



Virginia Company's Grim Reputation

Materials:

- Broadsides illustrating the sale or runaway indentured servants
- Book excerpt from John Smith about the Indian raid, March 22, 1622
- Copies of letters of Richard Frethorne (1623) and Elizabeth Sprigs (1756)
- Newspaper articles
- Benjamin Franklin's open letter in the *Pennsylvania Gazette*

Plan of Instruction:

Introduction: If an indentured servant survived the voyage with sea-sickness, stench, fumes, fever, boils, scurvy, bad food and water; he would soon find his circumstances to be more challenging in the colonies. When indentured servants first came to the British Colonies, it seemed beneficial for the servant and for the master, but that would soon change for the indentured servant. The luckless poor hoped to make their way in a new land of opportunity, but most found harsh working conditions, disease, starvations, beatings, and Indian raid killings. Less than forty percent of the indentured servants were able to complete the terms of their contracts.

We will examine primary sources to find first-hand illustrations of the life and hardships that these indentured servants endured.



- 2. Pass out copies of Broadsides for evaluation & classroom discussion.
 - Work in pairs and chose two examples
 - Compare examples, be ready to report to class the content of the advertisement for discussion.



This Indenture Made the 19 Day of June 1 in the Year of our LORD GOD One Thousand Seven Hundred BETWEEN of the one Party, and the Country of the other Party. WITNESSETH, That the faid to the Statute doth hereby Covenant, Promise and Grant to and with the faid his Executors, Administrators and Affigns, from the Day of the Date hereof until the first and next Arrival at and affigns, from the Day of the Date hereof until the first and next Arrival at and Affigns shall there employ according to the Custom of that Country in the like kind. IN CONSIDERATION whereof the said on his Affigns shall there employ according to the Custom of that Country in the like kind. IN CONSIDERATION whereof the faid ooth hereby Covenant and Grant to and with the said Term, to pay unto the usual Allowance according to the Custom of the Country in the like kind. IN WITNESS whereof the Parties abovementioned to these INDENTURES have interchangeably set their Hands and Seals, the Day and Year first above written.

Signed, Sealed and Delivered, Satt Larrhine

Signed, Se

HANOVER Town, May 12, 1774.

TUST arrived in York River, the Brilliant,
Captain Miller, from London, with a Cargo of choice healthy
INDENTED SERVANTS, the Sale of which will begin at Ricomond
Town on Wednesday the 25th of May, among whom are the following
Tradesmen, viz. Blacksmiths, Brassers, Edgetool Makers, Bricklayers
and Plaisterers, Shoemakers, Stone Masons, Capenters, Joiners and
Cabinet-Makers, Cloth Weavers, Stocking Weavers, Barbers and
Peruke makers, Gardeners, Farmers, Labourers and Husbandmen,
Book-keepers and Schoolmasters, Tailors, Silk Dyers, Bakers, Painters,
Leather Dressers, Sawyers, Butchers, a Steward, Groom, Surgeon,
&c. I will sell them very cheap, for ready Money, or Tobacco; and
for those on Credit, Bond and Security will be required.

(1) THOMAS SMITH.



Just ARRIVED, at LEEDS Town, the Ship JUSTITIA, with about one Hundred bealthy

RVAN

Men, Women, and Boys, among which are many Tradelmen, edu. Blacklimiths, Shoemakers, Tailors, House Carpenters and Joiners,, a

Gooper, a Bricklayer and Plaifterer, a Painter, a Watchmaker and Glazier, feveral Silversmiths, Weavers, a Jeweller, and many others.

The Sale will commence on Thelder the 2d of April, at Leeds Town, on Rappahannick River. A reasonable Credit will be allowed, giving Bond, with navoural Camerica.

with approved Security, to THOMAS HODGE.

"" I have an afforted Cargo of GOODS from Lordon, initable for the Scason (about two Thousand Pounds Sterling worth) which I will lump off, on reasonable Terms, at a Credit with good Security.

Talbet County, Odober 31, 1768.

