Businessman and Citizen

When in 1798 at the age of twenty-five he settled permanently at Chillicothe, Thomas Worthington was a man with character formed and habits established. He was amazingly energetic and able to turn a profit in almost any enterprise which he undertook. He recognized and accepted the challenge of the wilderness and established with confidence and skill an extensive and profitable milling, farming, stock-raising, and shipping business. He welcomed every political opportunity with eagerness and never displayed the slightest lack of confidence in himself or his abilities. He was impetuous by nature and had a quick temper, but taught himself restraint and caution. Throughout his career he was constantly irritated by the weakness and indecision of his contemporaries, but experience brought him patience and wisdom.

Almost six feet in height, well built, and robust, this young pioneer might have been considered handsome. His complexion was ruddy, his hair sandy. A long, moderately aquiline nose and dark-blue, piercing, heavy-browed eyes relieved his otherwise rather impassive English countenance. His disposition was on the sober side; he smiled when other men laughed, and chuckled when they guffawed. Quiet for the most part, his eyes could burn with ardor or excitement, and his face flush with zeal or indignation. Usually reticent and short of speech, when aroused he could cut an opponent’s argument to pieces with rude eloquence, or with mounting anger and burning invective espouse a cause to rectify a grievous wrong.

Well endowed with property, encouraged by a talented wife, and alive to the political and economic opportunities of his new environment, from the time of his arrival Worthington took a very active part in the life of the community. On his ready acceptance of civic and political responsibilities, but even more particularly on his business enterprise, was founded the noteworthy career of this Ohio citizen.

In the early days of our history most of our public men speculated in land, but the word “speculator” then carried no derogatory connotation. Land speculation was a legitimate means of making money. The great landholders were not such objects of envy as are our agrarian barons or capitalists, and few accumulated large or permanent for-
tunes. High taxes, Indian wars, lawsuits over titles, and fluctuating economic conditions made the business precarious at best.\(^1\) When it came to selling, each speculator had to compete with the state, the federal government, and other speculators. Wild land increased in value very slowly, and few men lived long enough to enjoy the unearned increment which actually accrued over a long period.

In the Virginia Military District there were 3,900,000 acres of land which had been reserved by Virginia for her soldiers when she ceded her western land claims to the federal government. Warrants for practically all of this had been issued by 1800. Each soldier, instead of locating and patenting his land, was usually content to sell his warrants to a speculator. Thus by 1800, seventy-five persons owned a third of the District. On this list Worthington stood twentieth, with 18,273 acres. The largest holding was 118,601 acres.\(^2\)

To the east of the Scioto River and bounded by it, by the Greene Ville Treaty line, by the Seven Ranges, and by a line due east from Franklinton, lay the smaller United States Military Tract (or Military District) of some 2,540,000 acres, on which warrants were issued to pay the Continentals for their services in the Revolution. Seventy per cent of this tract was held by one hundred fifteen persons, mostly absentee speculators. Jonathan Dayton owned not less than 64,000 acres, and John Cleves Symmes 36,000, but in general the holdings were smaller than those in the Virginia Military District.\(^3\)

To the south of the United States Military Tract and including all land to the Ohio River except that of the Ohio Company and the Seven Ranges, lay the Congress Lands, an area about the same size as the Virginia Military District. These lands were put up for sale by the Land Act of 1800 through land offices at Chillicothe, Marietta, and Steubenville.\(^4\) The usual procedure of the speculator was to buy up warrants at an average of about forty cents an acre; to have them located, entered, surveyed, and patented; and then to hold the land for a profit.

As early as 1797 Worthington bought some warrants for his friend Nathaniel Massie;\(^5\) whenever he found others for sale he usually purchased them if the price was reasonable. He noted in his diary on December 6, 1804, for example, the purchase of warrants for two

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2 Ibid., 196-97.
3 Ibid., 187; Beverley W. Bond, Jr., ed., *The Correspondence of John Cleves Symmes* (New York, 1926), 187.
5 Nathaniel Massie to Worthington, December 11, 1797, in WMOSL.
half-sections for $500; and on December 12, the purchase of warrants for 1,000 acres for $100. An entry made on November 6, 1812, records a price of twenty-five cents an acre for the purchase of 700 acres. The average price of warrants at this period was about fifty cents per acre. Massie had regular warrant-buyers in the field, but Worthington purchased his own. In June, 1806, he entered into a contract with Duncan McArthur whereby Worthington was to buy warrants which McArthur was to locate for him on the shares, but they never operated under the contract to any great degree; if anything, they were rivals rather than partners. Whenever possible, Worthington purchased his land outright or traded a large tract of unimproved land for an improved or more advantageously located piece. He also participated in the rather good business of locating and supervising the survey of tracts for warrant-holders, whereby he secured a share, usually one-fourth. Warrant fees varied from one-fifth to one-half but usually averaged about one-fourth. Acreage secured in this manner could often be sold for cash, an article all too scarce among land-dealers; thus in March, 1801, Worthington sold, for seventy-five cents an acre, one-half of the 1,700 acres he received for locating some warrants for John Cleves Symmes.7

The ethics of the game between speculators were none too good. Worthington's neighbor, McArthur, wrote his partner, Robert Means, on November 16, 1806, that he had sent a warrant to cover by entry a tract already half-covered by Worthington, who awaited more warrants. He concluded, "He will no doubt be much enraged when he hears the news, but I trust you will not let my name be known in the business though it is generally believed he would take the chance if it was in his power. I would not regard it was he not so near a neighbor."8

Buying and selling land and paying land taxes for absentee friends took much of Worthington's time. He was land agent for Albert Gallatin for both his Ohio and Virginia land. That Gallatin's holdings were extensive is indicated by the fact that he held 7,115 acres in Ohio in partnership with Savary9 and two tracts in Virginia comprising

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6 Document dated June 5, 1806, in the McArthur Papers. Hutchinson makes the mistake of referring many times to Worthington as a warrant-buyer for McArthur. It is true that Worthington represented McArthur's interests in the attempt to get the Ludlow Line extended in the Virginia Military District controversy. See McArthur to Worthington, December 27, 1811, in WMOSL.
7 Worthington's diary, March 7, 1801; Worthington to Symmes, March 11, 1801, in Worthington's letter book, LC.
8 Letter in the McArthur Papers, I, 171, LC.
9 Gallatin to Worthington, August 15, 1801, February 7, 1818, August 5, 1825, etc., in WMOSL.
7,956 acres for which Worthington was made an offer of twenty-five cents an acre. He was also agent for Senator James Ross of Pennsylvania (after whom Ross County, Ohio, was named), with power of attorney and "full right and confidence" to sell all his lands. A survey dated December 5, 1799, of 4,300 acres on Deer Creek made for Ross by Duncan McArthur indicates the scope of Worthington's dealings in behalf of Ross. Among other friends for whom Worthington acted as agent were Samuel Cabal, Joseph Swearingen, Henry Bedinger, Nathaniel Macon, Stevens Thomson Mason, John Breckinridge, and Thomas Jefferson. He collected a fee for paying taxes as well as for all other services; for instance, he paid taxes of $82 for Abraham Baldwin, for which he received a fee of one-sixteenth; in 1802 he paid a tax of $69.84 for Bailey Washington on the Washington lands on Paint Creek.

