

New England Culture on the Ohio Frontier

Abner Pinney and Levi Buttles died within months of moving from Connecticut to the Northwest Territory in the early 1800s. Their household inventories and settlers' letters home show the things westering New Englanders felt they must take along on the hard journey to their new homes—and what they should have left behind.

New Englanders who crossed the Appalachian Mountains to settle on the wilderness frontier at the beginning of the nineteenth century faced cruel choices about the material possessions to be taken and those that had to be left behind. Historians have long recognized the value of estate inventories in studying lifestyles, but the inventories of those who died soon after migrating west provide a unique glimpse into both the lifestyle they enjoyed in the East and the articles they considered essential for establishing a home in the wilderness.

Abner Pinney of Simsbury, Connecticut, and Levi Buttles of Granby, Con-

necticut, died at Worthington, Ohio, within months of their westward migration in 1804. Both had lived in Connecticut's Farmington River valley and were members of the Scioto Company, organized by James Kilbourn, a merchant and Episcopal deacon at Berlin. In 1802, company members defined their purpose "to make a settlement in the Territory of the United States Northwest of the Ohio and between the Muskingum and the Great Miami Rivers."¹ These men were part of a broad-based New England migration into the Northwest Territory, and they were by no means unique in organizing a covenanted community which was planned in detail before they left New England.²

In March 1803, the company paid

\$1.25 per acre for sixteen thousand acres on the Whetstone River in the U.S. Military District. This tract, north of a line from present-day Columbus to Zanesville, was set aside by Congress to compensate Revolutionary War soldiers for their service, but most of the soldier's warrants were purchased by private speculators who sold parcels of four thousand acres or more to prospective settlers.³

In May, an advance party of laborers was sent west to clear sufficient land for a few crops, erect temporary cabins, and begin the construction of a sawmill. A survey team led by James Kilbourn set off a village with a public square, a school lot, a church lot, and 160 town lots for residential and commercial use. The remainder of the land was surveyed into farm lots averaging ninety to one hundred acres each.⁴

Two of Pinney's sons and a son-in-law were in the advance party. Buttles came west with the first group of families in the autumn of 1803 and spent the winter in the frontier settlement before returning to bring his own family west the following year. Both men knew what to expect on the westward journey and carefully planned their trip for the autumn, the time recommended to emigrants as the season during which they might best avoid the summer fevers and dysenteries.⁵

Abner and Ruth Pinney were in their fifties and were accompanied by a married son and his family, the families of two married daughters, and four children still at home. Levi and Sarah Buttles were a decade younger, and their seven children ranged in age from three to seventeen years.⁶ The majority of the Scioto Company were

heads of household who had established their families in New England, and they were, on average, a little older than the English emigrants to New England during the great migration of the 1630s.⁷

With horse and ox wagons, the journey from Connecticut to Ohio required six to eight weeks, and it was evidently too arduous a trip for Abner Pinney. He died November 23, 1804, and was the first person buried on the church lot on the east side of the public square.

The Buttles family left slightly later and encountered snow over the mountains. Only the youngest or the sickest members of the party found room to ride in the wagons. Eleven-year-old Lura told her granddaughter that "many were the tears she shed and as they dropt on her dress would freeze . . . and her stockings would freeze to her shoes."⁸ The eldest son recalled that when they arrived in early December, a one-room cabin with a dirt floor was all that was available for the family and the three or four hired laborers his father brought with them. Levi Buttles quickly hauled logs to the newly completed sawmill and had them converted into "two-inch planks, thirteen feet long, which being set up on end, edge to edge, and spiked to suitable timbers, soon formed a house, such as it was." Joel Buttles described this house as "though not warmer, was more roomy . . . two rooms below, and what answered to two above." This dwelling bore little resemblance to the more typical log-cabin pioneer home, but it spoke to the determination of a man who wanted even his temporary home to be as comfortable as possible. Still, the weather was severe that

winter, and, Buttles wrote, everyone was “more or less ill . . . diarrhea pretty much all the time, which, I have no doubt saved us from worse diseases.”⁹

Levi Buttles died June 14, 1805, after failing to recover from the illness he developed when he was caught overnight without shelter in a March snowstorm while riding east to explore land for Granville, Massachusetts, neighbors (who that fall moved west to establish Granville, Ohio). It was a severe shock to the frontier community and a threat to continued migration. Lucy Kilbourn wrote to her husband, who had returned to New England on business, that Buttles’s death was from “pleurisy in the head” and that his wife wanted her friends in the East to know the cause “and not lay it to the country.”¹⁰ James encouraged Lucy “to visit her frequently & do all in your power to cheer her spirits & encourage her resolution.”¹¹ It was apparently fourteen-year-old Arora who mourned his father most visibly. His sister told her granddaughter that “he would go to the edge of the woods and seat himself on a log and bury his face in his hands, and moan for hours. he thought he was out of sight and hearing of any one, but they all heard him and it almost broke their hearts.”¹² Both the Pinney and Buttles families survived these tragedies, however, and remained in the new community.