AN away from the Subferiber, the 30th Instant, R a Servant Man, named JOHN CYAS, a Shoemaker by Trade, about 5 Feet 4 Inches high, fair Complexion, about 28 Years of Age, born in Cheffer, but liv'd 10 or 12 Years in London, and speaks very good English: Had on, and took with him, a Dowlais Shirt, One Ofnabrig ditto, One Pair of dark ftriped Holland Trowfers, and One Pair of Ofnabrig ditto, a Snuff coloured Broad Cloth Coat and Waiffcoat, the Coat lined with Green, pretty much worn, One Pair of new grey Stockings, Country-made, and One Pair of new Pumps, with a good Hat, and an old Wig. It is supposed that one William Blanch is gone with him, who belongs to Mr. Francis Baker. Said Cyas, when he works, holds his Fore-Finger of his right Hand firait out, occasioned by a Cut. - Whoever takes up faid Servant, and fecures him in any Jail, fo as the Owner may get him again, shall have Forty Shillings Reward, belides what the Law allows, paid by

WILLIAM BLAKE. (W3) WILLIAM BLAKE.

* Said Cyar came in the Ship Good-Intent, Captain George Haddon, Commander, configned to Mr. Anthony Banning, of Miles-River, the 24th Day of January laft. All Mafters of Ships are forewarn'd from carrying him off, at their Peril.



RAN-away from his Master William Bourns, Esq; in Marblebead, on the 12th of Mas, an apprentice Boy named Charles Taylor, of about 12 Years of Age; he had on when he went away, an old blue Kersey Jacket, a striped Flannel Waistcoat, dark Kersey Breeches, a check'd Shirt, and grey Yath Stockings; he has light brown Hair, thinish Face, and has had the Small Pox. Whoever will return said Apprentice to his Master, or secure him in any of his Majesty's Goals within this Province, shall receive of his said Master SIX DOLLARS Reward, and have all accessary Charges paid them.

ONE CENT REWARD.

RANAWAY from the Subscriber, about the 1st of April, an indentured servant girl named BETSEY CUDNEY, aged 12 or 13 years. All persons are hereby forbid harbouring, trusting or employing her under the full penalties of the law.

Whoever will return said runaway, will receive the above reward, but no charges paid. INCREASE MILLER.

South Salem, May 10. 1832. 5013

A S I have sufficient reason to suspect that my apprentice Patrick Nihell will make his escape, this is therefore to forewarn all masters of vessels and others from detaining or carrying away the said apprentice, as they may depend to be prosecuted to the utmost rigour of the law by THOMAS LEE jun.



EIGHT DOLLARS Reward.

No. AWAY a few weeks ago from the subscribes, living in York town, an Irish servant lad, named THOMAS HINNIGAN, about sourceen years of a co. 4 feet 7 or 8 in thes high; had on when he went away, a fine black broad cloth coat, tow cloath trowsers, good shoes. German-town hose, and sheek shim fo that his master may have him again, shall have two dollars, if ten miles from home, three dollars; if twenty miles, four dollars; If thirty miles, six dollars; and if a greater distance, the above reward, and reasonable charges if brought home, paid by GEORGE IR WIN.

N. B. The above fervant lad was feen lately in Lancaster, and it is supposed he will endeavour to get to his acquaintance, James Gihon, shoemaker, near the Bird-in hand wharf in Philadelphia.

May 7th.

BRASSHACKLES

JOSEPHKERR,
At the House of ALEXANDER MORESON, in Latitia-Court.

es high, 24 years of age, well made, wears his hair tied; will, it is supposed, go towards Harford in Maryland, where he

Whoever takes up faid Deferters and brings them on board faid ship, or confines them in jail, shall have the above reward, or FOUR DOLLARS for each, paid by

8 w. WILLIAM BROWN:

THE time of a SERVANT MAN to be disposed of who has upwards of three years to serve; is young, healthy, and fit for country work. Enquire of the Printers.

