SAMUEL VAUGHAN'S JOURNAL
or "Minutes Made by S. V., from Stage to Stage, on a Tour to Fort Pitt"

Edited by Edward G. Williams

INTRODUCTION

The writings of early travelers are intrinsically interesting as expressions of long silenced voices from the past, but they are particularly valuable in fixing the locus of historic sites that are fast slipping from the memory of latter-day generations. The journal here presented is noteworthy in that it graphically traces the route of the Forbes Road and its successor, the Pennsylvania Road, as well as the Braddock Road, the antecedent of the National Highway. It is coincidental that the writer of this journal was himself an interesting character and his family active in the events of stimulating times.

Most notables of the age of violent action that characterized the era of the American Revolution are remembered for their having been either military or political personages. Even so, renowned were his deeds whose name calls up a flicker of recognition in our time. There is one, however, though little more than an observer of passing events, whose memory is vividly recalled, more than once, to every visitor to Mount Vernon and Independence Hall. Samuel Vaughan, the author of this journal, preferred the role of behind-the-scenes observer and upholder of the individual rights of freeborn Englishmen. He sought only to leave the world he lived in a little better for his having passed that way. In so doing, he has left tangible impressions that have survived where names of those who played grander roles have lost some of their luster. We shall hereinafter notice the still existing visible evidence of his brief seven years' residence in America.

Samuel Vaughan has been portrayed as a wealthy and prosperous London merchant, filled with philanthropic zeal for the liber-
ties of his fellow men. The years of his life, prior to his attachment to the Whig cause in London and his friendship with Benjamin Franklin, Dr. Joseph Priestly, Richard Price, John Wilkes and others, would have been totally lost to his American biographers but for one coincidence: he became enmeshed, in 1764-1765, in an embarrassing legal tangle, in which he was accused by the Duke of Grafton of irregularities in attempting to obtain the offices of Chief Clerk and deputy clerkship to the Supreme Court of Jamaica for himself and his sons “during their natural lives.” The reader will remember that nearly all offices under the British Crown, including commissions in the regular army, were obtained by purchase and influence. Vaughan averred that judgments obtained in the courts of the island had not been recorded through the years 1747-1751 and August 1753 to August 1756, and that many of the judgments had been lost or mislaid with consequent impossibility for the plaintiffs to obtain execution on the judgments. Since Vaughan himself had £86,000 owed to him in Jamaica, he felt that he or his sons would be “the best security to the public for the faithful discharge of the office.”\(^1\) The above statement of debts owed to him, and the fact that he was willing to pay £5,000 for the office, give evidence of his wealth, especially as he remained solvent and prosperous regardless of his losses. His affidavit describes him as having resided in Jamaica from 1736 to 1752 and, as of June 21, 1765 (date of the affidavit), residing in Mincing-lane, London.\(^2\) He won his case, was declared innocent of bribery, but did not receive the appointment.

As a man of commerce, being involved in business transactions in the triangular trade between the West Indies, North American Colonies, and England, Vaughan found it necessary to make personal contacts in Colonial ports and “at home.” It was during one of these trips that he met and married Sarah Hallowell, daughter of Benjamin Hallowell, Boston merchant, owner of large landed holdings on the Kennebec River in Maine. That was in 1747, when he was 26 (less than two months before he became 27 years of age), and Sarah was twenty-five days short of her twentieth birthday. It was a happy marriage, and they had eleven children, five sons and six daughters.

\(^1\) Samuel Vaughan, An Appeal to the Public in Behalf of Samuel Vaughan, esq.; in a full and impartial narrative of his negotiation with the Duke of Grafton (London, 1770), 7-8 (New York Public Library, Rare Book Room, *KF, 1770).
\(^2\) Ibid., 7.
Samuel Vaughan himself had come of a large family, being the youngest of twelve children of Benjamin (born 1679) and Ann Wolf Vaughan (born 1677). 3

Vaughan’s adherence to the Whig cause seems to have begun soon after 1765, due to his growing disillusionment with the British ministry and their policies. Previous to that time, he seems to have been desirous of becoming a “place man,” content to have been subservient to the influential man who could have obtained for him a lifetime appointment under the Crown. Afterwards he became a confidant of Dr. Franklin at his London Coffee Club, the “Club of Honest Whigs.” He came under the influence of Dr. Joseph Priestly, 4 a liberal and leader of Unitarianism, when his eldest son, Benjamin, attended the Academy at Warrington, in 1767.