The personal property of Pinney’s estate was appraised at \$454.51 and Buttles’s at \$547.26.¹³ Both were slightly above average among the thirty-eight company members, which included two eastern investors with large holdings and several young unmarried men with small

shares.¹⁴ In the eight-thousand-acre half of the purchase that was surveyed as the “town” of Worthington, the median holding for the twenty-four “heads of household” who actually came west was two town lots and 193 acres of farm land. Pinney ranked fifth with three town lots and 237 acres, while Buttles was eighth with three town lots and 212 acres.¹⁵ These rankings on the lower edge of the upper one-third of the Scioto Company settlers suggest that Pinney’s and Buttles’s estate inventories provide a representative view of the possessions these New England migrants brought west.

In each estate the most valuable possessions were their wagon and team. Pinney had an “ox waggon” worth sixty-five dollars, a “sett wagon harness with yolk &c.” and a pair of oxen “1 red the other brindle” valued at fifty-five dollars. He also had one cow and a white mare “having but one eye.” Buttles had a “light waggon” worth forty-five dollars, an extra set of wagon “fore wheels,” and a cart. His team of oxen was valued at only forty dollars, but he had a black mare worth fifty-five dollars, a horse, three cows and calves, and six sows with pigs and several shoats. The baby pigs, of course, would have been born in Ohio, but sows with six to nine pigs each indicate they had weathered their long walk very well.

Buttles had a “rifle gun” appraised at fifteen dollars, while Pinney had a six-dollar “musket with bayonet.” Buttles owned a “man’s saddle” and a “sett carriage harness.” One suspects that the former proved more useful on the frontier, for it was two decades before local roads improved

enough for carriage travel.

Both estates contained a plow, a bell, and a variety of hand tools. Pinney's included two axes, three hoes, fifteen pounds of chain, a grass scythe, drawing knife, broad knife, six pounds of iron wedges, a steel trap, a pair of small steelyards (balance scales for weighing), a log chain, and ten gimlets, small hand augurs with spiraled cutting points used to bore holes. Buttles's tools included a brush scythe, two old sickles, five axes, one spade, an "english shovel," two "draught chains" and a log chain, ten pounds of steel, twenty one-half-pound bars of iron, a shaving knife, hammer, rasp, handsaw, gauge, two chisels, an iron hook and trammel, and a pair of small steelyards. The similarity between these lists suggests that axes for felling trees and chopping firewood, hoes for cultivating crops, scythes and sickles for cutting grain and grass, chains for dragging logs, and iron for making tools and repairs were common equipment for every western emigrant.

Buttles's wardrobe was quite basic—one "sertoot coat" (a long frock coat), one great coat, one "Black strait Bodied coat," two waistcoats, two shirts, one pair nankeen breeches, three pair of pantaloons, a pair of cotton stockings, a white neck handkerchief, and a "man's hat."¹⁶ This inventory made no mention of underclothes, which reflects either what the appraisers chose to include or what the pioneer wore. Pinney's wardrobe appeared to be more varied: he owned four "strait bodied" coats, three vests (one striped and one of silk nankeen), two pairs of "small clothes" (knee britches, one pair made of plain nankeen

and the other of "damaged velvet"), eight pairs of worsted stockings (some "footed"), a bandanna handkerchief and a cotton pocket handkerchief, one "knaped" hat and a "castor" hat, and a pair of boots.¹⁷ The fact that Pinney's appraisers itemized three pairs of trousers from "striped linen" to "brown tow" and four shirts from "Irish linen" to "check linen" to "coarse muslin" clearly shows that he had garments appropriate for both work and social occasions. That Pinney owned a pair of "silver shoe buckles" and one of "plated knee buckles" may reflect a man accustomed to attending parties, although the expectation of such in the frontier settlement seems somewhat optimistic.

