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1695

## New Yorke Considered and Improved A.D. 1695

John Miller

*Chaplain of His Majesty's Companies in the Colony of Newyorke*

Victor Hugo Paltsits

*New York Public Library*

Paul Royster (Depositor)

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The following work is essentially a line-for-line facsimile of Victor Hugo Paltsits' edition of John Miller's *New Yorke Considered and Improved A.D. 1695*. Miller's work was written during his tenure as chaplain to the British soldiers stationed in New York from June 1692 until July 1695. His first draft was thrown overboard to avoid its falling into the hands of the French privateers who captured the ship in which he was returning to England. Miller rewrote his work while imprisoned in France, finished it after his return to England in 1696, and presented it as a report to his superior, Henry Compton, Bishop of London. The work remained in manuscript until published by Thomas Rodd in 1843, and it was re-issued by William Gowans, in his "Gowans' Bibliotheca Americana" series, edited and annotated by John Gilmary Shea, in 1862. Paltsits' version, published in 1903 by Burrows Bros. Co. of Cleveland, is an extensively annotated edition, prepared from the original manuscript held in the British Museum.

Miller's *New Yorke* was the most extensive account (to that date) of the geography, society, religions, customs, and fortifications of the Dutch, English, and Indian inhabitants of the province. Miller saw great potential in the colony, but also great room for improvement, and he was not backward in suggesting various plans for religious, moral, social, political, and military progress. By the close of his 100-page account, he has demonstrated the best ways to improve the morals of the city-dwellers, establish the Church of England in America, convert the heathen, and conquer and resettle Canada. The work includes excellent maps of the fortifications of New York City, Albany, Schenectady, Kingston, and the Flats.

Victor Hugo Paltsits (1867–1952) was one of the preeminent antiquarians of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. His annotations to Miller's work provide a wealth of additional information and material.

*This note was written, and the document prepared and deposited, by Paul Royster, University of Nebraska–Lincoln.*

MILLER'S  
NEW YORK

NEW YORK CONSIDERED  
AND IMPROVED, 1695



BY JOHN MILLER



Published from the original MS. in the British Museum

*With Introduction and Notes by*  
**VICTOR HUGO PALTSITS**  
*of the New York Public Library*

*To*

REV. ADOLPHUS FREDERICK SCHAUFFLER, D. D.,  
*whose life has been an inspiration to many of  
the sons and daughters of New York, this vol-  
ume is affectionately dedicated by his friend*  
*THE EDITOR*

## INTRODUCTION

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CONNECTED biographical details of the very interesting life of John Miller, the author of this work, are not to be found in any American publication; in fact, when the late Dr. John Gilmary Shea prepared his edition of Miller's work, in 1863, he frankly admitted his inability to present anything connected with his career, apart from his brief residence in New York. Our researches have been so far successful as to enable us to record an outline of his career from the cradle to the grave, which, we trust, may serve to resurrect the memory of one who was not among the least of men who contributed to the weal of New York in the first century of its history.\*

John Miller, son of John Miller, was born at Thetford near Ely, December 8, 1666.† At Mi-

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\* For the facts of his early and later life in England I am principally indebted to Manning and Bray's *History and Antiquities of the County of Surrey*. London, 1809, vol. ii., pp. 708, 714, 715, 718.

† He gives his birth-record in his own handwriting on a label in a Bible owned by him, as follows: "Johannes Miller natus fuit 8<sup>i</sup> die Decembris A<sup>o</sup>. Dm 1666<sup>o</sup>. hora secunda matutinā." This volume we refer to more particularly hereafter.

chaelmas term, 1680, before he was fourteen years of age, he was admitted into Trinity College, Cambridge, and was made Scholar of the House in April, 1683. By Christmas, 1684, he attained his A. B. degree, and went out A. M. in July, 1688. Soon after he had entered his twenty-sixth year, namely March 7, 1692, he was by royal commission constituted and appointed "Chaplain of the two Companies of foot in the Colony of Newyorke;" received his ecclesiastical license from the Bishop of London two days later, accompanied by his certification of conformity to the liturgy of the Church of England.\*

On September 2, 1689, the king in council "declared His Pleasure that two Companies of Foot of sixty men in each Company besides Officers, be forthwith raised, for their Mat<sup>ys</sup> service in New York, to be carried thither on bord the ship, which shall be appointed by the Right Hônble the Commissioners of the Admiralty, to carry the Governor of New York [Henry Slough-ter] to that Government." A warrant for the payment of these men I "out of the monies appointed for the Pay of the Land Forces" of England, was issued on March 13, 1690, and provided, among other things, for "a Chaplain for the said Two Companies at the rate of six

\*See APPENDIX B, at the end of this volume, for these documents in full.

shillings and eight Pence" per day.\* The soldiers and stores arrived at New York in January, 1691, but Slough-ter's arrival was delayed for two months by an accident to the *Arch-Angel*, the ship in which he had sailed from the Isle of Wight.† He died on July 23 of that year, and the governmental affairs were administered by the deputy-governor, Richard Ingoldsby, until the arrival of Benjamin Fletcher, August 30, 1692. Apparently Miller reached New York a little in advance of the new governor, namely during the month of June.‡

The Protestant clergy of New York were not long in discovering that he was a man of "considerable knowledge." He was thus characterized by the Dutch ministers, Selyns, Varick, and Dellius, in their correspondence with the classis of Amsterdam, October 12, 1692.\*\* He sustained his reputation as "a man of research," †† during his subsequent residence in England, as vicar of Effingham. His account of New York, apart from showing his versatility as an observer, reveals his personal principles, for written words

\* *New York Col. Docs.*, vol. iii., pp. 619, 691. Cf. also *Calendar of State Papers, Colonial Series*. London, 1901, pp. 139, 254.

† Varick to the classis of Amsterdam, in *Eccles. Records*, vol. ii., p. 1049; *New York Col. Docs.*, vol. iii., p. 756.

‡ His pay seems to have ended on June 1st, 1695, and in July he left New York.—See APPENDIX C, at the end of this volume.

\*\* *Eccles. Records*, vol. ii., p. 1043.

†† Manning and Bray's *Hist. of the Co. of Surrey*, vol. ii., p. 708.

are thoughts in embryo. He must have been a man of exemplary character amidst a dissolute environment, for in his characterization of immorality and other aberrations from the ideal in conduct, he lays the lash on heavily and in words of no uncertain tenor. When considering the political controversies which agitated the province, he generally exhibits a sane and impartial judgment, and his recommendations for improvement in the affairs of state show sound reasoning, less affected and prejudiced than the correspondence of those high in authority.

Miller was the sole officiating Episcopal clergyman in the entire province of New York during the three years of his residence; his activities, as evinced by contemporary records, and his familiarity with all inhabited parts, extended beyond the confines of the city. He constantly attended the governor and "had the opportunity of observing many things of considerable consequence." His career was wrapt up with Fletcher's endeavors to establish episcopacy.

Soon after his arrival in New York, namely in October, 1692, Fletcher recommended the passage of a Ministry Act. He urged that the law of Magna Charta provided, among other things, "for the religion of the Church of England." A bill was finally brought in on September 19, 1693, and, after its third reading, it was passed, Septem-

ber 21, and referred to the governor and council. It did not commend itself, and was returned with an amendment authorizing that the clergy, appointed under the act, should be "approved and collated" by the governor. To this the assembly failed to give its consent, and after administering a severe rebuke, Fletcher declared the bill passed and prorogued the assembly. It became a law September 22. Although not entirely satisfied with the bill, the governor gloated over the fact that he had "got them to Settle a fund for a Ministry in the City of New York and three more counties, which could never be obtained before." \*

The freeholders of New York City, on January 6, 1694, elected two wardens and ten vestrymen, who met on February 5, and voted to raise one hundred pounds for the support of a minister. At a meeting held six days later, a majority of them voted "that a Dissenting minister be called to have the Care of Souls for this City," but nothing was done by way of a ministerial appointment. The governor alleged that the office was already provided for, and communicated to the council that the Rev. John Miller, as chaplain to the garrison, was already *ipso facto* minister of the city and entitled to the living. The council did not concur in this view of the governor, and on

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\* *New York Col. Docs.*, vol. iv., p. 57.



February 15, 1694, denied Miller's application. No appointment, however, was made until after he left the province, namely in the autumn of 1696, when William Vesey, a dissenting clergyman, received a second call. After obtaining deacon's and priest's orders at Fulham, by the hands of the Bishop of London, August 2, 1697, he returned to New York, to become the first rector of Trinity Church. This marked the real beginning of the Established Church in the province of New York.\*

The conditions of the province of New York during Miller's incumbency of the chaplaincy were vexatious and diverged from stability along different lines. Ecclesiastical ferment, occasioned by the Ministry Act of 1693, disturbed tranquillity from within, while a long-standing war between France and England threatened the colonists from without, by involving the American representatives of both crowns in conflict. The northern frontiers of New York were particularly open to incursions from the Canadians and their Indian

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\* This account of ecclesiastical affairs is based upon the following original and secondary sources: *Eccles. Records*, vol. ii., pp. 185–187; *MS. Council Minutes*, vol. vii., p. 54, in New York State Library; *New York Col. Docs.*, vols. iii. and iv.; *Journal of the Votes and Proceedings of the General Assembly* (Gaine's edition), vol. i., pp. 32, 33, 34, 53; Perry's *History of the American Episcopal Church*. Boston, 1885, vol. i., pp. 160, 161, 474, 476; B. F. De Costa in *The Centennial History of the Prot. Epis. Church in the Diocese of New York*. Edited by James Grant Wilson. New York, 1886, p.54.

allies, and rumors of an invasion of the city of New York disturbed the quietude of its residents. The fortifications of the province were for the most part in a rotten condition, and desirable allotments and hearty cooperation from neighboring English colonies were generally withheld. Money was scarce and war-taxes proved to be very burdensome. The instability reflected by the late Leislerian troubles was not congenial to that invariable coöperation which the needs in time of war demanded. But the ominous clouds revealed a silver lining. The art of printing was introduced in 1693, by the removal of William Bradford to New York from Philadelphia, which two score years later fought and won the battle for the freedom of the press in America, under John Peter Zenger, a former apprentice and then rival of Bradford. An endeavor to establish a free school in the city of New York was made in March, 1695, but was defeated.\* It was a first blast sounded in behalf of popular education.

The chapel of Fort William Henry, in which Miller officiated, was the first church building erected in New Amsterdam, namely in 1633, and Domine Bogardus was the first minister who preached there. Its condition had become so unsafe, that Fletcher, on the 27th of July, 1693, "proposed the danger" of its falling down, which

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\* *Journal* (Gaine's edition), vol. i., pp. 48, 49.

led the council to adjudge that “it ought to be pulled down,” and be replaced by a new edifice.\* In September, the subject was considered by a committee, but improvements were held up by dilatory tactics, as is often the case with legislative bodies. On October 20, 1694, the year in which the old building was taken down, the assembly expressed its opinion that the chapel should be rebuilt by free contributions from the different counties throughout the province, but on the 22nd resolved that four hundred and fifty pounds, from the current income of duties, be devoted toward its construction. Accordingly a bill was brought in the next day; at once went through its third reading; was passed and sent up to the governor and council for their assent. The work proceeded at a snail’s pace, and on April 6, 1696, a new assembly was urged by the governor “to forward and finish it.” †

In May, 1694, Miller, in conjunction with Daniel Honan, ‡ accountant-general of the province, and Robert Sanders, the interpreter, petitioned for a license to purchase “severall small parcellls of Land,” which were located “between the bounds of Schanectede & a piece of Land

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\* *Calendar of Council Minutes*, p. 86.

† *Journal* (Gaine’s edition), vol. i., pp. 33, 45, 46; *Calendar of Council Minutes*, p. 104; *Eccles. Records*, vol. ii., p. 1135.

‡ Honan was overseer of the workmen who were engaged in rebuilding the fort in New York City in 1694.

called Chenundrogo & other Land between Chenundrogo aforesaid & another place called Chenundogo & for some few miles above it within which are contained the three pieces of Land called [Squage?] aforesaid all unpurchased.” \* The licenses to purchase these Indian lands were granted by the council on May 14, 1694. † While this subject reflects Miller’s interest in material things, we find he also contributed toward the unraveling of the spiritual problems which agitated the authorities of Massachusetts, during the witchcraft delusion in 1692. He advised them in a manner which, he says, “was much to their purpose & stood them in good stead,” ‡ but “they were not so civill as to thank him for it.”

When the third year of Miller’s sojourn in New York was drawing to its close, “several weighty motives,” especially those of a private nature, determined him to arrange his return to England. We are left in the dark as to the specific reasons which led to this resolve, but property interests at home may have been one, while the instability of ecclesiastical affairs in New York may have been another. Howbeit, on May 16, 1695, a testimonial was issued to him, in the form of a written

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\* *New York Colonial MSS.*, vol. xxxix., p. 161, in New York State Library.

† *MS. Council Minutes*, vol. vii., p. 64.

‡ See APPENDIX D, at the end of this volume, for the details of this affair.

instrument; \* his pay was limited to June 1, and about July 11 he sailed out of the spacious harbor of New York.

After some days at sea, just how many cannot be determined, the ship in which he sailed fell in with a French privateer. Seeing that speedy capture was inevitable, Miller threw overboard all of his valuable notes and sketches, which had occupied his thought and time while visiting various sections of New York, lest he "should have given Intelligence to an Enemy to the ruine of the Province." That Fletcher was cognizant at this time of imminent danger from French privateersmen, is proven by a proclamation which he issued on June 6, in which he said: "Whereas I am informed that there are French Privateers coming upon this Coast, I have ordered His Majesty's Ship, *The Richmond*, to Cruise, for the Defence of this Province. And for the better strengthening of the said Ship against the Enemy, and to prevent that Obstruction which may be given to the Trade and Navigation of this province, by Impressing of Marriners, and others, to go on board the said Ship, I have ordered a Detachment of my own Company of Granadeers for that Service. Therefore all Marriners,

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\* What the wording of this document is, I am unable to say; the testimonial formed part of a lot of American manuscripts, sold at auction in March, 1903, by Hodgson and Co., of London.

Trades-men, and others, may attend the Service of their Employers, without the least apprehension of being impressed upon this Occasion." \*

With other prisoners, Miller was taken to France and incarcerated, perhaps at St. Malo, where he redeemed the time by writing his account of New York. He returned to England sometime during the year 1696, and on September 24 succeeded William Walker as vicar of Effingham, in the county of Surrey. Walker had been incumbent of the vicarage from February 26, 1677, until his death, and was buried on May 27, 1696.

The church of Effingham had an ancient and honorable history, having been given to the priory of Merton by William de Dammartin. On September 13, 1297, Philip de Berton, official of the Bishop of Winchester, went to the church of Effingham, where he was attended by certain deputies from the Abbey of Merton, and having examined various persons, clerks and laymen, made an endowment of the vicarage, giving to the vicar all the altarage and all small tithes and profits belonging to the altarage, and the tithes of sheaves of all the land of William Wrenne in the said parish, and eighteen acres and a half of arable land and common of pasture, without pay-

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\* This proclamation was issued as a broadside, printed by William Bradford at New York City. The quotation is from a copy of the very rare original, preserved in the New York State Library.

ing tithe to the rector, and the herbage of the churchyard. It was also specified that the vicar should have a competent piece of ground near the church to be assigned by the abbey, who should thereon build a house within a year. The vicars were to enjoy the rest of the tithes, repair the chancel, and pay the pension of two marcs; the vicar to find the books and ornaments of the church.\*

At Effingham Miller passed the remainder of his life “in the faithful discharge of his duty;” sustained a reputation of a “worthy and respectable vicar,” and “a man of research;” died in November, 1724, and was buried on the 19th of that month, as shown by the parish register. In 1725 his executors gave £200 toward purchasing Queen Anne’s bounty for the vicarage. By his will he had also deeded to his successors at Effingham two houses in Trumpington street in the parish of Allhallowes, Cambridge, as well as a useful library and many papers pertaining to his parish. His library was still “preserved with great care” by his successor in the beginning of the nineteenth century. How much of it is retained today cannot be told, and a written request for information elicited no answer. Strange to say, his set of Herman Moll’s *Atlas*

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\* The data about the vicarage are given almost literally from Manning and Bray. vol. ii., pp. 713, 714.

*Geographus*, the only work of his library mentioned by the historians of Surrey, Manning and Bray, now forms a part of the rarities in the Lenox Library Building of the New York Public Library, having been purchased from a consignment of books from England, sold at New York by Bangs and Company, in 1894. These volumes are liberally annotated by Miller, while references to other books are an index of the breadth of his reading. Another fact worthy of preservation is brought forward by a memorandum which he wrote on a map in the fifth volume (America), opposite p. 677. He states there that he loaned a manuscript map, drawn by himself, to the publishers of the work, “which was very usefull to them.” “But,” says he, “I could never get it again. Only after Mr Nicholson’s death one of his Exec<sup>rs</sup> or Trustees paid me a Crown for it, wherewith I bought K. Georges Coronation Medal.”

Another of his books, of the highest interest to New Yorkers, is a folio Bible, printed at Cambridge by the university printer, John Hayes, in 1674. Miller’s own memorandum concerning it reads thus: “This Bible belonged to the Chappell in the Kings fort at New York & fell to my Lot upon Gov<sup>r</sup> Fletcher’s carrying over another for that use & purpose in y<sup>e</sup> year 1692.” It cost him £2 in 1693, as attested by his *ex-libris*, and is now also in the Lenox Library Building.

## BIBLIOGRAPHY

In presenting the text of Miller we follow the original manuscript in the British Museum *verbatim et literatim*, from a transcript prepared under the expert supervision of B. F. Stevens and Brown, of London, whose reputation and experience are a sufficient guaranty of its accuracy down to a dot.

Of the manuscript itself it may be said that the author prepared it while a prisoner in France, perhaps at St. Malo, and that he seems to have finished it sometime during the month of October, 1695, with a design to transmit it to his superior, Henry Compton, Bishop of London. His scheme for the conquest of Canada naturally suggests that he expected his manuscript to reach its intended destination very soon after the above-mentioned period, in order to make his ideas available for prosecution early in 1696. It seems not unlikely, therefore, that he found some means of transmitting it to London by the hand of some fellow-prisoner about to be released or exchanged, as his own return to England was delayed.

During his residence in the province of New York, as he states in his address to Compton, he had "taken the Draughts of all the City's Towns Forts & Churches of any note within the same with particular accounts of the number of or Indians the strength of Canida & way thither & severall other matters which would have enabled

me to give an exact account of the present Estate of that Province & the methods proper to be used for the correcting certain evils therein & Advantaging thereof principally as to religious affairs;" but when he was captured, on his voyage to England, by a French privateer, in July, 1695, he "was obliged to cause them all to be thrown over board lest," says he, "I should have given Intelligence to an Enemy to the mine of the Province in stead of a friendly Information to the Advantaging thereof." This great and lamentable loss he endeavored to retrieve, at least in part, by employing the leisure of a "long Imprisonment," which he did by preparing the present treatise, "through Gods Assistance, the help of my memory & certain knowledge I had of things."

In some unknown manner his manuscript passed out from the archives of the Bishops of London, and found its way into the hands of George Chalmers, the antiquary and historian. The third part of his "very curious, valuable and extensive Library" was sold at auction after his death "by Messrs. Evans, No. 93, Pall Mall," London, on November 10, 1842, and seven following days. Miller's manuscript was in the last day's sale, and is entered in the auction catalogue with singular brevity and inaccuracy, thus:

1718 AMERICA. H. Miller's New Yorke described and Improved, 1695. With Two Plans, *Draw-*

*ings.* Dedicated to Henry (Compton) Bp. London.