In 1783, Samuel Vaughan and his wife came to America and settled in Philadelphia, 5 where they could taste the fruits of American democratic-republican institutions and be near the family of his much venerated Franklin. His son, John, had preceded him and, like the Marquis de Chastellux, had been disconcerted by a society where a young woman of family could assert that she was only waiting for this little revolution to be finished in order that a new and greater one could be achieved, that of substituting French manners for American. 6

For seven years (1783-1790) Samuel Vaughan breathed the exhilarating air of America with the zest of a zealot. He traveled widely and observed with a keen eye our institutions, topography, and physical assets. The concluding paragraph of the journal, here presented, reflects his enthusiasm for his idol, George Washington, and one great motivation for his travels, thus: “NB In my three Tours, in 1784, 1785, & 1787, I had the pleasure of tracing & of viewing every place of Action that happened during the War between Great Britain [and America] while the Americans was (sic) under the Command & conducted by General Washington in person.”

4 Dr. Joseph Priestly, the “father of modern chemistry,” discoverer of oxygen, whose lovely home and laboratory may still be seen on the banks of the beautiful Susquehanna River at Northumberland, Pa. He was a non-conformist minister and leader of Unitarianism. Forced to flee from England, he came to Pennsylvania through the influence of his friend, Franklin.
6 Marquis de Chastellux, Voyages dans l'Amerique Septentrionale, 1780-1782 (Paris, 1786), I, 166.
admiration for the great Washington knew no bounds, and his toasts in his honor were matched by more material manifestations of his sentiments. He had ordered, in Italy, a magnificent mantelpiece of superbly sculptured Siena marble intended to enhance his own London residence; but, finding Washington in the act of adding a banquet room to his Mount Vernon home, he had it forthwith sent to him. It is today one of the prime showpieces of the historic national shrine, to which the attendants point as a symbol of the veneration in which the immortal Washington was held by Europeans. They also show a pair of rare blue East Indian vases from the same source. More surprisingly, one sees there a drawing (one of three, made by Samuel Vaughan himself) meticulously detailing a plan for drives, gardens, shrubbery plantings, and trees to beautify the Mount Vernon estate. It is worthy of note that this plan was, in the main, followed by Washington in his landscaping.

As a further mark of his benevolence toward the blossoming young Republic, Vaughan planned the beautification of the surroundings of the State House (Independence Hall) in Philadelphia, then the capital of the nation. Through George Morgan, of Princeton, New Jersey, he obtained a gift of 100 young elm trees and artistically planned the walks, bowers, and landscaping himself. It is no detraction from Vaughan's public spirit and good taste that few of these trees lived to maturity, due to their being attacked by worms and blight.

An outstanding attainment of Samuel Vaughan was his ability to form enduring friendships with men of great accomplishments, as attested by his correspondence with Washington, Franklin, Dr. Benjamin Rush, Humphrey Marshall, Lord Shelbourne, Dr. Priestly, Richard Price, and many other leaders in science and politics. His

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7 Thomas T. Waterman, *The Mansions of Virginia* (Chapel Hill, N. C., 1946), 294. "The Banquet Hall (at Mount Vernon) has a projecting chimney breast . . . The mantel is a magnificent marble piece with free-standing Ionic columns supporting a frieze enriched with bas-reliefs. It was the gift of Samuel Vaughan of London and is the most elaborate of its period in the country. It is unique in having an inlaid marble mantel." (Pictorial reproduction, Ibid., opposite p. 292); B. J. Lossing, *Mount Vernon and Its Associations* (Cincinnati, 1883), 185 ff.


lively interest in natural science brought him into membership in the American Philosophical Society within a few months after his arrival in America. Shortly thereafter, he presented to the Society valuable gifts of scientific instruments, books, and scientific papers; and, within five months of his election to membership, Samuel Vaughan became a vice-president. At the time of his authorship of the journal which follows, he held that honorable office. His name is affixed to the certificate of membership in the Society of Thomas Hutchins, that great civil engineer, originator of the great American Land System of rectangular surveys of Public Lands.

At the same time his son, John, was admitted to membership and devoted his whole long life to the service of the Society's work, being for fifty-six years its secretary. He never married, and died, much honored and lamented, at the age of eighty-six. His brother, William, was also long a member who contributed important papers to the Society, although he resided in London all of his life. He was noted as a political economist, the author of many treatises on commerce and improvement of the London docks, to whose influence is largely credited the tremendous growth of British trade in the 19th century.

