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Feb. 1876.



The Gift of
 the Reverend
 Joseph Farrand Tuttle, D.D.
 Pres. of Wabash College,
 Crawfordsville, Ind.,
 27 March, 1873.

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Cutler, Manasseh.
1872.

NEW JERSEY,
PENNSYLVANIA AND OHIO,

IN 1787-8.

PASSAGES FROM THE JOURNALS

OF

REV. MANASSEH CUTLER, L.L. D.

COMMUNICATED BY THE

Manasseh
REV. JOSEPH F. TUTTLE, D.D.,

And Read Before the Society, May 16, 1872.

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CCS. 16237.88

1873. Mar. 27

Wife of

Rev. Joseph B. Tuttle, D.D.
of Grand Rapids, Mich.

NEW JERSEY, PENNSYLVANIA AND OHIO IN 1787-8.

[The Rev Manassah Cutler, LL. D., was born at Killingly, Conn., May 28th 1742. He was graduated at Yale College in 1765. He then studied law and was admitted to the bar. He removed to Edgarton, Martha's Vineyard, and began the practice of his profession. Not long afterward he determined to study theology, and was ordained September 11th, 1771, and installed pastor of the Congregational Church in Hamilton—then Ipswich Hamlet—Mass. He served as Chaplain in the American Army during two campaigns, in the war of the Revolution. In 1786, Dr. Cutler had become associated with a company, (subsequently known as the Ohio Company), whose leading spirits were Revolutionary officers, for the purchase of land north of the Ohio. In June, 1787 he went to New York as the agent of the Company to negotiate with the American Congress for the purchase of a large tract, somewhere in the new country west of Pennsylvania and Virginia. With consummate tact, he accomplished his mission, and made a contract for the purchase of over a million and a half acres, at two-thirds of a dollar per acre. He kept a journal of his journey and his proceedings at New York, from which it appears that his plan could only be carried out by allowing some private parties to make an immense purchase of Western lands, under the cover of the contract of the Ohio Company. The bargain included five millions of acres; one and a half millions of which were for the Ohio Company, and the remainder for the parties operating through him.

In his journal under date of Friday, July 27th, 1787, Dr. Cutler gives this account of the closing of his mission to New York: "At half-past three I was informed that an Ordinance passed Congress on the terms stated in our letter, without the least variation, and that the Board of Treasury was directed to take *Order* and close the contract. This was agreeable but unexpected intelligence. Sargent and I went directly to the Board who had received the Ordinance, but were then rising. They urged me to tarry the next day and they would put by all other business to complete the contract, but I found it inconvenient and, after making a general verbal adjustment, left it with Sargent to finish what was to be done at present. Dr. Lee—a brother of the famous Virginia orator—congratulated me and declared he would do all in his power to adjust the terms of the contract, so far as was left to them, as much in our favor as possible. I proposed three months for collecting the first half million of dollars and for executing the instruments of the contract, which was acceded to. By this Ordinance we obtained the grant of over five millions of acres of land amounting to three and a half million of dollars; one million and a half for the Ohio Company and the remainder for private speculation in which many of the principal characters in America are concerned. Without connecting this speculation, similar terms and advantages could not have been obtained for the Ohio Company. On my return through Broadway, I received the congratulations of my friends in Congress, and others with whom I happened to meet."

It is an interesting fact that Dr. Cutler in all these negotiations was in constant communication with Col. William Duer, of the Treasury Board, and closely related to some of our New Jersey and New York families. He married Kitty, the second daughter of Lord Stirling. Dr. Cutler speaks of Col. Duer in terms of warm admiration.

I cannot bring myself to drop this part of Dr. Cutler's history without referring to two *facts*, as I fully believe them to be such. The Ordinance to be submitted to Congress was placed in Dr. Cutler's hands for his examination, and his two grand suggestions were adopted. The first was the exclusion of Slavery forever from the Northwest Territory, and the second was the devotion of two entire townships of land for the endowment of a University, and section sixteen in every township of land and fractional township in that vast purchase for the purpose of Schools. Those two ideas adopted by all the new States made the Great West what it is.

At a certain stage of his negotiations with Congress in 1789, he made a trip to Philadelphia. Those parts of his Journal which pertain to New Jersey are given in this paper. They show what New Jersey then was, as viewed by an intelligent stranger.

The following winter the first colony under Gen Rufus Putnam made its way across the mountains, and on the 7th of April, 1788, landed on the East side of the Muskingum, where it enters the Ohio. In July, 1788, Dr. Cutler made a journey in his sulky and on horseback to the Muskingum, keeping a journal for the entertainment of his daughter. In this journey he crossed New Jersey twice, and both the records concerning that State and the narrative of his journey are of great interest. The editor of this paper is sure of pardon from his co-laborers in the Historical Society of New Jersey for furnishing these copious extracts from his two unpublished manuscript journals.

Dr. Cutler receiving the honorary degree of L.L. D. from Yale College in 1789. He was regarded as one of the most learned botanists of his day in this country, and was a remarkable man in other respects. In 1787, in a published pamphlet, Dr. C. predicted that many then living would see the Western rivers navigated with steam, and that within fifty years the North-western Territory would contain more inhabitants than all New England! Dr. Sprague has a very interesting article on Dr. Cutler in his *Annals of American Pulpit*, [Vol. II, pp. 15—19.] Dr. C. died, July 23d, 1823, aged 81, in the 52d of his ministry. His oldest son, Judge Ephraim Cutler, of Warren, Washington County, Ohio, who died, July 8th, 1853, was a remarkable man and was honored in the Ohio Constitutional Convention as the successful leader of the opposition to an attempt to introduce Slavery into that State, an attempt which at one time seemed sure of triumph. Thus the name of *Cutler* is an honored one in the history of the Great West and North-west, and is still most worthily borne by William P. Cutler, the son of Ephraim, who still resides on the goodly acres which constituted his patrimony.]