It was bid in by Thomas Rodd, a London bookseller and publisher, who had it printed in a small edition, in 1843, because he “thought he would be rendering an acceptable service to those persons who take an interest in tracing the rise and growth of the great commercial emporium of the Western world,” as well as to preserve it “from the chance of being lost or destroyed.” As was the general custom of his day, Rodd did not see fit to reprint the text verbatim, as required by the modern canons of historical scholarship. In his “Advertisement” he said, “the orthography has been modernized, the pointing amended, and a few words, obviously necessary to complete the sense, have been inserted between brackets.” How great a transformation took place by this method is at once evident from even a casual comparison of his text with ours. Gowans’s reprint, edited by Shea, follows Rodd’s text, and the plans of both editions are incomplete, owing to the lack of exact facsimile methods in their day. We have also observed no less than twenty textual errors of omission, misreading, etc., apart from the modernizing of spelling and punctuation. Miller is not to be poorly rated in the use of a vocabulary, and there is even a humorous vein in his seriousness. His structure and punc-

uation, however, defy all the canons of literary composition.

The original manuscript is now in the British Museum, being designated as “Additional MSS. 15490,” and on a fly-leaf before its title the following words are written in ink, “Purchased of Tho<sup>s</sup>. Rodd 5th April 1845.” We learn from Dr. Edward Scott, Keeper of the Manuscripts at the British Museum, that it was priced in Rodd’s sale catalogue at five guineas.

The full title and description of Rodd’s edition are as follows:

A Description | of | the Province and City | of | New York; | with | Plans of the City and several Forts | as they existed in the year 1695. | By the | Rev. John Miller. | Now first printed from the original manuscript. | (To which is added, a Catalogue of an extensive Collection of Books | relating to America, on sale by the Publisher. ) | Thomas Rodd, | No. 9, Great Newport Street, London. | MDCCCXLIII. |

Octavo; half-title, with printers’ names on verso; title, verso blank; “Advertisement,” pp. [i]–ii; “To the Right Reverend Father in God, Henry, Lord Bishop of London,” pp. [iii]–iv; text, pp. [5]–43; one blank page, followed by a “Catalogue of Books” (1843), pp. [17]–115; announcements on p. [116]. Seven plans on six plates.

In 1862 William Gowans, a New York publisher,



issued a reprint of Rodd's text of 1843, under the editorial supervision of Dr. John Gilmary Shea. It forms the third work in a series of five reprints, known as "Gowans' Bibliotheca Americana." A full bibliographical description of the Miller volume follows :

A | Description | of | the Province and City | of | New York; | with | Plans of the City and several Forts | as they existed in the year 1695. | By John Miller. | A new edition with an introduction and copious historical notes. | By John Gilmary Shea, LL. D., | Member of the New York Historical Society. | [*Quotations and publisher's mark*] |

New York: | William Gowans. | 1862. | Octavo; series title, verso blank; title, with copyright, etc., on verso; dedication, verso blank; "Advertisement," verso blank; "Introduction," pp. [9]–20; London title-page, verso blank; "Advertisement to the English edition," pp. [23]–24; address to the Bishop of London, pp. [25]–26 ; text, followed by "Mr. Miller's Information," pp. [27]–92 ; seven plans on six pages; "Notes," pp. [99]–127, with verso of p. 127 blank. There is also a series pagination. The volume was printed at Albany by J. Munsell, and the issue included a few copies on large paper, quarto.

VICTOR HUGO PALTSITS

JUNE 8TH, 1903.

## MILLER'S NEW YORK

ANNO DOMINI 1695

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Published from the original MS. in the  
British Museum.

NEW YORKE

*Considered*

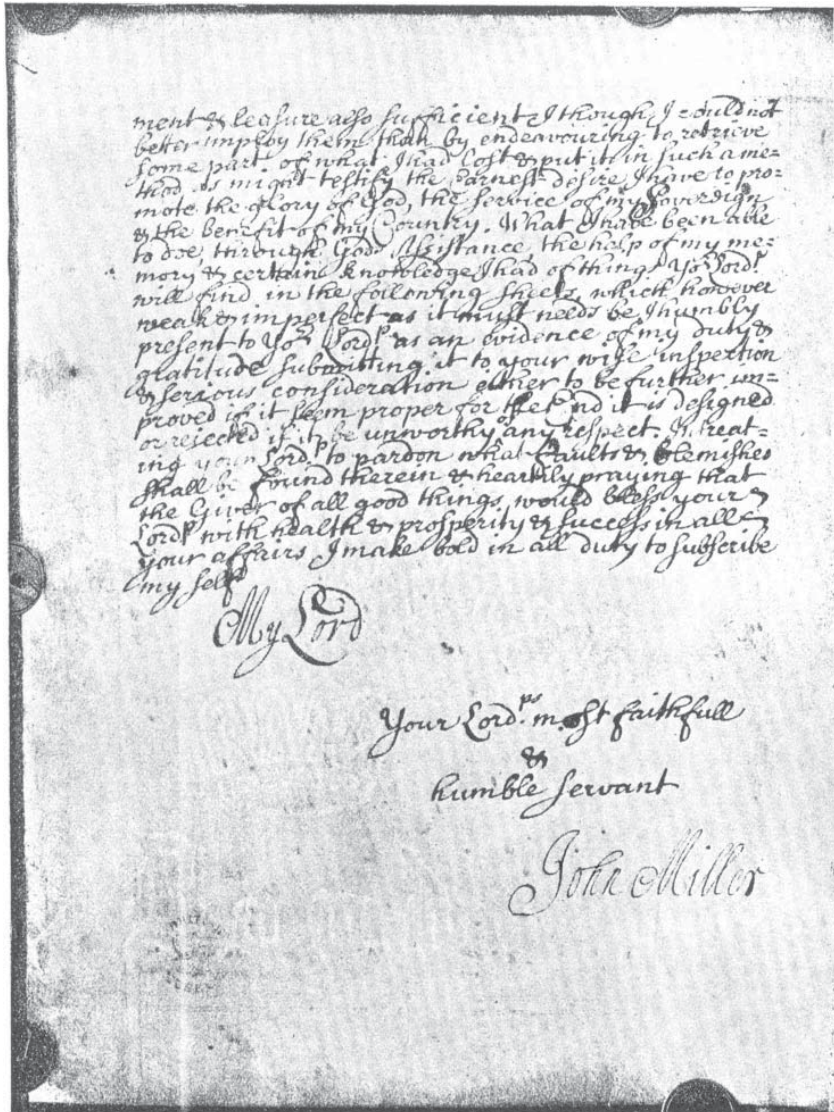
*AND*

*Improved*

*Anno Dñi*

*1695*





*To the Right Reverend Father in God  
Henry Lord Bishop of London \**

MY LORD

After having been very neer 3 years resident in the Province of New Yorke in America as Chaplain to his Majesties Forces there &, by living in the Fort of New Yorke & constantly attending the Governour<sup>†</sup> had the opportunity of observing many things of considerable consequence in relation to y<sup>e</sup> Christians & Indians inhabitants thereof

\* Henry Compton was consecrated bishop of Oxford at Lambeth on December 6th, 1674. In December of the next year he was translated to the see of London. Here his career was at times a very stormy one, and particularly during the reign of James II., by his being suspended from the exercise of his episcopal functions. He aided the secret and revolutionary movement which placed William of Orange on the throne. James II. reversed Compton's suspension on September 28th, 1688, but too late to be conciliatory; for it was Compton who crowned William on April 11th, 1689. He was a commissioner of trade and plantations, and in this capacity had the supervision of the churches of the English colonies. More adapted for a statesman than an ecclesiastic, talking "more like a colonel than a bishop," he is credited, nevertheless, with great benevolences, which disintegrated his private purse, so that he died a poor man. Compton was born in 1632 at Compton Wynyates, Warwickshire, and died on July 7th, 1713, at Fulham.

† Benjamin Fletcher was commissioned by William and Mary "Capt<sup>n</sup> Generall and Gov<sup>r</sup> in Chief in and over our Province of New York and the Territories thereon depending in America," on March 18th, 1692. He arrived at New York in the ship *Wolf*, on August 30th, and at once presented to the council his credentials. His commission became void upon the arrival of the Earlof Bellomont, April 1st, 1698.

LAST PAGE OF MILLER'S INTRODUCTION WITH HIS SIGNATURE  
(Original Size)

or bordering thereon & also taken the Draughts of all the City's Towns Forts & Churches of any note within the same with particular accounts of the number of o<sup>r</sup> Indians the strength of Canida & way thither & severall other matters which would have enabled me to give an exact account of the p<sup>r</sup>sent Estate of that Province & the methods proper to be used for the correcting certain evils therein & Advantaging thereof principally as to religious affairs; I was (obliged so to do by severall weighty motives\* especially those of my private concerns) returning whom<sup>†</sup> with them in July last <sup>‡</sup> when being met & Set upon by a French Privateer and made his Prisoner I was obliged to cause them all to be thrown over board lest I should have given Intelligence to an Enemy to the ruine of the Province in stead of a friendly Information to the Advantaging thereof. But having had time by my long Imprisonment\*\* & leasure also sufficient I though[t] I could not better imploy them than by endeavouring to retrieve some part of what I had lost & put it in such a method as might testify the Earnest desire

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\* The "motives" may have been his property interests in England, as well as the instability of ecclesiastical affairs in New York.

<sup>†</sup> A slip of the pen, of course, for "home."

<sup>‡</sup> In the year 1695.

\*\* We have not discovered an exact record of the duration of his imprisonment, which seems to have lasted until some time in 1696, the year in which he returned to England.

I have to promote the glory of God, the service of my Sovereign & the benefit of my Country. What I have been able to doe, through Gods Assistance. the help of my memory & certain knowledge I had of things Yo<sup>r</sup> Lord<sup>p</sup>. will find in the following sheets, which however weak & imperfect as it must needs be I humbly present to Yo<sup>r</sup> Lord<sup>p</sup>. as an evidence of my duty & gratitude submitting it to your wise inspection & serious consideration either to be further improved if it seem proper for the End it is designed or rejected if it be unworthy of any respect. Intreating your Lord<sup>p</sup>. to pardon what faults & blemishes shall be found therein & heartily praying that the Giver of all good things would bless your Lord<sup>p</sup>. with health & prosperity & success in all your affairs I make bold in all duty to subscribe myself

My Lord

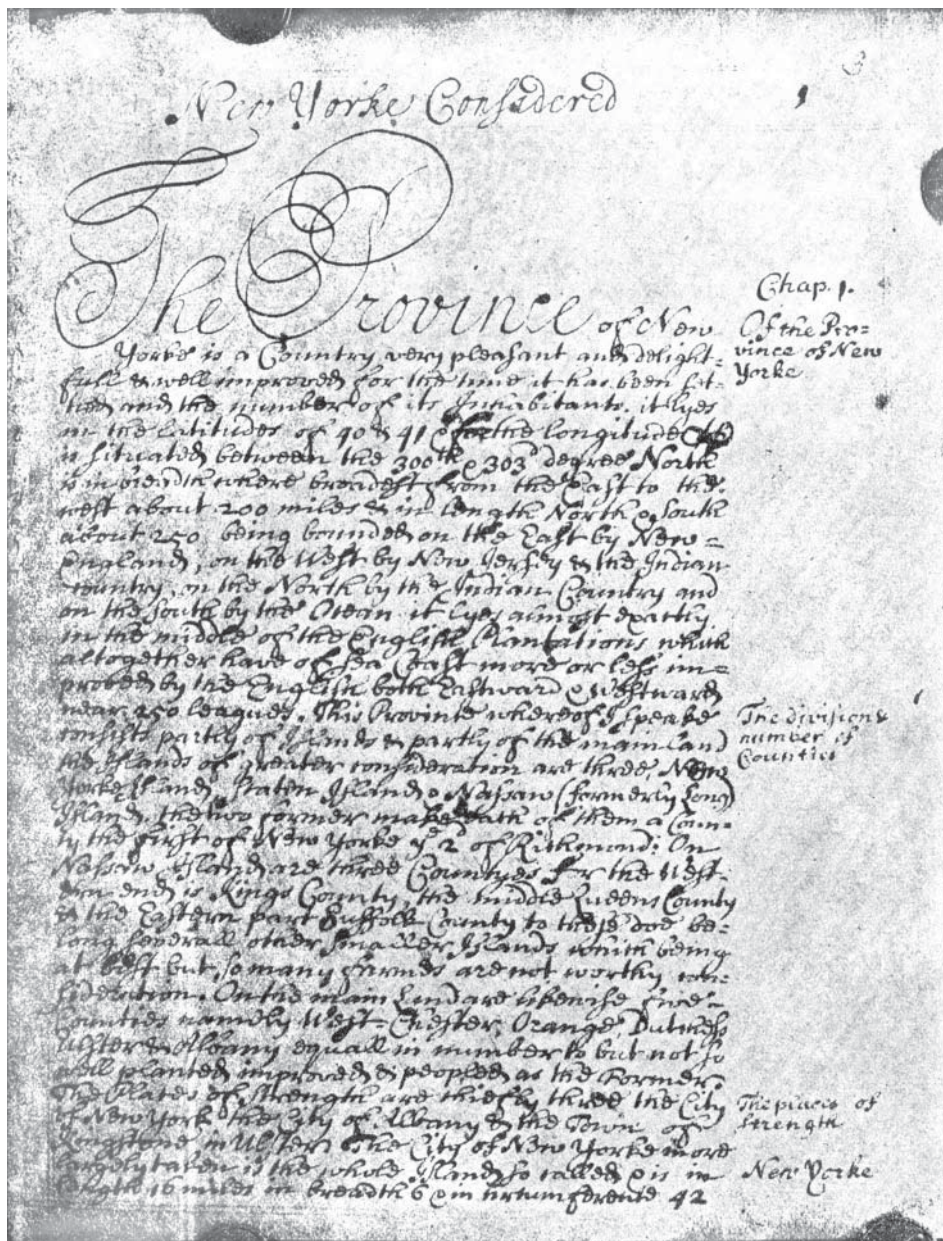
Your Lord<sup>ps</sup>. most faithfull

&

humble servant

JOHN MILLER





THE PROVINCE of New Yorke is a Country very pleasant and delightfull & well improved for the time it has been settled and the number of its Inhabitants. it lyes in the latitudes of 40 & 41 & for the longitude is situated between the 300<sup>th</sup> & 303<sup>d</sup> degree\* North is in breadth where broadest from the East to the west about 200 miles & in length North & South about 250 being bounded on the East by New England, on the West by New Jersey & the Indian country, on the North by the Indian Country and on the South by the Ocean it lyes almost exactly in the middle of the English Plantations which altogether have of sea Coast more or less improved by the English both Eastward & Westward near 250 leagues. This Province whereof I speake consists partly of Islands & partly of the mainland the Islands of greater consideration are three, New Yorke Island, Staten Island & Nassaw

CHAP. I.  
Of the Province of New Yorke

The division  
& number of  
Counties

\* A vagary for 30th and 33rd.

(formerly Long) Island.\* the two former make each of them a County the first of New Yorke y<sup>e</sup> 2<sup>d</sup> of Richmond: On Nassaw Island are three Count yes for the Western end is Kings County, the middle Queens County & the Eastern part Suffolk County to these doe belong severall other smaller Islands which being at best but so many farmes are not worthy consideration. On the main Land are likewise five Counties namely West-Chester, Orange, Dutchess Ulster & Albany equall in number to but not so well planted improved & peopled as the Former. The Places of Strength are chiefly three the City of New York

The places  
of strength

\* At a council held at Fort William Henry on March 22nd, 1693, Gov. Fletcher "rose up and said" among other things, "There is one small request to you which I hope will meet with noe opposition and that is that the King's name may live forever amongst you I would have a bill passe for the calling Long Island the Island of Nassaw."—*MS. Council Minutes*, vol. vi., p. 69, in New York State Library.

The bill was introduced and read for the first time in the general assembly at the afternoon session of March 30th; went through a second reading the next morning; was "ordered to be engrossed;" and at the afternoon session of that day was "read the third Time, passed, and ordered to be sent up to the Governor and Council, for their Assent." It was returned to the assembly with an amendment on April 1st. Thereupon a committee was selected to confer with a similar committee from the council "about the Addition of the Bill."—*Journal of the Votes and Proceedings of the General Assembly of the Colony of New-York*. New York: Hugh Gaine, 1764, vol. i., pp. 30, 31. It was finally enacted by statute on April 10th, 1693. This "alteration which arose from political vanity, and was neither popular, or generally adopted," although never explicitly repealed, has "by general consent been suffered to become obsolete."—Thompson's *History of Long Island*, second edition, New York, 1843, vol. i., p. 170.

the City of Albany & the Town of Kingstone in Ulster. The City of New Yorke more largely taken is the whole Island \* so called & is in length 16 miles in breadth 6 & in circumference 42 but more strictly considered & as a place of strength is only the part thereof within the fortifications & so is not in length or breadth above two furlongs & in circumference a mile. The form of it is triangular having for y<sup>e</sup> sides thereof the west & north lines & the East & South for its Arched basis the chief place of strength it boasts of is its fort situated on the southwest Angle which is reasonably strong & well provided with Ammunition having in it about 38 Guns mounted. on the Basis likewise in convenient places are three Batteries of Great Guns one of 15 call'd Whitehall Batterie,†

New Yorke

\* The area of Manhattan is today nearly twenty-two square miles or 14,000 acres. Its length is thirteen and one-half miles; its width varies from a few score rods to two and one-half miles.

† Governor Fletcher wrote to the committee of trade on October 9th, 1693, as follows: "I have sounded in sev<sup>l</sup> places between the Fort at New York and Sandy hook, and design to make a Platforme on the Out most Rocks under the Fort and Erect a battery thereon : it is so designed that by the swiftness of the tyde no ship can ride before the Town, but must have her Stemm or Stern towards it." In another letter to the same, dated January 22nd, 169¾, he said, "I have projected the building a platforme whereon to raise a battery for the defence of New York from attempts by sea being the Key and Centre of the English Plantations on this main, the Inhabitants are now at work to gett Stockades to fill up the water, it will take some time to finish it."—*N. Y. Col. Docs.*, vol. iv., pp. 57, 75. These works were commonly known as the Whitehall Battery and extended from the present Whitehall Street westward two or three hundred feet.—Valentine's *History of the City of New York*. New York, 1853, p. 214.



one of 5 by the Stadthouse \* & the third of 10 by the Burghers path.<sup>†</sup> on the North-east Angle is a strong blockhouse and halfe moon wherein are 6 or 7 guns this part butts upon the River & is all along fortified with a sufficient bank of Earth. On the North side are two large stone Points & therein about 8 Guns some mounted & some unmounted. on the Northwest Angle is a Blockhouse & on the West side 2 Horneworks which are furnished with some Guns 6 or 7 in

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\* The Stadt Huys, city hall or town hall, as it is variously designated, was erected originally in 1642 under the auspices of the Dutch West India Company as a city tavern, and in 1654 was granted to the burgomasters and schepens of New Amsterdam. It was substantially built of stone, and stood on the present northwest corner of Pearl Street and Coenties Alley. In August, 1699, it was sold at auction to John Rodman, a merchant, "for one hundred and ten pounds sterling," according to Valentine's *History of the City of New York*, p. 83; compare also p. 213. Early in the spring of 1700 it was in course of demolition, as shown by a complaint lodged by a Mrs. Davis against Rodman "for intending to pull down a party wall between her house and the city hall."—*Calendar of Council Minutes*, p. 145. A good account, with plans and illustrations, of this building is given in chap. xv. of Innes's *New Amsterdam and its People*. New York, 1902.