Buttles's estate included two yards of blue broadcloth which was valued at nine dollars and evidently purchased ready-made. Fine woolen broadcloth derived its name from the wider commercial looms used to produce it. Nine yards of "home made woolen cloth" was appraised at \$10.12, a clear indication of the lower valuation of the homemade product. Pinney's estate included four "weavers reeds" in varying sizes, a "great spinning wheel" valued at two dollars, and one hundred and eighteen hackle teeth.¹⁸ It would appear that both families produced yarn and cloth at home but had access to machine-woven cloth as well. If Jack Larkin's contention that the majority of Americans were clothed in fabrics produced by the household can be assumed, these inventories suggest that Buttles's and Pinney's households were more affluent than the average household of 1800.¹⁹ Farmington merchants, however, enjoyed a brisk trade in imported

goods with Europe, China, and the West Indies by the 1790s. At the same time, domestic manufacturers, such as Stephen Brownson, were also producing woolen, cotton, and linen cloth.²⁰

Cooking and eating utensils of iron, tin, and pewter were basic in both estates. The Buttles's household had a frying pan, a dutch oven, a pot, and a tea kettle of iron; two brass kettles, one large and one small; eight tin pans; a wire sifter; three flat irons; a pair of andirons, a fire shovel, and tongs. The Pinneys had the same basic frying pan, dutch oven, tea kettle, and fifteen tin pans in varying sizes and shapes. They also had a roaster, funnel, candle base, pail, and cups of tin. Except for a seventy-five-cent teapot, their pewter was appraised by the pound according to its condition—eight pounds of new pewter at \$4.00, eight and one-half pounds "fourth worn" at \$3.27, and five pounds of old pewter at \$1.25. Such groupings demonstrate that pewter utensils were considered rather common. The Pinneys also had three painted tin "japanned tumblers," which were valued at fifty-one cents; tinner Asa Andrews of Farmington was reportedly producing ten thousand pieces of japanned ware annually by 1800.

The only household furnishings these pioneers brought with them were beds. The Pinneys had four beds with "pillows & ticks" valued from \$8.50 to \$16.12 each. They also had sixteen linen sheets, eight flannel sheets, seventeen pillow cases, a "lock cumpass" coverlet (presumably a lockstitch weave), and two other coverlets (one black and white and the other black and yellow), four blankets, four pieced

quilts, three "under bed ticks," and several "diaper" (white linen or cotton) towels and tablecloths. The Buttles family also had four "beds and bedding" valued from \$9.50 to \$17.00 each. It would appear that these were featherbeds, but it is not clear whether the "under bed ticks" refer to straw-filled ticks or a smaller size designed for use on a trundle bed. A "set Blue furniture" valued at \$2.80 in the Pinney estate was enumerated with the bedding and may refer to bed curtains. Two small chests were probably traveling chests as the largest was appraised at fifty cents. This array of bedding was impressive for the western country, where early travelers frequently recorded sleeping on straw ticks without anything more than a blanket. One assumes that each of these homes had some crude handmade benches, stools, and tables constructed after the family arrived that appraisers considered temporary and of a value not worth estimating.

Each family had some luxuries that they obviously considered too precious to leave behind. Levi Buttles owned a thirteen-dollar silver watch, and the family had a wooden clock valued at eighteen dollars and a looking glass worth \$1.50. These must have made the journey over the mountains safely, but perhaps with great difficulty. The Pinneys also had seven plates valued at one dollar, a twenty-five-cent punch bowl, and a "sett New knives and forks" worth \$1.25. The appraisal of these items sets them apart from the tin and pewter dinnerware and wooden spoons that pioneers often used.²¹

Pinney had a pair of spectacles and a collection of eight books valued at \$4.30

that included the Bible, a dictionary, and selections such as “travels of Cyrus, Winchesters Decalogues, Websters selections, Robinson Crusoe, Benjamins work, and Shakespeares Edward the Black prince.” Such private ownership of books is particularly enlightening in view of the Scioto Company’s decision before they left New England that “two Dollars be Appropriated out of the fund of Each Subscriber for a Library.” Kilbourn and Buttles were appointed to purchase books, and it would appear that when the library became operational in Worthington in December 1803 it probably contained a significant number of volumes. If all members paid their two-dollar subscriptions, seventy-four dollars would have been available to purchase books, which then cost as little as fifteen or twenty cents and rarely as much as a dollar. The treasurer delivered \$59.86 to the library committee on September 2, apparently for books purchased before the trip west. In addition, Jonas Stanbery, the New York physician who sold the land to the company, made such a “handsome gift” to the library that the company named it in his honor.²²