The Rev. Manassah Cutler, L.L. D., in 1787 negotiated with the Continental Congress for the purchase of a large tract of land in the vicinity of the Muskingum river in Ohio. He acted as the agent of the Ohio Company, and displayed no small talent in his business.

In mid-winter, 1787-8, the first colony made its way over the Alleghanies to the Yohiogany river, where they built boats to convey themselves and provisions to the mouth of the Muskingum. They landed at Marietta on the 7th of April, 1788.

In July of the same year, Dr. Cutler made a journey to the new settlement and the journal he kept has been recently loaned me by his grand-daughter, Mrs. S. C. Dawes of Marietta, Ohio. He started from Ipswich, Mass., passing through Boston (where he "received a prodigious number of letters for Muskingum"), Hartford, Litchfield, whose wealth and elegance he describes, and Fishkill, where he crossed the Hudson.

His first night in New Jersey was at "Walling's Tavern, kept by one Sears, a surly old fellow, very extravagant (in his charges) and an empty house." "July 30, set out just after the sun rose—went on to Sussex Court House. road good, fourteen miles. Breakfasted at a tavern just above the Court House, kept by Jonathan Willis. This is a pretty village on the Eastern side and near the summit of a high hill, land good, houses indifferent. Went to the Court House; was pleased with the form of it inside; the building is of stone.

"From this the road is tolerably good to Log Jail, ten miles; very few houses and these mostly humble huts. At Log Jail or Log Town, is a miserable tavern kept by Jones, a Jew. We could get nothing but oats and water, neither hay nor grass. Another tavern here but no better.

"Six miles from Log Town is *Hope*, commonly called Moravian Town. This is a small, new, but very pretty village. Houses mostly stone, built in Dutch style. The Church or Chapel is a very handsome building on the top of the hill. We put up at Gamboult's. While dinner was preparing we went to the Church. * * * One end is improved as a dwelling-house for the minister to whom we were introduced; the other for the governess for the instruction of the Misses. The upper story is a large Hall with apartments at each end; here divine service is performed; a very pretty set of organs; the minister played us several tunes; they have French horns and violins; the desk is low and nothing more than a seat a little raised with a table before it. He showed us some paintings in

his own apartments; we took our leave of him; he was very polite and gave us his blessing. The granary is the next largest building; it has a family in it and mills for grinding and bolting, &c.; It is built of stone, three stories high. The road from Log Jail not very good; Gamboult keeps a very good house and very obliging. From this we came on twelve miles to White's, in Oxford Toownship; road not bad, but some parts of it rocky; put up for the night; White is very obliging; good tavern for this country; beds pretty good. Fair, cool.

"Thursday, July 31. Set out this morning just after sun-rise, twelve miles to East Town; road not good. Crossed the Delaware in a good ferry-boat; not wide. The Lehigh river enters the Delaware just below where we landed on the Pennsylvania side, called "The Forks." As soon as we were over the river we entered East Town, which is a very pretty village; houses all stone in the Dutch style; a handsome Court House and Dutch Churches; there are two ministers; every third Sunday preaching in English. We breakfasted at Hembt's tavern beyond the Court House. Could get no hay nor grass, but were furnished with a good breakfast, bacon and eggs, beef and sausages in slices raw, green tea, &c."

Dr. Cutler describes Bethlehem, "Allen's Town" and Reading, but I can only select here and there an extract; desiring to quote all he says of New Jersey, as he crossed it going West and on his return through Philadelphia.

He gives a description of "Harrisburgh." "This is a beautiful town; it contains about one hundred houses, all built in less than three years; many of them brick, some of them three story, built in the Philadelphia style; all appear very neat. A great number of taverns with handsome signs. Houses all two story, large windows. About one-half the people are English; people were going to meeting; they meet in private houses; have no Churches yet. People appear very well dressed, some gay. About a mile from the last stage I ferried over a branch of the Susquehanna called Sweet Avon' Creek."

Dr. Cutler mentions a remarkable spring he visited near Allentown. He says: "we crossed a river called Cedar Creek, which rises from

a remarkable spring described by Gen. Lincoln. It is not far from Aler's tavern; Aler describes it much as the General has done. A large mill stands within two hundred feet of the head of the spring, which is very deep; large holes are seen at the bottom of it, from which the water runs out, some of them as large as a man's body. There is no hill of any consideration near. Aler's is a very good house for a Dutchman. Not dear."

The Pennsylvania of that day as compared with the Pennsylvania of to-day, may be inferred from Dr. Cutler's description of his means of crossing such streams as the Delaware, the Lehigh, the Schuylkill, the Juniata, the Susquehanna and the Monongahela. He did not find a bridge over any large river from Easton to Wheeling, and describes the "rope ferry" with which he crossed the Schuylkill as a specimen of some of the ferries. He ferried the Susquehanna also, which he says is often so shallow as to be forded. From Harrisburgh he "went to Polluck's Taven—a fat Irishman—gave us a grand dinner—horses fared bad—intolerably dear." He speaks admiringly of Carlisle, especially of the Barracks and Court House "which far exceed anything in this part of the country." Here he found a "Mr. Mould on his way to Fort Pitt with his family, and one other, a coach and three waggons." He describes Shippensburg "a new but large town in one street, about one hundred and fifty houses, some tolerably good ones." From this point he crossed the mountains, following what is now the old road, passing over three great mountains now named "The Three Brothers." He left Chambersburgh far to the south. The road was rough, and the Doctor broke his sulky, "the day was very wet, night came on when we were five miles from the tavern—had a shocking time—arrived at Keefer's tavern at ten. This is a Dutch house, the landlord obliging but dirty—bad house in itself—turned into a bot log chamber full of people, bed swarming with bugs and fleas, kept awake almost all night by a crazy woman—slept a little in the morning, &c."