<sup>†</sup> The Burger's or Burgher's Path was named from Burger Jorisen or Jorissen, a native of Hirschberg in Silesia, who came to America in 1637, soon settled in New Amsterdam, and carried on the trade of a blacksmith. This path was originally a kind of ravine or gully, which had been deepened to afford a passage for vehicles to the shore. It extended from about the present Old Cotton Exchange to Old Slip, and is pictured in a view (1679) in the *Journal of Dankers and Sluyter*, published in 1867 by the Long Island Historical Society.—Compare Gerard's *Old Streets of New York under the Dutch*. New York, 1874, p. 47; Post's *Old Streets of New York*. New York, 1882, p. 9; Innes's *New Amsterdam and its People*. New York, 1902, pp. 222, 224.

number, this side butts upon Hudsons River, has a bank in some places 20 fathom high from the water by reason whereof & a stockade strengthened with a banke of Earth on the Inside (which last is also on the North side to the landward) it is not Easily Assailable. As this City is the chief place of Strength belonging to this Province for its defence against those Enemies who come by sea So Albany is of Principall consideration against those who come by land the French & Indians of Canida it is distant from New Yorke 150 miles & lyes up Hudsons River on the west side on the descent of a hill\* from the West to the Eastward. It is in circumference about 6 furlongs & hath therein about 200 houses<sup>†</sup> (a fourth part of what there is Reckoned to be in N. Yorke. The forme of it is septangular & the longest line that which butts upon the River running from the north to the south. On the West Angle is the fort quadrangular strongly stockaded & ditched round having in it 21 pieces of Ordinance mounted. On the Northwest side are two

Albany

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\* The fort was at the head of the present State Street, just below the State Capitol. In 1695 State Street was known as Jonkers Street. In what is perhaps the oldest extant plan of Albany (1676) it is called "Joncaer Straet."

<sup>†</sup> The total population of the county and city of Albany, in 1698, was found from actual census to be 382 men, 272 women, 805 children, 23 negroes, and 1,320 Indians, which proved to be a considerable decrease as compared with the year 1689.—*Doc. Hist. of N. Y.*, vol. i., pp. 467, 468.

The Fort of  
Scanectade

Blockhouses & on the south west as many on the south-east angle stands 1 blockhouse, in the middle of the line from thence Norward is a horned worke & on the North-east Angle a mount. the whole City is well stockaded round & in the severall fortifications named are about 30 Guns. Dependant on this City & about 20 miles distance to the northward from it is the Fort of Scanectade\* quadrangular, with a treble stockade a new blockhouse at every angle & in each blockhouse 2 great Guns & Nestigayuna & the half moon places† formerly of Some account

\* Schenectady appropriated the original name of Albany, which was a compounded word in the Seneca dialect, Skā-neh'-tā-de, meaning "beyond the openings."—Morgan's *League of the Iroquois*. New York, 1901, vol. ii., p. 81. It was spelled in many odd ways in the Dutch, English, and French documents of the colonial period. The fort which Miller describes was built in 1690 between the present Washington Street and the river, opposite the west end of State Street.—Howell and Munsell's *History of the County of Schenectady*. New York, 1886, pp. 36, 37, where a full history of the forts may be found. On account of the great poverty of the inhabitants in 1692, due to the war, they were exempted from paying their quota of taxes, amounting to £29 7s.—*Calendar of Council Minutes*, p. 77. Compare also Pearson's *History of the Schenectady Patent*. Albany, 1883, pp. 303–333, 436–440.

† Both places are located on Sauthier's *Map of the Province of New York*, 1779; the former about fourteen miles from Albany, on the north bank of the Mohawk River, west of Cohoes Falls; the Half Moon or Haalve-Maan (now Waterford, Saratoga County) about eleven miles northwest of Albany, on the west bank of the Hudson, on the jut of land between that river and the Mohawk.—Cf. *N. Y. Col. Docs.*, vol. iv., p. 968, and *Doc. Hist. of New York*, vol. ii., p. 132; Sylvester's *History of Saratoga County*, p. 333.

Upon the advent of the whites Canestigione was occupied by a tribe of Indians from whom it took its name, the designation meaning "extensive corn flats." The present township of Niskayuna,

The Fort at  
y<sup>e</sup> Flats

Kingstone

but now deserted. On this City also depends the Fort at y<sup>e</sup> Flats\* four miles from Albany belonging to the River Indians who are about sixty families it is stockaded round, has a blockhouse & a mount but no great Guns, there are in it 5 Indian Wigwams & a house or two serving in case of necessity for the Soldjers in number 24 who are the guard there. Kingstone is the chief town of Ulster County. lyes on the west side of Hudsons River but 2 miles distant from it from New

on the opposite bank of the Mohawk, contiguous to Schenectady, was formed in 1809 from Watervliet in Albany County. The name was written in many forms, and as a list may have philological interest, we present it from a variety of contemporary sources, as follows: Canassigioene, Canastagione, Canastagiowne, Canastaguyone, Canestigaion, Canestigaone, Canestigione, Canestigogione, Cannestagione, Cannestigaioenna, Cenestigaona, Conestageoni, Conistiglono, Connestagioena, Connestagnioena, Ganestagayune, Kanestigionne, Kanestigiorma, Kanestiguione, Kenestigaione, Nastagione, Nestigaune, Nistigione, Nis-ti-go-oo-ne, Quanestigoane, Quenestagione, Quenestigeane, and Quenestigione.—See for further historical details Howell and Munsell's *History of the County of Schenectady*, Pearson's *History of the Schenectady Patent*.

\*The Mohegans or Mahicans, of the Algonquian family, dwelt with other tribes of this family on the Hudson, and were known as River Indians. Their ancestral home was where the city of Troy now stands, and along the fertile meadows which stretched along the river. About 1628 some of them, at least, were driven out by the Mohawks, and settled in the valley of the Connecticut. After King Philip's War some of these returned to their ancestral seat, which they now occupied with the Schaticooks. The "Fort at y<sup>e</sup> Flats," referred to by Miller, seems to me to have been located at the present Watervliet City (until lately known as West Troy). It received considerable attention in the records of the latter part of the seventeenth century. Cf. Ruttenber's *History of the Indian Tribes of Hudson's River*. Albany, 1872, pp. 34, 44, 57–59, 85–87, 166, 186.

Yorke 86 & from Albany 64 miles: it is quadrangular & stockaded round having small hornworks at convenient distances one from the other & in proper places it is in circumference near as big as Albany but as to number of houses not above halfe so big: on the South side is a particular part separated by a stockade from the rest & Strengthened with a blockhouse & a horneworke wherein are about 6 guns.

The Inhabitants

The number of the Inhabitants in this Province are about 3000 families\* whereof almost one halfe are naturally Dutch a great part English and the rest French which how they are seated & what number of families of each Nation what Churches, meeting houses Ministers or pretended Ministers there are in each County may be best discerned by the table here inserted. As to their Religion they are very much divided. few of them intelligent & sincere but the most part ignorant & conceited, fickle & regardless. As to their wealth & disposition thereto ye Dutch are rich & sparing, the English neither very rich nor too great husbands, the French are poor and therefore forced to be penurious: As to their way of trade & dealing they are all generally cunning and crafty but many of them not so just to their words as they Should be.

\* The total population of the province—men, women, children, and negroes—as it existed in 1698, was 18,067. In 1703 they numbered 20,749; in 1723, whites, negroes, and other slaves, 40,564.—*Doc. Hist. of N. Y.*, vol. 1., pp. 467, 469, 471.

The Air of this Province is very good & much like that of the best parts of France not very often foggy nor yet cloudy or rainy for any long time together but generally very cleare & thin the Northwest wind frequently visits it & chiefly in winter. nor does there want in the summer the Southern breezes which daily almost rise about 9 or 10 in the morning & continue till sunset. The weather is indeed hotter in summer than one would well wish it & in winter colder than he can well endure it but both heat & cold are in their seasons much abated by the wind last spoaken of. The coldest wind is generally reckoned to be the Northwest & it is certainly very sharp and piercing & causes most hard & severe frosts but in my judgement the Southwest exceeds it much but the best of it is that it does not blow very often there from that Quarter.

The Air

The Air & Winds being such as I have said the Country consequently should be very healthfull & this is certainly so & I dare boldly affirm it to be on that particular & most beneficiall account the best Province his Majesty has in all America & so very agreeable to the constitution of his subjects so that a sober Englishman may go into it live there & come out of it again without any seasoning or other sickness caused meerly by the Country nay it is so far from causing that on the contrary if a man be any thing consumptive & not too far

healthfulness

gone 'tis ten to one but it will cure him & if inclin'd to Rhumes or colds will in a great part if not wholly free him from them

Land &  
produce

If the Air be good the land is not bad but taking one place with another very tolerable yea commendable there are 'tis true many rocks & mountains but I beleive the goodness of their inside as to Metalls and Mineralls will w<sup>n</sup>. searched make amends for the barrenness of the outside there are also many woods & boggs or rather Swamps but few complain of them because they afford them mast for their hoggs & food for their breeding mares & Cowes also in the summer time firr, walnut Cedar Oak of severall kinds & many other sorts of Wood proper for building of ships or houses or necessary for fencing and fuell turpentine for Physicall uses & pitch & tar for the seamans service, many Physicall herbs & much wild fowle as Swans Geese Ducks Turkies a kind of Pheasants & Partridges Pidgeons &<sup>c</sup> & no less store of good Venison so that you may sometimes buy at your door a quarter for 9<sup>d</sup> or a shilling. Hence also they have their Furrs Such as Beaver Otter Fisher Martin Muskrat Bearskin &<sup>c</sup> Indeed the Countenance of them is not so beautifull as some of our English writers would make us beleive, nor would I prefer in that respect y<sup>e</sup> wild Indian Country before our English Meadow's & closes much less our gardens when in their most

flourishing Estate notwithstanding that there are here & there many herbs such & as good as those we have growing in our gardens to be found wild as Mint, Sweet Marjerom &<sup>c</sup> & in their season strawberries & Walnuts & some other sorts of Fruits in great abundance especially grapes which I am perswaded if well improved would yield great quantities of strong & pleasant Wine.

He that is not pleased with these advantages may if he please to take a little pains in clearing the ground by stubbing up the trees & brushwood have good Arable land or pastures that shall instead of woods & their wild produce afford him good Corn & hay & a reasonable number of fat Cattle, indeed not all alike for y<sup>e</sup> land toward the South is generally a sandy soile & not very fruitful but rather something inclining to barrenness the corne that it produces is small, oftentimes spoyled by blasts & mildewes or eaten (especially the whitepeas) by the worms but then it produces very good Indian Corn or Maze,\* pleasant fruits as Apples Peachies Melons of Severall sorts good roots as Parsnips Turnips Carrots & as good Cab-

\* It is not possible to say with any confidence what plant is meant by "corne," since this was the general name at that time used by Englishmen for almost any kind of grain; it is as likely wheat was meant as anything.

"Blasts" is the same thing (but apparently obsolete) as our modem "blights." This latter word is used in a general sense for many forms of disease caused by parasitic plants, but botanists usually restrict it to the group known by them as *Erysipheæ*.



bagas as need to be eaten: but to the Northward & in the Indian Country the Land is much better the soile black & rich brings forth corne in abundance & that very firm large & good & besides all those fruits aforementioned (Peaches excepted) Cherries Pears & Currants.

Fish

Fish there is in great store both in the Sea & rivers many of them of ye Same kinds as we have in England & many strange & such as are not to be seen there some even with out name except such as was given them from the Order they were taken in as first second, third &<sup>c</sup>.<sup>\*</sup> These are the

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"Mildewes"—a word also used in bad senses—a more general one for any of the whitish fungi infecting leaves, and a more restricted one to the botanists, applied to the *Peronosporæ* and also to some of the *Erysipheæ*.

"Whitepeas," probably white peas, here included under corn, as was sometimes the custom. It is not possible to identify the variety meant under this name at that time.

"Worms," a popular term applied to the larvæ of various insects. The peas are subject to several such enemies, as are other varieties of grains. A common enemy of the peas is the larva of the pea-weevil, *Bruchus pisi*. Other varieties of weevils are destructive to the various grains.

"Indian Corn or Maze."—This is the well-known *Zea Mais* (also spelled *Mays*). A monograph on this plant is printed in vol. i. of the *Contributions from the Botanical Laboratory of the University of Pennsylvania*.

For the contents of this note I am greatly indebted to my friend. Dr. William F. Ganong, professor of botany at Smith College, Northampton, Mass.

\* In an account of Dutch names for the fish in the Hudson, Benson (*Memoir*, second edition. Jamaica, 1825, p. 84) states as follows: "A few only will be noticed—some denoted by numbers as their names—the TWAALF, the *twelve*, the *Streaked Bass*, and the ELF, the *Shad*—the name of the *Shad* in Dutch is ELFT, in German ALOFT, and in French ALOSE, all perhaps from the same

Produce of the Country I speake of & there are yet more than these peculiarly proper for the merchant, as trainoyl\* & whalebone tho in no very great quantity & pipe staves† of which many thousands are yearly transported, with severall other things which with some of those before named will admit of much improvement. The Industry that now is used is but little the few Inhabitants having a large Countrey before them care not for more than from hand to mouth & therefore they take but little pains & yet that little produces very good beer, bread, sider wine of Peaches Cloath Stuffs & beaver hats a certain & Sufficient sign how plentiful & beneficiall a Country it would be did but Industrious Art second natures bounty & were but the Inhabitants more in number than at p'sent they are.‡

Merchandizing in this Country is a good employment English goods yielding in New Yorke generally 100 P Cent. advance above the first cost and some of them 200, 300 yeas sometimes 400<sup>ll</sup> this makes so many in the City to follow it that

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root; but being pronounced here ELF, the number *eleven*, the number itself possibly came to be considered as its name, and so led to denote others in the same manner—the *Drum* is said to have been the DERTEIN, the thirteen."

\* Oil drawn or tried out from the blubber of the whale.

† Barrel-staves.

‡ The trade and manufactures of the province in 1705 are indicated in the *Doc. Hist. of N. Y.*, vol. i., pp. 487–491.

whosoever looks on their shops would wonder where there are so many to sell there should be any to buy

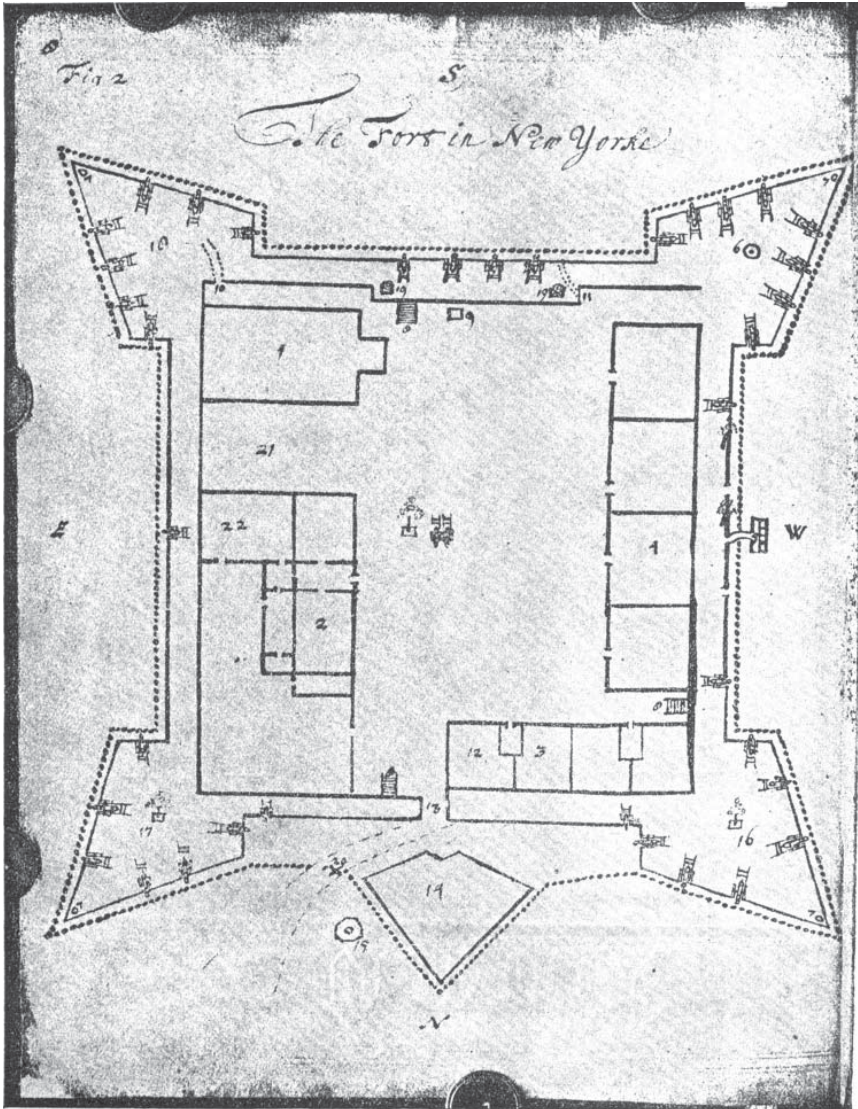
This joyned to the healthfulness pleasantness & fruitfulness thereof are great encouragements to people rather to seek the bettering of their fortunes here than elsewhere so that it may be hoped that a little time will render the inhabitants more numerous than at p<sup>r</sup>sent they are. Do men expect profit in what they carry with them to a forreign land ? they need not fear it here if their goods but suit the Country, would they live in health? no place more likely to live so in, in this part of America would they have plenty of necessaries for food and raiment New Yorke in these is not unkind but thô a stepmother to those who come from England yet furnishes them as plentifully if equally Industrious as their naturall Country does those who stay behind in short there is nothing wanting to make the Inhabitants thereof happy but some things w<sup>ch</sup> the Country cannot help them in, nor yet is guilty of the want thereof to which either themselves do contribute or which their ill settlement or worse government has introduced & Some things which the few years of their being a Province has not yet given any favourable opportunityes for nor permitted to be settled among them. which what they are I shall next proceed to discover & speak of in the

best method & Order that I can & with as much brevity as y<sup>e</sup> Subject will conveniently admit of after having first p<sup>r</sup>sentd to y<sup>e</sup> Reader some draughts or ground plots of the most remarkable places already discoursed of as you will perceive by considering these following figures.

[NEW YORK CITY]

The Explanation of Fig: 1.

- 1 The Chappel in the Fort of New Yorke
- 2 Leyslers halfe moone
- 3 Whitehall battery of 15 guns
- 4 The Old Dock
- 5 The Cage & Stocks
- 6 Stadthouse battery of 5 guns
- 7 The stadt-(or State-)house
- 8 The Custome house
- 8 8 The Bridge
- 9 Burghers or y<sup>e</sup> slip battery of 10 guns
- 10 The Fly blockhouse & half moon
- 11 The Slaughter houses
- 12 The New Docks
- 13 The French Church
- 14 The Jewes Synagogue
- 15 The Fort well & Pump
- 16 Ellets Alley
- 17 The works on the west side of the City
- 18 The Northwest Blockhouse
- 19 19 The Lutheran Church & Ministers house
- 20 20 The stone points on y<sup>e</sup> north side of the City
- 21 The Dutch Calvinist Church built 1692
- 22 The Dutch Calvinist Ministers house
- 23 The burying ground
- 24 A Windmill
- 25 The Kings Farm
- 26 Col<sup>l</sup> Dungans Garden



*M I L L E R ' S N E W Y O R K*

- 27 27 Wells  
 28 The Plat of ground design'd for y<sup>e</sup> E.  
 Min<sup>rs</sup>. house  
 29 29 The Stockado with a bank of earth on y<sup>e</sup>  
 inside  
 30 The ground proper for y<sup>e</sup> building an E.  
 Church  
 31.31 Showing y<sup>e</sup> Sea flowing about N. York  
 32.32 The City gates  
 33 A Postern gate

[FORT WILLIAM HENRY]

The Explanation of Fig: 2.