The most active and noted of the sons was Benjamin, the eldest (born in Jamaica), who, at the age of sixteen, was a pupil of Dr. Priestly at Warrington, and later studied law at the Inner Temple and medicine at the University of Edinburgh. After marrying Sarah Manning in 1781, he went into partnership with her father, William Manning, London merchant. By this marriage, he became brother-in-law to John Laurens, Aide-de-Camp to Washington (son of Henry Laurens, President of Continental Congress), and who had married Martha Manning. The Vaughans thus became allied to General Charles Coatsworth Pinckney, celebrated Revolutionary leader and later Secretary of War and Secretary of State, also to the Hon. David Ramsey, distinguished patriot, United States Senator, and historian of the Revolution, both of whom married daughters of Henry Laurens. It was partly through this connec-

12 Sheppard, "The Vaughan Family," op. cit., 344.
13 Dictionary of National Biography, XX, 187-188; hereinafter noted as DNB.
tion that Benjamin Vaughan was able to establish contact between Lord Shelbourne and American authorities to negotiate cessation of hostilities and to treat for peace. Vaughan had ably edited the first collection of Franklin's scientific works, the only publication during his lifetime, and had also been secretary to Lord Shelbourne. He undertook many trips to France in the interest of British-American peace; and he, at one point, got into difficulty through the fact that King George III suspected him of double-play in his role of emissary of Lord Shelbourne and the American, John Jay, simultaneously. \[16\] Vaughan's liberal sentiments in favor of the French Revolution embroiled him with the conservative British ministry, and he prudently went to France, thence to America in 1796, never to return to England.

Dr. Vaughan settled upon the family estates at Hallowell, Maine, where he lived the gracious life of a cultured gentleman, the acknowledged leader of a distinguished New England society, and even practiced medicine again. He had a library that was second only to that at Harvard University, to which, and to Bowdoin College, he left a large part of his books. As a horticulturist and husbandman, Dr. Vaughan was a leader in importing, propagating, and improving grains and vegetables, and in improving the breed of his oxen and cattle. \[17\]

The other sons were Samuel, Jr., who returned to Jamaica and was highly regarded for his public spirit, and Charles, who resided first in Boston, then in Hallowell, having become a great industrial planner and community developer, building mills, warehouses, wharves, and docks. These did not succeed, and he retired to agricultural pursuits. \[18\]

During 1787, Samuel Vaughan, our journalist, started upon a journey which he had long contemplated. He had previously traveled to Fort Ticonderoga, and he longed to see Pittsburgh and the mountains. He also strongly desired to visit Mount Vernon and Williamsburg in Virginia. He determined to combine the two itineraries.

A fellow West Indian merchant, Michael Morgan O'Brian \[19\]
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(or O'Brien), wished also to visit Pittsburgh, and arrangements were made to travel together. They traversed the Pennsylvania Road, newly laid out over the route of the Forbes Road of 1758, as we shall see, with some short cuts and somewhat improved grades.20 O'Brian did not go beyond Pittsburgh, so Vaughan pursued his journey alone (presumably with a servant, though not so stated) via the Braddock Road to Cumberland, Maryland, Ashby's Gap, Fredericksburg, Richmond, and to Williamsburg. Thence he proceeded to the object of his pilgrimage, the home of the beloved Washington. During his brief visit to Mount Vernon he drew on a single page of his journal the original draft of the three plans of Mount Vernon to which we referred above.

Samuel Vaughan died in London in 1802.

It is a great pleasure to acknowledge the courtesy of, and to extend thanks to, the staff of the Manuscript Division of the Library of Congress, to the staff of the Manuscript Room of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania in Philadelphia, to the staff of the Rare Book Room of the New York Public Library, the staff of the Pennsylvania Room of the Carnegie Library of Pittsburgh; also to Doctor Alfred P. James, Emeritus Professor of History at the University of Pittsburgh, who reviewed the material here presented, and to Miss Prudence B. Trimble, Librarian Editor of the Historical Society of Western Pennsylvania, for valuable suggestions and aid in collating the transcription of Vaughan's Journal. To Mr. Niles Anderson of Pittsburgh21 and to Professor Harold A. Thomas are due thanks for valued assistance and advice in locating and identifying especially difficult sections of the Forbes Road.