Before the Doctor had crossed these mountains he concluded to abandon his sulky and take to the saddle for the rest of the journey, the road being rough and steep, and not as well adapted to wheels as to riding on horseback.

He crossed the Juniata at "Martin's." "At one Clark's we breakfasted and dined in same meal, a tolerable tavern for provisions for man and horse, but wretchedly dirty. There we met a Packer with ten pack-horses, loaded principally with ginseng in barrels, two barrels on a pack-horse, from Fort Pitt. Met a great number of these packers, but the wagons struck us with astonishment."

These wagons were the great Conestoga wagons with six or eight horses attached, on which in those days and for fifty years afterwards so large a part of the merchandise was conveyed from the eastern cities to the Ohio. "The great number of packers," and particularly "the packer with ten pack-horses" each with two barrels slung across his back, constitutes one of the very finest points of contrast between western freighting in 1788 and 1872,—the pack-horse and the freight train on the Pennsylvania Railway! Dr. Cutler expected great changes, but if he were here now he would be more struck with astonishment than when he saw the Conestoga wagons.

Our journalist in describing Bedford, the shire-town of Bedford County, states a fact which interests Jerseymen and Buckeyes also. He says "Judge Symmes—John Cleves—had taken lodging at the best tavern (in Bedford), we however, made shift to get lodgings in the same house—Mr. Wert's, a Dutchman. Judge Symmes was complaisant. I had a letter to him from his brother at Sussex Court House, (N. J.) He had his daughter with him, a very pretty young lady, one or two women with husbands, six heavy wagons, one stage wagon, and a chair—a two-wheeled covered conveyance for two persons—thirty-one horses, three carpenters, and one mason—has been out three weeks."

August 7. I rose early this morning—foggy, so that we could see but little of the town—set out just after sunrise. Judge Symmes' wagons were nearly ready to start when we left the house, &c."

Well might these two remarkable men treat each other "with complaisance," as they met in Bedford on their way to a country whose destiny was to be so greatly affected by their plans and energy.*

*John Cleves Symmes, usually called Judge Symmes—was a native of Long Island, the son of a clergyman. He removed to Sussex County, New Jersey, some years before the Revolution. He was an active patriot, was commis-

From Bedford Dr. Cutler took the route that leads to the Ohio through Washington. He "baited his horse at a dirty Dutch cabin" among the hills, but at last reached Sumrell's Ferry, where the first party for Marietta had spent the previous winter building boats for descending the river. In this vicinity his son Jervis Cutler was teaching school, having accompanied the colony to Marietta and then returned to this place to teach.

Dr. Cutler's record of August 10th, Sunday, is worth quoting. The Western part of Pennsylvania was settled by Scotch-Irish Presbyterians and among them the Doctor spent this Sunday. He says: "Felt my fatigue most sensibly, but could not get excused from going six miles to meeting; excessive bad road. Mr. Finley is the minister; has two congregations, eight miles distant; meeting house

sioned a Colonel, served honorably, was a member of the Provincial Congress of New Jersey, a member of the Council, a Lieutenant Governor, a member of the Continental Congress, and for twelve years a Judge of the Supreme Court. Chief Justice Symmes presided at the trial of Morgan, the Irishman who shot the Rev. Mr. Caldwell of Elizabethtown, on the 24th of November, 1781, and upon his conviction, sentenced him to be hung.

On the 29th of August, 1787, Judge Symmes applied to Congress for a large tract of land by purchase, no doubt encouraged by Cutler's successful negotiation. It is asserted by the author of "Annals of the West," p. 299, that Symmes, previous to his offer, had visited that magnificent region known to this day as the "Miami Country" having been induced to do so by the representations of Benjamin Stites of Brownsville, Pa., who himself had explored that very region in 1786. On the 2d of October, 1787 Symmes' application was referred to the Treasury Board with power to conclude a contract with him. In November he issued proposals to settle for the sale of lands on favorable terms. He supposed he had contracted for more than a million of acres, but on actual survey the tract was found to contain about six hundred thousand. The tract is between the two Miamis, and is one of the most valuable in Ohio. In it is Cincinnati. The contract was closed October 15th, 1788, but the patent was issued for a little less than 250,000 acres the amount paid for.

February 19th, 1788, Judge Symmes was appointed by Congress one of the Judges of the North Western Territory. Gen. Rufus Putnam being another. In January, 1788, Symmes sold to Matthias Denman, of Springfield, New Jersey, the land on which Cincinnati was afterwards laid out. In July of that year, Denman and other persons interested in the Miami purchase, started west and arrived at Maysville, Kentucky, in August.

It is evident that Judge Burnet in his "Notes," has made an error in the date, in saying that the first party under Major Stites reached Cincinnati in November, 1788, that Denman's party did not reach there until December, and

in the woods; no house near; large congregation; three hundred or four hundred horses (tied in the adjoining woods), made a curious appearance; congregation appeared well. I preached in the afternoon; we had half an hour intermission."

On Monday he met his son, but advised him to continue his school. He passed through Washington and thence to Coxe's Fort, where one Col. Prather resided. At this place "we had our first sight of this beautiful river, the Ohio." It was about eighteen miles above Wheeling.

Here the Doctor and his companions put out their horses to be kept until their return from Marietta. They here met Gen. Tupper, one of the Marietta Colonists. They were to finish the journey by boat, and under date of Friday, August 15, we have this record, which seems to indicate that all the inventive genius is not restricted

that the third party of adventurers under Judge Symmes did not reach the place until early in February, 1789.