In his own land-buying he was wise enough to secure mill sites, and very early he had mills constructed on the north fork of Paint Creek (built and run by his brother Robert), at the falls of the Hocking River, and on Kinnickinnick Creek. His Kinnickinnick mill, situated a few miles north of Chillicothe, did so well that on October 12, 1802, he could confide to his diary, "Find my mill grinds for 3/4 of the people in Fairfield and Ross Counties." This mill was equipped with four-and-one-half-foot stones, first secured at Redstone, Pennsylvania, a town on the Monongahela above Pittsburgh. An early set made for him in 1802 at Baltimore cost him £96 in Pennsylvania money ($256) undelivered. He later used Ohio stones exclusively. During the next few years he built sawmills and other gristmills on Paint Creek and on the Mad River in Logan County. In 1811 he had three sets of stones operating in his Chillicothe mill. Most of the time his mills were rented or let out to managers who, in addition to grinding Worthington's grain, paid a stated amount in kind. Thus the manager of his Chillicothe mill in 1808-1809 paid him one hundred barrels of flour, one thousand gallons of whiskey, and half the hogs.

In 1810 he established a ropewalk and a cloth mill at Chillicothe, thereby inaugurating an attempt at home manufacturing, a project in which he was always much interested. The mill was equipped to weave cotton, flax, and wool, and was managed by Hector Sanford. His
first cloth was chiefly linsey, cassimere, and flannel. At the same time he went into sheep-raising on a considerable scale to provide wool for his mill. He paid $250 for a full-blooded Merino ram, which he secured, together with several ewes, from the farm of his friend General John Mason, of Georgetown, Maryland. In this connection it may be noted that he raised part of the flax which his mill processed; cotton, however, he had to secure from Kentucky, Tennessee, and New Orleans. In 1811, he paid twelve cents a pound for cotton in Kentucky; in 1812, he bought several tons in New Orleans at eight cents, but by the time he got it to Chillicothe it had cost him fifteen cents; in 1816 it cost him thirty-one cents a pound, and in 1817, thirty-two cents.

He tried knitting cotton and woolen socks and other small articles of clothing, but they proved unprofitable. He was more successful with cotton and woolen cloth, yarn, and rope. His dyes included navy blue, light blue, yellow, light brown, snuff, drab, green, and black. His fulling mill was a liability, but the process was a necessity. Year after year he persevered, some years making a good profit, sometimes losing money. By 1817, he had invested $7,200 in machinery which included two carding machines, one mule of 204 spindles, two throstles of 108 spindles each, 1,600 wired spools, a 41-skein reel, one loom, a 30-spindle Betty, and a 40-spindle Jenny. His volume of business is indicated by his receipts of $5,845.34 for his finished product in the first six and a half months of 1820—mostly yarn, but including 640 yards of flannel and 289 yards of shirting. In this particular six months his profits seem to have amounted to about thirty per cent.

To enumerate the varied activities of Worthington's private life is to name almost every occupation followed in the Territory. In addition to those just mentioned, he farmed; bought and sold town lots, cattle, horses, and hogs; and prospected for fertile lands, brick-clay, coal, salt, and iron. As early as 1801 he was investing part of his extra cash in six per cent United States stock and other "active bank stock." On March 20 of that year, he wrote Joseph Nourse at Washington to put $5,173.75 in United States stock at once; again on June 6, he wrote Nourse to put $10,000 in bank stock and requested him to choose the bank offering the best returns. The year 1805 was one of his best for this type of venture: in August of that year, his Philadelphia bankers invested $19,104 for him in 8 per cent and 3 per cent bank stock. He occasionally contracted to build a road; in 1804, he was warned by Gallatin that if he took the contract for the road from Lancaster to the Great Miami, "being a public man you must do it on

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15 Worthington to Nourse, ibid.
16 McEuen, Hall, and Davidson to Worthington, August 30, 1805, in WM.
monstrous low terms." The same year, Worthington advocated the establishment of a bank in Chillicothe and proposed that the state be made a shareholder. Somewhat later he was an organizer, stockholder, and acting president of the Bank of Chillicothe.

In July, 1810, he purchased at least 405 "good-sized" cattle from the Chickasaw Indians in Tennessee at $13.25 a head. The expense of driving them to Ohio was $780, which, together with the fact that fifteen were lost in the course of the two drives, raised their cost to about $16 a head. On July 25, he had 750 cattle on hand, and on that day branded 205 with his mark, a large TW. It is probable that this venture was not very profitable, for in his diary for November 26 he relates that the Indian cattle were suffering from the cold rains, to which they were not accustomed, and that they remained scrawny because of the fact that they "have never before eat corn and now eat little or none of it & get very poor."

Worthington also found time for his lodge, being constantly attracted by the serious objectives of Masonry though impatient with its foolish diversions. While attending the opening session of the first territorial legislature at Cincinnati in November, 1799, he took the first three degrees in Nova Caesarea Harmony Lodge No. 2, of which Jacob Burnet was the Worshipful Master. In November, 1805, he helped organize the first lodge at Chillicothe, Scioto Lodge, No. 6; but the records do not show that he was very active, nor does it appear that the organization had more than a social function.

In June, 1808, he helped organize New England Lodge, No. 48, at Worthington, Ohio, "according to letters for that purpose to him directed, by and from the Grand Lodge of Connecticut." His "friend and brother" James Kilbourne was installed as Worshipful Master, Zophar Topping as Senior Warden, and Josiah Topping as Junior Warden.