It is the belief of the author that the journal of Samuel Vaughan, here printed for the first time, will prove a valuable contribution to the historical literature of Pennsylvania as a whole and, indeed, to American traditional literature.

The reader should bear in mind that this is not a journal in the usual sense, but notes jotted down at stops on the road to rest the horses or for refreshment. The journalist himself expresses his purpose thus: "Minutes made by S.V., from Stage to Stage . . ." This will explain the lack of coherence and apparent lack of form

20 Cf. "The Journal of Col. Israel Shreve, from New Jersey to the Monongahela," _PMHB_, LII 196, 198; _ibid._, X, 131, n2. The Pennsylvania Road was authorized in 1784, but construction was still proceeding in 1788.
in the work. It is presented exactly as it was written, without any attempt to correct punctuation, lack of punctuation, spelling, capitalization, or grammar. It better expresses thus the intent and feeling of the original author of the notes.

MINUTES MADE BY S. V, FROM STAGE TO STAGE ON A TOUR TO FORT PITT OR PITTSBOURGH IN COMPANY WITH Mf MICH.¹ MORGAN ORBIAN, FROM THENCE BY S. V. ONLY ——— THROUGH VIRGINIA MARYLAND & PENNSYLVANIA. MILES

1787 June 18

At 5 P. M. Left Philadelphia, to German town 7 miles, (indifrent land) when enter German town, a single street two miles long, Stone buildings, generally inhabited by German Freeholders. 2 German Churches, a Quaker meeting & public school endowed, printing house & weekly german News paper. Manufacture of Stockings & many carriages built here, to Springhouse,¹ Campbell where slept ——— 19

——— To McAuleys,² road hitherto good, land waving, soil red as that of New Jersey, well settled & wooded ——— 10

——— To Gen Washingtons head Opps.³ Many parts of the road rough & stoney, middle part poor with soil, less cultivated latter part better settled ——— 17

NB Opps is a Representative of the County. his wife is fat crummy Landlady tanned like an Indian, without shoes or stockgs speaks little or no English, is robust & active.

Three miles from hence in a range of hills on the Jersey side, are many Mineral springs. calibiate [chalybeate] & Fountain Iron forge ——— To Bethlehem,⁴ the last 2-1/2 miles Sackaun [Saucon] Creek with a Sawmill, the road continues 1-1/2 miles parallel to the River Lehigh is about 30 perch[es] over, trees on the banks then cornfields, bounded by a range of hills with hanging woods & vales truly picturesque

The town of Bethlehem lies N° & S° 1700 feet long & 130 feet broad, situate on a beautiful hill with a gradual descent down to the River Lehigh on which is a saw mill & to Manaksy [Monocacy]
creek on which there is a grist, an oyl, one for grinding bark for
tanning on sly [slightly] lower ground, a water mill which raises
the water 100 feet & supplies by 4 pipe[s] the whole town as also
a Farm. they are admirably well constructed. The mills & houses
are all substan1 built of Stone, of which they have seperate ranges
for the Brethren, the Sisters the widows the widowers, the children,
with a sho[p] the congregational house 140 feet long the S° Wing
100 feet, & those 3 & 4 Storey high, a Publick House, Store well
stocked with goods, log houses for artists workmen &c of two storeys
(the produce & profits of all come into the common stock inter-
spersed between the streets & houses with Gardens, Avenues of trees
clumps & ———— surrounded by six farms (on each of which are
5 or 6 Labourers) the Society receiving 1/3 of the annual produce,
the fifth farm they cultivate themselves having 100 Acres in grain
the farm yard at the hind of the lawn in which are excellent ranges
of stables, including 16 horned Cow houses, 60 Cows, make 50 b
butter at a time. Barns, wash houses, hen houses, with every re-
quisite for utility & use, the whole consisting of 4000 Acres of land,
and exhibiting a vast & beautiful prospect bounded to the North
by the blue mountain 11 miles distant & on the South by oley5 hills
or South Mountain 4 miles distant. The Inhabitants of the town
are of different occupations, as Carpenters Millwrights Tanyers
black & lock Smiths Clock makers Shoe makers Casters of Iron
& all busy & Active. within 3 miles is Missilum forge [i.e., Moselem
forge]6 on the creek where they cast Iron & make Barrs thereof;
the[y] have a singular burying ground of 3 Acres, bone & Corpes
house, on which are regular rows of graves arranged thus □ □ □
on which are inscriptions. they had but 4 burials in the last 8 months
They have a Bishop named John Edwins [Ettwein]7 & three Min-
isters. the Moravian Society doth not encrease here, having but
60 families 80 Brothren 150 Sisters, 30 sod widows, 12 widowers
& 80 Children who live in separate houses, that are airy & clean.
the whole Society about 600 Souls (at Nazareth 12 miles off they
have a larger Society thriving & much admired) they have service
performed every morning in the separate houses the principal of which
[unintelligible] at 1/2 past 7 in the evening they all meet & Services
performed with great Solemnity, ——— arranged separately on 12
forms deep & two lengths, a well toned organ, singing harmonious,
the room surrounded with 12 pictures, representing the life of Christ
from Nativity to Ascension & in a long room the heads of a great
number of their most celebrated worthies. The Sisters are in separate neat rooms 3 or 4 beds in a room 2 to each where they spin, knit & work, one room for finer work such as Embroidery tambour needle work & they weave Linnen, wollen, lawn & the Society are regular, Sistematical, serious if not gloomy yet appear perfectly content & happy. Their situation is Inchanting, their morals pure. Their deportment easy & modest dress plain & cleanly, manners meek & amiable representing a shining appearance of harmonious primitive simplicity. the Society have all a common interest in their work, their labour & their produce, have many that visit & purchase their manufactures which are remarkably strong, but they ask & have a very high price for every article. The sun tavern\(^4\) hath 4 rooms on a floor, on the second floor 4 beds in each, with good attic stories that are sometimes occupied by stranger[s], good entertainment, & in the Season a profusion of wood [good] Strawberries. Vide plan perspect. view of the Town.