- 1 The Chappell  
 2 The Governours house  
 3 The Officers lodgings  
 4 The Soldjers lodgings  
 5 The necessary house  
 6 The Flag Staff & mount  
 7.7. The Centry boxes  
 8.8. Ladders to mount y<sup>e</sup> walls  
 9 The Well in y<sup>e</sup> Fort  
 10 The Magazine  
 11 The Sally port  
 12 The Secretary's Office  
 13 The Fortgate  
 14 A Hornworke before it  
 15 The Fort well & pump  
 16 Stone mount  
 17 The Iron mount

*M I L L E R ' S N E W Y O R K*

- 18 The town mount  
 19 19 2 Mortar pieces  
 20 A turn -stile  
 21 Ground for additionall buildings to y<sup>e</sup> G<sup>rs</sup>.  
 house  
 22 The Armory over y<sup>e</sup> Gov<sup>rs</sup>. Kitchin.

[ALBANY]

The Explanation of Fig : 3.

- 1 The Fort of Albany  
 2 The Dutch Calvinist Church  
 3 The Dutch Lutheran Church &  
 4 Burying place  
 5 The Dutch Calvinist burying place  
 6 The Dutch Calvinist Min<sup>rs</sup> house  
 7.7. The Blockhouses  
 8. The Stadthouse  
 9 A great gun to cleare a Gulley  
 10 10 The Stockado  
 11.11 The gates of the City 6 in all

[FORT OF ALBANY]

The Explanation of Fig : 4

- 1 The Gov<sup>r</sup> of Albany's house  
 2 The Officers lodgings  
 3 The Soldjers lodgings  
 4 The Flag-staff & mount ,  
 5 The Magazine  
 6 The Dial mount  
 7 The town mount

- 8 The Well
- 9.9 The Centry boxes
- 10 An Oven
- 11 The Sally port
- 12.12 The Ditch fortityed with stakes
- 18.18 The Gardens
- 14 The Stockado
- 16 The Fort gate

[SCHENECTADY FORT]

The Explanation of Fig : 5

- 1.1. The Blockhouses
- 2.2. Rivers runing beside the Fort
- 8.8 Indian Wigwams
- 4 The flag-staff
- 6 A Centry box
- 6 The Spy-loft
- 7.7. The styes for hoggs
- 8 The Blockhouse design'd for a Church
- 9.9 Those & others like them are houses
- 10 A great Barn
- 11.11. The Treble Stockado
- 12.12 The Fort gates

[INDIAN FORT AT THE FLATS ]

The Explanation of Fig: 6

- 1 The Blockhouse
- 2 The mount
- 8.8 The Stockado
- 4 The Indian houses or wigwams covered

- 5 A Wigwam open showing their beds &c
- 6 Houses for ye Soldjers use
- 7 The Fort gate

[KINGSTON]

The Explanation of Fig : 7.

- 1 The Blockhouse
- 2.2 The Church & burying place
- 3 The Ministers house
- 4 The part Separated & fortified
- 5 The Stockado
- 6 The house where y<sup>e</sup> Gov<sup>r</sup> is entertained
- 7.7 The Towne gates
- 8.8 The gates to the separate fortified part



IN NEW YORKE

[For Biographical Sketches to this Table, see Appendix A.]

COUNTYES	CHURCHES	MINISTERS	FAMILYES
NEW YORKE	Chappel in ye Fort Dutch Calvenist Dutch Lutheran French Jewes Synagogue Harlem	Dr Selinus <sup>1</sup>  Dr Perot <sup>2</sup> Saul Brown <sup>3</sup> Dr Selinus	90 450 30 200 20 25 English 40Dissentrs.
RICHMOND	A meeting house	Dr Bonrepos <sup>4</sup>	English 40 Dutch 44 French 36
KINGS	Flatbush Utrecht Brookland	Dr Varick <sup>5</sup> dyed Aug: 1694 & another sent for May 27 1695	300 or 400 chiefly Dutch
QUEENS	Jamaica } meeting Hamsted } houses Newtown }	Mr Philips <sup>6</sup> } without Mr Vesey <sup>7</sup> } any Mr Mot <sup>8</sup> } Orders	300 or 400 English most Dissentrs. and Some Dutch
SUFFOLK	8 or 9 meeting- houses almost one at every Towne	7 Ministers Dissrs. Presb. or Indep. one lately gone to Scot- land <sup>9</sup>	500 or 600 English & Dissentrs. for the most part
WEST-CHESTER	A Meeting-house at West-Chester	A Young man <sup>10</sup> com- ing to Settle there without Orders	200 or 300 English & Dissrs. fewDutch
ORANGE			20 English & Dutch
DUTCHESS			30 English & Dutch
ULSTER	Dutch Calvenist at Kingstone for five or six towns	A Minister to come his bookes brought but he miss'd his passage <sup>11</sup>	300 Dutch mostly Some English & French
ALBANY	Dutch Calvenist Dutch Lutheran Scanecthade Kinderhoeck	Dr Dellius <sup>12</sup>   A Dutch Minr Sent for	400 or 500 Dutch all Calvenists except 12 or 14 Lutherans

M I L L E R ' S N E W Y O R K

COME wee now to consider those things which I have said to be either wanting or obstructive to the happiness of New Yorke and here I shall not Speake of every slight or triviall matter but only those of more considerable importance which I count to be six 1<sup>st</sup> the wickedness & irreligion of the inhabitants. 2 want of Ministers. 3 Differ-ence of opinions in religion 4 a civil dissension 5 the heathenisme of the Indians & 6 the neigh-bourhood of Canida, of every one of these I shall say something as shall be most materiall

The 1<sup>st</sup>. is the wickedness & irreligion of the inhabitants which abounds in all parts of the Province & appears in so many shapes constituting so many sorts of sin that I can scarce tell which to begin withall. But as a great reason of & inlet to the rest I shall 1<sup>st</sup>. mention the great negligence of divine things that is generally found in most people of what Sect or party soever they p'tend to be. their eternall interests are their least con-cerne & as if Salvation were not a matter of moment when they have opportunitys of Serving God they care not for making use thereof or if they go to church 'tis but too often out of curi-osity & to find out faults in him that preacheth rather than to hear their own or what is yet worse to slight & deride where they should be Serious if they have none of those opportunities they are well contented & regard it little if their

CHAP: 2  
Of the Evils  
& Inconve-  
nencies in  
N. Yorke

Irreligion

be any who seem otherwise & discontented many of them when they have them make appear by their Actions 'twas but in show; for tho at first they will pretend to have a great regard for Gods ordinances & a high esteem for the Ministry whether reall or p<sup>r</sup>tended a little time will plainly evidence that they were more pleased at the novelty than truly affected with the Benefit when they Blight that which they before seemingly so much admired & Speake evill of him who before was the subject of their praise & commendation & that without any other reason than their own fickle temper & envious humour. In a soile so ranke as this no marvail if the Evill one find a ready entertainm<sup>t</sup>. for the seed he is minded to cast in & from a people so inconstant & regardless of Heaven & holy things no wonder if God withdraw his grace & give them up a prey to those temptations which they so industriously seek to imbrace hence is it therefore that their naturall corruption without check or hinderance is by frequent acts improved into habits most evill in the practice & Difficult in the correction.

Drunken-  
ness

One of which & the 1<sup>st</sup>. I am minded to speake of is drunkenness \* which thô of itself a great sin

\* On November 3rd, 1685, "A Bill against Drunkenness" was passed, from which we learn that "the Loathsome and Odious Sinne of Drunkenness is growne into Comon use within this province being the root and foundation of many other Enormous Sinnes as bloodshed stabbing murther swearing fornication Adultery and such

is yet aggravated in that it is an occasion of many others. 'Tis in this Country a common thing even for the meanest persons so soon as the bounty of God has furnished them with a plentiful crop to turne what they can as soon as may be into mony & that mony into drinke at the Same time when their family at home have nothing but rags to protect their bodies from the Winters cold nay if the fruits of their plantations be such as are by their own immediate labour convertible into liquor such as Sider Perry &c they have scarce the patience to stay till it is fit for drinking but inviting their pot-companions they all of them neglecting whatsoever worke they are about set to it together & give not over till they have drank it of.\* And to these sottish ingagements they will make nothing to ride 10 or 20 miles & at the conclusion of one debauch another generally is appointed except their stock of liquor fail them. Nor are the meane & Country people only guilty

like to the Great Dishonour of God and of this province." It was therefore ordered that for every lawful conviction of the "Offence of Drunkenness" a fine of five shillings current money of the province should be required within one week "after his her or their Conviction," to be paid to the constable of the town, city, or village where the offense was committed. In case the offender was unable to pay this fine, it was further required that "the Offender or Offenders for Every such Offence shall be Comitted to the stocks for the space of Six houres by the Constable of Such City towne or Village."—*Colonial Laws of New York*, vol. i. (Albany, 1894), pp. 174, 175.

\* A frequent error for "off."

of this vice but they are equalled nay Surpassed by many in the City of New Yorke whose daily practice is to frequent the taverns & to Carouse & game their night imployment. This course is the ruine & destruction of many merchants especially those of the Younger sort who carrying over with them a stock whether as Factors or on their own Account Spend even to prodigality till they find themselves bankrupt e'er they are aware.

Swearing &  
cursing

In a town where this course of life is led by many tis no wonder if there be other vices in vogue because they are the naturall product of it such are cursing & Swearing\* to both of which People are here much accustomed some doing it in that frequent horrible & dreadfull manner as if they prided themselves both as to the number and invention of them this joyned with their profane Atheisticall & scoffing method of discourse makes their Company extreamly uneasy to sober & religious men who sometimes by reason of their affairs cannot help being of their society & becoming ear-witnesses of their blasphemy & folly. 'tis strange that men should ingage themselves so

\* Miller is correct in his statement that "good laws" were enacted against cursing and swearing. Such a law was passed on November 3rd, 1685.—*Colonial Laws of New York*, vol. 1, p. 174. Similar propositions were suggested in the general assembly on August 23rd, 1692, and October 4th, 1695, but apparently nothing was done in the matter in either case.—*Journal of the Votes and Proceedings of the General Assembly* (Gaine's edition), vol. i, pp. 21, 59.

foolishly & run into y<sup>e</sup> Commission of so great a sin unto which they have no sufficient, often not a p<sup>r</sup>tended, provocation & from which they reap no advantage nor any reall pleasure: & yet we see them even delight in it & no discourse is thought witty or eloquent except larded with oaths & execrations howsoever difficult these sins may be to be corrected in a large & populous Kingdome I should Scarce think them so in a Province where the totall number of Inhabitants will scarce equall y<sup>e</sup> 64000<sup>th</sup>. part\* of those who are computed to be in London, nay am sure they might be much hindred were but the good lawes made against them put duly in execution

'Tis a[n] ordinary thing with vices that one of them introduces another & is a reason of their easy & common success & so we see it here: That where men drink to so high a pitch & pamper their debauched Palats with the rich & most nourishing vyands y<sup>e</sup> country affords 'tis certain the flesh must grow high & rebellious so as imperiously to command where it ought to obey nay not to be contented without variety whatsoever obstacle or impediment lyes in the way. Reason that should rule & direct to better things is so far debauched that she p<sup>r</sup>tends to defend the contrary & by objecting the troubles & confinements of a married state & extolling y<sup>e</sup> Sweet & unconfined

Adultery  
fornication  
& unlawfull  
marriages

\* A vagary of course for "64th."



pleasures of the wandering libertines prevails with many not to think fornication may not Adultery dangerous sins but rather to be chosen than lawfull wedlock the proper & really sufficient (tho not to debauched & pampered bodies) remedy for the hinderance of these evils. I say tis a proper & sufficient remedy if duly practiced & according to Law & reason which in New Yorke it is not because

1 There are many couples live together without ever being married in any manner of way many of whom after they have lived some yeares so, quarrell & thereupon seperating take unto themselves either in New Yorke or Some other Province new Companions but grant they do not so, how can such expect that God should bless them together while they live in open contempt of his holy Ordinance

2 Those who in earnest do intend to be married together are in so much hast that commonly injoyment p<sup>r</sup>ceeds the marriage to which they seldom come till a great belly puts it so forward that they must either submit to that or to shame & disgrace which they avoid by marriage Antenuptiall fornication where that succeeds being not looked upon as any scandall or sin at all

3 There is no sufficient provision for the marrying of People in this Province\* the most that

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\* The laws and essential requisites of marriage in New Netherland and New York are summarized in the *Collections of the New-York Gen. and Biog. Society*, vol. i. (1890), pp. vi–xii. Miller is mistaken in claiming that “there neither is nor can be in New York

are married here being married by Justices of the peace for which there neither is nor can be in New York any Law, on this account many looking upon it as no marriage at all & being easily induced to think it so when they find themselves pinched by the contract think it no great matter to divorce themselves as they term it & marry to others where they can best & according to their own liking. Whether this manner of marrying by Justices of the Peace be a sufficient ingagement to the married couple to live together is to me a matter not disputable & in the mean while the Scandall & Evill that flowes from hence is very great & I my self know at this time a man who fills the place & exercises the Office of a Minister & SchoolM<sup>r</sup>. in the Island of Barbado's that was married to a woman of New Yorke by a Justice of peace & after falling out with her betooke himself to another woman whom he got with Child & went afterwards to Barbado's where (if he be not married to her, at least) he lives with her as tho She were his wife. the woman the mean time continuing in New Yorke was soon after married to another man

4 Supposing the way of marrying were lawfull

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any Law” concerning marriage by justices of the peace. This was legal under the Duke's laws; was embodied in the Dongan laws (passed October 23rd, 1684), and is yet a common statute of this state.—*Colonial Laws of New York*, vol. i. pp. 45–47, 150–151. Bigamy was a capital offense.

yet many Justices are so ignorant or mean spirited or both that thereby it comes to pass they are often p<sup>r</sup>vail'd upon to marry a couple together that are either one or both of them ingaged or married to other persons: an eminent instance hereof I knew in New Yorke a Woman dissolute in manners & not liking to live with her husband contracted her self to another person & came w<sup>th</sup>. him to a Justice of peace to be married the Justice knowing the woman to be the wife of another man refused at first to marry them but they understanding he had offended in the like matter before threatned to acquaint the Gov<sup>r</sup> therewith if he would not marry them also, which rather than hazard, he granted their request thus offending the 1<sup>st</sup>. time through ignorance and the Second through fear. I came to know of it by this means. the woman thus married outliving her second husband had inviegled the Son of an honest woman of Nassaw Island to marry her, her first husband yet living, his Mother looking upon Such a Match as his ruine sought all she could to hinder it & as her last refuge came to me desiring me to do what I could that he might not have a licence out of the Secretaries office, which I obstructed by entring a Caveat & so p<sup>r</sup>vented it for that time & w<sup>t</sup> is done in it Since I cannot tell but this am sure of that the too frequent practice of this evill is such as lowdly calls for redress & amendment.

The great encouragement for gaining a livelihood this [*i. e.*, that] is given to people in this province where whosoever will take pains may have land enough whereon to raise an estate for themselves & heirs and the mean accomodations, or at best the no great riches of the 1<sup>st</sup>. inhabitants have been the reason that thieving & robbing has been very little practiced in this Country. But now of late since Some people are become wealthy enough to purchase & have by them what is worth the taking away & that the out parts of the Province (where the best land is) towards Canida are so harrassed by the French & their Indians that men are fearfull to plant & dwell there & that people are fallen into so great debauchery & Idleness thieving is become more frequent & many considerable Robberies have been committed in my time in New Yorke to the great discouragement of Industrious people & increase of vice & Sin. there are many other wickednesses which I might Speake of as wanting redress but there is no need of inlarging on their account for where these of greater note already spoaken of are discouraged the rest will of themselves fall to nothing.

Theft

A SECOND & great inconveniency this Province Suffers under is in relation to a Ministry, for it is most certain that where there are persons of Some repute and Authority living who give good

CHAP. 3  
Of y<sup>e</sup> Ministry &  
deficiency therein

example by their sober lives & conversations & diligence in their duty sin is mightily discouraged & religion and vertue gain ground upon her daily & increase and flourish & that where there are none Such vice has a free course & Religion continually decays & what by the negligence of men & the malice & subtilty of the Enemy of all goodness runs to ruine. Now in New Yorke there are either

1. No Ministers at all that is of the settled & established Religion of y<sup>e</sup> nation & of Such there is not oftentimes one in the whole Province nor at any time except the Chaplain to his Majesties forces in N. Yorke that does discharge or pretend to discharge the duty of a Minister & he being but one cannot do it every where nay but in very few places but N. Yorke it Selfe & being necessitated sometimes to go to England it happens that both the Garrison & City are without a Minister a year together, it happens also that he is often changed which is not without its inconveniences but proves very prejudiciall to Religion in many cases as is easy to instance, besides while he does his duty among them he shall experience their gratitude but very little & be Sure to meet with a great many discouragements except instead of reprehending and correcting he will connive at & soothe people in their sinfull Courses

2 Or Secondly if there be any Ministers they

are Such as only call themselves so & are but p<sup>r</sup>tended Ministers, Many of them have no orders at all but set up for themselves of their own head and Authority or if they have Orders are presbyterians Independants &c Now all these have no other incouragement for the Pains they p<sup>r</sup>tend to take than the voluntary contributions of the People or at best a Salary by agreement & Subscription which yet they shall not injoy except they take more care to please the humours & delight the fancies of their hearers than to preach up true religion and a Christian life hence it comes to pass that the people live very loosely and they themselves very poorly at best, if they are not forced for very necessity & by the malice of Some of their hearers to forsake their Congregations besides being of different perswasions & striving to settle Such sentim<sup>ts</sup>. as they indulge themselves in, in the hearts of those who are under their Ministry they do more harm in distracting & dividing y<sup>e</sup> people than good in the amending their lives & conversations \*

3 Or thirdly if there be or have been any Min-

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\* One cannot forbear calling attention to Miller's somewhat uncharitable characterization of the dissenting ministers and congregations. It presents a touch of feeling of the polemical age in which he lived; but it is a fact that these dissenters often displayed a remarkable spirit of Christian comity among themselves, as different denominations, when one reflects upon the surroundings in which they were placed, or compares them with English or continental practices.

isters & those Ministers of the Church of England, they have been here & are in other Provinces many of them such as being of a vicious life & conversation have played so many vile pranks & shown such an ill light as has been very prejudicial to Religion in generall & the Church of England in particular, or else they have been such as thô sober yet have been very young & so instead of doing good have been easily drawn into the Commission of evill & become as scandalous as those last mentioned. Now thô as to this last charge I must not be conceived to speake so much in relation to N. Yorke as the Other English Plantations because there has been generally from time to time but one Minister at a time as Chaplain to their Majesties Forces there. yet is not N. Yorke wholly unconcerned herein since there having been severall Chaplains successive to one another some have not so carried themselves as to be, & that deservedly, without blame besides three that I know of have come by the by whose either life or knowledge or both have not been comendable & as I am informed there is one there now & another going from Barbado's, the former not free from all exception & the latter lying under very great Scandall.\*

\* Miller's predecessors were, in order, as follows: (1) Rev. Charles Wolley, A.M.; (2) Rev. John Gordon; (3) Rev. Josias Clarke; and (4) Rev. Alexander Innes. His successor, Rev. Symon Smith, is mentioned as chaplain as early as August 27th, 1696.—*Cal. of*

THE Province of N. Yorke being peopled by severall nations there are manifold & different opinions of Religion among them as to which tho there are but very few of any sect who are either reall or intelligent yet severall of the partizans of Each sort have every one Such a desire of being uppermost & increasing the number of their own party that they not only thereby make themselves unhappy by destroying true piety & setting up instead thereof a fond heat & blind Zeale for they know not what but also industriously obstruct the settlement of the establish'd Religion of the nation which only can make them happy & have hitherto either by their craft & cunning or their mony prospered in their designs & to do thus they have but to much p'tence from the Scandalous lives of Some Ministers the Matter considered under the former head.