Worthington lived for five years in Chillicothe, the only years of his adult life, in fact, when he actually was a city dweller. During this period he improved his lots and home and planted trees grafted by himself. In the spring of 1802, he built a commodious log house on the eminence he called Belle View, two miles northwest of the town. Although the climate was excellent, the valley was none too healthful.

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17 Gallatin to Worthington, June 8 and September 24, 1804, in WMOSL.
18 James Findlay to Worthington, December 21, 1804, and January 31, 1805, in WMOSL.
because of floods and swampy backwaters, which caused bilious and intermittent fevers. Moreover, no true frontiersman wished to be crowded. Worthington sold his home in town and the lots containing the Indian mound to Winn Winship. The hill on which he had now erected his log house overlooked the beautiful Scioto Valley and his own noble estate; to the northeast and visible from his front door, rose the wooded hills soon to be memorialized in the state seal, the idea for which is supposed to have originated with Worthington and some friends as they were sitting outdoors east of the house after an all-night political and social gathering.

A traveler who visited Worthington in August, 1802, has left an account of the man and his home. He reported that the house was a "log cabin but neatly furnished"; its owner was "now growing an orchard of about 300 apple trees . . . and a great number of peach trees, plum trees and Lombardy poplars, etc." The visitor was treated with great attention, and reported that Squire Worthington was "one of the best informed men we have met in all the country." That summer was a pleasant one for the master of the new house: the Scioto Valley was healthful all the way up to Franklinton; the wheat was the best he had ever seen in his life; the land and milling businesses were good; his first son, James Taylor Worthington, had been born safe and sound on May 21; and on July 26, "Gov. St. Clair [Worthington's political enemy] passed through town and as usual got very drunk."20

His home, farm, and business interests were a constant joy to Worthington, and he filled his diary with news of them, of his family, and of his friends. When he harvested thirty-nine loads of clover hay, that was something to record. The currant crop was unusually good that summer, and Mrs. Worthington "made a barrill of wine." In the spring of 1805, Worthington rewarded Jefferson for his kinship of spirit in the soil by sending him some of his finest "Alpine or monthly strawberry seed."21 He bought two bay horses and a roan colt from William Trimble on May 31. A lover of horses, he was infuriated when Attorney Michael Baldwin "rode down his horse," and threatened to "cain" him if it ever happened again; everybody rode horses, but only a drunken fool would abuse his mount. Business and politics necessitated continuous horseback travel; Worthington spent the equivalent of several years of his life in the saddle. Occasionally he

21 Worthington's diary, July 26, 1802.
carried a gun on these trips, but he confessed that he was a poor hunter and had no inclination to be a good one. More often he carried a book on his long rides; thus, on a trip to one of his farms (The Barrens), he read Seneca the whole of the way, from whose writings, he noted, he "derived much pleasure and benefit."

During the years 1805-1807, Worthington was occupied with building a permanent stone house on the hilltop just south of the log home to which the family had moved in 1802. The new house, "called at the time of its erection . . . the most magnificent mansion west of the Alleghenies," exemplified in its architectural design and in the extensive grounds surrounding it the tradition of eighteenth-century colonial Virginia. When he was in Washington in 1805, Worthington had commissioned Benjamin Henry Latrobe, noted architect and surveyor of public buildings during the administrations of Presidents Jefferson and Madison, to draw the plans.\(^22\)

The house stood about four hundred and fifty feet from the rim of the hill, facing north up the valley of the Scioto and commanding a view of Mt. Logan through a vista cut in the virgin timber to the east. The area about the house was laid out in symmetrical units. Large orchards on the west were balanced by formal terraced gardens on the east. Beyond the gardens and extending to the northeastern tip of the hill was the "grove," an area of fifty-one acres planted with ornamental trees and flowers in a design of circles, triangles, and squares. Seen from without, the grove gave an impression of "natural and spontaneous growth" similar to that of the "wilderness" at Mt. Vernon and the "roundabout" at Monticello. Beyond the cleared and cultivated areas on the plateau at the top of the hill, virgin forests of hickory, beech, walnut, and oak dropped down the slopes to the east. Some of the native trees had been left to shade the lawns by which the house was surrounded. Lombardy poplars lined the drive which approached the entrance gate.

The house consisted of a central unit two stories high, flanked by story-and-a-half wings directly connected with the main structure and forming an open court at the north or entrance side. The court was terraced, its curving front supported by a brownstone wall topped by a wrought-iron fence. A flagstone path led from the entrance gate to the flagged porch before the front door. At either side of the gate stood a crimson Pyrus japonica. The walk itself was edged with pink

\(^{22}\) Latrobe to Worthington, September 3, 1805, and March 25, 1806. Transcriptions at the Ohio Historical Society from Latrobe's letter books and index are in the hands of Mrs. Ferdinand C. Latrobe, Baltimore. See also Talbot Hamlin, *Benjamin Henry Latrobe* (New York, 1955), 199-201.
and white roses. A clipped privet hedge inside the iron fence formed the outer border of the two small plots of turf beyond the rose borders. Flaring stone steps led from the court to the lawn below. A circular driveway in front of the house curved out across the lawn to skirt the rim of the hill and afford panoramic glimpses of hills, river valley, and woods before descending the slope to join the Limestone Road in the valley to the south.

The terraced or falling gardens, situated about twenty feet from the house on the eastern side, were modeled after semi-formal gardens of Virginia and other parts of the East. The terraces were supported by stone walls, stone steps leading from one level to another. The first terrace was planted with rare shrubs and flowers, many of which Worthington had brought from nurseries in the East, as well as with the hardier native flowers. Lilac, syringa, hawthorne, and other woody plants bordered the walks and the formal flower beds, where grew a profusion of flowers—peonies, phlox, asters, verbena, lilies, lupine, and mignonette. Roses, of which the Worthingtons were very fond, were everywhere. Here was the little pink rose which Mrs. Worthington had found in the woods and transplanted—a flower which became known locally as the Worthington Rose. Here, also, were the moss roses, the honeysuckle, and the yellow jasmine which Aaron Burr sent her after his visit to the house. The next two terraces were devoted to vegetables and small fruits which were of special interest to Mrs. Worthington. German redemptioners, employed as gardeners, laid out and cared for the gardens.

To the west of the house beyond the farm buildings were the orchards which Worthington had planted even before the log house was built. So outstanding were his peaches, plums, cherries, and apples that neighbors came from miles around to secure grafts and seedlings.