June 21

At 5 P. M. went the mountain road to Allens town.\(^9\) the road hilly & rocky, here & there a farm — about 70 houses in the town mostly Log, a Church & few houses of stone —— Land waving, some meadow, farms in good order; crossed the River Leheigh.

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To sign Gen Washington, good road, many large and well cultivated farms, much level meadow land. the 1/3 appeared in ruinate, with low shrubs, called the Barrens, yet good corn land. here is a Church & the head of big spring\(^10\) ——— To Kutz town a good road for the most part level; the soil sand or gravel united with red loom, good wheat land but not for Rye. good farms on each side the road. town 27 Log houses, some of 2 storey. within 3 miles is Missilum forge. where Cast & barr Iron is manufactured\(^11\)

——— To Reading,\(^12\) the road good, for the most part level, with shade of trees on each side, within which are good Farms. Reading town is situated within 1/2 mile of the Schuylkill a neat town, good Society, about 500 houses, mostly brick or stone, (counted the warmest town in the State) this town in the County of Berks was in 1783 created a Bourough town of Reading & being a fruitful country has encreased rapidly. supposed to contain 2700 inhabit-
June 23

To Middle town, the road good timber large, with good farms on each side the Road a few log houses some of 2 Stories, a Luthn German Church, 3 miles off

To Miers’s town, the land still improving, good road, here & there rocky. the town consists of between 30 & 40 Log houses is about 1/2 mile from Tulpahocken Creek.

To Lebanon town a good road, some part stoney good soil & good farms, about 140 houses brick framed & Log. a German Luther & a Prespeterian Church & Market situated on the North of the Quitophellia [Quitopahilla] creek on which are several mills

To Millers town the road good with good farms skirted with wood, about 30 houses. Trees Oak Locust Walnut maple land sells from 6 to 10 £ the Acre

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to Humbles town [Hummelstown] good road about 40 houses, Land from 3 to 20 £ the Acre. just as came out of the town crossed Swatarow [Swatara] Creek, which in Europe would be deemed a considerable River & on which are several Mills

Stopped at Jno Grays farm for a feed of oats for the horses while the farmer went to furnish Oates, being Sunday morning, I began to shave, shifting Linnen, the farmer came in with an attitude of surprise & amasement, saying had he been there he would not have suffered a profanation of the day. I told him, it was unusual with me, but the fatigue of the past day was the occasion. with great difficulty I at length pacified him, when breakfasted with the family, on bread & milk they had also boiled indian corn. he said grace or rather a short & well composed prayer before & after meal & in better language than I could have expected. I shortly after saw several people ride toward his house. Accidentally meeting with Able James, he informed me, that in Lancastr & for 10 miles round, it is said there are upwards of 6000 Meno[n]ists or Annabatists [Anabaptists] who have 10 Churches. In Dauphin County that hath lately been seperated from the County of Lancaster there are 2 or 3000 who have six places of worship & that they consist of the most reputable farmers, many of whom have service in their own houses. many of fashion & character officiating themselves & re-
ceive their neighbours, there are also many Dunkers. They are a sober industrious sett of people & many of their tenets correspond with the Quakers.