RUN-AWAY

From the subscriber about the last of April,

THREE country born NEGRO MEN, all brothers, one named Tom, about 25 years of age, a thick set black fellow, another named Jim, with a straight knee, he has formerly had his thigh broke, and Phill, a younger brother, a yellow complexion, the tallest of the three. Any person that will take up the said negroes and secure them, or bring them home to the subscriber living in the Straights Hundred, Dochester county, shall if taken up out of the county, receive Eight Pounds, and if taken up in the county, receive Six Pounds reward by

* GEORGE SLACOM, sen.

WILLIAM and THOMAS BRADFORD, at the Corner of Front and Market-streets, where this Paper as Ten Shillings a Year---- And where Advertisements are taken in.



Join realonably by I nomas boud, Bricuayer.

DR AN DUPUY, next Door to the Bell in Arch-Arcet, on Monday Feb. 10. opened a FRENCH SCHOOL. Where whoever enclimes to learn the French Language, may be taught it on reasonable Terms. His Wife also teaches young Ladies Needle Work.

The said Dupuy, bewing served seven Tears in London, to the said Dupuy, bewing served seven Tears in London, to the Business of a Watch Finisher, (which is the principal part of Watch making) and allowed by the chiefest of the Trade to be a correst Workman, proposes also to mend and clean WATCHES; and has a true Method of bringing a Watch to go nearly exast, whether hanging, moving, or lying flat; whereas the Difference is sommonly very considerable; as any Gentleman, may be fatified, by setting his Watch with a well-regulated Clock, and hanging it up 24 Hours; then observing how much they disagree, be may set the Watch with the Clock again, and lay it on a Table for 24 Hours more, and compare the two Differences together. for 24. Hours more, and compare the two Differences together.

A SERVANT Man's Time for 3 Years and four Months, to be disposed of. He is a likely bearty young Fellow. Enquire of the Printer bereof.

ANtigua Rum, St. Kits Mellasses, Chocolate, Coston, Ginger and Pepper, and sundry other Sorts of Goods Sold by wholesale or Retail, by William Graham, at the House where Henry, Hodge lately dwelt.

RUN away the 11th Day of November pass, from Rees Pritchard of Whiteland, Chester County, an 1rish Servant Man named Lawrence Keron, aged about 22 Years, a well set Man, freehled Complexion and mark'd with the Small Pox, sancy curl'd Hair; brownsh Cloth Coat, Buttons of the same, and Breeches of the same Cloth; Cotton and Limmen Shirt, blue and white mixt Yarn Stockings, and another Pair of light colour'd Yarn Stockings, sooted with dark-coloured Yarn a good deal above the Skoe; an old Felt Hat, with a Piece east out of the Brim, and cock dup so as to hide it, wooden beel'd Shoes, and a Pair of old Skoes that bave been mended and cover'd. Whoever takes up and secures the above mentioned Servant, so that Whoever takes up and secures the above mentioned Servant, so that bis Master may have him again, sall have Forty Shillings Re-mard, and reasonable Charges paid by Recs Prichard. N. B. It is supposed be is gone towards Maryland.

Just imported, another Parcel of SUPER FINE CROWN SOAP.

I T cleanses fine Linens, Muslims, Laces, Chinces, Cambricks &c. with Ease and Expedition, subich often suffer more from the long and hard Rubbing of the Waster, through the ill Qualities of the Soap they use, than the Wearing. It is excellent for the Wastering of Scorlets, or any other bright and curious Colours, that are apt to change by the Use of common Soap The Sweetness of the Flavor and the fine Lather it immediately produces, renders it pleasant for the Use of Barbers. It is cut in exast and equal Cakes measly put up, and sold at the New Printing Office, at 1 s. per Cake.

READY MONEY for old RAGS may be had of the Printer bereof.