The fact is that on the 6th of August, 1788, Dr. Cutler met Judge Symmes and his party at Bedford, Pa., on their way to the Miamis. He had started in July, only a few days after Mr. Denman. When he reached Maysville I am not able to say, but suppose it was in the fore part of September, since it is now known that on the 22d of September, 1788, Denman, Col. Israel Ludlow and Judge Symmes were all at the place where Cincinnati is now built. For some of these facts I am indebted to two small pamphlets from the pen of that indefatigable and intelligent antiquarian, Robert Clarke, one of the great publishers of Ohio; the first is "Captain John Cleves Symmes," and the second, "Information Wanted with Reference to the Early Settlers of Losantiville, (now Cincinnati.)"

The pretty daughter of Judge Symmes whom Dr. Cutler saw at Bedford, was probably Anna, subsequently the wife of Gen. Wm. Henry Harrison, afterward President of the United States

It is a matter of interest also that Symmes made arrangements for the endowment of a University with lands provided by the Government, although the donation was not made until some years afterwards, and for section sixteen in every township for school purposes.

It is evident that "the best tavern in Bedford" had for its guests on the 6th of August, 1788, two remarkable men, ever to be associated with the growth and prosperity of the States which they began to plant when they sent permanent settlers to the banks of the Muskingum, the Miami and the Ohio.

The meeting of these two men is an incident so interesting that I am unwilling to omit it.

to our own time. Dr. Cutler writes: "This morning we went pretty early to the boat. Gen. Tupper had mentioned to me a mode of constructing a machine to work in the head or stern of a boat, instead of oars. It appeared to me highly probable it might succeed. I therefore proposed that we should make the experiment. Assisted by a number of the people we went to work and constructed a machine in form of a *screw*, with short blades, and placed it in the stern of a boat which we turned with a crank. It succeeded to admiration, and I think it a very useful discovery."

On the 17th of August the party started for Marietta. The Doctor speaks of the Ohio as "a most delightful stream—very romantic. At seven miles below Buffalo, passed a Post on the Federal side, commanded by Capt. McMahon, Virginia militia, a number of huts, men, women and children. At Wheeling he lodged with Esq. *Zain*; been fortified; a pretty settlement. Opposite to his house is a very rich and fine island of three hundred acres." The next day *Zain* showed him some rice he had cultivated, "about a rod square, in six drills; horses, a few nights before got in and cropped it; assured me it would have yielded two bushels; has raised ten bushels from four rods square; it is grown on high bank, somewhat sandy, second bottom." "He has raised good indigo; says we may cultivate much as we please. He raises excellent tobacco; has a fine bottom, well cleaned. Very generous; requested me to call again; fine orchard; large number of peaches; offered to give me two or three hundred." On the 19th, he "saw Round Bottom, the land owned by Gen. Washington; very extensive and good."

The Zane family had been settled at Wheeling, eighteen years when Dr. Cutler visited the place; the three brothers, Ebenezer, Silas and Jonathan having come there in 1770. They had a sister, *Elizabeth*, who on the occasion of the siege of Fort Henry, near Wheeling, by Simon Girty, performed a very daring act. She went from the Fort to the house of Ebenezer Zane, some sixty yards distant, to get a keg of powder that was there concealed and forgotten, when they fled to the Fort on the approach of Girty's savages. The whole family seem to have been bold, sturdy people. I suppose the "Esq *Zain*" of Dr. Cutler's journal, was Ebenezer, the oldest of

the brothers, and a prominent man in his day. In 1796 Congress authorized him to "blaze and open a bridle path or road" from Wheeling to Maysville, Ky., which commission he fulfilled. He received as a compensation for his services, the privilege of "locating military warrants upon three sections of land, not to exceed one mile square each," the first being where the new road crossed the Muskingum, at *Zanesville*; the second, where it crossed the Hockhock, where *Lancaster* now is; and the third where it crossed the Scioto, opposite the present city of *Chillicothe*. His brother Jonathan, and his son in law, John McIntire, were associated with him in tracing the road, and he gave them as their share of the Congressional grant, the mile square at the Muskingum.

These Zanes were intimately acquainted with the Western country, and when previous to the purchase, one of the most active promoters of the Ohio Company's plan, was at the West, on an exploring tour, he met one of the Zanes, who strongly advised him not to select the Muskingum Country, but to go farther down the Ohio and locate either on the Scioto, or the Miami. The advice was regarded with suspicion by the tourist, as given by one who was himself interested in the Muskingum Country; but had that advice been taken the Ohio Company's history would have been greatly modified by their securing the finest body of land in place of the poorest. The minerals of the Ohio Company's purchase now modify this estimate greatly.

It is interesting thus to find Dr. Cutler meeting another remarkable man, who was to exert so great an influence on the settlement of the country, North of the Ohio, and who was at that time, a leading pioneer West of the Alleghanies.

On the 29th of August, "we landed at the Point—Marietta—and were very politely received by the Hon. Judges, Gen. Putnam and our friends. Gen. Putnam invited me to his lodgings which is a *markee*. Drank tea with Gen. Parsons; seven hundred and fifty-one miles from Ipswich."

On the 20th, he had an entertainment given him by the officers of Fort Harman and the leading men of the Colony. On the 21st, he "took a long walk over the city lots, and through the corn field, which astonished me on account of its magnitude. Should be as soon

lost in it as in a Cedar swamp in a cloudy day. Went on the high mound; a White Oak on the top which Gen. Putnam judged to be one hundred feet high. * * * * Felt myself much injured yesterday and to-day by representations made by the Rhode Island (?) faction, respecting the Scioto Company purchase."