CHAP. 4.  
Of  
difference  
in Religion

I SHALL in the 4th. place reckon as not a small unhappiness to the Province of N. Yorke the Division in the civil State happening on this occasion. When his p'sent Gracious Majesty came into England to redeem us from Popery and Arbitrary Power the News of his Success arriving in New

CHAP. 5  
Of the civil  
division

*Council Minutes*, p. 118. Smith was suspended by the Earl of Bellomont on August 7th, 1700, "for affronting my Lord Bishop of London and for living a scandalous life, in neglecting his cure, parting with his wife, and cohabiting with another woman."—*N. Y. Col. Docs.*, vol. iv., p. 719.

England put Some people there upon overturning the Government which they effected, how just their reasons & proceedings were is not my business to inquire but this action of theirs put the inhabitants of N. Yorke upon the like project. Col<sup>l</sup> Nicholson\* the then Lievtenant Gov<sup>r</sup>. and the Councill thought it best to attend orders what they should do from England & in the mean while the Col<sup>l</sup> to free the people from all jealousies & fears permitted daily a proportionable part of the City train bands to have the guard of the Fort<sup>†</sup> with the Kings soldjers. But M<sup>r</sup>. Jacob Leysler,<sup>‡</sup> a man of Small beginnings but thence grown a Merchant & about this time decaying in his fortune, & others of his party were no wayes contented with this moderate course proposed but p<sup>r</sup>tending fears of being sold or given to the French & terming all Papists or popishly affected who did not favour his designs Siezed upon the Fort & Government too in the Managem<sup>t</sup>. of which he did many good things & if people say truth was guilty of doing many things that were irregular & some very bad as unlawfully imprisoning the Kings Subjects taking away their goods by force designing to kill the naturall English & all who joyned

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\* Francis Nicholson.

† Fort William, which soon after, and during Miller's sojourn in New York, was known as Fort William Henry.

‡ Jacob Leisler.

with them man woman & child &c so that when Col<sup>l</sup> Slaughter\* came over in March 1691 He & one M<sup>r</sup>. Milburn<sup>†</sup> his son in Law who had greatly counselled & Assisted him in his designs were tryed for their lives and condemned & what is more hanged to the great sorrow & regret of their whole party who have vowed revenge & Some Say want but an opportunity to effect their purpose. I Shall not p<sup>r</sup>tend here to inquire into the reall intentions or actions of Leyslers party or those who were against them neither into the truth of those things which the One party alledge against the other but only say that having considered w<sup>t</sup> I have Seen done & heard said on the one side & on y<sup>e</sup> other I do believe that there were some of either side who sought in what they did their own advantage many who truly did intend his Majesties service & many who blindly followed the leading men neither considering what they did nor whether<sup>‡</sup> they led them & that these injuries done by either side to their opposites have made a most unhappy division & breach among them which will hardly of a long time admit of cure except some very prudent & moderate method be used for that purpose more than has already been put in practice

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\* Henry Sloughter .

† Jacob Milborne or Milburn.

‡ This should be "whither."



THE next thing in this Province blameable is the Heathenisme of y<sup>e</sup> naturall Indians who here in the very heart of a Christian country practice their barbarous & devilish customes & modes of worship notwithstanding it is now 60 years & more since Christians first inhabited this Country and 30 years since the English were possessed thereof. Indeed there is something to be said in excuse hereof that is the unsetledness of y<sup>e</sup> Country for a long time the Severall changes of Government it has under gone & the small number of the English at present & something to be objected that is that it would be first reasonable to settle religion among those who are professed Christians before we p<sup>r</sup>tend to the conversion & Settlement of the Indians. to which I answer that as what is past must be excused since it cant be helped so I see no reason in the Objection because a Suffi-  
cient provision may be made that one thing may be done & the other not left undone especially when the Indians are So inclinable to receive the Christian faith as they have made appear they are both by that considerable number of the Mohawks whom D<sup>r</sup> Dellius has converted thô by a method not so exact & p<sup>r</sup>valent as might be used & those Oneidas converted to Popery by the Jesuite Millet\*

\* Father Pierre Milet's account of his captivity among the Oneidas is printed in French and English in *The Jesuit Relations and Allied Documents*, vol. lxiv. (1900), pp. 66–107; with a bibliographical

much to ye advantage of the French who have debauched so many of our Indians as they have made Christians & obliged by so doing some of our Mohawks so much y<sup>t</sup> one of them as I have heard having run away from us to them & there-upon being upbraided with his infidelity in forsaking his old friends, in his own defence made answer that he had lived long among the English but they had never all that while had so much love for him as to instruct him in the concerns of his soul & show him the way to salvation which the French had done upon their first Acquaint-

account on pp. 270, 271. From p. 275 we copy the following interesting biographical note:

"Pierre Milet was born at Bourges, Nov. 19, 1635, and at the age of twenty became a Jesuit novice. His studies were pursued at La Flèche and Paris; and the usual term as instructor was spent at La Flèche and Compiègne. Upon his ordination (1668) he came to Canada, and was soon assigned to the Iroquois missions. He remained therein, mainly at Oneida, until July, 1684—when, with the other missionaries, he was obliged to return to Canada. Soon after, he became chaplain at Fort Frontenac, acting also as interpreter; these duties engaged him during nearly four years (including a year spent at the Niagara fort), until his seizure by the Oneidas in 1689. He remained in this captivity until the autumn of 1694, when the tribe sent him back to Montreal. Little is known of his subsequent life. For a time, he was at Lorette, and he probably ministered, at other places, to the Christian Iroquois settled among the French. In February, 1697, a band of Oneidas came to live at Montreal, and asked that Milet might be assigned to them as missionary. Charlevoix, who was an instructor at the college of Quebec during 1705–09, mentions that he lived several years with Milet, which would indicate that the latter spent his last years at Quebec. He died there, Dec. 31, 1708." In the *N. Y. Col. Docs.*, vols. iii. and iv., are many references to his career among the New York Indians, and his name figured often in the proceedings of the council and assembly of the province.

ance with him & therefore he was obliged to love & be faithfull to them & ingage as many of his nation as he could to go along with him & to partake of the Same knowledge & instructions that were afforded & imparted to him so that it appears to be a worke not only of great Charity but of almost absolute necessity to endeavour the conversion of the five Nations & other Indians lest they be wholly debauched by y<sup>e</sup> French & become by Gods just permission for o<sup>r</sup> Neglect therein of faithfull & true friends as they have been hitherto most dangerous & cruell Enemies.

CHAP : 7  
Of Canida

CANIDA althô not in this Province but far distant from it is yet a great enemy to the peace & happiness of it. 1 As it is the reason why the most fruitfull part thereof lyes at p<sup>r</sup>sent wast, forsaken by its former inhabitants & hindered as to its future improvements. 2 As it is the reason why his Majesty & the remainder of this Province are at great charges in maintaining Albany & the Frontiers against y<sup>e</sup> insults of y<sup>e</sup> French & their Indians. 3 As they debauch o<sup>r</sup> Indians from their fidelity & in Struct them in Popery both which at p<sup>r</sup>sent are & hereafter will be much to the dammage of this Province Add hereunto that by y<sup>e</sup> dammage they do to y<sup>e</sup> other Provinces New England &c or are at all times ready to do they put the King of England & his Subjects to a

great deale more charge to defend themselves than the King of France or y<sup>e</sup> Jesuites (if it be their Country as some Say it is) are at to defend Canida against us tho we are in all more than twenty times their number. besides, the Governours of New Yorke that have been from time to time have so often promised o<sup>r</sup> Indians, to encourage them to continue the war, y<sup>t</sup> they would send for ships from England to come & wholly Subdue & conquer Canida that they seing they do not come & that Sr. Francis Wheeler\* when at Boston attempted nothing, begin to be discontented & to charge y<sup>e</sup> Governor with breach of promise & are very wavering in their fidelity & friendship towards the English. so that it appears a matter highly requisite to be Endeavoured to conquer & subdue Canida & that before it grow stronger in fortifications than at p<sup>r</sup>sent it is & indeed it is a shame it should not be effected when we so much exceed them in strength in those parts & when if it please God to prosper us therein we shall not only be

\* Sir Francis Wheeler had been sent with a fleet against Martinico in 1693, but his mission was a failure. His West India squadron put in at Boston, and while there, in July, 1693, the governor and council of New York sent Chidley Brooke as special envoy to Boston to consult with Wheeler and Governor Phips about an attack on Canada by land and sea. Brooke reported to Governor Fletcher an unfavorable reception in Boston. Sir Francis accomplished nothing, and the New York Indians, learning that no concerted attack would be likely against Canada, were greatly dissatisfied. It is to this circumstance that Miller refers here.—*Calendar of Council Minutes*, and *N. Y. Col. Docs.*, vol. iv., pp. 55, 58.

freed from the charges w<sup>ch</sup>. at p<sup>r</sup>sent every province is at more or less but Canida may be so settled that it may be a great Addition of Strength & wealth to y<sup>e</sup> English in America without being in a little time any charge but rather a benefit to the Crowne as by a Method to be laid down for y<sup>e</sup> Subduing & resettlement of it shall as I trust in due time & place appear. And now I have finished the Consideration of the Province of N. Yorke & of those things therein or relating thereto which being of greater moment or consequence are worthy of blame & correction & shall now lay down the means & method which I concieve proper for the Remedying thereof & thereby of advantaging & improving the Country which I shall do in three Chapters the 1<sup>st</sup>. treating of the more generall means the 2<sup>d</sup>. containing a particular method for the conversion of y<sup>e</sup> Indians & y<sup>e</sup> 3<sup>d</sup> proposing a way for y<sup>e</sup> Subduing & resettlement of Canida.

CHAP. 8  
Of the more  
general  
means for  
correcting  
the evils in  
New Yorke

A Bishop

THE great, most proper, & as I conceive effectuell means to remedy and p<sup>r</sup>vent all the disorders I have already mentioned & promote the settlement & improvement of Religion & Unity both among the English subjects that are already Christians & the Indians Supposed to be made so is That his Majesty will graciously please to send over a Bishop to the Province of New Yorke who if duly

qualified impowered & settled may with the Assistance of a small force for the Subduing of Canida by Gods grace & blessing be Author of great happiness not only to New Yorke in particular but to all the English plantations on that part of the continent of America in generall. I doubt not but this proposall may at first sight seem very strange & unlikely to be effected but if what followes be duly weighed & considered I beleive it will not appear wholly unreasonable

It has heretofore been usuall in England when & where the Diocesses have been so large that the Bishop alone could not Suffice for the Government thereof to adjoin to him one or more Suffragan Bishops each of which were wont to execute Such power jurisdiction & Authority & receive Such Profits are [*i. e.*, as] were limited in their commission by y<sup>e</sup> Bishop or Diocesan whose Suffragans they were. Such an one I humbly conceive might be very well sent over to the North East part of America to be there & act as Suffragan to my Lord of London. to do this as I doubt not his Majesties power so I cannot think my Lord of London will be unwilling & I am sure the great distance of the Country being 3000 miles from England, the largeness of the Provinces considered altogether & number of y<sup>e</sup> People with the other particulars already mentioned do Sufficently require it. In hopes therefore that Such a Propo-



sall as this will meet with good entertainm<sup>t</sup>. or with a charitable & candid construction at the least among those who can best promote it I shall proceed to mention some things which will much conduce to the Bishops better entertainment & Success

And 1<sup>st</sup> I shall Speake of his personall qualifications 2. of the place of his residence. 3 of y<sup>e</sup> powers to be committed to him & 4 of the Provision to be made for his maintenance

his personal  
qualifica-  
tions

1 Among his personall qualifications I must in the first place reckon his Age, his learning & his piety which being particulars not fit for me to speake of I shall pass them by & leave them to the prudent judgement & determination of that pious Prelate whose Suffragan he is to be. But because I am something acquainted with the humors & inclinations of the Inhabitants of that Country I shall make bold to add That it is requisite he be a person of an obliging temper & conversation, who having power to compell will rather perswade & win to obedience by kind acts & generous usage, One whose deportment must vindicate his person & place from contempt & yet must be when occasions require so meek complaisant & free that even y<sup>e</sup> meanest may not have reason to count him proud One whose generous soul must always aime at good & laudable actions & whose humility & love to vertue must be so great & reall as that he will not thinke much

to submit to low condescensions inferiour means & continuall pains to bring a pious & possible design to perfection: One that can so justly esteem of riches as to thinke it a necessary care to manage his income well that he may have wherewithall to for ward & incourage a good worke & yet so little affect & love them as freely to part with them to pious & charitable uses & lastly one that will both constantly practice those eminent notes of true Christianity Love & Charity, himself & promote them among all those who call themselves Disciples of the crucified Jesus.

2 The place of his Residence as I have already intimated will most properly be in the Province & City of New Yorke for which there are Severall reasons, 1 the healthfullness of the Country, the Air being clear & pure & the Climate most agreeable to an English constitution so that few or none contract diseases on that account but many are freed from them 2 because a maintenance will be more easily settled for him in this Province than in any other after the manner I shall p<sup>r</sup>sently Set down. 3 because this is the most proper place, to begin a reformation of disorders in which are here greater than any where else & yet will be more easily regulated, & to settle the Government of the Church of England a matter whose foundation being already laid, thô at p<sup>r</sup>sent hindered will yet with a little pains be put into a

the place of  
his residence

good forwardness. 4 for the site of it, this country is as much as may be in the midst of all the other English plantations so that a B<sup>p</sup> being placed therein his good influences & care will be readily dispensed for the Benefit of every part. 5 Because there are already Such forces in this Province (y<sup>t</sup> is 300 soldjers in his Majesties pay as will bee sufficient to awe troublesome & pragmaticall Spirits if there be any so bold as to endeavour to make any disturbance upon his going over)

His Power  
and  
Authority

3 The Power & Authority requisite for him are these following. 1<sup>st</sup>. That he be consecrated Bishop by the Arch Bishop & duly impowered by my Lord of London so that he may act as Suffragan Bishop to him not only in New Yorke but also in all the English Provinces in that part of America. 2 That his Majesty uniting the Provinces of new Yorke, Connecticut, New Jersey & Rhode Island into one Government will please to send him over Gov<sup>r</sup> thereof allowing him all the powers & Priviledges granted usually to the Govern<sup>rs</sup> of New Yorke with power also to go out of his Province so often as he shall think good to visit the other Provinces as Bishop only & to constitute not only for the time of his absence but if he See necessary at all other times a Lievtenant Governour under him.

Note that this Union of y<sup>e</sup> 4 Governments proposed is not of absolute necessity, only of great

conveniency so that it may be omitted (especially if Canida be Subdued) & the Bishop be made Governour of New Yorke only with y<sup>e</sup> Powers & Priviledges before mentioned.

4 That a maintenance may not be wanting suitable to his place & the great ends he is to promote neither for the p<sup>r</sup>sent nor future it is requisite

His mainte-  
nance

1 That if his Majesty is pleased to unite the 4 Governments into one that then he will please also to allow the Bishop as Gov<sup>r</sup> thereof 1500<sup>l</sup> ann<sup>y</sup> out of which a reasonable part or portion shall be paid to the Lievtenant Gov<sup>r</sup>. : or if New Yorke be continued as it is at p<sup>r</sup>sent & he Sent over as Gov<sup>r</sup>. thereof only that then his Majesty will please to allow him 1000<sup>l</sup> p<sup>a</sup> añ Salary (out of which y<sup>e</sup> Lievtenant Gov<sup>r</sup> to have a reasonable part) & all the othe[r] Profits benefits & Priviledges which the P<sup>r</sup>sent Gov<sup>r</sup> of New Yorke jnjoyes & also leave & power to search for (if he please) & open Royall mines as of Silver &c if he can find any Such either in Connecticut Rhode Island New Yorke or New Jersey on Condition that in so doing he make use of y<sup>e</sup> Service of Negro's only & to pay to his Majesty Such a proportion of the mettle as the charges & goodness of the oar considered shall Seem reasonable.

present

2 That to make up the abatement of his salary by that part allowed the Lievtenant Governour

his Majesty will please so soon as Opportunity p<sup>r</sup>sents to give him some considerable p<sup>r</sup>ferment in England that does not require his personall residence

3 That his Majesty will please to allow him all Licences of Marriage & probats of Wills & other things usually belonging to the Bishops of England & at p<sup>r</sup>sent withheld from my Lord of London And these to be given to himself as Bishop & those who shall be sent after him to serve in that Station, now only in the Provinces of New Yorke & its Dependencies but hereafter in the other Provinces also so soon as religion shall come to be fully established therein \* these particulars if granted will well Suffice for a p<sup>r</sup>sent maintenance, but then we must not neglect to propose a method of providing & settling a future maintenance that may be peculiar to himself as Bishop when he is so only not constituted Governo<sup>r</sup> as at p<sup>r</sup>sent he is supposed to be but when some other Gentleman is sent over in that Station that he may then have wherewithall to maintain his family & keep up hospitality besides what [is] already considered that will then remain to him these further particulars are necessary to be put in practice

1 That his Majesty will please to give him the farm in New York comonly called the Kings

\* Miller writes here, of course, as an English churchman, and refers to the establishment of the Church of England in the provinces.

farme\* for a Seat for himself & Successo<sup>rs</sup>, which thô at p<sup>r</sup>sent a very ordinary thing yet will it admit of considerable improvement & Since this farme renting at p<sup>r</sup>sent for 60 bushells of wheat per ann<sup>o</sup> in the whole at 4<sup>s</sup> P bushell amounting to 12<sup>li</sup> New Yorke money is at p<sup>r</sup>sent an advantage to the Governor that I may not Seem not to care how much I impoverish the Gov<sup>r</sup> so I enrich y<sup>e</sup> Bishop I further propose that the Bishop be obliged when himself is not Governo<sup>r</sup> to render an equivalent to the p<sup>r</sup>sent rent either by giving yearly so many loads of hay or by settling so much land where he please within two miles of New York as shall be Sufficient for that purpose or to pay y<sup>e</sup> Sum<sup>e</sup> of money it self which shall be best approved of

2 That his Majesty will please by letters Patents to grant him the Propriety of the Mohawks land that is so much thereof as is now unpurchased of the Indians on Condition that the first improvement be makes thereof shall be to settle in one or two towns as shall Seem best 100 English Families on 5000 or 6000 Acres of good Land the whole to be settled on himself as Bishop

\* The King's Farm is located on Miller's large plan of New York City. It was specially allotted for the use of the resident royal governor, but this prerogative was not always put to service. Fletcher leased it to Trinity Church for seven years, shortly before he left the colony, and this led to much contention on the part of his successor, the Earl of Bellomont. The *New York Colonial Documents* give much of this matter.

& his Successor<sup>rs</sup>. & for his incouragement so to do all the other Land to be improved by him afterwards as shall be best for the Particular benefit & Advantage of himself & heirs

Provision  
for works of  
Charity

And that the Bishop may be the better furnished for some particular works of Charity Such as converting the Indians, building Churches, Settling houses & a maintenance for Ministers &c it is further humbly proposed

1 That his Majesty, the Bishops, & other charitably disposed Gentlemen will please to make some Contributions towards building a Church in New Yorke

2 That his Majesty & my Lord of London will please to give him the best Authority & directions y<sup>t</sup> may be for the obtaining a part of the Revenue Settled in New England for converting the Indians Such as shall be thought convenient

3 That his Majesty will please to allow a Chaplain to the soldjers at Albany in particular to be paid out of the advance of their pay who are lately gone over & to be Sometimes changed w<sup>th</sup> him at N. Y.