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Just Published,

E VERY Man his own Doctor: or the poer Planter's Phylician. Prescribing plain and easy Means for Persons to cure themselves of all, or most of the Distempers incident to this Climate, and with very little Charge, the Medicines being chiefly of the Growth and Production of this Country. Sold by the Printer bereof, pr. 1 s. with Allowance to those who take a Quantity to sell, or give owney

To be SOLD,

A Plantation containing 300 Acres of good Land, 30 cleared, 10 or 12 Meadow and in good English Grass, a House and Barn, &c. lying in Nantmel Township, apon French-Creek, about 30 Miles from Philadelphia. Enquire of Simon Meredith now twing on the said Place.

VEry good LAMPBLACK made and fold by the Printer hereof.

ALL Persons indebted to the Estate of Joseph Harrison, Carpenter, late of Philadelphia, deceased, are bereby required to make speedy Payment to John Harrison, or John Leech, Executors. And those who have any Accompts to settle, are defined to bring them in.

CTOLEN from Joseph Jackson of Bristol in Bucks County, about a Week ago, the following Goods, viz. off the Tenters, wet, three pair of black Worfeed Stockings, and one pair Yarn Stockings dippd in the black Dye, but not a good Black. Out of the Dye-House, one Pair of worsted Stockings dyed of a light copper colour, and a Woman's Gown of striped Prunella, it had been yellow and blew and white striped small, but now nella, is had been yellow and blew and white striped small, but now dyed light Copper colour; also a woolen drugget gown of a copper-colour, and the Thies has tore all the upper Part off bath Gowns, and less them. And out of the Fulling-Mill there is taken about some or still see Sock, and banging to drain. The Thies is specified to be a lusty well-set Welsoman, who pretends to be a Tamer and Shoemaker, there being such a one surving about this Town some Days before the Thest was committed; be went to several Places and enquired for Work, but not of any body that was likely to employ him he has not been seen hereabout survey but is subsociated to be some bing; be has not been seen here bereabout since, but is supposed to be gone towards Philadelphia. Whoever gives Notice of the above Goods so that they may be had again, and the Thief brought to Justice, hall be paid Three Pounds as a Reward, by Briftol, Dec. 15.

ALEPPO INK

FOR the true ffaining Blath, equal to any Sort of Ink whatever; and far exceeding all other Sorts in the Lassingness of its Colour: So that no Ink is so proper as this for Records, Deeds, and other Writings which ought to endure. Sold at the New Printing-Office. Price I a, a Bottle. Where also you may have good common Ink.

PHILADELPHIA: Printed by B. FRANKLIN, at the New-Printing-Office near the Market. Price 10 s. a Year. Where Advertisements are taken in, and BOOK-BINDING is done reasonably, in the best Manner.

3. Lecture: Indian Massacre on Jamestown and Outlying Settlements, March 22, 1622

The Powhatans were greatly affected by diseases, like smallpox, that the English colonists brought to Virginia, so, dozens of Indians died in the years around 1610. The effort to educate the "savages," and to convert them to Christianity, brought threats to their traditional culture.



When John Rolfe developed a new strain of tobacco in 1613, he found a source of revenue for the Virginia Company. The Powhatans learned that the English colonists were eager to expand their holdings in Virginia for more planting and settlement which affected the Indians agriculture and hunting. Opechancanough, maternal brother of Chief Powhatan, planned and lead the sneak attack on the company; they brought food to share to the unsuspecting colonists.

The Indian raid resulted in 347 English colonists dead at Jamestown, nearly one quarter of the population of the colony. The Indian raid included an attack on Martyns Hundred as well; eighty of the 140 colonists were killed there. The Indians burned other outlying settlements, destroyed crops and livestock.

This "great massacre" was the start of the second Anglo-Powhatan War, 1622-1632, and had a future impact on the relationship of English-Indian affairs. The Virginians retaliated with a vengeance, burning Indian villages, and destroying crops; the colonists killed more Indians than the Indians killed in the "great massacre' in 1622.

The attack on March 22, 1622, had an impact because the crown of England revoked the company's charter in 1624, and dissolved the Virginia Company and placed Virginia under the king's control as a royal Virginia Colony.