From Philadelphia to the Susquannah the farmers are for the most part Germans & many publick houses on the road. The English soldiers often, at times stood in need of a Linguist, but on crossing the River there are many Irish who are neither so industrious, sober, or well informed in farming as the Germans who are the most valuable settlers.

To Lewisbourgh 19 (lately called Harris town). On the other side of the Susquehanna a good road, the ferry 1 mile 10 rood [rods] wide; horse 1/ , light waggon 5/ Loaded 7/6. Plenty of Salmon, Rock, pike, trout & passed a delightful Island, cultivated & richly wooded. 3-1/2 miles distant Consecongons [Conodoguinet] creek on which are many mills. [Harrisburg or Louisburg] has about 200 neat homes some brick & many good Log houses of two stories & likely to encrease.

June 25

To Carlisle town & borough, Cumberland County

In the town 500 houses 20 a few brick but mostly of blue lime stone, well built generally 2 story high, the Lots 60 front 240 deep. A Court house, Gaol Market, Episcopal, Presbyterian & a German Church, ———— Dickenson College, lately founded at present 70 Students. 35 attend Classicks, Cronol 7. & Geogra [Chronology and Geography]. 20 natural philosophy — 12 good houses now building, a Red soil on a blue lime stone ——— 1/2 mile from the town, there [is a] large range of good brick buildings for stores &c each 222 feet long 24 broad D. 9 Barracks of like dimentions, hospital Magazine Foundary &c all built of stone during the War 21 & to which the College is to be removed, when fitted for the purpose. Latort spring 22 running about 80 or 100 yards to the Westward, on which are Mills ———— they have a tolerable library & Apparatus for Natural Philisop. Elect. Machine teliscopes. vide plans of Buildings.

[To be continued]
EXPLANATORY NOTES

1 It is interesting to note that Campbell's Tavern was located here at Spring House at this time. Only a German tavern is noted here fifteen years later. Joshua Gilpin, "A Journey to Bethlehem," PMHB, XLVI, 18.

2 Travelers usually went out Old York Road to Buckingham, Bucks County, thence by the old Durham Road to the Sign of the Harrow, thence by the old Bethlehem Road to the ferry over the Lehigh. Samuel Vaughan, however, traveled out the road that now is U.S. Route 309 to present U.S. Route 202, by which to Chalfont, thence by an oblique road cut across to present Gardenville (William McCauley's Inn, which Vaughan wrote McAuleys), on the old Durham Road north of Buckingham. See Anonymous Diary of a "Summer Jaunt to Bethlehem," PMHB, X, 366, 367n1, where we learn that it was called the "Sign of the Moon & Half Moon." It is obvious that Vaughan reversed the recording of his distances, 10 and 17 miles, which should read, 17 and 10 miles, respectively.

3 Valentine Opp commanded a company of Bucks County Militia in the Flying Camp, in New Jersey, during the Revolution. PMHB, XXXIII, 350, 365. His tavern was 14 miles from Bethlehem, and by the obvious reversal of Vaughan's figures, he must have taken over the "Sign of the Harrow" (the village still called Harrow), and called it the "Sign of General Washington's Head." John Wilson was the original proprietor. PMHB, X, 205 n3.

4 The first purchase of land was made at Bethlehem in 1741, but the first settlement was not made till the spring of 1742, when the Moravians began to lay out the system of buildings which Vaughan here describes. The account here given is one of the fullest of contemporary descriptions. Others are: Anonymous Diary of "A Summer Jaunt to Bethlehem, 1773," PMHB, X, 206 ff; Rochefoucauld de Liancourt, Travels Through the United States of North America, etc. (London, 1800), IV, 126-151; Dr. Johann Schoepf, Travels in the Confederation, 1783-1785, A. J. Morrison, Editor (Philadelphia, 1911), I, 136-153; Isaac Weld, Travels Through the States of North America and the Provinces of Upper and Lower Canada in 1795, 1796, and 1797 (London, 1799), 451-458; William Whipple, "Notes of a Journey . . .," PMHB, X, 368; Hon. William Ellery's Diary, PMHB, XI, 324; I. Daniel Rupp, History of Northampton, Lehigh, Berks, Schuylkill and Carbon Counties (Harrisburg, 1843), 79-80, 109.