Lastly it is necessary that the Bishop carry over with him 5 or 6 Sober young Ministers, with Bibles & Prayer books & other things convenient for Churches as shall be thought best

Evils how  
corrected

Whosoever goes over with these powers Qualifications & Supplies shall in a short time (through

Gods assistance) be able to make a great progress in the settlement of Religion & the Correction of Vice & Debauchery in those Countryes & to be a little more particular

1 To those severall vices of Irreligion Drunkenness, Cursing & swearing, Fornication & Adultery thieving & other evils accompanying them he may put a stop by causing the good Lawes of England already made to be put in execution & by providing others where those seem or are deficient & also

2 Which will remedy likewise the Second head of inconveniencies want of a Ministry by settling Ministers in those towns already provided for by Act of Assembly\* in some measure & as he best can by supplying them with what is wanting both for their private necessities & for the publick exercise of Religion as allotting to them or purchasing for them Gleebe land promoting the building of Churches, Ministers houses, Settling schooles with Salaries &c by endeavouring so soon as may be to provide for other places which are not provided for by that Act, by exhorting & where good Advice & perswasions will not p<sup>r</sup>vaile

\* The reference is to the well-known "Act for settling a Ministry and raising a Maintenance for them," quoted generally in brief as the "Ministry Act," which became a law on September 22nd, 1693, and which in its inception and application gave rise to considerable friction between Governor Fletcher and the advocates of episcopacy on the one hand, and the non-conformist churches on the other.

by compelling Ministers to live piously and soberly & give a good example to their flocks

3 By not suffering any Justice of peace to marry in the Province within ten miles of the place where any Minister dwells & endeavouring to promote the establishment of the like law in other Provinces where it may conveniently be done, by causing the Ministers & Church Wardens to keep Registers of all Christenings Buryings & Marriages according as in England is by law appointed & alwayes to take great care to p<sup>r</sup>vent the marrying of any Persons who are either one or both of them already ingaged or married to others

4 And where this is duly taken care of, another inconveniency will be well provided for. Men althô at p<sup>r</sup>sent of many & different opinions yet may be reconciled in a great measure by a Pious & prudent Ministry who will Seeke to reduce them by good exhortations to oblige them by neighbourly & charitable kindnesses to encourage them by their own practice to live in the fear of God & in brotherly love & Unity one with another

5 And thô this method will greatly help tow<sup>ds</sup>. the removall of the fourth inconveniency yet it will not be compleated without the Assistance of his civil Authority that is by causing a Proclamation or if it seem necessary an Act of Assembly to

be made prohibiting all people to reproach any person for having been of Leyslers\* or the contrary party to vex or sue one another in Law for any evils Suffered in those times or since or to do any thing that may tend to the widening the breach or continuing the remembrance thereof commanding them to forget things past & to forgive one another to live in peace & to associate together as they did before that division & as if Such a thing had never happened: And by showing himself indifferent to both parties encouraging equally those of them who show themselves honest & vertuous & truly well affected to his Majesties interest. thus may these severall inconveniencies already mentioned be well redressed but as for the Conversion of y<sup>e</sup> Indians & the conquest of Canida they win require Each of them a particular Chapter

WHEN I speak of converting the Indians by Indians I mean principally those five Nations w<sup>ch</sup>. lye between Albany & Canida & are called 1 Mohawks or Maquaes 2 Oneides 3 Chiugas 4 Onundages & 5 Senecas of whom thô most of the Mohawks are converted to Christianity by D<sup>r</sup> Dellius & Some of the Oneides by the Jesuite

CHAP. 9  
Of convert-  
ing y<sup>e</sup>  
Indians

\* The sane analysis which Miller gives of the Leislerian fracas is greatly to his credit; not only here, but particularly in chap. v. (q. v.), he exhibits the clear grasp which he had of the underlying currents of this unhappy affair.



Millet yet the first not being yet established in any good order at all & y<sup>e</sup> last being converted to Popery I looke upon the worke as yet wholly to be done & if what has been already done is not a disadvantage to it, yet that little advantage is gained thereby except a demonstration of the inclination of the Indians to imbrace the Christian Religion. And thô I mention only the five Nations yet do I not Speake of them so as excluding all other Septs & Nations of them, no, for I hope this once performed and brought to a good pass may be as a groundworke to the conversion of all the rest as opportunity shall p<sup>r</sup>sent yea possibly may be improved so far as to render this part of the Continent truly Civilized, Speaking the English Language & Submitting to his Majesties Government. And to begin

1 That the Person who undertakes this work should be a person of great Authority, ability and power that he may the better perswade with them & be the more respected & abler to go through with such a matter are things of So great advantage that if they were not things already provided for do deserve certainly to be put in the first place. but it being proposed that the Bishop himself who shall be sent over be the main spring & mover in this worke I therefore without Saying more thereof add

2 That when he goes out of England he carry

over with him one Dutch & English Dictionary interleaved with white paper. Paper of Severall sorts & in considerable quantity for writing & printing books thereon Nails Iron glass & lead for the Churches & Ministers houses Toolles for Joyners, Carpenters, Masons & Glasiers in such quantities as shall be thought convenient or at lest\* as the money's given for that purpose will allow

3 That after his Arrivall there he with two other Ministers whom he shall best approve of to be his Assistants Set to learning that Indian language which is best understood by all the five Nations and for that purpose Send for, & entertain in some employment about him Mr. Arnhout<sup>†</sup> of Albany the chief Interpreter between the

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\* Least.

<sup>†</sup> Arnout Cornelise Viele, often referred to in the records of the time as "Arnout." He was a son of Cornelis Viele; lived in Albany, and was for many years the provincial interpreter of the Five Nations, by whom he was held in high esteem. He not only attended all their great meetings at Albany, but also paid them visits in the then wilderness. The Mohawks, in recognition of the value of his services, gave to him, in 1683, a parcel of land above Schenectady, on the north side of the river called *Wackkeerhoha*. In 1687, while on his way to trade at Ottawa, he was captured by the French. He espoused the cause of Leisler; was subsequently turned out of his office, and retired to Long Island; but he was too useful to be left long in inactivity, being "a good and faithful interpreter," and was reinstated to his old post. In the *New York Colonial Documents* and other official records are many references to his active and important services.—Pearson's *First Settlers of Schenectady*, pp. 271, 272; Munsell's *Collections of the Hist. of Albany*, vol. iv., p. 184 (O).

English & the Indians who will be a great help to him in composing a Dictionary & learning the Language. & get an Indian Bible & grammer\* from Boston which will be likewise of Some advantage to him

4 That after he can Speake Indian well & translate elegantly he then as opportunity shall best p'sent call all the five Nations together & endeavour in a discourse composed for that purpose to instruct them & by the best Arguments he can to perswade them to imbrace the Christian Faith and be baptized in which if it please God he Succeeds as there is great hopes he may then

1 To desire of the five Nations so many Sober young men of each nation, as he shall think convenient to live with him some time & learn to read & write in their own language & also to speake the English tongue & read & write in the same & some others in number about 12 to learne y<sup>e</sup> trades of Joynery, Carpentry Masonry & glasing & the mean time while they are learning these things one of the two Ministers shall be appointed

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\* Miller's ignorance of any Indian tongue led him in this case to propose a curious anomaly. He refers without doubt to the 1685 edition of John Eliot's translation of the Bible into the Natick dialect of the Algonquian language, and to his *The Indian Grammar begun: or, An Essay to bring the Indian Language into Rules, For the Help of such as desire to Learn the same, for the furtherance of the Gospel among them*, printed at Cambridge, Mass., by Marmaduke Johnson, in 1666. He was, however, not the only clergyman of his day who hoped to teach Iroquoian Indians by means of an Algonquian Bible !

to instruct the Indians in Christianity as may best be done & to bring over those who do not consent upon the first proposall

2 While the other Minister is learning the Young Indians to read &c Himself with his assistance may translate as of greatest use & necessity. The Common prayer booke, the 39 Articles, the whole Duty of Man\* & Patricks Psalmes† & then afterwards as they best may [the] Short explanation of the Church Chatechisme‡ Dr Hammonds Chatechisme\*\* some short Preparatory forme for receiving the holy Communion, a morning & evening prayer for private persons & a Primer for Children with a short morning & evening prayer & Graces before & after meat So many copies of each to be printed as shall be thought convenient & no other booke

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\* This work, *The Whole Duty of Man*, appeared originally in 1658 under the title, *The Practice of Christian Graces, or the Whole Duty of Man*; it appeared in many editions after that. Having been issued anonymously, its authorship became the source of much speculation, and it has been variously attributed to Lady Dorothy Pakington, Archbishop Sterne, Bishop Fell, Bishop Henchman, Bishop Chappell of Cork, Abraham Woodhead, Obadiah Walker, Archbishop Frewen, William Fulham, Richard Allestree, and several others.

† The reference is without doubt to the *Book of Psalms paraphrased*, by Simon Patrick, Archbishop of Ely, issued originally in 1679, and of which a second edition appeared in 1691.

‡ It is uncertain which work is meant, but may refer to one on the subject by Thomas Ken, Bishop of Bath and Wells.

\*\* The *Practical Catechism* by Henry Hammond, D.D. is meant. It first appeared at Oxford, in 1644, and had reached its twelfth edition by 1683.

besides them to be translated or printed in the Indian language especially not the Bible that the Indians through a desire to read them may be Stirred up to learn the English language & so at length may be induced to exchange that for their own for otherwise the Indian Nations being so many it will be almost an impossible worke to convert them & provide for their civilizing & instruction

3 After the Young men can read & write well & are acquainted with o<sup>r</sup> language customes & religious service, the manner & way thereof (in w<sup>ch</sup> they as also those put to trades are to be inured as much as may be) & admitted to holy Orders then to dispose of them settling one in every Castle\* except where two small Castles are neer to one another, for both w<sup>ch</sup>. one may well Suffice & for their better settlement to cause to be built a Church a Ministers house & large roome adjoining to it for a Schoole of wood or stone as shall Seem best & cheapest (in which work the labour of those who learn trades will be very helpful) & after those things are perfected Gathering all the heads of the five Nations together to cause a maintenance by Law to be settled for their Ministry that is the 10<sup>th</sup>. part of their Profit or income by hunting fishing fowling &c & of their Corn & other fruits of the Earth with some pecu-

\* Indian village. "Castle" was the common term in use by the English.

liar advantages upon the Account of their being SchoolM<sup>rs</sup>. as it is intended they shall be. Those who are instructed in trades are to live among their Countrymen to teach them their Arts & that they may find imployment they are to be put upon building houses after the English manner keeping Cattle & fowles, plowing the ground & imitating the English in their other trades way's of living & customes & one thing after another that so by degrees they may leave of their savage wayes & become civilized which except it can be effected it will signify but little to plant Religion among them. Therefore So many other young sober Indians as shall be thought convenient may be taken in the places of those who are settled as Ministers, & taught & instructed after the Same manner they were & put in their places too so soon as fit for it either when any of them prove debauched or improve not in knowledge or neglect their duty (who in that case shall again be under instruction for their amendment or better information) or where any of them prove of Eminent parts above the rest & more sober & religious who shall then be encouraged & allowed fit helps & Instructions for the promoting the conversion of their neighbouring nations which they may well do with the Assistance of an English Minister or two & y<sup>e</sup> Countenance of the Bishop & So in a few years if this method be duly

prosecuted All the Indians on this part of the Continent may as 'tis to be hoped be converted to Christianity & when they are civilized may easily be induced to Submit to the English Government by the Bishop whom they must needs looke upon respect & obey as their spirituall Father & one who will to be Sure advise them as shall be most for their reall benefit & welfare. And when they come to such a pass as that way can be made & means settled for Arts & Sciences to flourish among them there is no doubt but many of them will become men of Sufficient learning So that they may be instructed in the way of preaching & have the full Government & Service of the Church of England settled among them, or acquainted with or Lawes so as to be made Magistrates & govern the people by o<sup>r</sup> Statutes instead of their own rude & barbarous customes. The first of which when perfected as it will be a great Credit to the Church of England So will the other be of great Advantage to the Civill state thereof & both I hope tend to the Glory of God & the eternall felicity of immortall souls

But till these designs can be fully accomplished we must be contented to insist upon a method of Religion that thô not compleat as it should be is yet Such as the beginnings of Christianity among them will beare & as is proper for weake Teachers & Ignorant hearers & that to be this that Followes

The Ministers duty in generall among them is to be this, to pray for them to read & administer the Sacraments to them, to teach their Children to read & to write & Speake English & their Catechisme & to be thus Ordered

1 He is to read Common prayer among them (the lessons out of the Bible Excepted) every Sunday & holyday both morning & evening

2 On Easter Sunday, Whitsunday the third Sunday in Sept<sup>r</sup> & on Christmas day after Common prayer read in the Morning & a Psalm sung hee shall read to the people the 39 Articles of Religion & every other Sunday one portion of the whole duty of man as they shall fall in order, & when the whole is read out shall begin again

3 Every first Sunday of the month & on good Friday, Easterday, Whitsunday & Christmas day he shall administer the holy Sacrament & then the Sunday preceding Such Administration upon notice thereof given shall be read y<sup>e</sup> Exhortation in the Common prayer booke appointed for that purpose

4 Every Sunday in the Afternoon at evening prayer when the first & second lessons should be read in place thereof after a Psalme set he shall publickly Catechise the Children those that are able to read unto 8 years of Age in the Church Catechisme, from 8 to 12 years of age in [the] short Explanation thereof & those from 12 to 16 years

of age in Dr Hammonds Catechisme after which they may be admitted to the Sacrament. the severall Catechismes shall be learned by heart by the Children at home & at Schoole

5 On the working dayes he shall teach the children to write & to read & to Speak English for their reading using a hornbooke, y<sup>e</sup> Primer, the Church Catechisme &c for teaching English to use those & the English translations of them together with the other books & also a Grammer with familiar Dialogues to be composed for that purpose & ye Dictionary

And by the just & constant observance of this method there is no doubt but through Gods grace they may be brought to & continued in a reasonable knowledge & practice of the Christian Religion till Such time as being thoroughly civilized the whole Discipline & Government of the Church of England may be Settled among them & also duly practiced & observed by them.

CHAP. 10.  
Of the  
method how  
to Subdue  
& resettle  
Canida

I AM now in the last place to speake of the conquest of Canida that is how it may be effected a business in which tho the Bishop is not So much concerned as in the former especially as to the warlike part yet may he be more than a Cipher yea of particular consideration in the resettlement of it, if it please God to permit it to be Subdued, as in the Sequell will appear

What the Strength & Condition of Canida is at p<sup>r</sup>sent is pretty well made evident by the account thereof w<sup>ch</sup>. I Sent over about 10 or 12 months agoe to the Right Reverend Bishop of London a Copy whereof I also had which I lost (when I was taken prisoner) with my other papers & in respect to that it is that this p<sup>r</sup>sent method is laid downe & thô it may be Supposed since that time to be made rather Stronger than become weaker yet will it not I think be able to resist if couragiously invaded & prudently Assaulted with the Forces & in the manner hereafter mentioned

1 The first thing then to be done in order to the conquest of Canida is to pitch upon a Generall for the conducting & carrying it on. The Generall then is to be but one to com<sup>and</sup> and all forces both by Sea & land that are sent or appointed for this purpose: for long Experience has taught us that equall & divided commands have ruined many noble Undertakings & great Armies. the wise & warlike Romans found this true & therefore in their warrs of greatest moment & danger they generally had recourse to a Dictator & the Success in the late Invasion of Martinico has taught us the truth of it wherein as I have been credibly informed by impartiall & eyewitnesses the difference between the Land & Sea generalls was the main if not only occasion of the miscarriage As to his Prudence Fidelity Experience



conduct & courage all great vertues & necessary in a Commander I have no need to speak thereof his Sacred Majesty who is to pitch upon & commissionate him being a most excellent & incomparable Judge in those matters

2 The Second thing to be provided for is forces & warlike Provisions Sufficient for Such a design & those to be either sent for\* England or p<sup>r</sup>pared in America. The Forces to be Sent from England are proposed to be three ships of war of from 40 to 60 Guns well rigged & manned according to their rates furnished with all warlike Provisions necessary for sea service & maintenance of y<sup>e</sup> men. as to which there may be 6 months Provision of beer & water & of beef, porke, Oatmeal, Peas & bread &c for 12 months Canvas for 4000 or 5000 hammocks or rather so many hammocks ready made for the Forces that are to be raised in America. & for the Land service 500 Soldjers well armed & accoutred, young stout, well exercised & So far as may be unmarried. 20 pieces of Ordinance proper for battering of walls with Spunges Ladles, worms, powder & bullets &c & two or three Mortar pieces with Granado shells, Bombs Carcasses Spades Mattocks & also Powder & ball for the forces to be raised in America that nothing may be wanting tho the Enterprise prove much more difficult than is expected it being

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\* A slip of the pen of course for "from."

much better to bring back Ammunition than to fail in a design for want of it however as to the quantities & kinds thereof I submit to better Judgements & Shall only Say that it will be a com<sup>m</sup>endable care to see that the Officers both by Sea & Land be Such as are truly faithfull & loyall to his Majesty. These Ships with all the particulars aforesaid are to be ready to set sail by the middle or at furthest by the latter end of February next.

The Forces to be p<sup>r</sup>pared in America are to be these & in this Proportion following. New England 2000 men, Connecticut 700 Rhode Island and Martins vineyard 200, New Yorke 300 New Jarsey 300 Pensylvania 300 Maryland 400 Virginia 1000 & Carolina 300 amounting in all to y<sup>e</sup> number of 5500, each man to have in readiness so much powder & ball as shall be judged requisite & if it be thought expedient 20 carriages also may be made in New Yorke for the 20 Guns to be sent over according to measures & directions to be Sent likewise for that purpose

The manner of ordering these forces & materials to be p<sup>r</sup>pared shall be laid down under the next head which is concerning the secrecy and privacy wherewith these affairs are to be carried on which ought to be so great that the Enemyes may not get any foreknowledge of it for next to strengthening our selves nothing is more necessary than to endeavour to surprise or Enemy which is

done 1 by rendring him secure 2 by coming upon him unawares & 3 by drawing away what Strength or provision he already hath as far as may be from the place or places against w<sup>ch</sup>. or designs are chiefly laid, which I conceive may be done by ordering affairs in this manner following

1 To prevent all knowledge or even suspicion of what is intended by the provisions made at home & Sent over the ships may be pretended as Convoy's to the Mast fleet & to the Virginia fleet & as to the Stores put aboard them it must be done as privately as may be thô of it selfe it be a thing that will not be much suspected because it has been usuall to send over stores to the American Plantations neither will the soldjers be much taken notice of they being but 500 besides they may be put on board at Plimouth suddenly & under p<sup>t</sup>ence of better manning the ships or if there goes a Squadron of men of war to Guard the Fleet out of the Chanell it may be p<sup>t</sup>ended that it is to inure them to the Sea service & then they may be disposed of to severall other ships as if they were to come back again therewith after having seen the Fleet out of danger, and at Sea they may be put aboard the ships in which they are to go to New Yorke: in short many wayes may be thought of for the concealing the intention of So small a preparation & that particularly pitched upon which will seem most likely and

proper for the time. but then besides the Orders given to the Captains of the ships publickly & for that purpose they must likewise have other sealed Orders given them very privately with command not to break them open till a certain time to be appointed that is when they come to separate from the Fleet or when the fleet it self comes to separate or if they chance to be seperated by fowle weather then to break open those Orders wherein it shall be appointed them what Port to go to, y<sup>t</sup> is New Yorke, what Commander to obey that is the Same who is made Generall of the Land forces, how long to stay, that is either till the design is effected or till the coming out of Some fleet according as the Gov<sup>r</sup> of the Province where they are shall judge best for his Majesties service or if there be a great necessity & the Ships proper they may be sent out to cruise for Privateers or they may be ordered to visit Newfoundland by the way. One thing seems here proper to be mentioned y<sup>t</sup> is y<sup>t</sup> when these Orders are opened & the soldjers come to have Some knowledge where they are going their pay may be paid them till Such time as they came aboard & further advantages promised them for their encouragement. It will not be amiss if 2 French Ministers y<sup>t</sup> are in Orders of the Church of England be sent over with these ships for if it please God the designe prosper there will be occasion for them