The house was constructed of sandstone quarried on the Worthington estate. The traveler Fortescue Cuming recorded that the Morris brothers, natives of Virginia, were the masons. The carpentry and cabinet work were done by George McCormick, Conrad Christman, and Hector Sanford of Chillicothe. All the wood used in the construction of the house and the furniture made on the estate—with the exception of mahogany imported from the East—was procured from the local forests and kiln-dried on the Worthington estate. Walnut was used for the baseboards, chair rails, moldings, and mantels. Cherry, as well as walnut and mahogany, was used for the furniture.

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28 Fortescue Cuming, Sketches of a Tour to the Western Country (Pittsburgh, 1810), republished in Reuben G. Thwaites, Early Western Travels, 1748-1846 (36 vols., Cleveland, 1904-1907), IV, 219.
Marble for three of the fifteen fireplaces was purchased in Philadelphia. Glass for the windows came from the factory of Albert Gallatin at Geneva, Pennsylvania, and wallpaper from the Quaker firm of Thomas and Caldcleugh of Baltimore. Silver, china, tableware, textiles, furniture, and other valuables which the Worthingtons had brought from Virginia were supplemented by purchases in the East.\textsuperscript{24} The Worthington furniture was chiefly Sheraton and Hepplewhite, with Chippendale, and possibly Queen Anne, heirlooms.

With some exceptions, the general plan of the rooms followed a modified Georgian design known to architectural historians as the federal style. A survey of the buildings on the estate, made in 1821 by John Peebles, agent for the Insurance Company of North America, contains a detailed description of the room arrangement.\textsuperscript{25} The traditional hall running through the building had been divided to provide two rooms. The central portion of the main unit was devoted to living purposes. Within the entrance door was a reception hall with a fireplace at the left, and at the right a staircase leading to the upper floor. Immediately beyond the reception hall and opening from it was a spacious drawing room, twenty-four feet by twenty. To the right of these two central rooms were the family and state dining rooms; to the left were three rooms which were the apartment of the Worthingtons: the central room was their bedroom, the smaller one to the south a sitting room, and the one on the north the "little anteroom." The six rooms on the second floor were bedrooms. The east wing housed Worthington’s office-library and a receiving room. In the west wing were a pantry, a kitchen, and a servants’ room, and flanking this wing on its western side was a flagstoned porch. At the north end of the porch was an excellent well, and close by were a brick washhouse and a stone smokehouse. Beyond these to the north were a barn, springhouse, and other buildings, and the servants’ quarters. The upper floors of both the wings were used for storage, and under each wing was a cellar.

When completed, the mansion was a marvel of beauty and luxury to the pioneer people in the surrounding country, who admired its massive walls (twenty-four inches thick); its size (the main unit was sixty-four feet wide by forty-four deep; each wing, twenty-four by thirty-nine feet); the novelties of large glass windowpanes, papered walls, and marble mantel facings; and the charm of its extensive

\textsuperscript{24} James H. Rodabaugh and Henry J. Caren, “Adena,” \textit{American Antiques Journal}, II (May, 1947), 4-5; Ohio Historical Society leaflets entitled \textit{Adena: A Restoration by the Ohio Historical Society}, and \textit{The Furnishings and Interior Decoration at Adena}.

\textsuperscript{25} In WM.
grounds. The mansion was seldom without eminent visitors. One traveler, after recording his impression of the house and gardens, has given us a glimpse of the countryside which this "palace in the wilderness" overlooked:

    I ascended to a platform on the roof, to take a view of the surrounding lands, but there is as yet nothing but woods covering the greater part of the country. Fires that were burning in some places were proof of the fact that new settlers were clearing the woods. From this platform the governor can overlook the greater part of his property, containing five thousand acres of land. . . . The ground consists of low hills, and it is only toward the east, in direction of Zanesville, that more considerable elevations are perceived.26

Because of the panoramic view which the house afforded, Worthington called his home Mount Prospect Hall until 1811, when, in a tone on ancient history, he ran across the name "Adena"—descriptive of "places remarkable for the delightfulness of their situations."27 So Adena it has been called ever since.

Exactly one hundred years after its completion, a replica of the mansion was built at the Jamestown Exposition (1907). John W. Bradford of Ohio State University, who directed the work of reproduction, said in his speech at the formal opening: "So far as my study of the history of American architecture goes, there is not another structure possessing the interest, from the historic architectural standpoint, in all the central states. It is well-proportioned, fine in its architectural composition, with simplicity and dignity as strong features."28

Adena remained in the Worthington family until 1903, when it was purchased by George Hunter Smith and Clara Boggs Smith of Chillicothe. In 1946, their daughter, Mrs. Elizabeth S. Fetterolf of Meadowbrook, Pennsylvania, presented Adena and the estate of approximately three hundred thirty acres to the state of Ohio as a memorial to her parents. It is administered by the Ohio Historical Society, Columbus, which restored the property, furnished it with rare and valuable antiques in the Worthington tradition, and opened it to the public as a special feature of the Ohio sesquicentennial celebration in 1953. Thousands of persons visit this restoration each year.

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At a very early time, trade down the Ohio River was looked upon by Ohio Valley settlers as offering an opportunity for the disposal

26 Karl Bernhard, Duke of Saxe-Weimar Eisenach, Travels in North America During the Years 1825 and 1826 (2 vols. in one, Philadelphia, 1829), II, 150.
27 Worthington's diary, September 18, 1811.
28 "Ohio Day at the Jamestown Exposition," Ohio State Archaeological and Historical Quarterly, XVII (1908), 185, 189.
of surplus products. In the first fourteen weeks of 1801, goods valued
at $332,000 were entered for export at the custom house at Louisville;
some of the chief items shipped were flour, corn, whiskey, pork, beef,
lard, butter, and spun yarn. Most of the shipments came from
Kentucky, but the farmers, millers, stock raisers, and merchants north
of the Ohio saw to it that their goods were not excluded.