5 The Oley Hills are a continuation of the Lehigh Hills. Rochefoucauld de Liancourt, IV, William Scull's Map (1770) shows "Olly Hills" immediately south of the road from Southampton (Allentown) to Reading, and as a continuation of the Lehigh Hills.

6 Vaughan is in error in introducing Moselem Furnace here, as it will be observed that he repeats the same statement under date of June 22 at Kutztown, where the statement is true. Moselem, on Maiden Creek, is actually within three miles of the Reading Road at Moselem Springs, which is four miles from Kutztown.

7 The Rev. John Ettwein is meant. William Ellery, in his Journal makes the same error by calling him Edwine. Ellery, op. cit., PMHB, XI, 324. John Ettwein (1721-1802) was elevated to the office of Bishop in the Moravian Church three years before Vaughan's visit to Bethlehem. Born in Friedenstein, Wurttemburg, Germany, his early education was limited, and he was apprenticed to a shoemaker. In 1738 he joined the Moravian Society and prepared for the ministry, serving in Germany, Holland and England. With Bishop Spangenberg and fifty Moravians, he and his wife sailed for America in 1754. He was put in charge of Moravian work in North Carolina in 1763, where he formed a lifelong friendship with Henry Laurens of South Carolina, subsequently President of Continental Congress. In 1772, Ettwein led a band of Moravian Indians to settle on the Tuscarawas, in Ohio.

During the Revolution, the Moravians had difficult times remaining neutral, and the Rev. Mr. Ettwein was appointed to represent the Society in negotiations with Continental Congress and the Pennsylvania Assembly. He was able to persuade Congress to set aside 12,000 acres in the Tusca-
raw was Valley, in Ohio, for the Christian Indians. In 1784, he became Bishop over the Moravian Church in North America and, in 1787, president of the Society of United Brethren for Propagating the Gospel Among the Heathen. He was regarded as one of the strongest leaders of the Moravian movement in America. DAB, VI, 190 (by Lawrence Gipson).

8 The Sun Tavern was operated by the Moravian Society, and it had a reputation of being one of the best, if not the best, of American inns. Isaac Weld, op. cit., 453, states: "... it is the neatest and best conducted one, without exception, that I ever met with in any part of America." The Marquis de Chastellux, Voyages dans l’Amérique Septentrionale, 1780-1782 (Paris, 1786), II, 250-251, says "... it (the tavern) is very pretty and very commodious." He then describes a very delicious dinner served him there on "growse." Dr. Schoepf, op. cit., I, 137-138, describes the inn thus: "... not inferior to the first and best of American inns. Everything is good."

9 Allentown was laid out in 1762 by William Allen on land which he had obtained from his son-in-law, John Penn, and called Northampton Town. See the original survey map in the collection of the MS Room of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia. A reprint of this map appears in the Anniversary History of Lehigh County, I, 93. It was called Northampton until 1800, then officially changed to Allentown, although both names seem to have been applied. At the incorporation of 1811 the name was changed to Northampton again; until 1838 when it finally became Allentown. By Act of Legislature, March 6, 1812, Lehigh County was separated from Northampton County with Allentown (then Northampton) the county seat. William Egle, History of Pennsylvania, 877; Pennsylvania Archives, 3rd series, XXIV, v. Dr. Schoepf, op. cit., I, 193, calls "the Dry Lands," the place which Vaughan calls "the Barrens."

10 Several large springs are noted by early travelers. One, Worman’s Spring, now supplies the city waterworks of Allentown. It is the one noted on William Allen’s map (cited in note 9, above) as a “Great Spring.” It was on the very edge of the original town plot. Dr. Schoepf, op. cit., I, 193-194, describes a “big spring” within three miles of the town, which evidently was Cedar Spring. The spring which Samuel Vaughan here mentions at seven miles is certainly the same that Captain Heart designated as “Great Spring, 8 miles,” four miles from the county line; and this would have been Schantz’s Spring. See Journal of Captain Jonathan Heart, 1785 (Albany, 1885), (only 150 copies printed), 7.

11 Kutztown was laid out in 1733. Dr. Schoepf, op. cit., I, 195, says: “A well-to-do German, in order to cut something of a figure with his name in his ears, gave the land for this place.” For Moselem Forge, see note 6, above.