2 For the more private carrying on of the design as to the forces p<sup>r</sup>pared in the West Indies it is convenient not to let it be so much as known to any person there (except that his Majesty shall please to communicate it to any of y<sup>e</sup> Governo<sup>rs</sup>.) what is the true cause of raising the forces ordered to be raised & y<sup>t</sup> may be done thus. It is now while I am writing this certain that the French have a designe upon the Merchants trading on the Coast of Guinea & those trading into the West Indies. in order to the carrying on of the first they are fitting out at St. Malo's 4 Privateers of from 40 to 50 guns & Monsieur de Gatine Commissary there Sent for one Capt<sup>n</sup>. — — — Piles & Henry Pinson his Mate both taken on board a Small Guinea man & having good knowledge of the Coast & trade & present condition of affairs there to examine them concerning the Same. And in Order to the carrying on of the last The English prisoners that came about 4 dayes agoe y<sup>t</sup> is Octob<sup>r</sup> y<sup>e</sup> 6<sup>th</sup> last past\* from Nants do assure

\* In his introductory address to the Bishop of London, Miller states that he was captured by a French privateer on his homeward voyage from New York to England "in July last," which was the year 1695. From the above passage we conclude that on October 6th, 1695, he was yet a prisoner and engaged in writing his account. It is quite possible that he was confined at St. Malo, the chief port from which the French privateers set out for their operations against the English.—Cf. *New York Col. Docs.*, vol. iii., p. 709 (note), and vol. iv., p. 171, for an account of a similar capture and imprisonment of Chidley Brooke and William Nicolls, in January, 1696. They were exchanged in April of that year, after confinement at St. Malo.

us that the French are there fitting out 17 Privateers of from 25 & 30 to 40 guns whereof 12 are already rigged & fitted to be mann'd in part with English Scotch & Irish & to be sent to the West Indies to interrupt & Spoile our trade & make prize of Our merchantmen there. Hereupon occasion may be very well taken & letters ordered to be written & Sent with duplicats thereof by Ships in December next insuing or the beginning of January to every one of his Majesties Governo<sup>rs</sup>. & also to those of the Proprieto<sup>rs</sup>. wherein to be signified to each of them that there is certain intelligence from France of their fitting out divers ships of war 20 or more & that they are intended against o<sup>r</sup> Plantations in America that therefore it is his Majesties strict Charge & Command that everyone of them cause to be armed in their severall Provinces such a number of their choicest men as shall by 1, 2, or 3 hundred exceed the number before Set downe & to meet at their chief Port towne by y<sup>e</sup> 1<sup>st</sup>. of Aprill & there to see that they be well armed & every man provided with a proportion of powder & ball to be appointed and to exercise them daily till further Order & in the mean time to see that whatsoever of his Majesties ships are in their severall Ports be clean'd & fitted for sea so as to be ready to sail with the first Order & also to fit and p<sup>r</sup>pare a sufficient number of good ships & Sloops & provisions of bread, beef, beer

porke & peas &c for 6 mon: in case there be occasion to transport the soldjers from their province to any other where it shall appear the Enemy does cheify intend his invasion of w<sup>ch</sup>. warning may be promis'd them by an express so soon as there shall be certain notice thereof.

And over & above this Orders may be sent to the Governo<sup>r</sup>. of New Yorke in particular to make the 20 Carriages as before & to cause to attend at New Yorke from the 1<sup>st</sup> of Aprill till further Order Robert Sanders\* of Albany & 5 others that can

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\* Robert Sanders was the oldest child of Thomas Sanders, a smith of Amsterdam, and Sarah Cornelise Van Gorcum, who were married in New Amsterdam on September 16th, 1640. His father was among the first settlers of Gravesend, L. I., but removed to Beaverwyck (Albany), where he was the owner of a house and lot in 1654, and it was here that the mother died in December, 1669.

Robert Sanders was born in New Amsterdam on November 10th, 1641; accompanied his parents to Beaverwyck; was, like his father, a smith, but later became a trader. He married Elsje Barentse (b. August, 1641; d. December 30th, 1734), by whom he had four children. In 1691 he and another received a patent for a mile square, including the present city of Poughkeepsie. Robert was also an interpreter, and we find the records show that he participated in Indian conferences at Albany in 1687, 1691, and 1693. He received many grants of land from time to time, and in 1694 he, with Rev. John Miller and Daniel Honan, received license to purchase land from the Indians in Albany County. In 1697 he was a merchant in New York City, and was admitted a freeman in 1698. His will is on file in the Surrogate's Office of the latter city, liber 7, p. 103. It is dated September 21st, 1702, and was proved on May 1st, 1703. He left virtually everything to his wife.—Pearson's *First Settlers of Schenectady*, pp. 155, 156; Bergen's *Early Settlers of Kings County*. New York, 1881, pp. 247, 248; Munsell's *Collections on the Hist. of Albany*, vol. iv., pp. 352, 461; *N. Y. Col. Docs.*, vols. iii. and iv.; *Coll. of the New-York Hist. Soc.* for 1892, p. 368; *MS. Council Minutes*, vol. vii., p. 64; *N. Y. Colonial MSS.*, vol. xxxix., p. 161.

give y<sup>e</sup> latest & truest account of the p<sup>r</sup>sent State & condition of Canida without letting them know what they are caused to wait for but only in generall that it is for his Majesties Service & that they shall be paid for the loss of their time or else they may be kept under armes as men of Speciall Service & courage which shall seem best to him for concealing y<sup>e</sup> true reason of their attendance. As for the Carriages he may p<sup>r</sup>tend for the making thereof that he has notice of So many guns of Such a sort or bigness coming over & Order to have carriages for them in as much readiness as may be that so soon as he has them they may be p<sup>r</sup>sently fitted for use & planted where he shall think most convenient

There may likewise with these other Orders be sent him not to be broaken open till the first of Aprill wherein it may be signified unto him that his Majesty looking upon the French Preparations as intended against New Yorke would send some ships of War over to his Assistance but y<sup>t</sup> he immediately endeavour to stop any intelligence thereof from going to Canida. That he also send the severall orders therein inclosed to y<sup>e</sup> Governo<sup>rs</sup>. of the Severall Provinces to cause them forthwith to send away the exact number of forces chosen out of those armed & exercised according to former order to the port of New Yorke he in y<sup>e</sup> mean while to make all the preparation he can of

Victuals & lodging to entertain them & when they shall be arrived to see they be well armed & to exercise them & acquaint them with the way of Camping & ingaging till such time as the Ships & a Commander in chief with them shall come

Again to divert the Enemy from the care of those places against which this design is chiefly laid y<sup>t</sup> is Quebeck & y<sup>e</sup> other places of greatest Strength. A third Orders must yet be sent to the Gov<sup>r</sup> of New Yorke appointing him to raise the Indians of the five Nations & to joyne with them 200 of the Garrison & forces about Albany 200 from New England & 100 from Connecticut (for the obtaining whereof Orders also are to be sent him by the first ships) & to have them ready so that on the first of May they may be ready to march towards Canida & there by endeavouring or p<sup>t</sup>tending to endeavour something that shall tend notably to the advantage of o<sup>r</sup> party & the disadvantage of y<sup>e</sup> French as the Fortifying & settling Cadaraque or seizing on some French Garrison to draw down the Gov<sup>r</sup>. of Canida & his Forces towards them, but to take great care to keep in places of security & not to be too active but only while away the time & delude the Enemy unless he sees he can gain a considerable Advantage without any great hazard of his men

Lastly the Commander in chief sent from England is to receive his Commission for this

service privately from his Majesty wherein to be appointed Commander in chief of all the aforesaid forces both by Sea & land as well those on Albany side as those which are to be transported by Sea to Canida with Orders to sail directly for New Yorke & there imbarking his Forces with all possible Speed to make the best of his way for Canida to prevent as much as he can any notice the Enemy may have of his coming & with instructions to make use of the foresaid Sanders & the others appointed to give him information of the Country & places of landing & advantage, to keep his soldjers from plundering, deflowering women drunkenness swearing, cursing & all other debauchery to proceed prudently couragiously & valiantly in the Endeavouring to conquer Canida till Such time as it is thoroughly subdued & then to returne as shall be ordered & directed by his Majesty.\* There are other things to be added to his instructions in case he Succeeds which you will find touched among what followes

In case then that this designe succeed his Majesty may please to appoint the Bishop proposed to be sent over Gov<sup>r</sup>. of New Yorke to be also Gov<sup>r</sup>. of Canida & every part & place thereof

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\* Miller's plan for the conquest of Canada, while fraught with many absurdities, contained nevertheless a leaven of wisdom. Not a few of his suggestions are in agreement with the plan of 1746, for which see my account, "A Scheme for the Conquest of Canada in 1746," in *Canadian History Readings*, St. John, N. B., 1900. pp. 109–114.



as it shall Come to be subdued with power to constitute a Lievtenant Governo<sup>r</sup> thereof at his discretion till Such time as his Majesties pleasure is further knowne with power also to appoint & order all matters Ecclesiasticall and Civil as shall be best for the settling that Province in the Possession of the English

Orders & Instructions to be given both to the Bishop as Governou<sup>r</sup> & to y<sup>e</sup> Commander in chief may [be] these

1 That Speciall & Constant care be taken that the soldjers & Seamen Stragle not from the Camp nor plunder the Country burne houses or destroy the Corne either growing or in the barne, nor the Cattle of what sort soever but that they p<sup>r</sup>serve all things as in a Country which it is hoped may Come through Gods Assistance to be their own & therefore

2 All Provisions of what Sort or nature soever whether for man or beast are to be secured for and given notice of to the Gov<sup>r</sup> & Commander in chief or either of them that they may appoint what quantities thereof shall be Sufficient for the maintenance of the Army or the Prisoners or victualling the ships for their voyage homeward.

3 All prisoners are to belong to the King (Slaves only excepted) to be civilly treated & used & to be disposed of as the Gov<sup>r</sup> shall appoint

which may be after this or the like manner, those who are of best quality with the Priests & other Religious Persons to be Sent home to England by the ships of war, 200 Families of husbandmen that are willing to stay to be left & settled upon reasonable & encourageable terms as Tenants to those Gentlemen & others to whom lands shall be given. 300 or 400 families more to be appointed for New Yorke where if they are willing they may be encouraged by the Bishop to Settle on Vacant Land & in time may be converted to Protestantisme by French Ministers sent over for that purpose & obliged to learn & use the English tongue & Religion & all the rest may be divided proportionably to each Province to be carried thither in the ships belonging thereto where they may be encouraged to settle if they will & it be thought for the weale of the Province to encourage them or otherwise be sent Prisoners to England in Merchant ships as opportunity shall p<sup>r</sup>sent

4 All the Ships taken in the voyage thither or in port there to be condemned in the first English port they come to & to be disposed of by the Governo<sup>r</sup> there as is appointed by law in Such cases. & all Towns, Forts, Castles, houses Instruments of husbandry as Ploughs Carts, Harrows & c & working Cattle as Horses, Oxen, Asses & all warlike Provisions as Great Guns, Small Armes, powder, ball, Swords, bagonets [*sic*], &c & the

whole Country improved or unimproved to belong unto the King & to be disposed of by the Gov<sup>r</sup> as shall be best for his Majesties interest & advantage & encouraging the resettlement of the Province except as in the Article following

5 All things belonging to Religion & Ecclesiastiques as Churches Monasteries Nunneries with y<sup>e</sup> grounds & estates belonging to them as also the money plate bookes & all things in them & belonging to them as horses Cowes sheep instruments of Husbandry household stuff & also the books found any where in other houses to be given to Pious uses & to be disposed of by the Bishop & Settled as shall Seem to him best for the encouragement of Religion in Canida New Yorke or else where in any other of the English Provinces Only to be excepted that if there be any goods or chattels whether money, plate, householdstuff or other things prov'd not to belong unto religious persons or uses but put there only for concealement & Security &c they are in that case to be delivered up & ordered by the Bishop to be laid to the common spoyle & as such to be divided with the rest among the Soldjers.

6 All other goods not before excepted whether money plate slaves householdstuff or merchandize &c shall be gathered together & divided between the Officers & Soldjers as is usuall to be done in such cases in which Division the Governo<sup>r</sup> shall

have an equall share with the Commander in chief & the rest according to their proportion & for the better & more equall Division it shall be appointed  
1 That all men concerned in the Service seamen or soldjers, shall have part of the Spoyle without being defrauded or cozened thereof 2 That the Indian goods as Duffels\* shirts knives hatchets &c be particularly set apart to be given to o<sup>r</sup> Indians as their part of the prey & if there be any overplus thereof it shall be given to those who shall remain in the Country to trade therewith either with o<sup>r</sup> own Indians or those of Canida who if they will Submit quietly shall not be Suffered to be prisoners to o<sup>r</sup> Indians but reckoned friends to us as at p<sup>r</sup>sent they are to the French. 3 That every man of what ranke or quality soever shall be bound to deliver up to the common heap all the spoyle he shall get of what nature soever & that whatsoever they shall find in houses or any other place which they cannot bring away they shall not spoile it but leave it undammaged for the Benefit of those who shall afterwards come to settle there & that whosoever shall offend in either of these particulars shall by so doing forfeit his part of the Spoile & be otherwise punished as the Commander in chief shall think fit.

7 All the Armes & warlike stores taken from

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\* Duffle, a coarse woolen cloth or shaggy material with a thick nap.

the French to be carefully gathered together & laid up in the Fort of Quebeck & other convenient places & there kept in good order & condition so as to be at all times ready for use. All places of Strength & great Advantage & disabled in the taking or any wayes in need to be better fortified shall be duly taken care of & fortified in the best manner that may be & furnished with Great guns & Stores convenient for the Defence thereof for which purpose the Guns and Mortarpieces carried over, together with any taken by the way or in harbour there or on land w<sup>th</sup> Sufficient quantities of powder ball &c shall be left there to be disposed of in each Garrison as shall seem necessary

For the Resettlement of this Province the Governour may

1 Appoint a house & land & other conveniences for the Bishop & houses & lands &c for the Ministers out of those belonging before to & set apart for y<sup>t</sup> use with Schools, a Library &c as best may be done

2 Dispose of the Lands, houses, instruments of husbandry &c on Such termes & with such Provisions as shall be reasonable & proper for the Kings profit the Landlords Advantage the Tenants encouragement & the Clergy's maintenance & that 1 to those of the Soldjers from England who being married will settle there & Send for their wives

over & 2 to those who being unmarried & of those soldjers or of the forces come from any of the neighbouring Provinces & desirous to settle & marry there any of the French Maids or Widdowes (Such as they can p<sup>r</sup>vail w<sup>th</sup>) to every man according to his quality place & merit & as shall Seem best to the Governour

3 Send to England desiring encouragement may be given to the French Protestants to come over & settle there with their families which it is believed many of them will willingly do if they be assured to have lands houses &c given to them on reasonable termes as it is intended they shall. And this is the method which I promised to lay downe as proper for the Subduing & resettlement of Canida which if it be not So compleat as it ought to be, or not likely to be so effectually as I hoped it might, in the judgement of understanding persons, if yet it will serve but as the first lines of a draught or a motive only to abler heads to do better I shall not only be contented but very glad And not thinke that I have lost my labour.

SOLI DEO GLORIA

## APPENDICES

## APPENDIX A

### BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCHES

[Referring to Table on page 54.]

1.—Henricus Selyns was born in Amsterdam, Holland, in 1636, son of Jan and Agneta (Kock) Selyns. His immediate paternal and maternal ancestors were prominently identified with the Dutch Reformed Church from its first institution. Hendrick Selyns, his paternal grandfather, was a deacon at Amsterdam in 1598, and his own father served as an elder from 1639 to 1663. Having been educated for the ministry, he became a proponent or candidate for full orders, was examined on February 16th, 1660, and admitted to the ministry with full powers. In the latter year he came to New Netherland as the first pastor of the first church in Breuckelen (Brooklyn), which he engaged to serve for four years. He was formally installed on September 7th, and for several years of his ministry there preached in a barn. A part of Sundays he ministered to poor whites and negroes at New Amsterdam, at Stuyvesant's Bouwerie or farm. The urgent solicitations of his aged father induced him to return to Amsterdam. He sailed for home on July 23rd, 1664, in the *Beaver*—the same ship which brought him over in 1660. But while in America he had married at New Amsterdam his first wife, Machtelt, daughter of Hermann Specht of Utrecht, on July 9th, 1662. After reaching home he was for two years unsettled, but in 1666 was installed at Waverveen, a rural village near Utrecht. Here he spent sixteen years, during which, in 1675, he became a chaplain in the army of the States. Having refused several overtures to return to America, he finally yielded by making a contract in December, 1681; arrived in the summer of 1682, and was welcomed "with great affection and joy" by the Dutch congregation of the city of New York. His opposition to the Leislerian party got him into hot water, but by pursuing a wise policy under the advice of the Classis, this cooled with the passing years, and he died at New York greatly respected, in July, 1701, in his sixty-fifth year. Selyns was next to Steendam the second Dutch poet of New Nether-



land. Some of his effusions are translated in Murphy's *Anthology of New Netherland*. New York, 1865, pp. 79–183.—Cf. Stiles's *Hist. of the City of Brooklyn*. Brooklyn, 1867, vol. i., pp. 114, 138, 139, 142, 145–149; Whittemore's *Hist. of the First Ref. Prot. Dutch Church of Breuckelen*, 1654 to 1896, pp. 12–16. The documentary sources for his active career in America are brought together in *Ecclesiastical Records of the State of New York*. Albany, 1901.

2.—Rev. Pierre Peiret, whose name was often misspelled in the records of the time, was one of the refugees who came to New York in the latter part of 1687. He came from the County of Foix, in the extreme southern part of France, and was accompanied by his wife and two children. He was in New York before November 10th, 1687, for on that day he signed an affidavit relative to the death at sea of Richard Burt, the captain of the ship *Robert*, in which he and the other signers came from London. Peiret has the honor of having been the founder of the Huguenot church of New York. Immediately after his arrival he gathered together his fellow refugees for worship, and in 1688 erected the first edifice exclusively devoted to French services, in "Petty-Coat-Lane," at the present site of the Produce Exchange. In 1692 it was found necessary to enlarge the building by the addition of a gallery. He died on September 1st, 1704, in the sixtieth year of his age, and was buried the next day in Trinity churchyard.—*Registers of the "Église Française à la Nouvelle York,"* from 1688 to 1804, edited by Rev. Alfred V. Wittmeyer. New York, 1886, pp. xxi–xxxiv, xlvii, lxxxi, 101, 344–352.

3.—Saul Brown was a merchant who had come to New York from Newport, R. I. He was not a regular minister, but officiated among the Jewish residents as a reader. In 1685 he petitioned against existing municipal regulations, which interfered with his trade. In that year he was also allowed the burgher privileges, and carried on his business as a merchant "for several years afterward." He was the first person who regularly conducted Jewish worship in New York. Miller shows that he was yet active during his residence in the city (1692–95), which is at considerable variance with the statements of N. Taylor Phillips, who says Brown died in 1682.—*Publications of the American Jewish Hist. Society*, No. 6 ("The Congregation Shearith Israel"). Brown was succeeded by another merchant, Abraham Haim de Lucena, who subsequently gave up his business to devote himself exclusively to his ministerial office.—Cf. Daly's *Settlement of the Jews in North America*. New York, 1893, pp. 24, 27, 28; *Calendar of Council Minutes*, p. 44. For a discussion of the location of the Jews' synagogue, see Dyer, in *Pubs. of the American Jewish Hist. Soc.*, No. 3, pp. 47–50.