The winter of 1622 to 1623, was devastating for the colonists, more than 400 died from malnutrition.



- 4. <u>Excerpts of John Smith's book</u> described the circumstances of the Powhatan Indian attack. (Note that John Smith was in England at the time of the attack)
 - Pass out excerpts of Smith's book and have students find descriptions of the Massacre of 1622.
 - Differences between primary and secondary resources
 - How reliable is John Smith's account if he was not present at Powhatan Indian massacre?



- What information did you discover within this excerpt?
- 5. <u>Pass out copies</u> of letters of Richard Frethorne (1623) and Elizabeth Sprigs (1756). Students work in pairs or groups.
 - Find as many examples as possible about the living conditions that Richard & Elizabeth endured.
 - How desperate was their condition?
 - Frethorne was part of Martyns Hundred which was attacked by the same Indian massacre on March 22, 1622, that killed so many in Virginia Company. In Martyns Hundred, of the 140 colonists living there, eighty were killed by the Indians.
 - How does Sprigs' letter of 130 years later compare to Frethorne's letter of 1623?
- 6. Pass out Copies of Benjamin Franklin's open letter in the Pennsylvania Gazette
 - What did Benjamin Franklin hope to accomplish with his open letter?
 - What group is Franklin objecting to being sent by the Mother Country?
 - What is Franklin suggesting should be sent back to England?

7. Debrief:

- Why are primary sources so important to history?
- Are primary sources more reliable than secondary sources? Why? Why not?
- What did you learn about the turnover in labor in the English Colonies?
- What were the reasons for the decline of indentured servitude and the beginning of slavery in the colonies?

Sources:

Richard Frethorne's letter

https://www.encyclopediavirginia.org/Letter from Richard Frethorne to His Parents March 20 April 2-3 1623

Elizabeth Sprigs letter http://historymatters.gmu.edu/d/5796

Benjamin Franklin open letter http://www.earlyamericancrime.com/convict-transportation/in-the-new-world/reaction

https://founders.archives.gov/documents/Franklin/01-04-02-0040

http://www.earlyamericancrime.com/convict-transportation/in-the-new-world/reaction

Virtual Jamestown Timeline http://www.virtualjamestown.org/timeline2.html



http://www.virtualjamestown.org/indentures/search indentures.html

https://www.encyclopedia.com/defense/energy-government-and-defense-magazines/jamestown-legacy-massacre-1622

https://www.encyclopediavirginia.org/The massacre upon the two and twentieth of March an exc erpt from The Generall Historie of Virginia New-

England and the Summer Isles 1624#:~:text=The%20Prologue%20to%20this%20Tragedy%2C%20is%2 Osupposed%20was,could%20bee%20done%20with%20him%20by%20the%20English.

http://www.virtualjamestown.org/phatmass.html

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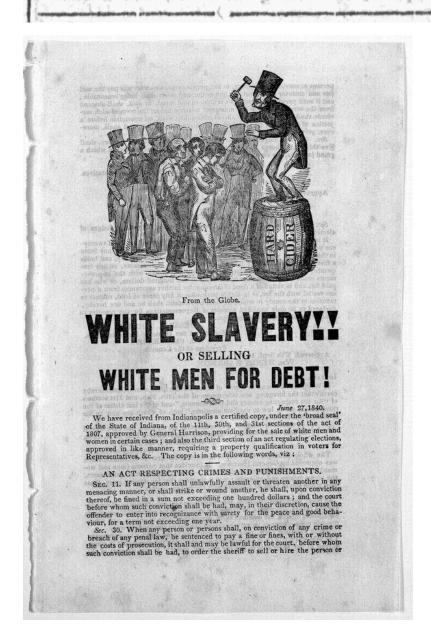
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Bristol, Dec. 15.

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FOR the true flaining Black, equal to any Sort of Ink whatever; and far exceeding all other Sorts in the Lastingness of its Colour: So that no Ink is so proper as this for Records, Deeds, and other Writings which ought to endure. Sold at the New Printing-Office. Price 1 a. a Bottle. Where also you may have good common Ink.