I am not able to explain certainly the reference in this passage. The Scioto Company was made up of Col. William Duer and other gentlemen, who secured the purchase of them, and a half million of land so situated in regard to the Scioto as to take its name from that river. The purchase was made under Dr. Cutler's contract at two-thirds of a dollar per acre. The intention of these speculations was to purchase the land warrants and other securities of the Continental Congress which were held at a very low figure, and at that time could scarcely be sold for any price, and with these pay for lands which they fully expected would soon be in market for actual settlers at a remunerative advance. The plan was shrewd and might have "led on to fortune," had not the Holland Dutch perceived that the American government was good for its debts, and began to buy up its securities, This gave value to the very obligations which the Scioto Company expected to get for little a nothing and pay for its magnificent lands in Ohio. It is averred that this is the reason the contract was not fulfilled by the Scioto Company, and it is not unlikely that the disappointment led to some harsh remarks in regard to men who were prominent in the original transaction. Among these was Dr. Cutler, who was interested no further than has been stated, that he consented to let the Scioto Company's purchase be made under cover of that of the Ohio Company whose agent he was. This probably explains the statement of Dr. Cutler already quoted.

On the 22d of August he crossed the Ohio to visit "Mr. Williams, who is a principal man; has a fine farm of four hundred acres; the other people are his tenants; came here 25th of March, 1787; there are about thirteen families." He dined with a number of Indians that day.

On Sunday, August 24h, he preached at the Hall in Campus, Martius; very full. At sundown he went to see the great tree, thirteen feet in diameter; hollow, "if cut off two feet above the

ground sixty-four men could stand inside the stump; measured the circumference as near the ground as possible so as to take in all the bilges, and made it forty-six and one-half feet."

August 25th, Dr. Cutler records the first death in Marietta, "a child of Major Cushing's; its name Nabby, thirteen months old." On the 26th, he saw "two large Kentucky boats with a number of families bound to Judge Symmes' settlement." The next, 27th, Dr. Cutler writes, "Judge Symmes and his Company arrived last night. He, with his daughter, made us a visit to-day; a very well accomplished young lady." That day occurred the first funeral in the Marietta graveyard, that of Nabby, Major Cushing's child.

On the 28th, he was "visited by Madame Zane, a squaw, descended from a Royal family, daughter of the Half-King of the Wyandots, the wife of Isaac Zane, a white captive adopted by Indians; her family was with her, and her brother, a son of the Half-King, old Guyersatur, a Seneca Chief and several others. Mrs. Zane and her family were very nicely dressed. It was said she had on three hundred broaches, and that her whole dress cost five hundred dollars; her family in the same, very neat. We have had Indians to dine with us about every day since I have been on the Point, principally Delawares, Wyandots, one or two Shawanese, Mingo, Seneca, or Six Nation. No other natives came in; the Cippawa and Ottawa appear to be rather inclined for war, but have come into the Council at Sandusky and acceded to a general peace."

Sunday, August 31st, Dr. C. preached—the Governor present Tuesday, Sept. 2d, Court of Common Pleas opened with very considerable parade, a procession, prayer; "the Governor and Supreme Judges present."

On the 9th, Dr. Cutler took passage in a row boat with Monsieur Vigo, for Wheeling. On the way up the Company had an "Indian scare," that proved to be only some white hunters. The Doctor gives several pages of the details. Reached Wheeling Sunday, September 14th; "dined on veal roasted in a pan by the Sargeant's wife; very good. On the 15th, landed at "Coxe's Fort," and "went to Squire Willis'; found my horse in good plight; paid the Squire one dollar for keeping and nine shillings, Pennsylvania money, for three bushels of oats." He did not always find accommodations to

his liking ; at one place "a dirty Dutch tavern," at another, Bridges, "a good looking, but ill-natured landlady," and at another, "the woman sick ; baited myself and horse ; bill paid by prescriptions." At another place he found "families going Westward." His bill for breakfast and horse feed ranged from one shilling to two. When it was more, the good man showed displeasure at "the dearness of the fare." Seven miles from Bedford he spent the night at "a most wretched and dear Dutch tavern ; bill four shillings, four pence, Proclamation money." He avoided Harrisburg and passed through Lancaster which is "a large and antient town ; the best built inland town in America." "It has one hundred and eighty taverns and licensed houses of all descriptions."

Dr. C. reached Philadelphia, September 28th. The contrast of 1788 with 1872 is pleasantly suggested by what our tourist says. "Went on to Philadelphia ; crossed the Schuylkill at the Middle Bridge ; toll ninepence ; the bridge floats ; is very good ; the street from the bridge leads directly to Market street. Put up at the Indian Queen in Fourth street, a little South of the head of Market."

All of interest there is in the notes of the Doctor's journey to New York is found in the names of taverns and such items. Monday night, September 29th, he stayed at Paul's, at Frankfort ; bill three shillings, twopence. Next morning breakfast, two shillings, two pence ; toll bridge ninepence ; ferry over the Delaware at Trenton, one shilling, sixpence ; lodged at Smith's, in Maidenhead ; bill five shillings, tenpence. "October 1st, passed through Kingstown and Princetown. Bill and ferry at Brunswick, seven shillings. Passed through Woodbridge ; bill at Cross Keys, one shilling, ninepence. Went on to Elizabethtown and lodged ; bill at Prentice's five shillings, sixpence. October 2d, breakfasted in Newark at Redding's, two shillings, ninepence ; first ferry, one shilling, sixpence ; the second ferry, two shillings ; ferry from Powles' Hook to Jersey City, four shillings, fourpence. Put my horse at the Stage House in the street leading from Oswego market, to Powles' Hook Ferry. Delivered letter to the War Office. Called on Col. Platt ; dined with him ; Duer, Combs, Col. Wadsworth and Col. Talmage were in the Company." Friday, October 3d, very busy ; called on many of my old friends. October 4th ; conference with

Duer and Platt at the Board of the Treasury, which closed our business."