Estate inventories provide no clue whether these families made the correct decisions and brought what they needed or whether they regretted leaving some of their possessions behind. However, after she, her husband, and her family made the journey west the following spring, Ruhamah Hayes wrote to her Granby friend Elizabeth Case that “our loads were made a little too heavy or at least too bulky.” No one seemed completely prepared for the lack of anything resembling a road on

the western end of the journey. “We had to cut and tug three days in the wilderness & see no human being nor scarce any water,” Hayes reported. “I thot it a poor time to be sick [which she had been] but the third day just at evening we came in sight of a small settlement. It gave me much joy to see the face of a woman.”²³

The Hayes family stayed temporarily with Sarah Buttles, and Ruhamah tried her best to describe the situation fairly. “If you wish to know how I am suited with this living here I can tell you that the Ladies in general appear to be well pleased but as for myself I do not make up my mind at once.” She elaborated on the pros and cons in some detail. “Pork is easy made but no cel-lars to put it in, the best of beef but no cider. We have a barrel of whisky stands in one corner of one of our front rooms. We have the best of wheat flour & I think the indian meal preferable to that in new england but we have no place to store it only in bags & we are over run with mice but I believe there is not a rat in Ohio.”

Such a candid appraisal of frontier homes from a woman’s viewpoint is rare. One can almost feel her disappointment being tempered by a Puritan resolve to be absolutely fair and balance each negative comment with a positive one.

A major difference between these Ohio pioneers and participants in the great migration of the 1630s was the Scioto Company’s immediate access to merchant goods. Rev. Francis Higginson had warned English emigrants, “When you are once parted with England you shall meete neither with taverns nore alehouse, nor butchers, nor grosers, nor apothecaries

shops . . . in the midst of the great ocean, nor when you are come to land here are yet neither markets nor fayres to buy what you want.”²⁴ James Kilbourn confronted markedly different circumstances upon his arrival in Ohio with the Scioto Company advance work party in the spring of 1803. He knew from his trip the previous year that he could purchase many of the necessary supplies at Chillicothe, the ten-year-old territorial capital about fifty miles downriver from the company purchase. He reported, “I had to procure the axes, chains, etc. to be made after I arrived. Bought here . . . a smith’s bellows, 300 cwt. bar iron with some steel, also 1 barrel of whiskey, 30 bushels of wheat and many articles of provision as per bills.”²⁵

Within the first year, two of the Scioto Company members who had been merchants at Blandford, Massachusetts, imported merchandise for a store in Worthington. Surprisingly, some things cost less in frontier Ohio than in the East. Ruhamah Hayes advised, “I should not bring any more beds than is wanted for the families use, feathers are cheaper a little distance from here than there.” She suggested, however, that tin pans, “bonet paper” (stiffening for bonnets), ginger, tea, and men’s and women’s shoes “will sell well here.” A few months earlier, Joel Allen had written his son, a merchant at Southington, Connecticut, “Do send on fifty sieve bottoms . . . There is but one . . . and that is going around from cabin to cabin constantly in the neighboring settlement. They burn holes in skins to sift their flour and meal.”²⁶

Ruhamah Hayes minced no words in offering advice to Case, whose family was

coming west to Granville that fall. “Bringing our clock was a wrong calculation. If I had brot the top part of my case of drawers it would have been better.” She also admitted, “If I was to take the journey again I would not use one article of crockery on the road for we broke the most of ours. Tin would do for almost any use & you can borrow the cups at most places where you put up.” Hayes warned her neighbor frankly, “If you calculate for smooth roads free from hills you will be disappointed. if you expect to dress to keep your clothes clean you will miss your aim.”