Shipbuilding had started early, chiefly for the transportation of
settlers but partly for commodity export. Homemade boats had been
passing down the Ohio from the vicinity of Pittsburgh in ever increas­
ing numbers since 1786; in the first eleven months of 1788 alone, some
nine hundred boats carrying 18,000 passengers had descended the
Ohio. In 1793, an ocean-going vessel was built near Pittsburgh by
a Dr. Watson, and in 1800, a 45-foot schooner, the "Redstone," was
constructed and launched near Brownsville, Pennsylvania, by Sam
Jackson. The next year a schooner-rigged vessel of a hundred tons bur­
den called the "Monongahela Farmer" was built and launched by
the commerce-minded settlers on the Monongahela. A number of
galleys and brigs (up to four hundred fifty tons burden) were built
around Pittsburgh between 1798 and 1804. By 1800, ships were being
built in the Ohio country for trade with foreign ports. On September
9, 1801, Governor St. Clair granted certificates of citizenship to Com­
modore Abraham Whipple and the crew of the Marietta-built brig
"St. Clair," bound on a voyage to the West Indies. James T. Adams
cites two other examples: "In 1803 the 'Duane' of Pittsburgh surprised
the authorities of Liverpool by arriving there from a place never heard
of, and a couple of years later the 'Louisiana of Marietta' was trading
between Italy and England from the small Ohio town as her home
port!" A gentleman at Zanesville wrote on April 29, 1802, that the
settlement and improvement of the Ohio country were progressing
rapidly, that exporting by the Mississippi route would soon be a great
business, and that shipbuilding was well under way at Marietta. He
voiced a warning that the transfer of Louisiana to France must not
be permitted to interrupt trade. "It will behove [sic] our government
to have a watchful eye to that object, which is of incalculable conse­
quence to this country and to the Union if [the] integrity of the

29 Scioto Gazette (Chillicothe), May 28, 1801.
30 C. H. Ambler, A History of Transportation in the Ohio Valley (Glendale,
Calif., 1932), 70.
31 Leland D. Baldwin, "Shipbuilding on the Western Waters, 1798-1817,"
Mississippi Valley Historical Review, XX (1933-34), 29-44; Territorial Papers,
III, 529.
32 James Truslow Adams, Epic of America (New York, 1931), 115.
nation may be considered of the least importance, for this country must follow the fate of the only outlet to the Ocean."

When the Spanish closed the port of New Orleans on October 16, 1802, their action struck the Ohio Valley with consternation. Massie wrote Worthington, December 8, "I am told the inhabitants of Kentucky are very uneasy," and "we ought not to be remiss on the subject." In case the action was taken "for the purpose of setting aside our treaty with Spain," he added, "I assure you the consequences will be serious, as I am sure the inhabitants will never submit for the navigation of that river to be stopped." As soon as Worthington, then in Washington, received this letter, he had a conference with President Jefferson, who informed him that everything possible was being done and that the Spanish minister had dispatched a pilot boat to the governor general at Havana; the impression given was that the intendant at New Orleans had withdrawn the right of deposit without authorization. Worthington called on Secretary of State Madison and doubtless helped stir up the debates in Congress over the situation. Promises did not help greatly, however, and Worthington appealed to Postmaster General Gideon Granger for assistance and information. Granger wrote him on March 11, assuring him that orders were being sent that very evening to the intendant which would have the desired effect. The purchase of the whole territory was soon announced, but the negotiations were so unsatisfactory and annexation sentiment was so strong in the West that Secretary of War Henry Dearborn prepared for forcible occupation and wrote Governor Tiffin, October 31, 1803, to raise five hundred volunteers and have them ready to march by December 20 to dispossess the Spanish. By that time, however, the need had passed: on that very day, in pursuance of the treaty of May 2, the American flag displaced the tricolor at New Orleans. No other step could have done so much to popularize Jefferson permanently in the West.

Meanwhile, on Thursday, February 24, 1803, the first Chillicothe-built, New Orleans-bound flatboat cleared for that southern metropolis with a load of pork, and thereafter produce floated down the Scioto

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88 Republican or Anti-Democrat (Baltimore), June 4, 1802, OHS.
84 Randolph C. Downes, "Trade in Frontier Ohio," Mississippi Valley Historical Review, XVI (1929-30), 488. See his footnotes for sources on this subject.
85 Massie, Massie, 219-220.
86 Worthington to Massie, December 25, 1802, in Massie, Massie, 220.
88 In WMOSL.
89 Scioto Gazette (Chillicothe), November 12, 1803.
River and other tributaries of the Ohio in ever increasing amounts. The embargo and nonintercourse acts of Jefferson’s and Madison’s administrations curtailed considerably, but did not stop, the trade. Moreover, the influx of people into the states and territories drained by the Ohio River gave a home market that was equally valuable. After the repeal of the embargo (1809), the Mississippi trade boomed, for the continental blockade excluded Russian supplies. The British army in Portugal imported almost 67,000 barrels of flour from New Orleans in the two years 1811 and 1812. New Orleans supplied another 33,000 barrels to states on the Atlantic seaboard during the same period. The falls of the Ohio at Louisville constituted a serious barrier —many a shipper had his goods dumped or his flatboat staved in—but they were not formidable enough to stop the trade. Cattle-driving to the East was another method of getting Ohio produce to market which was tried as early as 1800; drives occurred spasmodically for a quarter of a century, but did not prosper because of competition nearer the seaboard. The Ohio shippers’ best opportunity was the Mississippi until the Ohio canal system gave them a cheaper, shorter, and less precarious route to the East; but even canals did not supplant the Mississippi route for produce from the southern half of the state.

Before Worthington moved to Ohio, Nathaniel Massie notified him that through his influence Governor Winthrop Sargent had appointed him, Worthington, major of the militia and judge of the court of common pleas for Adams County, which at the time included the area later set off as Ross County. Massie was then a lieutenant colonel of militia and also a judge. When Ross County was established on August 15, 1798, Governor St. Clair made Worthington a judge of the court of common pleas in that county and raised him to the rank of lieutenant colonel in the militia. This put him in command of the Ross County regiment, but the next year it was divided into two battalions, only one of which Worthington commanded. Judge Samuel Finley was made colonel and put in command of the regiment. Worthington had hoped to be continued as regimental commander with the

41 Ibid., 504-505.
42 Jacob Burnet, Notes on the Early Settlement of the North-Western Territory (New York, 1847), 402-404.
43 Downes, “Trade in Frontier Ohio,” 493-95.
44 Massie to Worthington, July 20, 1797, in WMOSL.
rank of colonel, but St. Clair informed him that he had appointed Finley because of his service in the Revolutionary War and because he believed the militia would profit more from his experience than from that of a commander who had not seen actual combat. He promised to make Worthington a colonel when and if the county had a second regiment. "I have certainly [had] great reason to be satisfied with your activity and public spirit," the Governor concluded. Worthington was not mollified, and resigned his commission.