He arrived at Ipswich, the point of departure, on the 15th of October, having been absent twelve weeks and two days. According to his daily reckoning his outward journey was seven hundred and fifty-one miles, and returning by Philadelphia, he must have gone out of his way. His whole journey was about sixteen hundred miles. He was nineteen days at Marietta, so that he was on the road sixty-seven days, including Sundays; on which, with one or two exceptions he travelled. He usually started each morning by daybreak and travelled often until quite late, and yet all his industry only gave him an average of twenty-four miles a day. One can now leave Boston and reach Marietta in less than thirty hours. In less than three days one may now accomplish the round trip that in 1788, cost Dr. Cutler more *days* of travel than are now required of *hours*.

The year before his trip to Ohio, whilst his negotiations with Congress in 1787 were still pending, Dr. Cutler took the opportunity to visit Philadelphia. That part of his journal which pertains to his journey through New Jersey is quite full and interesting to Jerseymen.

"WEDNESDAY, July 11th, (1787.)

"Set out early for Philadelphia. Paulus' Hook was very strongly fortified in the time of the late War by the Americans. It was a point of land surrounded with marsh, and of very small extent. The fortifications in some parts remain entire. Two miles from the Hook is Bergentown, a very compact village of considerable extent. It is inhabited entirely by the Dutch. There is a large Dutch Church built with stone, and a handsome steeple. The houses are mostly built with stone in the Dutch style which gives them a very odd appearance to a New England man. They are large on the ground, one and a half stories high, sharp pitched roof, no regularity in doors and windows, which appear like dead lights, are generally shut up very close with a window shutter on the outside, so that very little glass is to be seen as you pass through the street. Every house has a piazza in front, and some of them are extended round the whole house. The town is said to be remarkable for its wealth. The people are mostly farmers; the women work in the fields and generally drive the wagons which are drawn by two or three horses

abreast. It is well situated for supplying the markets in New York, which the Dutch people know how to improve to the best advantage. Their own food and clothing cost them but a trifle, and all the money they can get they lock up in their coffers; so that a Dutchman here is called a poor man and a bad husband, that has not more than five hundred guineas in his chest at a time.

"After leaving Bergen-town, I entered a very extensive marsh which goes far into the country. It is four miles across it and the road is a narrow causeway, sufficient only for one carriage to pass except at the ferry-ways. No carriage sets out from the shore or from either of the ferry-ways, if they see that one is coming toward them or has entered the causeway, for they cannot pass by each other. It is extraordinary, that on so great a road, so little attention is paid to the public ways as in this place. In crossing this extensive marsh, besides several bridges, there are two ferries. The first is over Hackensack river at Smith's Ferry, a half a mile across; fare, one shilling, sixpence; the next is at Second River, about half the width, fare, one shilling, threepence. These boats are very convenient for the stages as well as the smaller carriages drive in and out with the passengers in them.

"Made my first stage to Newark, nine miles from New York at Pitt's tavern, a tolerable house; breakfasted; bill, two shillings, sixpence; horseshoeing, three shillings. Newark is a small village situated on a plain; it has no considerable buildings; there is a small Church, a Presbyterian Meeting-House and a Dutch Church.

"Made a short stop at Elizabethtown, six miles from Newark, at Prince's tavern, to get my harness mended; bill, one shilling fourpence. This is a very pretty village, several handsome houses, one Meeting-House and another new building. A small river empties into the sea at this town and passes through it, over which is an elegant stone bridge.

"Dined at 'Cross-Keys,' Lott's tavern, in Woodbridge. This tavern is kept in elegant style. The hostler is at the door ready to take your horse, which he immediately takes from the carriage, rubs him down, then washes him with a swab and wipes him dry, which is done in a few minutes, and I am satisfied is of as much service to him as his provender, especially at this hot dusty season, for he has been treated the same way at every tavern since I left New York,

and it is evidently increasing his spirits. The land from Bergentown to this stage is level. The road is excellent, the soil good. The face of the country has the appearance of wealth, but I suspect the farmers are rather lazy. The houses from Elizabethtown are rather scattered (which is ten miles). They are well built and in good repair. I passed through Spanktown [now Rahway], but the Meeting-House and the thickest of the buildings were at some distance. It is a small village of no consideration. Bill, four shillings.

“My next stage was New Brunswick, ten miles. On my way passed through Bonhamtown. The houses are scattered; farms good and roads fine; orchards and every species of fruit trees abound in that part of New Jersey.

“New Brunswick is a large town, well built, and situated on the West bank of the Raritan river, over which is a ferry of about half a mile, and the passengers are landed at the foot of Main street. Many of the buildings are brick and stone, but the attention of the traveller is principally engaged by a very long brick building just above the town, two stories high and in a most delightful situation. It was built by the Americans for barracks and afterward improved as a hospital. But so elegant is this building that I conceived it must have been designed for an academy or a college, until I was otherwise informed. There seems to be considerable trade carried on in this town, though the shipping consists of very small craft, and even that was inconsiderable. The Raritan is a beautiful river, but the water is very shallow. The ferry-man told me that in dry seasons it had been forded where the boat passed. Ferriage, one shilling, sixpence. Made a short stage at the Lion, where my horse was treated as before. Bill, one shilling, onepenny.

“From this stage I travelled to Princetown, seventeen miles, where I arrived at ten in the evening. As the day had been hot I found myself sufficiently fatigued, though the road had been excellent and the country delightful. Lodged at the Sign of the College, Buckman's tavern, fifty-two miles from New York and three hundred and fifty from home.

“The land about New Brunswick is not very good, the soil is a reddish earth, but just under it is a stratum of crumbly stone. The road in several places was gullied several feet deep in this stone, but still level and hard. The crops of wheat, rye, barley, oats and flax,

which I observed in the course of this day's travel, were very fine. The general face of the country was rather flat, though now and then I ascended eminences which afforded an extensive prospect. The wheat was in many places reaped, in some shocked in the field, and the whole appeared to be ripe; but I saw very few people at labor in the fields."