4.—Rev. David Bonrepos, D.D., was born in France about 1654, and came to New Rochelle with the first Huguenot settlers there, who had fled to America from France. He was in New Rochelle as early as October, 1690, and was pastor in 1692 when the first church edifice in the town was erected, but left before 1695, to become the pastor of the French Protestants on Staten Island. On March 6th, 1696, he was a resident of the city of New York, and was naturalized on February 6th of that year. The colonial council issued a warrant for a pension to him, on May 15th, 1699. In 1703 he was a petitioner to the council, being termed in the minutes "David de Bon Repos, minister of Staten Island." His will was executed June 16th, 1733, and he died about the spring of 1734.—Bolton's *Hist. of the County of Westchester*, 1881, vol. i., pp. 603–605; also his *Hist. of the Prot. Ep. Church in the County of Westchester*, pp. 395, 396; *Calendar of Council Minutes*, pp. 140, 179, 181, 197.

5.—Rev. Rudolphus Varick succeeded Rev. Casparus Van Zuuren as pastor of the first church of Flatbush, L. I. Van Zuuren was called to Holland in 1684 by the consistory of Gouderack. Late in 1685 Varick signified his willingness to come to America. He was formally called early in 1686. At that time he was minister at Hem, between Hoorn and Enkhuysen, the same church over which Jonas Michaelius, the first minister in New Amsterdam, had presided from 1614 to 1624. Varick sailed from Amsterdam the latter part of March, 1686, and arrived in New York in the beginning of July of that year, bringing with him his wife and children. His ministerial duties were not confined to Flatbush; he served the neighboring settlements, and also occasionally visited the congregations of Bergen and Hackensack, N. J. During Leisler's supremacy he was imprisoned and harshly treated. His will is dated October 20th, 1686, and was proven on November 9th, 1694. He died on September 24th of the latter year, and was succeeded by Lupardus.—*Eccles. Records of New York*, vol. ii., pp. 887, 911, 913, 914, 922, 935, 948, 1105, 1118; *N. Y. Gen. and Biog. Record*, vol. viii., p. 17; Strong's *Hist. of Flatbush*. New York, 1842; Vanderbilt's *Social Hist. of Flatbush*. New York, 1899.

6.—Rev. George Phillips, M.A., was a son of Rev. Samuel and Sarah (Appleton) Phillips, of Rowley, Mass. He was born June 3rd, 1664; entered Harvard College (class of 1686); seems to have been one of the early ministers of Brookfield, Mass.; preached in Suffield, Conn., from 1690 till the spring of 1692, and was a "licentiate" of the Presbyterian church of Jamaica, L. I., from 1693 to 1697. In the latter year the "trustees, freeholders and inhabitants of Brookhaven," L. I., agreed by a majority of votes that he should be

approached on the subject of his settling among them. It appears that he preached in Brookhaven without ordination until 1702—the year in which he was ordained. Phillips succeeded the Rev. John Prudden at Jamaica, and was in turn followed by Rev. Jeremiah Hobart, in 1698. He assisted in the formation of the Long Island Presbytery in 1717, and continued at Setauket till his death on April 3rd, 1739, being buried in the Presbyterian cemetery there. He is described by Wood as having been “distinguished for a peculiar vein of natural wit,” or as interpreted by Prime, “a vein of facetiousness not favorable to the dignity of the sacred profession.” Phillips married Sarah, eldest daughter of William and Sarah (Woolsey) Hallet, of Newtown. His descendants have been quite numerous, and reside in various states of the Union.—Sibley’s *Harvard Graduates*, vol. iii., pp. 360–362; Macdonald’s *Sketch of the History of the Presbyterian Church in Jamaica, L. I.* New York, 1847, pp. 29, 30; *Phillips Genealogies*. Auburn, Mass., 1885, pp. 35–39.

7.—This refers of course to Rev. William Vesey, then a dissenting minister, but subsequently the first resident rector of Trinity Church, New York City. His biography is easily accessible.

8.—This is intended for the Rev. John Morse, the fourth minister of the First Presbyterian Church of Newtown, L. I., who was born on March 31st, 1674, in Dedham, Mass., son of Ezra Morse, a cooper. He entered Harvard College (class of 1692), and was brought to Newtown from New England in 1694 by a representative of the church, in accordance with a resolution of the town for calling “a minister to preach the gospel amongst us upon liking.” In 1693 the government of New York tried to force upon the people of Newtown the ministrations of the Established Church, but this was resented by them. This church building was the first erected in the town, and was enlarged in the year of his induction there. He served this people until attacked by a violent illness, from which he died in October, 1700.—Riker’s *Annals of Newtown*. New York, 1852, pp. 126–131; Hendrickson’s *Brief Hist. of the First Presbyterian Church of Newtown*. Newtown, 1902, pp. 21–23.

9.—The first churches of Suffolk County were independent, having in their practice some form of Congregationalism. They became Presbyterian within half a century after the arrival of the first settlers. Some of those who served there while Miller was in New York were: (1) Joshua Hobart, a graduate of Harvard, at Southold, 1674–1717; (2) Joseph Whiting, a graduate of Harvard, at Southampton, 1680–1723; (3) Ebenezer White, a graduate of Harvard, at Bridge-Hampton, 1695–1748; (4) Eliphalet Jones, at Huntington, from 1676 until his death on June 5th, 1731; (5) Thomas

James, at Easthampton; (6) Dugal Simpson was called to Brookhaven in 1690; Mr. Webb was called in 1694, and Nathaniel Stone was invited from Norwalk, Conn., on January 1st, 1695. It is not clear which of the latter accepted and settled there.—*Hist. of Suffolk County*. New York, 1882; *Bi-Centennial Hist. of Suffolk County*. Babylon, 1885, pp. 29, ff.

10.—Warham Mather was a grandson of Rev. Richard Mather, son of Rev. Eleazar and Esther Mather, and brother-in-law of the famous Indian captive, the Rev. John Williams. He was born in Northampton, Mass., on September 7th, 1666. He married Elizabeth Davenport, granddaughter of the Rev. John Davenport of New Haven, in December, 1700. On April 2nd, 1684, he was accepted at a town-meeting of Westchester as “our minister for one whole year.” In 1686–87 he taught the grammar school at Hadley, Mass.; preached at Northfield, Mass., during six months of 1688; was made a freeman of Massachusetts on May 30th, 1690; preached at Killingworth in 1691, but had left there before 1694. At a town meeting of Westchester, held on May 7th, 1695, arrangements were made to “settle him with all expedition,” for one whole year or longer. He served there a second time from 1695 until 1701; preached several Sabbaths at Farmington, in the summer of 1704, and removed to New Haven, Conn., where he was a justice of peace and judge of probate, from 1710 to 1732. In 1697 he purchased several tracts of land in Westchester, which he disposed of again in 1703. He was virtually forced out of his living at Westchester by the opposition of Col. Caleb Heathcote, an ardent churchman. Mather died at New Haven on August 12th, 1745. During 1692 Samuel Goding, a lay reader, was chosen to carry on Sabbath day services at Westchester. He had received instructions to read in the Bible and other good sermon books, in order to be prepared to carry on his temporary office.—Mather’s *Lineage of Rev. Richard Mather*. Hartford, 1890, pp. 57–60; Sibley’s *Harvard Graduates*, vol. iii., pp. 319, 320; Bolton’s *Hist. of County of Westchester*, and *Hist. of Prot. Ep. Church*.

11.—The person referred to was the Rev. John Peter Nucella, “a man of good report, of studious habits, of excellent gifts and godly walk.”—*Eccles. Records of New York*, vol. ii., pp. 1083, 1088, 1090, 1099, 1100, 1115, 1116.

12.—Rev. Godfreidus Dellius. The material for his career in New York is extensive.—*Eccles. Records of New York*, vol. ii.; *N. Y. Col. Docs.*, vols. iii. and iv.; *Calendar of Council Minutes*; *Votes of the General Assembly* (Gaine’s edition), vol. i.; *Jesuit Relations*, vol. lxiv., p. 277; Munsell’s *Collections on the Hist. of Albany*. These are the chief sources of his various activities.

APPENDIX B

COMMISSION TO THE REV. JOHN MILLER AS CHAPLAIN OF FORT WILLIAM  
HENRY IN NEW YORK

“Registered at the request of John Miller Clerke”

Marie R

Comis  
sigilli

William and Mary by the grace of God King and Queen of England Scotland France and Ireland Defenders of the faith &c To Our Trusty and wellbelovd John Miller Clerke Greeting We do by these presents constitute and appoint you to be Chaplain of the two Companies of foot in the Colony of Newyorke in America You are therefore carefully and diligently to discharge the duty of a Chaplain by doing and performing all and all manner of things thereunto belonging and you are to observe and follow such orders and directions from time to time as you shall receive from your Captains or any your superiour Officer according to the rules and discipline of warr Given at Our Court at Whitehall the 7th day of March 169½ in the fourth yeare of Our Reigne By her Maj<sup>ty</sup>s Command

NOTTINGHAM.

Entered with the Com<sup>r</sup>. Gen<sup>l</sup> of the musters.

D. CRAWFORD.

Sigilli  
Comis

LICENSE TO THE REV. JOHN MILLER FROM HENRY COMPTON, BISHOP OF  
LONDON

“Registred for John Miller Clerke”

Henricus permissione divina Londinensis Episcopus Dilecto nobis in Christo Johanni Miller Art: Magistro & Clerico Salutem & Gratiam Ad peragendum Officium Capellani in Oppido Novi Eboraci apud Americanos in precibus communibus Aliisq<sup>3</sup> ministerijs Ecclesiasticis Ad Officium Capellani pertinentibus juxta formam descriptam in libro publicarum precum autoritate Parlamenti hujus Inclyti Regni Anglie, in ea parte edit. & provis & Canones & Constitutiones in ea parte legitime stabilitas et publicatas & non aliter neque alio modo Tibi de cujus fidelitate, morum integritate Literarum scientia sana doctrina et diligentia plurimum confidimus (prestito primitus per te Juramento tam de agnoscendo Regiam supremam Majestatem juxta vim formam et effectum Statuti parlamenti dicti regni Anglie in ea parte edit et provis. quam de Canonica Obedientia Nobis et Successoribus nostris in omnibus lictis et honestis per te prestanda et exhibenda, subscriptisq<sup>3</sup> per te tribus illis articulis mentionatis in tricesimo sexto Capitulo libri Constitutionum sive Canonum Ecclesiasticorum Anno Dom. 1604. Regia

Autoritate Editorum & promulgatorum) Licentiam et facultatem nostram concedimus et impartimur per presentes: ad nostrum beneplacitum duntaxat duraturas: In cujus rei Testimonium Sigillum nostrum (quo in similibus plerumq<sup>3</sup> utimur) presentibus apponi fecimus Dat. nono die Martij Anno Dom. 1691 nostreq<sup>3</sup> translationis anno Decimo Septimo.

CERTIFICATION FROM THE BISHOP OF LONDON SHOWING THAT THE  
REV. JOHN MILLER HAD PROPERLY SUBSCRIBED TO THE  
ACT OF PARLIAMENT

“Registered for John Miller Clerk”

Henry By Divine permission Lord Bishop of London to all to whom these presents shall or may concerne — health in Our Lord God everlasting Whereas by virtue of An Act of Parliament made in the first year of the reign of Our Sovereign Lord and Lady King William and Queen Mary Entituled an Act for the abrogating of the Oath of Supremacy and allegiance and appointing Other oaths It is provided and Enacted That every person at his or their respective Admission to be incumbent in any Ecclesiasticall promotion or dignity in the Church of England shall subscribe and Declare before his Ordinary in manner and forme as in the said Act is contained Now Know ye That on the day of the date hereof did personally appear before us Mr John Miller Clerke to be admitted Chaplain in Newyorke in America and subscribed as followeth as by the said Act is required: I John Miller Clerke Do Declare that no forrein Prince Person Prelate State or Potentate hath or ought to have any Jurisdiction Power Superiority Preeminence or Authority Ecclesiasticall or Spiritual within this Realm: And that I will conform to the Liturgy of the Church of England as it is now by Law Established In witness whereof We have caused Our Seal Manual to be affixed to these presents Dated the 9<sup>th</sup> day of March in the year of Our Lord One thousand six hundred 91 And in the 17<sup>th</sup> Year of Our Translation

Coms  
sigilli

H LONDON

[The foregoing three documents are literal transcripts from the contemporary entries in the book of “Commissions,” vol. ii, pp. 71–73, on file in the Department of Archives, New York State Library, Albany, N. Y.—EDITOR.]

H: LONDON

## APPENDIX C

INFORMATION FURNISHED BY THE REVEREND MR. MILLER RESPECTING  
NEW-YORK\*

[Journal, ix, 89–91.]

Whitehall September the 4<sup>th</sup> 1696

At a Meeting of His Majesty's Commissioners for Trade and plantations.

Present—Lord Keeper	M <sup>r</sup> Pollexfen
Duke of Shrewsbury	M <sup>r</sup> Locke
S <sup>r</sup> Philip Meadows	M <sup>r</sup> Hill

New Yorke  
Miller's case

M<sup>r</sup> Miller late Chaplain to His Majesty's Forces in New Yorke, attending, shewed a Generall Order from Colonell Fletcher to M<sup>r</sup> Gilbert Heathcote for his Pay dated the 22<sup>d</sup> Aprill 1693. But a servant of M<sup>r</sup> Heathcote's accompanying him produced a letter of Colonell Fletcher's to M<sup>r</sup> Heathcote dated the 29<sup>th</sup> May 1695. in which the state of his Accounts is limited to the 1<sup>st</sup> of June 1695. And said that M<sup>r</sup> Heathcote had paid him all that he had order for: Wherewithall nevertheless M<sup>r</sup> Miller not being satisfied his complaint arising upon an account between him and Colonel Fletcher he was thereupon told that the decision of that matter did not belong to this Board.

Being then further enquired of about the state of that Province he gave these following Answers.

That there are about 3000 Families in New York and about 5000 Families in Connecticut.

That he was at Albany when the French came down that way in the year 1693. It was in the Mohacs Country, beyond Schenectidy. There were of them about 2 or 300, and as many of their Indians. The Force sent against them was from Albany much about the same number (English and Indians) under Major Schuyler, who speaks the Indian Language. Other forces sent from New York came too late. Major Schuyler's Order from Colonell Ingoldsby who commanded in Albany was that when he found he was near the Enemy he should fortify himself; He did so; And in the mean time while [*sic*] sent out detachments who in several attacks killed about 30 or 40 of the French party, whereupon the rest fled, and have not since returned. This was the only incursion of any moment that was ever made upon that Country before his coming away in June 1695. That the Town of Albany is fortified only with stockado. There is but one Minister of the Church of England and one Schoolmaster

\* Reprinted from *New York Col. Docs.*, vol. iv., pp. 182, 183.

in the whole Colony of New York. A Dutch Minister there had instructed some Indian children. But the English in New York had not endeavoured it. There are many Interpreters.

That the Trade of Albany is chiefly Beaver. Formerly it may have been to the value of £10,000 a year but is now decay'd, by reason of the Warr between Our Indians and the French, not diverted to any other place. The burdens also of that Province have made 2 or 300 Families forsake it, and remove to Pensilvania and Maryland chiefly and some to New England.

That the Presents usually given to the Five Nations are not distributed to particular Men amongst them: But in general to the whole. It is done in the Governor's name as by order from the King. Their returns are in Beaver and Otterskins to the value of 20 or 40£. Those presents of theirs are made to the Governor: He is doubtfull if not sometimes mentioned for the King.

## APPENDIX D

MILLER AND WITCHCRAFT IN NEW ENGLAND \*

"At this time *New England* was supposed to be much troubled with Sorcerers and Witches; the *French* and *Dutch* Ministers were applied to for advice how to get rid of these troublesome guests, and Seven Questions were proposed to them, on which they consulted Mr. *Miller*. Some had been convicted and executed as witches, many more were accused. Sir *William Phipps* the Governor was very uneasy, and caused various Questions to be proposed to the *Dutch* and *French* Ministers there, and to Mr. *Miller*. Amongst the papers of the latter are the Questions and his Answers. It may not be incurious to state them. Question 1. Is it a fact that there have been Witches from the beginning of the world to the present time? 2. What is the true definition of a Witch, and in what does his power (*formalis ratio*) consist? 3. Does God justly permit the Devil to shew and represent to those who are bewitched the images

\* Miller's annotated and interleaved copy of Herman Moll's *Atlas Geographus or, a Compleat System of Geography, Ancient and Modern*. [London], 1711–1717. 5 vols., 8vo, is owned by the New York Public Library. He purchased it on May 18th, 1717, for £4 9s., and each volume gives that fact over his autograph. The volumes were yet in the library of the vicarage of Effingham in the beginning of the nineteenth century, when Manning and Bray prepared their Surrey County history, and as the witchcraft queries, etc., are in Latin, we copy from Manning and Bray, vol. ii., pp. 714, 715, their account and abstract in English. The questions submitted were signed by Joseph Dudley, and dated October 5th, 1692. Miller's transcript with attestation is dated June 11th, 1717. This interesting set of Moll's work was purchased by the Lenox Library in 1894 at the auction rooms of Bangs and Co., New York City.

of innocent persons, as if they were the authors of the Witchcraft? 4. Is previous malice and cursing to be necessarily proved in order to convict a Witch? 5. Is anyone whose figure appears to the person bewitched, and is by him accused as the author of the Witchcraft, to be adjudged guilty, and convicted of the Witchcraft? 6. Is the accusation alone of the party supposed to be bewitched, sufficient to prove a man who lives piously, justly, and soberly, guilty? 7. If the person bewitched, after suffering various and heavy torments, after the paroxysm is over, appears of a strong and firm habit of body without receiving any other damage, is it not a cause for suspicion of delusion, or diabolical possession?

"In answer to the First Question Mr. *Miller* asserts his belief in the actual existence of Witchcraft from the beginning of the world, taking his authority from Scripture and a variety of heathen authors. 2. Witchcraft is the art of torturing and destroying men, and it is an art, because it practises certain forms of incantation, uses compositions from herbs &c. : it is performed by the assistance of the Devil, otherwise it is not Witchcraft: the co-operation of the Devil is the *ratio formalis*. 3. The hearts of men are unknown to us; we cannot say whether those whom we suppose to be innocent are really so; and perhaps God permits their representation (in vision to the enchanted) that he may punish their sins, by the subsequent disgrace and punishment which they endure. 4. If previous malice, &c. can be proved, it will confirm the Witchcraft proved otherwise by all or the principal circumstances mentioned in the *English* Statute; but they are not necessarily to be proved, because legal proof of the circumstances expressed in the Statute will suffice for the condemnation of the Witch. 5. 6. Men whether they live soberly or impiously are scarce on that account to be publicly accused, much less found guilty, because the minds of men, especially of the ignorant or depraved, can easily be and frequently are deceived by the Devil. 7. Since whatever the Devil himself does, or men do by his co-operation, tend to the ruin of those who are tortured, and since I understand some to be in this manner tortured, who, after the paroxysm, are chearful, healthful, and merry, I suppose them not to be maliciously enchanted by any sorcerer, but deluded by the Devil to promote the misery of mankind.

"Thus after admitting the existence of Witches and Witchcraft, and thus not wholly opposing at once the prejudices which had gained such great hold on the minds of the people, he leads to the acquittal of the persons accused by his Answers to the 5th, 6th, and 7th Questions, in which he attributes the sufferings of the afflicted to the delusions of the Devil.

"What answers were given by the *Dutch* and *French* Ministers I do not know, but the *Atlas Geographicus* vol. v. p. 747, giving an account of the State of New England at this time, tells us that Sir William Phipps the Governor had the good sense to reprieve, and afterwards to pardon, many of the accused; and at length the Country was so well convinced of the propriety of his conduct, that they publicly thanked him, and Queen Mary by Letters approved of what he had done."\*

\*Miller says in a manuscript foot-note to Moll, vol. v., p. 748, "The advice of the established English Min" was also asked & generously given but they were not so civil as to thank him for it, nor do they here acknowledge it, altho it was much to their purpose & stood them in good stead."



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