Estate inventories from a company of landowners do not reflect the contents of the most humble households in a community, but what Buttles and Pinney brought west with them is probably more revealing of what most New England settlers carried from the East.²⁷ If their personal property is categorized by type—essential wearing apparel, household furnishings and equipment, livestock, and tools and farm equipment—a higher percentage of the value of the Buttles estate was devoted to livestock (38.9 percent, compared to 26.7 percent of Pinney’s) and tools and equipment (28.8 percent, compared to 23.1 percent of Pinney’s). By contrast, a greater proportion of Pinney’s estate was devoted to personal apparel (13.0 percent, compared to 8.2 percent for Buttles’s) and household furnishings (37.2 percent, compared to 25.1 percent for Buttles’s). These variations apparently reflect the different stages of life of the two men.²⁸ These families both represented the New England “back country” of the late eighteenth century, and both had been “farmers” there. Yet Pinney was

a man old enough to count on sons and sons-in-law to do the major farm work; Buttles had a number of young children and expected to set up a farming operation in the new country.²⁹

These inventories suggest families who were well dressed and had comfortable homes by the standards of the day. As household goods became less costly and more widely available, common people had begun to acquire the essentials for comfortable living, such as feather beds.³⁰ Although both families brought several feather beds and bedding such as linen sheets and coverlets, bedsteads were not included; clearly they expected that bulky items such as tables and chairs, beds, and looms would be constructed after their arrival.

These emigrants confirm Frederick Jackson Turner's thesis that the advancing frontier required each successive migration to return to primitive living conditions, but the time they needed to conquer the wilderness and establish the lifestyle to which they were accustomed was remarkably short.³¹ On the Ohio frontier, historian William Utter found, immigrants furnished a sizable market for agricultural goods during their first year of residence, but by the second year they became producers who were adding to the surplus.³²

Although the Buttles family brought a looking glass and the Pinneys a set of expensive plates, they carried few breakable items along on the wagon journey over the mountains. Local merchants in Worthington, however, immediately began shipping panes of glass downriver from Pittsburgh glassworks to use in building

homes. Both a sawmill and a brickyard were operating within the first year. By 1812, the Worthington Manufacturing Company was advertising in the local paper, "A large & almost universally assorted store of European and India Goods."³³

The New Englanders who settled Worthington seemed intent on recreating and improving upon the lifestyle they had known in the East. Historian David Cressy has noted the importance of emigrants' calculations of psychological and opportunity costs to the decision whether or not to move to the New World.³⁴ But for the men of the Scioto Company, the opportunity to acquire inexpensive land was the magnet. Even those who were comparatively well off in New England saw the West as an opportunity to provide for their sons. William Thompson, for example, prepared for the move by selling his 172-acre farm south of Blandford for three thousand dollars.³⁵ This sum was sufficient to allow him to subscribe for one thousand acres in Ohio and still have enough cash to move his family and belongings and erect buildings on the new purchase. And while there is no evidence that any of the men of the Scioto Company had education beyond common schooling, Pinney's ownership of books and the company's commitment to a subscription library are ample evidence of aspirations for refinement. Two months after the first group's arrival Kilbourn wrote Ohio Senator Thomas Worthington, "I trust it will not be thought boasting if I say to a confidential friend, that we are doing something clever in our new settlement tho embraced in the bosom of the Forest."³⁶ ❀

LEVI BUTTLES ESTATE

Franklin County Liberty Township Sept 30th 1805 an account of the appraisement of the moveable estate of Levi Buttles deceased late of the township aforesaid by Ezekiel Brown and William Thompson appointed and qualified for the same. . . .

1 Black mare	58.00	1 Iron tea Kettle	.50
1 Horse	33.00	1 Iron pot	2.00
1 pair of oxen	40.00	1 large Brass Kettle	14.00
3 cows	33.00	1 small Brass Kettle	4.00
3 calves	8.00	8 tin pans	1.30
1 white sow and six pigs	5.50	fire shovel & tongs	2.00
1 Blue sow and nine pigs	5.25	1 hand saw	2.00
1 red and white sow and pigs	3.50	1 Black strait Bodied coat	6.00
1 red sow with a white Cist	3.00	2 pair pantaloons	2.50
1 small red sow and Black shoats	3.75	2 waistcoats	2.75
6 shoats	7.50	1 pair nankeen breeches	1.00
1 small sow	1.75	2 shirts	2.00
1 light waggon	45.00	1 pair nankeen pantaloons	1.25
2 fore wheels of a waggon	12.00	1 pair Cotton Stockings	.60
1 cart	23.00	1 white neck handff	.25
1 Plow and Irons	6.25	1 straw Hat	2.00
1 sett carriage Harness	15.00	2 Yds Blue Broadcloth	9.00
10 lbs stell [steel]	3.33	1 bed and bedding	17.00
1 Brush scythe	1.65*	1 bed and bedding	9.50
2 draught chains	4.15	1 bed and bedding	9.75
1 log chain	4.37	1 bed and bedding	15.66
2 hoes	.70	1 new bed quilt	5.50
1 old spade	.60	1 Looking glass	1.50
1 english shovel	1.00	1 Sertoot coat	9.00
three axes	5.50	1 great coat	4.50
two axes	3.00	9 Yard home made wool cloth	10.12
4 old collars	1.50		at 6/9 per yard
2 old sickles	.75	1 Iron hook and tramel	1.25
twenty 1/2 lbs Bar Iron	3.43	1 pair small Steelyards	.50
1 rifle gun	15.00	six shoats	6.75
1 shaving Knife 1 hammer and 1 rasp,		2 white hogs	4.00
2 chisels and 1 guage	2.00	1 large iron Kettle	5.80
1 small bell and collar	.50		
1 mans saddle	5.00		
1 wooden clock	18.00		
1 Silver watch	13.00		
3 Flat Irons	1.25		
1 frying pan	1.00		
1 pair of andIrons	2.00		
1 wire sifter	.75		
1 dutch oven	1.60		
			\$547.26
		William Thompson	
		Ezekiel Brown, apprs	
			*value obtained from auction of Buttles estate goods