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Richard Frethorne Letter Transcribed

Loving and Kind Father and Mother: My most humble duty remembered to you, hoping in god of your good health, as I myself am at the making hereof. This is to let you understand that I your child am in a most heavy case by reason of the country, is such that it causeth much sickness, as the scurvy and the bloody flux...which maketh the body very poor and weak...there is nothing to comfort us; for since I came out of the ship I never ate anything but peas, and loblollie (that is water gruel)...but must work hard both early and late for a mess of water gruel and a mouthful of bread and beef. A mouthful of bread for a penny loaf must serve for four men which is most pitiful...For we live in fear of the enemy every hour...for we are in great danger; for our plantation is very weak by reason of the death and sickness of our company. For we came but twenty for the merchants, and they are half dead just; and we look every hour when two more should go...we are fain to get other men to plant with us; and yet we are but 32 to fight against 3,000 if they should come. And I have nothing to comfort me, nor is there nothing to be forgotten here but sickness and death...My cloak is stolen by one of my fellows, and to his dying hour would not tell me what he did with it...So I have not a penny, nor a penny worth to help me to either spice of sugar or strong waters, without the which one cannot live here...But I am not half (of) a quarter so strong as I was in England...I have eaten more in one day at home than I have allowed me here for a week...if you love me you will redeem me suddenly, for which I do entreat and beg. And if you cannot get the merchants to redeem me for a little money...for God's sake send beef and cheese and butter...Good father, do not forget me, but have mercy and pity my miserable case. I know if you did but see me, you would weep to see me...I pray you to remember my love to all my friends and kindred. I hope my brothers and sisters are in good health...the answer of this letter will be life of death to me.

Richard Frethorne, 1623

(Richard Frethorne died before February 16, 1624)



Elizabeth Sprigs Letter, September 22, 1756

Elizabeth Sprigs Letter Maryland, Sept'r 22'd 1756 Honored Father My being for ever banished from your sight, will I hope pardon the Boldness I now take of troubling you with these, my long silence has been purely owning to my undutifullness to you, and well knowing I had offended in the highest Degree, put a tie to my tongue and pen, for fear I should be extinct from your good Graces and add a further Trouble to you, but too well knowing your care and tenderness for me so long as I retained my Duty to you, induced me once again to endeavor if possible, to kindle up that flame again. O Dear Father, believe what I am going to relate the words of truth and sincerity, and Balance my former bad Conduct my sufferings here, and then I am sure you'll pity your Destress Daughter, What we unfortunate English People suffer here is beyond the probability of you in England to Conceive, let it suffice that I one of the unhappy Number, am toiling almost Day and Night, and very often in the Horses drudgery, with only this comfort that you do not halfe enough, and then tied up and whipp'd to that Degree that you'd not serve an Animal, scarce any thing but Indian Corn and Salt to eat and that even begrudged nay many Negroes are better used, almost naked no shoes nor stockings to wear, and the comfort after slaving during Masters pleasure, what rest we can get is to rap ourselves up in a Blanket and ly upon the Ground, this is the deplorable Condition your poor Betty endures, and now I beg if you have any Bowels of Compassion left show it by sending me some Relief, Clothing is the principal thing wanting, which if you should condiscend to, may easily send them to me by any of the ships bound to Baltimore Town Patapsco River Maryland, and give me leave to conclude in Duty to you and Uncles and Aunts, and Respect to all Friends Honored Father

Your undutiful and Disobedient Child

Elizabeth Sprigs

http://historymatters.gmu.edu/d/5796



Felons and Rattlesnakes-To the Printers of the Gazette.

By a Passage in one of your late Papers, I understand that the Government at home will not suffer our mistaken Assemblies to make any Law for preventing or discouraging the Importation of Convicts from Great Britain, for this kind Reason, "That such Laws are against the Publick Utility, as they tend to prevent the IMPROVEMENT and WELL PEOPLING of the Colonies."