As a judge of oyer and terminer he sat with Samuel Finley, who presided, and John Cleves Symmes on one of the earliest cases in the region (June, 1798), in which a white man (Thomas Thomson) was brought to trial for the murder of an Indian. The murder occurred in Thomson's tavern in Chillicothe, where a rowdy gang "were singing songs and drinking grog." The Indian's life might have been saved, but his friends would not let Doctors Tiffin and McAdow trepan his skull. They objected, "One white man kill Indian, two come to scalp him." The doctors had to stop in the middle of the operation at the insistence of the Indians, and the victim died. Before the trial ended, Thomson was permitted to escape, and an attempt was made to placate the Indians with presents; but Jack Hot, the victim's brother, killed two whites on Jonathan's Creek for vengeance and then escaped to Canada.

Another murder trial on which Worthington sat was that of John Bowman, who had stabbed one John Bates. Bowman was found guilty in July, 1801, but a new trial was granted, and this time a verdict of manslaughter was returned by the jury. The court ordered that Bowman "be burned in the hand and forfeit his goods to the Territory." Many other cases were handled, over some of which Worthington was the presiding judge. Forgery of bank notes, warrants, surveys, receipts, and other legal papers was common. Horse-stealing by the Indians was a frequent offense, but in those early days, if the Indian surrendered the horse he was usually released with a solemn warning, for the animosity of the man's tribe was not to be lightly aroused.

An important case because of its political influence was one concerning the selection of the seat of government for Adams County.

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45 Territorial Papers, III, 512, 513; Worthington to St. Clair, February 26, 1799, in WRHS, Tract 39, p. 17; St. Clair to Worthington, April 14, 1799, in the Rice Collection.
46 Territorial Papers, III, 81.
47 St. Clair to Worthington, June 7, 1798, in WMOSL; Worthington to Isaac Williams, May 28, 1798, in WMOSL. See also Williams Brothers, Ross and Highland Counties, 188, for the Rev. James B. Finley's account of the murder.
The problem revolved around the question of whether the governor or the judges had the authority to determine the location of county seats. Both claimed to represent the interests of the people best, and both undoubtedly had personal motives that in some measure affected the integrity of their decisions. Massie owned a great deal of land at Manchester and wanted the county seat situated there, but St. Clair established it at the mouth of Stout's Run and designated the site as Adamsville. Massie declared this to be a most inconvenient spot since it was "only accessible two ways, either up or down the River." Thereupon St. Clair ordered that the county seat be moved to Washington, a town site at the mouth of Ohio Brush Creek. The court met at Adamsville in June, 1798, when the eight judges determined that their chief business was to decide definitely on a location for the seat of government and refused to follow the proclamation of the Governor.

After much deliberation they agreed on Manchester because Massie offered the greatest inducements, especially a gift of land on which to erect the public buildings. St. Clair refused, however, to provide the funds for their erection although work on them had begun. Worthington tried to explain that he had moved no action be taken until the Governor had been consulted, and assured him that there were no improper motives. St. Clair craftily replied that he had never meant to impute improper motives. In any event, the September court met at Adamsville and agreed to a removal to Washington. Judge Worthington, meanwhile, had been transferred in August to the newly established county of Ross, but Massie and Benjamin Goodin were removed from the Adams County bench in October for "having Misdemened [sic] themselves in the execution of their office by attempting to disturb the regular administration of Justice by adjourning the sessions of the said Courts of Gen'l Quarter-Sessions of the Peace & of the Common Plase [sic] to meet at Manchester, when they had been duly & regularly appointed to be held thereafter at Washington and fixed at that place by a Proclamation of the Governor." So the burning question concerning which had the power to erect county seats—the governor, the courts, or the legislature—was left unsettled and remained so even after the first territorial legislature had met.

50 Evans and Stivers, History of Adams County, 90.
In addition to serving as a judge, Worthington acted as a United States deputy surveyor under Rufus Putnam. His work in that capacity consisted of surveying post roads and county and township lines. He surveyed that portion of the Marietta-Cincinnati road which went through Chillicothe. He made connection to the west at the Hamilton County line with surveyor John Reily, and with Paul Fearing and Ephraim Cutler to the east at the Washington County line. McArthur, who was also a deputy for Putnam, worked with Worthington surveying county and township lines. In 1807, Worthington, along with Jesse Spenser, was employed by Jared Mansfield, who had succeeded Putnam in 1803 as United States surveyor general, for surveys of some five hundred miles.

Perhaps the most difficult job Worthington ever held and the one which brought him the most trouble was that of superintendent of public sales and register of the land office at Chillicothe. The act passed by Congress in 1800 provided for four land offices in Ohio and for sales of as little as a half-section at two dollars an acre. President Adams nominated Worthington to the Chillicothe office, May 12, 1800, and the Senate confirmed him, May 13. He was bonded for $10,000.

Although Secretary of the Treasury Oliver Wolcott sent instructions on the procedure to be followed and on the interpretation of the law, each register had to exercise his own judgment concerning many points which were not covered. Worthington appealed to Governor St. Clair for his suggestions but wrote Gallatin that the “Old Gentleman” had had nothing to offer on the subject. Moreover, no entry books or other official supplies arrived, and decent paper or books of the proper sort could not be obtained in Ohio at any price. Fortunately, several ledgers were secured by mail order, but Worthington had to wait until mid-June before the official office supplies arrived. The public sales were to open May 4, 1801. Feeling it desirable that the public be informed, Worthington put on an advertising campaign by publishing a copy of the land act and an announcement in the Scioto Gazette for three weeks and by getting out twelve hundred handbills. For three weeks lands were to be offered at public sale to the highest bidder for not less than two dollars an acre. At the end of that time the sales would continue privately at that minimum figure. The sales

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commenced at three-thirty on the afternoon of the appointed day (having been held up until that hour in a vain wait for Governor St. Clair's arrival). Worthington supervised, Rufus Putnam, the surveyor general, advised, and a clerk made the entries. Benjamin Miller, hired at two dollars a day as auctioneer, cried the sales for the two hundred prospective buyers. Neither St. Clair nor his secretary, one or the other of whom was required by statute to be present, appeared until the third day, and then only to criticize. Worthington, they objected, was unauthorically collecting a four-dollar application-for-sale fee and requiring the buyer to sign the entry in the sale book. Although Worthington had an explicit authorization from the Secretary of the Treasury to make no distinction in the method of his bookkeeping between sales at auction and private sales, and although he showed this letter to the Governor, St. Clair correctly insisted that the act did not authorize any such fee at the sales by auction. Worthington protested to Gallatin that St. Clair had tried to take the conduct of the sale out of his hands and that he had criticized his every action.