Source: Franklin County Common Pleas Court Estate Inventories and Appraisals, Microfilm GR 2795, Ohio Historical Society, 24-27.

ABNER PINNEY ESTATE

Inventory of the estate goods and chattels belonging to the estate of Capt Abner Pinney late of
 Worthington in Franklin County deceased as appraised by James Kilbourn, Reuben Lamb and
 William Little being first qualified as the law directs. . . .

1 coarse coat	5.50	1 Pillow cloth	.25
1 strait bodied coat	6.00	1 1/2 yd Blue Cloth 67	1.00
1 strait bodied coat	12.00	1 yd lion skin	1.00
1 strait bodied nankeen [coat]	2.00	1 lock cumpass coverlet	6.25
1 striped Vest	1.75	1 Black and white coverlet	5.00
1 silk nankeen Vest	3.00	1 Black and yellow coverlet	3.00
1 plain nankeen Vest	.75	3 plain Blankets \$1	3.00
1 pair plain nankeen small clothes	1.50	1 rose Blanket	1.00
1 pair velvet small clothes damaged	2.00	1 Blue bed quilt	5.00
1 pair cloth pantaloons	1.50	1 old calico quilt	1.00
1 pair striped linen trousers	1.50	1 pieced woolen quilt	3.75
1 pair striped linen trousers	.25	1 old pieced quilt	1.50
1 pair brown tow & lining trousers	1.00	1 old pieced quilt light coloured	1.75
1 Irish linen shirt	.75	1 bed with pillows & ticks	
2 coarse muslin shirts ea 7/6	2.50	wt 24 lbs	16.12
1 check linen shirt	1.00	1 bed with pillows & ticks	
1 pair dark worsted stockings	2.00	wt 35 lbs	12.75
1 pair clouded worsted stockings	.67	1 bed with pillows & ticks 50 lbs	8.50
1 pair mixed worsted stockings	.67	1 bed with pillows & ticks 52 lbs	8.75
1 pair new woolen worsted		3 under Bed ticks 50 Cents	1.50
stockings short	1.00	1 pair silver shoe buckles	1.00
1 pair footed woolen		1 pair plated knee buckles	.25
worsted stockings	1.00	1 pair spectacles	.50
1 pair long woolen stockings footed	.75	1 Baileys dictionary	1.25
1 pair lining stockings	.30	1 Bible	1.00
1 pair cotton stockings	.15	1 travels of Cyrus	.75
1 Bandana handkerchief	.35	1 Winchesters Decalogues	.67
1 cotton Pocket handkerchief	.25	1 Websters selections	.12
1 knaped hat	3.50	1 Robinson Crusoe	.12
1 castor hat	2.00	1 Benjamins work	.25
1 pair boots	1.25	1 Shakespears Edward the	
14 linen sheets at 7/6	17.50	Black prince	.12
2 linen sheets 50 cts	1.00	1 death cane [?]	.20
3 flannel sheets \$2.33	6.99	3 large tin pans 42 Cts	1.26
3 flannel sheets 1-17	3.51	1 large tin pan (new)	.84
14 Pillow cases 25	3.50	3 small tin pans	1.26
1 set Blue furniture	2.80	1 small tin pan (old)	.25
8 plain Towels 10	.80	4 square pans	.68
2 diaper towels 50	1.00	3 oval scoluped pans	.75
2 diaper towels [much] worn 16 Cts	.32	1 oval platter (Tin)	.25
2 diaper towels fine diaper	.33	3 round scoluped pans 17 Cents	.51
2 fine diaper table cloths 1-67	3.34	3 tin Basons 16	.50
1 coarse diaper table cloths	1.50	1 tin pail	.50