Such a tender *parental* Concern in our *Mother Country* for the *Welfare* of her Children, calls aloud for the highest *Returns* of Gratitude and Duty. This every one must be sensible of: But 'tis said, that in our present Circumstances it is absolutely impossible for us to make *such* as are adequate to the Favour. I own it; but nevertheless let us do our Endeavour. 'Tis something to show a grateful Disposition.

In some of the uninhabited Parts of these Provinces, there are Numbers of these venomous Reptiles we call RATTLE-SNAKES; Felons-convict from the Beginning of the World: These, whenever we meet with them, we put to Death, by Virtue of an old Law, *Thou shalt bruise his Head*. But as this is a sanguinary Law, and may seem too cruel; and as however mischievous those Creatures are with us, they may possibly change their Natures, if they were to change the Climate; I would humbly propose, that this general Sentence of *Death* be changed for *Transportation*.

In the Spring of the Year, when they first creep out of their Holes, they are feeble, heavy, slow, and easily taken; and if a small Bounty were allow'd *per* Head, some Thousands might be collected annually, and *transported* to Britain. There I would propose to have them carefully distributed in St. James's Park, in the Spring-Gardens and other Places of Pleasure about London; in the Gardens of all the Nobility and Gentry throughout the Nation; but particularly in the Gardens of the *Prime Ministers*, the *Lords of Trade* and *Members of Parliament;* for to them we are *most particularly* obliged.

There is no human Scheme so perfect, but some Inconveniencies may be objected to it: Yet when the Conveniencies far exceed, the Scheme is judg'd rational, and fit to be executed. Thus Inconveniencies have been objected to that *good* and *wise* Act of Parliament, by virtue of which all the Newgates and Dungeons in Britain are emptied into the Colonies. It has been said, that these Thieves and Villains introduc'd among us, spoil the Morals of Youth in the Neighbourhoods that entertain them, and perpetrate many horrid Crimes: But let not *private Interests* obstruct *publick Utility*. Our *Mother* knows what is best for us. What is a little *Housebreaking, Shoplifting*, or *Highway Robbing;* what is a *Son* now and then *corrupted* and *hang'd*, a Daughter *debauch'd* and *pox'd*, a Wife *stabb'd*, a Husband's *Throat cut*, or a Child's *Brains beat out* with an Axe, compar'd with this "IMPROVEMENT and WELL PEOPLING of the Colonies!"

Thus it may perhaps be objected to my Scheme, that the *Rattle-Snake* is a mischievous Creature, and that his changing his Nature with the Clime is a mere Supposition, not yet confirm'd by sufficient Facts. What then? Is not Example more prevalent than Precept? And may not the honest rough British Gentry, by a Familiarity with these Reptiles, learn to *creep*, and to *insinuate*, and to *slaver*, and to *wriggle* into Place (and perhaps to *poison* such as stand in their Way) Qualities of no small Advantage to Courtiers! In comparison of which "*Improvement* and *Publick Utility*," what is a *Child* now and then kill'd by their venomous Bite,—or even a favourite *Lap-Dog?*

I would only add, That this Exporting of Felons to the Colonies, may be consider'd as a *Trade*, as well as in the Light of a *Favour*. Now all Commerce implies *Returns*: Justice requires them: There can be no



Trade without them. And *Rattle-Snakes* seem the most *suitable Returns* for the *Human Serpents* sent us by our *Mother* Country. In this, however, as in every other Branch of Trade, she will have the Advantage of us. She will reap *equal* Benefits without equal Risque of the Inconveniencies and Dangers. For the *Rattle-Snake* gives Warning before he attempts his Mischief; which the Convict does not. I am Yours, &c.

Transcription from Original: March 22, 1622 Indian Attack- Start of the second Anglo-Powhatan War 1622-1632 (letter from John Smith)

The maffacre vpon the two and twentieth of March.