This sale of public lands proved to be a tremendous business; the purchases by May 16 exceeded $220,000; by June 20, $360,000; and by June 26, $400,000. When Worthington remembered that lands offered for sale under the act of 1796 at Pittsburgh and Cincinnati in full sections had brought into the treasury only $100,000 over a four-year period, he had reason to feel that his office was doing an unusual volume of sales. The overseeing of the transactions would not have been such a difficult task had he not been called upon to make all decisions on such perplexing problems as whether land claimed by preemption or by warrant was subject to the same regulations as that purchased at public or private sale (Worthington ruled that it was); whether a floating mill, that is, one on boats anchored in the river, gave preemption rights to a section in the same manner as a mill actually located on land (he ruled that it did not); whether a mill or a like improvement gave its owner preemption rights to the fraction of a section on which it was located or to a whole section (he ruled a full section); and whether he was authorized to charge fees or hire clerks to assist him in discharging unauthorized but necessary

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53 Wolcott to Worthington, November 21, 1800, in WM.
54 Worthington to Gallatin, May 11, 1801, in Worthington's letter book, LC.
55 Worthington to Rufus Putnam, May 16 and June 20, 1801, ibid.; Worthington to Presley Neville, June 26, 1801, ibid.
56 See Sec. 16 of the Act of May 10, 1800, in Territorial Papers, III, 96; see also Worthington to Gallatin, September 18, 1802, ibid., 246.
duties. He complained that he had had to pay for printing and advertising because they were unauthorized. Complications of this sort, together with many others of daily occurrence, did not dismay him, and for over a year he interpreted his instructions according to his best judgment—a procedure which was satisfactory to practically all the purchasers. A few disgruntled buyers and critics endeavored, however, to cause difficulty for the register by criticizing many of his decisions. He was accused of discrimination, of unfair practices such as putting tracts up for sale when those most interested in buying them were not present, of ruling out floating mills, of buying the best land himself (a perfectly legitimate action so long as he applied for it through Rufus Putnam, the surveyor general), of depriving the government of revenue to the extent of at least ten thousand dollars by selling at a figure below that which he could have secured, of hiring unauthorized help, and of charging unauthorized fees.

Worthington paid himself and his clerks five dollars a day, and his janitor, Edward Sherlock, fifty cents a day. He wrote Gallatin that the fees barely covered his necessary expenses.

Governor St. Clair and Worthington's other political and personal enemies made the most of the situation and tried to discredit him. Deeply injured by the charges they made, Worthington wrote for advice to some of his influential friends, who almost without exception upheld him in everything he had done. Senator James Ross wrote him that it was quite proper for him to charge fees. Gallatin told him that he should use his own judgment in running the business; that he, Gallatin, had originally felt that the charging of an application fee for sales at public auction was unauthorized, and that he had had Levi Lincoln, the attorney general, write an unofficial opinion which corresponded with his. Gallatin stated, however, that in the final analysis it was his own opinion and Lincoln's against Wolcott's and Worthington's. If any dissatisfied buyer or other malcontent wished to dispute Worthington's fee-taking—or any of his procedures—he could take his case to the courts for a decision. Worthington determined to utilize this excellent advice—not by waiting for a suit to be brought but by instituting one himself. In a diary entry for July 13, 1801, he records that he induced the Fairfield County Court to institute "a friendly suit ag't me for receiving fees at the Publick

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67 Worthington to Secretary of the Treasury (Gallatin), July 2, 1801, in Worthington's letter book, LC; Worthington to Joseph Nourse, July 11, 1801, ibid.
68 Gallatin to Worthington, August 7, 1802, enclosing a copy of charges made by Elias Langham, in WMOSL.
69 Worthington to Gallatin, July 2, 1801, in Worthington's letter book, LC.
70 Gallatin to Worthington, June 10, 1801, in WMOSL.
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sales of land. The court unanimously determine that I am entitled to those fees and enter a judgment accordingly,” this “notwithstanding 3 out of 4 of the judges were interested in the question, having purchased a considerable quantity of land at the sales.” At Worthington’s request, the decision was immediately appealed to the Territorial General Court then sitting at Chillicothe, which body in October also upheld his actions. The court decision and appeal did not quiet criticism, however; Elias Langham, a militia officer and one of St. Clair’s minions, kept the charges circulating and even drew up a two-page indictment which was sent to Gallatin. Thereupon Worthington wrote in his diary that he was through with public office, told Gallatin he planned to resign, and asked for an investigation.

The upshot of the whole matter was that a year later, in the summer of 1802, Gallatin authorized Governor St. Clair to order an investigation before a court. At the same time he instructed Worthington to take depositions from worthy characters in his defense. In the hearing, which closed September 17, Worthington was completely cleared of all the charges, which were shown to have been motivated by jealousy, by the fact that Langham had had a “floating mill” disallowed, and by the fact that Abraham Claypool, another critic, had not succeeded in purchasing the section of the “High Bank Prairie” on which he had lived for two years. William Creighton deposed that another purpose of the charges was “to raise a clamour in this country to injure Thomas Worthington’s election for the [constitutional] convention without the most distant expectation of proving anything criminal against him.”

It was in 1802, while Worthington was register of the land office, that he was visited by Colonel (the Reverend) James Kilbourne, a leading promoter of the Scioto Company, formed at Granby, Connecticut, in 1801. The two became close friends. In fact, Kilbourne drew his famous map of Ohio from those hanging in Worthington’s land office. In 1803, Kilbourne purchased a township in the United States Military District and established the town of Worthington, naming it in honor of his friend at Chillicothe, who had made a “very liberal donation” toward its establishment and had helped him.

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61 Worthington to Gallatin, October 29, 1801, in Territorial Papers, III, 188.
62 “Langham’s Notice” is in WM. See Worthington to Gallatin, August 21 and September 30, 1801, in Worthington’s letter book, LC.
63 Worthington’s diary, May, 1801, and August 26 to September 25, 1802; Worthington to Gallatin, September 18, 1802, in Worthington’s letter book, LC; Williams Brothers, Ross and Highland Counties, 274.
64 See Creighton’s deposition, in WM.
BUSINESSMAN AND CITIZEN

in many ways. By 1804, twenty families—a total of one hundred New Englanders—were settled there.65

While Worthington was head of the land office, another federal position was awarded him. He was appointed supervisor of the new internal revenue district established by Congress in 1801 northwest of the Ohio River. Gallatin offered Worthington the position because he had a "more perfect confidence" in him than in any other person of his acquaintance in the Northwest Territory.66 Worthington accepted this office and held it until Ohio became a state. Michael Baldwin, a resourceful young lawyer of Chillicothe, was appointed United States Attorney for the district.