"THURSDAY, July 12th.

"I rose very early this morning and took a view of Princetown. It is a small town, or rather has but a small number of houses in the most compact part. It is most delightfully situated on the summit of a very broad hill, which descends every way with a long, easy slope, and commands a most extensive prospect in every direction. Few of the buildings are large; some of them very elegant. The people are principally farmers, and the soil rich and strong. The College, Nassau Hall, is spacious, built with stone, and stands on the highest ground in the town. It fronts to the north and towards the street, and has before it a very large yard walled in with stone and lime. The ground descends considerably from the College to the street, which gives it a lofty appearance. At half-past five (A. M.) I ventured to call on Col. Morgan, to whom I had letters, though I was in doubt whether I should find him up. He was, however, in his parlor engaged with his books, and received me very politely. He is a farmer in the strictest sense, and I believe the first in America in the knowledge of agriculture; and besides is a literary character. His house stands a little back from the College, and in a situation which commands a complete view of his whole farm, consisting of about two hundred acres. There I saw verified what I had often before heard observed, that the boundaries of his farm might be easily distinguished from his neighbors, by its high cultivation. He gave me a general history of his improvements and of the experiments he was making. His barn and yard is truly a curiosity. His garden consists of three acres and is principally employed in making experiments which appeared to be well judged and critically attended to. Here I saw the Hessian fly, as it is called, which has done immense injury to wheat. Our country is much obliged to this gentleman for the discoveries he has made and the information he has given respecting this insect, in consequence of his experiments. It has enabled the farmer in this part of the country to get rid of

an insect that had wholly cut off the crops of grain for several years successively. In his garden he had Indian corn growing in long rows, from different kinds of seed collected from the different latitudes on this continent, so far north as the Northern part of Canada, and South as far as the West Indies. His apiary struck me with astonishment; on the Southern side of his garden he had sixty-four swarms of bees in line, which I judged extended more than fifteen rods; he takes the honey when he pleases without destroying the bees. I much regretted the want of time, but being determined to reach Philadelphia, was obliged to take my leave before my curiosity was one-half gratified. It was with the utmost difficulty I could prevail on him to excuse me from tarrying longer, particularly as a son of his who was then from home, but every moment expected, had began the study of Botany, and he intended to make him master of the science.* He was very anxious I should converse with him and give him particular directions for pursuing the study. Nothing would avail but a promise to call on him on my return, and a consent to take his son under my instruction, if he could find no person sufficiently versed in the science near him.†

* Dr. Cutler was one of the most learned Botanists in America at that time.—J. F. T.

† About three years ago I met the widow of the late Dudley Woodbridge, Esq., of Marietta, who was a daughter of Col. G. Morgan, and was born in Princeton. She says that her father had a large number of Cherry trees planted on the line between the College grounds and his farm for the benefit of the students with whom he was a favorite. The mutineers in 1781, on their way from Morristown to Philadelphia, came to her father's house and he dealt so kindly with them as to do not a little toward making an adjustment of their difficulties. Col. Morgan, a few years afterwards, removed to the Western part of Pennsylvania, and was a prominent man there. He had two sons and one daughter, the late Mrs. Woodbridge, above referred to.

Parton says: Col. Morgan resided near Canonsburgh, *Ohio*, but evidently means Canonsburgh, Pennsylvania. He was a resident of Washington County, in that State when Burr sought to entice him and his to join the conspiracy.

In a letter to Col. Morgan, dated "Washington, March 26th, 1807," President Jefferson says in regard to the Burr Conspiracy: "Yours was the very first intimation I had of this plot, for which it is but justice to say you have deserved well of your country." (Jefferson's Works, v. 57.) His sons were active in arresting the Conspiracy, which drew so many of the people in the Ohio Valley into so dangerous an attitude toward the government.

"I then called on Dr. Smith Vice-President of the college, to whom I also had letters. He is a young gentleman, lives in an elegant style, and is the first literary character in this State. He waited on me to college, introduced me to all the tutors and showed me the apartments of the college. The building is of three stories, has three cross entries and a long one in the first story. The chambers open into these entries and render the communication more convenient. The library is small; many of the books were taken out by the British troops, while they were not so complaisant as to return them. The cabinet and philosophical apparatus are very indifferent. The only article worthy of notice was the orrery made by Mr. Rittenhouse. This is an elegant machine and much exceeds any that have been made in Europe. I was, however, much disappointed to find that part of it had been sent to Philadelphia to be repaired, which consisted of the whole of the terrestrial and lunar motions, and the most curious part of the machine. I was much pleased with the Hall and the stage erected for the exhibition. It is well formed for plays which are permitted here, and dialogue speaking principally cultivated. The Hall is ornamented with several paintings, particularly the famous battle in this town, the next morning after the capture of the Hessians at Trenton.* It is more than six feet square, &c." Then follows a description of the painting and then Dr. C. writes: "After viewing this scene on canvass, we ascended to the cupola of the college and took a view of the ground itself on which the battle was fought, the manner of the attack, and the several directions in which the British fled. It was no small gratification to take so extensive a view as this situation afforded of the place where so important an event in the history of the American Revolution was exhibited. Here again, I felt myself straightened for time and was obliged to take my leave of Dr. Smith who had shown me the most polite attention, rather abruptly, but I promised to call on him on my return. When I returned to the tavern I found a gentleman going to Philadelphia in a sulky. Bill, six shillings sixpence.