Robert W. and Virginia E. McCormick are retired from the Ohio State University, where Mr. McCormick was professor emeritus of agricultural and adult education and Mrs. McCormick was professor of home economics education. Mr. McCormick received his doctorate from the University of Wisconsin, Mrs. McCormick from the Ohio State University. Both have researched and written extensively on local and Ohio history and have published jointly and individually in Columbus Monthly, Timeline, and Ohio History. Mrs. McCormick's Farm Wife: A Self-Portrait, 1886-1896 was published in 1990 by the Iowa State University Press.

ing Co., 1950) and Page Smith, *As a City on a Hill: The Town in American History* (Cambridge: Massachusetts Institute of Technology Press, 1966).

3. C. E. Sherman, *Original Ohio Land Subdivisions* (1925; reprint, Columbus: Ohio Cooperative Topographic Survey Report, 1976), 89-94. Because the U.S. Military Tract was not surveyed until 1796 and required the purchase of quarter-township parcels of four thousand acres, most Revolutionary War soldiers sold their warrants to land speculators for a fraction of their value.
4. Franklin County Deed Record A:14-23, Recorder's Office, Columbus, Ohio; Delaware County Deed Record A:161-165, Recorder's Office, Delaware, Ohio.
5. Samuel R. Brown, *The Western Gazetteer or Emigrants' Directory* (Auburn, N.Y.: H. C. Southwick, Printers, 1817).
6. Virginia E. McCormick, *Scioto Company Descendants: Genealogies of the Original Proprietors of Worthington, Ohio* (Worthington, Ohio: Cottonwood Publications, 1995), 54-66, 201-27.
7. Of the thirty-eight Scioto company members, seven (18.4 percent) were investors who did not come west, seven (18.4 percent) were single young men who married in Ohio, twelve (31.6 percent) were married men whose children were all born in New England, and twelve (31.6 percent) were married men who fathered children after the migration. The average husband's age was 39.7 years (N=22) and their wives 35.6 years (N=19), and they averaged 5.3 living children. Anderson found that during the great migration husbands

NOTES

1. Scioto Company Minute Book, VOL 40, May 5, 1802, Ohio Historical Society, Columbus.
2. The articles of agreement for the Scioto Company's land purchase, dated Dec. 14, 1802, began with the words, "We Do Each of us Individually and for Himself Covenant and agree with Each of the Others." The Scioto Company was not incorporated, but members certainly interpreted their commitment as a legal document for purchasing property as a group. For elaboration of these concepts see Stewart H. Holbrook, *The Yankee Exodus: An Account of Migration from New England* (New York: Macmillan Publish-