A lesser public duty to which Worthington found time to attend was the supervision of the building of the Ross County courthouse. A public square had been dedicated to that purpose by Nathaniel Massie in 1801, when the erection of such a building became essential. Worthington was instrumental in seeing that it was constructed on a corner lot, that it was set well back from the street, and that it had glass windowpanes. Eight hundred panes ten by twelve inches in size were purchased from the factory of his friend Gallatin, which James Nicholson was running. The way the bill was paid illustrates the ordinary financing of the period. Henry Bedinger of Berkeley County, Virginia, owed Worthington some money. Worthington therefore instructed Bedinger to pay it to Joseph Nourse, who was to pay it to Gallatin, who was to pay it to Nicholson.

Worthington demonstrated in the first years of his residence in the West that he was capable, upright, trustworthy, and able to do successfully a prodigious amount of various kinds of work. In other respects, too, he was adept; his finest roles during these years remain to be related. His accomplishments and the vicissitudes through which he passed as territorial legislator, envoy extraordinary, and state-maker constitute the most important chapters in the story of his early life.

In evaluating a man's success, it is necessary to examine some of the moral and spiritual wellsprings of his nature. Worthington was profoundly religious, and had prayers morning and evening in his home.


66 Gallatin to Worthington, August 7 and September 11, 1801, in WMOSL.
a practice which he never relaxed and which was maintained by his wife in his absence. His Puritan and Quaker ancestry made him unsympathetic toward the popular vices of his day; by nature he would have been an excellent circuit rider or lay preacher. In Chillicothe he regularly attended the Presbyterian and Methodist churches, to both of which he and Mrs. Worthington contributed, although in true Quaker tradition they did not actually accept membership in either. Nevertheless, in 1823, he taught a Bible class in the Methodist church and participated in the Communion service. He once rode nineteen miles from Tarlton on a very cold Sunday morning in February, setting out before five o'clock in order to meet his class on time. While spending the month of April, 1823, in New Orleans on a business trip, he associated himself closely with a Methodist Bible class; in his diary entry for April 16 he speaks proudly of "our class of 14 or 15 Methodists who are walking with God."

When away from home, whether in nearby Lancaster, Ohio, or in Philadelphia, Washington, or New York, Worthington regularly found time to attend a Sunday morning service. Just as regularly, he recorded his reactions in his diary; thus, on February 8, 1801, he wrote, after hearing the Reverend William Speer of the Presbyterian Church at Chillicothe, "Sermon very good & tending to produce sincere examinations of the heart." Something of a self-taught theologian for his day, he objected in 1810 to the exegetical discourse on predestination delivered by the Chillicothe Presbyterian minister, Robert G. Wilson, holding that that subject was incomprehensible to mortals and "ought never to be meddled with. We know or may know our duties both religious and moral. This is enough. To inquire into the secrets of an omnipotent God is beyond our reach—the attempt imprudent & folly—nay, worse, it is sinful."

In Washington, D. C., on January 27, 1811, he recorded a typical comment on a sermon: "Much gratified, strengthened and edified." He often referred in his diary to his attendance at Quaker meetings, camp meetings, union meetings, and the Methodist Quarterly Conference when it met in Chillicothe. Whenever possible, he devoted a portion of each Sabbath to instructing his family in the tenets and moral teachings of the Christian religion; in his absence Mrs. Worthington maintained this custom. To them both, such a practice was ordinary good sense, part and parcel of the weekly regimen whereby they lived. It was no accident that the children were upright and worthy citizens of the community. Never mawkishly sentimental or overly emotional—in a day, too, when religious emotionalism traveled

* Worthington's diary, February 25, 1810.
in waves over the state as the circuit riders made their rounds—Worthington never displayed publicly the religious fervor which permeated his life. But he was in deadly earnest when he wrote, "Fine Day. Spent considerable part of it with my children endeavoring to show them how much their happiness here and hereafter depends on walking in the way of righteousness and of the certainty of a happy old age from a well spent youth."

Three excerpts from the journal of Francis Asbury, eminent frontier bishop and circuit rider, illustrate his confidence in the religious life of the Worthington family:

On Wednesday [August 7, 1808] came into Chillicothe. On Thursday I preached in the chapel. . . . I was invited to pass a night under the hospitable roof of General Thomas Worthington at Mount Prospect Hall. Within sight of this beautiful mansion lies the precious dust of Mary Tiffin; it was as much as I could do to forbear weeping as I mused over her speaking grave—how mutely eloquent! Ah! the world knows little of my sorrows—little knows how dear to me are my many friends, and how deeply I feel their loss—but they all die in the Lord, and this shall comfort me. I delivered my soul here; may this dear family feel an answer to Mary Tiffins prayers!

Sunday 16 [September, 1810] Thursday, I preached at Chillicothe at four o'clock. . . . I paid a visit to my much esteemed friend, Governor [Senator] Worthington, at Mount Prospect: he requested me to furnish an inscription for the tomb-stone of his sainted and much-loved sister, Mary Tiffin; I gave him Luke x. 42. second line to the end.

Sabbath 23 [August, 1814] From the 24th to the 30th we are at senator Worthington's. I pay my mite of worship in this amiable family in great weakness. The kind attentions I receive are greatly beyond my deserts. Mrs. Worthington has taught her boys and girls, servants and children, to read the holy Scriptures, and they are well instructed: I heard them more than one lesson with much satisfaction. O that all mothers would do likewise! I presume the worship of God is kept up in this house, though neither of the heads thereof have attached themselves to any society of professing Christians; doubtless God will bless them, and their children after them.

Karl Bernhard, Duke of Saxe-Weimar Eisenach, noted some years later that "the father of the family had the laudable custom of making a prayer before sitting down" to breakfast. He regarded the Worthington family as one of the most interesting he had met in the United States.

Worthington's domestic life was particularly happy; his devoted wife was a constant inspiration to him. She bore and mothered ten healthy children and gave her strength untiringly to their nurture and her husband's comfort. Although her name seldom appears in these pages and apparently but one portrait of her was ever made, her noble influence manifested itself in the household and in the community.

68 Worthington's diary, June 6, 1815.
70 Bernhard, Travels in North America, II, 149-50.