"In about five miles we passed through a town called Maidenhead, but of no consideration, unless it be on account of its name

* A slight mistake by Dr. Cutler: the Hessians were captured on the morning of Dec. 26, 1777. J. F. T.

for the houses were as scattered as in other parts of the country. We made our first stage to Trenton, thirteen miles, at Vandegrift's tavern at the ferry. This town is spread over a considerable space of ground. There are parallel streets that pass through the body of the town and are connected by cross streets at right angles. There are no considerable buildings. The town is at a small distance from the Delaware river and is situated on a river that comes in from the Northeast and unites with the Delaware at this place. There is only one small meeting house and one church in this town. I therefore conclude that the people are not much disposed to attend public worship, for the two houses I presume are not sufficient to hold one-third of the inhabitants. Over the river in the compact part of the town is a spacious stone bridge, supported by arches built with stone and lime with a high wall on each side handsomely laid. At the foot of the bridge are mills for grinding and bolting wheat. These mills are contained in a very large stone building three stories high and are remarkable for the prodigious quantity and excellent quality of the flour which is ground in them every twenty-four hours.

* * * * The houses in this, and indeed in all the towns in New Jersey, are built in a style very different from that of New England. But I think it far less elegant and by no means has so good an effect on the eye. The want of large meeting houses and towering steeples is a great defect, and diminishes that air of grandeur which adorns almost every village in New England. Neither are the houses so spacious or so well built. But this town stands higher on the list of fame and will be remembered by future ages on account of the memorable victory, and indeed the first complete victory obtained by the illustrious Washington over the British army."

The remainder of Dr. C's diary of this journey to Philadelphia is extremely interesting, but I pass over it to give the concluding paragraphs of his journal on the return journey which was by the way of Morristown. The *Uriah Cutler* mentioned in the journal is the ancestor of Senator Augustus Cutler of Morris County.

"About two miles northeast of Morristown, N. J., I made a visit to an uncle Uriah Cutler, the only brother of my father. I had never seen him, nor had he seen my father for nearly fifty years. The old gentleman was overjoyed when I told him who I was, and

gave me a most hearty welcome. I was much pleased with his situation and circumstances. He has a very pretty farm and decent house. His land is excellent; large orchards of apple trees, peach and every kind of fruit which is propagated in this part of the country. He lives as well as a farmer can wish and with very little labor. Here I found a large pair of oxen which he assured me were the only pair in town. He has also a very pretty dairy of cows, having retained the idea of propagating neat cattle, which he brought from New England. But he had partly gone into the style of Jersey farmers for he has five fine horses. Although some of his neighbors seemed, he said, to be convinced of the utility of neat cattle, yet he could not in any considerable degree prevail on them to leave their old habits. He thought, however, that the Jersey people raised more fine cattle than they used to do. My uncle is the younger of the family and is sixty-four years of age but is uncommonly sprightly and active for that period of life. Like my father, he has but one son, whose name is Jesse, which has been much of a family name in the lateral branches. He lives in one part of the house and has married a wife who bids fair to be a fruitful vine, for she has had three children in five years. This son is the only surviving child of eight. He has had three other sons. Abiather, David, and Jonathan: One of these has left a widow and two children. My uncle lives with a second wife, to whom he has been married fifteen years but has had no children. He seems to be very happy in the connection his son has formed, which he often mentions with peculiar satisfaction. His son's wife appears to be a very agreeable woman, and was descended from a good family. We spent the afternoon in viewing his farm, barn, orchard, etc. I was particularly pleased to find that as a farmer he was very neat. His lands were in fine order, well fenced, and his lots judiciously disposed. His crop of wheat has been unusually large and he was now sowing his buckwheat which he said was a profitable grain and insisted on my taking some seed and making the experiment in Massachusetts. As I was determined to go on my journey the next morning, which at first my uncle absolutely forbade, he insisted that we should make a long evening of it, and we did not retire until after one.

JULY, 17th.

“ This morning when I proposed setting out I found my uncle's

passions much agitated, and it was with pain I assured him I must go. After breakfast I took my leave of the family with the promise that if I ever came in that part of the country again I would call, and if possible, spend more time. My uncle is situated on high land. His farm is situated on the southern declivity of a long hill with an extensive prospect south. But I had not traveled many miles before the land became broken, hilly and poor. Soon after I came to Newark mountain. When I came to Bergentown I was determined to make Mons. Mechard a visit, to whom I had letters. He is the French Botanist sent to America for the purpose of establishing a Botanical garden where he collects trees and plants of every species and gives in exchange foreign trees and plants which is sent to him from France at the expense of the King. I was told that he had established his garden a few miles from Bergentown and up the Hudson river, but when I enquired here, the Dutch people either would not or did not know anything of such a man or his garden. Vexed at their not understanding me or my not being able to understand them, for it appeared to me that they did not want to give me any information, I rode on through the town the way which I supposed would lead to his garden. At length I obtained information that he lived five miles on, the way I was going, but I found it nearer ten, and the road most wretched, through lonely hilly woods. As I came out of the woods I found a number of houses in a low sandy piece of ground surrounded by swamps. The first I came to was the "Three Pigeons Tavern," the place I was directed to inquire for: this tavern is kept by a Dutchman and is as remarkable for its neatness as any house I ever set my foot in. There I left my horse and went on about half a mile to Mons. Mechard's. Unfortunately, he had gone to the Carolinas. There were several gardeners, but they appeared to understand little of botany. They however showed me the gardens and were very complaisant. There was a considerable collection of exotic shrubs and plants set in a kind of beds for transplanting. The American plants they had received were mostly sent to France. There was no order or beauty in the gardens. The soil was remarkably poor and sandy, the situation wretched, and the way to it as bad as can well be conceived. Of all places in America, this would have been one of the very last I should have thought of for such a purpose. What could induce Mechard to fix down in this awful gloomy, lonely, miserable spot, is beyond my power to conceive. I was never more disappointed, and regretted the pains I had taken to see the ill taste of this Botanical Frenchman. Arrived at New York about sunset and lodged again at Mr. Henderson's, who received me with the greatest cordiality."

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