The Prologue to this Tragedy, is supposed was occasioned by Nemattanow, otherwise called Jack of the Feather, because hee commonly was most strangely adorned with them; and for his courage and policy, was accounted amongst the Saluages their chiefe Captaine, and immortall from any hurt could bee done with him by the English. This Captaine comming to one Morgan house, knowing he had many commodities that hee desired, perswaded Morgan to goe with him to Pamauke [chief towne of the Pamunkey Indians] to trucke, but the Saluage murdered him by the way; and after two or three daies returned againe to Morgans house, where he found two youths his Seruants, who asked for their Master: Jack replied directly he was dead, the Boyes suspecting as it was, by seeing him weare his Cap, would have had him to Master [George] Thorp: But Jack so moved their patience, they shot him, so he fell to the ground, put him in a Boat to haue him before the Gouernor, then seuen or eight miles from them. But by the way Jack finding the pangs of death vpon him, desired of the Boyes two things; the one was, that they would not make it knowne hee was slaine with a bullet; the other, to bury him amongst the English. At the losse of this Saluage Opechankanough much grieued and repined, with great threats of reuenge; but the English returned him such terrible answers, that he cunningly dissembled his intent, with the greatest signes he could of loue and peace, yet within foureteene daies after he acted what followeth.

Sir *Francis Wyat* at his arriuall was aduertised, he found the Countrey setled in such a firme peace, as most men there thought sure and vnuioable, not onely in regard of their promises, but of a necessitie. The poore weake Saluages being euery way bettered by vs, and safely sheltred and defended, whereby wee might freely follow our businesse: and such was the conceit of this conceited peace, as that there was seldome or neuer a sword, and seldomer a peece, except for a Deere or Fowle, by which assurances the most plantations were placed straglingly and scatteringly, as a choice veine of rich ground inuired them, and further from neighbours the better. Their houses generally open to the Saluages, who were alwaies friendly fed at their tables, and lodged in their bed-chambers, which made the way plaine to effect their intents, and the conversion of the Saluages as they supposed.

Hauing occasion to send to *Opechankanough* about the middle of March, hee vsed the Messenger well, and told him he held the peace so firme, the sky should fall or he dissolued it; yet such was the treachery of those people, when they had contriued our destruction, euen but two daies before the massacre, they guided our men with much kindnesse thorow the woods, and one *Browne* that liued among them to learne the language, they sent home to his Master; yea, they borrowed our Boats to transport themselues ouer the Riuer, to consult on the deuillish murder that insued, and of the vtter extirpation, which God of his mercy (by the meanes of one of themselues conuerted to Christianitie) preuented, and as well on the Friday morning that fatall day, being the two and twentieth of March, as



also in the euening before, as at other times they came vnarmed into our houses, with Deere, Turkies, Fish, Fruits, and other prouisions to sell vs, yea in some places sat downe at breakfast with our people, whom immediatly with their owne tooles they flew most barbarously, not sparing either age or sex, man woman or childe, so sudden in their execution, that few or none discerned the weapon or blow that brought them to destruction: In which manner also they slew many of our people at seuerall works in the fields, well knowing in what places and quarters each of our men were, in regard of their familiaritie with vs for the effecting that great master-peece of worke their conuersion; and by this meanes fell that fatall morning vnder the bloudy and barbarous hands of that

per-fidious and inhumane people, three hundred forty seuen men, women and children, most by their owne weapons, and not being content with their liues, they fell againe vpon the dead bodies, making as well as they could a fresh murder, defacing, dragging, and mangling their dead carkases into many peeces, and carrying some parts away in derision, with base and brutish triumph.

Neither yet did these beasts spare those amongst the rest well knowne vnto them, from whom they had daily receiued many benefits, but spightfully also massacred them without any remorse or pitie; being in this more fell than Lions and Dragons, as Histories record, which have preserved their Benefactors; such is the force of good deeds, though done to cruell beasts, to take humanitie vpon them, but these miscreants put on a more vnnaturall bruitishnesse than beasts, as by those instances may appear.