- averaged 37.4 years of age, wives 33.8 years, and they averaged 3.08 children. See Virginia D. Anderson, *New England's Generation* (Cambridge, Eng.: Cambridge University Press, 1991), 23.
8. Lura Ann Buttles, Worthington, Ohio, to Levi Buttles, Gambier, Ohio, Sept. 30, 1869, MSS 951, Buttles Family Papers, Ohio Historical Society.
 9. Joel Buttles Diary, vol. 1206, Ohio Historical Society. Joel Buttles became a wealthy businessman in Columbus, and this "diary" was actually a collection of remembrances written in the early 1840s.
 10. Lucy Kilbourn to James Kilbourn, July 2, 1805, MSS 332, box 1, folder 1, Kilbourne Family Papers, Ohio Historical Society.
 11. James Kilbourn to Lucy Kilbourn, Aug. 10, 1805, box 1, folder 1, Kilbourne Family Papers.
 12. Lura Ann Bristol to Levi Buttles, Sept. 30, 1869, Buttles Family Papers.
 13. Abner Pinney Estate appraisal, May 6, 1805, 8–13; Levi Buttles Estate appraisal, Sept. 30, 1805, 24–31; Franklin County Common Pleas Court, Estate Case Files, GR 2795, Ohio Historical Society. Their personal property was, of course, a fraction of their total assets as Pinney had contracted for eight hundred acres (at \$1.25 per acre, at a total cost of \$1000) and Buttles for five hundred and fifty acres (at \$1.25 per acre, for a total of \$687.50).
 14. When the land was partitioned Aug. 11, 1804, the largest shareholder was Jedediah Norton of Farmington, Connecticut, with 1,548 acres of land and seven town lots. The smallest shareholders were Israel P. Case and Abner P. Pinney, sons of proprietors and laborers in the advance party, who each had a half interest in a town lot and a ninety-three-acre farm lot.
 15. Scioto Company partition deed, Franklin County Deed Record, A:14–23.
 16. Nankeen was usually a buff-colored cotton cloth imported from Nankin, China.
 17. Stockings were knitted either with feet as modern stockings, or without feet, similar to the leg-warmers often worn by dancers. A knaped hat was felted, while a castor hat was made from beaver or rabbit fur.
 18. A hatchel was used to separate and comb flax fibers. It was composed of long iron teeth set into a board. This inventory suggests a supply of teeth was carried west to replace broken teeth or make a new hatchel as needed.
 19. Jack Larkin, *The Reshaping of Everyday Life, 1790–1840* (New York: Harper and Row, 1988), 25.
 20. Christopher P. Bickford, *Farmington in Connecticut* (Farmington, Conn.: Farmington Historical Society, 1982), 225–30.
 21. R. Carlyle Buley, *The Old Northwest: Pioneer Period, 1815–1840* (1950; reprint, Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1978), 1:147.
 22. Scioto Company Minute Book, Aug. 11, Sept. 2, and Dec. 23, 1803.
 23. Ruhamah Hayes, Worthington, Ohio, to [Elizabeth], wife of Capt. Job Case, Granby, Conn., Aug. 23, 1805, VFM 1720, Julia Buttles Case Collection, Ohio Historical Society.
 24. Quoted in Anderson, *New England's Generation*, 53. On material possessions

- for colonial emigration, see also David Cressy, *Coming Over: Migration and Communication between England and New England in the Seventeenth Century* (Cambridge, Eng.: Cambridge University Press, 1987), 107–29.
25. “Report of James Kilbourne, Agent of the Scioto Company for the Summer of 1803,” *Old Northwest Genealogical Quarterly* 6 (July 1903): 87–91.
 26. Joel Allen, Worthington, to James Allen, Southington, Conn., [n.d., but references in letter indicate it is 1804], quoted in *St. John’s Banner*, July 1900, 27, mss. 943, box 40, folder 6, St. John’s Episcopal Church Records, Ohio Historical Society.
 27. It is impossible to compare these two settlers with a larger group of central Ohio emigrants because the earliest surviving Franklin County tax list is a partial listing from 1806, after these estates were filed for probate. At that time, most of the property adjoining Worthington was held in quarter-township sections by nonresident land speculators. For analysis of the problem of estimating wealth distribution from probate records, see Carole Shammas, “Constructing a Wealth Distribution from Probate Records,” *Journal of Interdisciplinary History* 9 (Autumn 1978): 297–307.
 28. This is consistent with the distribution of wealth by class and age studied by Jackson Turner Main, *Society and Economy in Colonial Connecticut* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1985), 139–63.
 29. In Ohio, Pinney’s sons and sons-in-law were farmers, coopers, blacksmiths, and tinsmiths; Buttles’s sons and sons-in-law became a merchant and banker, hornsmiths, brick masons, and farmers.
 30. Larkin, *Reshaping of Everyday Life*, 132–38.
 31. Frederick Jackson Turner, *The Frontier in American History* (1920; reprint, New York: Henry Holt and Co., 1953), 2.
 32. William T. Utter, *The Frontier State: 1803–1825* (Columbus: Ohio Historical Society, 1942), 146.
 33. [Worthington] *Western Intelligencer*, Mar. 27, 1812.
 34. Cressy, *Coming Over*, 107–129.
 35. Blandford Deed Record 47, 467. Ray A. Billington and Martin Ridge, *Western Expansion: A History of the American Frontier*, 5th ed. (New York: Macmillan Publishing Co., 1982), 248, report good New England farms at the time were selling from fourteen to fifty dollars per acre depending on improvements.
 36. James Kilbourn, Worthington, to Thomas Worthington, Washington, [D.C.], Feb. 7, 1804, microfilm 91, roll 3, box 2, folder 6, Thomas Worthington Papers, Ohio Historical Society.