12 Reading, laid out for the proprietors, John and Richard Penn, in 1748, became the county seat town of Berks County in 1752, when it contained 130 houses and 378 residents. Egle, op. cit., 391.

13 Womelsdorf is the place meant, which is just 14 miles from Reading and 7 from Myerstown, the distances mentioned here. Captain Jonathan Heart, traveling the same road two years earlier, also calls the place Middletown, and a note thereto points out that “it was generally so called at the time.” Heart’s Journal, op. cit., 8, n 2. The town was settled in 1723 by Germans who migrated from Schoharie Valley, N. Y., and named for the founder, John Womelsdorf. Not to be confused with Middletown on the Susquehanna River.

14 Isaac Myers laid out the town in 1768 and was murdered in his house about two years later. Heart’s Journal, op. cit., 9, n 1. Dr. Schoepf, op. cit., I, 204, says he and his heirs continued to collect £600 per year ground rent. These ground rents, or quit-rents, were abolished by Act of Legislature in 1799. S. W. Fletcher, Pennsylvania Agriculture and Country Life, 1640-1840 (Harrisburg, 1950), 16.

15 Lebanon was settled by Germans in 1750 and was first known as Steitztown from the first settler. It became the county seat upon the formation of Lebanon County in 1813. Egle, op. cit., 863.
16 William Scull's map (1770) shows Andrew Miller's Mill on Quitopahilla Creek at the crossing of the Reading road. Here again, Vaughan would seem to have transposed his mileage notations, as Miller's Mill was seven miles from Lebanon and ten miles from Hummelstown. Annville was later laid out on the site (1762); however it was also called Millerstown for nearly a century. PMHB, X, 157 n 4.

17 Hummelstown was laid out by Frederick Hummel in 1762, and for many years was called Frederickstown. Egle, op. cit., 650.

18 The area now comprising Lebanon and Dauphin Counties was separated from Lancaster, March 4, 1785, and erected into Dauphin County. Lebanon County was separated from Dauphin and, with part of Lancaster, erected in 1813. Pennsylvania Archives, 3rd series, XXIV, v.

19 In 1786 Harris's Ferry was changed to Louisburg in honor of Louis XVI, King of France. By the act of incorporation (Feb. 1, 1808) the name was changed to Harrisburg. It became the capital of Pennsylvania in 1812. About 1733 John Harris, the first settler, had established a trading post here, the best crossing of the Susquehanna and crossroads of travel north and south, east and west. His son John, the founder, established a ferry in 1753 and gave land for the county seat of the new County of Dauphin. Egle, op. cit., 648; Sherman Day, Historical Collections of Pennsylvania (Philadelphia, 1843), 285-286; Charles Hanna, The Wilderness Trail, I, 176, hereinafter cited as Hanna, Wilderness Trail. Rochefoucauld de Liancourt, op. cit., I, 94-100, also Colbert de Maulvrier, Voyages dans l'Intérieur des Etats-Unis et au Canada (Baltimore, 1935), 5-7, both give excellent descriptions of Harrisburg at that time.

20 "It (Carlisle) has about one hundred and fifty good stone houses," says "The Journal of Arthur Lee, 1784," The Life of Richard Henry Lee (Boston, 1829), 377. Colbert de Maulvrier, op. cit., 17-19, gives a good description of Carlisle in 1798, when he says there were about 1500 inhabitants. Dr. Schoepf, op. cit., I, 214-216, describes Carlisle in 1763 and its trade with the back settlements.

Carlisle was the place of rendezvous and starting point of all military expeditions to the westward — Forbes's march, 1758, Bouquet's 1763 and 1764 expeditions, McIntosh's Revolutionary army, 1778, as also Washington's army to quell the Whisky Rebellion in 1794.

21 The stone barracks were built by the Hessian prisoners taken at the Battle of Trenton, December 26, 1776. Day, Historical Collections, 270. This statement by Vaughan is interesting as attesting the fact that consideration was given to converting the barracks to the use of the college. The buildings were burned by Confederate troops in 1863.

22 James Le Tort (or Letort), a Frenchman, probably of Swiss origin, an Indian trader and interpreter, settled at the spring that bore his name and built a trading post at the present site of Carlisle before 1755. Hanna, Wilderness Trail, I, 167; Day, op. cit., 265.