 1624.

⁶³ Smith and Wheeler, 1988: 65.



Figure 12: Act Two – Scene One: Werowocomoco, Tsenacomoco: November 1609 ⁶⁴

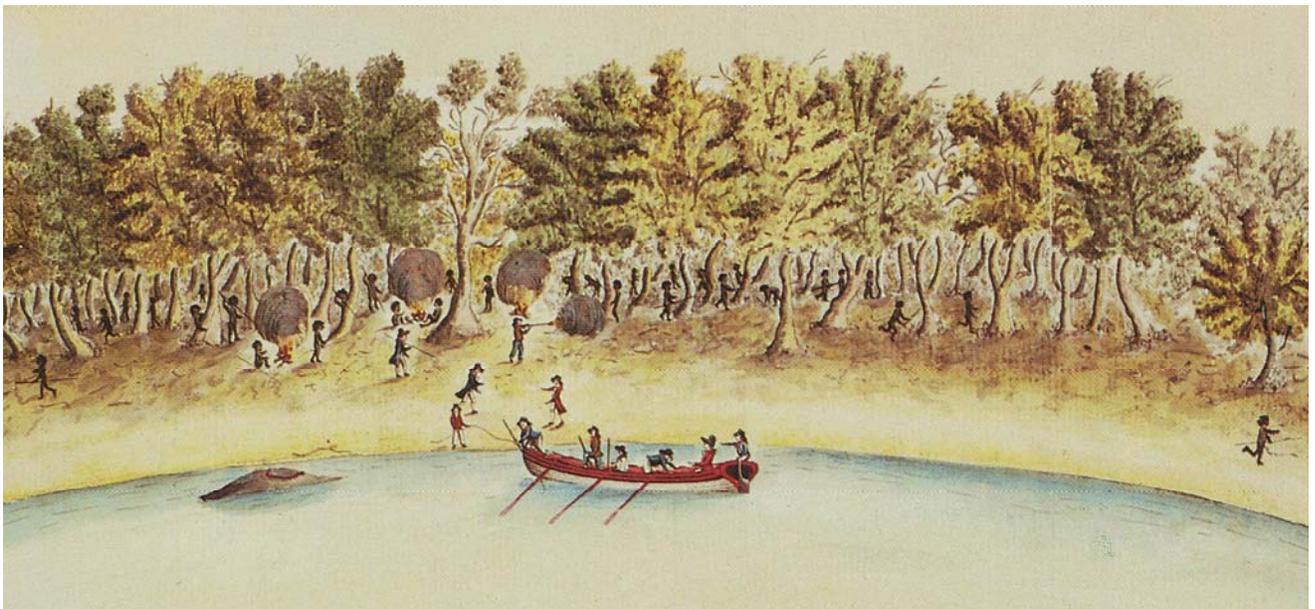


Figure 13: Act Two – Scene Two: Gayimai, Weerong: September 7, 1790 ⁶⁵

⁶⁴ Rountree, 2005: 165.

⁶⁵ Smith and Wheeler, 1988: 66.



Figure 14: Act Three – Scene One:⁶⁶



Figure 15: Act Three – Scene Two:⁶⁷

⁶⁶ Theodore de Bry, *Thomas Hariot's Virginia*, Ann Arbor: University Microfilms, Inc., 1966, 1590.

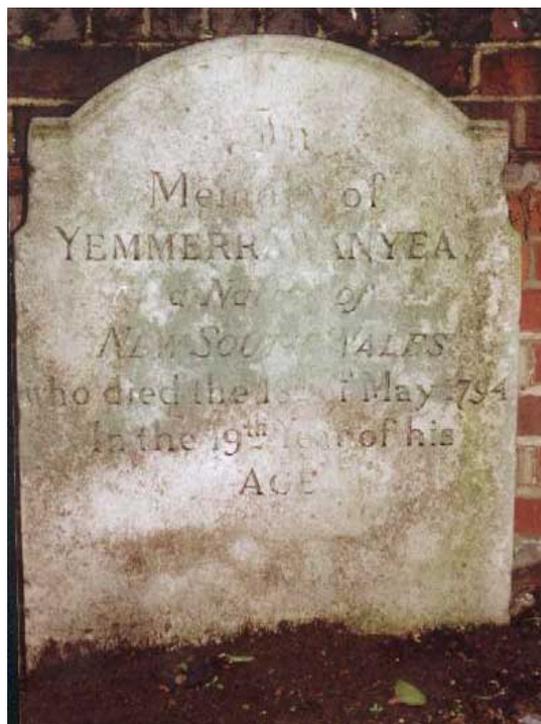
⁶⁷ Smith and Wheeler, 1988: 67. "Attack on a Thrushcutter" Though not of the attack on McEntire, this painting shows a similar scenario.



Epilogue – Scene One: London: June 3, 1616

Figure 16: Pocahontas (Rebecca Rolfe)⁶⁸

Figure 17: Uttamatokkin⁶⁹



Epilogue – Scene Two: London: May 21, 1793

Figure 18: Wolarawaree⁷⁰

Figure 19: Yemmerrawanie⁷¹

⁶⁸ Smithsonian Portrait of Pocahontas, http://pocahontas.morenus.org/poca_pic.html.

⁶⁹ “King Powhatan commands C. Smith to be slayne...” John Smith, *Generall Historie*, London, 1624.

⁷⁰ Undated portrait of Wolarawaree, signed “W.W.” in Dixon Galleries of the State Library of NSW.

⁷¹ “Yemmerrawanie headstone” <http://www.findagrave.com/cgi-bin/fg.cgi?page=gr&GRid=11919>.

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